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Foreign
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Paris Peace
Conference
1919

XI

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Papers Relating to the
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The Paris Peace Conference
1919

Volume XI



United States
Government Printing Office
Washington : 1945

JX233

A3

op. 2.

1915

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

PUBLICATION 2337

For sale by the
Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D. C. Price \$2.00 (Buckram)



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June 12	<i>The Executive Secretary of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Patchin) to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i> Report on the services of which the Commission will be deprived by the suspension of the activities of the Committee on Public Information on July 1, and information as to the cost of its further operation.	589
June 15	<i>Mr. S. E. Morison to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)</i> Request that resignation be accepted, in view of the Russian policy adopted by the U. S. Government.	591
June 16	<i>The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to Mr. S. E. Morison</i> Advice that the Commissioners have accepted resignation.	591
June 17 (376)	<i>Lieutenant A. A. Berle, Jr., to the American Commissioners Plenipotentiary</i> Request for release from duty, in view of disagreement with U. S. policy toward Russia. (Footnote: Information that on June 18 the Commissioners decided that they could not approve Lieutenant Berle's release unless he could not be persuaded to stay, but that on June 23 they approved his release.)	591
June 19 (2651)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Lansing: Information that the treaty with Germany in final form has been released to the press for publication on June 20.	592
Undated	<i>Report Covering the Visit of President Wilson to the King of the Belgians, June 18 and 19, 1919</i> Unsigned report on the various ceremonies and activities in which the President and Mrs. Wilson participated.	593

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June 21 (2709)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Lansing: Information that the other Commissioners think that Secretary Lansing should return to Washington to help with the treaty in the Senate; inquiry as to willingness of the Acting Secretary to assume the duties of a Commissioner; request for opinion.	596
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June 28	<i>The Secretary of State to President Wilson</i> Suggestion that after the President's departure it may be necessary for the Secretary to refer to conversations of the Council of Four and that there are no records of these meetings at his disposal; opinion that they would be made available on the President's request.	597
Undated	<i>Memorandum by the Secretary of State</i> Description of the ceremony of the signing of the treaty of peace with Germany at Versailles on June 28.	597
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June 29	<i>President Wilson to the Emperor of Japan (tel.)</i> Reply to a message of felicitation from the Emperor.	605
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July 8	<p><i>The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to Mr. Henry White</i></p> <p>Willingness of Mr. McNeir to take over responsibility for the organization and business management of the Commission.</p>	610
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1919 Nov. 30 (5491)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Polk: Suggested reply (text printed) which might be made to the French Ambassador's letter of November 29; opinion that Ambassador Wallace should be empowered to handle the Hungarian and Roumanian questions and consult with the Supreme Council whenever necessary to coordinate relations with Germany.	677
Nov. 30 (5492)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Polk: Belief that, in view of the Department's telegram No. 3906 of November 27, the Commission has failed to make clear its position in regard to the execution of the German treaty; résumé of its past and present position, with comments and inquiries regarding U. S. representation on various commissions.	678
Dec. 1	<i>The Secretary of State to President Wilson</i> Transmittal of the French Ambassador's letter of November 29; opinion that the Commissioners should return December 6 as planned and that everything after that should be handled through regular diplomatic channels; hope that the President can approve this view.	680
[Dec. 1]	<i>Mrs. Woodrow Wilson to the Secretary of State</i> Information that the President adheres to his original decision in regard to the return of the Commissioners.	682
Dec. 1	<i>The Secretary of State to the French Ambassador (Jusserand)</i> Advice that the President adheres to his original decision regarding the return of the American Commissioners.	682
Dec. 1 (3934)	<i>The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Notification of reply sent to the French Ambassador, and instructions to return December 6 as planned.	683
Dec. 1 (5517)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Polk: Account of renewed French plea that the Commissioners delay their departure; urgent request that the Commissioners be allowed to remain until December 9 and that consideration be given to requesting General Bliss to remain until the Germans ratify the treaty.	683
Dec. 2	<i>The Secretary of State to President Wilson</i> Transmittal of Mr. Polk's telegram No. 5517 of December 1; desire for opinion.	684
Dec. 2	<i>Mrs. Woodrow Wilson to the Secretary of State</i> Information that the President thinks that it will do no harm to delay the departure until December 9, that all the Commission should leave then, and that this should be final.	684
Dec. 2 (3941)	<i>The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Transmittal of the President's instructions, and advice that this is final.	684
Dec. 2 (5531)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Polk: Report that in view of French pleas the Commissioners recommend that departure be delayed until December 9 and that General Bliss be directed to remain until the Germans sign the protocol; hope that the matter may be looked at in the light of the new circumstances.	685

OTHER PAPERS RELATING TO THE COMPOSITION, ORGANIZATION, AND ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION—Continued

Date and Number	Subject	Page
1919 Dec. 3 (3948)	<i>The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Advice that the President's decision as transmitted in telegram No. 3941 of December 2 is final.	686
Dec. 3	<i>The Secretary of State to the British Ambassador (Grey)</i> Information that the American delegation will leave Paris on December 9.	686
Dec. 4	<i>The Secretary of State to President Wilson</i> Report of British action taken and of reply given.	687
Dec. 4 (5542)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> For Phillips from Polk: Hope that it is understood that even if all the delegates go home there are some questions concerning the Hungarian and Roumanian situations which require that the United States be represented.	687
Dec. 4 (5554)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Polk: Urgent suggestion that Ambassador Wallace be directed to represent the United States in the negotiations with Roumania and in connection with the Hungarian treaty and that he be permitted at least to sit in the Council in connection with the deposit of ratifications and the signing of the protocol by Germany.	688
Dec. 5 (5557)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Polk: Notification that arrangements have been made for holding the <i>America</i> , and that the Commission hopes to sail from Brest on December 10.	689
Dec. 5 (3975)	<i>The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Instructions and comments regarding U. S. representation on various commissions mentioned in telegram No. 5492 of November 30.	689
Dec. 5 (5572)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Polk: Information that Clemenceau is depressed by what he considers U. S. abandonment of France; report that bitter criticism against the United States exists in France and England; renewal of hope that Ambassador Wallace may be given at least limited powers in connection with the unfinished business.	691
Dec. 6 (3985)	<i>The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Explanation to be given Clemenceau if necessary; statement of Department's position regarding German reluctance to sign the protocol.	691
Dec. 6 (5592)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Polk: Renewed insistence upon the necessity of having someone finish the work before the Supreme Council which will still be pending when the delegation leaves.	693
Dec. 7	<i>The Secretary of State to President Wilson</i> Transmittal of Mr. Polk's telegram No. 5592 of December 6, with request for decision, and suggestion of two possible methods of handling the problem, one of which is to direct Ambassador Wallace to sit in on the Supreme Council as an observer and to give him full powers to sign the Hungarian and Roumanian treaties.	694

OTHER PAPERS RELATING TO THE COMPOSITION, ORGANIZATION, AND ACTIVITIES
OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION—Continued

Date and Number	Subject	Page
1919 [Dec. 8]	<i>Mrs. Woodrow Wilson to the Secretary of State</i> Information that the President is willing to adopt the plan to have Ambassador Wallace sit in on the Council.	696
Dec. 8	<i>The Secretary of State to the French Ambassador (Jusserand)</i> Information that Ambassador Wallace will be authorized to sit in on the Council as an observer.	696
Dec. 8	<i>The Secretary of State to the British Ambassador (Grey)</i> Information that Ambassador Wallace will be authorized to sit in on the Council as an observer.	697
Dec. 8 (3997)	<i>The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Advice as to the instructions being given to Ambassador Wallace.	697
Dec. 8 (9279)	<i>The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in France (Wallace) (tel.)</i> Authorization to sit in on the Council as an observer and to sign the Hungarian and the Roumanian treaties.	697
Dec. 8 (4002)	<i>The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> For Polk: Message for Clemenceau (text printed) expressing appreciation for the hospitality of the French people extended to the American delegation.	698
Dec. 8 (4003)	<i>The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace (tel.)</i> Expression of appreciation for work of the Commission.	698
Dec. 8 (5601)	<i>The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Polk: Comments in regard to Department's telegram No. 3985 of December 6.	699
Dec. 9 (1736)	<i>The Ambassador in France (Wallace) to the Secretary of State (tel.)</i> From Polk: Expression of gratitude for decision set forth in Department's telegram No. 3997 of December 8; advice that Clemenceau and the French are satisfied; report on final details.	700
Dec. 12	<i>The French Ambassador (Jusserand) to the Secretary of State</i> Expression of appreciation for the message sent to Clemenceau.	700

MINUTES OF MEETINGS OF THE AMERICAN
COMMISSIONERS PLENIPOTENTIARY AND
OF THE COMMISSIONERS AND TECHNICAL
ADVISERS OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION

**NOTE CONCERNING THE MINUTES OF THE MEETINGS OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS
PLENIPOTENTIARY**

The regular meetings of the American Commissioners Plenipotentiary were attended by two or more of the Commissioners, excepting President Wilson, and minutes were kept by a secretary and duplicated for distribution. The Department files contain incomplete minutes of a meeting on December 30, 1918 (see volume I, page 190). No minutes of other meetings before January 31, 1919, when the series printed in this volume begins, have been found in the Department's files.

Questions were presented to the Commissioners in the form of numbered memoranda typed on printed forms. These forms contained a space for recording the opinion of each Commissioner and the final decision. Except for Memorandum No. 376, page 591, these memoranda have not been printed in this volume, nor has it been deemed necessary to explain fully in footnotes all matters referred to in the discussions of the Commissioners. The minutes of their discussions have, however, been reproduced substantially in full.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS PLENIPOTENTIARY AND OF THE COMMISSIONERS AND TECHNICAL ADVISERS OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/1

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, January 31, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
COLONEL HOUSE
MR. HERTER

1. General Bliss began the discussion on a resolution which was passed yesterday at the Quai d'Orsay to the effect that the members of the Supreme War Council should meet to decide on the number of troops which it would be considered equitable for the members of the associated governments to send to the former territories of the Turkish Empire.¹ The diplomatic aspect of the question was brought up owing to the fact that the United States was not at war with Turkey, but had merely broken off diplomatic relations. General Bliss wished to know whether the President would be in any way embarrassed if he decided that the United States should refuse to send any troops to Turkey.

Mr. Lansing was of the opinion that any decision which General Bliss decided to render in the premises should be so hypothetical that if it was found necessary, the President would be able, on political grounds, to back down from the resolution taken yesterday.

General Bliss asked whether he should therefore decide only what he considered a fair distribution of the troops of the associated governments.

It was decided that any conclusion arrived at by General Bliss should begin with approximately the following wording: "If it is considered advisable, and the consent of the Turkish government is given thereto, the number of American troops etc., etc.,"

¹ See BC-18, vol. III, p. 817.

[2.] Colonel House stated that he had had a long interview with Mr. Orlando last night regarding the draft of a constitution of a League of Nations prepared by President Wilson, and that he had found that they were in agreement on many points. There were two objections however, which Mr. Orlando had to make.

1. That all of the territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire should be placed under the control of the League of Nations since that would necessitate that the Trentino, Istria and Triest be placed under international control rather than be incorporated into the Italian State. Orlando desired that this paragraph "Supplementary Agreement No. 1" should be altered so that only those territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire which were not otherwise disposed of in the treaty of peace should be controlled by the League of Nations.

Mr. Lansing observed that if such an amendment were made, all the British Dominions would desire that similar clauses be incorporated so that some of the German colonies could be separately disposed of in the treaty of peace.

It was decided that the amendment suggested by Orlando was not satisfactory and that this matter would require further study.

2. That by the adoption of Article 4 of the proposed draft Italy would have to limit its military forces to volunteer organizations, which would be absolutely impracticable because of the conditions in Italy. The Italian army was paid such a very small stipend that the conditions of service were not attractive enough to make practical a volunteer organization. Orlando viewed favorably the limitation of armaments, but felt that for Italy it was necessary that some form of conscription be retained.

Colonel House and Mr. Lansing both stated that they appreciated the force of Orlando's argument and that it would undoubtedly be necessary to have some form of modified conscription in many countries in order to obtain a sufficient army to carry out the mandates of the League of Nations. Mr. White thought likewise it would be inadvisable for the United States to commit itself definitely on this point and that he was glad that this question would be reviewed.

General Bliss observed that there were only two kinds of armies, volunteer and conscripted armies, and that in principle he believed in the abolition of the conscripted army. He also however, recognized the weight of Mr. Orlando's objection.

Colonel House stated that the President had asked him to consult with General Bliss about drafting a substitute for Article 4 which would obviate the objection made by Mr. Orlando.

General Bliss stated that he would study this matter and draft a substitute for Article 4.

3. Mr. Lansing quoted President Wilson as having stated a belief that at the end of this week or soon thereafter an agreement on the plan for the League of Nations could be reached. This appeared very doubtful because of the many objections which seem to be arising in regard to specific details in the drafting of the constitution.

Colonel House observed that Lord Robert Cecil had already gone through the President's draft in great detail with Mr. Miller and that he (Colonel House) was to have a meeting with General Smuts and Cecil tonight to consider the matter further. Tomorrow night he was to have another conference with Orlando to see if the objections which had just been discussed could be overcome. It was hoped that a general meeting could take place next week to begin the final discussions.

Mr. Lansing stated that he thought it was very important that the President should not return to the United States until some definite and concrete resolution in regard to the League of Nations had been adopted, and that in view of the delays which would inevitably arise from the discussions of the details it might perhaps be more advisable to have the conference agree on the general principles, leaving the settlement of the details to a specially appointed Commission. Colonel House said that he had tried to persuade the President of the advisability of such a line of action but that he was afraid it was now too late. Mr. Lansing added that he had a supplementary resolution already prepared which he desired to discuss with Colonel House, and which they might induce the President to bring up at the Conference instead of insisting on the immediate settlement of the whole question.

4. Colonel House read a telegram which he had received from Baron Slatin³ as follows:

"Have sent telegrams to Ministers Lansing, Balfour and Pichon to advocate permission that few Austrian Delegates are allowed to proceed Siberia and Turkestan to assist our unfortunate prisoners and comfort minds of their families at home. Would be very grateful if you kindly lend me your help that President Wilson takes a benevolent interest in this pure humanitarian question and support my sincere and urgent request. Slatin"

The Commissioners agreed that there was no objection to complying with the wishes of Baron Slatin, and Colonel House offered to take up the matter with Mr. Balfour and Mr. Pichon.

Colonel House withdrew.

5. Mr. Lansing, Mr. White and General Bliss discussed the possibility of amending Article 4 to the President's draft in order to meet the views of Mr. Orlando,⁴ and at the same time provide for the limi-

³ General Rudolph Slatin, Austrian Red Cross representative in negotiations concerning prisoners of war.

⁴ See minute 2, item 2, *supra*.

tation of large standing armies. No decision was arrived at and the discussion was postponed until a later date.

6. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by the Secretariat, regarding a desire expressed by Dr. Mezes to have Lieut. Jefferson of the Aerial Service in France assigned to the Commission as an assistant to the Cartographer. General Bliss stated that he had received a confidential letter from Secretary Baker regarding the number of officers who had already been assigned to the Commission. General Bliss believed that too many assignments had already been made through personal friends and that the question of further assignments should not be considered until a study could be made of the present personnel on the Commission.

It was decided that no action should be taken on the Secretariat's memorandum No. 10⁵ until each of the Commissioners had been furnished with a full list of the personnel now assigned to the Commission.

7. Mr. Herter stated that Mr. Frank Bohn and Mr. Charles Edward Russell were present in Paris and wished to go to the International Socialist Conference in Berne. Inasmuch as the Conference began on the 3rd of February however, they were unable to arrive in time unless the Commission decided to assist in facilitating the visaing of their passports. Mr. Lansing stated that he knew Mr. Russell well and that he considered him a very reliable and loyal American whose opinion on the Conference at Berne would be very valuable. He also believed that if Mr. Bohn was traveling with Mr. Russell, he also must be reliable.

It was decided that the Commissioners should facilitate the journey of Messrs. Bohn and Russell to Berne, but that any action in the premises should be informal and verbal.

8. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 11 to the Commissioners, regarding the withdrawal of all troops of occupation from Montenegro.

The recommendation that no action should be taken in this matter at the present time was approved by all the Commissioners.

[9.] Mr. Herter read a letter addressed by Admiral Benson to the President, requesting that he be authorized to confer with the naval representatives of the five great powers with a view to drawing up in definite form just what terms should be imposed upon the enemy as strictly naval peace terms. The President's reply to this letter, approving of the Admiral's suggestion, and requesting Mr. Lansing to lay this matter before his colleagues on the Peace Delegation, was also read.

⁵The numbered memoranda referred to in the course of these minutes were those prepared for use in submitting specific questions for the consideration of the American Commissioners at their regular meetings. Except for Memorandum No. 376, p. 591, they have not been printed.

It was decided that it would be advisable for Admiral Benson to confer with the naval representatives of the five great Powers for the purpose indicated, and Mr. Lansing stated that he would authorize Admiral Benson accordingly.

10. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 9 regarding the representative of the United States at a proposed conference for the adoption of rules of aerial navigation. It was brought out that Admiral Benson and General Kernan as well as the President did not see any great utility in the proposed conference. The Commissioners agreed that more pressing matters were now coming up for consideration, but believed that if the State Department in Washington had already committed itself definitely on this point it would be too late to retract.

It was agreed that the suggested letter to the President and the suggested telegram to the Department of State, which were attached to Memorandum No. 9 should be despatched.

11. Mr. Herter read a letter to the President drafted for Mr. Lansing's signature by Mr. Grew, regarding the action of the French Embassy in Switzerland in refusing passports into France to the representatives of Circassian and Georgian Republics, and other States whose political views do not agree with those of the French government. The letter recommended that an immediate discussion of this matter should take place with the French and other Allied governments.

It was agreed that the letter in question should be despatched to the President.

12. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 12 in which the Secretariat inquired to which of the technical advisors the Commissioners desired that the minutes of the informal conferences at the Quai d'Orsay should be sent.

It was decided that the minutes in question should be sent to the following technical advisors:

Admiral Benson
Major General Kernan
Major Scott
Mr. Miller

13. Mr. White stated that Mr. Buckler⁶ had last night had conversation with certain members of the British Delegation and he had ascertained that the British government was willing to send representatives to Princes Island even though only the Bolsheviki would be there to meet them. Mr. Lansing stated that he did not believe that the Bolsheviki would come to any such meeting. Mr. White

⁶William H. Buckler, special assistant in the Embassy in Great Britain.

stated that Mr. Kerr, Lloyd George's Secretary, believed that the Bolsheviki would come to the Conference.⁷

Mr. Lansing inquired whether Mr. Buckler discussed the question of Mr. Ransome⁸ with the British Delegation. Mr. White stated that he was not informed on this point but would ask Mr. Buckler and convey his answer to the Commissioners at the next meeting.

14. Mr. Herter asked whether the Commissioners desired to initial any record of the decisions which they reached during their Conference. It was agreed that this was not necessary, but that the Secretary should make a note of all decisions arrived at.

The Commissioners agreed that they would be glad to receive agenda together with the pertinent documents on questions which were to be brought up at each of their meetings in order that they might study these questions before hand. The Commissioners realized that this procedure would only be possible when the action was not urgently required in any particular case.

It was decided that the Secretariat should be advised of this wish.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/2

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, February 1, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Lansing stated that Major James Brown Scott had been definitely assigned to be the second member with Mr. White on the Committee for the study of Waterways, Ports, Railways, etc., and that Mr. Miller was to serve on the Committee to determine the responsibility for the war. Mr. White inquired whether these two appointments had been notified to the French Foreign Office, and Mr. Herter was delegated to ascertain whether this had been done, and if not, to see that the notification was effected as soon as possible.

2. Mr. Lansing summed up briefly the questions which had been discussed at the Quai d'Orsay, indicating that only the testimony of Roumania and Serbia had been heard with regard to their conflicting claims in the Banat of Temesvar. Mr. Lansing stated he believed that all territorial questions of this nature as well as those affecting other

⁷ For papers relating to the proposed conference at Princes Island (Prinkipo) which are not printed in the Peace Conference volumes, see *Foreign Relations*, 1919, Russia, pp. 1 ff.

⁸ Arthur Ransome, correspondent of the London *Daily News*.

Balkan States and the Near East could only be considered as a whole and not as separate issues between individual States. Mr. White concurred in this opinion.

3. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 15 of January 31st regarding Mr. Ray Stannard Baker's suggestion that his assistant, Mr. Sweetser, have his salary raised to \$500 per month.

It was decided that the increase in Mr. Sweetser's salary should not be granted, but that the Commissioners would receive further evidence in the premises if Mr. Baker had any to present.

4. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 16 inquiring whether the Commissioners approved that the official visiting cards of persons attached to the Commission be paid for by the Department of State.

It was decided that this item should be paid for by each individual ordering cards from the Ceremonial office.

5. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 17 inquiring whether the Commissioners approved a suggestion made by Dr. Bowman that an offer by the American Geographical Society to provide \$1000 for the purchase of maps for the present use of the Commission and for the later use of the Society should be accepted.

It was decided that Dr. Bowman's suggestion be followed and the offer of the American Geographical Society accepted.

6. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 18 recommending that in view of the feeling that the Brazilian Delegates now in Paris had not had as free access to our Commission as they wished, Dr. Pessoa,^{8a} another Delegate from Brazil who will shortly arrive in Paris should be received by one of the American Commissioners.

It was decided that both Mr. Lansing and Mr. White would be glad to receive Dr. Pessoa and that a telegram to the Department of State be drafted, informing the Department of the decision of the Commissioners, and requesting that this information be brought to the attention of Mr. Da Gama.⁹

Colonel House entered the meeting.

Colonel House stated that he had consulted with Lord Robert Cecil and others in regard to the suggestion made at yesterday's meeting of the Commissioners by Mr. Lansing that the general principles for the League of Nations be settled upon before the President returns to the United States, and the details of the constitution be worked out later. Colonel House was very skeptical of the success of such a motion because the matter had now gone too far. Colonel House stated that a Drafting Committee consisting of Mr. Hurst for the British Delegation, and Mr. Miller for the American Delegation had been appointed, to which the proposed constitution for a League of Nations had been referred.

^{8a} Epitacio da Silva Pessoa.

⁹ Brazilian Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Mr. Lansing stated that he knew Mr. Hurst very well, having been associated with him several years ago on an international commission . . .

7. Colonel House stated that he had ascertained that Dr. Barton formerly of the Armenian and Syrian Relief Committee was at present in Rome. Mr. Lansing gave to Mr. Herter a letter which he had addressed to the President and which had been approved by the President, suggesting that Dr. Barton serve with Mr. Frederick C. Howe on a commission to Turkey. Colonel House requested Mr. Herter to have a telegram drafted for Dr. Barton in Rome, asking him whether he would serve with Mr. Howe on a commission of two to visit Syria and Asia Minor and report his findings to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. Dr. Barton could be informed that it would not be necessary for him to return to Paris before undertaking this mission inasmuch as instructions could be sent by Mr. Howe.

8. Mr. Lansing felt that matters in the Jugo-Slav territory were going from bad to worse, and that it was necessary for us to take some definite action. He read a draft of a possible Declaration which had been prepared by Mr. Dulles, of which the following is a text:

“On May 29th the Government of the United States expressed its sympathy for the nationalistic aspirations of the Jugo-Slav races,¹⁰ and on June 28th declared that all branches of the Slav race should be completely freed from German and Austrian rule.¹¹ After having achieved their freedom from foreign oppression, the Jugo-Slavs formerly under Austro-Hungarian rule on various occasions expressed the desire to unite with the Kingdom of Serbia. The Serbian Government, on its part, has published and officially accepted the Union of the Serb, Croat and Slovene peoples. The Government of the United States therefore welcomes the Union while recognizing that the final settlement of territorial frontiers must be left to the Peace Conference for determination according to the desires of the peoples concerned.”

The text quoted above was approved and it was decided that it should be sent to the President for final approval.

9. Mr. Lansing stated that he had this morning received from the Secretariat a list of the personnel at present attached to the Peace Commission. He had been appalled by the number of persons attached, and very much feared that if the facts were brought before Congress an immediate investigation would ensue. He felt therefore that immediate action was necessary in order to cut down to the

¹⁰ See telegram No. 1363, May 29, 1918, from the Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Italy, *Foreign Relations*, 1918, supp. 1, vol. 1, p. 808.

¹¹ See circular telegram of June 28, 1918, from the Secretary of State to certain diplomatic and consular officers, *ibid.*, p. 816.

lowest limit. The figures were read for each of the various branches and departments of the Commission and it was decided that in most of the cases, particularly those of Colonel House, General Churchill, Colonel Van Deman, the Telephone Department and the Communications Department a great reduction should be made. In the case of General Churchill's and Colonel Van Deman's Departments all the Commissioners expressed great astonishment at the number of personnel involved, particularly as they were not aware of what these officers did, nor had read any of the documents prepared by them. The Commissioners all believe that these two Bureaus could probably be disposed [*dispensed?*] with. Mr. Lansing thought that one way of solving the problem was to have the Executive Officer of the Commission placed immediately under the Executive Secretary, and that the many separate Boards such as the Supreme War Council, the Shipping Board, Mr. Hoover's organization etc., should be kept separate and separately accounted for from the Peace Commission.

Colonel House suggested that Mr. White be put at the head of a Committee, which would contain besides himself, Mr. Patchin and Mr. McNeir. Mr. White suggested that if such a Committee were formed General Bliss should also be appointed upon it. This Committee was approved.

Mr. Lansing believed that in order to perfect the organization of the Commission the regular correspondence bureau should be increased, even though at the expense of many of the technical bureaus. This opinion was shared by the other Commissioners.

It was decided that a Committee consisting of Mr. White, General Bliss, Mr. Patchin and Mr. McNeir should immediately investigate every bureau and department of the Commission and reduce its personnel to the very minimum compatible with efficiency and good service.

10. Mr. Herter read the following report submitted by Mr. Buckler in regard to a conversation which he had had with a member of the British Commission in accordance with the wishes of the Commissioners as stated in their meeting of January 31, 1919.

"According to the wish expressed by the Commission yesterday, I went with Mr. Bullitt to see Mr. Philip Kerr, private secretary to Mr. Lloyd George. I gave him an outline of the information gained from Litvinoff. We learned from Kerr:

(1) that the British are extremely anxious to evacuate their troops from Archangel as soon as possible. They intend to bring them out anyhow on May 1st;

(2) that they are prepared to meet at Prinkipo, or anywhere else, the Soviet Government's representatives, even if no other Russian representatives should accept the recent Peace Conference invitation;

(3) that in view of Ransome's well-known Bolshevnik sympathies the British would not care to bring him to Paris, and if the Prinkipo

conference takes place, his coming here would serve no useful purpose; (4) that the British think one main object of the proposed Prinkipo meeting should be to stop Russian civil war, and to induce the various Russian governments to send delegates for this purpose to an All-Russia convention.

I could not tell Kerr whether the Soviet Government would agree to such a proposal, but said I believed that they might do so, provided it did not involve the abolition of their Soviet constitution, which to them was an almost sacred possession.[¹¹]

Colonel House observed that Mr. Bullitt had yesterday prepared a memorandum for the President in regard to the practicability of withdrawing all American troops at Archangel as soon as possible. All the Commissioners agreed that in view of the additional facts presented it would be most advisable for these troops to be withdrawn to Murmansk or some other point in the shortest possible time.¹²

11. A suggested draft of a telegram was read from Mr. Buckler to the American Minister at Stockholm, requesting the latter to convey discreetly to Mr. Ransome Mr. Buckler's belief that his coming to Paris would serve no purpose and might prove embarrassing. This telegram was approved by all the Commissioners.

12. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 19, recommending that the incident referred to in Memorandum No. 1 of January 29th be allowed to drop on the basis of the Commission's telegram to Professor Coolidge, and that no steps be taken to bring Colonel Miles' action to the attention of the associated governments unless some complaint were lodged.

The recommendation of Memorandum No. 19 was approved.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/3

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, February 3, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Lansing asked General Bliss' opinion at [*off?*] the advisability of requesting Mr. Polk to issue passports to the wives of such officers attached to the Commission as the Secretary of War deemed it proper to come to Paris at the present time. The cases of General Kernan

¹¹ For papers relating to the situation in Northern Russia which are not printed in the Peace Conference volumes, see *Foreign Relations*, 1919, Russia, pp. 604 ff.

and Major Scott as well as that of Admiral Benson was discussed. General Bliss expressed the opinion that inasmuch as a ruling had previously been made that the wives of officers in the A. E. F. in France should not be allowed to come, it would be inadvisable to make an exception in the case of those officers who were attached to the Commission because such action would mitigate unfairly against the other officers who are now in France, and whose work was just as hard and perhaps as important as those who are attached to the Commission.

Memorandum No. 8 dealing with this question was read and it was suggested that perhaps General Bliss' objections could be overcome by allowing those officers attached to the Commission who wish to have their wives join them in Paris to resign from the army and to remain attached to the Commission with the status of volunteer civilians. This particular course of action was approved by Mr. Lansing in the case of Major Scott because of the unusual circumstances attending this case, but General Bliss believed that a general ruling in this sense would be inadvisable as it would give an unfair advantage to those officers who had independent means, and who would be able to resign their commissions without suffering any material financial loss.

It was decided that this whole question should not be settled at this moment but that it should be taken under advisement by each of the Commissioners.

2. Memorandum No. 20 regarding Mr. Whitlock's¹³ request for a reconsideration of the decision that a military base of supplies should be established at Rotterdam rather than at Antwerp was read. Mr. Lansing was unable to see that there was any political question involved, and that this was a military matter pure and simple. Mr. White pointed out that there is considerable jealousy between Holland and Belgium, and that undoubtedly either of the two countries would feel slighted if the other had the American military base of supplies established within its territories. He added that in Holland there was a feeling that Belgium was being too much petted by America and that if the proposed change were made this feeling would increase. Mr. Lansing stated that in his opinion, if it were a question of favoring either Belgium or Holland in this particular instance, he would prefer to favor Holland.

General Bliss explained that the base of supplies was to be established at Rotterdam for the purpose of feeding the American Army of Occupation in Germany, that Rotterdam had been chosen not from any political motives but purely out of expediency.

¹³ Brand Whitlock, Minister to Belgium.

It was decided that inasmuch as this matter was entirely one of expediency, no change in the present plans of the American military authorities should be made, and that Mr. Whitlock should be informed that the political considerations in the premises were not of sufficient importance to justify a change of policy.

4. Mr. White stated that he had been asked to call this morning on the French Minister of Commerce, and that he supposed that the question which the latter wished to raise was that of the Chairmanship of the Committee to study the nationalization of Ports, Waterways and Railways. Mr. White believed it possible that the Minister of Commerce would wish to designate him as Chairman of this Committee, and asked the opinion of the other Commissioners on this matter. He was prepared, he stated, to do just as they thought best, but believed that inasmuch as the United States had already been given the Chairmanship of several other Committees, it might be advisable to refuse the offer in this case if it were presented.

Mr. Lansing observed that he had just been made Chairman on the Committee for the responsibility of the war. General Bliss believed that representatives of the United States were chosen to be the Chairmen of the various committees because of the impartial attitude which the United States was able to maintain in most of the questions dealt with. Mr. White asked whether the Commissioners would approve of the nomination of Mr. Coromilas for the Chairmanship of the Committee on Ports, Waterways and Railways. Mr. Lansing and General Bliss were afraid that such a nomination might not be acceptable inasmuch as Greece had particular interest in the questions which would be discussed. They both urged Mr. White not to refuse the nomination if it were tendered to him.

It was decided that Mr. White should accept the Chairmanship of the Committee to study the nationalization of Ports, Waterways and Railways if it were tendered to him.

Mr. White observed that he had this morning discovered that Mr. Miller had been assigned to his Committee as the second representative of the United States in the place of Major Scott. Mr. Lansing explained that this change had been made because Mr. Miller had been studying the question of the League of Nations, and that the nationalization of Ports, Waterways and Railways was closely connected with his other work.

5. There was a brief discussion of the findings of the Committee appointed at Saturday's meeting to investigate the large personnel of the Peace Commission. General Bliss expressed the opinion that the large number of military personnel attached to the Commission should properly be detached, and if necessary, continue its activities under the supervision of the War Department. Mr. Lansing observed that the

whole question of military intelligence did not interest him in the least.

Mr. Lansing was called to a meeting at the Quai d'Orsay.

6. Memorandum No. 22 recommending that Mr. Leon Dominian be attached to the Commission for work on Turkish affairs was read. General Bliss requested that this matter be left for later consideration by all the Commissioners. He observed that as soon as the Committee on the investigation of the Commission personnel had completed its work it would be better able to judge the merits of requests for further assistance.

7. Memorandum No. 23 was read and it was decided that Mr. Caldwell the American Minister to Persia would be received by Mr. White as soon as an appointment could be arranged.

8. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 24 inquiring whether certain privileges could be extended to Major Fling and Lieut. Yewdale who were engaged on behalf of the War Department in writing a history of the war. The Commissioners present agreed that these two officers should receive every facility from the personnel of the Commission in collecting information, but that they should not be allowed to occupy a room in the hotel or use the transportation facilities of the Commission, nor have access to the plenary sessions of the Conference unless they were admitted to the Press Section and unless their attendance at such sessions did not preclude any one else from attending. The Commissioners present however, requested that this matter be brought up again at a full meeting of the Commissioners for final decision.

9. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 25 regarding the expense of a mission undertaken on behalf of General Churchill by Captain James Bruce and Mr. Ronald Tree.

The Commissioners decided to decline to pay the expense of Captain Bruce and his party.

10. Memorandum No. 27 was read inquiring whether the Commission should entitle Mr. Baruch, Mr. McCormick and Mr. Davis to obtain supplies at the Commission's expense. It was decided that unless other appropriations were available to care for the expense of the supplies of these three gentlemen they should be borne by the Commission.

11. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 28 inquiring whether the Commissioners would approve the expenditure of 40 francs a day as subsistence allowance to the officers of the Military Section of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace.

It was decided that the officers of the Military Section of the American Peace Commission should not receive the subsistence allowance of 40 francs a day.

12. Mr. Herter read Information Memorandum No. 29 containing report by Mr. Hugh Gibson, who had just returned from the Hague,

regarding the activities of Lieut. Voska and Mr. Creel's¹⁴ utterances in Bohemia, Austria and Hungary. The Commissioners took note of the information contained in the memorandum in question, and expressed the desire to see Mr. Gibson as well as Major Schelling at their meeting tomorrow. In the meanwhile, no action was to be taken in regard to Lieut. Voska.

13. Memorandum No. 4 of January 29, 1919 was read, regarding the assignment of Mr. Joseph B. Umpleby to the Commission on behalf of the United States Geological Survey.

Mr. Umpleby's assignment was approved, but General Bliss requested that for personal reasons which he explained to Mr. White, he desired that in notifying the Geological Survey of Mr. Umpleby's assignment, it should be clearly stated that until further advice no additional personnel from the Geological Survey would be required by the Commission.

14. Mr. Herter again brought up Memorandum No. 10 in regard to the assignment of Lieut. Jefferson to assist Mr. Stratton, assistant to the cartographer, and again the Commissioners requested that this question be postponed until the investigation of the Committee upon which Mr. White and General Bliss were both serving, had been completed.

15. Memorandum No. 30 was read. The Commissioners present agreed that the members of the Commission, other than the Commissioners, should not be allowed to charge the expense of official guests to the Commission, but felt that this question should be again brought up in the presence of all the Commissioners.

16. Information Memorandum No. 31 was read and Mr. White made a note of the opinions of the various factions in Russia in regard to the Prinkipo conference in order to convey this information to the Press at this morning's meeting.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/4

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, February 4, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

MR. HERTER

1. The information contained in a note regarding Mr. Baruch, Mr. McCormick and Mr. Davis receiving the minutes of the secret meetings

¹⁴ George Creel, Chairman of the Committee on Public Information.

at the Quai d'Orsay was discussed. Mr. Lansing stated that he could not understand what Mr. Baruch meant. Both Mr. White and Mr. Lansing referred to their decision made a few days ago that Mr. Baruch, Mr. McCormick and Mr. Davis should not have all the minutes of the secret meetings at the Quai d'Orsay but should certainly receive all those in which they could possibly have any interest. It was observed that there would most likely be considerable complications if Mr. Baruch went to the French for their secret minutes.

2. Memorandum No. 31 was read. It was decided that Mr. Grew should pass finally upon the question of Colonel Williams requesting to be allowed to resign from the army. However, both Mr. White and Mr. Lansing felt that if it would in any way facilitate Colonel Williams' work here to be acting in the capacity of a civilian, he should certainly be allowed to resign. General Bliss, who had been consulted earlier in the day regarding this matter, was quite convinced that his application for resignation should be approved.

3. Memorandum No. 32 was read. It was decided that none of the officers or men of the President's staff should be paid the allowance of 40 francs per day to which persons attached to the Commission are entitled.

4. Memorandum No. 26 of February 2nd was again brought up and the Commissioners present agreed that Dr. Lord's proposal was of such importance that a letter should be drafted to the President asking his opinion in the matter. They observed however, that in drafting this letter it be stated that the proposal came from Dr. Lord and that no opinion should be expressed as to the attitude of the Commissioners in the premises.

5. Memorandum No. 30 of February 2nd was re-read and the Commissioners decided that the expense for meals furnished to official guests at the hotel should not be borne by the Commission except in the case of those guests who are invited by the Commissioners themselves or by Dr. Mezes or Mr. Bowman.

6. Memorandum No. 33 was read. The Commissioners present agreed that it would be advisable for Mr. Southard¹⁵ to make the proposed investigation in Abyssinia, and that a telegram be dispatched to the Department of State that authorization for the trip be telegraphed to Aden. It was also agreed that Mr. Southard's mission should not be extended to Arabia provided a separate commission were being sent to that country.

7. Information Memorandum No. 1 of February 3, 1919 was read and the Commissioners expressed the opinion that inasmuch as they were not familiar with the details of the situation in China they would

¹⁵ Addison Southard, Consul; Mr. Southard had been on a mission in Abyssinia in 1917.

very gladly accept the opinion of Mr. E. T. Williams in the premises. The Commissioners expressed complete confidence in Mr. Williams' judgement on all matters connected with China.

[8.] Information Memorandum No. 2 was read and the Commissioners agreed absolutely that something ought to be done if possible, to assist both Mr. Tredwell¹⁶ and Mr. Kalamatiano.¹⁷ They had no idea however, how either of these gentlemen could be helped. It was therefore requested that the memorandum be returned to the Secretariat to prepare a Supplementary memorandum embodying any suggestions that anybody had to make as to how to assist these two gentlemen. Dr. Lord was suggested as a possible source for suggestions. Mr. Lansing observed that Mr. Polk's suggestions had come a little bit too late and that some new way out must be found.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/5

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, February 5, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter read Memorandum prepared for Mr. Grew by Mr. Auchincloss stating that the President had requested Colonel House to advise the Commission that he had designated Professor Charles Seymour and Mr. M. A. Coolidge as the representatives of the United States on the Teschen Commission. Mr. Auchincloss requested Mr. Grew to notify the Commissioners of the above appointments in order that these gentlemen might be advised as soon as possible of their appointment.

Mr. Lansing stated that he understood that it was decided by the council of ten that only one representative from each of the Great Powers should be sent on the Teschen Commission. He requested that this matter be investigated at once. He further added that in his opinion it was a mistake for us to send our technical experts on foreign missions, particularly at a time when their services were greatly needed by the Commission. He therefore requested that no notification of the appointments in question be made until the question of the number of representatives had been settled and until he had had

¹⁶ Roger Tredwell, Consul at Tashkent, detained in Russia. See *Foreign Relations*, 1919, Russia, pp. 167 ff.

¹⁷ Xenophon Kalamatiano, American citizen, detained in Russia. See *ibid.*

a chance to speak to the President about the appointment of a much needed technical expert.

2. Memorandum No. 34 was read regarding a request received by the Secretary of War from the French military representative on the Supreme War Council for a listed statement of the military expenses of the United States since mobilization. Mr. White observed that this request had probably been made by the French government in order to draw a comparison between the war expenses of the associated governments. Mr. Lansing stated that inasmuch as a listed statement of the expenses of the United States in the premises would undoubtedly have to be furnished to Congress in the near future, there would be no objection to furnishing it to the French government.

It was decided that a telegram should be sent to the Department of State declaring that in the opinion of the Commissioners there is no objection to furnishing the information in question to the French government from the point of view of the State Department, but that this was a matter for the War Department to decide finally.

3. Memorandum No. 35 was read regarding the manner in which the declaration which had been agreed to by the Commission and the President in respect to the welcoming [of] the union of the Jugoslavs should be made.¹⁸ The recommendations of the Secretariat in this matter were approved, and Mr. Lansing requested that he be furnished with a copy of the proposed statement as well as drafts of the suggested telegrams to the State Department and the American Legation at Belgrade indicating what action it was proposed to pursue in the premises. Mr. Lansing added that he would try to see Mr. Balfour and Mr. Pichon this afternoon and inform them of the statement which he was about to make.

4. Memorandum No. 36 was read recommending that a telegram be sent to Professor Coolidge in Vienna expressing the Commission's appreciation of his work, and make [*making?*] two specific inquiries on which information was desired. It was decided that the draft telegram attached to Memorandum No. 36 should be dispatched to Professor Coolidge.

In discussing the above memorandum Mr. Lansing observed that he had received certain information in regard to the activities of Mr. Creel in the former territories of Austria-Hungary which had been rather disquieting. Mr. White stated that he had received similar information. Mr. White inquired just what position Mr. Creel held while traveling through German Austria, to which Mr. Lansing replied that he did not know but would be very interested to learn.

5. Memorandum No. 37 was read recommending that Mr. Beer be authorized to inform Mr. King the Liberian delegate to the Peace

¹⁸ See meeting of February 1, minute 8, p. 8.

Conference that he (Mr. Beer) had been specifically designated by the Commission to examine any information that the Liberian delegates desired to lay before the American Commission. In the discussion on this memorandum Mr. Lansing observed that the question of Liberia's frontiers should not be allowed to come before the Peace Conference, but that the question of the German cable certainly deserved consideration. In regard to the frontiers of Liberia Mr. Lansing expressed the opinion that Liberia was having trouble enough governing the territory which it now possessed. It was decided that Mr. Beer should be authorized in the sense of the recommendation contained in Memorandum No. 37.

7. Information Memorandum No. 3 was read regarding the indirect report which had been received that Mr. Hoover would be glad to be connected with the Commission on Ports, Waterways and Railways. Mr. Lansing stated that he considered it advisable that Mr. White should discuss this matter with Mr. Hoover in order to ascertain exactly how Mr. Hoover desired to be associated with the Commission in question. Mr. White agreed to this suggestion and added that he would be glad to see Mr. Hoover at once.

Mr. Lansing observed that inasmuch as army officers had been chiefly concerned in matters connected with the waterways and ports of the United States it might be well to ascertain which particular officer of the A. E. F. now in France would be well qualified to serve as a technical advisor to the Commission on Ports, Waterways and Railways.

7 [*sic*]. Memorandum No. 39 was read regarding the suggestion of the British government to the American government that the question of suppressing the illegal trade in opium and other habit forming drugs should be presented to the Peace Conference for disposition. Mr. Lansing observed that in his opinion this matter did not come within the competence of the Peace Conference. He recommended, however, that a telegram be sent to the Department of State indicating that the United States was heartily in sympathy with the idea, but that the question as to whether it was a matter that could be handled in the Peace Treaty could not be determined until the question was actually brought up in Paris. Mr. Lansing felt that we should not commit ourselves further than this.

In discussing this memorandum Mr. Lansing commented on the uncompromising and unpleasant attitude which Japan has adopted

with regard to China. Mr. White agreed with that comment. Mr. Lansing then inquired whether Mr. White had any definite information regarding the reported secret arrangements between the French and the Japanese. Mr. White observed that he did not. Mr. Lansing then remarked that in his opinion we were not getting away very far from secret diplomacy.

8. Memorandum No. 40 was read regarding the payment of an allowance of 40 francs per diem for officers of General McKinstry's staff.¹⁹ Mr. Lansing and Mr. White agreed they would be unable to render a decision in this matter without first receiving additional information as to the exact amount of subsistence which officers on duty in Paris or in the field are granted by the army. Mr. Lansing observed that he understood that Mr. McNeir was of the opinion that the per diem allowance of officers attached to the Commission was very high, that it should be reduced to 20 francs per diem. It was decided that this matter should be reconsidered after further information had been put at the disposal of the Commissioners.

9. Memorandum No. 41 was read regarding the shortage of rooms in the Hotel de Crillon and the necessity for adopting rules which could be enforced throughout the organization. It was decided that the technical advisors should be allowed only three rooms each as recommended, and that the Secretary be instructed to ask the chief of each office and the head of each department to inquire carefully into their personnel with the object of stating in writing which members of their staff could be housed outside of the hotel without detriment to their work, and the order in which these men should leave this hotel, if their bedrooms are required for office space.

Information Memorandum No. 4 was read with regard to the intention of President Cabrera to send a Commission to Paris headed by Toledo-Harrarte²⁰ to represent Guatemala at the Conference. Mr. Lansing observed in regard to this matter that President Cabrera was undoubtedly the ablest politician in Central America and knew how to play the game beautifully.

Information Memorandum No. 5 was read regarding the points which the Siamese government would undoubtedly raise at the Peace Conference. Mr. Lansing observed that he agreed absolutely with the opinion of the American Chargé d'Affaires at Bangkok as to the attitude which the United States should maintain towards these points, but added that the British and French governments would undoubtedly take a different point of view inasmuch as they would accept territorial concessions in return for the modification of their extraterritorial

¹⁹ i. e., the War Damages Board.

²⁰ Luis Toledo-Herrarte.

privileges. He further observed that these matters had nothing to do with the Peace Treaty and that it looked as if everyone had the idea that the present Peace Conference was a panacea for all evils.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/6

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, February 6, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter brought to the attention of the Commissioners the decision which they had reached on February 4th,²¹ in regard to the present impossibility of rendering any assistance to Mr. Tredwell and Mr. Kalamatiano in Russia, and then read a memorandum prepared by Dr. Lord suggesting that the Bolsheviki be informed that

(a) The American Government demands the immediate restoration of Mr. Tredwell;

(b) That it insists upon its demand of Dec. 7th with regard to Mr. Kalamatiano;

(c) That its future attitude towards the Soviets, particularly in the conference to which an invitation has been issued, must be materially influenced by the reply made to the present demands. Failure to comply with them could only be taken by us as an indication that the Soviets were minded neither to maintain justice at home nor to respect the rules of international law, and we should have to act accordingly.

Mr. Lansing observed that Dr. Lord's suggestions were very good but that he did not see how they could possibly be conveyed to the Bolsheviki. The invitation to the Prinkipo conference had not been issued to the Bolsheviki alone, but to all factions in Russia, and the government of the United States had never had any official communications either directly or through a third power with the Bolsheviki. Mr. Lansing observed, however, that it might be possible for the American delegates to the Prinkipo conference to take up this question informally with the representatives of the Soviet government, but that until that moment nothing could be done.

It was decided that no action should be taken at the present time in the cases of Mr. Tredwell and Mr. Kalamatiano, but that this matter should be brought to the attention of the American delegates who might be sent to the proposed Prinkipo conference.

²¹ See minute 8, p. 16.

2. Memorandum No. 42 was read enclosing a draft of a telegram to the Department of State at Washington regarding the granting of passports to the representatives of the Department of Agriculture who desire to travel abroad, and who may desire to enter the Central Empires before the final conclusion of peace.

The draft of telegram attached to Memorandum No. 42 was approved.

3. Memorandum No. 43 was read, which again brought up the question of increasing Mr. Sweetser's salary as recommended in Memorandum No. 15 of January 31, 1919.²² There was also read a note from Mr. Ray Stannard Baker explaining in detail the necessity for increasing Mr. Sweetser's salary. Mr. Lansing observed that in view of the further explanations which had been furnished in this matter he would be glad to see Mr. Sweetser's salary raised to a figure amounting to the equivalent of an army Captain's salary plus the 40 francs a day subsistence allowance which was allowed to officers attached to the Commission. Mr. Herter undertook to determine the exact figures involved.

It was decided that Mr. Sweetser's salary should be increased to the equivalent of a Captain's pay plus the equivalent of 40 francs per day.

4. Mr. Herter read Information Memorandum No. 6 as well as several extracts from the French press to indicate the attitude which that press was taking in regard to the President's speech in the Chamber of Deputies and the feelings of America generally.

Mr. Lansing and Mr. White while expressing their indignation at the comments of the French press felt that it would be inadvisable to attempt any counteracting influence at the present time, that it would be better merely to ignore the whole question.

5. Information Memorandum No. 7 was read indicating Mr. Horvath's point of view with regard to concluding an armistice with the Bolsheviks. Mr. Lansing stated that he agreed heartily with the opinion expressed that the Bolsheviks would undoubtedly violate the terms of any truce.

6. Memorandum No. 8 was read in regard to the views expressed in the *Nichi Nichi* on Japanese claims. Mr. Lansing observed that the attitude of the Japanese was extremely disquieting, particularly in its relation to China, and that he felt that this was the time for us to have it out once and for all with Japan. Mr. White added that the Japanese had undoubtedly viewed with great apprehension our tremendous war preparations during the present war and of course if it came to a direct issue between us Japan would be in a greatly inferior position because of her relatively inferior economic and financial strength. Mr. Lansing stated that this was absolutely true. He also stated that it was America's duty to support China.

²² See meeting of February 1, minute 3, p. 7.

7. Mr. Herter brought up again the question of Messrs. McCormick, Davis and Baruch receiving the [minutes of the] secret meetings of the conferences at the Quai d'Orsay, and stating that considerable ill feeling was being aroused at the fact of their not being allowed to receive these minutes. Mr. Lansing stated that the reason why the Commissioners had decided not to deliver a copy of these minutes to the gentlemen in question was not because of any mistrust or because of any desire that these gentlemen should not see them, but because it was considered inadvisable to distribute more copies than was absolutely necessary. He added however, that he had seen Mr. McCormick on this point last night. He proposed that a compromise should be reached by allowing Messrs. McCormick, Davis and Baruch to have one copy for their use, but that it should be specified that this copy should not leave the hotel and should be definitely charged to some responsible person in their office.

It was decided that one copy of the [minutes of the] secret meetings of the conference at the Quai d'Orsay should be distributed to one competent person in the office of either Mr. Davis, Mr. Baruch or Mr. McCormick and that this one copy should serve for the information of all three of these gentlemen.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/7

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, February 7, 1919*

1. Memorandum No. 44 was read and it was decided that no further action should be taken in regard to a decision previously arrived at, that American troops should not be sent to Montenegro. Mr. Lansing felt that there was further no necessity of sending American observers into Montenegro, and that he preferred that nothing further be done in this whole matter until a definite proposal came from either the Italian, Jugo-Slav or Montenegro governments, all of which have a direct interest in this question whereas we have only an indirect interest. Mr. Lansing also requested that Mr. Davis²³ in London be informed that we saw no reason at the present time to change the decision which we had previously made in the premises, as sufficient arguments had not been presented, but that beyond that we should not commit ourselves.

3. Memorandum No. 46 was read and the Commissioners stated that they did not consider it necessary to request General Kernan

²³ John W. Davis, Ambassador to Great Britain.

and Mr. Lord to come to their meeting on Saturday Morning inasmuch as both Mr. Lansing and Colonel House will see each of these gentlemen separately before they go to Poland, and discuss the situation with them. Furthermore beyond the instructions which have already been issued to the whole Inter-Allied commission to Poland, the Commissioners had no special instructions to give to our delegates.

4. Memorandum No. 47 was read and Mr. Baruch's request for the immediate assignment to duty in his office of the following officers

Captain John B. Dempsey
1st Lt. Ernest C. Dempsey
1st Lt. Ernest Angell

was approved. It was requested that the A. E. F. be notified to assign these officers to the Commission.

5. Memorandum No. 48 was read and Dr. Mezes' recommendation that Major J. N. Merrill be assigned to the Commission for work in the Division of Western Asia was approved. Mr. Lansing stated that he would be glad to approve almost any recommendation for the assignment of useful individuals to the Commission provided such assignment involved no added expense as in the case in point.

6. Information Memorandum No. 9 was read; some of the conclusions drawn in the last paragraph were not wholly approved of by the Commissioners. Both Mr. White and Mr. Lansing felt that there were others besides the missionaries who knew Siam as well as anyone, and were not in favor of the relinquishing of extraterritorial jurisdiction. They further felt that as we were in no position to ask for any *quid pro quo*, and likewise did not approve of the principle of bargaining in a matter of this nature, we should judge the question of relinquishing extraterritorial jurisdiction in Siam from a purely objective point of view, and that studying it in this light it was very doubtful whether it would be advisable for us to renounce this privilege.

7. Memorandum No. 49 was read. The telegrams attached to this memorandum was [*were*] approved. The Commissioners felt, however, that a paragraph should be added to the telegram to the Department of State suggesting that the substance of the President's second letter be conveyed to the Legation of the Netherlands in Washington which is in charge of the interests of Luxembourg in the United States. They believed, however, that the wording of the President's letter should be so paraphrased as to give the impression that the delay which had occurred in the consideration of the affairs of Luxembourg had been due to the fact that the associated governments felt that this matter should be studied by them together in connection with the Peace Conference, and that they could only take joint action in the premises. At the same time such a message could be but-

tered up by a general expression of our kindly and sympathetic feeling toward the people of Luxembourg.

8. Memorandum No. 50 was read. The Commissioners thought very strongly that General McKinstry's entire mission was a great waste of time and expense inasmuch as at best the indemnity which Germany could pay could not possibly satisfy all the demands of all of the associated governments. The Commissioners felt that our only interest in the indemnity which Germany was to pay was in the lump sum, and that the question of dividing this sum between the associated governments was one in which we had no interest. They therefore requested that a letter be drafted to the President placing this matter before him in the light of their objections, and inquiring whether he desired that General McKinstry continue with his investigations.

In the meanwhile the Commissioners were willing to abide by their decision of January 28, 1919, but wished it clearly understood that if 40 francs per day was to be allowed to the officers of General McKinstry's staff a deduction should be made for the subsistence paid by the army to its officers either in Paris or in the Field. This amounts according to Mr. McNeir's memorandum to the equivalent of \$39.80 for a 2nd Lieutenant up to \$121.20 for a Colonel.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/8

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, February 10, 1919*

1. General Bliss asked Mr. Lansing what conclusions had been reached by the Committee consisting of the latter, Lord Milner and Mr. Tardieu, regarding the question of German disarmament. Mr. Lansing replied that no definite conclusion had been reached, and that the matter would be brought up for reconsideration. He added that Lord Milner and he felt that the Committee had practically reached a conclusion, but that later Mr. Tardieu expressed the opinion that quite a different decision had been arrived at. Both Mr. Lansing and Mr. Tardieu were in favor of cutting out of the proposed schedule of arms, ammunition etc., which were to be required from the Germans, everything except heavy guns, field guns and machine guns. Even in the case of these guns, it was felt that the number proposed should be reduced to about one half.

Mr. Tardieu proposed that the number of guns which the Germans should be required to cede should be figured out on the basis of the normal armament of 25 Infantry Divisions and 5 Cavalry Divisions, and that the Germans should be allowed to retain only that number, turning over to the associated governments all the rest. He added that this should be considered the immediate minimum

which Germany should be allowed to hold, but that later a final minimum should be decided upon. Mr. Lansing was unable to see how this scheme was feasible, and said that he could not consent to two separate minima being decided upon. In spite of Mr. Lansing's and Lord Milner's objections, however, Mr. Tardieu reported the conclusions of this Committee to his colleagues as having been in accord with the original French proposal.

Mr. Lansing believed that if this matter were to be taken up again by the Supreme War Council, a proposal should be made that Germany should be asked immediately the total number of guns and ammunition which she now had in her possession. General Bliss agreed that this might be advisable, but felt that it would be even better to send a mission into Germany to determine the exact number. Mr. Lansing then stated that he thought Lord Milner was of the opinion that if Allied experts were sent to Essen and Spandau to investigate the war industries at those two centers it would be a sufficient precaution. General Bliss agreed with this. He added, however, that the whole question of requisitioning material from Germany was one of the most important matters of policy which had come up for consideration. He felt that although Germany might be in position to deliver much of the material which she now possessed, public opinion in Germany would be so strongly opposed to such a move that a new revolution might break out and the present comparatively orderly government be overthrown. He further felt that if President Wilson made it perfectly clear that if the terms of the armistice were broken he would take absolutely no steps to interfere, the whole situation might be cleared up.

2. Mr. White asked Mr. Lansing just what the trouble had been between M. Clemenceau and Marshal Foch at the last meeting of the Peace Congress. Mr. Lansing explained that the trouble had arisen because Clemenceau had accused Foch of making too great concessions to the Germans at the Armistice Commission in regard to the matter of mails. Marshal Foch became very much excited over M. Clemenceau's attitude and protested violently at the criticism directed against him. He finally jumped to his feet and together with his Chief of Staff left the meeting in great anger. While he was leaving the room M. Clemenceau paid absolutely no attention to him and as soon as the door was shut on his back continued the business of the day as if nothing had happened. It was reported that Marshal Foch had waited for many hours in the anteroom expecting to be summoned back to the meeting, but that he waited in vain.

Mr. Lansing felt that this incident has possibly assisted greatly in enabling the American delegates to put through their proposal for a Supreme Economic Council to control all matters in connec-

tion with the Blockade of the Central Empires. He was sure that Marshal Foch would never have approved of this scheme.

General Bliss said that it was his understanding that this Supreme Economic Council would not be in a position to take direct action, but merely to make recommendations. Mr. Lansing observed that General Bliss' understanding in this matter was correct. General Bliss then added that he was convinced that if the associated governments relaxed the Blockade in respect to certain essentials it would be very much easier to obtain from the German government the fulfilment of certain conditions of the armistice. Mr. Lansing agreed with General Bliss and stated that he had considered and was still considering submitting a proposal in this sense to the Bureau of Ten.

3. Memorandum No. 52 was read regarding the bill which Dr. Herron had submitted for his expense while in Paris. The Commissioners agreed that this bill was extremely high but that the compromise, namely, for 1620 francs was not exorbitant and should therefore be paid by the Commission.

In connection with Dr. Herron's bill the telegram dated February 8th from the State Department was read, quoting an article from the *New York Sun* about Prof. Herron. This caused considerable amusement but the Commissioners felt that it was of sufficient importance to be brought to the attention of the President immediately. It was expressed, however, that in bringing the matter to the attention of the President no mention should be made of the fact that it had been presented to the Commissioners, but that the letter of transmission should be marked "Important".

4. The memorandum from Mr. Ray Stannard Baker dated February 7, 1919, was read in regard to the action of the French government in not giving the American press equal terms with the French press in the matter of the message from the Russian government to the Allied powers. The Commissioners felt much the same way as Mr. Baker did regarding this, but did not see how they could take the question up with the French government.

5. The memorandum from Captain Tyler for General Churchill was read, regarding the assignment of Lieut. Ludwell B. Alexander to the Peace Commission. The Commissioners felt that in view of Lieut. Alexander's evident fitness for service with Prof. Coolidge, and the latter's demand for more men, it would be highly advisable to have him assigned to the Commission at once.

6. Memorandum No. 53 was read regarding Mr. Baruch's request for eight or ten men as well as an allowance of \$150,000. for the purpose of creating and maintaining such an organization as he considered necessary. The Commissioners were under the impression that an additional allotment had already been requested from the President's fund for the Peace Commission, and that it was therefore now too late to

include Mr. Baruch's request. They requested, however, that this matter be straightened out through Mr. McNeir. At the same time the Commissioners did not feel disposed to grant Mr. Baruch's request except in the matter of personnel which had already been approved by the President, and that they much preferred that he take up the question of an allowance of \$150,000. with the President direct. They were not disposed to endorse this request for this sum.

[7.] The question of Mr. Leon Dominian's assignment to the Peace Commission was brought up and the Commissioners were not quite clear as to the reasons for desiring the assignment of Mr. Dominian to the Commission inasmuch as it was their understanding that Mr. Barton and Mr. Howe were already on the point of starting on a mission to Syria. They did not know that any other mission was contemplated, and requested further information in the premises before taking any final action.

8. Memorandum No. 54 was read and the Commissioners agreed that it would not be well for the United States to interfere in the struggle between two Montenegrin factions, and that therefore we had better take no action in regard to the protests of the Royalist party in respect to the actions of Serbian agents in Montenegro.

9. Memorandum No. 55 was read and the Commissioners took note of the reference by the French government to the Treaty of London of April 26, 1915.²⁴ They agreed that no action should be taken with regard to this matter and noted with great interest the reply of the French government to the Serbian request.

10. Memorandum No. 56 regarding Count Sigray's²⁵ desire to present his case to the Peace Commissioners in Paris was read and the Commissioners agreed that it would be impossible to make an exception in his case, stating that if he were permitted to come to Paris representatives of German-Austria and Germany would likewise have to be permitted the same privilege. They agreed that a reply in this sense could be diplomatically conveyed to Count Sigray through Mr. Hugh Wilson.

[11.] Mr. Herter asked the Commissioners' opinion as to the advisability of having a Diplomatic Secretary sent to Prinkipo together with the two American Commissioners who have already been designated, recommending that if this was approved in principle Mr. Livingston Phelps would be a most appropriate man to send. The Commissioners agreed that it would be highly advisable to have Mr. Phelps go to Prinkipo with Dr. Herron and Mr. White,²⁶ and requested that a

²⁴ Great Britain, Cmd. 671, Misc. No. 7 (1920) : *Agreement Between France, Russia, Great Britain and Italy, Signed at London, April 26, 1915.*

²⁵ Count Sigray had proposed to come to Paris as a representative of the Karolyi government of Hungary.

²⁶ George D. Herron and William Allen White, selected to represent the United States at the Prinkipo Conference.

telegram be drafted to the Department of State recommending Mr. Phelps' temporary assignment to this duty.

12. Mr. Herter again brought up the matter of payment for the visiting cards of the personnel of the Commission. General Bliss stated that he had already been asked to pay for his and had complied. He felt, and the Commissioners agreed, that this was a very doubtful expense for the Commission to approve. However, if this matter is causing considerable protests, they are willing to reconsider their decision, but wish first to see a complete dossier of all the protests which have been made.

13. Information Memorandum No. 9 was read in regard to the decision which the Inter-Allied mission to Poland had reached in respect to the armistice between the Poles and the Ukrainians. The Commissioners were very interested in this matter, but were unable to figure out why Marshal Foch was unable to interfere with General Berthelemy²⁷ as he had very frequently interfered with him, and was in a position to issue any order to him which he saw fit. They believed that there must be some answer to this riddle and asked whether anyone felt competent to answer it. If so, they will be glad to have the answer. The Commissioners commented on the tremendous amount of intrigue now being carried on in Paris and all stated that they wished that the Conference were meeting in Switzerland or elsewhere.

14. Information Memorandum No. 10 was read in regard to the final disposition of the Shantung Railway. The Commissioners noted the contents of this memorandum with interest, but expressed no opinion with regard to the solution which Minister Reinsch²⁸ advocates.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/9

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, February 11, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. McCORMICK
MR. BARUCH
MR. DAVIS
MR. STRAUSS
MR. DULLES

²⁷ Chief of the Franco-British mission to Poland and Galicia.

²⁸ Paul S. Reinsch, Minister to China.

1. Mr. McCormick stated that on behalf of his colleagues that the American delegates on the Commission of Reparations were very anxious to learn the opinion of the Commissioners in regard to certain broad general principles. Briefs had been submitted to this Committee by each of the Delegations, and it was found that very important differences existed between them. Mr. McCormick wished to know whether the President's 14 points should be adhered to by the American delegation or whether in the computation of the sums which Germany should be required to pay, the entire cost of the war was to be considered. He wished to know how far the American delegates should fight for the American point of view.

Mr. Lansing felt that there were only three classes of claims; one, direct damage to personal property; two, indirect damage, and three, the cost of maintaining military establishments. To point one might be added the removal of the people from Belgium and France.

Mr. Dulles stated that it would of course be impossible for the American delegation to give a broad interpretation to the President's 14 points. He added that at the last meeting of the Commissioners, however, Mr. Hughes, the first delegate for the British Empire had said that he did not see that the President's 14 points entered into this matter at all.

General Bliss expressed a wish that the whole question of the amount which Germany was to pay should be settled once and for all in this small Commission. He felt that it was very important for the United States to learn whether, as a new principle, it could be admitted that the victorious side could charge all the expense of maintaining its military organization to the vanquished. He further felt that if this matter could not be settled at once by the small Commission it should be referred to either a Plenary Council or to the Bureau of Ten. Mr. McCormick observed that except for ourselves, all the other nations felt that the cost of the war should be included in the sum which Germany would be required to pay.

Mr. Dulles stated that the question of reparations was a new question and that the exact definition and formulation of this word was absolutely necessary at the present time. General Bliss observed that in his opinion reparations and indemnities were two separate things, but Mr. McCormick added that all the other nations believed that under the head of reparations, the cost of the war could be included. Mr. Baruch also stated that according to Mr. Hughes, every form of payment came under the head of reparation.

Mr. McCormick observed that as yet no reliable estimate had been made as to the exact sum which Germany would be in a position to pay. He further said that England, as well as the other nations directly concerned were [*was*] trying to put the blame on President Wilson for reducing the claims of their respective countries.

General Bliss suggested that separate claims be studied by each of the nations for reparation and for indemnity. Mr. McCormick [asked] whether, if this were done, it would be necessary for the Committee on Reparations to make out two separate reports, one a majority report on which all could agree, in regard to reparations, and the second a minority report on which the United States would state its dissent regarding indemnities. Mr. Baruch observed that this was not possible because of the difference in interpretation of the word reparations and indemnities. Mr. Baruch went on to say that all the nations were now trying to put the United States in the wrong. He suggested that inasmuch as there would not be sufficient money coming from Germany to go all the way around, the American delegates merely present their arguments but make no fight, and let the other nations squabble between themselves as to the partition of the available funds.

Mr. McCormick felt that such a procedure might put the President in an uncomfortable position as it would mean that in the first test case the American delegates had backed down from one of the President's 14 points.

Mr. Dulles then inquired whether the funds now in the possession of the Alien Property Custodian should be applicable for the satisfaction of the claims which the United States has against Germany. He particularly wished the opinion of the Commissioners on this point. He added that if we should pool these funds with the rest of Germany's assets for the satisfaction of the claims of all the Allies it would make a difference in our attitude towards our own claims. If we actually made the transfer, we would then have a direct interest in the division of the spoils, whereas if we kept it as security for our own claims we could then act entirely on principle in regard to the settlement of other nations claims.

Mr. Strauss felt that it was very important that we should get the opinion of the British in regard to these matters. He stated that they had a scheme for securing the claims of their individual citizens. He also stated that our Treasury believed that the United States could not confiscate the private property of German citizens in the United States. He personally was not sure whether it would be good policy to do this or not. If we compelled Germany to settle with her own citizens in the United States in return for the losses which they had sustained by our taking over all their property this would amount to confiscation.

Mr. Davis inquired whether other countries should be allowed any claim on the German property which the United States holds. Mr. Strauss stated that Jeremiah Smith, a Boston Lawyer and a Judge-Advocate of the Army was studying this whole question and he pro-

posed that a diplomatic official should be assigned to study it with him. Mr. Dulles was suggested for this job.

Mr. Davis then inquired whether the American delegates could not definitely act on the basis that the American government was alone concerned with the disposition of German property taken over by the Alien Property Custodian. The Commissioners agreed that they could.

Mr. Strauss stated that he believed that we should not countenance the confiscation of German property in the United States but that we should certainly not part with it until the American claims were settled. Mr. Lansing agreed that such a procedure would soon induce Germany to agree to an equitable settlement.

Mr. Lansing asked if it would not be advisable to put up to the Supreme Council the whole question of the definition of the word reparation. This matter was discussed at some length and it was finally decided that it would be best to have the President define this point and that then the American delegates should act in accordance with his definition.

The question as to the attitude which the American delegates should adopt was then discussed. Mr. McCormick felt very strongly that we should fight out the whole question in accordance with the President's 14 points, but of course our fight would have to be qualified by any definition of the word reparation which we could decide upon. Mr. Lansing felt that as Germany had accepted the President's 14 points this might be the wisest procedure, but at the same time felt that we should not press our point of view too strongly for fear of incurring the animosity of the French and British people. He believed that we should first submit our claims, admit counter claims and let the different nations fight out the division among themselves. Mr. McCormick reiterated his belief that we should fight it out on the basis of the President's principles as this was the first real test in the practical application of the accepted armistice terms. Mr. Davis pointed out that the campaign which the other nations were carrying on with a view to influencing the United States was in reality making their own people believe that a much larger sum could be extorted from Germany than was in any way possible. He added that the sooner these nations changed their minds the better, as they would otherwise disappoint the expectations of their people and get into a bad mess. He explained that Mr. Hughes represented the point of view of the politicians in England who had been forced to dwell on the question of tremendous reparations as a campaign measure. He added that the Treasury officials of England felt much as we did in this matter.

The question of priority of payment was then discussed. It was agreed that this matter could only be settled after the lump sum which Germany would be able to pay had been determined. Both Mr. Davis and Mr. McCormick felt the tremendous importance of settling this matter at once. Mr. McCormick added that in his opinion the preliminaries of peace could be signed as soon as this figure had been determined.

In the discussions it developed that various nations had figured the sum which Germany would be in position to pay anywhere from 120 billion down to 5 billion.

Everyone present agreed that it would be impossible to force Germany to continue paying for a great number of years.

Mr. Baruch brought up the question of the guarantee which would be asked of Germany to force her to pay the sum finally determined upon.

There was some question as to whether it was the duty of the Commission on Reparations to determine this point or not, because no record could be found that the suggestion made by Mr. Klotz at the second Plenary Session of the Peace Conference had been approved.²⁹

Mr. Baruch recommended strongly that a report which he understood that the Alien Property Custodian was about to submit to Congress, should be held up until the question of reparations had been settled. He also recommended that either Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer³⁰ or Mr. Bradley Palmer should be asked to come to Paris to state their views in the premises.

The general decision arrived at in regard to the attitude which the United States should adopt in the matters above discussed, was the following: The American Delegates should submit their brief of claims to the Commission, stating the basis on which these claims had been worked out and stating the interpretation which the United States gives to the President's principles in regard to reparation. They should remain content with such a settlement for the time being and not press our views too hard on the other delegates.

It should be clearly stated that the disposition of the property held by the Alien Property Custodian is a purely domestic affair and one in which no other country has any direct concern.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/10

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, February 12, 1919*

1. The draft of telegram appended to Memorandum No. 57 was considered. The Commissioners felt that proposal No. 1 was a little

²⁹ See vol. III, p. 200.

³⁰ Alien Property Custodian.

difficult to understand and that it would perhaps be better for us not to commit ourselves on the question as to whether the Prinkipo invitation involves an evacuation by the Soviet troops of the Baltic provinces. In regard to point No. 2, the Commissioners felt that it was going a little too far to state that the meeting at Prinkipo was destined to provide for the settlement of just such problems as this. The Commissioners further objected to calling the meeting at Prinkipo a conference, feeling that too much dignity would be given this meeting by honoring it with the title of conference.

The suggestion that the Minister at Stockholm should be advised that we would be glad to have representatives from Latvia attend the meeting at Prinkipo was approved.

2. A memorandum regarding Mr. Burgos, a delegate from Panama to the Peace Conference was read, and it was agreed that Mr. White would see him as soon as possible.

3. Memorandum No. 59 was read with a recommendation that Major de Lancey Kountze be assigned to Mr. Dresel's Division. This was approved.

4. Memorandum No. 60 was read and Mr. Lansing requested that all the facts that are available in regard to the report that the French and British governments were sending dye experts into Germany be compiled in the form of a memorandum for him. The Commissioners felt that this was an extremely important matter, and that if the facts as reported were found to be true, a strong protest should be made by us. Mr. Lansing did not wish to decide, however, from whom this protest should emanate until he had all the facts in the premises before him.

5. Memorandum No. 61 was read. It was decided in regard to the question put up in this memorandum that Mr. Beer should be authorized to keep the Liberian delegation informed of such matters in connection with the German cable controversy as might be in his discretion communicated to them without prejudice to the interests involved or the further development of the negotiations.

6. Memorandum No. 62 was read and it was decided that it was important to set aside a time at which the Photographic Division of the Historical Branch of the General Staff could take a photograph of the five Commissioners with the heads of Departments and their assistants. It was requested, however, that the President be immediately gotten in touch with to ascertain what time would be the most convenient for him. This matter is considered very urgent as the President's stay in Paris is coming to an end.

7. Information Memorandum No. 11 was read and the Commissioners requested that some member of the Secretariat be instructed

¹ C. D. B. King, of the Liberian delegation.

to ascertain discreetly from Mr. King³¹ the truth about the report that Mr. Dunbar³² was a lawyer of the German South American Telegraph Company.

8. Information Memorandum No. 12 was read and the Commissioners noted with interest the statements contained in Mr. Page's telegram. Previous to the reading of this memorandum, however, Mr. Herter had read a telegram from The Embassy at Rome dated February 8th which gave an entirely different attitude in regard to the Franco-Italian relations. The Commissioners were much amused by the apparent discrepancy in the conclusions reached.

9. Information Memorandum No. 13 was read and Mr. Lansing observed that he had been told that this matter had been referred to Mr. McCormick, and that he preferred that no action should be taken upon it by the Commissioners until Mr. McCormick's opinion in the premises had been heard.

10. Information Memorandum No. 14 was read, and was listened to with great interest by the Commissioners. Their only comment was that Mr. Creel's statements was [*were*] typical and ridiculous and that it was absurd for Karolyi³³ to expect the United States to indicate what Hungarian Peace delegates would be acceptable.

11. Information Memorandum No. 15 was read and the Commissioners expressed surprise at the fact that there might be some agreements now in existence between Japan and China of which the President of China had no knowledge. They supposed that these must be agreements between the military authorities of the two countries and that they would not be binding upon China as a whole.

12. Information Memorandum No. 16 and Memorandum No. 63 was [*were*] read. The Commissioners felt very strongly that both Captain Voska and Lieut. Voska should be immediately required to report in Paris in regard to their activities. They suggested that a recommendation in this sense be made to the competent officer of the A. E. F. in order that these men may be immediately withdrawn from the territories of the former Austro-Hungarian state and ordered to Paris.

14 [*sic*]. Information Memorandum No. 17 was read [and] the Commissioners requested that Mr. Beer be instructed to ascertain whether there were any funds available from any source whatever, whereby the Liberian delegation could be assisted financially. Mr. Lansing felt that we had absolutely no obligation in this matter, but that it would be well to assist these gentlemen if possible. Mr. Lansing further asked for a report on the solvency of the Liberian government in case it were decided advisable to make them a small loan whereby they could finance their Peace delegation.

³¹ C. B. Dunbar, of the Liberian delegation.

³³ Count Michael Karolyi, President of the Hungarian Republic.

15. Information Memorandum No. 18 was read and Mr. White stated that he would be glad to append a written statement of the exact facts in the case for the future guidance of anyone who might be interested in this matter.

16. Information Memorandum No. 19 was read and Mr. Lansing requested that no action be taken in regard to Dr. Herron's request for advice until he (Mr. Lansing) had had an opportunity of speaking to the President about this matter. Mr. Lansing added that he had himself sent to the President a copy of the recent telegram received from the Department of State quoting an article from the *New York Sun* about Dr. Herron.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/11

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, February 13, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. A memorandum from Captain Tyler dated February 12, 1919, was read regarding the confusion about the missions to Turkey and Syria. The Commissioners regretted that there should have been a misunderstanding in this matter, and expressed a wish that Mr. Dominian be requested to come to the Peace Commission in Paris at once. They wished to reserve a decision, however, about making Mr. Dominian head of a Commission to Turkey until he had arrived here and the whole matter had been thoroughly thrashed out in the light of what Mr. Barton and Mr. Howe have in the interval been able to accomplish.

2. A memorandum from Captain Tyler regarding the assignment of Mr. Philip Marshall Brown to the Peace Commission for service with Prof. Coolidge in German-Austria or Hungary was discussed. The Commissioners approved Mr. Brown's assignment for this purpose.

3. The draft of a telegram which had been prepared in connection with Memorandum No. 64 regarding the opinion of the Commission with regard to the Prinkipo invitation and certain instructions that should be sent to the Consul-General at Omsk was approved.

4. Memorandum No. 65 was read, and the Commissioners opinion was asked in regard to the loan of \$100,000,000, which the Czecho-Slovak Minister of Foreign Affairs had requested. Mr. Dulles' views

regarding this loan were explained, and the Commissioners felt that it was not within their province to express any opinion, and that all matters dealing with loans requested by foreign governments should be sent to the Department of State for disposition. They did not approve the recommendation that this request be sent to the President, but wished that it be sent direct to the Department of State without comment.

5. The revised telegram regarding the Lettish-Prinkipo business was read and highly approved.

6. Memorandum No. 66 was read and discussed. The Commissioners got rather twisted up in regard to the fine distinction between the Inter-Allied Aviation Conference and the Inter-Allied Aviation Committee. They had absolutely no recollection of ever having considered this matter before, except in connection with the question of sending representatives to the Conference, in which case they had returned a negative decision, which they found had been superseded by the action of the State Department in appointing representatives. Paragraph 4 under heading No. 2 confused them the most as they could not remember ever having expressed any views in the premises and therefore requested that before going further in this matter they would be glad to have it cleared up.

7. A letter to General McKinstry was read and highly approved by the Commissioners.

8. Memorandum No. 67 was read in regard to the assignment of Captain Lester W. Perrin to the Austro-Hungarian Division of the Peace Commission.

The Commissioners observed that there was nothing in this memorandum to indicate Captain Perrin's qualifications for the position, and that before rendering any decision in the premises they would prefer to have some information in regard to his previous career and knowledge of Austro-Hungarian matters. They expressed the opinion that all recommendations for the attachment of new individuals to the Commission should be studied purely from the point of view of the qualifications of the individual and not from the point of view of the individual's previous friendship or association with a present member of the Commission.

9. Memorandum No. 68 was read, containing a recommendation that Captain William Yale be assigned to work with the Division of Western Asia for a period of six weeks, and that he be granted the official commutation during this period, beginning with the morning of February 11th. This was approved.

10. Memorandum No. 69 was read. The draft of the telegram embodying Mr. McCormick's views in regard to our submitting to the French government a listed statement of the military expense of the United States since mobilization was approved.

This decision of the Commissioners supersedes the decision which they rendered on February 5th in regard to the same matter.³⁴

11. Memorandum No. 70 was read. The question of the French Embassy in Berne refusing to visa the passports of American officials returning from the Central Empires without previous authorization from the French Foreign Office was discussed. The Commissioners felt very strongly that this was an absolutely unwarranted interference in the normal official duties of the American Peace Commission, and that a severe protest should be made. They believed that this protest should take the form of a letter to the American Embassy in Paris with a request that a copy be submitted to the Foreign Office. Mr. Lansing outlined approximately the statements which this letter should contain as follows:

We should first state the case very clearly, and mention the repeated efforts which we understand have been made to have the regulations changed. We should then emphasize the fact that the unnecessary delay entailed through this regulation is extremely serious and appears to be an unnecessary hampering of the official business of the American Peace Commission. We should then add that in view of the seriousness of the matter we cannot but presume that the refusal of the Foreign Office to make an exception in their regulation for American officials is due to the attitude of some under official, and could not possibly have received the consideration of Mr. Pichon or whoever the highest official of the Foreign Office is.

12. The draft of a telegram attached to Memorandum No. 71 regarding the attitude which we should assume towards the new states in the process of formation within the Central Empires as regarded matters of trade, passports, naturalization, mail censorship etc., was approved.

13. Memorandum No. 72 was read and it was decided that Mr. Gompers' request for two Cadillac limousines from the Commission's pool to be placed at his disposal to go to Brussels on Friday should be refused.

14. Memorandum No. 73 containing the application of Mr. Ray Stannard Baker for a temporary leave of absence was considered and approved. In this connection the Commissioners felt that Mr. Sweetser would be absolutely competent to carry on Mr. Baker's work, and in view of the responsibilities which would be imposed upon him, their previous decision in regard to his salary should not hold. At Mr. Lansing's suggestion, they approved of his receiving \$300 per month plus the equivalent of the subsistence allowance of 40 francs a day, which would total \$540 per month. This salary shall continue at least during the time which Mr. Sweetser is in charge, and probably after Mr. Baker's return.

³⁴ See minute 2, p. 17.

15. Memorandum No. 74 was read. It was decided that none of the Commissioners should accompany the President to Brest, and that it would not be necessary for any member of the Secretariat to accompany him either.

[The minutes of the meeting of Friday, February 14, 1919, are missing from the Department's files.]

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/13

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, February 15, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GENERAL BLISS

MR. HERTER

1. General Bliss stated that General de Goutte had come to him on behalf of Marshal Foch to discuss the terms of the new armistice conditions. General Bliss had received the impression that the French wished to reduce the German army to absolutely nothing at all, and that this was rather a dangerous move. He felt that Marshal Foch would not really take the same view as that expressed by General de Goutte. Mr. Lansing agreed with General Bliss that there would be grave danger of having hostilities renewed if we pressed Germany too hard and that this would be extremely bad policy. General Bliss added in this connection that at the present time the American army was the only army in condition to fight, and that if hostilities were renewed the entire burden would fall on us.

2. Mr. White read an article which appeared in this morning's *Paris Herald* quoting certain remarks made by the President at an interview which he held yesterday with the American Press. Mr. White explained that the American Press was extremely angry about this interview, feeling that it was an absolute breach of faith. Mr. Hood of the Associated Press had recommended to Mr. White that immediate action be taken in this matter, and that the violator be very severely dealt with.

The Commissioners agreed that Mr. White should, at the meeting with the Press this morning take up the matter and ascertain who the individual was who violated the President's confidence. He should then ask for a report by the Press Committee at [as to?] the nature of the punishment which should be meted out to the offender.

3. Mr. Lansing stated that the time had now come when we should send Diplomatic agents to the Czecho-Slovak Republic and to Poland. He suggested that Mr. Hugh Gibson be sent to Prague and Mr. W. H. Buckler to Poland. He asked that these gentlemen be notified of their appointment and that this be effected through a letter which he would sign by authority of the President. General Bliss inquired what staffs these gentlemen should take with them, suggesting that if military agents were considered necessary, he was convinced that there were several very good men available. It was agreed that this whole question should be referred to Mr. Grew and that his report in the premises would be acceptable to the Commissioners.

4. The question of the transportation of troops and supplies across Holland was discussed. Mr. Lansing stated that he had received a telegram from The Hague stating that the Dutch government had approved General Pershing's scheme for sending supplies through Holland. General Bliss explained that this proposal did not involve the sending of men through Holland as no real base was to be established. It would merely be a small number of supervising personnel to direct the trans-shipment of cargoes which were landed at Rotterdam. The whole proceeding would be analogous to any commercial transaction.

Mr. Lansing stated that he had received a draft of a note which it was proposed should be sent by the five Great Powers to Holland urging that the Dutch government permit the passage of British troops through its territory. It was explained that the British earnestly desired this privilege because of the fact that practically the entire British army of occupation would have to be replaced by volunteer troops in accordance with the scheme lately laid down by the British government. If this permission were accorded, it would of course be a breach of Holland's neutrality, but then as Holland had already agreed in principle to General Pershing's proposal, which in itself involved a breach of neutrality, the British scheme would really come in the same category. The Commissioners agreed that we should approve the note to Holland as it would undoubtedly give Holland a more secure feeling if the request had been made by all the great Powers rather than only two or three.

5. Mr. White mentioned the fact that the President had some time ago received a personal letter from the Queen of Holland, inviting him to come to Holland, and that up till the time of his departure he had left this letter unanswered in spite of its having been called to his attention several times by both Mr. White and Mr. Lansing. In fact Mr. Loudon, the former Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs of Holland had been waiting in Paris some time to receive this reply, and was undoubtedly feeling much disappointed because of his failure. Mr. Lansing observed that matters of this sort should be attended to very

promptly, and that if only the President had an active Diplomatic Secretary such mistakes would not occur. He asked Mr. Herter to see that a wireless message was immediately prepared for the President urging him to immediately answer the invitation in question.

(NOTE) Mr. Herter has since ascertained that the President has replied to the Queen of Holland's invitation by telegram, and that it is therefore unnecessary to take any further action in the premises.

6. Memorandum No. 75 was read in regard to Rear Admiral Bristol's³⁵ desire to make use of the American Embassy at Constantinople and his desire to coordinate the work of all the agencies of the American government at Constantinople under his supervision. It was pointed out that Mr. Heck was American Commissioner to Constantinople, and that undoubtedly this request of Admiral Bristol's was based on some division of authority which might perhaps have caused trouble. The Commissioners desired to ascertain exactly what sort of a commissioner Mr. Heck was, and the details of his appointment. At the same time they felt that the recommendations on this memorandum were not wise, and that they would like to review it in the light of any information which would be obtained in regard to Mr. Heck's appointment.

7. Memorandum No. 76 was read. The desire of the Esthonian Delegation in Paris to have Esthonia recognized an independent state, and the statement of that Delegation that it would not consider itself bound by any decision that should be taken at the Prinkipo investigation with regard to its independence was considered. The draft of the telegram to the Department of State in this connection indicating that the Commissioners did not have sufficient information upon which to base any decision was approved.³⁶

8. Memorandum No. 77 was read. The request of the President of the Lithuanian Delegation in Paris regarding the independence of Lithuania and the mission of its representatives to the Peace Conference was considered. The Commissioners felt that with the incomplete information at their disposal, they would be unwilling to take any action in the premises, and therefore approved the draft of the telegram attached to this memorandum.³⁷

9. Memorandum No. 78 was read. The new bulletin issued by the office of the Secretary³⁸ was brought to their attention. The Commissioners observed that although this bulletin had not previously been brought to their attention, they considered it an excellent idea and that in future they would watch its contents with great care and

³⁵ Mark L. Bristol, commanding the United States naval forces in Turkey.

³⁶ See telegram No. 769, February 15, 1919, from the Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State, *Foreign Relations*, 1919, Russia, p. 668.

³⁷ See telegram No. 768, February 15, 1919, from the Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State, *ibid.*

³⁸ Usually referred to as the "SH-Bulletin."

from time to time inform the Secretariat of such additions as they might consider advisable.

10. Memorandum No. 79 was read. It was explained that Mr. Grew had taken the responsibility of allowing Mr. Gompers to have two automobiles for his trip to Brussels this week end in spite of the decision of the Commissioners on Memorandum No. 72. In view of the facts presented, the Commissioners highly approved Mr. Grew's decision in the premises.

11. Memorandum No. 80 was read. The proposal of the French government that the agricultural machinery to be required of Germany should be divided between France and Belgium in a proportion of $\frac{4}{5}$ to France and $\frac{1}{5}$ to Belgium was considered. The Commissioners felt that they were not in any position to render a decision in this matter and rather doubt whether it is a question that the United States should pass on at all. In making a decision one way or another they felt that we would merely be borrowing trouble. They suggested that we telegraph to the Department of State indicating that we had no facts on which to render a decision and that we presumed that Washington had none either.

12. Memorandum No. 81. Mr. Herter brought up the recommendation made by Messrs. Baruch, Davis and McCormick as stated in Memorandum No. 81 in regard to the Secretary of the Reparation Committee, Mr. Jerome D. Greene. The Commissioners stated that as they did not know Mr. Greene they were unable to make a fair decision in the premises. Mr. Lansing, however, stated that he thought it very essential that a Diplomatic Secretary should be attached to the Reparation Commission but would be very glad to discuss this matter with Mr. Baruch or Mr. McCormick in order to ascertain just what Mr. Greene's qualifications for the position are. The Commissioners were, however, definite in disapproving the suggestion that the Secretaries of Committees and sub-committees should be allowed to act as heads of little bureaus of their own, but that when they wish to ask for supplies or assistants, they should do so through their chiefs.

13. Mr. Herter read a letter addressed to Mr. Grew by Mr. Beer in regard to the financing of the Liberian Peace Delegation. The Commissioners felt that it would be impossible to finance this mission from the funds at the disposal of the Peace Commission but that it might be possible for the Liberian delegates to obtain a private loan which would be secured by the expectations of eventually receiving an advance of 5 million dollars in accordance with American plan of November 19, 1918.³⁹

14. Mr. Herter brought up for consideration the possible assignment of Messrs. Bundy and Chesbrough to the Commission, to be

³⁹ See *Foreign Relations*, 1918, pp. 505 ff. and *ibid.*, 1919, pp. 464 ff.

utilized on an expedition which is planned for Turkey. The Commissioners felt that pending the arrival of Mr. Dominian, and in view of the possible return to the United States of the two above mentioned gentlemen, it would be well to have them come to Paris as soon as possible.

15. Mr. Herter again brought up the question of having American representatives serve on the Inter-Allied Aviation Committee in the light of an explanation which Mr. Grew furnished. The Commissioners felt that they were not in a position to decide this matter outright, but they would be glad if it could be submitted to General Bliss for his careful study and consideration. They will then be glad to abide by any decision that he may make in the premises.

16. Mr. Herter read the President's letter in regard to Prof. Herron's appointment and the Commissioners felt that it would be advisable to have Prof. Herron come to Paris at once. At the same time Mr. Herter took up with them a memorandum which General Bliss had given him regarding the sending of some financial expert to Prinkipo with the American delegates. The Commissioners requested that Mr. Davis be consulted in regard to Mr. Crosby's recommendation in that memorandum, and be asked if he approved to name the expert who would be available to go on this mission. At the same time they requested that the matter be brought to the attention of Mr. White and Prof. Herron in order that it might not seem as if the Commission were trying to add members to their party whom they did not wish to take.

17. Memorandum No. 83 was read and the Commissioners asked whether Minister Caldwell ⁴⁰ had any connection with the Peace Commission. They stated so far as they were aware he had absolutely no connection with the Commission, and that we were under no obligation whatever to furnish him with motor transportation.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/14

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, February 17, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
COLONEL HOUSE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

⁴⁰ J. L. Caldwell, Minister to Persia.

1. Colonel House brought up for discussion the question of the attitude which the American delegates should assume at the meeting this afternoon at the Quai d'Orsay in regard to the Russian situation. . . .

A draft outline of our policy in respect to the matter under consideration was considered by the Commissioners. This outline had been prepared by Mr. Auchincloss. The points contained therein were discussed one by one.

The Commissioners agreed that in any statement which was to be issued we should be frank in stating that negotiations with Russia had not been broken off but that certain groups in Russia had not complied with the conditions contained in the original proposal of the associated governments. Mr. Lansing felt that it should be made clear that because of the misinterpretation of our offer by the Bolsheviks, a further statement was necessary.

The Commissioners agreed that we should reiterate our statement that we did not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Russia and that the motives which had actuated our first proposal had nothing to do with foreign loans or concessions in territory, but that our only wish was to be of service to Russia in relieving her distress. Colonel House observed that he had been convinced by conversation which he had had with Mr. Branting last night that it would be extremely important for us to express ourselves in favor of peasant proprietorship in Russia. The Commissioners agreed that it would be advisable to do so. Mr. Lansing added that our only real hope for stability in Russia lay in recognizing the benefits of the redistribution of land. It was decided that this statement should be made very clearly even though the British might object because of the great land problem in England.

Colonel House felt that we should make it clear that in case the various factions in Russia were willing to meet us half way we would be glad to help with food and raw materials, but at the same time we should state that no effort had been made by certain leaders of groups to meet our invitation in the spirit in which it was dictated.

Colonel House stated that we should say that we intended to offer every assistance to contiguous countries, in order to help them in the peaceful pursuit of their lives. The wording of this thought was discussed and Mr. Lansing's proposal that "by every means in our power" should be inserted was approved.

Colonel House felt that in any statement of our policy we should be sure to add that we were at any time ready to negotiate with the various factions in Russia collectively for a peaceful settlement provided they accepted our original proposal to cease hostilities prior to any discussions. The Commissioners agreed that such a statement should be made.

Mr. Herter was requested to consult with Mr. Auchincloss regarding a redraft of the outline which Colonel House had submitted.

2. General Bliss stated that we should be entirely prepared with an answer in case we were faced by the question of using armed force in Russia. He then read an opinion which he had prepared, and which he asked the other Commissioners to comment upon. This read as follows:

"It is quite certain—and it will be the part of wisdom for all of us to take note of the fact—that the Government and the people of the United States will be radically opposed to taking part in any hostile action in Russia so long as the present general conditions elsewhere continue to exist. That Government and people will not engage in a new war of unknown extent and duration until the present war is ended by a declared and settled peace.

One reason of the American indisposition to take positive action with the respect to the situation in Russia is their inability to focus their undivided attention on Russia so as to enable them to realize what is going on there and what it may mean to the peace of the world.

To them, Bolshevism in Russia is one of the many confused blotches which disfigure the map of Europe. To them, everything here seems in an intolerable confusion, Russia no more than some other States.

If we could make final and definitive peace *at once*; if we could say to Germany and Poland and Czecho-Slovakia and other States, 'These are your definitive boundaries, stay inside of them and stop fighting your neighbors and trying to acquire their territory by force'; if we could now accomplish that, thereby bringing that part of Europe into the first stages of an orderly peace which is praying for that peace, then the conditions of Russia would stand out in clear and glaring relief from this general level of peace. Then, and then only, the people of the United States might come to see that peace in Russia is the only thing necessary to secure universal peace; that her present condition is the only thing that menaces the peace of the world. It is possible that then the United States might be willing to take a part in the pacification of Russia. But it is certain that it will not lift a hand to do this so long as we maintain the state of war with the Central Powers; so long as we continue to dispute not with Germany but among ourselves—about the terms of peace that we will impose on Germany; and so long as the United States sees each day bringing us nearer to a possible resumption of hostilities.

Finally, it is worth noting that the resumption of a state of peace elsewhere in Europe may, directly or indirectly, go a long way of itself in removing or diminishing the menace of Bolshevism. The latter lives and thrives in the murky waters of confusion and strife that still engulf Europe. When it shall stand out in the full view of the United States and of all the world without their attention and scrutiny being diverted by many other evils in many other places Bolshevism, like other disease-breeding microbes, will be weakened and perhaps die in the light. ["]

The Commissioners agreed heartily with General Bliss's statement of our policy, and decided that it should be read at this afternoon's meeting as a preliminary to suggesting that a statement should be

made by all the associated governments in the sense of the outline which Colonel House had submitted at the beginning of the meeting. The Commissioners felt that in case the French tried, as had been done in previous cases, to publish some statement to the effect that all the governments were agreed on a policy toward Russia, and that this policy was armed intervention, we should then immediately counter by giving to the press the statement which General Bliss had just read. The Commissioners further felt that by reading the statement in question at the meeting this afternoon Mr. Churchill's proposal of referring the matter to a military commission to study the whole question would of itself fall through.

The Commissioners then discussed the present position of our armies in Russia. General Bliss explained that the expeditions to both Murmansk and Vladivostok had been motivated because of the threatened seizure of Allied supplies by the Germans or factions of Russia friendly to the Germans, or because of threatened famine in Russia. He added that our neutrality laws absolutely prevented our fighting Russia without the consent of Congress. He also stated that a telegram had been sent to the Secretary of War asking him to explain to the Military Committees of the Senate and the House that the two companies of Railroad engineers which had been sent to assist our forces in Archangel had been sent to assist these not in aggressive action toward Russia but in order to facilitate their withdrawal from Russia as soon as weather conditions permitted. He pointed out that this withdrawal was not possible until next Spring, and that in any case we should not desert the forces of the associated governments which are collaborating with us in that region. He added that this was a time to make a definite statement of our policy in regard to the withdrawal of these forces and that he was sure that England would agree with us as a nation . . .

3. Colonel House observed that Mr. Balfour appeared much worried about a situation which had arisen in regard to the indemnity question. America was now advocating one view whereas all the other associated nations were advocating another view. At present the Committee on Reparations had divided into three classes, the first class was one whose duty it was to determine how much Germany should pay. In this section there had been the most trouble. Mr. Balfour had told Colonel House that he would urge on his colleagues to soft-pedal further discussion in this section and to put all their energies in section No. 2 whose duty it is to determine what Germany can pay. Colonel House added that Sir William Wiseman had suggested that if this procedure was not accepted by the British delegates we might suggest that the discussion in Section No. 1 had reached an impasse upon a question of a political nature and it would therefore be well to refer that question to the Bureau of Ten. New men would undoubtedly be

chosen on behalf of Great Britain to reconsider the matter. Sir George [omission] was being suggested as the most likely candidate.

Mr. Lansing observed that he had told both the Belgian Prime Minister and Mr. Hugues Leroux, a friend of Mr. Pichon, how foolish both France and Belgium were to support the British point of view in regard to indemnities. He felt that both of these gentlemen agreed with him in this matter.

The Commissioners all had the feeling that France and Belgium were going against their own interests in this whole question but that as matters were now developing it would seem as if the United States could eventually be expected to pay for all.

4. Mr. Lansing read a memorandum which he had prepared incorporating the points which he believed should be inserted in the preliminaries of peace. This draft follows:

1. Restoration of peace and official relations.
2. Restoration of commercial and financial relations subject to conditions stated.
3. Renunciation by Germany of all territory and territorial rights outside of Europe.
4. Minimum territory of Germany in Europe, the boundaries to be finally determined in the Definitive Treaty.
5. Maximum military and naval establishments which Germany will be permitted to maintain, including production of munitions.
6. Total amount of money and property to be surrendered by Germany for reparation of losses with time limit for payment and delivery.
7. German territory and property to be held as security by the Allied and Associated Powers for the faithful performance of the undertakings by Germany until the Definitive Peace is ratified.
8. Declaration of approval of the League of Nations.

Mr. Lansing in commenting on this memorandum expressed the belief that it should be shorter. General Bliss added that he could furnish Mr. Lansing with the American draft proposal in regard to the military and naval terms to which Germany should submit.

Colonel House withdrew.

5. Mr. Lansing spoke of a complaint which had been made by the French in regard to the United States negotiating with Holland with respect to the passage of supplies and troops through the port of Rotterdam. In the discussion of this question it was found that an agreement had already been reached upon it at the meeting at the Quai d'Orsay on Saturday, February 15, 1919,⁴¹ at which time it was agreed that the five Powers should take joint action in the premises sending an identical note to the Dutch government.

Mr. Grew, Mr. Dresel and Captain Gherardi entered the meeting.

6. Captain Gherardi who had just returned from Germany was asked to give his opinion in regard to the situation in that country.

⁴¹ See BC-33, minute 2, vol. iv, p. 5.

He stated that the present government of Germany was struggling against a great opposition and was unfortunately not supported by a majority vote of the majority Socialists. It had had to compromise with the Democratic party in which were several members from the old Pan-German crowd. Among those was Count Bernstorff who is playing an extremely important part both in the Foreign Office and at Weimar. This was probably due partly to his aggressive ability and partly because he was a relation of Count Von Brockdorff-Rantzau. The latter will undoubtedly head the German Peace Commission. In the government itself, Ebert could be considered as honest and sincere. Noske is probably the strongest man, whereas Scheidemann although much of a politician was really interested with the rest of the majority socialists in earnest reforms throughout Germany. According to Captain Gherardi, the press in Germany was still being controlled by the government, and was now bending its efforts in line with the desires of the Democratic party to arouse in the German people a sentiment for the necessity of having the German colonies returned, and the former territorial boundaries of Germany left unchanged. Captain Gherardi felt, however, that at present the coalition government in Germany should be maintained, and that the best way in which we could render desistance [*assistance*] was by sending in food and raw material.

Commenting on the Bolshevik situation in Germany, Captain Gherardi stated that through the efforts of Radek and certain members of the Spartacus group, the government had managed to keep this movement pretty well in hand. At one time, however, the government had been unable to depend on a single soldier in Berlin, but at the present time there are several regiments of highly paid volunteers who are considered loyal, and who are maintaining order.

Captain Gherardi observed that the Commission of which he had been the head had been considerably hampered by the fact that most of its members were officers in uniform. Any officer in uniform was now an object of suspicion in Germany and it was therefore difficult for them to gather much information. A plot had been discovered directed against Captain Gherardi's life. He was therefore continually under the guard of Foreign Office detectives. The Foreign Office felt that this plot had probably been engineered by enemies of the government as a political move to cause the United States to get into difficulties with the present German government.

Captain Gherardi felt that the best way of getting information from Germany at the present time was by sending traveling commissions of experts who should stay in Germany for only a short time, and then report direct to the Peace Commission. He felt that his men had better be reduced to a small number of prominent members

who would stay in Berlin and who would preferably be civilians. He suggested that it would be advisable to have the military personnel withdrawn by degrees.

In reply to a question from Mr. Lansing as to the make-up of his Commission Captain Gherardi replied that he had 14 officers and 2 civilians as well as a navy communication party with him in Berlin. Two officers he had sent to Hamburg and Bremen, whereas [*where?*] one officer was studying the unemployment situation, and one the canal and railway conditions. This latter information was particularly valuable for Mr. Hoover's representatives. One civilian was constantly at Weimar and another civilian, though not a member of the Commission, had been traveling every week from Weimar to Berlin to report on the political situation in the former city.

Captain Gherardi observed that the feeling against [*toward?*] the American officers was not too friendly. He added that when he had first arrived in Berlin Count Von Brockdorff-Rantzau had asked him if he would not submit the reports that would be sent to the American government through the Foreign Office for correction and verification. This he naturally refused to do.

Captain Gherardi informed the Commissioners that the German government already had a large amount of material prepared for the time when they should be admitted to the Peace Conference. Dr. Taylor had collected some of this material. They had even gone so far as to compute the damage caused by the blockade in monetary values, and that this computation would form a base for a claim of reparation.

In Captain Gherardi's opinion the proposed constitution in Germany was quite imperialistic. The President can convoke and dissolve the assembly. A clause proposing the abolition of all secret treaties had been voted down etc.

Very few people in Germany want the Kaiser back, although a few members of the clergy and school teachers who were very content under the old regime probably wished to have it revived. The danger at the present moment comes from the left and not from the right. The country is in a steady flux. The shell is off and the whole body is rather soft. There is, however, a genuine wish for democracy.

General Bliss inquired whether Captain Gherardi had any information in regard to the continuing of work in the munition plants. The latter replied that the only information he had in this respect came from some city on the North Sea where it was reported that an old factory was now manufacturing bombs to supply the Bolsheviks in their next uprising. Captain Gherardi also stated that there were many applications from German officers for positions in the American army.

After a brief further discussion on present plans for helping Russian prisoners of war in Germany, the Commissioners agreed that

Captain Gherardi should be relieved of his present duties and allowed to resume his service at sea. They also decided that the military members of his Commission should be gradually withdrawn from Germany and that special missions should be sent to Germany from time to time for the purpose of obtaining first hand information. It was felt that Mr. Day at least should remain permanently in Berlin but that if possible an older man should be sent to act as his superior, if not in practice, at least in name.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/15

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, February 18, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Lansing stated that at the meeting at the Quai d'Orsay yesterday a solution in the Russian matter had not progressed very far.⁴² General Bliss observed that he was to meet General Wilson and the military leaders of certain other powers today in a conference on the whole subject. He would then read the memorandum which he had prepared yesterday, and would state clearly that in his opinion, from a military point of view it would be a piece of criminal folly to start another war on the other side of Germany until the present war had finished. He felt very strongly that the Bureau of Ten should decide the policy which was to be pursued in Russia and that then the military leaders should devise as to how this policy could be carried out. Evidently Winston Churchill wished to put the brunt of deciding a policy on the military leaders.

Mr. Lansing stated that in view of the fact that the Bureau of Ten had not been able to decide on any policy, it would be best for General Bliss to work purely on a hypothetic basis. This General Bliss agreed to do, and added that he would propose that certain hypothetic solutions be considered, and that then the military leaders work out different methods of pursuing these assumed policies.

2. Mr. Herter suggested that Mr. Fred Dolbeare, who is in charge of the active correspondence on Russian affairs, be allowed to attend the meetings at the Quai d'Orsay as a technical advisor when such affairs were being discussed. The Commissioners agreed that it would

⁴² See BC-34, minute 7, vol. iv, p. 28.

be most advisable for Mr. Dolbeare to attend these meetings when such affairs were the topic of discussion.

[3.] The question of the members of certain Albanian factions having been refused passports to proceed to Paris to present their claims was discussed. The Commissioners felt very strongly that the Italians and French were pursuing this policy of keeping from Paris persons of unsympathetic views too far. They requested therefore that a note be drafted to the American Embassy in Paris stating that the Commissioners felt that with a view to getting all sides of the Albanian question it would be most advisable to have Messrs. Tourtoulis and Midhat Bey Frasheri come to Paris at once. The Embassy should then bring to the attention of the French government the attitude of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace in this matter with a request that favorable consideration be given to the above named gentlemen's applications to proceed to Paris.

4. Memorandum No. 85 was read. The draft of telegram attached to this memorandum regarding the question of the recognition of the Rumanian Minister to the United States was discussed. The Commissioners agreed that unless for some personal objections, the Rumanian Minister to Washington should be recognized, and therefore approved the telegram in question.

5. Memorandum No. 86 was read and the Commissioners considered the question of the movement which was probably being supported by both Hungary and Italy toward the formation of an autonomy state in Croatia. They agreed that this matter was serious, and that it would be well to receive Prof. Coolidge's report in the premises. Mr. Lansing believed, however, that such a report had been received within the last day or two from Vienna, and asked that this matter be investigated. He added, however, that if he were mistaken in this belief, he would gladly join the other Commissioners in approving the telegram to Prof. Coolidge, attached to Memorandum No. 86.

6. Mr. Herter read a letter from Mr. Westermann. The Commissioners agreed that if Mr. Westermann were asked as to the attitude of the United States in regard to the London Agreement of April 1915⁴³ and the Sykes-Picot Agreement of May 1916,⁴⁴ he should reply that we did not recognize either of these agreements as having any bearing upon the final settlement in the Dodecanese or in the Near-East. In fact, the United States intends to completely ignore these agreements in the discussion of these problems unless by chance, they happen to contain certain provisions which we con-

⁴³ Great Britain, Cmd. 671, Misc. No. 7 (1920): *Agreement Between France, Russia, Great Britain and Italy, Signed at London, April 26, 1915.*

⁴⁴ For text, see *Current History*, vol. xi, pt. II (1920), p. 499; also E. G. Mears, *Modern Turkey* (New York, 1924), p. 614.

sider to be just and proper, in accordance with our declared principles.

7. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Mr. White in regard to the request of the Panama delegation for the services of Colonel Arthur D. Budd of the 311th Regiment of the A. E. F. The Commissioners decided that there would be absolutely no objection to Colonel Budd's serving with the delegation from Panama in Paris, but that it would be impossible for the Commission to request General Pershing to release him for this purpose. Any arrangement that would have to be made by Colonel Budd in order to have himself assigned for duty to the delegation of Panama would be a matter which he himself would have to take up with the proper authorities of the A. E. F.

8. Memorandum No. 87 was read. The question of reducing the subsistence allowance for officers attached to the Commission from 40 francs a day to 30 francs a day was considered. The Commissioners felt that they were not in a position at the present time to decide this matter, but that it should be referred to the Committee composed of General Bliss, Mr. White, Mr. Patchin and Mr. McNeir for final decision.

9. Mr. McCormick entered the meeting.

Mr. McCormick was asked about the qualifications of Mr. Jerome Greene for the position of Secretary to the Reparations Committee. He explained that Mr. Greene has served for over a year with the Inter-Allied Maritime Council, and had in all respects sufficient experience to make him excellently qualified for the position. The Commissioners were satisfied with this explanation.

Mr. McCormick then went on to explain the difficulties which the Committee on Reparations was having at the present time. For ten days the interpretation of the word "reparation" had been discussed and as yet no solution had been reached. The United States supported only in a rather feeble way by Belgium was standing out alone in the interpretation of this word against all the other powers. Mr. McCormick felt that this was an extremely delicate and important matter, and that we might perhaps have now come to the parting of the ways. He felt that since an impasse had been reached it would be necessary to refer this whole question back for decision to those persons who had drafted the Allied acceptance of the President's principles with the two reservations in regard to the freedom of the seas and the meaning of the word reparation.⁴⁵ Mr. Lansing felt that inasmuch as the memorandum embodying the views of the

⁴⁵ See telegrams No. 12 and No. 13, October 30, 1918, from the Special Representative to the Secretary of State, *Foreign Relations*, 1918, supp. 1, vol. 1, pp. 425 and 427; also note No. 286, November 5, 1918, from the Secretary of State to the Swiss Minister, *ibid.*, p. 468.

Allies had been definitely filed with the Government of the United States this matter should settle it and that they had no cause for withdrawing from their original decision. Mr. McCormick explained that certain arguments were very difficult to combat. For instance, Serbia contended that none of the American arguments held good in her case because of the fact that she was fighting Austria-Hungary and not Germany. Likewise the British though insisting that the cost of the war be included under the heading reparation, at the same time was promising to the small states certain priority rights. These promises were keeping all the small states except Belgium on her side. He added that this whole matter was very unfortunate from a political point of view. The President had already approved of the principles which the Reparation Committee was acting upon, but it might be advisable to get further instructions from the President before this matter went too far. There would be no use in fighting it out to the end if it were referred to the Council of Ten [or?] if the President were perhaps willing to recede to a certain extent. Mr. Lansing thought that we should cable the President at once to send to the Reparation Committee a statement which could be read together with confidential instructions for its guidance.

Mr. McCormick went on to explain that France's present plan seemed to be to get Germany to sign a blank check which could be later filled in. France was evidently getting nervous at not being able to fix definitely the sum which Germany could pay.

It was decided that a cable should be sent to the President requesting his views in the premises.

10. Mr. McCormick withdrew, and Prof. Philip Marshall Brown entered the meeting. Prof. Brown said that he had wished to speak to the Commissioners about the German propaganda which was being carried on among the American troops in the army of occupation, which he personally had had a chance to observe at Coblenz. He said that many of our soldiers were now beginning to "wonder how we ever got on the side of the frogs". The whole attitude of both the men and officers had gone very far. He felt that something very radical had to be done from on top to impress the men with the necessity for their remaining in Germany and supporting the Peace Conference in trying to gain the sort of peace for which they had fought.

Prof. Brown stated that he had had a conversation with General Dickman, and had been much impressed by the fact that the General was very anti-British and anti-French. In fact, his attitude seemed entirely wrong. Prof. Brown suggested that the Commissioners ask the President or General Pershing to send some message to our soldiers which would counteract this German propaganda.

General Bliss stated that in his opinion the whole feeling of our troops in the occupied area was absolutely natural, but he did not

believe that any message which the President could send would do very much good. He asked whether, if it came to a show-down, our soldiers would not fight again, which Prof. Brown answered, that he was sure they would fight again.

General Bliss then stated that the whole question came back to the criminality of the Peace Conference not making peace. He added that in the first place he had advised strongly against sending any army of occupation into Germany but of completely disarming and demobilizing Germany at the very outset. He added that as things were going Bolshevism would come everywhere if peace were not made soon.

Prof. Brown commented that time was working against us, and that the situation now in England was very serious. It is even reported that Lloyd George's position was very shaken.

Mr. Lansing then suggested that the question of the President's sending a message to the soldiers should be referred to General Bliss for final decision.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/16

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, February 19, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. MCNEIR
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. McNeir' stated that yesterday Colonel Cloman representing the Financial Section of the A. E. F. had come to him and had presented him with a bill of over \$500,000 for the service rendered by the Army in connection with the Peace Commission. This bill covered every sort of expense from the complete cost of the automobiles in use to the expense of the infirmary, and the commutation, subsistence and salary of all officers including General Bliss. A letter was attached to this bill from General Harts explaining its contents.

General Bliss suggested that this bill be sent to Washington for the Secretary of War to act on. All the Commissioners felt that it was a ridiculous charge to make against the Commission . . .

Mr. Lansing then suggested that Mr. McNeir should draft a telegram to the Secretary of War which General Bliss agreed to sign, summarizing the items included in the bill, and stating the great surprise which the Commissioners felt at receiving such a bill sent to the Peace Commission. Mr. Lansing then felt that a wireless mes-

sage repeating the above telegram should be sent to the President in order that he might take up this matter with Secretary Baker upon his arrival in Washington. He noted that the President was very anxious to keep down the expenses of the Peace Commission, at least on paper.

Mr. McNeir then asked whether special allotments for outside missions and armistice expenses should be made in the mission's funds. He stated that he had before him a request for \$15,000 for the American mission to Poland and one for \$10,000 for the armistice mission at Trèves. The Commissioners agreed to approve \$10,000 for the Commission to Poland, and to allot further funds to this Commission if it was necessary at a later date. They also agreed that Mr. McNeir should obtain further information from General Churchill regarding the necessity of \$10,000 for the armistice commission.

Mr. McNeir stated that he had drawn \$45,000 for Prof. Coolidge's Commission to Vienna on the understanding that it should come from the State Department emergency fund and not from the Peace Commission's allotment. Mr. Lansing stated that Mr. McNeir's understanding in this matter was correct, and that this matter should be cleared up at once.

Mr. McNeir left the meeting and Brigadier General Phillips (British) was then called in. General Phillips declared that in a conversation with General Bliss last night he had explained certain matters in regard to the Albania situation which he desired to repeat to the Commissioners. General Wilson had agreed that all information which he had should be put at the disposal of the American Commissioners.

General Phillips went on to explain that in his 7 years experience in Albania he had had an opportunity of examining closely the question of the so called Albania massacre by the Montenegrins and Serbians. Much literature had been prepared on this subject but General Phillips was surprised to find that the Albania claims which had been sent to the American Embassy at Rome had never reached the Embassy.

At the present time, the situation in Albania is extremely bad. It is not in need of immediate food, but will shortly require organized *ravitaillement*. In the mountains of Montenegro the people are starving, but it is very difficult to feed them because of the great corruption that exists and the hardships encountered in transporting the food. Both the Montenegrins and the Serbians are doing all they can to hold the Buana, a purely Albanian river, and to prevent the shipment of food supplies on this river. General Phillips felt that it was extremely important that all ships going from Scutari up this river should be made to pay a small tax in accordance with the British toll system, and that in this way the shipping could be controlled.

When General Phillips was in command of the International forces in Albania in 1914 he had promised the Albanians autonomy. It was therefore with deep regret that he learned of the pact of London of 1915 whereby Albania was split between Serbia and Greece. He felt strongly that the Albanians, a people which were purer than any others in Europe, with a higher sense of morality, a pure strain and dauntless courage should be made autonomous, but should, until such a time as they are able to establish a firm government, be under the protectorate of some great power. General Phillips believed that Italy should be this power, although he was conscious that the Albanians were hostile to the Italians because they felt that Italy could not govern herself and could not successfully withstand the Jugo-Slavs.

General Phillips stated very strongly that in his opinion over half of the whole Albanian question could be settled if only the Peace Conference would now determine the boundaries of Albania, leaving to a later discussion the question of the protecting power and their form of government.

General Phillips then went into a short resume of Albanian history, explaining how these people were made up of 5 great tribes whose history ran back 2500 years. They are Illyrians by heritage, speak Albanian only, and live by tribal law. At different times 2 of these tribes had been given to Montenegro by various of the great powers as a sop for favors rendered, and these gifts had caused tremendous unrest and hatred in the souls of the Albanians.

General Phillips declared that he was unable to understand the present policy of France in Albania. The French Colonel in command was openly telling the people that France was on the verge of war with Italy, whereas at the same time the Italians were telling the Albania people the same story, likewise France had told Albania that all her land would be restored to her which of course is a statement most unfavorable to France's Ally Serbia. Undoubtedly France wishes to become the protector of Albania not because of any direct benefits to be derived therefrom, but for the sake of weakening Italy's prestige.

In General Phillips' opinion, if the Albania delegates who truly represent Albania were allowed to come to Paris, much of the internal fighting would stop. This has been the Albanians' great weakness. Even in America where there are 200,000 Albanians, four distinct groups all opposed to each other have been formed. Nevertheless, the people of Albania seem anxious to have a British or preferably an American protectorate. Italy, however, both historically and geographically is the most logical country for this purpose, and the Italians would not encroach upon the Albanians because as settlers they never leave the coast. If only Essad Pasha could be kept from Albania there is some chance of unity being arrived at.

General Phillips felt very strongly that Albania had the right to know at once what the future scope of her territories would be. He stated that he himself was in a position to calm Albanians or to start them on a war-path against the Montenegrins and Serbians by merely stating what the attitude of the Peace Conference was in regard to their claims. The following districts, tribes or towns of the north should be incorporated in the Albanian State:

Dulcino	(Town)
Hoti-Gruda	} Tribes
Gissinje	
Plava	
Ipec	
Djakova	
Prisrend	

The most important was the district of Debra.

Acting on the other questions in the Balkans, General Phillips explained that Venizelos had included in his platform, which caused the exile of King Constantine from Greece, the promise of the return of Constantinople to Greece. He likewise stated that neither Montenegro or Serbia would ever be content until they got Scutari, that likewise the Albanians would never rest quiet until the flag which he had promised them in 1914 had been assured to them. Sixteen times in all this country had been besieged.

General Phillips ended his statement by declaring that the establishment of an autonomous Albania would form a great bulwark between the Jugo-Slavs and the East.

2. Mr. Herter read a telegram received by Mr. Gompers from the Shipyard Workers in the Northwest in regard to the spread of Bolshevism. The Commissioners immediately asked whether this telegram had been sent to the President by Mr. Gompers, and felt that if it had not it should be.

3. Mr. Herter brought up the matter of loaning \$60,000,000 to German-Austria, as suggested to Mr. Grew by Mr. Strauss for the Commissioners' consideration. The Commissioners were unable to understand exactly how this loan would work out, and therefore requested that they be allowed to speak to Mr. Strauss for about five minutes during the meeting tomorrow morning.

4. Mr. Herter translated a note to the Commissioners in regard to Mr. Lasteyrie's⁴⁶ reply to Mr. Davis in respect to a mission into Germany. The Commissioners felt that the excuse of the French in this matter was very weak, and a letter should be immediately drafted to Mr. Loucheur to the effect that no invitation had ever been received from the French to send American representatives on the mission in

⁴⁶ Count Charles de Lasteyrie, French financial expert and member of the secretariat of the Commission on Reparation of Damage.

question, and that further, the United States had never had an opportunity to discuss with the other members of the associated governments a policy which, in their opinion, resembles much the German policy of removing industrial machinery from the occupied territory.

Memorandum No. 88 was read regarding the belief of Messrs. McCormick, Baruch, Davis, Lamont and Strauss that Messrs. Lamont and McFadden should go as Economic representatives of the United States with the Permanent Armistice Commission at Spa. The Commissioners were a little confused on this whole matter, and requested that Mr. McCormick or Mr. Baruch come to one of their meetings to explain it, bringing at the same time a copy of the resolutions of the Supreme War Council authorizing the appointment of such Economic representatives to the Armistice Commission.

5. Memorandum No. 89 was read and it was decided that the Commissioners would be glad to see the American Federation of Labor Mission on Saturday morning at 11 o'clock. They desired, however, that in the reply which was to be sent to Mr. Gompers, it be stated that the Commissioners had other appointments at 11:30 and would therefore be grateful if the Mission could arrive promptly.

6. Memorandum No. 90 was brought up regarding the desire of the Sons of the American Revolution to have the American Peace Mission present a wreath to be placed on the monument of George Washington on February 22nd. The Commissioners felt that they had hardly come to Paris for this purpose, and that as they would have much business to do on Saturday morning, including the receiving of Mr. Gompers and his party, they were afraid they would have to refuse. At the same time they felt that this matter was one which came slightly within the jurisdiction of the Embassy.

7. Mr. Herter brought up the question of Lieut. Cobb's assignment to the Commission for duty with the American Delegates to the Reparation Commission. The Commissioners were delighted at the thought that a good American interpreter had been found, and approved highly the assignment of Lieut. Cobb to the Commission.

8. Memorandum No. 91 was read in regard to the President's desire that rooms be reserved in the Crillon for the personnel attached to him as indicated in that memorandum. The Commissioners felt that at the time when these gentlemen returned it would be well to have accommodations for them in the hotel, although it was clearly stated that these accommodations need not be the same as those which they occupied before their departure.

The whole question of space in the hotel Crillon was discussed at some length, and the Commissioners felt that aside from their own offices they would be glad to have as many personnel living in the Crillon and as few offices as was possible. They therefore hoped that Mr. Grew would maintain a very stiff attitude in regard to re-

quests for more rooms that came from anyone except the Commissioners, and if possible to try and persuade the technical advisors to have rooms elsewhere. They realize that it would be very difficult to kick the technical advisors out at the present time, but suggested that if any technical advisor asked for more space he should be told that there is plenty of space available elsewhere in Paris and that the Commissioners would be delighted if he go [*went?*] out and found it.

Mr. Lansing inquired whether he might be informed as to Mr. Hoover's status at the present time. Whether it had been definitely agreed to allow Mr. Hoover [to] keep his office in the Crillon. General Bliss observed that the Personnel Committee would shortly begin its work of clearing out dead timber and that then perhaps more space both for living quarters and for the absolutely necessary office rooms would be found.

9. Memorandum No. 92 was read containing the recommendation submitted by Mr. Beer in regard to the treatment of Liberian [omission?] affairs was considered. These recommendations were in general approved. The Commissioners felt that some of them should [see?] Mr. Beer in order to have the whole matter explained, and it was decided that Mr. White and General Bliss would do this.

10. Memorandum No. 93 was considered in regard to the assignment of Captain Lester W. Perrin to the Austro-Hungarian Commission. The Commissioners were unable to see exactly how Captain Perrin's previous experience fitted him for work in regard to Austro-Hungarian affairs, but nevertheless were willing to accept the recommendations of Dr. Mezes and Dr. Seymour in the premises. They therefore approved of the assignment of Captain Perrin to the Commission.

11. Memorandum No. 94 was read, requesting on behalf of Mr. Jerome D. Greene the assignment of Lieut. Henry James to the Mission for duties in connection with the Reparations Committee. The Commissioners approved the assignment of Lieut. James for the purpose mentioned.

12. Mr. Herter brought up the question of Mr. Jerome D. Greene's acting as a head of a Bureau or Department. The Commissioners approved that in his particular case all would be well, and that they would trust him absolutely as far as the organization of his Bureau went. At the same time they did not appear very anxious to have him select assistants, secretaries, clerks, typists and messengers who are to be put on the Commission pay-roll, without at least putting through the formal request which even the Commissioners themselves have to make. It was decided that Mr. Greene be informed that he will have complete freedom in the ordering of supplies and matters of this sort, but that in the matter of personnel, he would have to conform to the regulations which every other office has to follow.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/17

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, February 20, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. DULLES

1. Mr. Lansing stated that he had heard that Mr. Hoover had sent to the Commission an important document in regard to the general food situation. He stated that he had not seen this report, and inquired whether it had been brought to the attention of any of the other Commissioners. Mr. White and General Bliss stated that they had not seen this report. It was suggested that this matter be looked up and the report brought to the attention of all the Commissioners.

2. Mr. Dulles called attention to the memorandum of Lieut. Colonel Miles regarding Prof. Coolidge's action in approving the investigation of a temporary boundary line between the German-Austrians and Slovenes in Carinthia. General Bliss stated that Colonel Miles was in the Crillon and suggested that he be heard briefly in regard to the matter. Before calling Colonel Miles into the meeting, Mr. Dulles read a portion of a telegram from the American Chargé at Belgrade transmitting an informal protest of the Slovene Government against the provisional line which it was understood the American investigators had determined upon. (Colonel Miles entered.)

Mr. Lansing inquired whether the Commissioners were called upon to take any action in regard to the Carinthian boundary dispute. Colonel Miles answered that Prof. Coolidge desired an expression of opinion from the Commission before any further action was taken towards making public the line of demarcation which had been agreed upon. Mr. Lansing inquired whether Prof. Coolidge had been authorized to arrange this boundary dispute. General Bliss stated that he had not and added that it was his personal opinion that if a decision was published, the Commission would be placed in an embarrassing position. Mr. Lansing agreed with General Bliss that no publication of this boundary decision should be made and inquired whether the line which the Americans had determined upon was not generally known to the inhabitants of the territory immediately concerned, and whether it would not be respected as a more or less unwritten agreement by these peoples.

The Commissioners all agreed that any publicity given to this matter would be most unfortunate and might lead to complications

which would embarrass the government and the American Commission.

Mr. White inquired whether it would not be possible to communicate the results of Col. Miles' investigation informally to the local authorities concerned as embodying the personal opinion of Prof. Coolidge in regard to the territory in dispute. General Bliss suggested an oral communication of this nature. (Mr. Lansing was called from the meeting.)

General Bliss and Mr. White continued the discussion of the boundary question, and Lieut. Colonel Miles gave further explanations of the circumstances of the investigation, pointing out that Prof. Coolidge had been led to approve the action which had been taken, in the interest of avoiding further unnecessary bloodshed. Both General Bliss and Mr. White agreed that there were only two courses possible, either that Prof. Coolidge should say nothing further about the whole matter, or, second, that he should write a personal note or send a personal oral message to the parties to the dispute to the general effect that he (Prof. Coolidge) had on his own initiative asked American officers to look over the territory to see whether an informal and temporary solution could be reached with a view to a cessation of hostilities—that in view of the fact that one of the parties to the dispute had already protested, i. e. the Serbians, it appeared that no further action was possible, and that the results of the investigation would not therefore be given out unless both parties requested it and that in any case any statement he might make would be only his personal opinion and would not bind either party.

It was decided that Mr. White should draw up a letter in the above sense which might be communicated to Prof. Coolidge for his guidance when Colonel Miles returned. General Bliss and Mr. White expressed the opinion that Prof. Coolidge had apparently become more deeply involved in the matter than he should have, and possibly more deeply than appeared from his written reports, that the American Commission should not in any way permit itself to be accused of playing a lone hand in this matter, and that Prof. Coolidge must get out of the tangle so as not to involve either the Commission or the United States.

General Bliss remarked that such incidents sometimes made him wish for the withdrawal of all the American field parties.

3. Mr. Sweetser was called into the meeting in connection with Memorandum No. 95, which had to do with the indiscretion of Mr. Talley in violating the President's confidence by his article in the "Paris Herald" of February 16th. Mr. Sweetser recommended that the suggestion of the Press Committee of investigation—that Mr. Talley be excluded for two weeks from the meetings of the Commis-

sion—be approved. This recommendation was accepted, and it was decided that Mr. White should communicate the Commission's decision at the morning meeting of the press correspondents.

4. The meeting was postponed until 12 o'clock, when Mr. Strauss appeared before the Commissioners (present Mr. Lansing, Mr. White, General Bliss) to speak in regard to the proposed loan of \$60,000,000 to German-Austria to enable it to purchase foodstuffs. Mr. Strauss stated that the Austrian financiers who were at present in Paris discussing the food situation of Austria with Mr. Hoover had suggested the following securities for such a loan: (1) Austrian crowns; (2) Austrian securities abroad; (3) mortgage on Austrian salt mines; (4) mortgage on the Vienna tramway, light, heat system, etc. Mr. Strauss was of the opinion that none of these securities were of very great value, and said that it had been suggested that priority on the reparation which German-Austria might pay would be the best security. He stated that he was of the opinion that Italy, France and England might make no objection in case the United States advances the same sum to them for their purchases of food from the United States. Italy, he said, seemed to be willing to appear in the role of the benefactor towards her former enemy, Austria.

There was some question in the minds of the Commissioners as to whether such a stipulation in regard to priority in receiving reparation would have to appear in the peace treaty. General Bliss was of the opinion that this could be forced through if the Council of Ten could agree. Mr. Lansing remarked that it would be necessary to get the other countries of the former Monarchy to consent, in view of their claims on German-Austria.

Mr. Strauss remarked on the terrible situation in Vienna, as far as could be judged from the reports which Mr. Hoover had received. General Bliss remarked that Mr. Hoover was preparing a memorandum on this whole question, which he hoped could be presented to the Supreme War Council. At Mr. Lansing's suggestion, Mr. Strauss volunteered to prepare a memorandum in regard to the proposed loan to German-Austria, and Mr. Lansing agreed to endeavor to have this put upon the agenda of the Council of Ten.

4 [*sic*]. The Commissioners expressed surprise at Mr. Howe's action in returning to Paris from Brindisi rather than proceeding on his mission to Syria. Mr. White said that Mr. Howe apparently felt that under present conditions of British and French occupation he would be unable to do any useful work. Some doubt was expressed as to whether Mr. Howe's expenses should be paid for this useless journey. Mr. White remarked that he was afraid they should be paid, in which Mr. Lansing and General Bliss concurred.

5. A letter from Mr. Auchincloss and a memorandum from Mr. Norman Davis was read regarding the assignment of Mr. Oscar T. Crosby to prepare a special report on: (1) debt of Austria-Hungary; (2) the amount of currency and notes issued in Austria-Hungary; and (3) the principles to be followed in determining the share of obligation at the time of dismemberment of the Empire. The President's telegram to the Secretary of the Treasury, expressing the wish that Mr. Crosby should hold himself available for consultation on financial matters for the Peace Conference, was noted. It was remarked that it was not clear from this telegram whether the President really desired his appointment to the Commission or not. It was decided that Mr. Lansing should take up the matter with Mr. Norman Davis and also with Mr. Strauss, as Mr. Strauss' report in regard to the proposed Austrian loan appeared to have to do with the same subject for which Mr. Crosby's services were desired.

6. A telegram regarding cooperation with the British and French Admirals in the Adriatic, which had previously been submitted to Admiral Benson and approved, was read and accepted by the Commissioners. It was felt that Admiral Benson's judgment in this matter should be accepted.

7. It was decided that Memorandum No. 96, quoting a statement of the Serbian Prime Minister to Chargé Dodge to the effect that the American Commission had inquired whether Serbia would consent to submit to the President the Italian-Jugo-Slav territorial question, should be submitted to Colonel House. Mr. Lansing stated that he had no knowledge that any such inquiry had been made by the American Commission and desired that information be obtained whether Colonel House had any knowledge that the President had given any such intimation.

8. Information Memorandum No. 21 containing recommendations in regard to Russia, was submitted to the Commissioners and read in part. Mr. Lansing observed that point 7, recommending favorable consideration of the requests of the Esthonian, Letton and Lithuanian Governments for material support, credits and supplies, was at present impossible, as no legislative action permitting this had ever been passed.

9. Portions of the report of the Danish Red Cross on Bolshevik atrocities were brought to the attention of the Commissioners, who expressed their horror and approved of the telegram to Copenhagen asking that any corroborative evidence which might be obtained should be submitted to the Commission.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/18

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
February 21, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. A. W. DULLES

1. General Bliss remarked that there was a meeting of General Foch's special committee which was studying military and naval terms, at 11 o'clock, at which he must be present.

2. Mr. Lansing stated that he had conferred with Mr. Davis and Mr. Strauss in regard to Mr. Oscar T. Crosby's being attached to the Commission to study problems of Austro-Hungarian finance. Both Mr. Davis and Mr. Strauss felt that Mr. Crosby was the man for this investigation and strongly recommended his appointment. It was decided that Mr. Grew should write a letter to Mr. Crosby advising him that he was attached to the Commission for the above mentioned work, and that before sending the letter he should confer with Colonel House, in order to make sure that all the Commissioners were agreed on this point.

3. Mr. White referred to a letter which had been received from Mr. Howe, explaining the circumstances of his hasty return from Brindisi without carrying out his mission to Syria. . . .

4. Mr. Dulles read a telegram from Mr. Buckler in which he definitely declined the appointment to Warsaw. Mr. Lansing remarked that he had had a talk with Mr. Hugh Gibson, who had stated to him that he felt it was a mistake to send a diplomatic agent or Chargé d'Affaires to Prague, as the Czechs would be offended if they did not have a full Minister, and Mr. Gibson added that an American Chargé or Diplomatic Agent would be outranked by all Allied representatives. Mr. Lansing stated that on further consideration he shared Mr. Gibson's views and felt that the same considerations applied to Warsaw. He believed therefore that no representatives should be sent until the bill now pending before Congress was passed, which would make it possible to send Ministers Plenipotentiary to both these posts. Mr. Lansing added that he had conferred in this matter with Colonel House.

5. Mr. White remarked that Mr. Buckler's decision would leave him available to go to Syria to replace Mr. Howe. He added that Mr. Buckler was well qualified for such a mission, as he had spent a great deal of time in archeological work in Asia Minor. The Commissioners accepted Mr. White's recommendation and decided that

the question of sending Mr. Buckler to Syria should be taken up immediately. Mr. Dulles stated that Mr. Dominian had been sent for by the Commission for work in Asia Minor or Syria, that he was already on the ocean, and suggested that he be considered in connection with the sending of Mr. Buckler to Syria.

6. Mr. White referred to the report from Mr. Hoover regarding the difficulties which had been met in dealing with the Allies regarding the conditions of food distribution. Mr. White read parts of Mr. Hoover's report, and his four recommendations of the action to be taken unless the Allies changed their present attitude. Mr. Lansing remarked that the Allies often seemed to desire America to pay, to arrange for transportation, and then to reserve for themselves the entire control over the distribution. General Bliss remarked that action on Mr. Hoover's proposal would result in a show-down, and we would know where we stood. Mr. Lansing stated that there were certain financial difficulties which were sometimes overlooked, and that before action could be precipitated it would be necessary for Mr. Hoover's memorandum to be studied by the financial experts of the Commission.

It was decided that Mr. White should personally take up Mr. Hoover's memorandum with Messrs. Strauss, Lamont and Davis.

[7.] Mr. White stated that he had seen General Churchill, who had expressed the opinion that he should return to America. General Churchill stated that he had originally been sent over to be of possible service to the Secretary of War in case he came to Europe, and that now as he had no particular function, he had best return with the members of his immediate staff. General Churchill had stated that he could leave those of his staff who were necessary for the work of "The Inquiry", and also possibly Captain Tyler.

The Commissioners took note of Mr. White's report and agreed that it would be desirable to fall in with General Churchill's desire that he return to the United States.

8. Mr. White referred to statements of Colonel Miles in yesterday's meeting regarding the Carinthian boundary dispute, and read a proposed draft of a letter which should be submitted to Prof. Coolidge for his guidance. It was decided that the letter should be redrafted under Mr. White's direction, and should merely state, in view of the protest of one of the parties to the dispute to the friendly unofficial assistance which they had requested, it was deemed best that the entire matter should be considered closed. (General Bliss withdrew.)

9. Indignation was expressed over Memorandum No. 97 regarding French interference with cipher telegraphic communication between the Coolidge party and the Mission. It was decided that the matter should be taken up immediately. The recommendation that it be taken up by the Peace Commission with the French Foreign

Office was not approved, but instructions were given that a strong letter should be written to the Embassy, which the Embassy might show to the Foreign Office.

10. It was felt that it would be necessary to confer with Admiral Benson in regard to Memorandum No. 98 which contained recommendations in regard to the status of Admiral Bristol at Constantinople. With reference to the specific requests of Admiral Bristol, it was decided: one, that a telegram should be addressed to Mr. Heck to obtain his opinion in regard to permitting Admiral Bristol to make use of the Embassy; two, that Admiral Bristol should not be given credentials which would put him in control of the work of all American agencies in Constantinople. Mr. Lansing remarked that we were not at war with Turkey and that we should not therefore have a military or naval official as our chief representative there.

11. The attention of the Commission was called to Memorandum No. 99 regarding Colonel Cunningham's alleged statements in Budapest that he represented Great Britain, France and the United States, and that unless the Hungarians stamped out Bolshevism the Entente would allow the Czechs, Servians and Roumanians to occupy all of Hungary. . . . It was decided that this telegram should be repeated to Ambassador Davis at London with a request that he take the matter up informally with the Foreign Office to ascertain whether the Government has any knowledge that Colonel Cunningham has made any such statements, and if so, on what authority.

12. Memorandum No. 100 was read. The Commissioners approved Admiral Benson's report on the Jugo-Slavs' protest against the pooling of their ships. Mr. Lansing felt that the correspondence should be filed without further action as Admiral Benson recommended, and that unless the matter was revived no letter should be addressed to Mr. Pichon.

13. With reference to Memorandum No. 101. The Commissioners did not know on what authority the French army in the Orient had been instructed to request the Servians to withdraw, and Mr. Lansing was not aware of any decision of the Supreme War Council which dealt with this question. It was decided that while Mr. Seymour might take up the matter informally at the next meeting of the Committee which was studying the Servian boundary question, it would be best that a formal inquiry should be made to the French Foreign Office through the Embassy.

[14.] Both Mr. Lansing and Mr. White approved heartily of coordinating the work of the Financial and Food representatives, and therefore approved the appointment of Major Benjamin C. Joy for this purpose.

15. Further information was desired in regard to the circumstances under which Mr. Henry E. Mills had been attached to Mr.

McCormick, before passing upon the question of attaching him to the Commission.

16. In regard to Mr. Gompers' request that Francis E. Adams report to him for duty as a translator, Mr. Lansing inquired whether there were not sufficient translators already attached to the Commission without adding another. Mr. White agreed that Mr. Gompers' request should not be approved until it was ascertained that a translator could not be furnished him from the persons already attached to the Commission.

17. It was decided that the suggestion that an artist be attached to the Commission to execute a portrait of the Peace Conference should be referred to the Department of State as this was clearly a Governmental matter. If the Government desired a portrait of the Peace Conference they should make an appropriation for it.

18. It was unanimously decided that Washington's birthday should be declared a full holiday for the staff of the Commission.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/19

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
February 22, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GENERAL BLISS

Later—COLONEL HOUSE, Representatives of the
American Federation of Labor, Mr.
Gompers and others

MR. DULLES

1. Mr. White remarked that Mr. Howe desired to be definitely relieved of his mission to Syria and suggested that this be done and that a telegram be sent to Mr. Barton informing him of this fact. Mr. Lansing remarked that it was so late in the day that he was skeptical of the wisdom of trying to send a mission to Syria at the present time. General Bliss suggested that Emir Feizal be called in to tell his story personally to the Commissioners, in order that they might get an idea of the various factions in Syria, keeping in mind, however, that Feizal represented only one position.

Mr. Dulles suggested that it would be possible to request a member of the staff of Beirut Protestant College to come immediately to Paris and report on the political situation in Syria. He suggested George Stewart, the Treasurer of the College, a man who had been

in Beirut during the entire war, as a reliable observer. The Commissioners approved of the idea of trying to obtain personal testimony from Syria, but desired that Mr. Bliss, the President of the Beirut Protestant College, now in Paris, be consulted, and that Professor Westermann's views be obtained, and a definite recommendation made on the basis of the reports of these two men. It was decided that Mr. Buckler should not be sent to Syria.

2. Mr. Lansing read a message from M. Clemenceau, in which he expressed his appreciation of the Commissioners' solicitous inquiry at the time of his accident.

3. (Mr. McCormick enters.) Mr. McCormick stated that in pursuance of the decision of the Supreme War Council that civilians should be added to the Armistice Commission as economic experts, he desired to propose the name[s] of Mr. Lamont and Mr. McFadden as American members of the Armistice Commission. Mr. McCormick remarked that Mr. Baruch, and Mr. Davis also Mr. Strauss all approved and concurred in this recommendation.

The Commissioners approved the appointment of Messrs. McFadden and Lamont to the Armistice Commission.

4. General Bliss read a letter which he had received from General Patrick in regard to the necessity of having someone attached to the Commission to deal with the questions of aerial navigation which might be brought up. The Commissioners were of the opinion that it would not be necessary to make any one definite assignment for this task, as the work to be done would not be sufficient to occupy the entire time of any one man, at least at present. General Bliss stated that he would reply to General Patrick's letter.

5. General Bliss read a draft of a telegram to the Secretary of War in regard to the bill for over \$500,000, which had been presented to the Commission by General Harts for Army personnel and supplies. General Bliss' telegram expressed the Commission's embarrassment at receiving such a bill, and pointed out that the precedent of previous commissions on which army officers had served would not seem to justify the action which had been taken in this case.

6. Mr. Lansing referred to the necessity of having an expert on South American affairs attached to the Commission and stated that Mr. Stabler had been sent for. He inquired whether any information had been received regarding the probable date of Stabler's arrival, as there were South American affairs of importance pending.

7. A telegram from the President regarding Winston Churchill's policy in Russia was read.^{46a} The Commissioners decided that a telegram should be sent to the President to the effect that Churchill's project was dead, and that there was little danger that it would be

^{46a} *Foreign Relations, 1919, Russia, p. 71.*

revived again by the Conference. General Bliss remarked that he had told Churchill that he must have misunderstood the President, who would not have made the statement which had been attributed to him regarding military action in Russia. The Commissioners remarked that the President's telegram, dated February 19 and received on the 20th, had only been brought to their attention on the 22nd, and desired that an investigation of this delay be made.

8. Mr. Dulles read excerpts from a letter addressed to Mr. Lansing by Count Cellere of the Italian Delegation—from a note from the French Government to the Embassy in Paris—and from a telegram from Rome containing reports from Ensign Tree and Captain Bruce—all regarding the situation in Montenegro. The Commissioners were unanimous that, notwithstanding Italian, French and British representation, there was no reason to change the decision regarding the despatch of American troops to Montenegro. Mr. Dulles suggested that either Ensign Tree or Captain Bruce be instructed to proceed to Paris to report in person to the Commission on the Montenegrin situation. This suggestion was approved.

9. The Commissioners did not see the necessity of appointing a special officer to do liaison work between the Commission and the Red Cross, and were of the opinion that Red Cross matters should be taken up through the usual channels. Mr. Dulles pointed out that the Red Cross was engaged in many activities—relief of Russian prisoners as well as general relief work in enemy countries, in regard to which the Commission should be informed. On the facts presented, however, the Commissioners did not feel that a special officer was necessary for this work.

10. With reference to the letter of the "Temperance and Social Service Commission" to Mr. Grew, the Commissioners pointed out that this organization stated that it intended to take up the prohibition question with the Peace Conference through "the officially appointed representatives of the anti-saloon league of America". It was decided, therefore, that it would not be necessary or advisable to present to the Secretary General the resolutions attached with the letter from the Temperance and Social Service Commission, and that it would be sufficient for Mr. Grew to merely acknowledge receipt of this letter.

11. With reference to a telegram from the Department of State suggesting that Turkey be informed that the abrogation of the capitulations was illegal, Mr. Lansing observed that the United States had informed Turkey to this effect in 1915,^{46b} and that it would, therefore, not be necessary to repeat such a statement at the present time. He felt that it might weaken rather than strengthen the original American protest against the abrogation of the capitulations. The Com-

^{46b} See *Foreign Relations*, 1915, pp. 1301 ff.

missioners decided that a telegram in this sense should be sent to the Department of State.

12. The Commissioners approved the recommendation on Memorandum No. 102 regarding the desire of Mr. Haidar Bammate to come to Paris to present to the Peace Conference the case of the peoples of Circassia and Daghestan. It was decided that the Embassy should be instructed to address a communication to the French Foreign Office regarding Mr. Haidar Bammate.

13. (Colonel House enters.) A delegation of the American Federation of Labor including Mr. Samuel Gompers, Mr. James Duncan, John R. Alpine, Frank Duffy and William Green was introduced.

Mr. Gompers spoke of the work of the American Federation of Labor. No labor movement he said had stood behind its government so faithfully as the labor movement under the American Federation of Labor in the United States. The only possible comparison was that of Germany, where, unfortunately, labor had lent its cooperation to the force of reaction. American labor could flatter itself that it had "kept the faith". The solidarity in American labor ranks behind the government had kept American labor from joining certain other labor movements of Europe which favored, at times, a negotiated peace against which American labor had always protested.

Mr. Gompers referred to the attack upon Clemenceau, the assassination of Eisner and of other Bavarian leaders as a sign of the times, a manifestation of what was seething in the ranks of the people throughout the world. To meet this unrest, *something must be done*, a peace treaty containing merely legal phrases will not satisfy; labor must find in the peace treaty a real recognition of its needs and demands. A defeated army like Germany's did not expect to find much at home, but for victorious soldiers to go home and find no work is intolerable.

Mr. Gompers referred to the Berne Socialists Congress which he had refused to attend as he considered it a German scheme. He stated that the President had openly expressed himself as approving this decision.

Mr. Gompers gave to the Commissioners two papers, one, containing the proposals submitted by the Delegates of the United States in the Commission on International labor legislation, and two, the reconstruction program of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Lansing inquired how the reconstruction problem directly affected the question of the peace treaty. Mr. Lansing added that the Commissioners desired information which would be of help to them in the actual work of preparing the peace treaty. Mr. Gompers admitted that the question of reconstruction was hardly one which could be dealt with in a treaty.

Mr. Gompers then referred to a British proposition which was before the Labor Commission regarding the construction of a permanent bureau in connection with the League of Nations. He added that he felt that this bureau was a step in the right direction, and that the American Labor Delegates were helping, that they desired, however, the advice and help of the American Commissioners. Mr. Lansing remarked that rather, the Labor Delegates should give the Commissioners their advice on this subject.

Mr. Gompers referred to another proposition which has been agitated namely, the establishment of a super-national commission to include first the Allies and later the neutral and the countries at present enemy countries. The plan of this Commission contemplated four representatives from each country, two appointed by the government, one appointed by employers, and one by labor. Such a super-national parliament would enact legislation which according to the proposed plan would become effective in each of the States concerned unless specifically rejected by that State. Mr. Gompers stated that he and his colleagues had fought this project. Colonel House referred to the constitutional provisions of the United States which made any such project absolutely impossible. General Bliss added that the nature of such a body was such as to make it a possible danger to labor itself. Mr. Gompers stated that while such schemes as the above were being discussed, unemployment was greatly increasing at home. He referred to a number of dangerous signs among American labor—the threat of a general strike on July 4th, unless, Mooney was released—the movement “no beer no work”—strikes in Seattle, etc.

Mr. Gompers stated that it was being quietly circulated about that faddist parlor socialists were more agreeable to the Commission than the representatives of American labor. Mr. Gompers referred to the rumour that the Commission had supported the Berne Conference and sent representatives there. Mr. Lansing inquired to whom Mr. Gompers referred. Mr. Gompers stated that he had heard that Mr. Bullard had gone to Berne to represent the Commission at the Conference. Mr. Lansing stated that this was absurd, that a Mr. Bullitt had gone to Berne as an observer to report the doings of the Conference to the Commission, and in no way as a representative to the Conference, that in the same way Mr. Bullitt was now going to Russia as an observer. Mr. Gompers stated that Mr. Bullitt was reported to be in sympathy with the Bolsheviks. Mr. Lansing stated that he was not a sympathizer with the Bolsheviks, nor was the Commission. Mr. Gompers referred to other persons who were supposed to have great influence with the Commission and to be of Bolshevik leanings—a Mr. Howe, and Captain Lippmann. Mr. Lansing stated that he did not know Mr. Howe, that he had not seen Captain Lippmann for

ten months, and he had never had a private conversation with him; that he had heard of him as an editor of the "New Republic". Mr. Gompers referred to Mr. Walter Wile as another of the persons who were of Bolshevik tendencies, in close touch with the Commission. General Bliss stated that with the exception of Mr. Bullitt, the men whom Mr. Gompers had mentioned were not well known to the Commission. Mr. Gompers referred to Mr. Lansing's reference to the "New Republic" and stated that this periodical was Anti-administration, pro-German and of extreme socialist tendencies. Mr. Lansing said that he had not read a copy of the "New Republic" since the war.

Mr. James Duncan interrupted Mr. Gompers and gave a clear exposition of what the American labor delegation desired. The American Federation of Labor, he said, wanted their views incorporated into the Peace Treaty; *organized labor must have this recognition*. Labor had done its best during the war and now something must be done for labor that would be really constructive.

Mr. Lansing replied expressing the Commission's appreciation of what the American Federation of Labor had achieved. He referred to what appeared to be the significant fact of the present time—a break down of nationalism and an increased emphasis on class against class cutting across national lines. The Commissioners, he said, were alive to the seriousness of the problem.

Mr. Lansing referred to the difficulty of handling the labor problem because of internationalism and asked whether the Labor representatives were working on the plan of the committee outlined under the League of Nations.

Mr. Duncan stated that article 20 of the Covenant was first class but that Labor wanted more details in regard to this Committee and that it was hard for them to proceed without definite direction.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/20

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, February 24, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
COLONEL HOUSE
MR. HERTER

1. Colonel House stated that General Pershing had come to him yesterday and had assured him that he had previously known nothing about the bill for over half a million dollars which had been submitted to the Commission by the army. General Pershing believed

that this matter had originated with General Harts, but at the same time felt that General Harts had done so merely for the sake of indicating to the Commission the present cost to the army of its assistance, and not with a view to having the bill paid. He therefore asked that General Harts be exonerated and the matter be forgotten. General Pershing added, however, that in his opinion there were too many army men now attached to the Commission, and that criticism sooner or later would have to be expected.

Colonel House observed that the greatest need which the Commission had at the present time was for trained civilians, particularly those who could take high responsible positions. He added that all in all, however, our situation, including technical advisors, was better than that of any other nation, and that this had been repeatedly proved by our experts being able to rectify statements made by the technical experts of other nations at the Quai d'Orsay. Our financial men in particular, he said were far ahead of the others, especially the British.

2. Mr. Lansing and Colonel House discussed the strange manner in which Mr. Howe had acted by returning from Brindisi, half way on his trip to the Near-East. They felt that in view of his actions it would be better to drop him all together, but at the same time to ask Mr. Barton to go on alone. He could then be later joined by the mission which was being organized by Captain Tyler under the leadership of Mr. Dominian. In regard to the latter gentleman, Colonel House observed that he was a *persona grata* with President Wilson and that it would be most acceptable to the President if he, in conjunction with Mr. Barton, were made head of a mission to the Near-East. In the meanwhile, however, both the Commissioners felt that if the Commission knew of any reliable Syrians who wished to come to Paris but were being stopped by the French, Italians or British, it would be well for us to take steps to see that they were allowed to come on to Paris.

3. Mr. Lansing told of a visit which he had received from a Commission of Dalmatian religious functionaries representing the whole Diocese of Dalmatia, including the Cardinal and a Franciscan. These gentlemen all appeared to be very anti-Italian and assured Mr. Lansing that the sentiments which they expressed were the ones which were really felt by the people of Dalmatia. Colonel House at the same time remarked that a Mr. Seldon of the *New York Times*, who had recently visited Jugo-Slav territory had brought back a report, the authenticity of which Colonel House could not vouch for, that the Jugo-Slavs were willing to make a very reasonable proposal in regard to their claims.

4. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by the Secretariat giving a list of the names of the American Secretaries connected with

the Peace Commission who were actually engaged on the work with the Conference proper and not with any of its branch committees. Mr. Lansing requested that he be allowed to keep this memorandum as he had several names which he desired to add to the list.

5. Colonel House stated that he had just had a talk with Mr. Norman Davis about the question of reparations, and that Mr. Davis had felt that it would not be possible for us to get together with the French in this matter. Colonel House had told him that if the Americans and French delegates were unable to get together in the immediate future they should not waste their time any longer but should draw up their report and send it to the Bureau of Ten. He added that if in the Committee of Ten the French still insisted on carrying out a project which was contrary to the wishes of the President and contrary to the pledge which had been given to Germany before the signing of the armistice we should then state that we wash our hands of the whole business, and that for our part we would absolutely refuse to ask for any indemnity from Germany. He added that unless this policy were followed Germany could within four or five years repudiate any agreement which she is now forced into by the associated governments on the grounds that it was contrary to the agreement which she had entered into at the time of the signing of the armistice, and that if Germany should make such a repudiation all of the world would sympathize with her and there would undoubtedly be a new war with a different line up.

6. Mr. Lansing stated that he had observed that in a draft proposal for a peace treaty which had been submitted to him, no mention was made of the League of Nations. He believed that the peace treaty which should be submitted to Germany for signature should have incorporated in it an article to the effect that the signatories to the treaty approve and consent to the organization of a League of Nations as formulated in a document annexed to that treaty. This would mean that the constitution of the League of Nations would not be bodily incorporated in the treaty of peace but would merely be an annex thereto. Mr. Lansing indicated that such a procedure would have the advantage of allowing neutral countries to sign the constitution of the League of Nations, but would at the same time exclude enemy countries from signing it but would force them to approve it after it had been signed. Colonel House considered this an excellent idea and hoped that Mr. Lansing would develop it further.

7. The Commissioners stated that they preferred not to see Captain Voska at the present time. They thought that it would be advisable, however, for Captain Voska to see General Bliss and make a report to him, and that if the latter then thought that the Commissioners ought to hear this report an interview could be arranged for at a later date.

8. The telegram to Prof. Coolidge at Vienna regarding Colonel Miles' decision on the Carinthian boundary question was approved.

9. The telegram to the Department of State defining the purpose of Mr. Bullitt's mission was approved.⁴⁷

10. The telegram regarding the attitude which the United States should adopt at the present time in respect to the abrogation of the capitulations in Turkey was approved.

11. Part of the memorandum from Colonel Williams regarding Franco-American relations was read, and the Commissioners stated they were getting awfully tired of hearing just how strained relations were and that they would really prefer to let the matter rest.

12. Memorandum No. 103 was read quoting a telegram which Admiral Benson desires to send to the President regarding our present naval building program. The Commissioners felt very strongly that it would be unwise to send this telegram, in view of the fact that it would be most dangerous to give it to the press, and in view of the fact that unless it were given to the Press it would service [*serve*] no purpose. The Commissioners decided therefore that Mr. Lansing should speak to Admiral Benson personally about the matter.

13. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Mr. Patchin requesting that he be authorized to expend 1340 francs for certain type necessary to print good proofs of the proces-verbales etc., for the Commission. The Commissioners immediately stated that they would be glad to authorize Mr. Patchin's expending *any* sum necessary for turning out legible and well printed documents for the Commission.

14. Memorandum No. 104 was read and the attention of the Commissioners was called to a telegram from Prof. Coolidge regarding certain demands which the Italian Government was making on the German-Austrians, using as a threat to force compliance with these demands the cutting off of food shipments.

The Commissioners agreed that the action of the Italians in this matter was intolerable, and that some way would have to be found to prevent the further complete control of the Italians over the German-Austrian food supply. They therefore heartily approved of the recommendation contained in Memorandum No. 104, namely, that Mr. Hoover should be requested to suggest the measures which should be taken in the premises.

15. Mr. Herter read a memorandum regarding certain statements which the Delegates of the Ukrainian Republic had made to the President of the Peace Conference. The Commissioners stated that they had already received this information through certain data which General Bliss distributed containing a full text of three notes which the Delegation in question had sent to M. Clemenceau.

⁴⁷ See telegram No. 893, February 24, 1919, 10 p. m., *Foreign Relations, 1919, Russia*, p. 74.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/21

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, February 25, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

MR. H. R. WILSON

1. Mr. White stated that Mr. Hoover had discussed with him the matter of the interest due on the Austrian-Hungarian war loan, stating that it had been proposed that a declaration be made "no interest, no food". Mr. White had stated that this in his opinion was not a matter for the Inter-Allied Food Commission, to which statement Mr. Lansing agreed.

2. The matter of General Churchill was referred to General Bliss.

3. Mr. White stated that the Spanish Ambassador had asked him for his interpretation of the meaning of Article 7 of the League of Nations. Mr. Lansing suggested that Mr. White inform the Ambassador that until further discussion and clarification of this article was made, an explanation of its meaning was premature.

4. Mr. White brought up the question of his attending the Conference this afternoon for the Algeciras matter. Both Mr. Lansing and Mr. White were opposed to the expression that had been used that this treaty⁴⁸ had been "imposed by Germany". Mr. Lansing declared that Mr. Balfour had stated that it had not been imposed on England, and the two Commissioners present united in declaring that it had not been imposed on the United States. Mr. White and Mr. Lansing both felt that the only thing that interested us in the treaty was the "open door".

5. Mr. Wilson presented the memorandum of Mr. A. W. Dulles concerning the appointment of Captain Huntington Gilchrist to Mr. Dresel's office. Mr. Lansing stated that he knew Captain Gilchrist, that the force was already adequate and that he disapproved the appointment.

6. Mr. Wilson introduced a memorandum from Mr. Grew and Mr. Patchin giving Mr. Patchin's explanation of the cause of the delay in bringing to the attention of the Commission the President's telegram of February 19th concerning the withdrawing of our military forces in Russia. Mr. Lansing declared that in such cases, a memorandum should be attached to the telegram when delivered stating that it was "garbled and delayed for necessary repetition".

⁴⁸ Act of Algeciras, signed April 7, 1906; *Foreign Relations*, 1906, pt. 2, p. 1495.

7. Mr. Wilson introduced the question of Austro-Hungarian prisoners in Siberia. Mr. Lansing and Mr. White both approved the specific recommendations concerning the telegram to the Department, and the desirability of discussing the matter with the American Red Cross in view of Mr. Davison's ⁴⁹ presence in Paris. Mr. Wilson raised the project that had been submitted by the Austro-Hungarian Red Cross representatives in Switzerland as to the use of Austro-Hungarian money in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian for the relief of these prisoners. Mr. Lansing stated that such procedure was impossible since the Alien Property Custodian could not take such measures without an act of Congress authorizing him to take that step.

8. Mr. Wilson introduced the matter of the proposed liaison officer between the Commission and the Red Cross. The idea contained in Mr. Grew's memorandum of February 25th was approved by Mr. Lansing and Mr. White, and Mr. Grew is requested to select the liaison officer and inform the Commission as to the choice.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/22

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, February 26, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

MR. H. R. WILSON

1. Dr. Bliss of the American College in Beirut, Syria, was called in. He declared that Syria was a small country, but that the principle involved was clear cut and one which affected the honor of the United States and her allies. Syria is depending on the Article of the President's declaration concerning the right of self-determination of race, and specifically of the twelfth point which refers to the Turkish affairs. France also made a declaration in November 1918,⁵⁰ of which Dr. Bliss sketched the history, which they now seem to be ignoring. Dr. Bliss urged strongly the sending of an inter-Allied Commission for examination of this matter, whatever might be its findings, it would satisfy the demands of honor. Mr. Lansing stated that he had made the same proposal but that it had been refused by Pichon under orders from Clemenceau. Mr. Lansing declared himself ready to

⁴⁹ Henry P. Davison, chairman of the War Council of the American Red Cross.

⁵⁰ Reference is apparently to British and French joint declaration quoted in telegram No. 226, November 25, 1918, from the Diplomatic Agent and Consul General at Cairo, vol. II, p. 274.

press the matter providing he was sure of British assistance. Dr. Bliss replied that Mr. Balfour was in favor of the project. Mr. Lansing assured Dr. Bliss that the affair would not go by default, and that when it is seen that definite action is contemplated in regard to Syria it will be time to make a protest. The Commissioners are considering carefully what is proper. Dr. Bliss declared that the country should certainly not be handed over before the wishes of the people were consulted, and both the Commissioners agreed. Dr. Bliss stated that a Syrian from Lebanon, a representative man, had declared to him that the Syrians would unanimously favor America for the mandatory power. The same statement has been made to him by other persons from Syria. Mr. White inquired how the Commission in Syria could get a comprehensive view of the situation, because of the propaganda of both the British and French. Dr. Bliss replied it was difficult, but not impossible. Men must be selected of character and dignity. He declared that if it was impossible to send an inter-Allied Commission, he strongly recommended that an American Commission go out which could talk freely to all classes of Syrians. He was not in favor of calling for Syrians to come to Paris, since how could the proper men be chosen. . . . Mr. Lansing informed him that no decision was imminent. (Dr. Bliss withdrew.)

2. Mr. Hoover entered. Mr. Hoover stated that at Triest he had been able to accumulate 80 or 90 thousand tons of food stuffs, and had been endeavoring for over a month to get it inland for distribution, but that he was meeting with the most constant and irritating obstruction, strikes, lack of railway accommodations etc. He has now been informed that the day before yesterday the Italians severed all connection with the Jugo-Slavs, and that practically a state of war exists, due to incidents at Laibach. The Italians have declared that they cannot, therefore, move any further quantities of food from Triest but will endeavor to move four trains a day through Tyrol to Austria. This would place in the country about 20% of the necessary food, and might take care of the immediate needs only of Vienna and the Czecho-Slovaks. Mr. Lansing asked what recommendation he made to stop this condition of affairs, and Mr. Hoover replied that it could be stopped by informing the Italians that they would get no more food from the United States unless they facilitated the operation of the relief administration. He desires to have the means of management in his hands, definite rolling stock and right of transportation. He declares that what rolling stock has been demanded from Austria should be immediately handed over to the relief.

Mr. Lansing inquired whether Mr. Hoover had already threatened the Italians. Mr. Hoover replied that he was not in a position to threaten, but that he had pointed out the very painful impression

that such action would make, and the conviction that it would persuade the American people that the whole question of the Adriatic countries, including Italy, should be abandoned and they should be left to settle their own affairs. Mr. Hoover stated that he had listened in the Supreme Economic Council to Mr. Crespi⁵¹ who wept over the Italian economic conditions, but that this kind of thing was not getting anybody anywhere. Mr. Lansing inquired what definite steps Mr. Hoover had to propose. Mr. Hoover proposed a telegram to the President explaining the case, and recommending that food be stopped to Italy unless necessary facilities are given to Mr. Hoover to carry out his work. Mr. Lansing stated that a telegram of such importance should be shown to all the Commissioners, and requested Mr. Hoover to draw up and furnish him with such a telegram. Mr. Hoover then explained the difficulties he had encountered in obtaining recognition for his Commission in Triest. Mr. White remarked that the Italians have a genius for obstruction. Mr. Lansing suggested, without insisting upon the point of view, that a telegram be drafted for the President and shown to Mr. Sonnino with the intimation that unless matters were remedied it would be sent to the President. Mr. Hoover replied that he had already sent one of his best men to Rome where he could explain the situation to Mr. Orlando, and that he encountered the same policy of obstruction.

3. Mr. Hoover stated that he was prevented by law from feeding Vienna, and that people were daily dying there from starvation. He hopes that by allowing somebody else to make the payment he can get food to that city. Some 25,000 tons of food at Triest could be sold to the Italians under the understanding that it should be shipped to Vienna. Mr. Hoover acknowledged a certain inconsistency between this project and the ideas he had developed above, and added that Italian security itself was not satisfactory, but that politically it was important that food should reach Vienna to prevent an explosion which otherwise might be anticipated within a week.

4. Mr. Hoover then introduced the subject of food agreements with the Polish Government. He inquired from Mr. Lansing whether it was preferable that contracts with the Polish Government should be drawn up through the State Department. Mr. Lansing replied that he thought the War Trade Board. He believed that contracts might be drawn up in the name of the relief organization but not of the American Government, and that Mr. Hoover should have legal counsel on the subject. Mr. Hoover stated that the contract would have a form somewhat as follows:

⁵¹ Of the Italian delegation.

“The Polish Government having applied for certain food stuffs, and the Allied Governments having declared their intention of furnishing such provisions, and the United States having created a Relief Administration, this Administration has found it possible to set aside certain quantities for Poland.”

Mr. Hoover pointed out that this involves a certain recognition of the Polish Government, and Mr. Lansing replied that such recognition had already been accorded.

5. Mr. Hoover continued by stating that the question of shipments to Riga, Libau and other points in the Baltic provinces was more complicated, but the Livonia problem was very difficult. Mr. Lansing suggested that Mr. Hoover consult Major Dulles who had had large experience in similar cases on the War Trade Board. There was also a difficulty Mr. Hoover declared in shipments to Armenia, but Mr. Lansing pointed out that the Congressional act especially mentioned Armenian relief and therefore contracts could be created without danger.

Mr. Hoover withdrew.

6. Mr. Wilson stated that Major Whitridge^{51a} had just returned from Berlin via Munich and was waiting to see whether the Commission desired to receive him. Mr. Lansing stated they would try to receive him tomorrow.

7. Mr. Wilson presented Memorandum No. 107 concerning the secret agreements which Japan had persuaded certain European powers to sign, pledging their support for Japanese claims in certain islands of the Pacific, and special rights in the province of Shantung. Mr. Lansing stated he already had these documents, and Mr. White requested that it should be ascertained whether these documents had been delivered to him as he had not seen them.

[8.] Mr. Wilson introduced Memorandum No. 108 concerning the proposed portrait of the Commission. Both Mr. Lansing and Mr. White declared that they were not in favor of making a recommendation to the State Department in this matter, and they desired to be informed where the work of these gentlemen who had proposed their services could be seen on exhibition.

9. Mr. Wilson informed the Commissioners that Mr. Grew had consulted Dr. Bliss and Prof. Westermann concerning the question of the reliable American observer to be sent to Syria.

10. Memorandum No. 109 was introduced concerning the telegram to J. L. Barton, and the despatch of this telegram was approved by the Commission.

^{51a} Arnold Whitridge, of the Gherardi Mission to Germany.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/23

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, February 27, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. H. R. WILSON

1. General Bliss stated that in the case of Lieut. Voska there was really no evidence against him. Lieut. Voska had submitted that he was acting under orders from Mr. Sisson⁵² to investigate a report showing connivance on the part of the German and Austro-Hungarian governments in the murder at Sarajevo. Mr. Lansing discussed Mr. Sisson and his part in the publication of the Bolshevik documents tending to show that Lenine and Trotsky had been in German pay.⁵³ He declared that Mr. Sisson was a dangerous person. Mr. Lansing suggested to General Bliss to consult Mr. Patchin and Mr. Harrison concerning Mr. Sisson.

2. Mr. Lansing introduced the memorandum concerning the payment of commutation of quarters, and suggested that it be adopted with the insertion of article 5 reading, "this order effective from and after February 1, 1919". The Commission thereupon approved the entire recommendation with Mr. Lansing's amendment.

3. General Bliss stated that yesterday they had finished discussion on the armament affair. That Marshal Foch had stated that he would accept nothing to which General Bliss made reserves. A new draft was accordingly drawn up to which General Bliss agreed, declaring however, that the political consequences thereof were outside his province and must be judged by those competent. This agreement was returned to Marshal Foch, and later General Bliss was informed that an amendment had been made to it. General Bliss found that the amendment contained a rider which by its reading gave the possibility of perpetual control. Thereupon it was revised, and Marshal Foch will consult the Allies for their approval. General Bliss expected opposition to it. It will subsequently be reported to the Council.

4. Mr. Lansing read from the minutes of the Council meeting on Monday last concerning Mr. Pichon's declaration that the preliminary conditions were not preliminary peace terms.⁵⁴ Mr. Pichon explained that the conditions would in reality form part of the ar-

⁵² Of the Committee on Public Information.

⁵³ For papers relating to the Sisson documents, see *Foreign Relations*, 1918, Russia, vol. I, pp. 371-378, 380, 381-382.

⁵⁴ See BC-38, minute 1 (b), vol. IV, p. 102.

mistice and not part of the peace terms, pointing out the necessity, if they were peace terms of their being submitted to the United States Senate for ratification. Mr. Lansing felt that only the final form of a peace document had to be submitted to the Senate, but that conditions which included economic and territorial terms constituted in effect a peace treaty which should be submitted to the Senate. Mr. Lansing stated that on Tuesday he asked Mr. Pichon whether in reality he considered these preliminary conditions as an extension of the armistice or as part of the peace treaty. Mr. Pichon replied that he considered them an extension of the terms of the armistice. He thereupon called Marshal Foch by telephone, who took the contrary point of view. Mr. Lansing pointed out that the nature of the terms would make it obligatory that the Senate ratify it. General Bliss declared that he and General Pershing had agreed to a draft providing for: one, reduction of the German army; two, reduction of armaments; three, prohibitory terms; four, provision for control by a military commission in Germany. General Bliss pointed out that the Senate would probably make objections to the participation by American officers in a commission for perpetual control. General Bliss declared that he and General Pershing only, therefore, agreed to such a commission as would exist for a limited period of time to oversee the execution of those things which can be promptly carried out. General Bliss states the others have now receded from their position. Mr. Lansing called attention to the changed attitude in this matter of the French military authorities who now prefer a definite peace rather than a continuation of the armistice, Marshal Foch being uneasy about the condition in the French army. General Bliss stated that Marshal Foch had declared himself fully in accord with an immediate peace. Mr. White stated that it was the intention to have an immediate peace. General Bliss stated that Mr. Swope⁵⁵ informed him that in an interview with Colonel House, the latter stated that those military, naval and air conditions which are included in the preliminary treaty will be included in the final terms. General Bliss is in accord with this. Mr. Lansing stated that it was this desire for early peace that induced the Council to call for reports on March 8th. Mr. Lansing is now working on the final draft. He added that Mr. Pichon declared that they were inserting in the armistice terms conditions to be incorporated later in the peace terms. Mr. Lansing, however, believes that it is really a preliminary peace and not armistice. Mr. White stated the idea now was to make peace with Germany, letting the Italian and other matters wait. Mr. Lansing stated that this was correct, but that the same resolutions had been adopted for each one of the

⁵⁵ Herbert Bayard Swope, of the *New York World*.

enemy powers, but had been adopted separately which will enable separate action. Mr. White stated that the treaty with Germany must then be ratified by the Senate before peace could be declared by the President. General Bliss declared that the fact that the United States was now sending home 200,000 men per month and would shortly begin to send 300,000 was the factor that was inducing the others to hurry.

5. Mr. Harrison entered concerning a telegram despatched by M. Noulens⁵⁶ from Poland relative to assistance for General Kernan. General Bliss declared that he would discuss this matter with General Pershing, and the Commission therefore referred the matter to General Bliss.

6. Mr. Wilson stated that Mr. Hoover had requested him to explain to the Commission that the bank at Helsingfors, the National Bank of Finland, has 14 million dollars on deposit in New York. In view of the frequent changes of government in Finland, the banks are unwilling to accept checks signed by the treasurer of the Bank of Helsingfors, unless the American authorities will declare that this treasurer now officiating has the right to draw such drafts. Mr. Hoover urges strongly that recognition be granted to the Government of Finland so that this money may be drawn for food which is immediately necessary to relieve the critical food condition of that country. Mr. Wilson added that he had brought up the matter with Colonel House and that Colonel House approved favorable action. The Commission decided to request from Mr. Dolbeare a complete report with recommendations to be presented at the earliest possible moment concerning the matter of the recognition of Finland.

7. Mr. Wilson stated that Colonel House had requested him to inform the Commission that the French government was giving a large dinner on Saturday, March 6th, for the American Delegation, including Admiral Benson, Mr. Sharp and General Pershing. That Mr. Lansing and Mr. Sharp were asked to give short speeches for the American Delegation. Mr. Lansing stated he would consult with Colonel House in regard to the acceptance.

8. Mr. Wilson read the telegram to the President which Mr. Hoover had proposed in the meeting of Wednesday.⁵⁷ The despatch of that telegram was approved by the Commission.

9. The Commission approved the despatch of a telegram to the Department of State prepared by Mr. Grew, concerning the portrait of the Commission.

⁵⁶ French delegate and chairman of the Interallied Mission to Poland.

⁵⁷ See minute 2, p. 77.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/24

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, February 28, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. H. R. WILSON

1. General Bliss read a letter which he had addressed to the Commissioners concerning conclusions which he had reached as a result of his discussions with the allied colleagues. He believes that there are plans for continued military operations after the war, and that these plans include help from the United States. There is reason to believe, and this reason is given foundation by Marshal Foch's declarations at the Supreme War Council that it is a plan to align the border states of Russia in a war against Russia under French direction. General Bliss' letter points out that all of the continental states of Europe are bankrupt, and England would become bankrupt if she endeavored to participate in such a war. Therefore, this plan depends on American financial assistance. This explains the insistence that some American soldiers should be sent to Dantzic, although the ostensible reason is the maintenance of communication with Thorn for deliveries of supplies and despatch of troops to Poland. General Bliss' letter states that the newly created states of Central Europe are bending every effort to raise large armaments, while Germany is extremely anxious to reduce its armaments. With the best intention in the world, the American philanthropic schemes for the new countries are enabling those countries to spend so much more on military preparation, and by so much are contributing to the preparation for a new continental explosion. The letter urges a statement from America, inoffensive in tone but positive, of the real purpose of America when peace is concluded. The declaration should state that America will withdraw its military forces on the signature of peace, and that all assistance in credits and supplies will be stopped except that which follows the dictates of the humanitarian impulses of the people. The French know that the United States is necessary in any future war against Germany. They regard the League of Nations as a dream, but the friendship of the United States as a reality. The letter concludes with the recommendation that the Commissioners consider carefully whether they can do anything in this matter. Mr. White stated that he had the same conviction, and suggested that a telegram should be sent to the President. Mr. Lansing suggested that the statement should include the declaration that we intended to cooperate

through the League of Nations and not otherwise. General Bliss considered that it would be highly advantageous for the President to ascertain while at home the attitude of Congress toward the sending of American troops to Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and elsewhere. It was agreed that General Bliss would draft a telegram which he would submit to the Commissioners.

2. Mr. Wilson introduced the matter of the telegrams from Admiral McCully at Murmansk requesting naval assistance.⁵⁸ General Bliss recalled to the memory of the Commissioners that he had sent a letter some days ago concerning the despatch to Archangel of American railway troops, pointing out that it was necessary for the troops to make construction over the frozen swamps during the winter months to maintain supplies, and facilitate the withdrawal of the troops in the Spring. General Bliss stated that the President had approved this matter, and that the British also wished to withdraw. There is, therefore, no doubt that the President believes that the withdrawal should be made. General Bliss then sketched the geographical and military situation, and answered Mr. Lansing's question in regard to the possibility of getting the boats to Archangel by stating that they would probably blast the ice, and that in any case the ice might be broken and small boats could get through. He urges that all assistance be given which is necessary to facilitate the withdrawal in the Spring. Mr. Lansing suggested that General Bliss talk to Admiral Benson in the name of the Commission along the lines indicated above. Mr. Lansing added that he regretted the obligation to desert the Russian troops which rallied to us even though they were few in number. Criticism was then expressed of British methods in handling expeditions. Mr. Wilson handed the papers in the case to General Bliss.

[There is an apparent omission in the text of the minutes at this point.] named Secretary to the American Delegation to Prinkipo was now in Paris and requested an expression of opinion from the Commissioners as to what should be told him as to the projected trip. Mr. Lansing inquired for details concerning Mr. Phelps which were supplied by Mr. White, who gave a high recommendation to Mr. Phelps. Mr. Lansing suggested that Mr. Phelps be retained in Mr. Grew's political department, as there was need for trained men since that department was overwhelmed with work. Mr. Phelps can be informed that he will be retained until final determination of the Prinkipo affair.

4. Mr. White stated that Mr. Tardieu had announced that the Prinkipo matter was definitely off and asked the advice of the Commission as to what to tell the press when questioned about it. Mr.

⁵⁸ See *Foreign Relations, 1919, Russia*, p. 619.

Lansing advised Mr. White to state that the matter had not reached a final conclusion.

5. Mr. Wilson introduced Memorandum No. 111 concerning Mr. McCormick's telegram to the President urging the latter to return to France via Antwerp, visiting the devastated districts en route to Paris.⁵⁹ Mr. White was entirely in favor of despatching such a telegram to urge the same matter, and declared that he had repeatedly seen that the French were dissatisfied that the President had not made such a trip. Mr. Lansing stated that in such a recommendation it was essential to have the approval of everyone of the Commissioners. General Bliss pointed out that the trip to Antwerp might be more dangerous than to France because of floating mines. Mr. Lansing requested Mr. Wilson to draft a telegram on this subject, adding the point that it would be a relief to the French government from the embarrassing position of being obliged to give another official reception to the President. General Bliss will speak to Admiral Benson in regard to the point of the danger involved.

6. Mr. Wilson introduced Memorandum No. 112 concerning the note from the French Foreign Office to the American Embassy in Paris regarding German ships in neutral ports. It was agreed by the Commissioners that no action should be taken in this matter as it was an affair for the Department of State to handle. If Mr. Polk subsequently desires their advice he will ask for it.

7. Mr. Wilson introduced Memorandum No. 113 concerning the note from the British Ambassador regarding the despatch of troops to Montenegro. The Commissioners did not care to have the note read.

8. Mr. Wilson introduced Memorandum No. 114 concerning Mr. Patchin's statement in regard to the bill for visiting cards for official members of the Commission. The Commissioners desire a further and more detailed statement in regard to this bill. This statement should show a list of those persons for whom the cards were purchased and other pertinent information.

9. Mr. Wilson introduced Memorandum No. 115 concerning the suggestion of the Diplomatic Agent at Cairo relative to the sending of Consul Jackson and other Consular officers to Syria and Palestine. The Commissioners desire that Mr. Gary should be informed that this is a Departmental matter and that his telegram has been referred to the Acting Secretary of State, and that the telegram should be repeated to the Department of State with the information added that Mr. Gary has been advised.

10. Mr. Wilson introduced Memorandum No. 116 concerning "Constantinople as Headquarters for American Red Cross Work in the

⁵⁹ *Post*, p. 516.

Balkan States." The Commissioners approved the despatch of the suggested telegram with the elimination of the last words "Does Department approve" and the insertion of the words "If you agree suggest you telegraph Heck in Constantinople and notify Red Cross".

11. Mr. Wilson introduced Memorandum No. 117 concerning Prof. Day's communication in regard to the Committee which is studying Greek territorial claims. The Commissioners requested that Prof. Day present a concise memorandum on the questions at issue which they can study and determine whether they desire to call Prof. Day for an explanation.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/25

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, March 1st, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GENERAL BLISS

MR. H. R. WILSON

1. Mr. Harrison submitted a report of the Finance Committee, and asked whether it was desired to consult Mr. Strauss. Mr. Lansing asked whether Mr. Strauss would be present this afternoon at the discussion. Mr. Harrison answered in the affirmative. Mr. Lansing thought this would be sufficient.

2. Mr. Harrison stated that the Economic Drafting Commission had decided to recommend a Permanent Economic Drafting Committee, and that Mr. Baruch would probably be present this afternoon.

Mr. Harrison withdrew.

3. General Bliss stated that he had received a telegram from General Pershing stating that three Colonels had been ordered to report to the Secretary of the Peace Commission for service at Warsaw. This is in answer to General Bliss' request based on Monsieur Noulens' telegram.

4. General Bliss stated that he had noted that Ambassador Francis would go before the Senate Committee concerning Russian affairs. Mr. Lansing stated that he believed this would clear up the atmosphere as it would give an opportunity to explain why the troops were not immediately withdrawn.

5. General Bliss stated that Admiral Benson would interview the British Admiral concerning the despatching of additional ships to

Archangel, which had been requested by the Commander of our naval forces there.

6. Mr. Wilson read the draft of a telegram which he had been instructed to draw up to be forwarded to the President concerning his return to Paris via Antwerp and the devastated regions. The telegram was approved with certain alterations.

Mr. Wilson was instructed to ascertain what Admiral Benson recommends in the matter since Admiral Benson had informed General Bliss that he would consult the British in regard to the danger of mines in approaching Antwerp. Mr. Wilson was also instructed to show the telegram to Colonel House for his approval.

7. Mr. Wilson introduced the Memorandum concerning the amendment to the previous resolution regarding the payment of commutation to military personnel. The Commissioners approved the amendment suggested.

8. Mr. Wilson introduced Memorandum No. 118 concerning the sending of Mr. Ravndal and other consular officers to Constantinople and other consular posts in Turkey and Syria. The Commissioners requested a telegram be sent to the State Department answering telegram No. 716 "A" of February 17th and stating that the Commissioners agreed to the sending of consular officers provided they assumed only consular duties. It must be made clear to Mr. Ravndal that Mr. Heck remains in charge of political matters.

9. Mr. Wilson introduced Memorandum No. 119 concerning Sergeant Fred A. Carlson and Field Clerk C. A. Leedy. The Commissioners decided that Mr. Patchin should consult Mr. Lansing in regard to this matter.

10. Mr. Wilson introduced Memorandum No. 120 concerning the recognition of Finland. The Commissioners approved the despatch of the two telegrams appended.

11. Mr. Wilson introduced Memorandum No. 121 concerning Prof. Herron and Mr. White. The Commissioners decided that Prof. Herron and Mr. White should not remain attached to the Commission, in view of the present situation concerning Prinkipo, nor should they proceed with the organization of their delegation.

12. Mr. Wilson introduced Memorandum No. 122 concerning the use of the wireless station at Nauen for press reports. The Commissioners were in favor of discouraging this project.

13. Mr. Wilson introduced Memorandum No. 123 concerning the question of principle in regard to the inclusion and treatment of the German minorities in the Czecho-Slovak State. The Commissioners requested that the points at issue be presented to them in writing.

14. General Bliss declared that Mr. Dresel had discussed with him the question of the union of German-Austria with Germany, and had left with him a memorandum of a projected pronouncement of

the Council of Ten. Mr. White pointed out that the project was so worded that it would not conflict with the principle of the right of self determination of nationalities, but was merely a warning intended to influence the Austrian Constituent Assembly, and to prevent the possibility of the Conference being requested to take subsequent action contrary to the President's principles. Mr. Lansing stated that he did not know what America's attitude was towards this union, and that he felt that any idea of preventing an eventual union between the German peoples was a dream. He expressed an interest in the project of the union between Bavaria and German-Austria.

15. General Bliss introduced the matter of the boundary discussions and the part that Colonel Miles had played in delimitating a frontier, and was of the opinion that Colonel Miles should be kept as far as possible out of the discussion. Mr. Lansing believed that Colonel Miles' part should be minimized as much as possible, and that they were trying to save Colonel Miles and Prof. Coolidge in this matter. General Bliss suggested that he might declare that the mission in Austria was reporting on this matter of the frontiers, that it was making an impersonal investigation which perhaps might have a different result from that which the Commission might decide.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/26

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, March 3rd, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. A. W. DULLES

1. The Commissioners discussed briefly the proposed military terms to be imposed on Germany and the attitude which the American delegates should assume on this question. General Bliss stated that he would be present at the afternoon meeting of the Council, when the terms would be considered.

2. Mr. Lansing read a communication from Mr. Baruch regarding the necessity of the formation of a special committee to draft the commercial provisions of the various treaties which the United States would have to conclude with the countries with which commercial relations have been broken. Mr. Baruch suggested that Mr. Taussig be requested to proceed to Paris to take charge of this work, and that Dr. A. A. Young and Mr. Miller should work on the problem

of drafting such economic treaties pending Mr. Taussig's arrival. Mr. Lansing mentioned Mr. Gay as a man who would be most useful for this work and said that if the other Commissioners approved he would discuss the matter with Mr. McCormick before a final decision was reached. This was agreed to by Mr. White and General Bliss. Mr. Lansing remarked that the drafting of new commercial treaties with Germany and the Austro-Hungary states was a very delicate matter, which would require the most expert assistance. He remarked that the United States never had had satisfactory commercial treaties with Germany.

3. Mr. White brought up M. Pichon's suggestion regarding the "financial section" of the League of Nations. He remarked that this was merely a French method of putting through the idea of "pooling" the cost of the war. The Commissioners were unanimous that any project of this nature was utterly unacceptable to the United States, which would be forced to pay a disproportionate share of the pool and receive a very small proportion of the proceeds.

4. Mr. White read a telegram which had been received from the naval authorities regarding the proposal that the President land at Antwerp. This telegram mentioned that while the mine fields in the English Channel were largely cleared up, there was still some danger from mines, and that the navigation of the Scheldt was as yet very difficult for a vessel of the size of the "George Washington". The naval authorities recommended that if the President made the trip as contemplated, he should land at Flushing and proceed by destroyer to Antwerp. The Commissioners were unanimous in the decision that they could not assume the responsibility for advising the President to take a trip which involved an element of danger. Mr. Lansing pointed out that it would be out of the question to touch at Flushing, which was Dutch territory.

5. The Commissioners noted the selection of Lt. Colonel Olds as liaison officer between the Commission and the American Red Cross. Mr. Lansing remarked that he knew Colonel Olds personally, and added that he had recently been selected as head of the Red Cross in Europe.

6. With reference to Admiral Benson's request for instructions regarding the passage of German troops by sea to Libau, General Bliss remarked that he had just discussed the matter with Admiral Benson, who was on his way to a conference in which this matter was up for discussion. The Commissioners decided that no action should be taken until Admiral Benson had reported what had taken place in this conference. The attention of the Commissioners was called to the statements of Rear Admiral Robison and Captain Gherardi that the Germans would endeavor to take advantage of any aid they might give in checking the Bolsheviks by demanding compensation at the

Peace Conference. The Commissioners discussed briefly the attitude of Germany towards the Bolsheviks and remarked that with the present internal condition of Germany it was out of the question for her to play Bolshevism against the Allies, as she herself was most nearly threatened by this danger.

7. The Commissioners noted Mr. McCormick's request that officers of General McKinstry's staff be retained for work with the Claims Subcommittee of the Reparation Commission, and approved Mr. McCormick's request for the eight officers mentioned, with the understanding that their services would not be required for a protracted period.

8. The Commissioners approved Mr. Stabler's request to be permitted to entertain representatives of Latin American countries at the expense of the Commission. A similar request from Lt. Noble to be granted facilities for entertaining French journalists, etc., was also approved under the conditions noted by Lt. Noble, namely that four guests a week should not be exceeded. It was suggested that both Mr. Stabler and Lt. Noble in submitting the statement of expenses incurred in this way, should give the Secretary General the names of the persons entertained by them.

9. The Commissioners discussed a memorandum which outlined the objections to the union of German Austria with Germany, and Mr. Dulles explained the arguments against a "laissez faire" policy on this question. After some discussion Mr. Lansing remarked that if the question of opposing the union was brought up by one of the Allies it might well be considered, but that he could not approve of America's taking the initiative in this question of a European territorial settlement, especially in view of the fact that such an initiative might appear to be in contradiction to the President's principles.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/27

*Minutes of the Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, March 4, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. White observed that a member of the Siamese Delegation had yesterday come to see him in order to ascertain whether it would not be possible for the head of the Siamese Delegation to have a short

interview with Mr. Lansing, in which he might submit a memorandum in regard to Siamese aspirations. Mr. White explained that the granting of such an interview would be a source of deep gratification to the Siamese government. Mr. Lansing agreed to see the Delegate in question and asked that an engagement be made for him.

2. Mr. White recounted an interview which he and General Bliss had held with the Arch-Bishop of Spalato in regard to the whole Dalmatian question. Evidently the Arch-Bishop had made a very strong case and had convincingly expounded the folly of allowing Italy to take possession of Fiume or the islands of the Dalmatian coast.

3. Mr. White observed that he had had a long conversation with Mr. Coromilas of the Greek Delegation yesterday, indicating that the latter was much upset over the alleged American attitude respecting the Greeks of Asia Minor and the Dodecanese Islands. Mr. White read a memorandum of the statements which Mr. Westermann had made during a meeting of the Commission charged with the study of the Greek claims in regard to the attitude of the United States. This statement indicated that the only thing to which the Greek Delegation might take exception in our attitude was the declaration that in our opinion the coast of Asia Minor should not be separated, from an administrative point of view, from Hinterland. Mr. White went on to explain that Mr. Venizelos, who [*sic*] is coming to discuss this matter with him this afternoon, and asked what attitude he should adopt. Mr. Lansing and General Bliss both agreed that Mr. Westermann's statements of the case had been perfectly correct and that Mr. White could properly tell Mr. Venizelos that our general view was that no Hinterland can properly be separated from the coast, but that of course we were still willing to leave this matter open to debate.

4. Mr. White read a memorandum which had been presented yesterday by the French Delegates on the Commission for the International Regime of Ports, Waterways and Railways, regarding France's claims with respect to the Rhine. Mr. White stated that inasmuch as this memorandum was practically a demand on Germany to sign a blank check with regard to her rights on the Rhine, he felt that the American Delegates on this Committee should take a very strong stand against it. Mr. Lansing and General Bliss both asked for copies of the French proposal and stated that they would be glad to give Mr. White their opinion as soon as they had had an opportunity of studying it.

5. Mr. Lansing read a letter which had been sent to him by Mr. Norman Davis regarding the appointment of an additional representative to the Financial Commission, and of a financial representative on the Economic Committee. It was decided that Mr. Davis should be appointed as the additional American representative on the Financial Commission and Mr. Thomas W. Lamont as the finan-

cial representative on the Economic Committee. Mr. Herter was asked to have the above named gentlemen notified of their appointment.

6. Mr. Lansing spoke of the Committee on which he was now serving, which was endeavoring hard to have the Kaiser tried. He explained that he was in rather an uncomfortable position in this matter as he stood alone against the other representatives on the Commission against having the Kaiser tried by a tribunal. He was willing to have a court of inquiry pass upon the case, but was not willing to let it go further. General Bliss and Mr. White agreed that a court of inquiry might in this connection bring out some useful information in regard to the obscure beginnings of the war, but that the actual trial of the Kaiser could not take place before a tribunal.

7. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 125 in regard to the relative position of the Serbian and Rumanian troops in the Banat. It was agreed that in view of Mr. Laroche's⁶⁰ promise to secure complete reports of the action which the French army of the Orient had taken in this matter no further steps need be taken at present.

8. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 126 inquiring whether the Commissioners desire to have Lieut. Paukstas assigned to Paris for duty with the Lithuanian National Council. The Commissioners were unable to understand exactly why we should be asked to have Lieut. Paukstas assigned to Paris and to pay his expenses while in Paris for the sake of the Lithuanian National Council or Commission. Furthermore, the Commissioners were not sure that we should take this step and thereby become indirectly responsible for Lieut. Paukstas' connection with a Lithuanian body. However, as this whole matter appears to be rather obscure and as the exact status of the Lithuanian National Council as well as our relation to it are not quite clear, the Commissioners desire a full explanation of the whole case before taking definitive action.

9. Information Memorandum No. 26 was read in regard to the formation of a Committee of from three to five members to assist in establishing better relations between the American and French press. The Commissioners discussed this matter at some length and felt that although the French press attacks against the President and America had perhaps not been inspired, nevertheless it was a strange coincidence that when the rumor was spread about that the President might ask to have the seat of the conference changed to some other country all attacks suddenly stopped. They felt that taking all in all such a Committee as was suggested might be cumbersome and that it would really be better to let matters take their regular course. They therefore desire that action on this memorandum be suspended for the present or until such a time as the situation became more acute.

⁶⁰ French representative on the Commission on Roumanian and Jugoslav Affairs.

10. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 127 [*sic*] regarding Mr. Day's⁶¹ desire to be relieved of his post in Berlin. The Commissioners agreed that it would be well to have Mr. Day come back to Paris and report at once, but at the same time thought that he should bring Schumacher⁶² with him on account of the extremely unsettled conditions in Germany. The telegram appended to this memorandum was approved with the indicated changes, the Commissioners feeling that it would be well to leave in the last sentence as the Germans could then under no conditions attribute Mr. Day's withdrawal to lack of faith on our part in their power to keep order, but rather to a desire to have a report from him.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/28

*Minutes of the Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, March 5th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
COLONEL HOUSE
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Lansing explained the great difficulties which he had encountered on his sub-committee to determine the responsibility for the war. At the request of the American Delegation a drafting committee had submitted to this Commission a report proposing that military commissions be established to try cases for violations of the laws of war. At first the British Delegates did not approve of such a scheme but had finally given in at the insistence of the American delegates. The British had desired that a tribunal be established on which all the different nations concerned should be represented, which should try individuals, including the ex-Kaiser of Germany. This proposal Mr. Lansing had been unable to agree to particularly as it had involved the trial of individuals for acts committed before the United States entered the war. He had therefore stated that the United States could not entertain such a project. The British Delegate had evidently been displeased by the American point of view as expressed by Mr. Lansing and therefore withdrew his consent to the establishing of military commissions as suggested by Mr. Lansing. Owing to this impasse Mr. Lansing stated that he would withdraw the American member of the Drafting Committee because the American wishes in

⁶¹ Franklin Day, of the Gherardi Mission to Germany.

⁶² Frederick Schumacher, of the Gherardi Mission to Germany.

this matter seemed to be completely overlooked. Immediately after this statement the French and Italian Delegates as well as the Delegates from Greece and Rumania attempted to smooth matters over and suggested a compromise between the British and the American points of view. This was the first time that a wedge had been driven between the French and British, who had so far stood solidly together on this whole question. It was Mr. Lansing's opinion that the British Delegates were not very sincere in their desire to try the Kaiser etc., but merely felt that they had to urge this measure because of a political pledge. The situation was much the same as it had been on the Reparations Committee where both the French and British were trying to accomplish the impossible, knowing that it was impossible, but wishing to place the blame for the failure upon the United States.

2. Colonel House stated that he had gone to see Mr. Clemenceau yesterday in regard to the very serious situation in Germany. He had told Mr. Clemenceau that we were directly responsible for letting this situation come upon us, and that America had foreseen it and had warned the other associated nations. Mr. Clemenceau observed that from the information he was now receiving from Germany the situation was much as Colonel House had described it. In regard to sending food and raw materials into Germany, however, Mr. Clemenceau felt that French public opinion was not yet prepared for such a step. It would, however, be willing to have food sent into German-Austria, and Mr. Clemenceau therefore had decided that this matter should be taken up at the Quai d'Orsay this afternoon when pressure would be brought upon Italy to allow the food stuffs to get into German-Austria. Mr. Clemenceau was of the opinion, however, that in two or three days French public opinion would sanction the rendering of certain assistance to Bavaria at least, if not to other parts of Germany, and then the ways and means could be discussed at the Quai d'Orsay.

Mr. Lansing read a portion of a memorandum which he had written in October 1918, which was a complete prophecy of what would happen in Central Europe unless the United States rendered assistance with food and raw material.

3. The Commissioners agreed that we were being put in rather an uncomfortable position by appearing to have to defend Germany, but that it was necessary for us to adopt this position. They are convinced that public opinion in America would stand behind them in this if the true situation were only known. In this connection they felt that Mr. White had done much to change the point of view of Mr. Wickersham, the correspondent of the *New York Tribune* who had just lately returned to the United States with a very different outlook on the position of our Peace Commission from that which he had previously held.

The Commissioners felt at the same time that in spite of the alleged resolution that had been brought up in the Senate, public opinion in the United States was very favorable to the League of Nations. This opinion, Colonel House observed, was confirmed by Mr. Melville Stone of the Associated Press, who is very familiar with public opinion in the United States.

Mr. Lansing felt very strongly that in view of the fact that many of the tangles now arising were due to the original armistice terms, it would be necessary for us sooner or later to have it known in the United States that from the beginning the United States had demanded absolute demobilization of Germany. In this connection, General Bliss' memorandum of October 28⁶³ was mentioned and it was even thought by the Commissioners that at some time in the near future it would be advisable to give out the substance of this memorandum.

Colonel House withdrew.

4. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 127 regarding the assignment of Mr. J. B. Umpleby to the Commission. The Commissioners agreed that Mr. Umpleby's services would be very valuable on the Commission, and therefore were willing to approve the payment of his expenses as well as a salary of about \$300 per month by the Commission.

5. Mr. Herter read Memorandum No. 128 embodying Mr. Norman H. Davis' request that Captain F. S. Colt be assigned to the Commission because of his previous experience with the Farmer's Loan & Trust Company, and his consequent utility in the Financial Department. The Commissioners approved of Mr. Davis' request for the assignment of Captain Colt.

6. Memorandum No. 129 was read regarding the memorandum which Dr. Mezes had submitted with regard to the status of certain members of his staff. Dr. Mezes' request as stated in the memorandum in question was approved by the Commission.

8. Memorandum No. 131 was read regarding the request from the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the so-called Montenegrin government in Paris, to have the representative of Montenegro admitted to the Peace Conference. The Commissioners approved of the recommendation that the Secretary General be authorized to reply that this request should be addressed to the Secretary General of the Peace Conference.

9. Memorandum No. 132 was read regarding the numerous requests which have been received from Bulgaria that permission be granted it to send persons to Paris unofficially. The Commissioners recom-

⁶³ *Foreign Relations*, The Lansing Papers, 1914-1920, vol. II, pp. 294-295.

mended that notes be drafted to both the British and the French Delegation stating that the above requests had been received by the American Mission, and asking for any suggestions which those Delegations might care to make in the premises in order that our reply to the Bulgarian government should be in harmony with the views of the British and French governments.

10. Memorandum No. 133 was read regarding the recommendation by General Churchill with respect to relief of Lt. Voska from his present duties. The Commissioners having learned that General Bliss would probably not desire the Mission to make a direct recommendation to the military authorities in this matter, suggest that a memorandum stating the facts in the case as strongly as possible should be sent to the military authorities. They felt that if this statement of the facts was properly worded the competent military authority would surely relieve Lt. Voska of his present duties.

11. Memorandum No. 134 was read embodying a statement presented by Mr. Laroche to Dr. Day regarding the action of the French army in the Orient with respect to the Rumanian and Serbian dispute in the Banat. The Commissioners were satisfied with this statement as well as the statement which Dr. Day had made in the premises, and therefore felt that there was no further action for them to take at the present time.

12. Memorandum No. 135 was read regarding the memorandum prepared by Admiral Benson with respect to the advisability of assisting the Food Administration in supplying Germany and Czechoslovakia by way of the city of Hamburg and the river Elbe. The Commissioners agreed that in view of Admiral Benson's recommendations it would be advisable to have the port of Hamburg used for the purposes described and that the matter should be taken up with the Armistice Commission in order that the German Government may be notified of this intent.

13. Memorandum No. 136 was read with regard to the internal situation in Germany. The Commissioners felt that the recommendations made in this memorandum were very sound but that since this whole question would shortly be discussed at the Quai d'Orsay it would not be advisable for the United States to take any separate action in the premises at the present time.

14. Memorandum No. 137 was read regarding the printing in French of the speeches and messages of President Wilson from the date of his landing in Brest. The Commissioners agreed that it would be an excellent idea to have this done but were unable to understand why the cost of printing 15,000 copies would be about 14,600 francs if the cost of striking off 200 copies was only 800 francs. Mr. Lansing felt that the first of these estimates was exorbitant and would be glad to know just why it should be so high. He felt that if the cost of paper

was in any way connected with this high estimate it might perhaps be advisable to get the paper from the United States.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/29

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, March 6th, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. White stated that he had received a telegram signed by Mrs. E. H. Harriman and Mr. Herbert Pratt, asking him to serve as chairman of an American Committee which would insist on having certain official pictures of the members of the American Delegation of the Peace Conference painted for the United States. The telegram added that if Mr. White would accept this position the Committee would be sure of complete financial backing and Mr. White could immediately offer Sargent \$50,000 for a picture of the Conference. The Commissioners felt that it would be advisable for Mr. White to accept this post and he therefore consented.

3. Mr. White asked whether at the Quai d'Orsay, any decision had been reached yesterday with regard to allowing food stuffs to be sent into German-Austria. Mr. Lansing said that no such decision had been reached and that during the discussion Sonnino had been greatly incensed by the attitude taken in the matter by the French and American representatives; nevertheless, after considerable persuasion Mr. Sonnino agreed that this matter should be placed on the agenda for Friday's meeting and should, at that time, be decided finally.

4. General Bliss stated that he had recently obtained from the British certain information with regard to the naval expedition which they were contemplating sending to Murmansk. This information he had obtained in connection with the proposal that the United States should send several gun-boats and smaller craft to the same destination. He read two letters from General Ratcliffe explaining the British position in the matter, and indicating that the British were intending to send about April 15th, a complete expedition including proper mine sweepers, transport material etc., to assist in the withdrawal of the expedition. General Ratcliffe had felt, however, that the allied forces at Murmansk would have to deal a final and strong

blow against the Bolsheviki if this withdrawal, a delicate operation at best, was to be performed without severe incumbrances because of attacks by the Bolsheviks. He therefore suggested that perhaps the United States would be willing to send 50 well trained American officers to assist in the maneuver.

General Bliss pointed out that although these letters from General Ratcliffe indicated that a withdrawal of the forces at Murmansk was being planned, no such definite statement had yet been made by the British government. He felt that some such statement should be made although he appreciated the fact that it would encourage the Bolsheviks tremendously.

5. General Bliss stated that he would present to the Commissioners at about 11:30 this morning the final translation of the military and naval terms which were to be imposed on Germany. Mr. Lansing stated that it was his understanding that these terms were the final and conclusive peace terms and that he had therefore been much surprised at Pichon's statement to the effect that they were merely a continuation of the armistice terms. General Bliss concurred in Mr. Lansing's views on the matter, and was very sure that an examination of the minutes of the meeting of the Council of Ten,^{63a} at which this matter was discussed, would indicate that these terms were to be final peace terms and not merely armistice terms. He was further convinced that this was the President's view of the matter, and in case of any discussion we should adhere to it.

6. Memorandum No. 138 was read inquiring whether the Commissioners would be willing to have applications made in their names for various members of Dr. Mezes' section to return to the United States on transports. The Commissioners agreed that they were perfectly willing to have such applications made in their names.

7. Mr. Herter reminded the Commissioners of a decision which they had [made] a few days ago that it would be inadvisable to have members of the American Press in Germany use the German radio at Nauen and Hanover for sending out of press despatches. He explained that this decision of the Commissioners had been conveyed to the Associated Press and that Mr. Elmer Roberts of that association had replied indicating how, in his opinion, it would be very valuable for the American correspondents in Germany to have this privilege. Mr. Herter then asked whether the Commissioners would desire to have a memorandum on this subject read incorporating Mr. Roberts' arguments, but the Commissioners felt that they would not care to change their decision in the premises, and that it would therefore not be worth while even reading over or discussing this matter.

8. Memorandum No. 140 was read inquiring whether the Commis-

^{63a} See BC-30 (SWC-7), minute 1, vol. III, p. 1001.

sioners desired that in accordance with Mr. Noulens' request a civilian should accompany the three American army officers to Warsaw, and inquiring whether, if so, Mr. Phelps should be assigned to the position.

The Commissioners were unable to see the necessity of a civilian accompanying the army officers to Warsaw, and therefore felt that it would be undesirable for any to be so assigned. They also thought that it would be best to have instructions issued to Mr. Phelps to proceed at once to the Hague where he had already been assigned to the Legation.

9. Memorandum No. 141 was read regarding the sending of a field mission to Turkey. Mr. Dominian's letter in the premises was read in full. The Commissioners felt that the proposed mission was very numerous and that the estimated expenses rather too great. They are not quite clear as to why such a large mission should be sent, and what the particular interest of the United States was in obtaining any more than political information for so large a tract of Asia Minor, Syria, the Caucasus, etc. They therefore ask that Dr. Bowman be requested to attend the meeting of the Commissioners tomorrow, March 7th, 1919, in order to explain in detail the purpose of the mission and the necessity for having so large a personnel.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/30

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, March 7th, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. The Commissioners began by discussing the meeting at the Quai d'Orsay yesterday, at which the report of the Supreme War Council on the military and naval terms which should be imposed on Germany was brought up.⁶⁴ General Bliss said that he differed with Admiral Benson in the latter's opinion that the signing of a convention such as the one proposed would in no way be an infringement of our national sovereignty. Mr. Lansing agreed with General Bliss in this, but at the same time felt sure that the Senate would not ratify any treaty which would involve the United States taking an active part in the control over a period of years of German armaments. Mr. Lansing at the same time felt that it was a mistake to mention the League of Nations in this particular convention because the League

⁶⁴ See BC-45, minute 3, vol. iv, p. 215, and minute 4, *ibid.*, p. 220.

was not yet in existence, and there was always the possibility that it might not come into existence. General Bliss added that as far as he individually was concerned, he would never stand for the insertion of a clause carrying with it perpetual control of German armament by any inter-Allied body.

Mr. Lansing called attention to the clause in the proposed convention which permitted the Allies to forbid the importation into Germany of all such raw materials as might be used for the manufacture of arms or armaments, and stated that in his opinion, this clause would have to be struck out, as it gave to the Allies perpetual economic control of Germany. General Bliss stated that he had agreed to this clause in conference with Marshal Foch only because if he had not done so, no report whatever would have been handed down to the Council of Ten, Marshal Foch having stated that he would not submit any report on which reservations were made by the American delegate on the Supreme War Council. He agreed with Mr. Lansing, however, that this clause should be struck out.

Mr. Lansing stated that the kernel of the matter lay in France's unfortunate geographical position vis-a-vis Germany, and that this was a matter which we could not help. He felt that we should now take a very firm stand with regard to the dis-armament of Germany [and?] lay down our policy under three heads:

- (1) Reduce Germany to impotence in a military sense.
- (2) Make her promise to reduce the manufacture of arms and munitions to certain limits.
- (3) Make her guarantee the fulfilment of the above clause by providing that France might occupy a portion of German territory in the case of a violation of the agreement.

General Bliss felt that the first two points were adequate, but that the third would merely lead to trouble in a certain number of years, because if Germany took it into her head to violate the agreement, her first step in that direction would be to protect strongly that portion of Germany which it had been agreed France might occupy. . . .

General Bliss observed that in his opinion, one further requirement should be exacted of Germany; namely, that she should pass on a statutory basis an enactment limiting of her own free will her army and navy. Such a provision would be more effective than any terms which would have to be perpetually guaranteed by the Allies, and if once passed, we could leave Germany alone to work out her own salvation.

2. Mr. Hoover, Colonel Logan and Mr. Harrison entered the meeting.

Mr. Hoover stated that the Italians were behaving extremely badly in regard to the feeding of both the territories of the former

Austrian-Hungarian Empire and the Jugo-Slav territory. He added that although a few days ago a proposal had been made that America be appointed as mandatory for all the railways of these districts, a proposal which we naturally had to refuse, it was necessary for us to have placed at our disposition a certain number of cars and locomotives with which to move adequately the food which we were supplying to these districts. The Italians were putting all sorts of obstructions in our way, and had even gone so far as to say that they were unprepared to answer Mr. Hoover's proposal because it was an entirely new matter. In refutation of this Mr. Hoover read the following memorandum:

- Jan. 15, 1919 Representatives of Director General apply for railway transport to Prague.
- Jan. 20, 1919 Czech authorities send locomotives and cars to Italian frontier.
- Feb. 1, 1919 Total 22,000 tons of food in port for shipment to Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs. Austrian employees on railway into Trieste were replaced with Italians.
- Feb. 3, 1919 Czech locomotives and cars held up at frontier.
- Feb. 4, 1919 Newly installed Italian railway employees strike.
- Feb. 7, 1919 Allied Food Commission arrived at Trieste. Italian Military Authorities refuse to recognize Mission.
- Feb. 10, 1919 American Engineers sent by Director General reported that operation of railways throughout old Austrian Empire so inefficient and chaotic as to be unable to cope with situation, that they can only be accomplished under some central authority.
- Feb. 11, 1919 Food Mission requested Italian authorities to release 10 Czech engines and 7000 wagons which had been held up at frontier for ten days.
- Feb. 12, 1919 Food Mission informs Italian authorities that they have delivered only one-fifth the agreed food shipments to the interior.
- Feb. 13, 1919 Colonel McIntosh, representing American Relief Administration reports that situation increasingly serious.
- Feb. 14, 1919 Strike partially settled but railways only partially operating.
- Feb. 18, 1919 The Director General strongly represented the situation at Trieste to the Food Section of the Supreme Economic Council the Italian members being present. The Director General informed the Food Commission at Trieste that Signor Crespi had urged upon authorities in Trieste the immediate solution of the situation.
- Feb. 19, 1919 Food Mission at Trieste reports that no trains with food had moved in any direction for four days.

- Feb. 19, 1919 Situation again discussed at Food Section of Supreme Economic Council and Italian Delegates undertook to secure action.
Railways into Jugo-Slav territories closed by Italian authorities.
- Feb. 20, 1919 Allied Food Mission recognized by Italian authorities through efforts of Signor Crespi.
- Feb. 21, 1919 Italian Government demands 100 engines and 2000 cars from Austrians and removed one of the four food trains from the service.
- Feb. 23, 1919 Italian authorities undertake to move 3 trains daily from [*by?*] Udine route (1000 tons).
- Feb. 24, 1919 At session of Supreme Economic Council, Director General of Relief announced his inability to take further responsibility for situation in Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia and Austria as 3000 tons daily required was far beyond the capacity of Udine route, and proposed independent direction of rolling stock and railways this section. Italian Delegates undertook to secure action.
Members Trieste Food Commission go to Rome to make representations to Senor Orlando as to the distressing situation existing.
- Feb. 25, 1919 Food Mission, Trieste, reports that it will take 65 days to move 60,000 tons over Udine Route (3000 daily are needed).
Situation again discussed at Food Section of Supreme Economic Council, and Italian Delegates undertook to secure action.
- Feb. 27, 1919 Signor Crespi informs Director General that five trains daily would be put on via Udine and Tarvis, but that nothing could be done via Laibach.
Total of 5000 tons shipped to Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs and 24,000 tons moved to the Austrians from Italy during the month. Further arrivals in port bring up total stocks at Trieste and Fiume to 61,000 tons.
- Mar. 5, 1919 Situation raised by Director General at Supreme War Council.

After reading this memorandum Mr. Hoover read another memorandum as follows, indicating the nature of the difficulties to be met.

"The difficulties of internal transportation in the area of the old Austrian Empire do not altogether surround the difficulties of moving foodstuffs out of Trieste. While a large part of these difficulties manifest themselves at Trieste, this is by no means the only point of obstruction.

Considerable friction is constantly taking place between the Czecho-Slovaks and the Austrians, between the Austrians and the Jugo-Slavs, between all three and the Italians, and between the Jugo-Slavs and the Hungarians. These difficulties arise over jealousy in the partition of the limited amount of capable rolling stock, the exchanges

required at some points of frontiers. Aside from the food blockade precipitated by the Italian-Jugo-Slav controversy, some solution must be found which superimposes the control over all of these different states.

For instance, the relation[s] of the Jugo-Slavs with the Hungarians are such that there is little food movement out of the Banat and other areas of surplus food supplies in certain localities, particularly the excess of potatoes in Poland which could be transported into Czecho-Slovakia and Austria. There is a surplus of sugar in Czecho-Slovakia which could be distributed into the other states. There is a surplus of salt in Austria which could be moved also. All of this movement is obstructed by a total chaos in railway administration. Above, superimposed on all of these, is a jealousy in coal distribution in the face of great shortages and the almost insuperable difficulties of finding sufficient coal to keep food movements in operation.

All of the interior states, that is, the Czechs, Austrians, Jugo-Slavs and Hungarians, would be glad to contribute their proportions of the necessary rolling stock to move food through the country if it could be contributed to an independent direction who could assure its use for these primary purposes.

I should like to again point out that it is necessary to move 3,000 tons daily out of the port of Trieste if order and human life are to be preserved, that with the very great good will that Signor Crespi and his colleagues have been able to bring to bear, they have so far been able to move a maximum of 800 tons a day inland over the Udine route. It is hopeless to secure the necessary movement of food except by the use of all railway routes out of Trieste and Fiume. Furthermore, as these railways traverse Jugo-Slav territory, where there is acute starvation, it is hopeless to expect any safety of operation through Jugo-Slav territory unless Jugo-Slav populations are themselves supported.["]

Mr. Hoover then spoke of a scheme which he had presented for consideration which was perfectly satisfactory to all the nations of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, and by which the United States, through Mr. Hoover, would control the necessary amount of rolling stock of all of these nations to effect an equitable distribution of food. This scheme was acceptable only because of the confidence of these nations in the United States, [and] he states Italian interference in it would spoil the whole scheme. Nevertheless, Mr. Hoover was doubtful of its success because both the French and the Italians were strongly opposed, in fact, Mr. Hoover yesterday had received a letter from Marshal Foch in which the latter had insisted on the French authorities controlling all the railways in Czecho-Slovakia.

Mr. Hoover felt that in spite of the opposition, his scheme could go through because the British were practically pledged to it, and France's opposition appeared to be centered in Marshal Foch. He asked that the latter be requested to explain his interest in the railroads of Czecho-Slovakia. All the Commissioners felt that General Weygand was responsible for this situation.

Mr. Hoover observed that he had not yet told the Italians that their food supply would shortly be cut off. He realized that the situation in Italy was very serious, in fact probably more acute than it had been at any time during the war, but that neither he nor the American people would countenance Italy's receiving preferential treatment over Poland, Bohemia or the Jugo-Slav territories, inasmuch as public sentiment was strongly in favor of rendering all assistance to these latter territories in order to help them during the difficult period of their creation. He added that the Italians after having held up approximately 60,000 tons of food at Trieste had now asked that this food be diverted for Italian use. The Commissioners agreed that Italy's whole attitude in this matter was probably affected by her desire to have this food transferred for her own use. Mr. Hoover then suggested that Mr. Lansing speak to Sonnino about this matter just before the conference at the Quai d'Orsay this afternoon. Mr. Lansing should definitely threaten Sonnino that unless Italy gave her support to the American scheme and allowed ample cars and locomotives for the proper distribution of this food, the United States would allow Italy to starve together with the other countries. Mr. Lansing agreed to do this.

3. Mr. Lamont, Mr. Strauss, Mr. Baruch, Mr. McCormick, Mr. Davis, Mr. Robinson, Mr. McFadden and Mr. Sheldon entered the meeting.

Mr. Lamont read a short resume of what had taken place at the Armistice Commission at Spa, when the associated governments had tried to reach an agreement with Germany in regard to the feeding of Germany, and the latter's delivery of her merchant marine to the associated governments. He stated that the Germans had refused to deliver their merchant fleet until the associated governments had given them a definite guarantee that sufficient food would be supplied to Germany to tide her over until the next harvest. The German delegates asked whether the delegates of the associated governments would consider pro rata deliveries of the German marine in accordance with the amount of food sent to Germany. This proposal the representatives of the associated governments stated that they were not authorized to consider. The German delegates then appealed to their government which flatly refused to consider any further proposal, such a one as the representatives of the associated governments had been authorized to make. Mr. Hoover, Mr. Davis and Mr. Strauss were all of the opinion that this was a political matter and the present German government could not afford to cede its merchant fleet under the circumstances. Mr. McCormick added that the associated governments had only agreed to allow Germany 270,000 tons of food stuffs in return for the use of the whole German merchant fleet, which was, after all, Germany's only bargaining material. The French govern-

ment was insisting that Germany be fed by American credits only and the German government apparently was cognizant of all the difficulties which the French and American governments were having in reaching a final agreement.

Mr. Hoover stated that it would take between four and five hundred million dollars to feed Germany until the next harvest. Germany's assets were not sufficient to care for this sum, besides, there was a serious unemployment problem which had to be met if order was to be kept in Germany.

Just as an indication of the chaotic condition of Germany, Mr. Strauss told the story of the complete insubordination of the German clerks who were working for Mr. Melchior, German financial delegate. Mr. McCormick said that M. Clemenceau was trying to put the whole blame of allowing Germany to starve on the United States because the United States would not supply the necessary credit.

All present agreed to Mr. Hoover's statement that the United States could not supply the necessary credits because Congress was not in session, etc., and would not even if she could. Mr. Davis felt that we should make to Germany a firm fair proposal in regard to feeding her until the next harvest, and then take her ships whether she liked it or not.

Mr. Hoover then read the following memorandum which had been prepared by Mr. McFadden:

"I, therefore, viewed from the interests of the associated governments, venture to suggest the immediate renewal of the shipping and food negotiations between the Germans and Associated governments with the authority of the Supreme War Council as regards the following:

A. The German government to immediately deliver their merchant fleet to the associated governments, and, in consideration thereof,

B. The associated governments will employ ships of said fleet in any service they may see fit on outward voyage, but homeward voyage of all cargo ships will be exclusively for the purpose of transporting food supplies for relief purposes to Germany and elsewhere.

C. An equitable division of such food supplies between Germany and other countries of Europe, but in no case will Germany be permitted to receive monthly a quantity of food in excess of tons per month.

D. The foregoing is subject to satisfactory arrangements being made as regards payment for food between Germany and the associated governments, and also contemplates lifting the blockade on food so far as concerns the maximum quantity of food Germany may receive from all sources.["]

He added that the proposals of this memorandum were good but that it offered no solution in the matter of payment. Mr. McFadden admitted that there was no such solution, but that he was not a financial expert and this phase of the matter did not come in his sphere.

Mr. McCormick then read the following memorandum, indicating what steps had been taken up to date with regard to the feeding of Germany:

"1. The representatives of the German and Associated Governments met at the Hotel Britannique at Spa on March 4th and 5th for the purpose of continuing and concluding the negotiations in connection with the delivery of the German mercantile fleet to the Associated Governments in consideration of the Associated Governments' lifting the blockade so far as concerns the importation of food products by the German Government.

2. Negotiations were terminated on the evening of March 5th no agreement having been arrived at for the following reasons:—

(a) The representatives of the Associated Governments were authorized to guarantee a quantity of foods not in excess of 270,000 tons to the German Government.

(b) The German Government was unwilling to deliver its merchant fleet to the representatives of the Associated Governments unless they (the Germans) could receive some assurance or guarantee from the Associated Governments that Germany would be allowed a quantity of food sufficient for its requirements until the next harvest; i. e., 400,000 tons of pork per month, together with a total of one million tons of maize.

3. Admiral Hope⁶⁵ at the Conference on the afternoon of March 5th handed the German representatives a note reciting the various assurances given the German Government under the Armistice Agreements of Nov. 11th, 1918,⁶⁶ and Jan. 16, 1919,⁶⁷ together with supplementary agreements, with regard to the intentions of the Associated Governments as to the revictualling of Germany, copy herewith attached marked "Annex 1";⁶⁸ but this document was considered by the German representatives as simply a repetition of documents already submitted to them, and as it contained no fresh assurances and nothing more definite than the documents they had already received, from the Associated Governments on this subject, they were unwilling to deliver their merchant fleet to the Associated Governments without a more definite assurance or guarantee, as under such circumstances their Government could not justify itself to its people.

4. The German position as regards the delivery of their merchant ships is predicted [*predicated?*] upon the following references in the Armistice agreements and other documents collateral therewith:

(a) The Armistice Agreement of Nov. 11, 1918, Paragraph 26, reads:

'The Allies and the United States contemplate the revictualling of Germany during the period of the Armistice to the degree considered necessary.'

(b) The Armistice Agreement of Jan. 16, 1919, Article 8, reads as follows:

'For the purpose of assuring relief to the people of Germany as well as the rest of Europe, the German Government will take the necessary measures for

⁶⁵ British member of the Armistice Commission.

⁶⁶ Vol. II, p. 1.

⁶⁷ Vol. II, p. 11.

⁶⁸ See statement of assurances, etc., quoted on p. 108.

placing the merchant marine of Germany at the disposal of and under the flag of the Allies and the United States, assisted by a German delegation, for the duration of the Armistice.[']

(c) The Supplementary Agreement of Jan. 17, at Trèves,⁶⁹ contains the following:—

'The whole of the German merchant fleet is to be placed immediately at the disposal of the Associated governments with a view to increasing the world's tonnage from which the tonnage required for the supplying of food stuffs to Europe, including Germany, can be drawn.[']

The delegates of the Associated Governments thereupon informed the German delegates in the first instance that the importation of the following supply of food stuffs will be permitted, namely, 200,000 tons of bread making cereals and 70,000 tons of pork, in such manner and to such places as the Associated Governments may prescribe and that the question of any further supplies of food would be referred to the Supreme War Council for decision.

(d) On Feb. 13 at Spa, the representatives of the German Government addressed a communication to the Chairman of the Inter-Allied Commission containing the following:—

'According to Article 8 of the Trèves agreement of 16 January, the German Government declared its readiness to place the German merchant fleet under Associated control in order to assure the provisioning of Germany and the rest of Europe. To attain this end, namely, the assuring of the provisioning of Germany, two essential factors are necessary:—

1. Agreement concerning the amount and prices of provisions.
2. Agreement concerning the manner of payment.

The German Government, however, much as it may desire to carry out faithfully all its obligations, yet it is not only its right, but its serious duty not to give up the German fleet to foreign control and place the same under a foreign flag before the purpose shall have been assured for which such a significant measure was expressly agreed to.[']

5. His Excellency, Herr von Braun⁷⁰ in a communication dated Feb. 15th writes as follows:

'We are therefore of the opinion and it has already been expressed by the delegates of the Allied and Associated Governments that the terms regarding the handing over of the merchant marine, the furnishing of food supplies, and the financing thereof, constitute an individual entity and that no one of these terms can be fulfilled before the conclusion of the other terms, and that therefore the regulation of German food supplies furnishes a supposition for the turning over of the merchant marine.'

The letter concludes as follows:

'If there is no other way of saving the situation in Germany, at least the opportunity must be given, by raising the blockade, for us to obtain the necessities of life from neutral countries where rich stores exist and where we are convinced that we can suitably finance such importations. I have in mind obtaining those necessities from the Argentine, but we should also be able to import a great amount of food necessities from the Scandinavian countries as soon as imports are permitted. I shall . . .⁷¹

It is our firm opinion that the collapse of Germany before Bolshevism and the inundation of Europe by Bolshevism cannot be prevented if we leave this

⁶⁹ See BC-1, minute 3, vol. III, p. 512, and BC-4A, minute 4, *ibid*, p. 611.

⁷⁰ Under Secretary of State of the German Food Ministry.

⁷¹ Omission indicated in the file copy of the minutes.

meeting, as has been pointed out by statements up to the present. It is in the interest of the whole civilized world that this be halted and I therefore beg you seriously once more to join us in hunting for the means of assuring the nourishing of Germany.'

(6). As to whether or not the German Government is correct, either technically or in principle, in their interpretation of the various agreements, it is a matter of opinion; at any rate, the language of the instructions may be considered as sufficiently indefinite to permit of several interpretations as regards the obligation of Germany to deliver their merchant ships with a guarantee of only 270,000 tons of food stuff.

(7). However, irrespective of the merits of the German Government's contention as regards the conditions upon which they are willing to deliver their fleet, the political and industrial conditions in Germany, especially as regards food supplies, seem at the present time to be sufficiently serious to demand immediate consideration and action.

'STATEMENT OF ASSURANCES IN REGARD TO FOOD SUPPLY TO GERMANY GIVEN BY DELEGATES OF ASSOCIATED GOVERNMENTS TO DELEGATES OF THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT AT SPA

In reply to the representations made on behalf of the German Government the representatives of the Associated Governments desire formally to reiterate the declarations already made on behalf of their Governments (subject to the delivery of the German Mercantile Marine) relative to the provisioning of Germany.

They repeat that the object of the delivery of the German Mercantile Marine is to ensure (*assurer*) the supplying of Germany and the rest of Europe with food supplies; that "in the first instance" the importation of food will be permitted up to 270,000 tons and that the question of further supplies will be referred to the Supreme War Council for decision and that the Supreme Economic Council "is disposed subject to the approval of the Associated Governments to consider a request from the German representatives for additional food stuffs for delivery in the immediate future provided that satisfactory financial arrangements are made by the German representatives with the financial representatives of the Associated Governments."

These assurances were unaccepted for the reason that same were declared as too vague to warrant the surrender of the German merchant fleet to the Associated Governments.["]

Mr. Davis called attention to a certain article in the above memorandum and explained how, although the associated governments had promised some time ago to effect a satisfactory arrangement with regard to supplying Germany with 270,000 tons of food, the whole matter had fallen through because the French representatives had refused to agree on any financial agreement.

Mr. Hoover then suggested a new solution of the problem. He proposed that a certain number of the German ships, perhaps 7 or 800,000 tons be left to Germany for limited trade. On the outward trip the German Government should be allowed to select its own cargo subject to certain restrictions, and this cargo could be sent to certain specified ports. On the return trip these ships could then carry food for Germany. The rest of the merchant marine should be turned over to the Allies to be used in the feeding of Germany and other Euro-

pean nations. Mr. Hoover explained that this solution would take care of a portion of the unemployment problem in Germany because German crews could be used on these ships, and would, at the same time allow Germany to export sufficient materials to pay for a large amount of food stuffs which she required.

Several objections were raised to Mr. Hoover's scheme, chief among which were the inevitable British and French refusal to allow any ship carrying the German flag to enter into the trade of the world while we were all still, technically, at war. Mr. Hoover explained that his suggestion had the added advantage of not definitely guaranteeing food to Germany until the next harvest. He felt that such a guarantee might induce Germany not to sign peace. Mr. McCormick explained that the whole trouble in this matter was not between us and the Germans, but between us and the French. Mr. Lansing agreed with him that we should present our views in the matter very strongly to the French Government. Mr. Davis observed, however, that the French would use a very subtle argument, which was hard to answer, namely, that the United States was, according to our scheme, trying to get rid of its surplus food stuffs and at the same time take over German material assets which should by rights be paid to France in the form of indemnities. Mr. McCormick believed that this argument could be offset if we arranged so that two-thirds of the food stuffs to be supplied Germany should come from outside of the United States and one-third from within the United States. Mr. Hoover had figured that it would be possible to obtain that much from the markets of other countries. Mr. Hoover then again made a plea for his suggestion, stating that it was based purely on common sense and reason, and that if adopted it would put the United States on the offensive and not perpetually on the defensive. If we were refused by the other associated governments, they would then have to offer some better substitute.

Mr. Davis remarked that the Supreme Economic Council was meeting at 12 o'clock and that at that time an effort would be made to get the French to lift the blockade on certain specified goods. He added that he understood that the meeting had agreed on the following points.

- (1) That freight charges of the German mercantile marine should go toward the payment of food stuffs.
- (2) That Germany should be allowed to ship coal and certain other materials to France in part payment for food stuffs.
- (3) That Germany should be permitted to pay for the importation of food stuffs from neutral countries.
- (4) That under certain conditions Germany might be allowed to dispose of some of her foreign securities in order to assist her in paying for some of her food stuffs.

In return for this the associated governments would supply food to Germany until the next harvest, provided the merchant fleet were turned over to the associated governments. Mr. Sheldon remarked that as he understood it credits for all exports from Germany should go toward the payment for food stuffs. Mr. Hoover added that he hoped another point would be decided upon, namely, that on the outward voyage Germany should be allowed to export with a certain freedom.

Mr. Lamont then asked that Mr. Lansing bring up the whole question at the next meeting of the Supreme War Council, and propose that the whole matter of feeding Germany be referred by that Council to the Supreme Economic Council for final disposition.

This Mr. Lansing agreed to do.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/31

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, March 11th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Lansing read a letter which General Bliss had sent to all the Commissioners, the text of which is as follows:

“I suggest that the American representative or representatives on each of the Committees appointed by the Peace Conference or by the Council of Ten be instructed to report to the American Delegation, before the arrival of the President, in what respect (if any) the report of his Committee violates (if it does violate) any of the President’s declarations, and what is the justification for it.”

(Signed) Tasker H. Bliss

The Commissioners approved highly of the recommendation made by General Bliss, and requested that Mr. Grew have a circular in this sense sent to all the secretaries of the various Commissions, instructing them to have reports submitted by noon on Thursday March 13th.

2. Mr. White stated that at a late hour last night he had been informed by the Secretary General of the Waterways Commission that M. Clemenceau had requested a decision by that Commission on the question of the Kiel canal by 3 o’clock today. He informed the Commissioners that he would shortly be going to a meeting of this Commission and asked if they had any views in regard to the canal. The Commissioners agreed that for the present at least we should main-

tain that the Kiel canal is purely a German canal and that we have no interest in it further than the destruction of such fortifications as may now protect it. It was brought out that the British delegates would probably recommend the destruction in the canal of certain great locks which permitted the passage of large war vessels. The Commissioners felt strongly that it would be of no material advantage to any of the associated governments to have these locks destroyed, and that in future they may be very useful if it were later contemplated to send large merchant vessels to the Baltic. Mr. White stated that he would take a firm stand in this matter.

3. Mr. White observed that at the meeting of the Waterways Commission yesterday the French and Belgian delegates had particularly requested that the United States have a representative on the proposed International Rhine Commission. Mr. White had reserved a decision on this point and asked the Commissioners how they felt about it. The Commissioners felt that it would be distinctly inadvisable for the United States to be represented on a purely European mission of this sort, and requested that Mr. White withhold his decision in the premises.

4. General Bliss brought up for discussion the question of the many leaks which had occurred, presumably for some purpose, with regard to the discussions at the Quai d'Orsay. He mentioned in particular the article which appeared this morning in the *Daily Mail* regarding the reduction of the German army to 100,000 men. The Commissioners felt that the giving out of such information as this was distinctly a breach of the agreement entered into by the various countries with regard to the publication of news, and decided it was a matter to be discussed at the Council of Ten. General Bliss felt that at the same time our attitude in the matter should be explained and therefore offered to interview the American press on the subject this morning.

5. Mr. Herter stated that both Reginald Foster and Captain Bruce were in town and that the former had extremely interesting information about Poland to divulge, whereas the latter had just come from Montenegro where he had been able to make an excellent survey of the situation. The Commissioners felt that as there was much business to be done they would be unable to see these gentlemen today.

6. Mr. Herter then told the Commissioners that two days ago a meeting had been held in the Crillon for those members of the Commission who are interested either directly or indirectly in the Russian situation. These individuals had decided to meet at regular intervals in order to correlate all the information at their disposal with regard to Russia, be in a position to furnish this information to the Commissioners at any time, ascertain the attitude of the various other missions in Paris in the premises, and to systematically interview all Russians who might come to Paris. Mr. Herter explained that these gentlemen were not

trying to formulate any policy with regard to Russia, but were merely trying to obtain such data as would eventually enable the Commissioners to form such a policy. The Commissioners highly approved of this procedure and hoped that the individuals in question would continue their meetings.

7. Memorandum No. 50 [150?] was read regarding certain advances which had been made by Halil Pacha formerly Governor General of Vilayet of Beirut now President of the Albanian Delegation, to the British Peace Delegation regarding the future of Turkey. The Commissioners felt that there was no necessity of their taking any decision with regard to what attitude they might adopt should Halil Pacha address a similar communication to them. It will be time enough for them to determine their attitude when the matter actually comes up.

8. Memorandum No. 151 was read regarding the sending of General Haller's⁷² division to Poland. The Commissioners noted Dr. Bowman's recommendation that three American Colonels with their staffs be sent immediately to Warsaw without waiting for the other Powers to get their contingents together, and that the American Plenipotentiary formally raise the question at the Council of Ten as to the progress made in obtaining shipping, etc., for the sending of General Haller's division to Danzig.

The Commissioners were of the opinion that a decision had already been reached regarding the first of these recommendations, namely, that the three Colonels in question should be despatched to Warsaw immediately. At the same time they felt, however, that these Colonels or at least one or two of them, should have a fluent knowledge of French in order that they would not be under the handicap that General Kernan appears to be under in Poland. With regard to the second recommendation, the American Commissioners felt that there would be no purpose served in bringing up this question again in the Council of Ten merely for the sake of having it put on record. If a proper opportunity arose, however, they would be glad to press the matter as much as possible.

9. Memorandum No. 152 was read suggesting that a telegram be sent to the American Delegation [*Legation*] at Copenhagen informing it that a mission is now on its way to Esthonia and Latvia. The Commissioners approved of the telegram in question as well as the supplementary telegram to the Department of State, with the exception of the last sentence in each case.⁷³ They felt that it served no purpose to inform the Legation at Copenhagen that the mission was giving serious consideration to the question of the recognition of Finland.

⁷² General Josef Haller, of the Polish forces in France.

⁷³ Telegram No. 1136, March 12, 1919, 8 p. m., *Foreign Relations*, 1919, Russia, p. 673.

10. Memorandum No. 153 was read suggesting that a telegram be sent to Mr. Polk with regard to economic assistance to certain of the Baltic States. The telegram in question was approved by the Commissioners.⁷⁴

11. Mr. Herter read a letter written by Mr. Grew addressed to the Secretary General of the Peace Commission, with regard to the official languages to be used in drawing up the Peace Treaty with Germany. The Commissioners approved of Mr. Grew's letter in the premises.

The Commissioners felt that the time had now come to consider seriously the form in which the Peace Treaty should be drawn up. They thought that if the military, naval and aerial terms as well as the League of Nations Covenant were included in the body of the Treaty it would become ridiculously long and unwieldy. They therefore felt that it should be as brief a statement as possible, but should be accompanied by annexes in which special details and specifications were set forth. In this connection, they request that Mr. Grew get into touch with Major James Brown Scott immediately with a view to drafting a suggested article to be inserted in the treaty whereby the Covenant of the League of Nations could be incorporated within the Treaty, but at the same time be an annex thereto. They suggested that in drafting this article, Germany be required to recognize the existence and jurisdiction of the League of Nations, a body constituted in accordance with an annexed Covenant, which Covenant forms an integral and inseparable part of the Peace Treaty.

The advantages of having the Covenant so inserted in the Peace Treaty are two-fold. It first necessitates its being ratified together with the whole treaty and secondly, it allows to the neutrals an opportunity of signing the Covenant without signing the Peace Treaty.

12. Memorandum No. 155 was read regarding the disposition which should be made of many letters and telegrams which are received by the Department of State in Washington on the League of Nations. The Commissioners did not approve of the suggested reply to the Department of State in this matter, but felt that inasmuch as all this correspondence was already acknowledged by the State Department, it would be well to have it sent on to the Commission for whatever disposition the latter might see fit. The Mission would in this way be in no wise obligated in taking any action on this correspondence, but at the same time the State Department would be in a position to say that it had referred it to the Peace Mission.

Information Memorandum No. 31 was read regarding a telegram sent by Mr. Oscar T. Crosby to Mr. Norman H. Davis respecting a report the former was preparing on the Austrian financial situation.

⁷⁴ See telegram No. 1131, March 12, 1919, 4 p. m., *ibid.*

13. Information Memorandum No. 32 was read regarding certain despatches which had been received from Rear-Admiral Bristol, Senior U. S. Naval Officer in Turkish Waters, regarding both the Russian volunteer army in the Ukraine and the opposition of the non-Moslem population in Turkey in the military service.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/32

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, March 12, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 156 was read regarding the assignment, at the request of Mr. Norman H. Davis, of Captain E. L. Sanborn to assist with work in connection with the Armistice Commission. The Commissioners approved of the assignment of Captain Sanborn for this purpose.

2. Memorandum No. 157 was read regarding the proposed Mission to Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania. The Commissioners approved of the assignment of Lt. Colonel Warwick Greene as the chief of this Mission, and likewise approved of the rest of the personnel suggested to accompany Colonel Greene.

3. Information Memorandum No. 33 was read regarding the confidential interview which Mr. Franklin Day had recently had with Prof. L. Beer, a professor of International law at Leipzig. The Commissioners were very skeptical in regard to Prof. Beer's statements as to his conviction of the Emperor's personal responsibility on the origin of the war, and believed that this expression of opinion was one which could commonly be found among those who now in Germany were trying to save their own skins.

4. Mr. Herter brought up the question of Prof. Lord's recall from Poland, and explained that General Kernan had not been recalled owing to the importance of his presence in Poland at the present time. The Commissioners approved of the telegram drafted by Mr. Grew recalling Prof. Lord.

5. Mr. Herter distributed to the Commissioners copies of a memorandum prepared by Captain James Bruce regarding the situation in Montenegro. The Commissioners were much interested in this memorandum, but felt that they could not agree to the recommenda-

tions proposed. Recommendation No. 2 particularly was disapproved. At the moment, all the Commissioners stated they would examine the question further before reaching any final decision.

6. The controversy which had arisen at the Council of Ten in regard to the Jugo-Slav-Italian dispute was discussed. Mr. Lansing felt that the American Delegate should adopt the attitude that if this question was further discussed at the Council of Ten either both Italy and Serbia should be represented or else neither one nor the other. He also felt that immediately upon the arrival of the President the American Delegation should adopt a definite policy in regard to territorial claims such as those in dispute, and that this policy should be approximately the following:

“The disposition of territory should be considered from the point of view of the ethnic condition of the Hinterland and not of the littoral or of individual ports on the coast.”

7. Mr. Herter referred to a second informal gathering which had taken place yesterday afternoon to discuss Russian matters in the Hotel Crillon, and mentioned certain reports which had been read at that meeting by Lieut. Williams and Lieut. Bell. The Commissioners expressed enthusiastic approval of the proceedings of this informal gathering and requested that they be supplied at once with copies of the reports which had been read as well as of the map which had been prepared by Lt. Bell.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/33

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, March 13th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. BUCKLER
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Buckler stated that in a conversation which he had had with Mr. Gompers, the day before, he had been alarmed to find that Mr. Gompers had a very definite charge to make against Mr. Bullitt. Mr. Gompers had first merely referred to Mr. Bullitt's general activities in Switzerland, but was finally pinned down to a statement of the exact information which he possessed against him. He produced a copy of a letter which he proposed sending to the Commissioners

quoting a statement purported to have been made by Mr. Bullitt to Mr. Frank Bohn in Switzerland. This statement was in substance that he, Mr. Bullitt, had been sent to Switzerland by the American Commission to Negotiate Peace in order to give his approval to the activities of the International Socialist Conference.

Mr. Lansing was of the opinion that there was nothing in this charge against Mr. Bullitt, but felt that inasmuch as it was an extremely important matter, Mr. Gompers should be urged to put the thing in writing for presentation to the Commissioners, and that the charge should then be sifted. Mr. Buckler agreed to inform Mr. Gompers that the Commissioners would like to have this whole question in writing.

Mr. Buckler withdrew.

2. Dr. Bowman, Major Tyler and Mr. Dominian entered the meeting.

Dr. Bowman stated that he understood that he and his colleagues had been called into the meeting of the Commissioners to explain the necessity of so large a Mission to the Near East as had been proposed by Mr. Dominian in Memorandum No. 141 of March 5th.⁷⁵ Dr. Bowman explained that there were many questions in the Near East which would require determination by the Peace Conference, and that it was essential for us to have first hand information in the premises. Among these questions he mentioned the Armenian claims, the boundaries between Armenia and Georgia, ethnic questions etc. Mr. Lansing observed that he was not in favor of studying the boundary questions of these districts any further at the present time, and that he was not particularly interested in the districts mentioned. He felt that the three great questions in the Near East which required decisions were: (1) Mandatories, (2) Syria and (3) Greek claims in Asia-Minor. He felt that on these questions we should receive as much information as possible, but he understood that both Dr. Barton and Mr. Glazebrook were or would be reporting to the Commission on these matters.

Mr. Lansing observed that in principle he was opposed to the sending of large Missions to these districts because he foresaw no benefits coming from them but that they would inevitably cause dissatisfaction among the people when it was learned that the members of the Commission were not in a position to take any authoritative action, or even to guarantee that the recommendations which they made to their Government would be followed. Dr. Bowman inquired whether this argument did not apply equally to the Missions which had already gone to Germany and Austro-Hungary and Mr. Lansing admitted these objections did exist, but not to such an extent.

⁷⁵ See meeting of March 6, minute 9, p. 99.

After some further discussion, it was decided that the proposed Mission should be cut down to about four or five field observers who should, if possible, go under the guise of food investigators.

Major Tyler offered to submit a new project in the premises.

Dr. Bowman, Major Tyler and Mr. Dominian withdrew.

3. Lieut. Foster entered the meeting.

Lieut. Foster distributed to the Commissioners copies of a memorandum which he had prepared regarding the situation in Poland, together with certain definite recommendations for action which he hoped would be followed. He was asked by the Commissioners to expand on this memorandum and give the reasons for each one of his recommendations.

Lieut. Foster recommended that quick action be taken by the Associated Governments instructing certain officers of these Governments now in Hungary to occupy the railroad line running from East Galicia to Hungary in order to stop the supplies of ammunition etc., which were going into the Ukraine. He felt strongly that this action should be taken in order to impress the peoples of the Ukraine with the seriousness of purpose and strength of the Associated Governments. At the present time these peoples have no faith in the Associated Governments, and were proceeding in a manner which completely ignored the strength of these nations. In order to indicate the attitude of the Ukraine, he read a newspaper article decrying the effectiveness of control by the Allied and Associated Governments in the territories which they had conquered.

The Commissioners requested Lieut. Foster to take this matter up at once with Norman Davis, who it was understood, had been entrusted with the control of the Hungarian railways.

Lieut. Foster then asked that General Haller's army be sent to Poland as soon as possible. General Bliss agreed that this should be done and observed that the Associated Governments had already concluded the advisability of such a step. The lack of shipping was one obstacle in the way, and only the Allied Maritime Council in London could supply the shipping. General Bliss suggested that possibly it would be well to get the Council of Ten to prod the Allied Maritime Council in this matter.

Lieut. Foster then discussed the necessity of sending raw materials as well as clothing and shoes and ammunition into Poland. The Commissioners requested Lieut. Foster to see Mr. McCormick about the shipment of raw materials. They discussed the legal aspects of the A. E. F. selling its surplus stocks of clothes and shoes to the Poles. They felt that perhaps an act of Congress was necessary in order to enable the military authorities to do this and therefore requested General Bliss to consult with the competent military authorities as to what measures should be taken.

Lieut. Foster then discussed the reports which he had received with regard to the complicity of the Germans and Bolsheviki in those parts of Lithuania which were being evacuated by the German army. He had endeavored to verify these reports by visiting the districts in question but had been refused permission to enter the districts occupied by the German army of the *Ober-Ost*. Other members of the Inter-Allied Mission to Poland had likewise been refused this permission. The Commissioners felt that this was a very serious matter, and requested that a memorandum be prepared at once to be put on the agenda for the next meeting of the Council of Ten.

Lieut. Foster finally brought up the suggestion that the unemployed Poles who at present numbered about 600,000 in Germany be allowed to come to France to assist in reconstruction work. The Commissioners requested Lieut. Foster to discuss this matter with Mr. McCormick.

3 [*sic*]. Mr. Herter brought up the question of the Department's sending a strong Commission to Constantinople as suggested by Mr. Polk. The Commissioners approved highly of sending such a Commission, but felt that in view of the delicate Palestine and Zionist question, it would be inadvisable to send Mr. Elkus⁷⁶ at the head of this Mission.

4. Memorandum No. 158 was read regarding a request made by Mr. Baruch for the assignment of Major Hugh L. Gaddis for work with Mr. Baruch's office. The Commissioners approved of this assignment, and further approved of Mr. Baruch's having such officers assigned to his Bureau as he saw fit because of the fact that he would pay all their expenses.

5. Memorandum No. 159 was read regarding a telegram received by the Embassy in Paris from the Department of State inquiring as to whether newspaper correspondents had gone to Germany on some arrangement made by the Peace Commission, and as to whether in the opinion of the Embassy any attempt should be made to exercise supervision of their activities. The Commissioners were convinced that no newspaper men had gone into Germany under some arrangement with the Peace Mission, but desire that before taking any final decision in the premises Mr. Sweetser be asked to report on the whole question, submitting for the Commission's information a list of those American newspaper men now in enemy States.

6. Memorandum No. 160 was read regarding the reply of the Charge d'Affaires in London with respect to the reported negotiations of Major Shackleton of Great Britain with the North Russian Provincial Government for concessions in and about Murman. The Commissioners noted the information contained in the telegram with interest.

⁷⁶ Abram I. Elkus, former Ambassador to Turkey.

7. Memorandum No. 161 was read quoting a telegram which had been sent by Mr. Oscar S. Strauss to Mr. Auchincloss regarding certain congresses which had been held in the United States in favor of the League of Nations. The Commissioners understood that this telegram had already been given great publicity, in Great Britain at least, but approved of the recommendation that it be given to the press in case the press had not yet received it.

8. Information Memorandum No. 34 was read regarding a recommendation made by Mr. Polk that Mr. Lehrs, Vice-Consul in Copenhagen be authorized to visit Baltic provinces. The Commissioners approved of the suggestion that Mr. Lehrs be asked to wait in Copenhagen until the arrival of Lieut. Colonel Greene and his party.

9. Information Memorandum No. 35 was read in which Mr. McNeir requested the assignment of Captain Eugene E. Berl to his office. The Commissioners approved of Captain Berl's assignment to the Commission for this purpose.

10. Memorandum regarding inquiries made of the Secretaries of the Committees or Commissions appointed by the Peace Conference or by the Council of Ten as to whether the reports submitted by them violated any of the President's declarations was read and the Commissioners requested that Mr. Grew furnish copies to each of them for further study.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/34

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, March 18th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 163 was read regarding an excursion which would shortly be arranged to the devastated regions by the Secretary General of the Peace Conference, and for which five places are being reserved for the American Commission. The Commissioners requested that this invitation be acknowledged with the expression of our appreciation, and with the statement that the Commissioners will be glad to have five places reserved. The Commissioners further desired that if possible, it be ascertained informally just what portions of the devastated regions this excursion would cover. They likewise stated that if they themselves were unable to go a suitable delegation from the American Commission could be sent.

2. Memorandum No. 164 was read in which it was stated that Mr. Norman H. Davis requested to have his resignation from the Financial Commission accepted, and to have Mr. Thomas W. Lamont appointed in his place. The Commissioners agreed that they would accept Mr. Davis' resignation though regretting extremely that he is unable to find the time to do the necessary work, and at the same time agreed that Mr. Lamont should be designated to take Mr. Davis' place.

3. Memorandum No. 165 was read with regard to the proposed Mission to Turkey. The Commissioners felt that again the personnel of the proposed Mission was too numerous, and requested that the matter be reviewed once more. They were unable to see that . . . or . . . had any of the necessary qualifications to go as field observers, but said that they would be glad to reconsider their cases if further material was furnished in the premises.

4. Memorandum No. 166 was read suggesting that Captain Hayford Peirce be assigned to Prof. Coolidge's Mission and directed to proceed to Warsaw as soon as possible. The Commissioners asked whether in case this were done Captain Peirce would have any connection with General Kernan's Mission. They felt strongly that both because of the fact that no reasons were given why Captain Peirce should go to Warsaw, and because it would be extremely inadvisable to send to Poland an independent officer who would not come under General Kernan's jurisdiction, that it would not be advisable to have Captain Peirce assigned for the purpose indicated. They stated, however, that they were willing to reconsider this matter provided General Kernan approved, and Captain Peirce made a member of General Kernan's Mission.

5. Memorandum No. 167 was read regarding the assignment of 2nd Lieut. W. H. Osborn to Prof. Coolidge's Mission in Vienna as Secretary to Prof. Philip Brown. The Commissioners agreed that inasmuch as Lieut. Osborn was willing to pay his own expenses while on this mission, and in view of his qualifications, they approved his assignment for the purpose indicated.

6. The attention of the Commissioners was called to the fact that there were several American painters now in Paris who were extremely anxious to know whether the Government intended to have any official paintings made of the Peace Conference itself or of Delegates to the Peace Conference. Some confusion existed as to whether the National Fine Arts Committee in the United States, of which Mr. White was the Honorary Chairman and which had made to Sargent an offer to paint the Conference was a Government Committee or not. The Commissioners felt that the Government should take no action whatever in this matter and that since the National Fine Arts Committee appeared to be a private organization, subsidized by some

individuals, it was entirely up to that Committee to decide what painters should undertake the work in question in Paris.

7. The Commissioners discussed the position which the President had taken yesterday at the Quai d'Orsay with regard to the insertion of the Covenant of the League of Nations in the preliminary Peace Treaty. They felt that it would be very difficult to incorporate the League of Nations Covenant in any final form in this preliminary Peace Treaty, and that it would be better merely to have Germany accept the League in principle. In this way the Covenant in its final form could be incorporated in the final Peace Treaty. The Commissioners further observed that the preliminary Peace Treaty was in reality a complete and final declaration of peace which would have to be ratified by all the contracting States. The so-called final Peace Treaty would merely be a revision of this first Peace Treaty.

The Commissioners requested Mr. Herter to have prepared for them two memoranda: (1) embodying such information as was at the disposal of the Commission with regard to public opinion in the United States, Great Britain and France with respect to the necessity of further discussion and possible amendment of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and the second, dealing with the procedure which the various nations signatories to the Peace Treaty would have to follow in order to have that Treaty ratified by their respective Governments.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/35

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, March 20th [Wednesday, March 19th], 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GENERAL BLISS

MR. HERTER

1. Mr. White observed that he had seen in the paper that the question of the Kiel Canal was discussed yesterday at the Quai d'Orsay. He asked Mr. Lansing if any decision had been arrived at or whether the recommendation of the Commission on Waterways, Ports and Railways in regard to the Canal had been considered. Mr. Lansing said that there had been some discussion about this matter, and that a proposal had been made that the Kiel Canal should be put under a regime similar to that of the Suez Canal. This suggestion had not been definitely accepted however. Mr. Lansing also observed that he was being very careful not to have the Kiel Canal given any status

similar to the Panama Canal, which might perhaps involve a whole discussion of the Panama Canal question by the Conference.

2. General Bliss stated that Mr. Grew had referred to him certain papers in regard to the difficulties between German-Austria and the Jugo-Slavs in Carinthia. In these papers it appeared that the French Government was suggesting that an Inter-Allied Commission headed by a French officer should be sent to this district with a view to proposing a solution to the difficulty. Mr. Dodge the American Minister at Belgrade had been asked to appoint an American officer on this Commission.

General Bliss then stated that he had prepared a memorandum on this subject strongly advocating that no American officer be assigned to this Inter-Allied Mission. The text of General Bliss' memorandum was read and the following are the reasons given for which the detail of an American officer on this Commission was disapproved.

(1) No American officer or enlisted man has heretofore been assigned to any duty with the Army of the East, and it is not believed to be wise that, at this late date, we should have any connection with it whatever.

(2) The detail of an American officer on this Mission will give indirect official recognition by us of the armistice line drawn by Lieut. Colonel Miles, which we have already disavowed.

(3) The detail of an American officer on this Mission will at once open the door to requests for American participation in the solution of like problems that are arising on the Hungarian-Czecho-Slovak front, the Hungarian-Roumanian front, and the Serbian-Roumanian front. I believe that we should keep out of all of these.

(4) Laibach and all that region is the center of constantly occurring national and race conflicts between the Italians and the Jugo-Slavs. It needs no arguments to show that the Americans should keep as far removed from these conflicts, at the present stage of the game, as possible.

(5) Finally, I desire to express my conviction that the United States Government has every interest in avoiding entangling itself in the disputes arising in that part of the world, unless it should be called in as a final arbiter in which case it can give its decision in accordance with the Fourteen Declarations without having its hands tied by unnecessary participation in the previous fruitless attempts at solution.

The Commissioners agreed with General Bliss' conclusions in this matter and it was further decided that no American officer should be assigned to the proposed Inter-Allied Commission.

3. Mr. Lansing asked what was the present status of General Churchill's staff. . . .

4. General Bliss read a letter which he had received from the Mercantile Trust Company in regard to certain claims which that Company had against the German Government. The Commissioners

agreed that it would be proper for General Bliss to acknowledge this letter with the statement that it had been placed in the hands of the competent authority and that the claims referred to therein would undoubtedly be justly taken care of.

[5.] Memorandum No. 168 was read in which General Churchill submitted a proposal that Captain William Yale accept an invitation tendered to him by Colonel Lawrence to accompany the British Forces on an expedition which they are planning for the month of May against the tribes of the Nejd. The Commissioners did not approve of this proposal and suggested that in any reply that should be made to Colonel Lawrence, it be stated that the American Commission to Negotiate Peace cannot take cognizance of any expedition which the British Forces are proposing to make against certain Arabian tribes.

6. Memorandum No. 169 was read quoting a telegram from Brigadier General Treat at Trieste to the effect that the British, French and American representatives on the Laibach Investigation Committee had been at Laibach since March 14th and that the Italian representative had not yet reported. Mr. Lansing requested that a memorandum of this fact be prepared for him immediately for submission to the Council of Ten by him at its next meeting.

7. Memorandum No. 170 was read prepared by Drs. Lord and Bowman, in regard to the Teschen situation. The Commissioners approved of the recommendations contained in the memorandum in question, and therefore request, (1) that Mr. DuBois be appointed the American representative on the Inter-Allied Teschen Commission and (2) that a memorandum be prepared for discussion at the next meeting of the Council of Ten in regard to some statement which the great Powers should make with respect to the decisions of the Teschen Commission.

8. Mr. Miller entered the meeting. The Commissioners stated that they understood that Mr. Miller had been present the previous night at the Conference between the President, Colonel House and Lord Robert Cecil, at which certain amendments proposed for the Covenant of the League of Nations had been discussed. Mr. Miller stated that these proposed amendments were of two kinds, those which had been agreed upon and those which had been discussed but had not been approved. The first category of those amendments could briefly be summarized as follows:

(1) A provision was added in Article 3 whereby an increase of membership on the Executive Council is facilitated. This amendment had in view the eventual possibility of Germany and Russia being represented on the Executive Council.

(2) A provision was added to Article 4 in which it was expressly stated that all decisions of the Executive Council should be by unanimous vote unless otherwise specified.

(3) Article 7 which deals with the admission of new States to the League of Nations was so amended as to be positive in its sense rather than negative.

(4) The word "permission" in the last sentence of paragraph 1 of Article 8 was changed to read "concurrence". The British suggestion to change the words "the permission of" to "notice to" was not accepted.

(5) Article 11 was amended to become mandatory by the substitution of the words "the League shall" for the words "the High Contracting Parties reserve the right" in the first paragraph.

(6) To article 14 was added a clause providing that the permanent court of International Justice should also consider all matters referred to it by the Executive Council or the Body of Delegates.

(7) In the second paragraph of Article 15 the words "and that if any party shall refuse so to comply, the Council shall propose the measures necessary to give effect to the recommendation" were struck out.

(8) To Article 17 a clause was inserted stating that nothing in the Covenant of the League of Nations should be so construed as to force a State to be a mandatory of the League.

(9) Articles 18, 20 and 21 were assimilated into one Article for the sake of uniformity in the drafting.

Two suggested amendments were also discussed but disapproved. The first was a proposed amendment whereby any nation could withdraw from the League after giving two years notice. This amendment was abandoned because of the conviction that the French Government would not adhere to it, but it is to be proposed. The second was a proposed amendment involving the weakening of Article 10. Both Canada and Australia were particularly interested in this amendment, but inasmuch as Article 10 was being relied on absolutely by France to guarantee her against future aggression from Germany, it was not accepted.

9. Colonel House entered the meeting.

Colonel House stated that he had just had an interview with Clemenceau and that from this interview it was apparent that an "impasse" had been reached. The French were apparently not satisfied with the League of Nations as it stood and desired a more explicit guarantee that both England and the United States would come to the assistance of France in case of her invasion at any time in the future. M. Clemenceau had practically threatened that in case such a clause were not added to the League of Nations, the French Government would assume a waiting role and do nothing to further the signing of peace. Mr. Lansing observed that in case France did this there would be nothing left for the United States to do except to sign a separate peace. Colonel House admitted that this was true, but felt that such a move would be extremely unfortunate. He therefore requested all the Commissioners to consider the matter very earnestly

and endeavor to draft, if possible, some modification to the Covenant of the League of Nations which might satisfy the French views.

10. Colonel House read the draft of a telegram which he suggested that the Mission send to the American Minister at Stockholm for transmission to Mr. Bullitt. Inasmuch as this draft telegram referred to certain messages which had been sent by Mr. Bullitt to the Mission, and which all the Commissioners had not yet had an opportunity to study, they reserved their decision as to the advisability of sending the draft telegram in question.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/36

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, March 20th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Lansing discussed an embarrassing incident which had arisen the previous day in regard to Marshal Foch's presence at the Council of Ten. The Commissioners were not quite certain as to the exact status of Marshal Foch, but General Bliss understood that he had been appointed as a Delegate from France because of his position as Commander-in-Chief on the Western front. It was pointed out that this virtually gave to France a sixth Delegate to the Peace Conference, which was an advantage over the other Powers.

2. Mr. White mentioned the fact that Lieut. Condon had just returned and had given him some very interesting information in regard to sentiment in the United States. It appeared that there was tremendous interest in the United States in regard to the Peace Conference, and that Lieut. Condon had been asked by the Kansas City Chamber of Commerce to speak on several occasions, which he had done. Lieut. Condon emphasized to Mr. White the necessity of having persons in sympathy with what the Peace Conference was trying to accomplish go to different parts of the United States to explain just what was being done. This was particularly important because of the fact that such papers as the *Kansas City Star* had not even published the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and was constantly opposing it.

3. Mr. Lansing read a statement which he suggested should be telegraphed to the United States in order to assist in the raising of the

next Liberty Loan. With one or two slight modifications, the Commissioners approved of this statement.

4. Mr. White observed that he had on the previous day had a conversation with Mr. Baruch, in which Mr. Baruch had informed him that Mr. Gompers was unable to live in Paris as he claimed he should on 40 francs a day. Mr. Gompers had therefore told Mr. Baruch that he thought it would be only right if he and his secretary were to be given \$25.00 a day for living expenses from the Commission, payable from the day of his arrival in Paris. The Commissioners felt that this demand was very extreme, but suggested to Mr. White that he convey to Mr. Gompers that any request of this sort should be submitted to the Commissioners in writing.

5. Mr. White stated that he had had a conversation with Colonel House during which the latter had shown him a suggested text for an agreement between France, Great Britain and the United States which he thought would satisfy M. Clemenceau. The Commissioners discussed the drafting of this text, and felt that the wording could be much improved upon. They therefore drew up a substitute text. The Commissioners further requested Mr. Herter to submit this text to Colonel House with the statement to the effect that in their opinion the subject matter thereof was most prejudicial to the whole structure of the League of Nations, and to the ideal for which the United States entered the war, and that they therefore would desire further time to consider it. They also wished it clearly understood that in redrafting the text they were not expressing any opinion upon the principle involved.

6. Memorandum No. 173 was read recommending (1) that any relief measures taken with regard to Russia should be part of a definite program in respect to this country; (2) that an undertaking such as the feeding of Petrograd should be a Governmental affair since the Red Cross had not sufficient funds and (3) that the attached memorandum in regard to the whole Russian situation should be considered.

The Commissioners agreed that any relief measure for Russia should be part of a definite program, but were very doubtful whether at the present time the United States had sufficient funds available to undertake such measures on any adequate scale. They admitted that it was a matter which the Red Cross would be unable to handle.

In regard to the memorandum attached, they agreed that it would be advisable to feed and give prompt economic assistance to Finland, Esthonia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and the liberated sections of Latvia and Lithuania, but were unable to pass upon the feasibility of such a large program. They disapproved of the recommendations that instructions be sent to General Pershing or to General Kernan such as those recommended.

In regard to the positive measures set forth, the Commissioners concurred except in so far as any declaration setting out the American policy should be changed to a declaration setting out the policy of the Associated Governments. They felt in regard to all these statements, however, that they were ends to be arrived at but that the means to further these ends constituted the gravest difficulties. For instance, they would be very glad to learn how an effective armistice could be insured on all fronts, or how food and medical supplies etc., could be distributed on a democratic basis. They likewise would like to know whether there is sufficient food available for carrying out an effective *ravitaillement* program in Russia and whether satisfactory financial arrangements could be made to pay for this food in view of the fact that Congress will not be convened for some months.

7. Memorandum No. 171 was read with regard to the desire of Mr. Norman H. Davis to know the wishes of the Commission with respect to establishing credits in favor of the Poles for the purchase of material for the Polish army as well as the civilian population. The Commissioners approved of the establishment of credits for the purpose indicated by Mr. Davis.

8. Memorandum No. 170 was read with regard to a suggestion made by Mr. Norman H. Davis that Mr. Hayden B. Harris be sent to Poland to report on the financial and economic situation. The Commissioners agreed that it would be well to have Mr. Harris go to Poland for the purpose indicated.

9. A memorandum was read which had been prepared by Mr. Stabler in regard to the dissatisfaction caused among certain delegates from South America because of the alleged unfair representation of South America on the Financial and Economic Commissions. The Commissioners requested that the substance of the memorandum in question be incorporated in a much reduced form in a letter to the President with a request for his views in the premises. The Commissioners added that they would be willing to have inserted in this letter a statement to the effect that if the Latin and South American republics were not given larger representations on these Commissions we would receive a large part of the blame and the relations between the United States and Central and South America might be impaired thereby. The Commissioners themselves were quite disposed to insist on a decent representation for these republics.

The Commissioners agreed that the question of giving a dinner for the Central and South American Delegates should be postponed until the answer had been received from the President in regard to the above mentioned matter.

10. Memorandum No. 175 was read with regard to the question of newspaper correspondents in Germany. The Commissioners agreed

that in view of the fact that the Peace Treaty would shortly be signed, it would be inadvisable to take any steps to prevent these newspaper men from trading with the enemy and that under no circumstances should the State Department be advised to exercise any regulatory supervision over the activities of these newspaper men.

11. Memorandum No. 165⁷⁸ regarding the sending of a Mission to Turkey which had been read at a meeting of the Commissioners on March 18th was brought up for reconsideration. The personnel of this Commission had been cut down to five officials, . . . being struck from the original list and the Commissioners approved of the sending of the Mission consisting of five officials and four Field Clerks, and believed that a sum of \$18,500 to pay the expenses of this Mission would not be excessive.

12. Memorandum No. 176 was read with regard to the employment by Mr. Jerome D. Greene, Secretary of the Reparation Committee, of Lieut. R. S. Boardman of the American Red Cross for two or three hours a day. The Commissioners approved of Lieut. Boardman being so employed, and believed that 4 francs an hour would not be an excessive stipend.

13. Memorandum No. 177 was read in which Mr. Williams suggested that a draft of a telegram for transmission to the State Department in regard to the attitude of the United States Government toward the Siberian situation be sent to the President for his approval. The Commissioners felt that they would be unable to render any decision in this matter until the last sentence of the first paragraph of Mr. Polk's telegram of March 9th had been cleared up. In that sentence Mr. Polk spoke of the support the United States was now lending the authorities in Siberia in the shipping of supplies including military equipment and railway materials. The Commissioners were not aware as to what sort of military equipment was being sent to the authorities in Siberia nor for what purpose this equipment was being used. It was therefore requested that a telegram be sent immediately to Mr. Polk asking him to furnish them with the necessary data in the premises.⁷⁹ As soon as this data is received, they will be glad to reconsider the memorandum in question.

14. At the meeting Mr. Herter read a telegram from Mr. Bullitt as well as a memorandum from Dr. Lord in regard to Captain Pettit. The Commissioners agreed that in view of the information in question, all of Mr. Bullitt's recommendations should be complied with, with the exception perhaps of giving to Sergeant Krause a courier

⁷⁸ See meeting of March 18, minute 3, p. 120.

⁷⁹ See telegram No. 1285, March 23, 1919, 3 a. m., *Foreign Relations*, 1919, Russia, p. 331.

passport. This should be done only in case it were absolutely necessary.

15. Information Memorandum No. 43 was read in regard to the amendment which it was reported that the Japanese Delegation would propose to the constitution of the League of Nations. This memorandum read as follows:

“Equality between nations being a basic principle of the League of Nations, the High Contracting Powers agree to accord, as soon as possible, to all aliens, nationals of states members of the League, equal and just treatment, making no distinction, either in law or in fact, on account of race or nationality.”

The Commissioners requested that a copy of Information Memorandum No. 43 be given to each one of them for further study.

16. Mr. Herter inquired whether, in view of the altered situation in Germany, there would now be any objection for Mr. Osborne to travel through that country on his way from Copenhagen to Paris. The Commissioners decided that it would be better for Mr. Osborne not to travel to Paris via Germany but to come by water if possible.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/37

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, March 21st, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
COLONEL OLDS
MR. HERTER

1. The Commissioners requested Colonel Olds to inform them just what assistance was being rendered by the Red Cross to the States bordering upon Russia. He explained that there was at present a small Red Cross organization in Siberia as well as an organization with the American Forces at Archangel, likewise a Red Cross Commission was at present in Poland and another in Germany assisting with the repatriation of Russian prisoners of War. Otherwise there was no Red Cross assistance being given to the various factions composing the Soviet Government. Requests had, however, been received from Denikin's army for American Red Cross assistance, and Colonel Olds wished to learn of the attitude of the Commissioners in this matter.

The Commissioners requested Colonel Olds to put in the form of a memorandum the whole question as it appeared to him, together with such recommendations as he might have to make. Colonel Olds agreed to do this and then withdrew.

2. The Commissioners discussed the question of the suggested agreement between France, England and the United States which had been brought up at their meeting on the previous day. They all expressed themselves very strongly against the principle involved in concluding such an agreement, and felt that the whole structure of the League of Nations would be most seriously compromised thereby. Mr. White was of the opinion that the time had come for a definite showdown with the French, and that unless an amicable agreement could be reached, we should sign a separate peace. The Commissioners felt that it was most essential that they should discuss the whole situation with the President in the very near future.

3. A memorandum prepared by Dr. Lord was read, suggesting that owing to the various successive steps which would have to be agreed upon in concluding the final armistice between the Poles and the Ukrainians it would be well to have this whole matter referred by the Council of Ten to the Inter-Allied Polish Commission in Paris. This course was agreed upon and Mr. Lansing took charge of the memorandum in order to bring the question up at the meeting of the Council of Ten in the afternoon.

4. Information Memorandum No. 44 was read with regard to the status of Lt. Col. Arthur Dryhurst Budd. The Commissioners agreed that Col. Budd should be informed that he had absolutely no connection with the American Commission to Negotiate Peace and that the Secretary General should likewise be directed to inform him that the Commissioners very seriously doubted the propriety of any American army officer acting as technical delegate for Panama or any other foreign country. They felt that such a statement would be sufficient to cause Col. Budd to either resign from the army or give up his position as technical delegate to the Panaman Delegation, but that in case he took neither one of these courses, further action compelling him to do so would be necessary.

5. Mr. Herter read a memorandum which he had received from Mr. Story quoting a press report received from Prof. Coolidge respecting an order which it was alleged that the British Naval representative in Hungary had issued that no ship could sail on the Danube without the permission of the Czecho-Slovak Government etc. The Commissioners requested that a letter be sent to Mr. Balfour, Mr. Lansing offering to sign this letter, inquiring whether the alleged order had in fact been issued. If this should prove to be true, the Commis-

sioners felt that the question should immediately be discussed by the Council of Ten.

6. Information Memorandum No. 45 was read regarding the condition of Lord Northcliffe and was noted by the Commissioners with interest.

7. Information Memorandum No. 46 was read with regard to the French Embassy visaing passports of American citizens traveling on official business, and was noted by the Commissioners with interest.

8. Information Memorandum No. 47 was read quoting a telegram received from the Naval Attaché at Madrid, and was noted with interest by the Commissioners.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/38

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, March 22nd, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. White observed that in a conversation which he had had with Colonel House that morning, Colonel House inquired whether or not any steps had been taken towards actually drawing up the Peace Treaty. Mr. Lansing stated that this had already been begun by Major James Brown Scott of the American Commission, and Mr. Hurst of the British Commission. General Bliss felt that if a draft of a Treaty of Peace with Germany could be laid on the table before the Council of Ten or the Plenary Conference, and that then the Conference should be asked what clauses it wished added to this Treaty of Peace, the whole Peace problem would be accelerated considerably.

Mr. Lansing observed that in connection with the above, he thought the time had now passed when the Germans would sign any Treaty of Peace without examining it in great detail, and wishing to discuss its provisions. General Bliss agreed that this was probably so, and likewise felt that the Germans should be given a hearing because they might be able to adduce convincing arguments why this or that clause should be changed. This he felt was particularly true in the case of the military and navy terms.

2. General Bliss inquired why three officers whom it had been decided to send to assist General Kernan on the Inter-Allied Mission in Poland had been returned to their organizations.

Officers to Poland

Mr. Lansing explained that this had undoubtedly been done because of the fact that at a previous meeting of the Commissioners they had decided that the officers in question should not go to Poland unless one or two of them spoke French fluently. General Bliss asked that he be allowed to speak to Mr. Grew about this matter, and at the suggestion of Mr. Lansing undertook to make himself alone responsible for the sending of suitable officers to Poland.

3. Memorandum No. 171 was read giving the arguments for and against the sending of a Mission of further observers into Germany.

**Sending of
Further Observers
to Germany**

After considering both sides of this question, the Commissioners felt that for the present at least, it would be inadvisable to send any further observers into Germany. Moreover, General Bliss offered to ask General Pershing whether he would instruct General Harries, who is at present in Berlin, to send in political reports to the Mission at frequent intervals.

4. Memorandum No. 172 was read with regard to the assignment of Captain Alexander Henderson for work with Mr. Norman H. Davis. The Commissioners approved of the assignment of Captain Henderson for the purpose

**Regarding Assign-
ment Captain
A. I. Henderson**

indicated.

5. Memorandum No. 173 was read in which Mr. Stabler inquired as to whether the Commissioners knew anything of the Mexican Minister's personality or standing inasmuch as the latter

**Regarding
Mexican Minister**

was about to call on Mr. Stabler. The Commissioners observed that they had nothing particularly to indicate to Mr. Stabler in this matter, but General Bliss remarked that the Mexican Minister had previously served on the Mexican Mission which General Bliss knew well, and that he was a very able man and most friendly to the United States.

6. Information Memorandum No. 48 was read regarding Lt. Foster's and Mr. Harris' trip to Poland. The Commissioners agreed

**Lt. Foster's & Mr.
Harris' Trip to
Poland**

that in view of the fact that the Foreign Office had not reserved two places for Lt. Foster and Mr. Harris it would be well for the Embassy to bring this matter to the attention of the French Government in order to indicate that the Mission had observed with regret the action of the French Government in the premises.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/39

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, March 27th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
 MR. WHITE
 GENERAL BLISS
 MR. HERTER

1. Mr. White stated that he had just had a conference with Colonel House, and that he later had given him certain bits of information with regard to the President and the President's attitude upon certain current questions. The President had been unable to have the proposed amendment with regard to Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations passed which safeguarded the Monroe Doctrine because Lloyd George was opposed to it. Lloyd George felt that the insertion of such an Article would be giving to the United States a special prerogative, and would likewise localize the League of Nations. Moreover, Lloyd George had not yet been able to reach a satisfactory agreement with the President in regard to the ship-building program of the two countries, and that was undoubtedly his fundamental objection to making a concession to the United States. Colonel House had observed that in view of the fact that Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Balfour were both willing to pass the amendment in question, the President had decided to see Mr. Lloyd George personally in the hope of getting him finally to consent to it.

2. Mr. White observed that through Colonel House he had learned that the President appeared to be in favor of giving to France the guarantee which she desired through a triple alliance. England was resolved to give this guarantee whether the United States did or not. Mr. White said that he told Colonel House that in the opinion of the other three Commissioners such an alliance would be extremely unfortunate, and absolutely fatal to the success of the League of Nations. Colonel House had replied that he would bring this view to the attention of the President.

3. Mr. White stated that he had been informed that the President wished to send Mr. Richard Crane and Mr. King, the President of the Oberlin College, as field observers to Syria. The President felt these two men were particularly qualified to go to Syria because they knew nothing about it. Mr. Lansing asked Mr. Herter to see whether there was any written record of the President's wishes in this matter of the disposal of the

Covenant League
of Nations

Triple Alliance

Field Observers
to Syria

Commission in order that the question of the whole Mission to Turkey could be settled accordingly.

4. Mr. White further stated that the President had decided to appoint Mr. Buckler as American Minister to Poland, but that he and Mr. White did not favor this appointment. He felt that although Mr. Buckler had many excellent qualifications, he is not fitted to be a Minister of the United States, and that Mr. Buckler realized his own limitations in this respect. Mr. Lansing felt that in any case it would be best to have the offer made to Mr. Buckler and if the latter should then decide he was not fitted for the position, he should then refuse to accept it.

Appointment
American Min-
ister to Poland

5. Captain Roosevelt⁸⁰ and Prof. Coolidge entered the meeting. Mr. Lansing asked Captain Roosevelt, who had left Budapest the day after the change in Government, to explain the reasons for the change in the Government. Captain Roosevelt explained in some detail the reasons for the resignation of the Karolyi Government, detailing the successive steps taken by the Allied and Associated Governments which had aroused a very strong national feeling of resentment among the Hungarians and had culminated in the recent *coup d'état*. The final delineation of the neutral zone between Hungarians and the Rumanians marked the breaking point. When Colonel Vyx⁸¹ handed to Karolyi the notice that Hungarian troops should withdraw behind the line in question, Karolyi stated that no Government in Hungary could be found that would agree to such conditions. A revolution must of necessity follow. Captain Roosevelt further explained that Colonel Vyx had shown great tact in the handling of this matter, and that he was in no way responsible for the final outcome.

Hungarian
Situation

Mr. Lansing inquired what action Prof. Coolidge and Captain Roosevelt now believed to be proprietary [*proper?*] under the circumstances. Captain Roosevelt explained that before he left Budapest the officer representing Great Britain on the Inter-Allied Mission there had told him that 10,000 Allied troops would be enough. If it were possible to send these, Captain Roosevelt felt that the problem could be solved. If however, these could not be sent it would be possible to allow the Czechs and the Rumanians to declare war on the Hungarians, in which case a very cruel and bloody war would undoubtedly ensue. Mr. Lansing felt that the first alternative would be undesirable since we have had disastrous results in each case where we had sent a small body of troops to settle conditions in some restless locality. The second alternative, however, appears even

⁸⁰ Captain Nicholas Roosevelt, of the Coolidge Mission.

⁸¹ Lieutenant Colonel Vyx of the French Army, military representative of the Allied powers in Budapest.

worse since it would merely mean the beginning of a series of wars in central Europe which would antagonize the peoples to a greater extent than they were antagonized already.

General Bliss stated that he felt very strongly that we had no reason to change our attitude towards Hungary merely because a change of Government had occurred there which did not suit us very well. He stated that if the present Government maintained order there is no reason why we should not deal with it just as we had with the previous government. Moreover, if the present government refused to obey the injunction of Peace Conference and retired its troops behind the designated neutral zone, but preferred to fight with the Rumanians, we should then refuse to give any assistance to the Rumanians regardless of how greatly such a step might be misinterpreted by the other nation [*sic*]. The line of the neutral zone which had been drawn was absolutely unjust, and we should not make matters worse by enforcing an extremely unjust decision by force of arms. We should have to reconsider our decision in regard to the boundaries of Hungary. Furthermore, if we sent troops to assist the Rumanians against the Hungarians we would have made the first step toward involving the American army into a series of European wars which would rapidly stretch from the Atlantic to the Ural mountains.

The Commissioners realized how difficult it would be to revoke a decision which had formerly been reached by the Peace Conference, but felt that whereas we had once been fooled into agreeing to a rotten decision, we should no longer have the injustice of backing it up by force of arms. They felt that the whole situation should be put up to the President immediately.

General Bliss agreed to draft a memorandum for the President on the whole subject, but assured the other Commissioners that if he drafted the memorandum it would be red hot. Mr. White and Mr. Lansing assured him that they would back him up on anything that he wrote as it could not exaggerate their feelings in the matter. Mr. Lansing also agreed to telephone immediately to the President to request that no decision be arrived at at the Quai d'Orsay until the President had received General Bliss' memorandum.

6. Memorandum No. 174 was read regarding a letter which had been received from Mr. Guy H. Oyster, Secretary to Mr. Samuel Gompers, requesting that both he and Mr. Gompers be given \$25.00 a day for living expenses from the date of their arrival in Paris until March 26th. The Commissioners requested that this matter be put up to the President because of the political question involved. They requested moreover that in any letter to the President it be stated that they were willing to approve of paying Mr. Gompers the \$25.00 per day which he demanded but that they felt that his Sec-

retary Mr. Oyster should only be given 40 francs a day. They would likewise care to have it stated that they did not approve of Mr. Gompers' and Mr. Oyster's transportation expenses from and to the United States being paid by the Commission because those two gentlemen had come over on business in no way connected with the State Department, and had merely remained in Paris a certain length of time to assist the Conference. It should also be pointed out that neither Mr. Gompers nor Mr. Oyster received any compensation from the Commission for the services that they rendered during 8 weeks in Paris, and that possibly the President would care to have some special remuneration offered to them.

7. Memorandum No. 175 was read with regard to the status of Lt. Col. Budd with the Delegation from Panama. The Commissioners requested that the further papers in this case, including Mr. White's letter to Mr. Burgos⁸² about Colonel Budd, be gathered together for consideration at the next meeting.

**Status of
Col. Budd**

8. Memorandum No. 176 was read quoting a letter from Mr. Hoover in which he asked for an expression of the views of the Commissioners in regard to sending certain food stuffs into Hungary at the present time. The Commissioners all agreed that there was absolutely no reason why this food should not go to the Present Hungarian Government, and likewise felt that pressure should be brought to bear on the Serbian Government to permit it to pass through. General Bliss remarked, however, that he understood that this whole question had been taken up at a meeting of the Economic Commission on the previous day, and that a decision in the sense of the one reached by the Commissioners had been arrived at at that time.

**Shipping Food-
stuffs to Hungary**

9. Memorandum No. 177 was read quoting a letter received by the Secretary General from Admiral Benson with regard to a recommendation made by Rear-Admiral Niblack to the effect that the blockade should be raised immediately in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Commissioners all agreed heartily that the blockade in the Eastern Mediterranean should be raised as soon as possible. They are not quite certain, however, as to the next step which should be taken in order to effect the raising of this blockade, and inquired whether there had been any discussion of the matter by the Economic Council. They requested that the Secretary General ascertain to whom their decision in this matter should most properly be communicated, and if it was necessary that it be sent to the President, they asked that the Secretary General draft a suitable letter.

**Blockade Eastern
Mediterranean**

⁸² Of the Panamanian delegation.

10. Memorandum No. 178 was read with regard to the assignment of Lt. R. H. Weller to the Commission for duty with Major Tyler.

Assignment
Lt. Weller to
Major Tyler's
Department

The Commissioners were quite disposed to permit the assignment of Lt. Weller to the Commission for the purpose indicated, provided it was finally decided that Lt. King should leave for Syria. It appears to the

Commissioners, however, that if Lt. King were not to be sent to Syria it would be unnecessary to have Lt. Weller added to the Commission.

11. Memorandum No. 179 was read regarding a request made by Lt. Col. Riggs, in charge of a Mission to Southern Russia, for a

Regarding Mission
to Southern
Russia

further allotment of \$15,000 to cover the necessary expenses of his Mission. The Commissioners requested that they be furnished with a short history

of the Mission in question, indicating the make up of the personnel of the Mission, its present whereabouts, the nature of the reports which it is sending in up to date, and a general estimate as to its usefulness at this time when it is reported that the Bolsheviks will shortly be in control of most of Southern Russia.

12. Memorandum No. 180 was read regarding an Inter-Allied

Social Hygiene in
the Reclamation
of Regions
Devastated by
War

Congress to study questions in Social Hygiene in the Reclamation of Regions Devastated by the War.

The Commissioners felt that there was no action for them to take in the premises until some reply had been received from the French Government to the proposal made by the State Department.

13. Memorandum No. 181 was read with regard to the reported

Central Bolsheviki
Anti Propaganda
Office

establishment of a central Anti-Bolsheviki propa-

ganda office in Lausanne. The Commissioners felt that it would be impossible to express any opinion on this matter until they had before them a comprehensive outline of the proposed scheme.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/40

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, March 28th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

1. Mr. White stated that he had just spoken with Colonel House who had told him that Orlando was rather worried about the way

things were going in the Council of Four. There were present at the meetings of that Council only President Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando, and the discussions were all held in English. Mr. Orlando, however, did not understand English, and it was therefore necessary for Mr. Clemenceau to translate not only what he said, but also what President Wilson and Lloyd George said. Mr. Orlando was therefore never certain as to whether he was being given the correct impression in the discussions.

2. Memorandum No. 182 was read regarding an account submitted by Prof. Douglas Johnson for certain expenses incurred in regard to the necessary entertainment of members of other Missions. The Commissioners approved of having the account in question paid by the Commission, and stated that in future if similar accounts were rendered by members of the American Commission the Commissioners would be glad to consider them for approval. They added, however, that any account which was approved by Mr. Grew would automatically be approved by the Commissioners, but that in case Mr. Grew was doubtful, at any time, the Commissioners would be glad to take the responsibility of making the decision.

3. Memorandum No. 183 was read in regard to a report which had been received from the American Minister to Cuba respecting the action taken by the French in Cuba towards Syrians. The Commissioners noted with interest the statements of the American Minister in the premises and felt that it was undesirable for them to take any action thereupon.

4. Memorandum No. 184 was read regarding the assignment of Captain S. P. Robineau to the Mission for the purpose of traveling to Germany with Mr. Dresel. The Commissioners approved of Captain Robineau's assignment for the purpose indicated, and agreed that it was only fair that the Commission should pay him a salary equivalent to \$3,000 a year.

5. Mr. Herter again brought up the question of Lt. Weller's assignment to the Commission as an assistant to Major Tyler. This matter had been discussed on the previous day in connection with Memorandum No. 178. The Commissioners decided that in view of the facts presented with regard to the probable departure in any case of Lt. King, it would be well to have Lt. Weller assigned to the Commission at once.

6. Memorandum No. 185 was read with regard to the proposed excursion to the Devastated Regions which was being planned by the Secretary General of the Peace Conference. The Commissioners requested that before making any definite decision as to whether they themselves would go

**Italian Discontent
at Meetings of
Council of Four**

**Prof. Johnson's
Expense Account**

**Report of Minister
to Cuba**

**Assignment of
Captain Robineau**

**Assignment
Lt. Weller**

**Excursion to
Devastated
Regions**

on this excursion, an effort be made to ascertain whether any of the British Commissioners proposed going themselves, or whether other members of the British Commission would go.

7. Memorandum No. 186 was read with regard to a bill which had been submitted by the French Director of State Railways for certain special trains utilized by President Wilson and his party. The Commissioners stated that they understood that the French Government was going to pay the expenses of the trains in question, but as this appeared to be a misconception, they preferred that the bill be referred to the President.

**Bill for
President's Train**

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/41

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, March 29th, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS

1. Memorandum No. 187 was read regarding the assignment of Lt. Hubert E. James to the Commission for work with Captain McIntosh in the Translation Bureau. The Commissioners approved of the assignment of Lt. James for the purpose indicated.

**Assignment of
Lt. James to
Commission**

2. Memorandum No. 188 was read suggesting that telegrams be sent to the Department of State in reply to its inquiry as to whether any action had been taken by the American Mission and by the Supreme War Council with respect to a joint telegram sent by the Allied Ministers at Bucharest to their Governments recommending certain action in Roumania for the purpose of counter-acting Bolshevism. The Commissioners approved of the draft of the telegram in question.

**Recommendations
Counter-acting
Bolshevism by
Allied Ministers**

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/42

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, March 31, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 189 was read regarding application made to the Commission by Dr. C. A. Harte of the Y. M. C. A., for assistance in getting four Y. M. C. A. workers started from Paris to Germany in order to provide educational facilities and recreation for Russian prisoners. The Commissioners felt that there would be no objection to allowing four Y. M. C. A. workers to go into Germany, and stated that they were therefore willing to give the necessary assistance to Dr. Harte in obtaining the passports for these workers.

**Passports for
Y. M. C. A.
Workers**

2. Memorandum No. 190 was read. This Memorandum was taken up on March 27th as well as a draft of telegram to the Department of State regarding the proposed Mission to Turkey and Syria. This whole question has now been held up because of the rumored appointment by the President of Messrs. King and Crane as the American representatives to go on some sort of a Mission to the Near-East. As it has been impossible up to date, however, to ascertain just what Mission the President desired the two above named gentlemen to go on, or just what their sphere of investigation is to be, it is impossible for the Commissioners to take any action in regards to the proposed Mission to Turkey. As soon as all the details are available with regard to the purpose of the trip which Messrs. King and Crane are about to take it will be possible for the Commissioners to reconsider these two documents.

**Regarding
Proposed Mission
to Turkey**

3. Memorandum No. 191 was read regarding the possibility of reducing Mr. Sweetser's salary now that Mr. Ray Stannard Baker had returned to Paris. The Commissioners felt that it would be distinctly unfair to reduce Mr. Sweetser's salary in view of the excellent services which he had rendered. It is therefore to continue at the present rate.

**Reduction of
Mr. Sweetser's
Salary**

4. Memorandum No. 192 was read regarding a request made by the Delegation of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes that a Mission of investigation be sent to Spalato to examine the facts in the case of a reported occurrence in that town. The Commissioners felt that they were unable to make any decision in this matter at the present time. They request that this fact be brought to the attention of the Secretary General of the Peace Conference, together with the statement that inasmuch as it is stated by Mr. Pachitch that American officers were witnesses of all the acts alleged to have been committed by the Italians, the American Mission was investigating these facts and will be glad to communicate a decision in the premises at a later date.

**Mission of
Investigation
to Spalato as
Requested by
Serbs, Croats
and Slovenes**

The Commissioners further request that an effort be made to ascertain just what officers were in Spalato on the dates in question, and

to get from them complete reports in regard to the instance complained of.

5. Memorandum No. 193 was read inquiring whether the Commissioners would receive the Commission of the American Jewish Congress which is now in Paris, and if so at what time and date. The Commissioners agreed that they would be glad to see the Commission in question on Wednesday morning April 2nd at 10:30 o'clock.

**Commission of
American-Jewish
Congress**

6. Memorandum No. 194 was held up because of the uncertainty with regard to the Mission on which Messrs. King and Crane are being sent.

7. Memorandum No. 195 was read with regard to the opportunities which should be offered to members of the Commission to invest in bonds of the coming Liberty Loan. The Commissioners approved of the suggested telegram to the Department of State as well as the suggested circular.

Liberty Bonds

8. Memorandum No. 196 was read in which it was suggested that the Teschen Commission which was operating in the field should be made responsible to the Commission on Polish Affairs of the Peace Conference which is now sitting in Paris. The Commissioners disapproved of such a suggestion, feeling that there was no good reason why the Teschen Commission should be responsible to the Commission on Polish Affairs rather than the Commission on Czecho-Slovak Affairs. They suggested that it would be more advisable to have the Teschen Commission made responsible to the Central Coordination Commission which is presided over by Mr. Tardieu.

**Regarding
Teschen
Commission**

9. Memorandum No. 197 was read inquiring whether the Commissioners approved of the policy of endorsing the application of certain officers for demobilization in France. General Bliss to whom this matter was referred requested that an extremely polite letter be written to General Pershing, submitting to him all the cases within the Commission which had come to the attention of the Secretary General. General Pershing should be asked just what his policy was in this matter for the guidance of the Commission, it being felt that no injustice should be done either to the officers who are serving on the Commission vis-a-vis officers in the field and vice-versa. The Commissioners requested that they be allowed to see this letter before it left in order that they might be familiar with its contents should the question again arise.

**Applications
by Officers for
Demobilization
in France**

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/43

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, April 1st, 1919***Present:****MR. LANSING****MR. WHITE****GENERAL BLISS****MR. HERTER**

1. General Bliss read a memorandum from General Nolan⁸³ in regard to the Dantzig situation, in which the latter stated that he had received from good authority the intimation that the German Government would have no objection to transporting General Haller's Division by rail across Germany, provided the expenses of such transportation were deducted for the payment of food. It was pointed out that by this method General Haller's Division could be sent to Poland within ten days, and that the whole Dantzig question would be settled. General Bliss also read a statement signed by Erzberger and Hammerstein in regard to the Dantzig situation.⁸⁴ All the Commissioners characterize this note as being in no way a refusal, but being a very reasonable presentation of the German case.

**Regarding
Dantzig Situation**

2. General Bliss read a telegram from General Kernan regarding the failure to reach a definite conclusion in respect to the Polish Ukrainian armistice. General Bliss felt that every effort should be made to get word to General Kernan to have him stay in Poland until this question was settled, rather than to return with Mr. Noulens, but that it was probably impossible to reach General Kernan before his departure.

**Polish Ukrainian
Armistice**

3. Mr. White stated that he had had a conversation last night with Mr. Briand, and that he had during that conversation tactfully led up to a possibility of a change of the Ministry of France. Mr. Briand stated that the Chamber of Deputies was extremely anxious to have this change, but that it was doubtful whether it would come at the present moment. Mr. White then insinuated that perhaps Mr. Briand would replace M. Clemenceau to which the former stated emphatically that nothing would induce him to try and form a new Ministry during the present

**Change of
Ministry of
France**⁸³ Brigadier General D. E. Nolan, Chief of Intelligence Service, A. E. F.⁸⁴ Apparently a reference to a note of March 28, 1919, from Herr Erzberger and General von Hammerstein on behalf of the German Armistice Commission to General Nudant, Chairman of the Permanent Interallied Armistice Commission.

Peace Conference since the present Ministry had made its bed and should now have to lie in it.

4. General Bliss read a telegram from the Military Attaché at Archangel as well as a telegram from Consul-General Poole⁸⁵ in the same city with regard to the great discontent among the American troops, and the unconfirmed report that these troops were to be withdrawn as soon as the ice broke up. General Bliss stated that although the American Delegation was absolutely in favor of having these troops withdrawn, it had not yet been possible to get the President to induce the other Associated Governments to commit themselves on this point. General Bliss felt that it was absolutely necessary for us to state our policy together with the Associated Governments immediately.

Conditions in
Archangel

5. Memorandum No. 198 was read with regard to the reported threat of Bolshevism in certain parts of Turkey. The Commissioners felt that it would be advisable to send to both the British and French Governments copies of the report which we had received in the premises, but that we should under no circumstances recommend to those Governments that any action should be taken.

Threat of
Bolshevism in
Certain Parts
of Turkey

6. Memorandum No. 199 was read in regard to Mr. Balfour's reply to a note addressed to him by Mr. Lansing respecting the reported turning over of all Hungarian shipping on the Danube to the Czecho-Slovak Government. The Commissioners felt that there was no further action for them to take in the premises until a more complete report had been received from Mr. Balfour.

Hungarian
Shipping on
the Danube

7. Memorandum No. 200 was read indicating the personnel from the British Mission which contemplated going on the proposed excursion to the devastated regions. The Commissioners felt that inasmuch as none of the British Commissioners were going, they would greatly prefer not to go themselves, and recommended that such individuals go to represent the American Mission as the Secretary General might approve.

Excursion by
Commission to
Devastated
Regions of France

8. A memorandum written by Mr. Manley O. Hudson to Mr. White was read and discussed by the Commissioners. They felt that in view of the present wording of the articles under consideration, and in view of the position of the Czecho-Slovaks vis-à-vis Germany, there was no valid objection to allowing these clauses to stand as they are.

Position of
Czecho-Slovakia
vis-à-vis Germany

⁸⁵ See telegram No. 1012, March 31, 1919, 6 p. m., *Foreign Relations*, 1919, Russia, p. 623.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/44

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
April 2nd, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. At the meeting of the Commissioners this morning Mr. White read the telegram received from Mr. Morris⁸⁶ at Stockholm and there was a general discussion as to the reply which should be furnished. The Commissioners agreed that a paraphrase of this telegram should be sent to the Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France and Italy here in Paris, with a request for their views in the premises. Mr. Lansing stated that he would sign these letters.

Telegram From
Mr. Morris

2. Memorandum No. 201 was considered by the Commissioners at their meeting this morning. Mr. Lansing expressed his views on the memorandum in question. The other Commissioners ventured no opinion because they understood that the matter had been brought to the attention of the President and that he would undoubtedly decide within the next day or two what course should be pursued.

Report on
Conditions in
Russia

3. Memorandum No. 202 regarding Col. Riggs' Mission to Southern Russia, which was referred to General Bliss by the Commissioners for action on April 1st. General Bliss approved of the increased allotment of \$15,000 for Col. Riggs.

Mission to
Southern Russia
(Col. Riggs)

4. General Bliss requested Mr. Herter to ascertain what action had been taken in respect to Col. Riggs' telegram No. 10 of March 27th.

Regarding
Evacuation of
Odessa

⁸⁶ Ira N. Morris, Minister to Sweden.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/45

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, April 3rd, 1919***Present:**

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 203 was read with regard to the salary which should be allowed to Lieut. Howe in payment for his services as the American representative on the Inter-Allied Teschen Commission. The Commissioners agreed that a salary of \$3,000 per annum was not in the slightest degree excessive.

Salary of
Lt. Howe

2. Memorandum No. 204 was read with regard to certain measures which Col. Olds, the Commissioner for Europe of the American Red Cross felt that it was advisable to have taken with respect to the epidemic of Spotted Typhus which is reported to be spreading in alarming proportions in certain districts of Russia and Poland. The Commissioners believed that the President was not in a position to make any transfer of medical supplies etc. from the Army to the Red Cross, and thought that this could only be done either through direct purchase by the Red Cross from the Liquidating Commission of the A. E. F. or through some enactment of Congress. They request, however, that the question be discussed with Mr. McNeir in order to ascertain the exact facts in the premises.

Typhus Epidemic
in Russia and
Poland

3. Memorandum No. 205 was read suggesting that four officers at present attached to the Peace Commission be assigned to Messrs. King and Crane, whom the President had appointed as the American representatives on an Inter-Allied Committee to investigate conditions in those portions of Turkey which are to be permanently separated from Turkey and put under the guidance of Governments acting as Mandatories for the League of Nations. The Commissioners agreed that it would undoubtedly be wise to assign the officers in question to Messrs. King and Crane, but believed that the Commission had no authority to do this unless the last named gentlemen requested this extra assistance. It was therefore suggested that Messrs. King and Crane be spoken to informally about this matter, and that if they concurred in the advisability of being given expert assistance, they write a letter to the Commissioners requesting it.

Mission to Turkey

Memorandum No. 190 was also considered in connection with the memorandum in question, and the Commissioners agreed that if any party was to be assigned to Messrs. King and Crane, it would be advisable to refrain from sending Mr. Dominian as a member of this party. They thought that under these circumstances, it would be best for Mr. Dominian to return to the State Department at once where his services appear to be badly needed. They likewise felt that the allotment of \$18,500 which they had previously approved should probably be put at the disposal of Messrs. King and Crane.

4. Memorandum No. 206 was read to which was attached a suggested letter to General Pershing in regard to the demobilization from the army of officers attached to the Commission. The Commissioners were much pleased with the letter in question, feeling that it exactly expressed their sentiments in this matter. They suggested, however, that a clause be added to the letter stating that because of their views as expressed therein, they were enclosing the papers in the case of Major Thomas and Lieut. James without comment, and for such action as General Pershing might see fit to take.

Regarding
Officers Being
Demobilized in
France

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/46

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, April 8th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS

1. A memorandum quoting a letter from Admiral Benson to the Commissioners with regard to radio communications was considered. The Commissioners requested that Admiral Benson be informed either orally or in writing that they were very grateful to him for the information contained in his letter, and that they concurred entirely with his views as expressed therein. They were likewise obliged for the warning which he had given them and stated that if at any time the question of establishing such an Inter-Allied Technical Radio Commission should be brought to the attention of the Commission on which they were serving, they would be glad to take Admiral Benson's warning and endeavor to have the matter postponed until after peace is signed.

2. Memorandum No. 208 was read with regard to a proposed trip of Mr. Dresel to Berlin. General Bliss stated that he had spoken with

Admiral Benson's
Statement
Regarding Radio
Communication

Mr. Dresel and had advised the latter to see Col. House with a view to making an appointment with the President to receive such instructions as might enable him to conduct his Mission in Berlin more satisfactorily. General Bliss requested Mr. Herter to ascertain whether Mr. Dresel had as yet seen Col. House or the President before the Commissioners took further action on the memorandum in question. Furthermore, the Commissioners felt that the statement in the first paragraph of the memorandum in regard to the object of Mr. Dresel's trip to Berlin was a new one which they would reserve for discussion until General Bliss's request had been complied with.

Mr. Dresel's
Proposed Trip
to Berlin

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/47

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, April 9th, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 209 of March 18th, 1919 was considered, which suggested that an informal and guarded statement be made by the Commissioners to the Press along the lines of a memorandum prepared by Colonel Van Deman, Mr. E. T. Williams, etc., this statement to ostensibly serve to strengthen the conservative forces in the United States against the more radical elements.

Statement for
Press Prepared by
Col. Van Deman

Mr. Lansing felt that it would be very undesirable to make such a statement, and the Commissioners therefore agreed to let the matter rest where it stood without taking any further action.

2. Memorandum No. 210 was read in which Dr. Lord suggested that the Council of Four appoint a Commission to investigate and report on all questions properly coming before the Peace Conference relating to the Baltic countries of Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland. The Commissioners agreed that it would be very advisable for the Council of Four to appoint such a Commission, and therefore request that a letter be drafted to the President most briefly sketching the arguments given by Dr. Lord, and recommending that such a Commission be appointed. Mr. Lansing stated that he would sign this letter.

Regarding
Commission To Be
Appointed To
Report on All
Questions
Relating to
Baltic Countries

3. Memorandum No. 211 was read but the Commissioners did not feel that they should act on it until it had been ascertained whether Mr. Lynch were receiving the 40 francs a day given to members of the Commission living outside the Crillon. At the same time, Mr. Lansing observed that he had requested Mr. Grew to furnish him with a memorandum regarding the pay of certain clerks and Secretaries on the Commission, and that he would like to consider the case of Mr. Lynch in connection with such material as Mr. Grew may be able to furnish him in the premises.

Regarding
Employment of
Mr. Lynch

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/48

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
April 10th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
GENERAL KERNAN
MR. HERTER

1. General Kernan who had just returned from Poland that morning gave to the Commissioners a very complete picture of the conditions in Poland in particular, and in Central Europe generally. He dwelt particularly upon the difficulties which he had had in trying to bring about an armistice between the Poles and Ukrainians fighting about Lemberg, likewise the difficulties which he encountered in regard to procedure and methods of work among the various members of the Inter-Allied Mission to Poland. The Commissioners requested General Kernan to draft a short report of his impressions which was to be forwarded to the President.

General Kernan
Reports

Mr. White and General Kernan withdrew.

2. Memorandum No. 211 was read in which Mr. Bullitt requested that a telegram be sent to the American Consul at Helsingfors instructing the latter to send a message through reliable sources to Tchitcherin respecting Mr. Lansing's contemplated scheme for relief to Russia. After some discussion, the Commissioners redrafted the telegram in question to read as follows:

Regarding Relief
in Russia

"Please send Kock or other reliable person immediately to Petrograd to Schklovsky Minister of Foreign Affairs with following message for Tchitcherin sent on my personal responsibility 'Individuals of neutral States are considering organization for feeding Russia. Will probably decide something definite within a week.['] Bullitt.[']"

3. Memorandum No. 212 was read regarding the repatriation of Russian prisoners of war in Germany. The Commissioners agreed with the recommendation made by Col. Taylor of the American Red Cross Commission in Germany, namely, that the Russian prisoners in Germany be returned immediately to some part of Russia regardless of whether their return would add to the strength of the Bolshevik forces. The Commissioners were not certain, however, as to what steps they should take in order to facilitate the course recommended by Col. Taylor, and therefore requested further information as to the authorities who were competent to give the Inter-Allied Commission in Berlin proper authorization to bring about the repatriation of these prisoners.

**Recommendation
for Repatriation
of Russian
Prisoners of War
in Germany**

4. Memorandum No. 213 was considered submitting a draft of a telegram to the Department of State in Washington regarding the question of supplying food by the American Red Cross authorities in Berlin to certain persons claiming American citizenship in Germany. The draft of the telegram in question was approved by the Commissioners.

**Supplying Food
by Red Cross to
Germans Claiming
U. S. Citizenship**

5. Memorandum No. 214 was read regarding the advisability of having the Red Cross in Washington publish the substance of a telegram which it had received containing certain information with regard to the situation in Siberia and European Russia. The Commissioners felt that it would be inadvisable for either the American Commission to Negotiate Peace or the State Department to give its approval to the publication of the information in question. They further felt that the majority of the reports that were received, though always stated to be based on reliable evidence proved to be incorrect and overdrawn. They therefore felt that in any reply to be made to the State Department in the premises it should be stated that the Mission did not approve of the publication of the information in question.

**Regarding
Publication of
Information
Regarding
Situation Siberia
& European
Russia**

6. Memorandum No. 215 was read recommending that Prof. Coolidge be granted an additional allotment of \$15,000 for the expenses of his Mission. The Commissioners approved of the authorization of the additional allotment in question.

**Additional
Allotment to
Prof. Coolidge's
Mission**

7. Memorandum No. 216 was read inquiring whether it would not be advisable to have a clause inserted in the preliminary Peace Treaty providing for direct restitution to China of the rights in Shantung formerly pertaining to Germany. The Commissioners agreed absolutely that such an article should be inserted, and requested therefore that Mr. Williams and

Restitution to

Major James Brown Scott collaborate in drafting the text of such an article. This text should then be sent to the President for his approval, and for the consideration of the Council of Four.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/49

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, April 12th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GENERAL BLISS

MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Mr. Westermann in which he inquired whether the quoted statement attributed to the President regarding his attitude toward the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine was authentic. The Commissioners very much doubt whether the President had ever made any such statement, but requested that it be sent to the President with the statement as to its source. They desired that the President be asked whether this quotation were correct, and that it be added that in case it were not correct, they were of the opinion that it should be denied at once.

Statement
Attributed to
Pres. Wilson
Regarding Jewish
Commonwealth

2. Memorandum No. 217 was read to which was appended a draft of a letter prepared by Mr. Grew to the Secretary General of the Peace Conference regarding the use of Italian on the same basis as English and French for all the official reports and clauses to be inserted into the Treaty of Peace. The Commissioners agreed absolutely that it would be unnecessary to include the Italian language with English and French as the official languages, stating that both of the latter languages could be called diplomatic languages, inasmuch as French is the diplomatic language of Europe and English the diplomatic language of the Far East. Italian has no such claim. The Commissioners felt, however, that as this was an international matter of some importance, it should more properly come before some such body as the Council of Ten for final decision. They request therefore that Mr. Grew prepare a letter to Mr. Dutasta⁸⁷ in the sense indicated in the preceding sentence.

Italian on Official
Reports Same
Basis as English
and French

[3.] Memorandum No. 218 was read recommending that Mr. Hoover be encouraged to give full publicity to the work of the Commission of

⁸⁷ The Secretary General of the Peace Conference.

Supplies and Relief, and that the Secretary General be directed at his discretion to bring to the attention of representatives of the press important reports describing the present famine conditions in Russia, and to take such other measures as might seem necessary to present that information to the German public. This recommendation was based upon the reports received from Germany to the effect that the lower classes in that country were convinced that they will be able to obtain food from Russia if only they turned Bolshevik and made an alliance with the Russians. The Commissioners approved of the recommendations in question, likewise stated that if a suitable opportunity arose they would explain this matter to the press.

4. Memorandum No. 219 was read, to which was appended a memorandum from Dr. Lord to Mr. Grew with regard to the whole question of the suspension of Arms between the Poles and the Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia. The Commissioners request that a copy of the memorandum in question be forwarded to the President under cover of a letter which Mr. Lansing agreed to sign. This covering letter should call the President's attention to the fact that the Council of Four [*Ten*] definitely committed itself on this subject by its telegram of March 19th⁸⁸ and that the present action of the Poles appeared to be a direct violation of the desires of the four Chiefs of State as indicated in that telegram.

Recommendation
Regarding
Publicity of Work
of Comm. of
Supplies and
Relief

Suspension of
Arms in Eastern
Galicia

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/50

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, April 14th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
GENERAL BLISS
MR. A. W. DULLES

1. The Commissioners discussed the memorandum regarding Mr. Crosby's investigations of the Financial obligations of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Excerpts from Mr. Norman H. Davis' letter to Secretary Lansing, of April 11th, and Mr. Crosby's letter of the same date to Colonel House were read and considered. It was agreed that a letter should be addressed to Mr. Crosby suggesting that he continue his work on the Austro-Hungarian financial problem, and that he be authorized to discuss the matter with Allied representatives in Paris who may be working on the same problem.

Regarding
Financial
Obligations of
Former Austro-
Hungarian
Monarchy

⁸⁸ See BC-53, minute 2, vol. iv, pp 405-412.

2. Memorandum No. 221 was read, together with a copy of a letter which Mr. Davis proposes to send to the Roumanian Premier, Mr.

**Regarding
Extending Finan-
cial Assistance
to Roumania**

Bratiano, regarding the conditions of the extension of financial assistance to Roumania. Mr. Lansing stated that in his opinion the question which Mr. Davis had raised did not directly concern the making of peace and therefore was not one which the Commissioners could well deal with at the present time. General Bliss added that if his opinion was asked for he would be inclined to refer to the fact that the Roumanians were apparently seeking to obtain further military supplies from the United States. If credits were to be extended to Roumania for reconstruction and relief purposes the United States should hardly at the same time be extending credits for army purposes. Mr. Dulles stated that the reason for the submission of the memorandum to the Commissioners was presumably because the question of reparation was indirectly involved. Mr. Lansing stated that the priority of claim to reparation money for the repayment of credits extended to Roumania for relief purposes would not be included in the Peace Treaties with Germany, Austria or Hungary, but would result from an arrangement between the United States and Roumania.

In regard to the method of procedure, Mr. Lansing felt that in the final analysis the matter should go through diplomatic channels and through the State Department in Washington, not through the Peace Commission.

3. The Commissioners approved the recommendation of Memorandum No. 222 regarding the possible repatriation of Esthonians now in camps for Russian prisoners in Germany. General Bliss added that the military representatives of the Supreme War Council had recommended the repatriation of all prisoners in Germany from Baltic provinces, subject to the necessary precautions against persons who might spread Bolshevism. Mr. Lansing emphasized the necessity of care in weeding out future Bolshevist propagandists from such repatriated prisoners.

**Regarding
Repatriation of
Esthonians**

4. Mr. Dulles brought to the attention of the Commissioners a recent letter from Professor Philip M. Brown in Budapest, giving a description of the character and aims of the communist movement in Budapest. General Bliss read portions of this letter to Mr. Lansing. Prof. Brown emphasized that up to the present there had been no serious disorder, but that the anti-Bourgeois character of the revolution would make a period of "Terror" probable, in case the Bourgeois should endeavor to organize counter movement.

**Regarding
Communist
Movement in
Budapest**

5. Mr. Lansing stated to General Bliss that he had had a conversation with Mr. Paderewski on Saturday, and in the course of their

conversation had suggested that the best manner of solving the Teschen question was for the representatives of the Poles and Czechs to get together in Paris and work out a possible compromise or at least to reduce the territorial problem to be solved to the narrowest possible limits, and then to indicate a possible arbiter who would be acceptable to both parties. Mr. Lansing stated that he had pointed out to Mr. Paderewski the necessity of friendly cooperation between the Poles and the Czechs, in view of the menace to which both countries were exposed.

Regarding
Teschen Question

6. Mr. White entered the meeting.

The Commissioners approved the recommendation of Memorandum No. 223 requesting that inquiry be made through the Embassy regarding alleged negotiations of French officers in the Ukraine, on behalf of the Allied and Associated Governments, as well as the apparent assent of the French government to the proposed negotiations in Paris.

Regarding
Interest Alleged
French Officers
in Ukraine

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/51

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, April 16th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 224 was read recommending that an amount equivalent to about \$1000.00 be granted to Mr. Dresel to defray the preliminary expenses of his contemplated mission to Berlin. The Commissioners approved of the allotment in question.

Allotment for
Mr. Dresel

2. Memorandum No. 225 was read in regard to the forwarding to Mr. Tschaikowski of the Archangel government, who is at present in Paris, of a message from Mr. Ignatieff, Minister of the Interior of the same government respecting the union of that government with the Omsk government. The Commissioners agreed that it would be unwise for American representatives to be used as a channel of communication between the two gentlemen in question, feeling that it would be better not to be associated so intimately at the present time with the policies of these two governments. Nevertheless, the Commissioners stated that they personally had no objection to the fusing of the two governments in question, but that they did not care to commit themselves officially in

Regarding Union
Archangel and
Omsk
Governments

this matter as such a commitment might be interpreted as indicating a strong desire on their part for such a union.

2 [*sic*]. Memorandum No. 226 was read in which inquiry was made as to whether the Commissioners desired that the Mission should pay the transportation expenses of the remains of Mr. Frary, a member of the Mission, who died on April 6th, as well as the other expenses incident to Mr. Frary's death. The Commissioners agreed that the Mission should certainly pay all the expenses in this connection which were possible under the law.

Regarding
Remains of
Mr. Frary

3. Memorandum No. 227 was read with regard to a decision which had recently be[en] arrived at by the representatives of the armies of the Associated Governments at Spa respecting the repatriation of Russian prisoners from Germany. The Commissioners noted with interest the information contained in this memorandum, and agreed that it would be unnecessary for them to take any further action in the premises.

Repatriation of
Russian Prisoners

4. Memorandum No. 228 was read giving the substance of a telegram to the Department of State from the American Consul at Vladivostok respecting an appeal by the Danish Red Cross for supplies and food for prisoners of war in Siberia. The Commissioners agreed that inasmuch as there were no funds available at the present time to assist the Danish Red Cross in its undertaking, it would be better for the Government to take no part whatever in this matter. They are unable to understand, however, why the American Red Cross was not in a position to assist to the extent of one third of the \$180,000 required, in view of the numerous sums which it had had at its disposal.

Appeal of Danish
Red Cross

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/52

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, April 18, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
COLONEL HOUSE
MR. HERTER

1. Colonel House observed that the question of Fiume would shortly come up for consideration by the Council of Four, and asked the other Commissioners' opinions in regard to a certain memorandum on this subject which he had sent down to them on the previous day. The Commissioners dis-

Question of
Fiume

cussed at some length the whole question of principle involved in the settlement of the problem of Fiume, and finally came to a decision as to what, in their opinion, the ultimate disposition of this city, together with its immediate Hinterland should be.^{88a}

2. Memorandum No. 229 was read regarding the printing in French of the speeches and messages of President Wilson from the date of his landing in Brest. The Commissioners felt that at the time when they had first considered this matter, namely, on March 5th, there was some reason for having the speeches and messages in question printed in the French language, but that inasmuch as the Peace Conference was nearing its end, the same reason no longer existed. They therefore requested that the matter be dropped altogether.

3. Memorandum No. 230 was read regarding the authenticity of a statement attributed to President Wilson respecting his attitude toward the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. The Commissioners felt that in view of the rather ambiguous phrasing of the President's reply to an inquiry as to the authenticity of the statement in question it would be safer not to make any official denial thereof.

4. Memorandum No. 231 was read with regard to the sending of an American Mission to Syria at the present time. The Commissioners noted carefully the views presented by Drs. Westermann and King, Mr. Crane and Prof. Lybyer in this matter. After some discussion they agreed that it would be best to give up entirely the sending of a purely American mission to Syria at the present time inasmuch as such a mission could scarcely furnish data upon which the Commissioners could base their decisions with regard to the problems in the Near East in a sufficiently short time, and inasmuch as the arrival of such a mission in the Near East might be construed as indicating the special interest of the United States in certain regions and thereby arousing either false hopes or create local disturbances.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/53

*Memorandum of Discussion at the Meeting of the Commissioners,
April 18, 1919, Regarding Fiume*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

^{88a} See memorandum printed *infra*.

Mr. Herter explained to the Commissioners that he had on the previous day, in accordance with a request from Mr. White, taken to the office of Colonel House a memorandum which the latter had submitted to the Commissioners suggesting a compromise settlement on the question of Fiume. Mr. Herter explained that owing to the fact that Colonel House was busy at the moment, he had returned the document in question to Mr. Auchincloss, and at the same time explained to the latter the views of the Commissioners in the premises as brought out at their meeting of the previous day. These views were briefly summed up as being (1) that it was entirely inconsistent to say that the sovereignty of Fiume should revert to Italy, whereas its administration was to be international and many concessions in the city itself were to be granted to the Jugo-Slavs, and, (2) that the whole question involved was one of principle and that it was impossible to compromise with a principle. In this question, either the city should be granted to the Italians and the Jugo-Slavs kept out, or else it should be granted entirely to the Jugo-Slavs and the Italians kept out. The latter solution was the one favored by the Commissioners. Mr. Auchincloss took exception to the views of the Commissioners as stated by Mr. Herter, on the grounds that it was perfectly practicable to place the sovereignty of the city in the hands of the Italians while making the administration international, since such a procedure was recognized in law with regard to many questions of property or estates. He likewise felt that in view of the tremendously strong stand which the Italians had taken in this matter, and in view of the fact that the American experts on this question differed as to its rights and wrongs, a compromise was the only possible solution. When asked what American experts believed that Italy had any valid claim to the city of Fiume, Mr. Auchincloss asserted that both Dr. Mezes and Mr. Miller were of this opinion, but that it was also undoubtedly true that some of our other experts were not.

General Bliss then observed that on the previous night Dr. Bowman had shown to him a letter to the President signed by the Chiefs of six Sections of the Bureau of Inquiry, in which those experts expressed to the President their absolute conviction that the Italian claims to the city of Fiume were absolutely unjustified. General Bliss felt that possibly this letter had been instigated because of the feeling among those experts that some compromise was being contemplated.

Colonel House entered the meeting.

Colonel House stated that he had come to the Commissioners' meeting for the purpose of discussing the question of Fiume. He stated that the memorandum which he had sent down on the previous day had merely been a suggestion, and that it had not been shown even to the President (Mr. Auchincloss had told Mr. Herter on the previous

afternoon that the substance of this suggested compromise had been informally brought to the attention of the Jugo-Slav representatives in Paris and that the indications were that it would be satisfactory to them). Colonel House added that he personally felt that there could be no such solution as a compromise, that the time had gone by when any further compromise could be made.

General Bliss stated most emphatically that he wished to go on record as being absolutely opposed to any settlement such as that suggested in Colonel House's memorandum, that in his opinion such a settlement would bring upon Europe in a very short time a war the proportions and length of which could not be foreseen but which would undoubtedly be most extensive and most disastrous. Mr. Lansing likewise stated that the claims of Italy to this city had been originated only in the last few months, and had been encouraged and fanned into flame within Italy itself by government propaganda. He felt that the Italian threat of revolution, in case these claims were not granted, should not affect the American Delegation in the slightest in their determination as to what would be a just settlement. He likewise stated that it was not the function of the Peace Conference to stop interior revolutions, but to end international wars and that if, because the city of Fiume were not given to Italy, a revolution would break out in Italy, it would certainly be much better than having an international war started up.

Colonel House inquired whether the Commissioners likewise disapproved of the decision that had been reached in regard to Dantzig, since the settlement that had been suggested in regard to Fiume was very similar to that which had been agreed upon in regard to Dantzig. General Bliss again stated most emphatically that he believed the Dantzig solution to be unsound, if what the morning papers had published in this matter was to be accepted by him as being the final solution. He was unable to see how it would be possible for the Poles to maintain the sovereignty over Dantzig, and likewise to keep a garrison in that city where the administration would be carried out by the citizens, the majority of whom were German. Conflicts must inevitably arise between the local administration of the city and the Polish garrison. General Bliss then added that in his opinion it would be extremely dangerous for a League of Nations to guarantee the stability of such unsound settlements as appeared to have been agreed upon.

Colonel House then asked if the other Commissioners were definitely agreed that Fiume should remain in the hands of the Jugo-Slavs, to which Mr. Lansing, General Bliss and Mr. White affirmed most categorically that it was. Colonel House then added that he was of the same opinion as the other Commissioners, and that it would be best to have the matter out with the Italians as soon as possible, preferably on the next day.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/54

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, April 19th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter inquired whether it would be possible to send a telegram for Mr. Nansen⁸⁹ to the American Consul at Helsingfors requesting the latter to convey to Lenin in Moscow the text of Mr. Lansing's letter to the President of the United States and Premiers of Great Britain, France and Italy, as well as their joint reply to that letter, regarding Mr. Lansing's scheme for the feeding of Russia. Mr. Lansing observed that at the request of the President he had already taken up this question the previous evening with General Bliss, who had already taken up this question with Admiral Benson in turn and who was making the necessary arrangements for having the message in question sent by wireless to Russia.

2. General Bliss stated that a few days previously Mr. Lansing had referred to him a letter from Mr. Hollis, a Commissioner of the American Liquidation Commission in Paris, inquiring whether this government or any of the Allied or Associated governments would object to the sale by the A. E. F. of the surplus stocks of arms, ammunitions and field pieces on a favorable basis to Spain, Poland or Czecho-Slovakia. General Bliss then read a reply which he had written to Mr. Lansing, in which on moral grounds he strongly disapproved of this sale, but felt that legally there could be no such objection. Mr. White and Mr. Lansing heartily agreed with General Bliss in the sentiments expressed in his letter, and requested that a copy of it be sent at once to the President as well as to Mr. Hollis.

3. Mr. White read a suggested resolution which Colonel House had shown to him, and which had originated with the British Delegation in Paris, the object of which was to satisfy the Japanese claims for a recognition of racial equality without exactly stating that recognition in so many words. Colonel House had felt that the insertion of such a resolution in the Treaty of Peace might perhaps dissuade the Japanese from bringing up again the question of racial equality at the next Plenary

⁸⁹ For papers relating to the proposal of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen for relief in Russia, see *Foreign Relations*, 1919, Russia, pp. 98 ff.

session of the Conference. The Commissioners disapproved of the wording of the resolution in question, but Mr. Lansing agreed to endeavor to redraft it into such a form as to make it acceptable. Mr. Lansing was not convinced, however, that it would be advisable to insert such a resolution in any case.

4. Mr. Herter read for the information of Mr. Lansing and Mr. White the text of two letters which General Bliss had sent to the President and to his Secretary, dealing with the question of the withdrawal of the British troops from Archangel, and with the question of the Plebiscite in Luxembourg respectively.

**British Troops
Withdrawal From
Archangel**

5. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Dr. Lord for Mr. Grew, recommending that an American representative be appointed to serve on the sub-commission of the Inter-Allied Commission to Poland, which was at present sitting at Warsaw, for the purpose of watching over the execution of the armistice of February 16th, which armistice ordered the suspension of hostilities between the Germans and Poles in the province of Posen, and fixed a rough line of demarkation between the two sides. General Bliss explained that a short time before General Kernan returned from Poland two American officers had been sent out to Warsaw to assist him, a Lieut. Colonel and a Captain. The Captain had returned the previous day, having missed General Kernan at Warsaw and having not one cent of money in his possession wherewith to continue his existence in Poland. The Commissioners felt that it would be advisable to have the Lieut. Colonel in question, whom they believe to be still in Warsaw, assigned to the sub-commission indicated by Dr. Lord, provided it were possible to make some financial arrangement whereby he could be paid a sufficient amount of money for living expenses. The Commissioners request that the Secretary General be asked to look into this matter and to effect the assignment in question if the satisfactory financial arrangements could be made.

**American
Representative To
Serve on the
Inter-Allied
Commission to
Poland**

6. Memorandum No. 232 was read in which it was stated that Admiral Knapp had requested that a certain Lt. Commander Callan, an expert in aeronautics, who had recently been ordered to Paris to serve as an assistant on several of the sub-commissions of the Inter-Allied Commission on Aeronautics should be given the usual allowance for subsistence of 40 francs per day. The Commissioners agreed that it would be unwise to give Lt. Commander Callan the allowance in question since the establishing of such a procedure would necessitate the approving of a similar subsistence allowance to a considerable number of army or navy officers at present stationed in Paris, who were doing work not directly connected with the Peace Mission.

**Subsistence to Lt.
Comdr. Callan**

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/55

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, April 22, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 233 was read regarding a recommendation made by Mr. Ray Stannard Baker to the effect that Miss Catherine D. Groth, Mr. Baker's Secretary, be given an increase from 900 francs per month to 1400 francs per month dating from April 1st. In view of the excellent report submitted by Mr. Baker of Miss Groth's work, the Commissioners approved of the suggested increase.

Increase for
Miss Catherine
D. Groth

2. Memorandum No. 234 was read in which a memorandum prepared by Mr. Alexander Legge to Mr. Baruch was quoted, suggesting that Mr. Robert S. Brookings, Chairman of the Price-Fixing Committee at Washington, be appointed to represent the United States on a committee dealing with commercial problems arising in the occupied districts after the signing of the Peace Treaty, provided the territory is still to be occupied and if American troops are to participate in such occupation. In view of the recommendation by Mr. Legge, as endorsed by Mr. Baruch, the Commissioners approved of Mr. Brookings' appointment to act as American representative on the Committee in question.

American
Representative
on Commercial
Problems in
Occupied Districts

3. Mr. Lansing read a memorandum from Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, in which the latter requested on behalf of himself and Mr. Sweetser, authorization to secure any confidential material necessary for making a summary of between 8 and 10,000 words of the clauses to be inserted into the Treaty of Peace. The Commissioners approved of having the necessary authorization issued both to Mr. Baker and Mr. Sweetser, feeling that it would be very advisable to have a brief summary of the Peace Treaty made in order that it might be cabled at the time of its release to the United States.

Summary of
Peace Treaty

4. Memorandum No. 235 was read regarding the American government's taking any initiative with respect to permitting the Nobel Brothers Oil Company of Russia to sending [*sic*] shipments from the Bakou region into Soviet Russia. The Commissioners felt that inasmuch as the whole transportation problem of Russia was very intimately

Transportation
of Petroleum
Products in Russia

connected with the feeding problem of that same country, it would be most advisable to submit the whole dossier on this subject to Mr. Hoover with a request for the latter's views in the premises.

5. Memorandum No. 236 was read with regard to the sending of a representative from the American Mission to Budapest, pending a report from Prof. Brown and Major Bonsal. The Commissioners agreed with the recommendation that no action be taken in this respect until the two last named gentlemen had been heard from.

American
Representative
to Budapest

6. Memorandum No. 237 was read with regard to the disposition of letters and documents received by the Mission through the Department of State on the subject of the League of Nations. The Commissioners felt that inasmuch as these letters and documents had been sent on to the Mission and that therefore the Department of State could truthfully say that they had been referred to the American Commissioners, there was nothing further to be done with them but to pack them away in the files somewhere or to ship them back to the Department of State.

Disposition of
Letters, Docu-
ments Regarding
League of Nations

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/56

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
April 23, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. At the meeting of the Commissioners this morning, Memorandum No. 241 was read with regard to Mr. Bradley Palmer's desire that Mr. Lee J. Wolfe be permitted to make certain investigations in Germany on behalf of the Alien Property Custodian. The Commissioners stated that they had no objections to Mr. Wolfe's going if he had in mind obtaining legal information only, but that they did object to his taking a chemical expert with him. They likewise were not quite clear as to why Mr. Wolfe required a military escort to go with him, or what facilities he required from the Commission in order to enable him to procure the desired information. The Commissioners therefore requested further data on these questions.

Mr. Wolfe's
Contemplated
Trip to Chemical
Works in Germany

2. Memorandum No. 242 was read with regard to requests made by Ambassador Wallace, General Harts and Lieut. Col. Davis on

behalf of the Secretary of War that Major William C. Rigby, a Judge Advocate of the army, be given office space in the Hotel Crillon. The

**Rooms in Crillon
for Maj. Rigby**

Commissioners felt that the army had plenty of available space for Major Rigby in Paris, and that it would be unfair to those persons connected with the Mission who had not been given rooms in the Crillon to allow Major Rigby, who had no connection with the Commission to occupy such rooms. They likewise requested that if possible, all the room space in the Crillon be filled, in order that should similar requests to the present one be presented at a later date, the Commissioners would have a valid excuse for refusing them.

3. Memorandum No. 243 was read quoting a letter from Admiral Benson giving the text of two telegrams received by him from Rear Admiral Andrews in regard to the assignment by the Jugo-Slavs of the Serbian General Wassitch to a post other than the one he is at present occupying. The Commissioners requested that Mr. Grew authorize Admiral Benson on behalf of the Commission to confer with Minister Vesnich regarding this matter, and to make such suggestions to the latter as he might consider appropriate.

**Regarding Serbian
General Wassitch**

4. Two memoranda dated April 21st and 22nd 1919, prepared by Dr. Lord were read to the Commissioners. These memoranda dealt with certain Polish Ukrainian negotiations which had been carried on by Captains Reisler and Bachman, and about the status of Col. Riggs' Mission in general. The Commissioners agreed with Dr. Lord in disapproving of the action taken by Captains Reisler and Bachman, and likewise agreed with Dr. Lord's recommendations that Captain Reisler receive orders not to return to Galicia, but either to remain in Paris or to go by the most direct route to join Col. Riggs; and that a telegram be sent to Captain Bachman ordering him to return to Paris. They likewise agreed that Col. Riggs' Mission, though hampered by the Allied evacuation of Odessa, should not be withdrawn.

**Regarding Col.
Riggs' Mission**

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/57

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, April 24, 1919*

Present:

**MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
MR. A. W. DULLES**

1. Mr. White stated that in Mr. Lansing's absence he had informed the Council of Five of Mr. Lansing's conversation with Mr. Paderewski and Mr. Benes, and had conveyed to the Council the suggestion that these two gentlemen should be given an opportunity to come to some decision among themselves on the Teschen question. Mr. White added that Mr. Balfour had warmly supported this suggestion, which had been accepted by the Council.

**Regarding the
Teschen Question**

Mr. White stated that Mr. Paderewski had dined with him the night before, and had stated that Poland was looking to the United States for a financial advisor. Mr. White added that he had informed Mr. Paderewski that he was anxious at the number of French Generals which the Polish Government was bringing into Poland.

2. Discussing the threat of the Italians to leave the Conference, Mr. White stated that he had been informed that Mr. Salandra did not intend to leave. Mr. White stated that he had learned that Mr. Balfour was preparing a statement for Mr. Lloyd George, which, after a few kind words for the Italians, would support the American position. Mr. White added that he understood that M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George had both approved of the President's statement regarding Italian claims. Mr. Lansing confirmed this, and agreed with Mr. White that it would be well to give an intimation of this nature to the Press.

**Regarding Italy
Leaving the
Conference**

3. The telegram from the Department of State of April 22nd regarding Ambassador Page's leave of absence was read. Mr. Lansing and Mr. White agreed that it would be unfortunate for Ambassador Page to be absent from Rome at the present moment, and desired that a telegram in that sense be sent to the Department of State.

**Leave of Absence
for Ambassador
Page**

4. Mr. Grew's inquiry regarding Mr. Wolfe's visit to the German Chemical Works was read. Mr. Lansing stated that he had discussed the matter fully with Mr. Auchincloss, and suggested that Mr. Grew discuss the matter with the latter. Mr. Lansing added that he approved of Mr. Wolfe's contemplated trip and of the arrangements which Mr. Auchincloss had indicated to him for this trip.

**Mr. Wolfe's Visit
to the German
Chemical Works**

5. The recommendation of Dr. John R. Mott and Dr. Charles R. Watson regarding measures to protect the interests, properties and activities of various missionary and educational societies of the United States and Canada was carefully considered. The formulas embodying the recommendations of these gentlemen were in general approved, and it was desired that Mr. Grew consult with Dr. Scott as to the manner in which they could best be dealt with, with a

**Measures To
Protect Interests,
Properties and
Activities of Vari-
ous Missionary
and Educational
Societies**

view to their possible incorporation into the Peace Treaties which were being drafted.

Mr. Lansing suggested that in addition to the provisions for the protection of missionary enterprises, it might be well to include a clause providing that none of the religious or eleemosynary institutions concerned should in any way interfere with the political life of the territory in which they were situated. Mr. Lansing added that he had discussed this whole question with Dr. Mott who had informed him that the guarantees were intended to apply to all religious enterprises—Jews, Moslems etc., as well as Christians. Mr. Lansing and Mr. White thought that it might be well to broaden the scope of the clauses prepared by Dr. Mott and Dr. Watson so as to include such countries as Roumania, Poland etc.

6. With reference to the memorandum regarding the supplying of clothing to the military forces of Southern Russia, the Commissioners desire that the matter be referred directly to General Bliss, who was dealing with matters of this nature. Both Mr. Lansing and Mr. White were inclined to question the right of the United States to make the sale in question.

7. Memorandum No. 240 regarding the use of small Austrian vessels in the Adriatic by the Italian Government was discussed, and it was decided that in view of the technical nature of the question involved it should be referred to Mr. J. F. Dulles, Chairman of the Commission recently established to decide on the disposition of Austro-Hungarian vessels in the Adriatic. It was further suggested that Mr. Dulles discuss the matter with General Bliss as the question raised by Admiral Benson's letter involved an interpretation of the terms of the armistice with Austria-Hungary.

8. Mr. Lansing and Mr. White desired that the memorandum from Dr. Lord and Mr. Morison containing recommendations for dealing with the situation in the Baltic provinces be referred to each one of the Commissioners, in order that each might have time for consideration of this problem which appeared to be one that required a detailed consideration.

9. Mr. Lansing read and initialed Mr. Whitehouse's telegram regarding the so-called Shackleton concessions.

10. With reference to Prof. Lybyer's letter regarding the proposed mission to Turkey, Mr. Lansing and Mr. White requested that a letter should be addressed to the Commission from the two representatives appointed by the President, namely, Mr. Crane and Dr. King and not by a possible member of their party. It was desired that Mr. Crane and Dr. King should themselves take the responsibility for the persons whom they might desire to take with them.

Supplies for
Southern Russia

Use of Small
Austrian Vessels
in Adriatic by
the Italians

Situation in
Baltic Provinces

Mission to Turkey

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/58

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, April 26, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 244 was read with regard to the Department of State acting as an intermediary for messages between the Archangel Government and the Omsk Government. The Commissioners felt that merely because of the fact that the State Department had at the request of Ambassador Francis sent a message from the Archangel Government to the Omsk authorities some time ago, there was no reason why it should continue doing this. They therefore requested that the State Department be informed that they were still of the opinion expressed in their telegram of April 18, 1919, and that they still believe that it would be unwise for the State Department to act on behalf of either of the Governments in question as suggested.

Communication
Between Arch-
angel & Omsk
Gov't.

2. A memorandum was read in which Mr. Henry Churchill King and Mr. Charles R. Crane suggested the appointments of certain individuals to accompany the American Commissioners on the Inter-Allied Commission on Mandates in Turkey. The Commissioners approved of the appointments of the individuals mentioned in the memorandum in question . . .

Commission to
Turkey

3. A memorandum was read in which Prof. Westermann submitted certain general clauses in regard to Mandates which he believed should be embodied in the Treaty of Peace, and in which he suggested that an American Commission be formed to consider this whole question. The Commissioners themselves approved both of Prof. Westermann's suggestions, but requested that owing to the importance of this matter, a letter be written to the President telling him that in the opinion of the Commissioners, the whole question of Mandates required extremely careful consideration, and requesting his opinion as to whether an American Commission should not immediately be formed to consider this matter, and that if possible, this Commission be broadened as soon as possible into an Inter-Allied Commission for the same purpose.

General Clauses
Regarding
Mandates by Dr.
Westermann

4. A memorandum was read quoting the text of two telegrams sent by Mr. Hoover to the representatives of the Food Administration in

**Shipment of Food
to Hungary and
Germany**

Vienna and Hamburg respectively, regarding the shipment of food into Hungary and Germany. The Commissioners noted these telegrams with great interest, but did not believe it would be necessary to request Mr. Hoover to submit telegrams of such political importance to them for approval in future.

5. A memorandum was read inquiring whether certain reports which Mr. Norman Davis had received from the French Minister of Industrial Reconstruction respecting the visits made by the French and British Commissions to German Chemical Works in the zone of occupation should be handed to Mr. Bradley Palmer for the information of the Alien Property Custodian, and to Mr. Wigglesworth for the Department of Commerce. The Commissioners agreed that the Alien Property Custodian and the Department of Commerce should certainly be allowed to receive any information which the French or British had received and had courteously vouchsafed to us. The Commissioners noted with particular interest the fact that the data in question had been collected by the British and French Commissioners during the month of February at the time when the American Commission was endeavoring in vain to find out what was being done along these lines.

**Reports From
Commission To
Visit German
Chemical Works**

6. Memorandum No. 247 was read quoting a telegram from Prof. Coolidge to the effect that he had permitted Prof. Brown to return to Budapest instead of reporting to Paris. The Commissioners felt that there was no need to take any action on this memorandum.

**Information
Regarding
Prof. Brown**

7. Mr. Herter brought up the question suggested by Mr. Bullitt and the Commissioners requested information as to the instructions which had been given to Mr. Morris in Stockholm by the Department of State in regard to the release of American prisoners in Russia before coming to any decision with regard to Captain Pettit.

**Regarding Amer-
ican Prisoners
in Russia**

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/59

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, April 28, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. A. W. DULLES

1. Mr. White read a telegram from the Embassy at Rome in which Ambassador Page outlined some of the stories appearing in the Italian press regarding the circumstances of the publication by President Wilson of his statement regarding Fiume. Mr. Lansing remarked that he felt that in order to put an end to the false reports which had been appearing in this regard it would be well for the President to issue a short statement.

**Reports
Regarding Italy**

2. General Bliss read a telegram which he had received from the Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs in Switzerland which expressed the fears of the Ukrainians that Haller's troops would be used against them. General Bliss stated that he was sending a copy of this telegram to the President. General Bliss added that he had received a non-committal letter from Mr. Paderewski regarding the possibility of concluding an armistice in the Lemberg district.

**Fears of
Ukrainians**

3. Mr. Dulles stated that Mr. Grew desired an expression of opinion from the Commissioners regarding the admission to the Plenary Sessions of Americans who were not needed by the Commissioners themselves. The Commissioners decided that Mr. Grew should draw up a list of those who might apply to him for admission, and who in his opinion could properly be admitted. This list should be checked up at the Quai d'Orsay in order to see that any Americans who had not previously obtained the necessary permission, and who are not rightfully entitled to enter should be excluded.

**Regarding
Americans
Attending
Plenary Session**

4. The Commissioners read and discussed Mr. Williams' memorandum of the conversation between Mr. Lansing and Viscount Chinda regarding Japanese claims in Shantung.

Japanese Claims

5. Memorandum No. 249 was read. The Commissioners noted and approved the suggestion of Mr. McCormick and Mr. Baruch that Mr. Noyes should be appointed in place of Mr. Brookings as American Commissioner on the Rhineland Commission which is being established by the Supreme Economic Council.

**Appointment of
Representative on
Rhineland
Commission**

6. A telegram from Mr. Dresel regarding the request for the extension of the privileges of the American Courier Service in Germany to the American Red Cross and certain non-American activities was read. Mr. Lansing stated that in his opinion this matter should be left to the discretion of Mr. Dresel. Mr. White and General Bliss agreed, and expressed their entire confidence in Mr. Dresel's judgement in the matter.

**Extension
Privileges
American Courier
Service in
Germany**

7. Memorandum No. 250 regarding the possible withdrawal of the Coolidge Mission from Vienna was read. The Commissioners did not see how it would be possible to withdraw the Mission at the present moment nor until the representatives of Austria and Hungary had been summoned to meet the Allies. The possibility of taking steps to replace the Coolidge Mission by Consular representatives was carefully considered and Mr. Lansing approved the suggestion that a telegram be sent to the Department of State pointing out the desirability of relieving Prof. Coolidge at the earliest possible moment and inquiring whether it would be possible to send a Consular officer to Vienna to act unofficially until the signature of Peace would make it possible for him to take out his exequatur. Mr. Lansing further approved the suggestion that the name of Mr. Coffin, former Consul General at Budapest, should be suggested to the Department as a man who might be qualified to take the place of Prof. Coolidge.

Regarding
Withdrawal
Coolidge Mission

8. Memorandum No. 251 was read regarding the sending of Mr. George R. Montgomery as American Commissioner to Constantinople to act temporarily in the absence of Mr. Heck. The Commissioners expressed the desire of consulting with Mr. Heck in regard to this matter before taking action on the above proposal, which was submitted by Prof. Westermann and approved by Mr. Morgenthau and Mr. Crane.

Temporary
Appointment in
Mr. Heck's
Absence From
Constantinople

9. The Commissioners desire to know on whose authority Captain Earl Bassett had been appointed American representative on the Inter-Allied Sub-Commission at Posen, before passing upon the request of an allotment of \$1,000 to defray his expenses.

Additional
Allotment to
Capt. Bassett

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/60

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, April 29, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. A. W. DULLES

1. The Commissioners discussed the Shantung question, and General Bliss explained his views and read a portion of a memorandum which he had received from Mr. Williams. Mr. Lansing suggested that General Bliss send to the President immediately a memorandum which should

Shantung
Question

express his views, as well as those of Mr. Lansing and Mr. White regarding the Japanese claims.

Mr. White referred to a conversation which he had had with Mr. Balfour, in which the latter said that he was the victim of a misunderstanding, as he had received the impression that the Council of Four desired him to discuss the question with the Japanese representatives, whereas it appeared that it was Mr. Lansing who had taken up the matter. Mr. Balfour added that he was in a sense the victim of the method of procedure of the Council of Four.

**Secret Treaty
Between Japan,
Russia and
Germany**

2. General Bliss read excerpts from an alleged secret Treaty between Japan, Russia and Germany.

**Information
Bearing on Ger-
many's Attitude
Toward the Peace
Negotiations**

3. General Bliss stated that he had arranged with General Nolan to send information bearing on Germany's attitude toward the Peace Negotiations to the Commissioners. Major Tyler would receive General Nolan's reports and could submit them to the Commissioners through Mr. Grew.

4. Mr. Lansing stated that the reason for the postponement of the consideration by the Plenary Session of the question of responsibilities was that General Botha objected to the report as submitted. The Commissioners remarked on the apparent discomfiture of the French and British at the publication of the report of this Commission.

**Postponement
Question of
Responsibility**

5. Mr. Lansing, Mr. White and General Bliss approved and signed the draft of a letter to the President regarding the advisability of summoning Austrian representatives to Paris at an early date. Mr. Dulles was requested to submit the letter to Colonel House for his signature if he approved, before sending it to the President.

**Summoning
Austrian Repre-
sentatives to Paris**

6. Memorandum No. 252 regarding the reported despatch of Italian troops to Fiume was read. General Bliss remarked that this had already been brought to his attention. General Bliss withdrew.

**Italian Troops
to Fiume**

7. Mr. Lansing and Mr. White approved recommendations 2 and 3 of Memorandum No. 253 regarding personnel and equipment for the Mission of Mr. Pierrepont B. Noyes of the "Rhine-land Commission". It was desired that Mr. Grew write to the competent American military authorities to ascertain whether the personnel and automobile could be assigned to Mr. Noyes for his work. Mr. Lansing and Mr. White did not understand why it would be necessary to grant \$10,000 to Mr. Noyes for his Mission which was only to last until the signature of Peace. Before passing upon this request, they desired a more detailed statement of the reasons for such a large appropriation for such a small Mission.

**Personnel and
Equipment Rhine-
land Commission**

8. With reference to Memorandum No. 254 regarding the Inter-Allied Commission on Mandates in Turkey. Mr. Lansing and Mr.

**Inter-Allied
Commission on
Mandates to
Turkey**

White agreed in the propriety of offering Mr. King a salary at the rate of \$8,000 per year for the period during which he might serve as head of this Mission. With regard to the sending of an American ship to take the Inter-Allied Commission: It was desired that Mr. Grew inquire of Admiral Benson whether such a ship could be assigned, and the conditions under which the assignment might be made, before finally passing upon this question. As regards funds to defray the expenses of the Commission to Turkey, Mr. Lansing was of the opinion that it would be impossible to judge what amount might be necessary. Mr. White approved a suggestion that \$10,000 should be appropriated to start the Commission, with the understanding that a further appropriation might be granted in case the first grant proved insufficient.

9. With reference to Memorandum No. 251 regarding the sending of an American Commissioner to Constantinople to act in Mr. Heck's absence, Mr. White stated that he had talked the matter over with Mr. Heck, who was of the opinion that Admiral Bristol was both competent to perform the duties of American Commissioner, and would also be pleased at receiving the opportunity to act in this capacity. It was suggested therefore that Mr. Grew write to Admiral Benson inquiring from him whether it would be possible for Admiral Bristol to take over temporarily the duties which Mr. Heck had been performing, and send reports to the Commission and to the Department of State in regard to political matters affecting Constantinople.

**American
Commissioner
to Turkey
(Temporarily)**

Mr. Heck entered the meeting and stated that as long as Dr. Montgomery was proceeding to Turkey with the King-Crane Mission it would not be necessary to give him a special appointment.

10. Memorandum No. 255 quoting a telegram from Mr. Dresel regarding the German attitude towards his Mission was read. Mr. Lansing was of the opinion that no action was necessary on this telegram.

**Statement From
Mr. Dresel
Regarding Ger-
many's Attitude**

11. Dr. Lord entered and reported in regard to the German *coup d'état* in Latvia. Dr. Lord was instructed to write a letter to the Commissioners containing his recommendations in regard to measures to restore the Letton government, and also to consult with Dr. Scott and draft Treaty clauses providing for German military evacuation of the Baltic province.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/61

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, April 30th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. The Commissioners present discussed the situation arising from the departure of the Italian Delegation from Paris and felt that they had been materially assisted in judging the situation in Italy itself by the messages which had been received from the American Ambassador at Rome. They therefore requested that a letter be drafted to Mr. Page, conveying to him the thanks of the Mission for his excellent services, and assuring him that his present course of action was in their opinion eminently correct.

Withdrawal of
Italian Delegation

2. Memorandum No. 256 was read with regard to a suggested allotment of 30,000 francs to Mr. Pierrepont B. Noyes, the American representative on the Rhineland Commission to cover the expenses of Mr. Noyes and his assistants for a period of three months. The Commissioners approved of allotting the sum in question to Mr. Noyes for the purpose indicated.

Rhineland
Commission

3. Memorandum No. 257 was read quoting a telegram from Mr. Ellis Dresel in Berlin respecting his remaining in that city for the purpose of keeping the Commission informed of the situation in Germany. The Commissioners agreed that in view of Mr. Dresel's explanation of his situation it would be well for him to return to Paris as soon as possible, leaving in Berlin only the Press Bureau, which according to his message was now efficiently organized and could continue after his departure under Mr. Dyar.

Mr. Dresel's
Report on
Conditions in
Berlin

General Bliss left the meeting.

4. Memorandum No. 258 was read regarding a suggestion made by the Department of State that a paraphrase of a telegram from Dr. Main, Commissioner in the Caucasus of the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief respecting the situation in the Armenian districts on the former Turko-Russian border be communicated to the British and French Governments. The Commissioners felt that inasmuch as this was a very delicate subject, and that the communication of such a message to the British Delegation at least, would undoubtedly elicit

Regarding Syrian
& Armenian Relief
Commission

the suggestion that the American Government take appropriate action to put an end to the critical situation in the districts in question, it would be more prudent not to communicate the text of the telegram referred to at the present time.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/62

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, 1 May, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 259 was read with regard to a telegram recently received by Mr. Hoover from the representative of the American Relief

**Military Move-
ment by Jugo-
Slavs**

Administration in Vienna, respecting certain military movements begun by the Jugo-Slavs in Carinthia.

The Commissioners felt that the information contained in the telegram in question should be brought to the attention of the competent representative of the Jugo-Slavs in Paris with a statement to the effect that this information, if correct, might cause serious difficulties not only political, but also in regard to the economic arrangements of the American Relief Administration.

2. Mr. Herter read a letter addressed by the President to Mr. Lansing regarding certain appeals which he had received from the so-called

**Appeals From
Montenegrins**

Montenegrin representatives in Paris, together with a suggested reply to the President. The Commissioners agreed that the draft of a reply in this matter was

quite satisfactory to them, and was therefore signed by Mr. Lansing.

3. Memorandum No. 260 was read respecting a suggestion made by Mr. Hoover with regard to the administration of the Duchy of Teschen.

**Administration
of Duchy of
Teschen**

A suggested letter to the President was attached to this memorandum. The Commissioners agreed with the draft of the suggested letter, but proposed that in

the last sentence the word "practicable" should be changed to "advisable" and that a sentence should be added at the end to read approximately "On the other hand, with the control of the food situation in this district, it would undoubtedly be possible to establish some sort of local constabulary, and it might likewise be possible to have a few Allied officers detailed who could assist this constabulary in a supervisory capacity.["]

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/63

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, May 2, 1919***Present:**

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 259 was read quoting a letter received by the Secretary General from Dr. Lybyer, respecting a request made to the latter by Halil Pasha and other representatives of the Albanian Delegation from Constantinople, that they be permitted to transmit certain mail by the American Courier to their organization in Constantinople. The Commissioners agreed that it would be impossible to accede to the request of the Albanian Delegation in question, inasmuch as the Mission had been forced to refuse so many similar requests for the use of the American Courier Service. They regret, however, that a refusal was necessary in this case.

**Use of Couriers
by Albanian
Delegation**

2. Mr. Herter read a telegram from Minister Morris at Stockholm to Mr. Bullitt, suggesting that perhaps the Mission would care to communicate with Consul Tredwell, American Consul, who has for a long time been imprisoned in Russia and was on that day expected to arrive in Stockholm. The Commissioners agreed that it would be well to have Mr. Tredwell come to Paris before reporting to Washington, and requested that the necessary instructions be given accordingly.

3. Memorandum No. 260 was read regarding the use of an automobile by Mr. David Hunter Miller, Dr. Hastings [*Haskins*], Dr. Shotwell and Mr. Warren for a four or five days trip to the front. The Commissioners agreed that it would be impossible to grant the request made by Mr. Miller and the other gentlemen inasmuch as accedence in this case would make it necessary to grant similar favors in other cases and would establish a bad precedent. The Commissioners regretted that they were forced to take this decision, but felt that it was impossible to act otherwise.

**Request by Mr.
Miller for 5 Day
Auto Trip to
Front**

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/64

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, May 5, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 261 was read with regard to the designation of Mr. J. T. Shotwell to attend the meetings of the Organization Commission "Commission for International Labor Legislation" in London on May 6th. The Commissioners agreed that it would be well to have the United States represented by Mr. Shotwell, but felt that no credentials could be given him by the Government because of the fact that the report of the Labor Commission which provided for the Organization Commission had not yet been ratified by the Senate. It was therefore decided that Mr. Shotwell should merely be given credentials from the Mission indicating that he was entitled to represent the United States in a provisory capacity pending the possible ratification of the labor report at a future date.

American Representative, Commission for International Labor Legislation

2. Memorandum No. 262 was read inquiring whether the Commissioners desired that Admiral Bristol take over temporarily the duties which Mr. Heck had been performing in Turkey until such time as an American Commissioner be appointed to Constantinople. The Commissioners agreed that it would be well to have Admiral Bristol designated as Chief Political Officer of the United States in Constantinople temporarily, and that Admiral Benson be requested to send the necessary instructions to Admiral Bristol.

American Representative in Constantinople

3. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared in Mr. White's office suggesting that Ambassador Page at Rome be furnished with the daily editorials of American newspapers regarding the Italian situation as compiled by the Committee on Public Information. The Commissioners agreed that it would be highly advisable for Ambassador Page to receive this news regularly, both for his own guidance, and in order, if possible, to offset the numerous references in the Italian Press to particular quotations coming from only such papers as *The Sun* and *Tribune*.

Editorials for Ambassador Page

4. The Commissioners request information as to whether or not the Aeronautical Commission referred to is in any way directly connected

with the Peace Mission. Admiral Benson's letter states that the naval officers whose cases he is submitting were ordered to Paris specifically for duty with the Peace Commission. The Commissioners felt that if this was not the case no exception could be made on behalf of the naval officers in question as it would be unfair to many other naval and military officers who have not been receiving the regular subsistence allowance.

**Subsistence for
Naval Officers**

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/65

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, May 7th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. General Bliss read a memorandum from Prof. Jefferson to Colonel Grant as well as the draft of a letter to General Langfitt, regarding the assignment of some officer of the Engineer Corps to the Geographical Committee of the Peace Conference. The Commissioners knew absolutely nothing about this Committee, nor about Prof. Jefferson's appointment or assignment to it. They therefore request that they be given a copy of Prof. Jefferson's credentials appointing him to this Committee, as well as a short statement of the work already performed by it. Mr. Lansing is particularly anxious for this information because Prof. Jefferson is a State Department employee and appears to have been conducting business on the Committee in question without Mr. Lansing's knowledge.⁹¹

**Assignment of
Engineer Officer
to Commission**

2. Memorandum No. 263 was read inquiring whether the Commissioners desired to authorize the payment of salaries to Dr. Kernan, Dr. Lord and Dr. Young to July 1st, and of Dr. Bowman until June 1st. The Commissioners agreed that the salaries of these gentlemen should be paid until the dates indicated. At the same time they expressed regret on seeing that Dr. Bowman intended to leave Paris on May 15th, and General Bliss offered on behalf of the Commissioners to speak to

**Salaries of Drs.
Kernan, Lord and
Young—Dr.
Bowman**

⁹¹ Prof. Jefferson's position on the Commission was later regularized by a letter of appointment signed by Secretary Lansing and predated to April 14, 1919.

Dr. Bowman and ascertain whether it would not be possible for him to remain longer.

3. Memorandum No. 264 was read regarding the use of funds at the disposition of the President to enable the American Red Cross to assist in the relief of prisoners of war in Siberia. The Commissioners felt that it would be more advisable for the United States not to take any action in this matter but decided before taking final action, to ascertain from Mr. McNeir whether it would be possible for the President to use the funds at his disposal for the purposes indicated.

**Funds at the
Disposal of the
President**

4. Memorandum No. 265 was read quoting a certain statement made by Admiral Benson in regard to the attitude which Admiral Andrews had assumed respecting the jurisdiction of the Serbian Government at Belgrade over the so-called American zone in Dalmatia. The Commissioners agreed with Admiral Benson that Admiral Andrews had acted quite correctly in the premises, and that the zone in question could not come under the jurisdiction of the Belgrade Government.

**Jurisdiction of
Serbian Gov't at
Belgrade**

5. At the meeting of the Commissioners on May 6th, it was decided that only the following gentlemen should be allowed to attend the Plenary Session of the Peace Conference on that day:

**Men Permitted
To Attend
Conference**

Mr. Grew
Mr. Harrison
Mr. Grant
Mr. Patchin
Mr. Miller
Mr. Scott

This list is definite, and the Commissioners do not desire any individual whose name does not appear on this list to attempt to attend the Conference.

6. A memorandum from Admiral Benson was read quoting a despatch received from the Naval Attaché at Madrid indicating that the King of Spain was relying for his support on the Conservatives rather than the more liberal party.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/66

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, May 8th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 266 addressed to General Bliss regarding dinner to the Foreign Representatives on the Joint Secretariat written by Colonel U. S. Grant was considered by the Commissioners. They decided that it would be most desirable for Colonel Grant to give the dinner which he suggests and left the question of expenses to his discretion.

Dinner to Joint
Secretariat by
Col. Grant

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/67

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, May 9th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 267 was read and the four points mentioned were taken up in order.

Request for Per-
sonnel for Com-
mission on
Mandates

Point No. 1. The Commissioners approved of Sgt. Willett and Sgt. Torner [*Toren*] being assigned to the Commission on Mandates.

Sums To Be
Expended for
Hiring Inter-
preter and
Physician

Point No. 2. The Commissioners likewise approved, provided Dr. King and Mr. Crane would make an arrangement with the Disbursing Officer before leaving whereby a specific limit should be placed upon the sums which they should expend for the purpose of an interpreter and a physician.

Increase of
Salary to Prof.
Lybyer

Point No. 3. The Commissioners did not wish to reconsider their decision in regard to this matter, feeling that Prof. Lybyer's salary was already sufficiently adequate.

Point No. 4. The Commissioners requested a specific recommendation as to what financial provisions Dr. King and Mr. Crane considered adequate to cover the needs of the Commission.

2. Memorandum No. 268 was read in regard to allocating the regular subsistence allowance of 40 francs per day to Commander Callan and Lieut. Kiely, Naval Officers serving on the Inter-Allied Commission on Aeronautics. The Commissioners felt in view of the statements presented by Admiral Benson that the two officers in question should be granted the regular subsistence allowance.

Subsistence
Allowance to
Com. Callan &
Lt. Kiely

[3.] Mr. Herter took up the question of Sgt. Burkenshaw being retained by the Commission in a civilian capacity inasmuch as he

**Retention of Sgt.
Burkenshaw
With Commission
in Civilian
Capacity**

had just received his discharge from the Army. The Commissioners agreed that Mr. Burkenshaw should be retained by the Commission and should be granted the regular subsistence allowance together with a salary equivalent to \$100.00 per month from the date of his discharge from the Army.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/68

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, May 10, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 269 was read in regard to the transportation to the United States of members of the Commission. The Commissioners felt that it would be inadvisable for the Commission to request any special favors in this respect from the Army other than those which would permit of members of the Commission sailing on transports when there happens to be room available for them on such transports. They agreed, however, that any arrangements which could be made with commercial liners to facilitate the return of members of the Commission to the United States would be most acceptable and absolutely permissible.

Sailing Arrangements for Members of the Commission Returning to U. S.

2. Information Memorandum which stated that the President had no authority to donate his funds to the American Red Cross to be used in giving supplies of food and clothing to the Prisoners of War in Siberia was noted by the Commissioners.

Use of President's Fund by Red Cross

3. Memorandum No. 271 in which Mr. Justin H. Moore, acting Chief of Division of Foreign Relations and Government in the American Expeditionary Force University inquired whether it would be possible for certain members of the Commission to lecture at the A. E. F. University was considered by the Commissioners. They approved highly of this being done as an educational matter and requested that the Commission facilitate this work as much as possible.

Members of Commission Lecturing at A. E. F. University

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/69

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, May 19th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter read the memorandum prepared by the Far Eastern Division in which a telegram from the American Minister at Peking was quoted regarding the decision of the Peace Conference with respect to Shantung. The Commissioners felt that they were not in a position to furnish Mr. Reinsch with the information which he requested, namely, as to the circumstances under which the Shantung decision was made and requested, therefore, that a copy of the telegram in question be sent to the President with a statement that in their opinion an answer should be sent to Mr. Reinsch and inquiring what suggestion the President had to make in the premises.

Information Requested by Mr. Reinsch, Am. Leg. Peking, China, re Shantung Decision

2. Memorandum No. 272 was read giving the text of five letters addressed by various members of the Commission to Mr. Grew expressing disagreement with the terms of the proposed Peace Treaty with Germany.⁹² The Commissioners suggested that Mr. Grew reply to these letters stating they appreciated the straightforward course that the writers of the letters in question had adopted and that they desired further time in which to consider what course should be pursued under the circumstances.

Disagreements of Various Members as Regards Peace Treaty and Offer of Resignation by Members

3. Memorandum No. 273 was read with regard to the disposition of certain books, reports, memoranda and miscellaneous office material at present in the custody of the Department of Inquiry. The Commissioners expressed the desire that all the documents and material in question be sent to the State Department.

Disposition of Books, Reports, and Office Material in Custody Dept. of Inquiry

4. Memorandum No. 274 was read suggesting that it might be advisable to have Mr. Poole, at present the American Chargé d'Affaires at Archangel, come to Paris to report orally to the Commission. The Commissioners felt that there was no necessity of having Mr. Poole report in Paris at the present time, in view of the fact that his information would undoubtedly be confined to conditions in and about Archangel, and that it would be better to leave him at his post during the present period of uncertainty.

Proposed Visit of Mr. Poole to Paris

⁹² For texts of these letters, see pp. 569-574. For Mr. Grew's reply, see p. 575.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/70

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, May 20th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter read two memoranda for the information of the Commissioners, the first prepared by the Far Eastern Division in regard to the effect of the Shantung decision on the internal situation in China and the second prepared by Lieut. Noble in regard to an interview which he had had with Mr. Kerensky and Mr. Xantieff respecting the policy which those gentlemen felt the Allies should adopt towards Russia.

The Commissioners noted these memoranda with interest.

2. Memorandum No. 275 in regard to the detention of Colonel Riggs in Paris was brought up for consideration. On the previous day this memorandum was considered by the Commissioners but owing to the fact that sufficient data was not at hand in regard to the necessity of having either Mr. Poole or Col. Riggs in Paris it was decided to postpone a decision. In this instance, however, the Commissioners felt that inasmuch as Col. Riggs required an immediate decision in order to get the necessary orders it would be well to have him remain in Paris until the end of the Conference or until such time it was found that his services were no longer needed with the Commission. It is, therefore, requested that the necessary steps be taken in order to delay Col. Riggs' trip to Archangel.

[3.] Memorandum No. 276 was read with respect to the seizure by the Italian High Commissioner in Sofia of the Austrian-Hungarian Legation in that city in spite of the protest of the Dutch Minister who had been left in charge of Austrian-Hungarian affairs. The Commissioners felt that this was an absolutely unwarranted act but that it was a matter for the State Department to handle and that, therefore, any action in the premises should emanate from that Department.

Bearing of
Shantung Deci-
sion on Internal
Situation in
China.
Lieut. Noble's
Interview With
Messrs. Kerensky &
Xantieff re Allies'
Policy Toward
Russia

Retention of Col.
Riggs in Paris

Seizure of Aus-
trian-Hungarian
Legation in Sofia
by Italian High
Commissioner

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/71

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, May 22, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Lieut. Noble respecting the salary of Mrs. Pasley, who has been assisting Lieut. Noble with the French Press summaries. The Commissioners agreed that in view of the fact that Mrs. Pasley had been offered an excellent position elsewhere, beginning June 1st, 1919, it would only be fair for the Commission to guarantee her salary at the present rate until July 1st, 1919, even though her services should no longer be needed before that date.

Regarding Guar-
antee of June
Salary to Mrs.
Pasley

2. Memorandum No. 277 was read in which Dr. Lord recommended that the salary of Dr. S. E. Morison be increased from \$100.00 per month to \$200.00 per month, or possibly \$250.00. The Commissioners agreed that in view of the excellent services rendered by Dr. Morison, his salary should be increased to \$200.00 per month, beginning with May 1st, 1919.

Salary Increase
for Dr. S. E.
Morison

3. Mr. Herter read a letter addressed to Mr. Lansing by General Pershing with regard to the financial loss which was being incurred by 83 officers and 16 enlisted men who have been detailed by Gen. Pershing, at the request of President Wilson, to assist in the return of General Haller's troops to Poland. Mr. Lansing requested that the letter in question be referred to Mr. McNeir and that the latter be asked to draft a reply to General Pershing to the effect that, as far as the Mission was concerned, no funds were available to cover the deficit in question. Mr. Lansing requested that this draft of a reply by Mr. McNeir, together with the original letter from General Pershing, be submitted on the following day to General Bliss for his approval.

Financial Loss
Incurred by
Officers and Men
on Duty With
Transportation of
Gen. Haller's
Troops

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/72

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, May 23, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GEN. BLISS

MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 278 was read in regard to the recent journey of Colonel Conger and Major Henrotin to Berlin in which it was recommended that missions of this kind should in the future only be undertaken after notice to and with the approval of the Commission. The Commissioners did not agree with the recommendations in question feeling that this was a matter in which they could not interfere at all. These two officers were entirely under the control of General Pershing and any information which they had submitted to the Commission had been offered by General Nolan merely as a matter of courtesy with a desire to facilitate the work of the Commission.

**Authorization for
Investigation
Trips Into Ger-
many by Army
Officers**

2. Mr. Herter read a telegram from the Department of State in regard to the sale by the United States of rifles and other war material to the Finnish, Esthonian and Lettland Republics together with the suggested draft of a reply to that Department stating that the Commission approved of the sales in question, provided they were made to that portion of those countries which were Non-Bolshevik. The Commissioners approved of the suggested reply to Mr. Polk.

**Sale of Rifles and
Other War Ma-
terial to Finland,
Esthonia and
Lettland**

3. Mr. Herter read two letters which had been drafted by Mr. McNeir, one to General Pershing and one to the President in regard to supplementary allotments to certain officers who had been detached from General Pershing's command for temporary duty in connection with the repatriation of General Haller's troops. These letters which indicated that the Peace Commission had no funds at its disposal from which such allotments could be made were approved by the Commission.

**Expenses Being
Incurred by
Officers and En-
listed Men on
Duty With Gen.
Haller's Army**

4. General Bliss left the meeting at 10:45, having been summoned to a conference at 11 a. m. at President Wilson's house.

5. Memorandum No. 279 was read appending a bill submitted by Mr. S. G. Archibald for legal services rendered to the Commission.

Bill of Mr. S. G. Archibald for Legal Services Rendered to the Commission

The Commissioners agreed with the opinion expressed by Mr. James Brown Scott and Mr. David Hunter Miller that the bill in question was very reasonable and that, therefore, it should be paid by the Commission.

6. Memorandum No. 280 was read in which the inquiry was made as to whether the Commissioners would authorize the unofficial use of automobiles belonging to the Commission Pool in the discretion of Captain Newton and Captain Kloeber, provided such use did not endanger the efficient services of the automobile pool for official work. The Commissioners expressed themselves as being absolutely in favor of the unofficial use of the automobiles as indicated.

Unofficial Use of Automobiles at Discretion of Capt. Newton and Capt. Kloeber

7. Memorandum No. 281 was read respecting an application from [*sic*] made by Dr. Hart for support in sending in ten or twelve additional Y. M. C. A. workers to Germany for services in connection with Russian Prisoners of War. The Commissioners approved highly of the Commission taking such steps as might be possible to facilitate the sending of the Y. M. C. A. workers in question into Germany.

Y. M. C. A. Workers To Be Sent to Germany

Mr. Herter read a memorandum from Major Tyler in regard to his conversation with General Slatin of the Austrian Peace Delegation. The Commissioners sympathized absolutely with General Slatin's desire to make arrangements by which Austrian Red Cross delegates might be allowed to visit the Austrian prisoners of war in Siberia and accordingly authorized Mr. Herter to state that if it were possible, through Major Tyler or through some other source, they would be willing to have General Slatin informed that the United States would support any application made by the Austrian Delegation for securing the permission for its Red Cross representatives to go to Siberia.

Regarding Permission for Austrian Red Cross Workers To Visit Austrian Prisoners of War in Siberia

8. Memorandum No. 282 was read with regard to the payment by the Commission of the transportation to the United States of Prof. Philip Marshall Brown. The Commissioners agreed that the Commission should pay Prof. Brown's transportation and Mr. Lansing stated that he would be perfectly willing to file confidential vouchers in accordance with the suggestion made by Mr. McNeir.

Transportation of Prof. Philip Marshall Brown to U. S.

9. Memorandum No. 283 was read in which Prof. Jefferson inquired what disposition he should make of eleven (11) cases of maps, most of them blank base maps, belonging to the Commission. The Commissioners felt that these maps should be sent to the State Department if they were no longer needed by the Commission and that if at a later date the League

Disposition of Maps

of Nations decided to make use of them it could make a request to that effect to the Department of State.

10. Memorandum No. 284 was read with regard to certain applications which had been received for the release of five members of the Commission. The Commissioners approved of the application submitted by Dr. Mezes for release on June 1st. They disapproved the applications made by Dr. Westermann and Dr. Lunt for release on June 4th and 5th respectively, feeling that it would be absolutely necessary to have the services of these gentlemen at the disposal of the Commission in connection with the important questions still to be decided. They, therefore, expressed the hope that satisfactory arrangements could be made with those gentlemen in order to induce them to remain with the Commission. The Commissioners took no action in regard to the application of Dr. Magie because they were not aware of the functions which he had been performing with the Commission and desired further information in respect to his duties. Dr. Morison's application for permission to sail on July 11th was approved.

11. Memorandum No. 285 was read in which a Mr. Lapina requested permission to photograph the Commissioners in order to bring out an album of the Peace Conference. The Commissioners felt that if this album was to be prepared for charitable purposes it would be very simple for Mr. Lapina to obtain photographs taken previously of them, but if it was a private undertaking they would not care to be photographed again. They likewise stated that in no case would it be possible for Mr. Lapina to photograph them all together.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/73

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, May 24, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GEN. BLISS

MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Dr. Mezes for Mr. Grew, summarizing briefly the most important points which would still have to be acted upon by the Commissioners after the actual treaties of peace had been signed with Germany and Austria. The Commissioners requested that they be given copies of this memorandum.

Points To Be
Acted Upon by
Commission After
Treaties With
Germany & Aus-
tria Have Been
Signed

2. At the request of the Commissioners, Col. Sherman Miles entered the meeting in order to discuss with the Commissioners certain phases of the Montenegrin and Albanian situation. Col. Miles, who had just returned from Montenegro, gave a short statement as to the conditions in Montenegro at the present moment as he had observed them together with a brief outline of the events leading to the present state of affairs. When asked what solution he advocated in regard to the Montenegrin situation, Col. Miles stated that he felt the only possible solution was a union of Montenegro with Jugo-Slavia, provided it were guaranteed a measure of autonomy similar in relation to its population as had been granted to the Croats and Slovenes. Col. Miles also felt that the boundaries between Albania and Montenegro should be redrawn along clearly defined nationalistic lines without regard to the special interests of any outside influences and without regard to the recent actions of the Serbians which had caused the evacuation of certain southern districts of Montenegro by the Albanians.

In regard to Albania, Col. Miles sketched briefly her tribal form of government and the great difficulties of her being able to maintain order within her own boundaries unless given the protection or assistance of some outside great power. He felt that Albania should be an independent state, but that it should be under the mandate of either England or the United States.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/74

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, May 26, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GEN. BLISS

MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter read a letter in regard to the appointment of Mr. Magie to the Commission and called attention to the fact that they had approved of Mr. Magie's appointment during the month of January. In view of the above the Commissioners approved of Mr. Magie's return to the United States provided Dr. Westermann felt that he no longer had any use for him with the Commission.

2. Memorandum No. 286 was read in which Dr. Mezes had submitted the requests of Dr. Seymour, Dr. Jefferson, Dr. Day and Mr. Strat-

Report of Col.
Miles Regarding
Montenegro and
Albania

Release of Mr.
Magie From Duty
With Commission

ton to be relieved from the Commission during the first week of June. The Commissioners did not approve of having Drs. Seymour, Jefferson and Day relieved at that time, feeling that their services were still essential to the work of the Commission. In regard to Mr. Stratton they felt that the question should remain at the discretion of Dr. Jefferson.

Requests of Drs. Seymour, Jefferson & Day and Mr. Stratton for Release From Duty With Commission

The Commissioners likewise noted the statements of Dr. Seymour and Mr. Day to the effect that they were unable to continue investigations or further studies in their particular fields because of the lack of maps and books, which had been packed up for shipment to the United States. They felt there was no occasion to hamper the work of the gentlemen by having the books and maps in question packed away and, therefore, requested that an explicit order be given immediately directing that all such documents, books or maps belonging to the Commission as might in any way be useful to any member of the Commission in pursuing investigations or studies for the Commission should be immediately unpacked and left at the disposal of those individuals who might wish to use them.

3. The Commissioners considered and approved memorandums Nos. 287 and 288 regarding the release from the Commission of Capt. C. N. Peacock and Army Field Clerk Maynard Mashburn.

Release of Capt. Peacock and A. F. C. Mashburn

4. Mr. Herter read a memorandum regarding inquiries made about the disposal of maps, drawing material, etc., to the American Relief Association [*Administration?*], now in the possession of the Intelligence Section of the Commission. No decision was reached by the Commissioners. They desired information as to whether any of the material which might be turned over to the American Relief Association [*Administration?*] could not possibly be of use to the Department of State. They felt that only such things should be disposed of by the Commission as were duplicates or were absolutely of no use to the State Department.

Disposal of Maps, Drawing Material, etc. to American Relief Assn.

5. Memorandum No. 289 was considered in regard to the return to the United States of Drs. Westermann and Lunt. The Commissioners agreed that these two gentlemen should be reimbursed the sums which they had had to deposit in order to reserve transportation to the United States on June 7th and should immediately upon the completion of their duties with the Commission be granted transportation either on a commercial liner or on a transport. The Commissioners felt that they were unable to state as to the probable date for the release of these gentlemen from the Commission, but felt certain that this release would

Return to U. S. of Drs. Westermann and Lunt

come as soon as possible and when such release would not injure the efficiency of the organization.

6. Mr. Herter offered to read the list of personnel released by the Commission since April 1st, but the Commissioners upon being assured that the list contained no names with which they were not already familiar requested that the list be merely kept on record and up to date so that they might be able to consult it whenever necessary.

**List of Personnel
Released by Com-
mission Since
April 1st, 1919**

7. Prof. Coolidge entered the meeting at this time at the request of the Commissioners.

Prof. Coolidge, who had just returned from Austria where he had served several months at the head of the American Political Mission, briefly described to the Commissioners his impressions of both the Austrian and Hungarian situations. His impression of the Austrian situation was that it was temporarily as good as could be expected, but that as a permanent situation it would be extremely bad. The government had printed a great deal of paper money with which it was relieving unemployment and doing its best to make the best of a very bad economical situation. Only with coal did he feel that the unemployment situation could be relieved.

**Report of Pro-
fessor Coolidge**

Prof. Coolidge suggested that in considering the boundary between Austria and Hungary the Commission should certainly take into account the claims of the Austrians for a small portion of West Hungary which is the so-called Kitchen Garden of Vienna. This section, geographically and economically forms a part of the Austrian State, and also the population is very largely German and desires to be joined to Germany.

In regard to the present government Prof. Coolidge felt it was as good as could be expected under the circumstances and that if it were replaced by another government, that government would undoubtedly be inferior to it. He likewise felt that there was very little chance of a revolution at the present moment and that its government was a proper one for the Allied and Associated governments to make peace with. Bauer, the Minister of Public Affairs, he characterized as clever and strong, whereas Renner, the Austrian Plenipotentiary in Paris was clever but weak.

In regard to the Hungarian situation, Prof. Coolidge stated that he agreed along broad lines with the conclusions reached by Professor Brown. The present government was largely de-centralized and remains stable only at such times as it did not fear interference from the outside. Each time that an aggressive movement was begun against it Bela Kuhn is always ready to negotiate and weaken. Terrorism and outrages are undoubtedly increasing and Bolsheviki are counterfeiting money in tremendous quantities and sending it out in their

pouches to Vienna and elsewhere for propaganda purposes. This counterfeiting extends to French and English as well as to Hungarian and Russian money.

Professor Coolidge felt that the only solution of the problem was to induce the French to send troops into Buda Pest to clean it out and set up a new government. Only in this way could the Danube be opened and normal economical and commercial activities be restored to the whole of South Eastern Europe.

In addition to the foregoing Professor Coolidge described briefly the feelings of the Austrians towards the Jugo-Slavs, the Hungarians, the Bohemians and the proposed cession of a portion of the Tyrol to Italy. In regard to the Jugo-Slavs he stated that the Austrians entertained a certain amount of respect for the Serbians and were antagonistic only to Slovenes, with whom they were disputing the Carinthian boundary. With the Hungarians they were afraid to come to any open break because of the necessity of their pulling together, although they felt quite strongly about that small portion of West Hungary which they desired to have joined to German-Austria. The Bohemians they were very bitter against, partly because of the coal question and partly because of the uncompromising attitude which they had adopted towards their fellow members of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. In regard to the section of Tyrol which is to be given to Italy, they are extremely bitter, in fact the feeling in this respect extended far beyond the importance of the actual cession which they are required to make. It seemed incredible to them that the people of Andreas Hofer should be delivered to a foreign rule.

Before leaving the meeting Prof. Coolidge touched upon the plebiscite held in Vorarlberg which resulted in 80 per cent of the population desiring to be united with Switzerland.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/75

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, May 27, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GEN. BLISS

MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 290 was considered recommending the authorizing of an advance of \$500.00 to Colonel Sherman Miles who has been temporarily detailed by the Commission to the Legation at Prague, for his expenses. The Commissioners approved of having the \$500.00 in question advanced

**Advance of \$500
to Col. Miles**

to Colonel Miles from the Emergency Fund at the disposal of the State Dept.

2. Memorandum No. 291 was read regarding an appropriation of \$20,000.00 applied for by the American Commissioners on the Inter-Allied Commission on Mandates in Turkey to supersede the initial appropriations of \$10,000.00 authorized by the Commissioners for the expenses of the American members on this Commission. The Commissioners approved of the appropriation of \$20,000.00 for the purposes indicated, provided Mr. McNeir felt that there was sufficient funds at the disposal of the Commission to cover this amount.

Appropriation of \$20,000 to Amer. Commissioners on Inter-Allied Commission on Mandates in Turkey

3. Memorandum No. 292 was read with regard to the properties of the Vacuum Oil Company in Austria and Hungary. The Commissioners agreed with the opinion of the Secretariat of the Commission in this matter, namely, that it would be inadvisable for the Commission to take any active steps in respect to the property of the Vacuum Oil Company at the present time and without a more thorough investigation of the facts in the case. They likewise approved of having the matter turned over to the Embassy with the suggestion that further details be obtained and that the Company be advised of this reference. They likewise agreed that the case should be brought to the attention of Mr. Halstead when he passes through Paris on his way to Vienna.

Claims of Vacuum Oil Co. in Austria and Hungary

4. The Commissioners approved of Memorandums Nos. 293 and 294 inquiring whether the release of Lieut. Kirkpatrick and Ensign Jones were approved.

Release of Lt. Kirkpatrick and Ensign Jones

5. Memorandum No. 295 was read regarding the detention of Professor Coolidge in Paris to deal with information and correspondence concerning Austria and Hungary in the Division of Current Diplomatic and Political Correspondence. The Commissioners approved of Prof. Coolidge's retention for this purpose.

Retention of Prof. Coolidge for Work in Div. Current Diplomatic & Political Correspondence

6. Memorandum No. 296 was read with regard to the return to the United States of Mr. David Hunter Miller and Mr. Hall Kinsey. The Commissioners authorized the return to the United States of these two gentlemen and likewise agreed that they should be considered as completely detached from the Commission immediately upon their return.

Return of David Hunter Miller and Mr. Hall Kinsey to U. S.

7. General Bliss suggested that in order to save money at the present moment it might be advisable for the Commission to give instructions that the members of Colonel Riggs' party who are still in Russia return to report in Paris. The Commissioners agreed that they had received no information

Recall of Col. Riggs' Mission From Russia

from this Mission in some time which would be of immediate use to the Commission and that, therefore that [*sic*] their continued stay in Russia would be unjustifiable.

8. The Commissioners requested Mr. Herter to draft a brief letter to the President suggesting that it might be advisable to have a meeting of the American Commissioners together with the various experts of the Commission to consider the counter-proposals which the German Delegation is expected to submit within a few days, before the Council of Four should definitely commit itself on these proposals.

Meeting of American Commissioners and Experts To Consider the Counter-proposals of the German Delegation

9. The Commissioners requested that Mr. Grew notify the various members of the Commission that Friday, May 30th, Memorial Day, would be observed as a Holiday by the Commission.

Memorial Day, May 30th, 1919 To Be Observed as Holiday

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/76

Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary, Wednesday, May 28, 1919

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 297 was read regarding the release of Major Whitehouse from duty with the Commission. The Commissioners approved of Major Whitehouse's release.

Release of Major Whitehouse

2. Memorandum No. 298 was read regarding the release of Major James Steinberg from further duty with the Commission. The Commissioners approved of Major Steinberg's release.

Release of Major Steinberg

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/77

Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary, Thursday, May 29, 1919

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. The Commissioners requested that if possible a compilation be made of all important decisions which had been reached by the Council of Four, the Council of Five or the Council of Ten in regard to the Peace Treaties with Germany, Austria or in connection with an important current event since November 11th, 1918. In addition to each decision

Compilations of Decisions Reached by Councils of Four, Five & Ten

they requested that supplementary notes be made indicating upon what recommendation or discussion any particular decision had been made and in important cases the attitude of the representatives of the various nations leading up to that decision. The Commissioners felt that possibly Colonel Grant, Mr. Frazier and Mr. Osborne could undertake such a compilation, but that in any case the choice of an individual best fitted for the work should be left to Mr. Grew and to Mr. Harrison.

2. Mr. Herter read a memorandum addressed by Dr. J. T. Shotwell to Mr. Grew recommending that, inasmuch as he would soon have to sever his connection with the Commission, the map material and books of the Inquiry be turned over by him to Dr. Putnam and that the latter be asked to catalog them and index them for the benefit of the Department of State. The Commissioners approved of the recommendations made by Dr. Shotwell.

Cataloging of Map Material and Books Recommended by Mr. J. T. Shotwell

3. Memorandum No. 299 was read in regard to the departure of Professor Jefferson from Paris and in regard to the personnel of Professor Jefferson's Office which should remain with the Commission. The Commissioners agreed to allow Prof. Jefferson to return to the United States under the circumstances and likewise agreed that it would be well to have Corporal J. T. Deitch and Privates J. E. Van Trees and G. W. Wheat remain with the Commission to do such drafting as might be found necessary in the next month. If at any time it be found that their services are no longer needed, these men can then be released.

Prof. Jefferson's Departure From Paris and re Personnel of His Office Remaining With Commission

4. Memorandum No. 300 was read in regard to the disposal of 4700 sheets of the Millionth Maps of Europe at the disposal of the Commission. The Commissioners agreed that as long as several complete sets of these maps were sent to the State Department there would be no objection to turning over the remainder, gratis, to the Relief Administration.

Disposal of the 4700 Sheets of Millionth Maps of Europe

6. Memorandum No. 302 was read inquiring whether it was the desire of the Commissioners that the expenses of Dr. Westermann

Payment of Expenses of Mr. Shotwell and Mr. Westermann Incurred in Making Speeches to A. E. F.

and Dr. Shotwell be paid provided they gave talks at Tours and Toulouse respectively at Army Posts under the management of Justin H. Moore. The Commissioners felt that to pay the expenses of these gentlemen for the purpose indicated would be a misappliance of funds and might open the Commission to the suspicion of carrying on propaganda in the Army and, therefore, they were unable to approve the payments in question.

7. Memorandum No. 303 was read regarding the assignment of Dr. Haskins to replace Dr. Mezes on the Central Territorial Commission and in regard to the departure of Dr. Haskins to the United States. The Commissioners approved of the appointment of Dr. Haskins for Dr. Mezes on the Central Territorial Commission and likewise approved of Dr. Haskins' release from the Commission on either June 8th or June 11th according to Dr. Haskins' own discretion.

Appointment of Dr. Haskins to Central Territorial Com.

8. Memorandum No. 304 was read quoting a letter from Dr. Seymour in regard to his return to the United States and giving the substance of Mr. Grew's reply thereto. The Commissioners approved of Mr. Grew's having informed Dr. Seymour that every facility would be granted Dr. Seymour and his wife for return to the United States when the work of the Commission was completed.

Arrangements for Return of Dr. Seymour to U. S. on Completion of Duties

9. Memorandum No. 305 was read in regard to a note which had been received by the Embassy from the French Government proposing that the expenses in relation to the repatriation and maintenance of some 33,000 Russian Prisoners who on the day of the Armistice were released from Germany and turned over to the Allied Forces, who have since been harbored by the French Government should be borne either by Germany or by the principal Allied and Associated Powers. The Commissioners agreed that this was primarily a State Department matter, but suggested that a reply be made to the French Government to the effect that if that Government were agreeable to having the expenses of the relief of Russian Prisoners, no matter where located, and which was at present being undertaken by one or the other Allied and Associated Governments, be pooled among the principal Allied and Associated Powers, we would have no objection to bearing our share of the expense of the repatriation and maintenance of the Russian Prisoners in question.

Expenses for Repatriation and Maintenance of Russian Prisoners

9 [*sic*]. Memorandum No. 306 was read with regard to the Commissioners taking any steps to have a passport issued to Mrs. Harriet

DuBose, the wife of Major DuBose, the Business Manager of the Hotel de Crillon. The Commissioners agreed that in view of the order recently issued by the War Department to the effect that the Army would not prohibit the issuing of passports to the wives of Army Officers in France they would be willing to ask the State Department to issue the passport in question.

Passport for Mrs. Harriet DuBose

10. Memorandum No. 307 was read in regard to the request made by Mr. King of the Commission on Mandates in Turkey that the salaries of Sgt. Major Toren and Private Lambing be increased \$50.00 and \$25.00 a month respectively. The Commissioners requested that before taking final action in this matter they be allowed to consider it together with the previous memorandum which they had considered and approved suggesting increases for certain other individuals of the personnel of the Commission on Mandates in Turkey.

Increase in Salary for Sgt. Major Toren and Pvt. Lambing

11. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Dr. Lord in regard to the recall of the members of the Riggs' Mission who are still in Russia. The Commissioners requested that they be allowed to speak to Dr. Lord in regard to this matter at the next meeting of the Commissioners before taking any final action.

Regarding Recall of Members of Riggs' Mission Who Are Still in Russia

12. Memorandum No. 308 was read in regard to the assignment of Lieut. Linton B. Swift as Chief Clerk in the office of the International Law Department of the Commission in place of Lieut. John F. Manly. The Commissioners requested the opinion of Mr. James Brown Scott in regard to this assignment before taking any final action.

Assignment of Lieut. Linton B. Swift as Chief Clerk in Office of International Law Department of the Commission

13. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Mr. W. L. Westermann in regard to the note which Mr. Venizelos had sent to President Wilson respecting certain additional Turkish territory which the Greeks were now demanding. The Commissioners agreed with the opinion expressed by Dr. Westermann and requested Mr. Herter to draft a letter to the President enclosing a copy of Dr. Westermann's memorandum together with the Map which was submitted with the above mentioned memorandum, requesting the President's earnest attention to the matters outlined therein.

Greek Claims in Turkey

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/78

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, May 31, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 309 regarding the release of Lieut. Allen, U. S. N. by the Commission was read and approved.

Release of
Lt. Allen

2. Memorandum No. 310 was read regarding the assignment of Mr. W. W. Thayer to the Commission to assist Mr. Vance McCormick in connection with the blockade and other work of the Commission and particularly to handle some of the work formerly cared for by Mr. J. F. Dulles. The Commissioners inquired, whether, in view of recent information which had reached them to the effect that Mr. Dulles was to remain with the Commission, Mr. McCormick would still require the services of Mr. Thayer. Upon receiving this information they stated their willingness to reconsider this memorandum.

Assignment of
Mr. W. W. Thayer

3. Memorandum No. 311 was read inquiring whether the Commissioners desired to take steps to have a passport issued to the wife and two children of Dr. J. T. Shotwell, who at the moment is a member of the Commission and intends to remain in Europe for the coming year. The Commissioners stated that they were unable to take any action in this matter without the approval of the President and requested, therefore, that a letter be drafted to the latter putting the case in as strong a light as possible and adding that his colleagues on the Commission were in favor of granting the necessary permission.

Request for
Passport for Wife
and Children of
Dr. J. T. Shotwell

4. Memorandum No. 312 was read inquiring whether the Commissioners approved of Mr. A. W. Dulles seeing Slatin Pasha of the Austrian Delegation who had asked for such an interview. Mr. Lansing stated that he had already told Mr. Dulles that in his opinion this would be inadvisable and the Commissioners concurred in Mr. Lansing's action in the matter.

Request for
Permission for
Mr. A. W. Dulles
To Interview
Slatin Pasha of
Austrian Peace
Delegation

5. Memorandum No. 313 was read with regard to the action which should be taken in respect to an attack, that had appeared in a newspaper published in Naples, on Miss Margaret Wilson. The Commissioners concurred in the action suggested by Mr. Grew to the effect that a letter should be sent

Italian Newspaper
Attack on Miss
M. Wilson

to the American Consul General at Genoa stating that the Commission felt that the case should be left to the discretion of the American Ambassador at Rome.

6. Memorandum No. 314 was read in which Dr. Lord recommended that an American Mission of investigation should be sent to Poland and Roumania to investigate the actual facts in connection with alleged Pogroms in those countries. The Commissioners felt that it would be unnecessary to have a special American Mission of Investigation sent out for this purpose, but requested that complete instructions be sent to the American Ministers at Bucharest and Prague to investigate and submit a report as soon as possible to the Commission and State Department.

Suggested Mission To Investigate Pogroms Alleged To Have Taken Place in Poland and Roumania

7. Memorandum No. 315 was read submitting a report by the American Vice-Consul at Geneva on the activities of Dr. Herron in Switzerland. The Commissioners felt that a copy of this report should be sent to the President for his information, and that instructions should be sent to the Legation at Berne to issue such statements as might be necessary to counter-act the belief that Dr. Herron is in any way connected with the Peace Commission. Mr. White also offered to send a line to Mr. Balfour notifying him that Dr. Herron has no connection with the Commission.

Activities of Dr. Herron in Switzerland

8. Memorandum No. 307 regarding the increase in salary of Sgt. Major Toren and Pvt. Lambing and which had been taken up on May 29th was again considered in connection with Memorandum No. 267 regarding increases to other members of Mr. Crane's and Dr. King's Mission. The Commissioners felt that they would be unable to approve of the increases suggested on behalf of Sgt. Major Toren and Pvt. Lambing, but suggested that any extra expenses that might have to be borne by these two men in connection with personal outfit, etc., for their trip should be considered by the Commission as necessary expenses of the Mission to be covered by the \$10,000.00 appropriation previously granted.

Increases in Salary for Sgt. Major Toren and Pvt. Lambing

9. Memorandum No. 308 regarding the assignment of Lieut. Linton B. Swift to the Mission was reconsidered by the Commissioners and in view of the fact that Mr. James Brown Scott had approved of the assignment in question the Commissioners authorized it.

Assignment of Lieut. Linton B. Swift

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/79

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, June 3, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 316 was read submitting a draft of a letter of thanks to Prof. Coolidge in appreciation of the valuable work which he had done in Austria-Hungary. The Commissioners approved highly of sending such a letter to Prof. Coolidge and Mr. Lansing agreed to sign same on behalf of the whole Commission.

Letter of Thanks
to Prof. Coolidge

2. Memorandums Nos. 317, 318, 319, 320 and 321 were reading [*read*] regarding the release of Lieut. Edward C. Wynne, and Mr. S. [A.] S. Hershey, Mr. John Wattawa, Lieut. David T. Nelson and Miss Katherine Taylor. The Commissioners approved of the release of the above personnel.

Release of
Personnel

3. Memorandum No. 322 was read in regard to the release of the entire Headquarters Battalion during the month of June. The Commissioners requested that a letter be drafted to the President on this subject, giving a brief statement as to the situation in regard to the Battalion at the present moment and requesting his advice in regard to the questions propounded by General Harts. At the request of the Commissioners, General Bliss consented to assist in drafting the letter to the President.

Release of Hqrs.
Battalion

4. Memorandum No. 323 was read submitting the text of a letter received from Chas. B. Dyar, representing the Commission in Berlin, regarding the effect of the reported American opposition to the Peace Treaty on German Public Opinion and the Government. The Commissioners agreed that it would be well to issue a written statement to the press in regard to the resignations from the American Peace Commission, stating clearly that only one such resignation because of dissatisfaction in regard to the Treaty of Peace has been received and accepted.

Effect of Reported
American Opposi-
tion to Peace
Treaty on German
Public Opinion
and Government

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/80

Stenographic Report of Meeting Between the President, the Commissioners, and the Technical Advisers of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Hotel Crillon, Paris, June 3, 1919, at 11 o'clock a. m.

Present:

THE PRESIDENT

HONORABLE ROBERT LANSING

HONORABLE HENRY WHITE

HONORABLE EDWARD M. HOUSE

GENERAL TASKER H. BLISS

ADMIRAL W. S. BENSON, U. S. N.

REAR-ADMIRAL H. S. KNAPP, U. S. N.

REAR-ADMIRAL A. T. LONG, U. S. N.

MAJOR-GENERAL M. N. PATRICK, U. S. A.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. H. MCKINSTRY, U. S. A.

HONORABLE JOHN W. DAVIS

MR. BERNARD M. BARUCH

MR. VANCE McCORMICK

MR. NORMAN H. DAVIS

MR. THOMAS W. LAMONT

MR. HERBERT HOOVER

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT

MR. LELAND L. SUMMERS

DR. FRANK W. TAUSSIG

MR. JOHN FOSTER DULLES

MR. JEREMIAH SMITH, JR.

MR. E. L. DRESEL

MR. OSBORNE

DR. C. H. HASKINS

DR. R. H. LORD

DR. CLIVE DAY

CAPTAIN S. K. HORNBECK

MR. G. L. BEER

DR. CHARLES SEYMOUR

MR. M. O. HUDSON

COLONEL T. H. DILLON

COLONEL S. D. EMBICK

MR. B. W. PALMER

MR. F. K. NIELSEN

MR. LELAND HARRISON

MR. C. A. HERTER

MR. A. C. KIRK

CAPTAIN JAMES GARFIELD
MR. RAY STANNARD BAKER

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, we have come together in order that we may hear from you on the question of the German counter-proposals. We all have moving recollections of the struggles through which we have gone in framing the treaty, and the efforts we made that were successful, and the efforts we made that were unsuccessful to make the terms different from what they are, and I have come here not to express an opinion but to hear opinions, and I think perhaps the best course to follow will be to get a general impression from each other as to which parts of the German counter arguments have made the greatest impression upon us.

Just as a guide, I find that the parts that have made the greatest impression on our British colleagues are the arguments with regard to the eastern frontier with Poland, the parts with regard to reparations, the parts about the period of occupation, together with the point about the League of Nations, their impression being that the Germans might very well be given reasonably to expect that the period of their probation would not be long in the matter of admission into the League. Those are the four points, the four subjects upon which the German counter-proposals have made the deepest impressions upon them. That might be the start.

The reparation is the biggest point. That involves left-overs of the financial clauses. I would be glad to hear from anyone of our financial group who would like to express himself on that point.

MR. NORMAN H. DAVIS: We feel that the Germans have really given us a basis for getting together properly on reparation, by coming back with a fixed sum. It is a rather rigid fixed sum, which can be modified and made more workable. There is a considerable possibility of getting together there, if we can get the French to agree upon a fixed sum. As you know, we have always insisted on the necessity of having a fixed sum, because by leaving it indefinite we had to give considerable powers to the Reparations Commission, and that is what seems to worry the Germans more than anything else—the powers given to the Reparations Commission, which, as they claim, are rather destructive than constructive, and if we come back and make a fixed amount, it will be possible to do away with the functions of the Reparations Commission which most worry the Germans, and it will avoid the necessity of interfering with their internal affairs, and so on.

COLONEL HOUSE: Have not the Germans misconstrued what the treaty says on that point? That it really does not go as far as the Germans think it goes, and if the matter were explained to them per-

sonally, that they would understand it differently from what they now understand it?

MR. THOMAS W. LAMONT: I believe that they could be made to understand that, Colonel House. Certainly the intent of the Reparations Commission is nothing like as inquisitorial nor as arbitrary as the Germans have construed it to be, and I believe that we could explain that to a very large extent, provided, as Mr. Davis says, there was coupled with it the change from an indefinite, vague sum to be determined two years from now, to a definite sum to be determined today, because that very change would do away with a large part of the necessity of such a commission.

THE PRESIDENT: May I ask if you saw Messrs. Tardieu and Loucheur this morning?

MR. LAMONT: We saw Mr. Tardieu. Mr. Loucheur did not come.

THE PRESIDENT: What was his statement?

MR. LAMONT: Mr. Tardieu's first reply was that they could consider no change, because Mr. Lloyd George had brought up so many changes. He alluded to the conference at the President's house yesterday afternoon. But during the last part of the conference he finally came around and said that if it were a question of reparation alone and not a question of the Army of Occupation and these other things, he did not know but that they could devise with us the machinery that could work out the idea of a fixed sum, provided the sum were adequate enough. He alluded to the first answer, Mr. President, that you made to the first German note, in which you indicated that execution might be changed somewhat, or made to conform, and he said that if we could work reparation under the head of execution rather than change of principle, "I believe we could be with you".

THE PRESIDENT: May I ask that what I say by way of reference to our British colleagues be not repeated outside of this room, because I am at liberty to use it only for the purposes of this conference. But here are the alternative methods of reparation which were suggested: first, that the Germans should undertake as a contract the whole task of restoration, that is to say, the physical restoration of the ravaged parts of northern France, and that a sum should be fixed in the treaty of peace, under several items in the category of damages, the principle being that inasmuch as it was impossible now to estimate what the actual restoration would cost, that they should be put under contract to restore northern France within a definite period, and that, since the rest of the categories would perhaps hold them, a definite sum ought to be arrived at in regard to that.

The alternative plan was—and it is a rather vague one—that the Germans should sign the reparation clauses as they stand, but that three months should be given them to effect an arrangement for fixing

a definite sum in cash as a compensation of all claims. That the reparation clauses were to stand, giving them three years for proposals as to the definite sum.

MR. BARUCH: We discussed those two alternatives that you speak of, Mr. President, yesterday, but we still feel that the best solution would be to come to a fixed sum now, to start with. We went over this yesterday.

THE PRESIDENT: And reject the idea of a contract for restoration?

MR. DAVIS: It would be difficult, as a matter of practice, to carry that out.

MR. SUMMERS: There is an economic unsoundness in it, because many of the districts and places that were devastated and destroyed were located many years ago, and have now no economic basis for being there. For instance, they could combine into one steel mill several destroyed mills. Many of the existing mills could be combined into one; one could be substituted for many. Unless there was a latitude given, it would be economically unsound.

MR. LAMONT: Mr. President, with all respect to Mr. Lloyd George, he is simply trying to postpone the evil day, as far as public opinion is concerned.

THE PRESIDENT: I think he has stated the way it is to be gone about.

MR. LAMONT: Still, whichever way one looks at it, from the Allied point of view or from the German point of view, it is better to make it definite. Germany cannot start her economic and industrial life, cannot gain any credit, as long as it remains open.

MR. DAVIS: He is trying to play both ways undoubtedly there, and as a matter of practice, it is very hard to work that out, because we can never get together as to the distribution of this fixed amount, because they would have to calculate all the time what would be France's share in the restoration of the Germans.

COLONEL HOUSE: It would be something like re-writing the treaty.

MR. DAVIS: We are convinced, Mr. President, that on account of Europe's financial situation today it is a most important thing to fix an amount, and an amount which Germany and the world itself have some hope of her being able to pay, and carrying out, which can be used as a basis for France and Italy and the other countries getting on their feet and meeting their requirements.

Under the present arrangements, as the Germans very properly state, if they are not prosperous and cannot get back to work they will pay nothing, but on the other hand, if they buckle down to work and work hard and save, the harder they work and the more they save, the more they will pay. And that is a rather poor incentive for the Germans to buckle down and work hard. But if there is a fixed amount which will let them see a chance of getting from under some day, I believe that would be a better incentive for them.

THE PRESIDENT: How about the other side of it: a fixed sum will form a basis of credit for the other nations, but what will form a basis for Germany's credit?

COLONEL HOUSE: It was practically a fixed sum.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, there would be that definiteness in it, but where would her assets be?

MR. DAVIS: We must insist upon her being left with sufficient assets as a working capital.

THE PRESIDENT: As a matter of fact the Reparations Commission can do that.

MR. DAVIS: They are permitted to leave her with certain assets, except the ships. We feel that some arrangement certainly must be made whereby Germany can at least have a sufficient number of those ships, either retaining them or making some arrangement for getting them back, so that she will have enough for her own trade, and which I understand amounts to about one-third of the ships which she has turned over.

SECRETARY LANSING: Now Germany offers a fixed sum, does she?

MR. DAVIS: Yes.

SECRETARY LANSING: It is 100 milliards of marks?

MR. DAVIS: Yes. Of course they make quite a large amount of deductions. They say that they will pay the first sum of 20 milliards of marks in the first seven years, but that you must deduct from that the war materials they have turned over and everything else they have turned over and will turn over under the treaty, and also the proportionate share of the pre-war and the war debt of Alsace-Lorraine and of that part of the territory that Poland gets, which they estimate roughly would amount to about three million dollars. (?)

MR. LAMONT: Still, Mr. Secretary, it is very striking that they have made two definite offers: the offer of 20 milliards, and the further offer to devote to reparations a sum annually amounting approximately to the total net peace budget of the German Empire, between \$750,000,000 and one billion dollars.

SECRETARY LANSING: As I recall it, they offer to pay 20 milliards of marks on or before May 1st, 1926, and then they offer to pay one milliard a year after that. But they will increase it, on the basis that their people shall not be taxed more than the greatest amount paid by any injured country.

MR. DAVIS: They say that as a result they will be compelled, according to that, to tax that heavily; but at least 20 milliards they offer to pay within seven years, and without interest. That is not a capital sum. If you reduce that to a capital sum that will amount to 12½ or 15 milliards. We feel, from a practical standpoint, that it is better to have it interest bearing. Of course you have to give them a few

years before they can afford to pay interest, because otherwise it would run so fast against them that they could not catch up.

SECRETARY LANSING: It does not come so very far from the 15 billions of dollars talked about.

MR. LAMONT: It is a little bit less. After you take away deductions it would amount to the capital sum of 10 billion dollars.

THE PRESIDENT: Do you understand that the French this morning were not willing to consider an alteration or change of that sort?

MR. LAMONT: I think they are willing to consider a change of that sort if some one will tell them that that is the only change that could be discussed. At least that was Mr. Tardieu's attitude. Mr. McCormick could better tell us that.

MR. VANCE McCORMICK: He said that every modification proposed by the British was against the French. The British never mentioned any concession regarding ships or the colonies, and Mr. Tardieu called Mr. Lloyd George's attention to that fact. Mr. Tardieu's position was that they should not agree to a change in the present treaty; that during these five months the experts have discussed these questions pro and con, and having finally come to a decision, it would be fatal to change any principle whatever. The question of machinery of execution, as you stated in your note, might be considered; that was the position the French took. And as he went out of the room he intimated to Mr. Lamont that he might consider such questions as the question of the reparation clauses, along the line we have just been discussing, provided it was not opening the door to concessions along the other lines. France could not afford to concede anything further.

THE PRESIDENT: Would he regard fixing a capital sum as a modification of principle, or a method?

MR. McCORMICK: A method. Didn't you gather that? (Addressing Mr. Lamont.)

MR. LAMONT: Yes. Mr. Loucheur, of course, has more to say about that than Mr. Tardieu has. If it had not been for the British "Heavenly Twins" we could have gotten together with Loucheur months ago.

MR. DAVIS: Now he is a little bit worried about that political aspect of it, but if there are some changes made which would affect the British I think it would have a certain influence on the French, but, as Tardieu says, the only changes that are proposed are practically those that affect the French.

COLONEL HOUSE: Premier Clemenceau told me last night that he was willing to discuss Silesia. He was not willing to discuss the period of occupation, and he was not willing to discuss any of the other things that Lloyd George wanted.

THE PRESIDENT: Did he say that he would not discuss reparation?

COLONEL HOUSE: No, and I gathered that he would. I think we could get him to discuss reparation. And I also think—much to my surprise—that he would about the League of Nations. He said he would not consider for a moment letting the Germans in now, and I said: “Well, your attitude about that I think is the worst attitude for France, and I cannot understand it. It seems to me that you can see that the sooner the League of Nations gets its grip on Germany the better it would be for France.” He said: “I concede that; that is all right; but not for the moment. Presently.” So I don’t think he is going to be very bad on that. I think the Germans could be told privately that Germany will come in very shortly. I think we could get him to consent to that.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, if you gentlemen of the reparation group had a free hand—if only we ourselves were concerned—what would you propose with regard to the reparation?

MR. DAVIS: Well, we have not definitely agreed among ourselves as to just what we would propose, but we certainly are in accord with this, that we would propose and insist upon a fixed sum, and that that fixed sum would be as high as we really could get Germany to agree to without having a bayonet at her throat, because, after all, the important thing, as stated before, is to get something which can be used as a basis for France and Italy to get more credit, and which will not be so burdensome as will prevent Germany from going ahead with restoring her industrial life, because, after all, what they need to do more than anything is to get people to work, and they have pretty nearly all exhausted their credit. Loucheur is worried about that now, and the important thing is not so much what Germany can pay now, really just now, as fixing a reasonable amount which the German people are willing to buckle down to attempting to pay, and which the investors of the world think she will pay,—and they are rather apt to believe that Germany will pay what she undertakes to pay.

THE PRESIDENT: The aspect of the subject which interests me is the world aspect of it. Unless these securities that Germany is going to give are known to be worth something they cannot be used as a basis for credit, and somebody else will have to supply the credit. Now they cannot be made worth anything unless Germany has the means of going to work and producing. Which is the result of saying that they cannot be made worth anything unless she has assets to begin with to establish her own credit. And therefore the thing has two sides to it; not only the aspect of Germany and France and Italy—but the world aspect; working out a method by which this sum would be made not only definite but worth something, by having means for Germany to get to work.

MR. DAVIS: Yes, we think so.

THE PRESIDENT: Now it seems to me that we could have made it evident to the Germans, by explaining to them, that the real functions of the Reparations Commission, are, as I understand them to be, to help them in carrying out their obligations. The only trouble is, that it is one thing to say that this is the way the Reparations Commission is going to work, and another thing to find it in the treaty. Because we, of the present group of persons, are putting a certain interpretation on the treaty, but there will be others following us who may not put the same interpretation upon it.

MR. DAVIS: We probably have not got in there as clear a picture of what our idea was as to the policy that would be followed by the Reparations Commission as we should have, and it would be well, and it would undoubtedly affect the Germans, if they could be told.

THE PRESIDENT: Why not write—I don't know what the language would be—an accompanying memorandum, agreed to by all the powers, as to the method of administration by the Reparations Commission?

MR. BARUCH: Of course if we fixed a sum the Reparations Commission would die. If we fixed a definite sum, and Germany agreed to it, and she delivered, the Reparations Commission, as we have got it set up, would die, and another would be set up to receive the funds and bonds.

MR. DAVIS: The Reparations Commission was set up principally because they were leaving this matter indefinite, and because we were imposing a burden upon Germany concerning which there was some doubt as to her capacity to meet. But as it was clearly understood that they must follow a constructive policy, and that Germany could not pay anything unless she was given facilities and working capital it was absolutely necessary to set up this commission, with the idea of getting all they could out of Germany, but doing this in a broad way. But that is not the picture that is really conveyed in there. (i. e., in the Treaty). The powers of the Reparations Commission are, in a sense, destructive as far as Germany is concerned—they could be—but it ought to be explained to the Germans that no intelligent people could perform its destructive powers unless Germany wilfully failed to comply.

There is no limitation on what the Reparations Commission can do, and since the armistice the agreements with the Germans have been outrageously violated by the French, as for instance, the Luxembourg protocol,⁹³ etc., and the Germans have had an experience of what the giving of this power has meant, and they complained of it, to which I responded and asked them if they did not think they were entitled to it. They have got evidence to show that the commissions have thus far been outrageously unfair.

THE PRESIDENT: You think that difficulty would be met then by a fixed sum?

⁹³ Reference is to the negotiations concerning the economic terms of the Armistice, which took place at Luxembourg, December 23-25, 1918.

MR. SUMMERS: Unquestionably. We have always rewarded, by pensions and in similar ways, deeds of heroism, and each nation has chosen to reward its heroes as it saw fit, and to place that on the Germans on the basis that the French have awarded theirs is unprecedented in the history of the world. And if we had stood for actual reparation we might get some place within a rational sum, which Germany could pay, and we would have a basis for understanding upon that amount.

MR. LAMONT: Mr. President, I believe our difficulties with Germany would fade away if you and Mr. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George would instruct your technical committees to arrive at a definite sum within twenty-four hours instead of two years, and at the same time to reach an agreement as to how much working capital should be left in Germany's hands.

THE PRESIDENT: We instructed them once to find a definite sum. And then we got Klotz on the brain.

MR. LAMONT: Mr. Lloyd George kicked over the traces, but now he has come back to the fold.

MR. DAVIS: You remember they used to change commissions such as this, in times gone by, every time they decided against the wishes of the heads of the states.

COLONEL HOUSE: Do you remember how we always knew, when the individual members would come in to a meeting, just what the trend of the meeting was going to be that day?

THE PRESIDENT: Now the joke of it is that Lord Sumner was one of those who contributed to the unanimous counsel of the British the other day, and he takes a different position now.

MR. LAMONT: I believe we could get together on this point.

MR. DAVIS: Of course on those constructions you should make the necessary consequential changes in the Reparations Commission, and if possible do something to get away with it. I am afraid you will have to have a reparations commission for a while.

But it is necessary to have a commission, really, to receive the funds and the bonds, and open the trust for the proper distribution at the proper time.

THE PRESIDENT: Now what about the eastern borders of Germany?

DR. R. H. LORD: I must confess that the general tenor of the German argument about the cession to be made to Poland struck me as a rather weak attempt to escape from the principle laid down in the fourteen points with regard to the united Polish state, containing all Polish territories, and a secure access to the sea.

The territories which the treaty proposes to give to Poland are so indisputably Polish that in general the Germans have not been able to pick very serious flaws in the treaty from the point of view of nationality, statistics or the principle of uniting indisputably Polish territories to Poland. They have gone out to find all, what they call, the

purely German districts which are awarded to Poland under this treaty, and what they have been able to find is very little. They have been able to detect a small district here and another small district there where there is a German majority. Sometimes they use very bad figures in establishing that. But, at any rate, here and there they have found places where, owing to necessities of topography or of railway communications, or in order to secure a halfway compact frontier, the proposal incorporated in the treaty had been to give slight areas of German majority to Poland. There are a couple of such cases where it is possible that rectifications in the line proposed by the treaty might be made without serious consequences to the integrity of the whole solution. Here is one case where there is a short bit of railway line (exhibiting on map), that might be rectified.

But, as everyone knows, the linguistic border between Germans and Poles is an extremely sinuous and contorted one. There has been an immense admixture of the two races in this part of the world,—an admixture which has been largely due to the systematic work of the Prussian government, with its colonization methods, which has flooded certain portions with Germans by purely artificial means, and kept the Germans there by purely artificial means.

Now it was impossible for the Commission on Polish Affairs in making the proposals of the boundaries here, to avoid including in the frontiers of Poland some—not large—regions of Germans. Otherwise no compact frontier could have been reached. The Commission in its proposals left out a number of regions that were on the other side, and it made quite consistent efforts to be fair in its proposals. We can see only two places where slight changes might be made without serious results, and even in one of them, because of its character, I think a change would be quite questionable because it would make dangerously narrow and insecure that access to the Baltic Sea which is, I think, one of the cardinal and indispensable elements of the general Polish settlement.

The point which the Germans lay most stress on, perhaps, is the question of Upper Silesia, and perhaps that is a question on which it is better—

COLONEL HOUSE: (Interrupting) They ask for a plebiscite there, and following that plebiscite, what in your opinion would be the result?

DR. LORD: My opinion is that it would result favorably to Poland—I have very little doubt about that—if it could be arranged under conditions that would ensure a fair expression of the popular will.

I cannot forbear, however, laying before you the very great practical difficulties in the way of that. I think everyone recognizes that a plebiscite in German territory cannot be held while the territory is occupied by German troops and by German officials. Just at present, in spite of the republican government of Germany, they are having a

veritable reign of terror in Upper Silesia which is as bad as anything that went on under the Imperial Government, and such a state exists there that they have been arresting every prominent Polish leader; they have been placing people on trial charged with being guilty of high treason for the crime of having made speeches in favor of union with Poland, or collecting money in favor of Polish national causes.

So, under present conditions it is impossible to have a fair plebiscite. You would have to occupy the country with Allied troops, and I wonder whether the Allied and Associated Governments are prepared to do that. Consequently, even under those present conditions there is this difficulty about a plebiscite.

Upper Silesia is a country where a very great part of the land and a great part of the industries of the country are in the hands of a very small group of great magnates. There is such a concentration of property in the hands of a few great families as you find almost nowhere else in Germany. They are in the hands of such families as the Hohenlohe, von Pless, and half a dozen others. And then the great industries of the country are also controlled by German capital. It means that the Polish population is economically, without a doubt, in great dependence upon German land owners and capitalists, and as the experience of every election that comes from that country shows, it is extremely difficult for them to vote as they please without ruining their chances of a livelihood. I can think of few countries where the countryman finds it so dangerous to express his opinion at the polls.

As for the other general fact about the Upper Silesian situation, the part of Upper Silesia which the treaty proposes to give to Poland has a ratio of Polish majority of two to one, and in fact, decidedly more than that according to the revision of the German statistics which the British experts have prepared. It comes as near to being indisputably Polish territory as any part of Eastern Europe.

The chief value of that territory to Germany, of course, lies in its immense mineral wealth, which is undoubtedly the fact, as their response says that Upper Silesia produces 23 percent of the total coal output of the German Empire, and I think it is something like four-fifths of the production of zinc, and a large part of the production of iron.

It is true that the loss of that territory might be a very serious economic blow to Germany, but I would like to lay before you this other fact that if Upper Silesia contains about one-quarter of Germany's coal output, it contains about three-quarters of the coal output of the territories of Polish nationality, so the loss to Germany on the one hand, would also mean that it would be a serious blow and a loss to Poland on the other. Three-quarters of her coal would be a far more decisive thing.

MR. LAMONT: I don't see how that could be a loss to Poland, because she never had it.

THE PRESIDENT: But it is theoretically Polish.

COLONEL HOUSE: That was never a part of Poland, was it?

THE PRESIDENT: Creating a state out of Polish population in some places like Upper Silesia which never constituted a part of ancient Poland, isn't that right, Dr. Lord?

DR. LORD: Not entirely, Mr. President. The German memorandum is an extremely fallacious article in its historical data. It states repeatedly that Upper Silesia belonged to Germany for 750 years, which is not at all true. Upper Silesia was Polish from the beginning; was Polish for several centuries.

THE PRESIDENT: You mean it was part of the Polish state, or only Polish in population?

DR. LORD: Part of the Polish state, and it resulted in there being there a Polish population. It passed from Poland to Bohemia some time in 1500; from Bohemia it passed to Austria in 1600, and it passed to the Germans in 1700; so it belonged to the German state, to the Germans, about 200 years.

MR. LAMONT: It has not belonged to Poland for 400 years.

SECRETARY LANSING: Isn't the real point the question where the coal is used after it is mined? Is it used mainly in Poland today?

DR. LORD: No. There was a considerable export to Poland, but in the main the coal was used in Eastern Germany, in the region east of Berlin. Now they point out that a great part of that territory which is wholly dependent on Silesia is going to Poland. Poland and West Prussia do consume a great part of it. A great part of it went to Austria-Hungary also.

SECRETARY LANSING: Where did what is now new Poland get her coal if she did not get it from Silesia?

DR. LORD: Russian Poland got about six million tons a year in the Dombrowka district. There is a coal mining region in Russian Poland and also a smaller coal mining region in Galicia.

SECRETARY LANSING: And German Poland got how much of its coal from this region?

DR. LORD: All of it.

SECRETARY LANSING: How much did they use?

DR. LORD: I cannot give you the exact figures.

SECRETARY LANSING: Approximately?

DR. LORD: I know that in Poland this winter they were practically without coal.

SECRETARY LANSING: Then Poland will get a good deal more coal than she had before, if she gets this area?

DR. LORD: It depends on what you mean by "Poland".

SECRETARY LANSING: I am speaking of this territory that is now embraced in the new boundaries.

DR. LORD: Yes.

SECRETARY LANSING: She would get a good deal more coal?

DR. LORD: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: After all that is probably susceptible of solution in a different way; by guarantees obtained as to the supply of coal, that is, putting no restrictions on the supplying of coal to Germany.

MR. BARUCH: It is true that the coal and the iron is more or less locked up in the mines of Germany, and, as suggested by you, in the division of this territory it should be guaranteed that the coal and iron should go, anyhow for a number of years until there is a chance for readjustment, to the places it had gone before.

THE PRESIDENT: That no restriction should be placed on it.

MR. DAVIS: Where it goes naturally. To do that, under the present treaty Poland has a right to take over all this property, the privately owned property, after the war, which is a rather unusual procedure; while the Germans have developed this, the Polish government can come and purchase all this property and turn it over to Polish citizens.

THE PRESIDENT: They have to pay for it.

MR. DAVIS: That is true, but Germany has to pay for it.

THE PRESIDENT: How do you mean?

MR. SUMMERS: Germany agrees to reimburse her nationals.

THE PRESIDENT: You mean the property can be expropriated?

MR. DAVIS: Not for public use but for private use. In other words, the German government has to pay its citizens for the property which the Polish government wants to take from them.

MR. TAUSSIG: The Polish government may take it from the people who now own it, and the valuation is fixed by the Polish government, without any control or supervision of any kind. I think that is one of the worst provisions of the treaty.

MR. PALMER: That is one of the unexpected results of the application of the general clauses to a case with which we have not been concerned at all. The general committee on Alien Enemy Property hadn't anything to do with Alsace-Lorraine or Poland, which we understood were to be covered by different clauses entirely—as took place in the case of Alsace-Lorraine. It is astonishing to me that there should exist in Silesia any such effect as had been outlined, and I think Silesia ought to be treated by itself. A large territory like that should have its own special clauses covering it, because this particular language which we have adopted for application under totally different circumstances, has an unexpected effect.

THE PRESIDENT: That had escaped my notice.

MR. PALMER: I am not sure that it has that result, Mr. President, but if it has, it should be provided for.

MR. BARUCH: The economic feature of the Silesian question should be taken up and have special treatment as regards the distribution of the assets, and also the questions of private property and other matters of that kind, and I think that it does require and is entitled to special treatment.

MR. DAVIS: It is not supposed that the Polish government should take that—

THE PRESIDENT: That is not in the Polish part of the treaty.

MR. DAVIS: It is not in the Polish part, Mr. President. Poland has been construed in this treaty as one of the Allied Governments. It is in the economic clauses.

MR. TAUSSIG: Poland figures as one of the Allied and Associated Powers, and in drafting those provisions of the Allied and Associated Powers I don't believe that it was expected that it would be a constituted state, figuring in every respect as a duly constituted Allied and Associated Power, but they had it in the treaty draft. I do not think, Mr. President, there would be any serious difficulty in disposing of that problem. I think the disposition of the German property, after it came under Polish jurisdiction, would not be difficult. I think it is more a matter of sentiment. The sentimental features of it are more important,—the fact of depriving the Germans of property which has been German for many centuries presents a more serious difficulty; there is a sentimental difficulty on both sides.

THE PRESIDENT: Now is there not in Paris some Polish representative with whom you could discuss these economic aspects of the matter at once so as to see if there is not some arrangement that would not be so objectionable in regard to raw materials, and this matter of expropriation?

MR. BARUCH: This might affect reparations, Mr. President. This property that is taken over by the Polish government, that is not to be held under the economic clauses.

SECRETARY LANSING: I want to ask another thing in connection with the Polish coal supply. Northeast of Teschen there is a large area which I understand is coal bearing and undeveloped which will come to Poland. Is that correct?

DR. LORD: In the northeastern part of Teschen?

THE PRESIDENT: No.

SECRETARY LANSING: Northeast of Teschen.

THE PRESIDENT: It does not mean the Teschen coal basin. As they show the area on the map I should think it is about one-fifth of a large coal area that extended northeastward into Poland. Is that well established that there is a large coal bearing region there in Poland that is undeveloped?

DR. LORD: There is a considerable area, in Galicia especially, where I think they expect a large development. In general this coal area

comes just at the intersection of the old frontiers of Austria, Russia and Prussia. The basin is divided between the three powers, most of it being on the Prussian side, all of it being in Polish territory with very slight exceptions, and the undeveloped parts are mainly towards the east, in Austria, and, to a very slight extent, in what was formerly Russian territory.

SECRETARY LANSING: About one-twelfth of that area is developed. I do not mean to say one-twelfth of the wealth, but one-twelfth of the area.

THE PRESIDENT: The other most prominent subject is the subject of the occupation of the Rhenish Provinces for five, ten and fifteen years. And I say in the same confidential way that I indicated a moment ago, that Mr. Lloyd George represented his military advisers and his cabinet as all together a unit that the period of occupation should extend over a period of only two years, with a possibility of extending it further in case the Germans refused to carry out the terms of the treaty, or in any deliberate way failed to carry out the terms. That creates a very serious impasse between the British and French opinion.

If I may just say a word of explanation, the French military opinion, as it has been interpreted to me, does not believe that the fifteen-year occupation is in any way satisfying. As I understand it, Marshal Foch wanted to occupy the Rhenish provinces for thirty years, the probable period of payment of reparation, and it was a compromise, I infer, which reduced it to fifteen years. And they have made an arrangement under which this interesting comment has been made, that the areas of occupation, one for five, one for ten and one for fifteen years,—all abutting on the Rhine, of course—extend in a line northwest and southeast, not east and west, and the reason given me for that was that extending that way they would always protect the direct route from Germany to Paris. But the direct route is not the route that is at all likely to be taken.

The route that has usually been taken, and that was taken this time, is the northern route, across which lies the area which is to be first evacuated, and the territory next most likely to be used, from a military point of view, is to be evacuated in ten years, and the territory which would certainly not be used is to be evacuated in fifteen years. And the intimation was that the real object was the control of the navigation of the Rhine. That is the last area, and all this occupation touches, of course, Lorraine and the commercial interests of France that center on the Rhine.

So that the question of occupation has this drawback to it: it is not strictly speaking a military question, apparently. It is a means of quieting public opinion during the period that Germany is certainly not going to be able to do anything in a military line, and withdrawing

their forces just at about the time when she is likely to recuperate, which is not, if I am stating it correctly, a military proposition at all.

And another very serious drawback to it—at least from the point of view of several of the powers, on reparations—is that Germany is to pay for this Army of Occupation, and it would cost several hundreds of millions to maintain it, and those millions would come out of the reparations, and if you have a fixed sum—not otherwise—it would be that much in addition to the French portion of the reparations, because everyone contends that the army of occupation will be French. They would not expect Great Britain and ourselves to furnish more than some small number that would be sufficient to keep the colors afloat and justify the name of an inter-allied force.

So I do not know who it calls for to discuss it, if I am right that it is not strictly a military question, and if it is a civil question it is a question involving many embarrassments, chiefly embarrassments of French public opinion.

But I would be very glad if the military people would fire away at it if they have anything to say.

COLONEL HOUSE: How serious is this republic that they have formed there?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know how serious it is.

COLONEL HOUSE: You see if that would get agoing that would settle that question, because that is what they asked for.

THE PRESIDENT: I don't believe it is at all genuine—I mean spontaneous. I would be very suspicious of it in the present circumstances.

COLONEL HOUSE: Yes, I think it is an imposture.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I know it is.

GENERAL BLISS: Mr. President, I would like to say one word on that subject. I think as you just stated, it is almost entirely a political question rather than a military one, because no essential military objects will be accomplished by the military occupation of the territories proposed to be occupied under the proposed conditions. And I have never been in favor of the prolonged military occupation and I base my views on two considerations: the first is the matter of good sound policy, and the other sound business.

As a matter of policy I have always—and a good many other military men agree with me on that—looked with apprehension on the possibilities of a military occupation of a territory, the people of which we will be officially at peace with for a long time. It is so likely to result in incidents that will bring about the very thing that we want, of course, to avoid, and that is a resumption of war. It has always seemed to me that it is almost a slap in the face of the League of Nations, in which we are all so interested, to assume that the execution of this treaty, extending over a long term of years, can only be accom-

plished by a military force instead of by this League of Nations, which presumably at an early date will be in operation.

Then you have yourself pointed out the reason why it is not sound business.

Mr. Ribot in the speech that he made in the French Senate the other day used figures which I have no doubt are exaggerated, but they still, after making a due allowance for exaggeration, indicate a wasteful amount of money that would be simply eaten up in the collection of the remainder, and he estimated that out of the first 25 milliards of francs that would come from Germany, partly to the French and partly to the Belgians, at least 15 milliards of it would be eaten up in the expense of the army of occupation. I think that figure is exaggerated, and he probably assumes a continuance of an army of occupation approximating the present force there, which now numbers a million men—a grossly exaggerated and unnecessary number for any purpose that it is agreed it may be called upon to accomplish.

The Marshal's demand is that after the signature of peace there be maintained an army of thirty infantry divisions, and not to exceed five cavalry divisions, which, together with all the attached services, would amount to somewhere in the neighborhood of 600,000 men. It is not enough for war, on the supposition that Germany could resume the war—which she cannot do—and it is entirely unnecessary on the assumption that she cannot resume the war. He proposes to keep that army there during the period of disarmament in Germany. Now no one knows how long that will be. The Germans in their reply have said that it is technically impossible to execute the clauses of the treaty on which time limit was imposed, within the time limits imposed; that the time limits should be prolonged, and they say the matter should be subject of negotiations. And in the Marshal's office yesterday afternoon in the conference which we had, it was agreed by all that it was absolutely impossible to comply with the terms, so far as the time limits are concerned.

THE PRESIDENT: Did the French agree to that?

GENERAL BLISS: Oh, yes. Now how long that will continue, nobody knows. But during its continuance, during all this period, military control of commissions will be kept in operation, which will also be contributing to the diminution of the available funds that they get out of Germany for reparations and otherwise.

Now those who have read the German counter-proposals on the subject of military, naval and air terms, know that they accept everything in principle subject to their admission into the League of Nations, and in regard to this term of occupation—whatever it be—if Germany is at any time to be admitted into the League of Nations, certainly that occupation in Germany must cease the moment she is so admitted. It would be intolerable, and there is no provision in any part of the

Covenant for the occupation of territory of a nation which has been accepted into membership in the League of Nations, which acceptance is only done after you are satisfied that she has given every guarantee to comply with the League's obligations.

I understand that there has been some consideration given to a very material reduction in the period of occupation, and I hope that it can be carried through, and that whatever that time will be—

THE PRESIDENT: (Interrupting) By whom, General?

GENERAL BLISS: Based on the German proposals, there has been more or less consideration given—

THE PRESIDENT: By the French?

GENERAL BLISS: Well, it has been discussed. I don't think the French are willing to consider it now, but to take not to exceed four months to consider that. It might be prolonged long after that and still come within the limits proposed in the treaty, and I take it if any change is made at all, or if the present figures are kept to five, ten or fifteen years, occupation should cease the moment Germany becomes a member of the League of Nations.

Personally I hope very much that the term of occupation made by common agreement will be very materially reduced.

THE PRESIDENT: The only door for consideration which Mr. Clemenceau said he was willing to leave open yesterday was the cost. I was interested to know just what he would consider, and he said at first that he would not consider the reduction of the term of occupation at all, that was impossible for him, and then he subsequently said he would consider it from the point of view of the cost. Now just what and how much that meant I do not know; we did not go into it. But of course that is a very serious side. If they agree to a fixed sum of reparation, then every dollar of what has been spent on occupation is a reduction of that sum.

MR. DAVIS: It goes to support their army.

THE PRESIDENT: It goes to support their army, yes, but they would not otherwise be paid to support so large an army. I don't know how large an army they would otherwise have. Can you tell us, General?

GENERAL BLISS: Under their organic law they would have 800,000 men, and I have not seen nor heard any word from any source nor have I heard of any proposition being before their legislature to modify that.

COLONEL HOUSE: Don't you suppose it would be possible upon these disputed questions, that is, not upon all the German questions, but upon some of them, to appoint committees of the experts and see what modifications, if any, could be made and agreed upon?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, the plan I had in mind was to have our own conference, as we were advised that Mr. Orlando was having his this morning, and Mr. Clemenceau is having his,—in order that we might,

without having any of the usual roundabout expressions of international intercourse, learn each other's minds, real minds, and then my idea was that each one of our groups would either retire, and they, or some representatives whom they would select, would meet the corresponding groups of the other countries and have an exchange of views.

COLONEL HOUSE: That was what I had in mind.

THE PRESIDENT: Have a clearing house.

COLONEL HOUSE: Wouldn't it modify the general selection if we knew what the commission that Mr. Davis is on is doing?

THE PRESIDENT: John W. Davis?

COLONEL HOUSE: Yes.

MR. JOHN W. DAVIS: I don't know that that commission has any more to do than to recommend the size of the army. All they have to do is to draw up a scheme of the organization of the army and the size.

THE PRESIDENT: That might soften the blow to them.

MR. JOHN W. DAVIS: Yes, make it a little bit less Draconian.

SECRETARY LANSING: Is it possible to fix the time when Germany can be admitted into the League of Nations?

THE PRESIDENT: I don't honestly think it is. I think it is necessary that we should know that the change in government and the governmental method in Germany is genuine and permanent. We don't know either of them yet.

SECRETARY LANSING: When are we going to know? When are you going to get consent from all these countries, from France or the Executive Council?

THE PRESIDENT: I think that France would be one of the first.

MR. DAVIS: Do you think it would if it were conditioned upon withdrawing the Army of Occupation? That is mentioned as a condition upon Germany coming into the League of Nations.

THE PRESIDENT: Except as to Germany paying for the army. I think she would be sick of the army of occupation.

MR. DAVIS: She wants to control this from an economic standpoint too.

THE PRESIDENT: But I don't see how they can do that without a proper convention.

MR. DAVIS: We have a convention now, you know, with them, and they are all the time springing the Economic Council, and they do not stand by the convention.

THE PRESIDENT: Convention of what?

MR. DAVIS: Among the Allied and Associated Powers.

THE PRESIDENT: But the convention I am speaking of is the permanent convention, the fifteen-year convention under which there would be no interference with the economic or industrial life of the country whatever.

MR. DAVIS: But now I see there is a convention between the Allied and Associated Powers that there would not be an interference, and the French are not living up to it.

THE PRESIDENT: My only hope is that when we sign peace those things will be settled.

DR. C. H. HASKINS: Is it proper to ask at this time if that Erzberger letter which appeared in the *Chicago Tribune*, Paris Edition, some days ago, is genuine? I ask that because it has a great deal of popular effect as to the attitude of the German government.

THE PRESIDENT: I do not know. I asked that same question myself and did not find anybody who could give me a satisfactory answer.

COLONEL HOUSE: Where did we get it from?

MR. DRESEL: It came from Berne. I think undoubtedly from the Poles there. My private opinion is—and I have studied it very carefully—that it is not genuine. I think that if the language in regard to Poland is carefully studied it would appear more and more as a piece of Polish propaganda. And knowing the probable source from which it came, and the fact that the Poles are still endeavoring to circulate it—it came from our legation only yesterday again, from the Polish legation at Berne, and it got to England and was published there—I can have very little doubt that it is an organized frameup.

COLONEL HOUSE: Can you not get somebody to ask Erzberger directly?

MR. DRESEL: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Is it not stated in the *Tribune*—that is the way I got it—that it was supposed to have been an interview in the last—

COLONEL HOUSE: The first of April.

MR. DRESEL: It came through the military about three weeks ago, and then it came again in the *Tribune* yesterday, but we have had it for three or four weeks.

THE PRESIDENT: It is said to be an interview with him, and not a letter?

MR. DRESEL: It was supposed to be a circular sent to the different German authorities. It is not like Erzberger's style, however. I question also whether Erzberger had a right to send out such a circular; it was not within his province. The whole thing was very much out of his province.

MR. LAMONT: Shall we hear further from you, or go to the Allied groups directly?

THE PRESIDENT: I think it would be better if you would take the initiative and seek a conference.

MR. McCORMICK: Express a fixed sum?

THE PRESIDENT: Find out if you can get a common agreement. As I was pointing out in the beginning, they (the British), have taken the American position at last, and that is a pretty good position.

MR. HOOVER: Did Mr. Dresel say what points the Germans are most insistent upon the modification of? If we take their reply, they contend as vigorously for things of no moment as for things of great moment.

MR. DRESEL: When I was in Germany more than a month ago the thing that struck me most was the Saar Basin, but that may be because that had come out and the others had not yet come out. They did not know about the eastern Silesian coal mines at that time, but the Saar Basin was the one point on which they laid the most stress. They said they would give up the coal, but did not want to give up the control to France entirely.

MR. HOOVER: I had a consultation, and there are three or four points which they raised most insistently: the fixed indemnity at some sum; the modification of the Saar Basin terms; the period of occupation, and the Silesian coal mines. They seemed to be more insistent upon that than Dantzig.

DR. HASKINS: I got the same impression from reading the German proposals in the original.

SECRETARY LANSING: I think it brings out just those points also.

DR. HASKINS: They raise the question of the colonies also, and ask to be appointed as mandatory.

COLONEL HOUSE: Clemenceau conceded that point, didn't he?

THE PRESIDENT: We have been bearing on this point of the Saar Basin, and we have gotten concessions on other points. Are there any points that anybody would like to raise?

ADMIRAL BENSON: The naval representatives have gotten together on some points, and no change has been made. Of course they do not make any point, except the destruction of the harbors in Heligoland, and the other nationalities think we ought to stand on that and recommend that no change be made in that at all.

THE PRESIDENT: Except for the technical impossibility of carrying out the military terms they do not seem to make any objection to the military terms.

GENERAL BLISS: They base it all on their acceptance into the League, conditioned on their acceptance into the League of Nations.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, but they do not raise specific points.

GENERAL BLISS: They will not accept the military points unless they are admitted into the League. If they are admitted they will accept, and they undertake to go ahead of the terms in one or two cases.

MR. TAUSSIG: There runs through the German proposals a criticism or complaint that in matters of execution of the treaty there is no consultation at all with the Germans. It lays down that the amount should be fixed by the Allied and Associated governments; that the details should be regulated by the Allied and Associated governments. And

they, in a succession of clauses, complain that that was put in with deliberate intent to keep the Germans from giving their views. As the treaty is framed, in a succession of clauses that does appear, and does look as if it is a deliberate attempt to keep Germany from having anything to say upon questions of execution. They complain about the way the quota or amount of shipping that Germany shall have is to be arrived at; the Kehl harbor shall be commanded by the Rhine Commission, having a larger representation of Frenchmen than Germans.

THE PRESIDENT: Those things, I think, will all work themselves out in operation. But it is necessary to consult the army with regard to them.

MR. WHITE: Another concession which might be made comes under "Ports, Waterways and Railways".

THE PRESIDENT: Are they new points that they raise?

MR. WHITE: Kehl harbor principally.

MR. TAUSSIG: It is an illustrative case.

MR. WHITE: It is an illustrative case. It would take too long to interfere—

THE PRESIDENT: (Interrupting) Mr. Lansing was asking me if I did not think it would be a good idea to ask each of our groups to prepare a memorandum of what might be conceded, and while I do not want to be illiberal in the matter, I should hesitate to say "yes" to that question. The question that lies in my mind is: "Where have they made good in their points?" "Where have they shown that the arrangements of the treaty are essentially unjust?" Not "Where have they shown merely that they are hard?", for they are hard—but the Germans earned that. And I think it is profitable that a nation should learn once and for all what an unjust war means in itself.

I have no desire to soften the treaty, but I have a very sincere desire to alter those portions of it that are shown to be unjust, or which are shown to be contrary to the principles which we ourselves have laid down.

Take the Silesian question, for example: we said in so many words in the documents which were the basis of the peace, that we would make a free Poland out of the districts with Polish population. Now where it can be shown that the populations included in Poland are not indisputably Polish, then we must resort to something like a plebiscite. I agree with Dr. Lord that in the territory like northern Silesia the sincerity of the plebiscite might be questioned—in fact it might be very difficult to have a plebiscite that was a real expression of opinion, and therefore we would have to go by what we believed was the preponderance of the wishes of the population.

But I believe that where we have included Germans unnecessarily, the border ought to be rectified. Or where we have been shown to

have departed from our principles, then we must consider what adjustments are necessary to conform to those principles.

Take Poland's access to the sea. For strategic reasons our Polish experts—the group of Allied experts—recommended a corridor running up to Dantzig and it included some very solid groups of German populations. We determined in that case to leave the Dantzig district to the Germans and to establish a plebiscite.

Where the railway track from Dantzig to Warsaw runs, notwithstanding the capital strategic importance of that railway to Poland, that railway is to remain German if its population votes to remain German.

I think that we have been more successful than I supposed we could possibly be in drawing ethnographic lines, because races are terribly mixed in some parts of Germany where we tried to draw the line. But wherever we can rectify them we ought to rectify them.

Similarly, if the reparations clauses are unjust because they won't work—not because they are putting the heavy burden of payment upon Germany (because that is just)—but because we are putting it on them in such a way that they cannot pay, then I think we ought to rectify that.

I put it this way: We ought to examine our consciences to see where we can make modifications that correspond with the principles that we are putting forth.

SECRETARY LANSING: That is what I say, Mr. President, but I should not confine it to “injustice”; where we have made a mistake I should not say it was an injustice. I should say that where it is something that is contrary to good policy that I do not think that is unjust; I simply think that we made an error, and we ought to correct it. That was my idea of what modifications should be suggested; not that we would adopt them, but to say whether it was wise to adopt them, so that we would have something in writing, something to work with. It is all in the air now.

THE PRESIDENT: The great problem of the moment is the problem of agreement, because the most fatal thing that could happen, I should say, in the world, would be that sharp lines of division should be drawn among the Allied and Associated Powers. They ought to be held together, if it can reasonably be done, and that makes a problem like the problem of occupation look almost insoluble, because the British are at one extreme, and the French refusal to move is at the opposite extreme.

Personally I think the thing will solve itself upon the admission of Germany to the League of Nations. I think that all the powers feel that the right thing to do is to withdraw the army. But we can-

not arrange that in the treaty because you cannot fix the date at which Germany is to be admitted into the League. It would be an indefinite one.

SECRETARY LANSING: Would that be done only by unanimous consent?

MR. HOOVER: The document provides that on two-thirds vote of the Council she should be admitted.

SECRETARY LANSING: But France, being on the Council, would have the decision.

COLONEL HOUSE: I agree with the President: let Germany in, and when she gets in, the other follows.

SECRETARY LANSING: And the army is to be paid for by Germany, because the French nation would not consent to making it so long if they had to pay for it.

COLONEL HOUSE: In a way she has to pay for it. They are going to make Germany pay all she can pay. Every dollar that is taken out for the army is taken away from French indemnities.

THE PRESIDENT: Every man in the French army is taken away from French industries too.

What is necessary is to get out of this atmosphere of war, get out of the present exaggerated feelings and exaggerated appearances, and I believe that if we can once get out of them into the calmer airs it would be easier to come to satisfactory solutions.

MR. DAVIS: You assume, Mr. President, that the other chiefs of state are instructing their other technical delegations to get together with us in the same way?

THE PRESIDENT: I am assuming it without any right; I am taking it for granted.

COLONEL HOUSE: I don't think it will make any difference. You are doing it anyway.

THE PRESIDENT: Now I hope anybody else who has been convinced by the German arguments will speak up.

MR. HOOVER: Apart from all questions of justice, how far does the question of expediency come in?

THE PRESIDENT: In order to get them to sign, do you mean?

MR. HOOVER: In order to get them to sign. It strikes me that that is a more important thing than the question of justice or injustice, because the weighing of justice and injustice in these times is pretty difficult.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, nobody can be sure that they have made a just decision. But don't you think that if we regard the treaty as just, the argument of expediency ought not to govern, because after all we must not give up what we fought for. We might have to fight for it again.

MR. HOOVER: But we look at expediency in many lights. It may be necessary to change the terms of the reparation in view of getting something, rather than to lose all. And it is not a question of justice; justice would require, as I see it, that they pay everything they have got or hope to get. But in order to obtain something it may be expedient to do this, that and the other. Much the same might apply to the Saar and the Silesian coal basins.

THE PRESIDENT: I admit the argument that it might be expedient to do certain things in order to get what you are after. But what you mean is the question of expediency in order to obtain the signature?

MR. HOOVER: I would go even further than the point I mention,—that if it was necessary to alter the Saar and the Silesian terms, that such alteration would not contravene the principles of justice.

THE PRESIDENT: I do not see any essential injustice in the Saar Basin terms.

DR. HASKINS: I believe that everyone feels that the League of Nations has something very real and very important to do. The Saar Basin is something for the League of Nations to do.

THE PRESIDENT: We have removed the only serious element of injustice in that arrangement as it stood. Germany had to pay a certain sum in gold at the end of the period for the mines, or else the plebiscite was of no practical result. France obtained sovereignty over the region. We have altered that.

MR. WHITE: There is still the question of the vote.

DR. HASKINS: There are two or three minor modifications in the clauses that are necessary in the matter of clarity,—Mr. White has raised one of them—where the language did not seem perfectly clear.

THE PRESIDENT: In order to obtain what we intended?

DR. HASKINS: Yes.

MR. DAVIS: It is necessary to get peace as soon as possible. If Europe does not get together, the situation is going to be awful. Our appropriations have run out, practically; in about another month we won't have any money at all.

THE PRESIDENT: We won't have any appropriated money, you mean?

MR. DAVIS: We won't have any money appropriated for that purpose. When real war is not being conducted it is much more difficult to get money. The way people now feel about bonds, it would be difficult to get money. And the sooner they can get something and issue some obligations which these countries can use as a basis of credit, the better off we will be.

MR. WHITE. If we make certain modifications in the financial and economic clauses, would that not be enough, don't you think?

MR. DAVIS: We feel it would, if we can get together on that. Now whether these other questions are such that Germany will not agree to sign, we don't know. But I mean their reply makes us feel rather hopeful that we can certainly get together on reparations.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't want to seem to be unreasonable, but my feeling is this: that we ought not, with the object of getting it signed, make changes in the treaty, if we think that it embodies what we were contending for; that the time to consider all these questions was when we were writing the treaty, and it makes me a little tired for people to come and say now that they are afraid the Germans won't sign, and their fear is based upon things that they insisted upon at the time of the writing of the treaty; that makes me very sick.

And that is the thing that happened. These people that overrode our judgment and wrote things into the treaty that are now the stumbling blocks, are falling over themselves to remove these stumbling blocks. Now, if they ought not to have been there, I say, remove them, but I say do not remove them merely for the fact of having the treaty signed.

MR. WHITE: Do the French remind you of that?

THE PRESIDENT: Not so much as the British. Here is a British group made up of every kind of British opinion, from Winston Churchill to Fisher. From the unreasonable to the reasonable, all the way around, they are all unanimous, if you please, in their funk. Now that makes me very tired. They ought to have been rational to begin with and then they would not have needed to have funked at the end. They ought to have done the rational things, I admit, and it is not very gracious for me to remind them—though I have done so with as much grace as I could command.

MR. DAVIS: They say that they do not quite understand why you permitted them to do that.

COLONEL HOUSE: So they say you are responsible for their doing it.

THE PRESIDENT: I would be perfectly willing to take the responsibility if the result is good. But though we did not keep them from putting irrational things in the treaty, we got very serious modifications out of them. If we had written the treaty the way they wanted it the Germans would have gone home the minute they read it.

Well, the Lord be with us.

Thereupon, at 1:15 p. m., the meeting adjourned.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/81

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, June 4, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 324, regarding the discontinuation of the Military Information Section of the Commission, was considered.

**Discontinuance
of Military
Information
Section**

The Commissioners felt that, in view of the fact that the reports of that Section were no longer of sufficient value to warrant their continuation, it would be well to have the Section discontinued at the earliest possible moment.

2. Memorandum No. 325, respecting Mr. McCormick's request that Mr. W. W. Thayer be assigned to his office to assist in connection with the Supreme Economic Council and the Superior

**Assignment of
Mr. Thayer**

Blockade Council work, was considered and the Commissioners approved of the assignment of Mr. Thayer for the purposes indicated.

3. Memorandum No. 326 was read, with regard to the formation of an International Commission to decide questions relating to the contemplated transfers of works of art, relics, etc.

**Formation of an
International
Commission on
Transfer of
Works of Art**

in Vienna, Constantinople, and other places. The Commissioners agreed that it would be advisable to have such a Commission formed and consequently approved of the recommendation that this matter be

brought before the Supreme Council at the earliest opportunity.

4. Memorandum No. 327, giving the text of a cablegram from the Department of State with regard to the appropriation for National Security and Defense, out of which the expenses of the Commission are being paid, and inquiring whether or not the Commissioners desire that the field missions at present attached to the Commission be discontinued, was considered. The Commissioners felt that, owing to the importance of this question, letters should be sent to the President stating the case and requesting an expression of his opinion in the premises. In this connection, they felt that his attention should be called to the letter from General Harts, respecting the evacuation of the military personnel from the District of Paris by June 30.

**Question of
Discontinuance of
Field Missions**

5. Memorandum No. 328 was read regarding the release of Lieutenant C. C. Walker from duty with the Commission. The Commissioners approved of Lieutenant Walker's release.

**Release of
Lieut. Walker**

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/82

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, June 5, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Major Tyler in regard to a conversation which he had had with Baron Frankenstein and General Slatin, members of the Austrian Delegation. The Commissioners noted this memorandum with interest.

Conversation Between Major Tyler, Baron Frankenstein and General Slatin
2. Memorandums No. 329, 330 and 331, regarding the release of Lieutenant J. F. Manly, Lieutenant Paul F. Atkins, and Mr. S. A. Skinner from further duty with the Commission, were read and approved.

Release of Personnel
3. Memorandum No. 332 was read inquiring whether the Commissioners desired to authorize the payment to the Courier Service of the Mission an amount in francs equal approximately to 15 lire a day, for each of three enlisted men at present stationed at Trieste, on behalf of the Courier Service. The Commissioners approved of having the equivalent of 15 lire a day paid to the three enlisted men in question.

Allowance of 15 Lire per Day to Three Enlisted Men on Duty in Trieste
4. Memorandum No. 333 was read in regard to a proposed Commission to investigate matters pertaining to the Jews in Poland. The President had approved of such a Commission being formed and had requested the views of the Commissioners in regard to the personnel of this Mission. The Commissioners agreed that the Commission of five men, such as the one suggested by Mr. Hoover, would be suitable, and agreed that Mr. Henry Morgenthau would be an excellent Jewish member of the Commission. They likewise felt that Mr. Brandeis would be a very suitable individual, but were not quite sure when he was arriving in Paris, and requested further information on this point. In regard to the remaining members of the personnel, the Commissioners delayed taking action until the question of Mr. Brandeis' arrival had been settled.

Commission To Investigate Pogroms in Poland
5. Memorandum No. 334 was read with regard to an attack and robbery of Mr. Moore and Lieutenant Khachadorian, of the Ameri-

Attack and
Robbery of
Members on
American Military
Mission to
Caucasus

can Military Mission to the Caucasus. The Commissioners felt that a grave mistake had been made by Major Tyler in sending off the telegram of May 20th, approving the action of Mr. Moore in demanding reparation from the Georgian Government for the damages which he had suffered, inasmuch as official action of this sort was practically tantamount to a recognition of the Georgian Government, which the United States had no intention of recognizing at the present moment. The Commissioners therefore requested that a statement be obtained from Major Tyler as to his reasons for having taken the action indicated in the premises.

6. Memorandum No. 335 was read, in regard to a statement which had been received by the Secretary-General from Prof. Shotwell respecting the request made by the Spanish Government to the effect that a Spanish representative be added to the Organizing Committee of the International Labor Commission. The Commissioners agreed with Prof. Shotwell's view of this matter, namely, that the admission of Spain to this Organizing Committee would seem to involve departing from the plan of organization already ratified. They, therefore, felt that Prof. Shotwell should oppose Spain's admission.

Spanish Govern-
ment's Request
for Representation
on Organizing
Committee of
International
Labor Commission

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/83

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, June 7th, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Captain Hornbeck suggesting that a telegram be sent to the American Minister at Peking, answering three questions asked by the Minister in regard to the Shantung decision by the Peace Conference and in regard to the attitude which China should adopt toward the Peace Treaty as a whole. The Commissioners approved of the draft of the telegram in question and requested that it be dispatched at the earliest possible moment.

Questions Asked
by Amer. Minister
Pekin re Shantung
Decision

2. Mr. Herter read a second memorandum prepared by Captain Hornbeck, giving the text of a telegram from the American Minister to China, in which the latter quoted an interview which he had had with the President of China regarding the Shantung decision.⁹⁴ Captain Hornbeck, likewise, suggested that an effort be made to secure from the Japanese Delegation at the Peace Conference an official and binding statement in regard to the restoration to China of the leased territory of Kiau-Chiau and the cancellation of certain portions of the Convention between Germany and China of March 1898.⁹⁵ The Commissioners requested that a letter be drafted to the President embodying these suggestions made by Captain Hornbeck, and that it be stated in this letter that these suggestions meet with the general approval of the Commissioners.

**Interview of
Amer. Minister to
China With
President of China
re Shantung
Decision**

3. Memorandum No. 336 was read quoting a letter from Major Lawrence Martin respecting the casualties in Carinthia since the time of Colonel Miles' investigation in January and pointing out that this loss of life could have been saved if Colonel Miles' recommendations in respect to the Carinthian boundary had been put into effect at once.

**Letter from
Major Martin re
Casualties in
Carinthia**

The Commissioners agreed that there was no use in making any reply to Major Martin's memorandum, but that for the sake of the records a complete statement in regard to the history of Colonel Miles' recommendation should be appended to the memorandum in question for future reference. All of the facts in the case are at the disposal of Colonel Wallace, who would be in a position to furnish them in order to make the record clear.

4. Memorandum No. 337 was read, recommending that the Commissioners authorize the expenditure of a sum not to exceed 10,000 francs to be placed at the disposal of a committee made up of the Disbursing Officer, the Hotel Manager, Mr. Patchin and the Administrative Officer, to be divided among such persons as might be designated by these gentlemen as gratuities for services rendered at the Hotel Crillon. The Commissioners desired a more complete statement as to the individuals who would benefit by such an allotment and likewise the opinion of Mr. McNeir and the Secretary-General as to the necessity therefor.

**Allotment of
10,000 Francs for
Gratuities**

5. Memorandum No. 338 was read, giving the substance of a statement made by Major Tyler in regard to a telegram which he had sent

⁹⁴ See telegram of May 30, 1919, 5 p. m., from the Minister in China to the Acting Secretary of State, *Foreign Relations*, 1919, vol. 1, p. 695.

⁹⁵ Convention between China and Germany respecting the lease of Kiaochow, March 6, 1898; John V. A. MacMurray, *Treaties and Agreements With and Concerning China, 1894-1919*, vol. 1, p. 112. Text in part in *Foreign Relations*, 1900, p. 383.

Attack and
Robbery of Mr.
Moore and Lt.
Khachadoorian,
Members Amer.
Mil. Mission to
Caucasus

to Mr. Moore respecting the attack and robbery of Mr. Moore and Lt. Khachadoorian in the Caucasus. At the same time a telegram from Mr. Moore, dated May 31, was also read, in which it was stated that owing to the previous telegram sent by the Mission, Mr. Moore was now able to handle the situation in Tiflis. The Commissioners felt that there was nothing further to be done in this matter, but that the receipt of the telegram from Mr. Moore, of May 31, merely went to prove that it was unfortunate that our telegram of May 20 had been allowed to go out without their seeing it.

6. Memorandum No. 339 was read in regard to suggestions made by Dr. Shotwell with respect to the disposition of the records of the Peace Conference. The Commissioners agreed with the suggestions made by Dr. Shotwell and approved of the formation of a small committee to collect the full records of the Conference and assort them for future accessibility and likewise agreed that it would be well to have certain secondary and non-confidential material placed in the Library of Congress through Dr. Putnam.

Disposition of
Records of Peace
Conference

7. Memorandum No. 340 was considered, in which an inquiry was made on behalf of Col. Grant, as to whether the Delegation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was a proper designation for the Delegation which had formerly been called the Delegation of Serbia. The Commissioners agreed that inasmuch as the credentials of the Plenipotentiaries in question had been signed on behalf of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and had been accepted by the Peace Conference, that this was a virtual recognition of that Kingdom. The Commissioners therefore felt that Colonel Grant should insist upon this designation, but should, in case a formal protest was made by the Italian Government, bring the matter again to the attention of the Commissioners.

Designation of
Kingdom of Serbs,
Croats and
Slovenes

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/84

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, June 9, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter read a suggested telegram from Lieut. Leroy King to Colonel Sherman Miles, United States Military Attaché at the Lega-

**Proposed
Telegram From Lt.
King to Colonel
Miles re Appoint-
ment of Colonel
Riggs to Inter-
Allied Military
Commission in
Carinthia**

tion at Prague with regard to the appointment of Col. Riggs as the American member on the Inter-Allied Military Commission to fix the new Armistice line in Carinthia. The Commissioners felt that, inasmuch as Col. Miles was no longer directly concerned with the Carinthian question, it would be inadvisable to have him officially connected with this matter, and therefore disapproved sending the telegram in question. They felt that any information which any of the Mission wished to send to Col. Miles merely for his information, could be sent by mail.

2. Memorandum No. 341 was read with regard to the release of Captain Whitney Newton, Jr., Personnel Officer of the Commission, on or about June 15th. The Commissioners approved
**Release of
Captain Newton** of Captain Newton's release.

3. Memorandum No. 342 was read, giving the substance of a statement made by Mr. Walter S. Rogers, of the Paris office of the Committee on Public Information, with regard to the discontinuance of the News Service of that office by June 15th. The Commissioners expressed a desire that Mr. Grew should get into touch immediately with Mr. Herman Suter, of the Committee on Public Information, to ascertain exactly what special arrangements could be made to have the News Service in question continued after June 15th. They felt that this matter was of such importance that if it were not possible for Mr. Grew to enter into a satisfactory arrangement with Mr. Suter, the whole matter should be referred to the President.
**Discontinuance of
News Service**

4. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Major Tyler in regard to a conversation which he had had with General Slatin, of the Austrian Delegation. This was noted with interest by the Commissioners.
**Interview Between
Major Tyler and
General Slatin**

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/85

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, June 10, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
COL. HOUSE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 343 was read with regard to the assignment of a Military Officer to assist Mr. Albert Halstead, the U. S. Consul

Assignment of
Lieut. Nash

General, who has proceeded to Vienna to represent the American Commission in that city, in place of Professor Coolidge. The assignment of 1st Lieut. W. E. Nash, Corps of Interpreters, Second Section, General Staff, G. H. Q., was recommended for this position. The Commissioners approved of the assignment recommended.

2. Memorandum No. 344 was read, in which a telegram was quoted from Commissioner Ravndal, Constantinople, suggesting that Consul Young, who is at present in Constantinople, be transferred to Damascus. The Commissioners stated that they were willing to approve the assignment of Consul Young to Damascus, provided this transfer met with the views of the Department of State.

Transfer of Consul
Young From
Constantinople to
Damascus

3. Memorandum No. 345 was read, suggesting that Prof. A. C. Coolidge be appointed as successor to Prof. Haskins, on the Central Territorial Commission. The Commissioners approved of Prof. Coolidge acting as the successor to Prof. Haskins.

Assignment of
Prof. Coolidge to
Central Territorial
Commission

4. Memorandum No. 346 was read, inquiring whether the Commissioners desired to have the decisions of the Council of the principal Allied and Associated Powers which are now being received from Colonel Sir M. P. A. Hankey, distributed to those persons who had previously been authorized to receive copies of the Confidential Minutes and reports issued by the Commission. The Commissioners decided that the documents in question should be sent only to the five Commissioners.

Circulation of
Procès Verbaux
to Members of
Commission

The Commissioners understood that in addition to the documents in question the British kept more or less complete Procès Verbaux of the minutes of the Council of Four and requested that Mr. Harrison undertake to ascertain whether it would be possible to obtain copies of these records as well as of the decisions reached by the Council of Four.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/86

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, June 12th, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 247 [347?] was read relative to a telegram received by the Commission from the Department of State inquiring whether the Commission would give a ruling as to the policy of repatriating approximately 2500 German Internees in the United States in case the German Government should refuse to sign the conditions of Peace. It is expected that these Internees would be repatriated within the next ten days. The Commissioners felt that this was not a matter for the Peace Commission to decide, but Mr. Lansing as Secretary of State was of the opinion that we should in any case repatriate all those individuals whose repatriation was contemplated by the Prisoner of War Agreement signed by representatives of the United States and Germany at Berne on November 11th, 1918⁹⁶ and that there would probably not be any harm in repatriating the other individuals whose case was not covered by that agreement, but whom the Department of State apparently intends to repatriate if Germany signs the Treaty.

Release of German
Internees

2. Memorandum No. 348 was read with regard to the assigning of automobiles from the Commission's pool to certain Missions at present in the field connected with the Peace Commission. The Commissioners felt that they had no authority to authorize the assignment of automobiles to any Mission operating outside of France or Occupied Territories and that in the case of Mr. Noyes, two cars would have to be sufficient in view of the present shortage of cars in the pool.

Assignment of
Automobiles to
Missions Outside
of France &
Occupied
Territories

3. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Major Tyler in regard to the coming arrival of the Turkish Delegation. The Commissioners agreed with Major Tyler's assumption that as the United States was not at war with Turkey he was to take no share in the activities of the liaison commission in connection with the Turkish Delegation.

Turkish Delegation
to Peace
Conference

4. Mr. Herter read a memorandum from Dr. R. H. Lord, requesting that the Commission employ for his use Miss Marjorie Ford as stenographer and secretary, at a salary of \$175.00 per month. The Commissioners approved of employing Miss Ford at the salary indicated.

Assignment of
Miss Ford

5. Memorandum No. 349 was read, enclosing a memorandum prepared by Dr. Morison, which the latter requested to have transmitted to the President. The Commissioners approved highly of having the information contained in that memorandum brought to the attention of the President, but stated that they did not desire to send to the President a memorandum containing phrases such as that used

Memo Prepared by
Dr. Morison
Regarding
Recognition of
Koltchak
Government

⁹⁶ *Foreign Relations*, 1918, supp. 2, p. 103.

by Mr. Morison in the last paragraph. They, therefore, requested that Mr. Morison re-draft the memorandum, altering the last paragraph so that it would not contain phrases which might be considered as being distinctly offensive to the President.

6. Memorandum No. 350 was read with regard to the expenses of the American representative on the Inter-Allied Trade Commission at Vienna, which Mr. McCormick stated could no longer be paid by the War Trade Board after June 30, 1919. The Commissioners felt that this was not a matter for the Commission to decide, but Mr. Lansing, as Secretary of State, agreed that Mr. Upson's expenses could be paid from the State Department emergency fund, beginning with July 1, 1919.

**Expenses of
American Repre-
sentative Inter-
Allied Trade
Commission at
Vienna**

7. Memorandum No. 351 was read with regard to the suggested assignment of 1st Lieutenant David W. King, Infantry, U. S. A., as Assistant Military Attaché to the American Legation at Warsaw. The Commissioners agreed that they had no authority to appoint Lieutenant King as an assistant military attaché, since such appointments could only emanate from the War Department. They would be glad, however, to recommend Lieutenant King to the War Department if such a procedure was deemed necessary and advisable.

**Assignment of
Assistant Military
Attaché**

8. Memorandum No. 352 was read, in which an inquiry was made on behalf of the Chargé d'Affaires in London, as to the policy to be followed with respect to a refusal by the British authorities to allow Mr. R. S. Armington, of the Aluminum Company of America, to visit the British sector of the occupied territory. The Commissioners felt that this matter was in no way one which could be handled by the Peace Commission, and that they were unwilling to allow the Chargé d'Affaires in London to pass the "buck" on to them. It is entirely a matter for the Embassy in London to handle as it sees fit.

**British Refusal
To Allow Mr.
Armington of the
Aluminum Co. of
America To Visit
British Occupied
Territory**

9. Memorandum No. 353 submitted by Prof. Coolidge was read. This memorandum, enclosing a telegram from Dr. Alonzo Taylor at Warsaw regarding the Hungarian-Czech situation called attention to Prof. Coolidge's previous recommendation that France be allowed to advance upon Buda Pest. The Commissioners felt that there would be no objection to sending the substance of the telegram in question and Prof. Coolidge's memorandum to the President, but that there was probably no need of this now as the Council of Four had sent an ultimatum to the Hungarian Government.

**Hungarian-Czech
Situation**

10. Memorandum No. 354 was read, appending a letter from General Harts regarding the arrangements made for the Headquarters

**Retention of Hq.
Battalion Peace
Commission**

Battalion to remain on duty with the Peace Commission as long as it was desired. The Commissioners approved entirely of the arrangement described by General Harts, and requested that Mr. Grew write him a suitable letter of appreciation in the premises.

11. Memorandum No. 355 was read, suggesting that Lt. Col. Warwick Greene be attached to the Military Mission to the Baltic countries, headed by General Gough, of the British Army.

**Re American
Representative
Baltic Commission**

The Commissioners were uncertain as to whether General Gough's mission was purely British or Inter-Allied, and whether or not it was expected that an American officer should be assigned to it. In any case, however, they thought it inadvisable to have Lt. Col. Greene as the American representative, since it was contemplated sending him on a different Mission.

12. Memorandum No. 356 was read, regarding a suggestion made by Mr. Ray Stannard Baker that, if possible, it would be advisable

**Dinner to British
and French
Correspondents**

for the American newspaper correspondents to give a dinner to the British and French correspondents in Paris, which might possibly be paid for by the Commission. The Commissioners agreed that this was a matter which Mr. Lansing alone should decide. Mr. Lansing stated that he felt it would be very advisable for the Commission to pay the expenses of such a dinner, but that it should only be done if it could be accomplished without arousing too much criticism. He therefore asked that Mr. McNeir be consulted as to the best way of covering these expenses.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/87

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, June 13, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HERTER

[1.] The Commissioners again considered the question of a Commission to Poland to investigate the alleged Pogroms in the light of Mr.

**Commission To
Investigate
Pogroms in Poland**

Louis Marshall's letter to the President and the President's reply thereto. The Commissioners agreed that, taking into account all the different statements of opinion which they had received and likewise considering the fact that Mr. Morgenthau was practically in agreement with Mr. Marshall, that no Jew should serve on this Commission, it would be well to have a

small commission composed of Professor Coolidge, Mr. Hudson and Lieutenant-Colonel Greene proceed to Poland as soon as possible, for the purpose of making investigations only. They requested, therefore, that a letter be drafted for the Secretary of State's signature to the President, replying to his letters of June 3 and 10, suggesting the three gentlemen named above, and mentioning the fact that both Mr. Morgenthau and Mr. Marshall agreed that no Jews should figure on the commission.

2. Memorandum No. 357 was read, in which Prof. W. E. Lunt requested to be relieved from duty with the Division of Political and Territorial and Economic Intelligence of the Peace Commission. The Commissioners approved of Prof. Lunt being relieved as soon as he is able to obtain passage to the United States.

Release of Prof.
W. E. Lunt

3. Memorandum No. 358 was read, giving the substance report by Mr. Patchin on an interview which he had had with Mr. Suter of the Committee on Public Information with respect to the activities of that Committee. The Commissioners requested that a telegram be sent to Mr. Creel, inquiring whether, if necessary it would be possible to keep the Service of American news and editorial despatches from New York to Paris on after July 1st. They felt that this would only be necessary provided peace had not been made by that date.

Continuance of
News Service

4. Memorandum No. 359, regarding the draft convention for the control of the arms traffic which had been referred to General Bliss on June 11th, was reconsidered by the Commissioners. General Bliss presented a suggested letter to the President in regard to this matter, recommending that Brigadier-General John H. Rice and Mr. G. L. Beer be appointed as American representatives on some sort of an Inter-Allied Commission to consider this whole question. The Commissioners approved of General Bliss' letter, which Mr. Lansing agreed to sign.

American
Representatives
on Inter-Allied
Commission for
Control of
Arms Traffic

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/88

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, June 14, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 360 was read regarding the Recommendation of Major Lawrence Martin, G. S. for appointment to Boundary Commissions for Austria Hungary. The memorandum was noted by the Commissioners.
- Recommendation of Major Lawrence Martin for Appointment to Boundary Commissions**
2. Memorandums Nos. 361 and 362 were read relating to the release from the Commission [*sic*]. The Commissioners approved of the release of these two gentlemen on the dates indicated.
- Release of Dr. Day and Dr. Seymour**
3. Memorandum No. 363 was read enclosing a letter from Messrs. Walsh and Dunne urging that favorable action be taken by the American Commissioners on the Senate Resolution respecting the issuance of safe-conduct by the British Government to Messrs. DeValera, Griffith and Plunkett and requesting that they be advised of whatever action the Commissioners saw fit to take. The Commissioners requested that the letter in question be sent to the President immediately without comment on their part.
- Irish Question**
4. Memorandum No. 364 was read regarding a telegram which had been received from Mr. Polk requesting the opinion of the Commission as to the deportation of Mr. L. A. Martens, the so-called Bolshevik representative in New York and certain other undesirable aliens.⁹⁷ The Commissioners felt that, inasmuch as the President had already given his opinion in regard to this matter, namely, that, "Apparently Martens, though pestiferous, has so far done nothing that we can allege to be illegal", and that, "In these days of international complications it is wise to go carefully in a case like this", the Commissioners would not care to add anything to what the President had already said, and, therefore, requested that a telegram be sent to Mr. Polk giving him the views of the President in the premises.
- Deportation of Mr. L. A. Martens and Other Undesirables From U S.**
5. Memorandum No. 365 was read with regard to the placing by the Commission of certain information on the Jewish situation in Poland at the disposal of Mr. Louis Marshall. The Commissioners felt that, as a general rule, no official material should be given to Mr. Marshall unless special instructions were issued by the Commissioners.
- Information Regarding Polish Pogroms Requested by Mr. Marshall**

⁹⁷ For papers relating to the proposed deportation of Mr. Martens, see *Foreign Relations*, 1919, Russia, pp. 144 ff.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/89

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, June 16, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter informed the commissioners that Mr. Dyar, in Berlin, had been requested by Erzberger to go to Weimar, in case the German Government should have any communication to make to the American Delegation during the consideration of the final Peace Terms, and that Mr. Grew was about to instruct Mr. Dyar not to do so, but to remain in Berlin, unless the Commissioners decide otherwise. The Commissioners approved entirely of the action which Mr. Grew proposed to take in the premises.

**Instructions
for Mr. Dyar**

2. Mr. Herter read a memorandum signed by Prof. Coolidge, Dr. Seymour, Mr. Dresel, and Mr. Dulles, in regard to the Austrian Treaty and the first Austrian counter reply. This memorandum suggested that certain concessions of a territorial and economic nature be made in the Austrian Conditions of Peace. The Commissioners approved of the recommendations suggested in this memorandum and suggested that a copy of it be sent to the President with a statement that the Commissioners deem it most worthy of his consideration.

**Concessions
in Austrian
Treaty of
Peace**

3. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Major Tyler giving the substance of a conversation which he had had on June 14th with Baron Eichhoff of the Austrian Delegation, together with a little supplemental memorandum containing certain information which he had received from that Delegation on June 15th. The Commissioners took note of these memoranda with great interest. In regard to the request of Mr. Frankenstein that the Austrian Delegation receive a copy of the Allies' reply to the Germans, which was presumably to be presented on June 16th, the Commissioners felt that they were not in a position to take any action, but that the matter should formally be referred by the Austrian Delegation to the Secretary-General of the Peace Commission.

**Request by
Austrian
Delegation
for Copy of
Reply to
German Counter
Proposals**

4. Memorandum No. 366 was read giving the text of a letter written by Mr. Samuel Eliot Morison submitting his resignation from the Commission because of the adoption by the United States of a Russian Policy fundamentally opposed to his conception of what was practical toward Russia as

**Resignation
of Mr.
Morison**

a whole and what was just toward the Baltic States and with which he had been especially charged.⁹⁸ The Commissioners requested that Mr. Grew merely acknowledge the letter in question and state that the Commissioners accepted Mr. Morison's resignation.

5. Memorandum No. 367 was read inquiring whether the Commissioners would authorize Mr. Halstead, the representative of the Commission in Vienna, to hire an automobile in that city, the cost of which would be about \$25.00 a day, which would be paid from the funds at the disposal of Mr. Halstead's Mission. The Commissioners approved of Mr. Halstead making the expenditure in question.

**Automobile
for Amer.
Commission
in Austria**

6. Memorandum No. 368 was read quoting a letter from Prof. Westermann recommending that Mr. Samuel Edelman be assigned to the Commission to assist in the Near Eastern Division and to act as a Liaison Officer with the Turkish Delegation in France. The Commissioners agreed that under present circumstances it would not be necessary to have Mr. Edelman assigned to the Commission in view of the fact that he was not well equipped to act as a Liaison Officer with the Turkish Mission and that his services did not appear to be essential in the Near Eastern Division.

**Request for
Assignment
of Mr. Samuel
Edelman**

7. Memorandum No. 369 was read with regard to the employment of Miss Wilson by the Commission to assist Lieut. Burden in compiling all the important decisions reached by the Council of Four, the Council of Five and the Council of Ten. The Commissioners approved entirely of the employment of Miss Wilson under the conditions indicated in the memorandum referred to.

**Assignment of
Miss Wilson**

8. Memorandum No. 370 was read quoting a memorandum from Capt. Newton to the effect that Prof. Lord advised that the services of 2nd Lieut. Adolph A. Berle, G. S., could be dispensed with after June 21st, 1919. The Commissioners felt that, in view of the valuable services being rendered by Lieut. Berle, it would be inadvisable for them to approve of this release at any specified date at the present moment.

**Request for
Release of
Lieut. Berle**

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/90

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, June 17, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GEN. BLISS

⁹⁸ For text of Mr. Morison's letter, see p. 591.

1. Mr. Herter read a letter addressed by the President to Mr. Lansing, suggesting that Colonel Greene, Mr. Homer Johnson, and Mr. Morgenthau would constitute a well-balanced group to form an American Commission to investigate the alleged Jewish Pogroms in Poland, and requesting that if Mr. Lansing and his colleagues approved, these gentlemen be asked if they are willing to go. The Commissioners approved the suggestion made by the President, and requested that Mr. Grew be kind enough to write to the three gentlemen in question, on their behalf, stating that the President and the other members of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace would very much like to have them go.

Commission To Investigate Pogroms in Poland

2. Memorandum No. 371 was read, quoting a letter from Brigadier-General C. H. McKinstry, U. S. A., informing the Commission that a certain Major Baird who was under orders to return to the United States as a casual officer, was willing to remain in France and, because of his marked administrative ability, undoubtedly would be of use in connection with some of the Commissions to be appointed under the Peace Treaties. The Commissioners agreed that without having a specified job to offer Major Baird, they could not ask for his retention in France. They, therefore, felt that he had better return to the United States and be summoned back to France at a later date if his services were then required.

Regarding Assignment of Major Baird

3. Memorandum No. 372 was read, in which Admiral Knapp requested that Lieutenant-Commander Capeheart be attached to the Commission to assist Admiral Knapp in his work. The Commission approved of having Lieutenant-Commander Capeheart attached to the Commission for duty with Admiral Knapp.

Assignment of Lieutenant-Commander Capeheart

4. Memorandum No. 373 was read, enclosing a suggested telegram to the Department of State, in Washington, regarding the formation of a British Chamber of Commerce at Cologne, Germany. The Commissioners approved of the suggested telegram in question, with the exception of the last paragraph, which they felt should be completely omitted. In this connection, they stated that it was not a matter for the Peace Commission to recommend any action upon.

British Chamber of Commerce at Cologne

5. Memorandum No. 374 was read, inquiring whether the Commissioners had any objection to the contemplated visit to Germany of Mr. Hoyt S. Gale, geologist in the U. S. Geological Survey, who had come to Europe to investigate the sources of potash in Europe and the prospect of supplies for the United States. The Commissioners stated that they had no objection to Mr. Gale going to Germany, but that they would be unable to render him any particular assistance for his trip, since

Visit to Germany by Mr. Hoyt S. Gale

the whole question of his journey had absolutely nothing to do with the Peace Commission.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/91

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, June 18, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GEN. BLISS

MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 375 was read with regard to certain expenses which had already been incurred by the American Representative of the Inter-Allied Trade Commission in Vienna.

Expenses of
Inter-Allied
Trade Com.
in Vienna

These expenses had been paid for from the allotment assigned to Prof. Coolidge for his Mission on the understanding that they would later be refunded by the War Trade Board. It having been found, however, that owing to difficulty of accounting, the War Trade Board was unable to reimburse the Mission for these funds, Mr. McCormick inquired whether the Commissioners would approve of having the Commission definitely bear this expense. The Commissioners agreed that, inasmuch as the funds had already been expended and would in any case, if returned after July 1st, 1919, be unavailable to the Commission, there would be no necessity of their being refunded by the War Trade Board.

In regard to Mr. McCormick's statement that he believed that it was important that the Military Detachment connected with the Inter-Allied Trade Commission at Vienna should continue its duties on the Austrian Frontier, the Commissioners agreed, provided this Detachment be withdrawn immediately upon the signature of Peace with Germany.

2. Mr. Herter read a telegram from the Department of State in regard to the application of passports for Paris made by Messrs. John A. Murphy and Lilburns Trigg. The Commissioners requested that this telegram be answered in a sense that they had no objection to these two gentlemen coming to Paris, and approved of letting them come if they so desired.

Application
for Passports
for Messrs.
Murphy &
Trigg

3. Memorandum No. 376 ^{98a} was submitted by Lieut. A. A. Berle, Jr., requesting that the Commissioners reconsider their previous decision

^{98a} *Post*, p. 591.

whereby they did not approve of Lieut. Berle's present release from the Commission. The Commissioners discussed this matter at some length, but felt that they could not approve of Lieut. Berle's release at the present time, unless he could not be persuaded to stay. They requested Mr. Herter to speak to Lieut. Berle and explain to him the reasons for which they desired to continue his services with the Commission, and report the result of this interview.

Request of
Lt. Berle
for Release
From Duties

4. Memorandum No. 377 was read respecting a telegram from the Department of State with regard to the retention of the services by the Department of Mr. Arthur Wood DuBois, formerly on the Inter-Allied Commission for the control of Teschen. The Commissioners agreed that it would be well to continue the services of Mr. DuBois in German Austria, but that if he were employed in this capacity he would probably have to be subordinated to Mr. Halstead who has already replaced Prof. Coolidge.

Retention of
Services of
Mr. DuBois

5. Mr. Herter took up again the question of the release of Dr. Day and Dr. Seymour from the Commission. The Commissioners on reconsidering this matter, felt it would be highly advisable to have these two gentlemen stay with the Commission if it were possible to persuade them to do so. They, therefore, requested that both Dr. Day and Dr. Seymour come if possible to the next meeting of the Commissioners to discuss with them the possibility of remaining with the Commission.

Release of
Drs. Day and
Seymour

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/92

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, June 19, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GEN. BLISS

1. Memorandum No. 378 was read regarding a suggestion made by Colonel Peyton that it would undoubtedly add to the contentment of the men of the Headquarters Battalion if 1,000 francs would be allotted by the Commission to the Battalion Mess Fund. The Commissioners approved of this allotment provided it could be properly be *sic* made from the funds of the Commission.

Allotment
for Mess
Fund of
Headquarters
Bn.

2. Memorandum No. 379 was read with regard to allowing Mr. Chauncey D. Snow, Commercial Attaché of the American Embassy in Paris, to receive a copy of the confidential report made by the Commission under General McKinstry on the damage done in the devastated regions. The Commissioners agreed that this was entirely a confidential report on a subject which, at the present time, was not of direct concern of the Department of Commerce, and it should therefore not be given to Mr. Snow.

**Request for
Report on
Devastated
Regions**

3. Memorandum No. 380 was read with regard to the expenses of Mr. Halstead's Mission in Vienna. The Commissioners approved of Mr. Halstead's suggestion that a per diem allowance be given to the members of his Commission, both military and civilian, and requested that the amount of this allowance be left at the discretion of Mr. Halstead.

**Per Diem
Allowance
to Members
of Mission
in Vienna**

4. Memorandum No. 381 was read, calling attention to a telegram recently received from Mr. Gompers in regard to the Labor Clauses incorporated in the Treaty of Peace and inquiring whether the Commissioners desired to take any action on it. The Commissioners felt that as it had already been sent to the President, and inasmuch as it appeared that Mr. Grew was taking all the steps necessary in the premises, no action on their part was required.

**Labor Clauses:
Telegram From
Mr. Gompers**

5. Mr. Herter read a Memorandum prepared by Mr. John Foster Dulles addressed to Mr. Lansing. The Commissioners were very glad to have the whole question of the assignment of personnel to continue the necessary negotiations of a Financial and Economic nature called to their attention, but felt that before reaching any definite conclusions, they should consult Messrs. Davis, Baruch, McCormick and Lamont in the premises. They therefore requested that, if possible, these gentlemen be so kind as to attend the first meeting of the Commissioners after their return from Brussels.

**Personnel To
Continue the
Necessary
Negotiations
on Financial
and Economic
Questions**

6. A memorandum, addressed by Mr. Patchin to Mr. Grew, in regard to the present status of the personnel of the Commission, was read to the Commissioners. They approved of the action already taken by Mr. Patchin, but stated they would be unable to give him any information as to how much of the Commission personnel should be kept in Paris if the Germans sign the Treaty, until Monday or Tuesday of the following week.

**Present Status
of Personnel
of the Com-
mission**

7. Memorandum No. 382 was read, with regard to the release from the Commission of Professor W. L. Westermann and Mr. David Magie.

The Commissioners requested, before considering this matter further, to be given certain additional information in regard to the memorandum submitted by Professor Westermann. In the first place they inquired upon what information Mr. Westermann based his statement to the effect that "as it now appears, the United States will not be a signatory to the Treaty with Turkey." In the second place, they desire to know who Mr. L. H. Gray was and what previous experience he had had in Near Eastern Affairs.

Release of
Prof. Westermann
and
Mr. Magie

8. Memorandum No. 383 was read with regard to the appointment of Major Tyler, to succeed Dr. Morison as the American representative on the Baltic Commission. The Commissioners approved highly of Major Tyler's assignment as indicated.

Appointment
of Major Tyler
to Baltic
Commission

9. Memorandum No. 384 was read, with regard to a suggested reply to the American Commissioner at Helsingfors, respecting the use of American foodstuffs for military purposes rather than for civilian purposes. The Commissioners expressed their absolute and complete disapproval of the suggested telegram and requested that absolutely no action be taken in this matter until Major Devereux had arrived in Paris and had had a change to report. They desired to be informed immediately upon Major Devereux's arrival in Paris.

Use of American
Foodstuffs
in Finland

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/93

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, June 21, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS

[1.] Mr. Herter read a memorandum from Mr. Grew in regard to a photograph of the Commissioners and the heads of Departments for the historical records of the Commission. The Commissioners decided that they would be glad to have their photographs taken with the heads of the Departments of the Commission on Monday, June 23, at 11 a. m., provided Mr. Grew could have the arrangements made for that date and time.

Photograph of
Commissioners
and Heads of
Departments

2. The Commissioners considered very briefly the dissatisfaction of certain of the enlisted personnel now attached to the Commission.

Military Personnel for Further Duty With the Commission

General Bliss suggested that, as of possible immediate assistance, it might be advisable to ascertain if there are any men belonging to the Guard Detachment, which is returning to the United States with the President, who would volunteer to work with the Commission for a short time longer. If any men volunteered, their places could be taken in the Guard Detachment by enlisted men on the Commission who have the most urgent reasons for returning. They therefore requested that Mr. Grew ascertain if this can be done at the earliest possible moment.

3. Mr. Herter read a letter from the Japanese Secretary-General, in regard to securing accommodations on a United States transport

Request for Transportation for Japanese Couriers

for Japanese couriers immediately upon the signature of Peace. The Commissioners suggested that Mr. Grew communicate at once with the competent official in the S. O. S. forwarding to him a copy of the request from the Japanese Delegation and suggesting that, if he could comply with this request, the Commissioners would be very grateful and that the Commissioners likewise very much hope that he will be able to arrange it. The Commissioners also suggested that it would be well to send that official the name and address of the Japanese Secretary-General, so that he could communicate with him directly.

4. Memorandum No. 385 was read, with regard to payment of a certain salary to Dr. H. H. Field for the services which he rendered to the Commission from January 15th to May 1st.

Salary of Dr. H. H. Field

The Commissioners agreed that, in view of the many services rendered by Dr. Field, the recommended salary was really too small. They therefore suggested that he be paid at the rate of approximately \$400.00 per month, or a lump sum of \$1400.00.

5. Memorandum No. 386 was read, to which was appended a letter from Messrs. Walsh and Dunne, asking certain specific questions from the Commissioners as to what had been done in regard

Irish Question

to Irish-American affairs. The Commissioners requested that Mr. Grew reply to those gentlemen, embodying approximately the following ideas: "As you have already been informed by the Secretary-General of the Commission, a copy of the Senate Resolution was forwarded to the President of the Peace Conference, Mr. Clemenceau, who alone is competent to bring this whole question to the attention of the Peace Conference. Beyond this neither the American Commission to Negotiate Peace as a Body nor any of its individual members can take any further steps in the premises."

6. Memorandum No. 387 was read, appending a letter from Messrs. Walsh and Dunne, together with copy of a letter which these two gentlemen had addressed to Mr. Lloyd George relative to the case of Countess Markievicz. The Commissioners felt that no reply was necessary.

Letter From
Messrs. Walsh
and Dunne Re-
garding Letter
to Mr. Lloyd
George on Case
of Countess
Markievicz

7. Memorandum No. 388 was read, regarding a request made by Senator Hollis that Mr. Homer Johnson be excused from serving on the Poland Commission on account of his duties with the Liquidation Commission. The Commissioners noted in particular Senator Hollis' statement to the effect "I feel that other men are available who will do the Polish job sufficiently well, but I am convinced that a new man could not come into the Liquidation Commission at the present time and do justice to its undertaking." They requested that Mr. Grew write Senator Hollis and inquire from him whether he had in mind any other men who were available in Europe and who could do the Polish job sufficiently well, since they would be very glad to have suggestions of this nature.

Personnel for
Commission
To Investi-
gate Pogroms
in Poland

8. Memorandum No. 389 was read, signed by Professor Coolidge, Mr. Dulles and Dr. Seymour, suggesting that a Commission be appointed to study the question of altering the Austrian-Hungarian boundary in favor of German-Austria. The Commissioners requested that this whole matter be embodied in a letter to the President for their signature, attaching a memorandum giving the facts in the case, but that this letter indicate that the suggestion for the establishment of such a Commission comes from them rather than from Messrs. Coolidge, Dulles and Seymour. They felt that in this way perhaps the recommendation would carry more weight.

Commission To
Study Question
of Altering
the Austrian-
Hungarian
Boundary

9. Memorandum No. 390, regarding the release of Captain Stuart Montgomery from further duty with the Commission, was read and approved.

Release of
Captain
Montgomery

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/94

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, June 23, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 391 was read, submitting a request by Mr. Ray Stannard Baker that he be permitted to return to the United States with the President. The Commissioners stated that they had no objection to Mr. Baker's returning to the United States with the President, provided Mr. Sweetser was to remain in charge of the Press Section of the Commission.

Release of
Mr. Baker

2. Memorandum No. 392 was read, recommending that Prof. Archibald Cary Coolidge be designated as the American member of the Committee of Five appointed by the Peace Conference to consider the Austrian Notes and counter-proposals in regard to the geographical frontiers of Austria. The Commissioners approved highly of Prof. Coolidge's appointment to this Committee.

Assignment of
Prof. Coolidge

3. Memorandum No. 393 was read with regard to the request made by Dr. W. L. Westermann and Mr. David Magie, to be relieved from the Commission. The Commissioners, though with regret, decided that, in view of the arguments presented by Messrs. Westermann and Magie, they could no longer urge these gentlemen to remain with the Commission. Their release was therefore approved.

Release of
Messrs.
Westermann
and Magie

4. Mr. Herter inquired whether the Commissioners would agree to his release from the Commission in about ten days' time or as soon as he was able to get accommodations back to the United States. Mr. Herter urged personal reasons for desiring to return. The Commissioners approved of Mr. Herter's release within the time indicated.

Release of
Mr. Herter

5. Mr. Herter inquired whether the Commissioners would consider Lieut. A. A. Berle's release from the Commission in accordance with the request made by Dr. Lord on behalf of that officer a few days previous. The Commissioners agreed that, all things considered, they would be willing to approve Lieut. Berle's request for release.

Release of
Lieut. Berle

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/95

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, June 24th, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Mr. Patchin, regarding the discontinuance of the service of the Committee on Public

Information by June 30th. Mr. Patchin outlined the services which that Committee had been rendering in the distribution of Presidential messages, etc. etc. and inquired whether, in the interests of the Peace Commission, these services should not be continued. The Commissioners felt that they would be willing to pay the expenses of the New York and Paris offices of the Committee for a short time longer, if Mr. Patchin could persuade the various officials to continue with their work. But at the same time they desired very much to discuss with Mr. Patchin just what functions of the Committee it would be important to maintain in the near future.

Service of
the Committee
on Public
Information

2. Mr. Herter inquired whether the Commissioners desired to have the service of the Bureau of Current Intelligence Summaries continued, in view of the fact that much of its personnel had already been depleted and the information which it is now gathering was, in his opinion, not of special importance to warrant its continuation. The Commissioners agreed that it would be well to disband this Bureau as soon as possible and release all the personnel attached thereto.

Discontinuance
of Bureau of
Current In-
telligence
Summaries

3. Memorandum No. 394 was read, indicating that Dr. Chas. Seymour no longer required the services of Capt. Lester W. Perrin after June 26th, and inquiring whether Capt. Perrin could be released. The Commissioners agreed that they would be willing to release Captain Perrin provided Professor Coolidge or Mr. Johnson, who will be handling Austrian and Hungarian affairs after Dr. Seymour's departure, approve thereof.

Release of
Capt. Perrin

4. Memorandum No. 395 was read, in which Mr. Patchin requested an expression of opinion regarding the advisability of sending out telegraphic communications between the Chateau at Versailles and the Department of State in Washington, over which official despatches might be sent at the time of the signing of the Peace Treaty. The Commissioners approved entirely of having the final arrangements made for completing the telegraphic circuit in question.

Telegraphic
Communication
From Versailles
to Washington

5. Memorandum No. 396 was read, with regard to the assignment of 2nd Lieut. Russell C. Crouse to the Commission for work in Dr. Lord's office. The Commissioners approved of Lieut. Crouse's assignment for the purpose indicated.

Assignment of
Lieut. Crouse

6. Memorandum No. 397 was read, quoting the text of a letter received from the office of Mr. Hoover, regarding the desire of Professor E. D. Adams, of Stanford University, to have the privilege of reading, and, wherever possible, securing copies of documents of interest relating to the Peace Conference, in order to prepare a collection of historical data for Stanford University on the

Request for
Copies of
Documents,
etc. Con-
cerning Peace
Conference

activities of the war and of peace. The Commissioners agreed that it would not be advisable to allow Prof. Adams to have access to the documents of the Peace Commission at the present time and suggested that he be informed that if he so desired, he should apply for any material of this nature to the State Department in Washington.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/96

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, June 25, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GEN. BLISS

MR. HERTER

1. Mr. Herter inquired whether, in the group photograph of the Commission which was [to be?] taken at 2:15 on the same day, the Commissioners would be willing to have the members of the various departments of the Commission present, or only the heads of those departments. The Commissioners agreed that all persons attached to the Commission who had been actively engaged in assisting with the work of the Treaty, etc., should be present too.

**Photograph
Members of
Commission**

2. Mr. Herter stated that Mr. Grew had recently been overwhelmed with requests from persons having no direct connection with the Commission to be permitted to attend the session of the Conference when the Treaty with Germany would be signed, and that Mr. Grew had been greatly embarrassed to know how to answer these requests. The Commissioners agreed that no reply whatever should be made to any applicant, but that his name should be taken by Mr. Grew and should be submitted in a list to the Commissioners for definite approval.

**Requests for
Permission
To Attend
Signing of
Peace Treaty**

3. Memorandum No. 398 was read in which Dr. Shotwell requested that Captain Gilchrist be placed in charge of the Library and given the title of Librarian, in Dr. Shotwell's place. The Commissioners approved entirely of having Captain Gilchrist given the title of Librarian, and likewise desired that an expression of their appreciation for his good service be conveyed to him.

**Appointment
of Captain
Gilchrist as
Librarian**

4. Memorandum No. 399 was read in regard to the demobilization of Sgt. C. J. Gersbach, who had been working for Lieut. Noble in the

Demobilization
of Sgt. C. J.
Gersbach

French Political Intelligence Department. The Commissioners approved entirely of the Commission's assisting Sgt. Gersbach in taking such steps as might be necessary to secure his demobilization, and likewise felt that if his retention with the Commission was desired, after demobilization, suitable compensation should be given him.

5. Memorandum No. 400 was read, stating that Capt. Chenay, who had been in charge of the files of the Commission, desired to have his wife join him in Paris. The Commissioners approved of the State Department's being requested to issue a passport to Mrs. Chenay, subject to the approval of the Army authorities.

Passport for
Mrs. A. A.
Chenay

6. Memorandum No. 401 was read in regard to the retention of a Military Detachment to police the Austrian customs control of exports into Germany and Hungary, even after the signature of Peace with Germany. The Commissioners stated that the Commission would be willing to pay the expenses of this Military Detachment until the signing of Peace with Austria.

Military De-
tachment for
Austrian
Customs
Control

7. Memorandum No. 402 was read with regard to the request made by Dr. J. T. Shotwell that he be released from duty with the Commission on July 1st. In view of the arguments submitted by Dr. Shotwell, the Commissioners approved of his request to be relieved on the date indicated.

Release of
Dr. J. T.
Shotwell

In this connection the Commissioners requested that letters of appreciation be drafted for the signature of the four Commissioners at the Hotel Crillon, to be sent to all departing members of the Commission who had assisted materially in shaping the Treaty of Peace, and that similar letters be likewise sent to those individuals who had already departed.

8. Mr. Herter informed the Commissioners that Mr. Garrett, the American Minister at the Hague, was extremely anxious that some arrangements be made whereby certain Dutch newspaper men be allowed to visit the Western front, under the guidance of American officers. The Commissioners felt that this was not a matter for the Peace Commission to consider, but that Mr. Garrett should make his recommendations in the premises to the Embassy for such action as Mr. Wallace considered appropriate.

Permission for
Dutch News-
paper Men To
Visit Battle-
front

9. Mr. Herter brought to the Commissioners' attention the fact that Mr. Charles B. Dyar, who for some time past had been in Berlin on behalf of the Peace Commission and who had been sending in very valuable reports on German political information, would shortly be obliged to leave Berlin, since he was under the orders of General Harries, and

Retention of
Mr. Dyar in
Berlin

since General Harries, together with his entire staff, would be obliged to leave Germany immediately upon the signature of Peace. The Commissioners agreed that it would be extremely advisable for Mr. Dyar to remain in Berlin and continue his service with the Commission, if it were possible to make the necessary arrangements. They, therefore, requested that Mr. Dresel ascertain at once whether adequate Courier service could be established for Mr. Dyar and whether, if a code from the Commission was sent to Mr. Dyar, the German authorities would give him the privilege of using this code even after the signature of Peace.

10. Memorandum No. 403 was read, indicating that the President, through lack of time on his own part, believed that it would be advisable if Mr. Lansing and his colleagues could receive the Ukrainian Delegation, Messrs. Margolin, Schulgin, and Paneiko, who are at present in Paris. The Commissioners agreed that they would be glad to receive the Ukrainian delegates in question and fixed Friday, June 27th, at 10:45 a. m. as the time and date upon which they would receive them. They desired, however, that it be made [known?] to the Ukrainian Delegates that there was just a possibility of the Commissioners not being able to meet them at the time indicated, because of unforeseen eventualities; but, in that case, they would certainly see them in the coming week.

11. Memorandum No. 404 was read, with regard to the release of Professor Coolidge and Mr. Franklin E. Parker from the Commission. The Commissioners approved of Professor Coolidge's engaging passage for the United States at a date not earlier than August 4th, and stated that they were certain that they could approve of his release at that time unless something absolutely unforeseen should come up in the interim.

12. Mr. Herter read a memorandum from Professor Douglas Johnson in regard to the matter of the latter's release from service with the Commission. The Commissioners considered very carefully the conditions upon which Professor Johnson stated he would be willing to stay with the Commission, and while agreeing entirely with the reasonableness of his requests, were not quite certain as to whether they were practical of fulfillment. They, therefore, requested Mr. White to consult with Mr. McNeir about this matter and to ascertain whether or not arrangements satisfactory to Professor Johnson could be made.

**Ukrainian
Delegation**

**Release of
Professor
Coolidge and
Mr. Franklin
E. Parker**

**Request of
Professor
Douglas
Johnson for
Release**

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/97

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, June 26th, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

[1.] Memorandums No. 405 and 406 were read, regarding the release of Lieutenants R. C. Foster and J. A. Adams. The Commissioners approved of the release of these officers.

Release of
Lts. Foster
& Adams

2. Memorandum No. 407, regarding the release of Ensign James from duty with the Commission, was read and approved by the Commissioners.

Release of
Ensign James

3. Memorandum No. 408 was read, regarding the request of Dr. R. H. Lord to be released from the Commission on or about July 19th. The Commissioners approved of Dr. Lord's engaging passage for the United States not earlier than July 19th, and stated that they were certain they could approve of his release at that time, unless something absolutely unforeseen should come up in the interim.

Release of
Dr. Lord

4. A memorandum prepared by Mr. Patchin was read, with reference to General Bliss' suggestion made at a meeting of the Commissioners on June 21st, in regard to members of the Guard Company who might volunteer to stay on duty with the Commission, and whose places could be taken by men who desired to return home for urgent reasons. The Commissioners noted the memorandum in question.

Volunteers
From Guard
Company for
Further Duty
With the
Commission

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/98

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, June 27th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 409 was read, regarding an interview between Dr. Ussher and Damad Ferid Pacha. The Commissioners approved of Dr. Ussher's having the interview, provided the proper arrangements could be made therefor.

**Dr. Ussher's
Interview
With Damad
Ferid Pacha**

2. Memorandum No. 410, quoting a memorandum from Brigadier-General C. H. McKinstry, U. S. A., requesting that he be released from the Commission as soon as practical, in order to return to the United States. The Commissioners agreed that they would approve of General McKinstry's release from the Commission on or about July 15th.

**Release of
Brig. Gen. C.
H. McKinstry**

3. Mr. Herter read a memorandum addressed to Mr. Lansing by Mr. Mills, the secretary to Mr. Vance C. McCormick, with respect to the latter's returning to the United States and taking with him as his personal property copies of the Minutes of the meetings of the Council of Ten and the Council of Five which had been sent to his office for official use. The Commissioners agreed that there would be no objection to Mr. McCormick's retaining the documents in question.

**Request of Mr.
McCormick for
Copies of
Minutes**

4. Memorandum No. 411 was read, inquiring whether the Commissioners were willing to appoint immediately an American representative on the International Schleswig Commission, and whether they desired that instructions be sent to the American Ministers in Stockholm and Christiania, to urge the Swedish and Norwegian governments respectively to likewise appoint members on the International Schleswig Commission.

**American Repre-
sentative on
the International
Schleswig
Commission**

The Commissioners referred to General Bliss the matter of suggesting the name of an Army officer who would be properly qualified to serve on the International Schleswig Commission, and, at the same time, stated that they approved of having instructions, as indicated, sent to the American Ministers in Stockholm and Christiania.

In connection with the above, the Commissioners requested that letters be drafted for Mr. Lansing's signature to Messrs. Pichon, Balfour, and, if necessary, Tittoni, stating that the United States favored strongly the appointment of a neutral chairman on the International Schleswig Commission.

5. The Commissioners discussed the question of the appointment of an arbitrator or arbitrators, as provided by Article 339 in the Treaty of Peace, provisionally to study the questions connected with the cession and distribution of river craft on the Danube, pending the ratification of the Treaty of Peace. The matter was referred to Admiral Knapp with the request that he suggest, if possible, the name of some Naval officer who would be properly qualified to undertake this work.

**Appointment
of an Arbi-
trator for
Danube
River Craft**

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/99

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, June 30, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

MR. HERTER

[1.] Memorandum No. 412 was read, in which Mr. Pierrepont Noyes, the American Commissioner on the Rhineland Commission, requested the opinion of the Commissioners as to the stand he should take after the withdrawal of the American Army of Occupation in regard to a possible Rhineland rebellion or revolution. Mr. Lansing stated that he had spoken to Mr. Noyes about this matter on the previous day and that he had at that time told him that he should discourage any change in the civil situation in the Rhineland provinces under occupation. An armistice leaves matters, particularly of a civil character, *in statu quo*, and it is the duty of the occupying authorities to maintain it. The Commissioners agreed entirely with Mr. Lansing's statement of the case, but added that if, in the future, any radical change should take place in Germany, that is, in Germany east of the Rhine, it would then be advisable for Mr. Noyes to again request instructions from the Commissioners on the attitude which he should adopt.

2. Memorandum No. 413 was read with regard to the vacancies in the Hotel Crillon left by the departure of the President's party from Paris. The Commissioners agreed that these vacancies should be filled in accordance with the suggestions made in this memorandum. The Secretary-General could use his discretion in determining which class should have preference.

Attitude of
American Com-
missioner on
the Rhineland
Commission

Vacancies in
the Hotel
Crillon

3. Memorandum No. 414 was read, recommending that the American Commissioners urge that the committee appointed by the Supreme Council to deal with the Austrian Notes and Counter Proposals, be directed to hold at least one conference with the Austrian Delegates, at which oral discussions should take place. The Commissioners agreed with the recommendations in this memorandum and requested that a letter be prepared to the Secretary-General, urging that such a conference with the Austrian delegates be arranged for.

Oral Dis-
cussions
With Austrian
Delegates

4. Memorandum No. 415 was read, recommending that Prof. A. C. Coolidge be formally appointed to the Czecho-Slovak Committee, the

**Appointment
of Prof.
Coolidge to
Committees**

Roumanian and Jugo-Slav Committee, and the Greek and Albanian Committee, as the successor to Doctors Day and Seymour. The Commissioners approved of these appointments being made, and requested that the Secretary-General of the Peace Conference be notified accordingly.

5. Memorandum No. 416 was read, in which Mr. Baruch submitted the names of three members of the Interallied Rhineland Commission who desired to have passports issued to their wives to join them in Europe. These members were Messrs. Pierrepont B. Noyes, H. T. Noyes and Wallace H. Day. The Commissioners approved entirely of the issuance by the State Department of passports to the above named members of the Interallied Rhineland Commission.

**Passports for
Messrs. P. B.
Noyes, H. T.
Noyes and
Wallace H.
Day**

6. Mr. Herter read a memorandum from Mr. Bernard M. Baruch in regard to the salary and expenses of Mr. Fred K. Nielsen, who consented to remain with the Commission and who could no longer be paid from the funds allotted to Mr. Baruch for his own office forces. The Commissioners approved entirely of having Mr. Nielsen given the same salary by the Commission as was formerly given him by Mr. Baruch, as well as his expenses.

**Salary and
Expenses of
Mr. F. K.
Nielsen**

7. Mr. Herter brought up the question of having an American representative appointed immediately on the commission set up by the Supreme Council to inquire how far steps have already been taken by the Allied and Associated Powers to carry out the various provisions of the Treaty of Peace with Germany and to make recommendations as to such further measures as should be adopted for this purpose.

The Commissioners agreed that Mr. John Foster Dulles would be best qualified to represent the United States on this Commission, and, accordingly, requested that Mr. Grew notify both Mr. Dulles and the Secretariat-General of the Peace Conference of this appointment.

8. Mr. Herter read a letter from Rear-Admiral H. S. Knapp, enclosing a copy of an urgent cablegram received from his London office, regarding conditions at Libau and Riga. The Commissioners noted the letter and accompanying cablegram with interest.

**Conditions
at Libau
and Riga**

9. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Mr. Norman H. Davis for the information of the Commissioners, as to the status of questions with which he has been dealing. The Commissioners noted the contents of the report with interest.

**Report of
Mr. Norman
H. Davis**

[10.] Mr. Margolin, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of The Ukraine under Petliura; Mr. Paneiko, representing the Ukrainians of Galicia, and an interpreter entered the meeting.

Ukrainian
Delegation

Both Messrs. Margolin and Paneiko spoke in Russian and their remarks were translated by an interpreter.

Mr. Paneiko spoke first on behalf of the Ukrainians of Galicia. He emphasized the fact that for 600 years his people had been trying to gain their freedom. In particular the domination of the Poles in Eastern Galicia had been very irksome to them. They were very much worried at learning that a large part of the territory in which they lived was now to be subjected by the Peace Conference to Polish rule, and this anxiety was increased by the many stories of maltreatment of their fellow-citizens which they had recently been receiving. Nevertheless, they were willing to accept the decision of the Peace Conference in the hope that the Polish occupation would only be temporary and that this whole question would later be reconsidered by the League of Nations.

The territory from which he came, Mr. Paneiko said, had in late years experienced five different occupations. The people craved for peace and the permission to pursue their lives in quiet. The Poles would not be able to keep this peace, there would always be sporadic revolts. On behalf of his people he requested that an impartial judge or tribunal be established upon the territory to judge impartially of the conditions and to decide the ultimate fate of the people. An Englishman or an American would be most welcome.

Mr. Margolin then spoke on behalf of the Ukraine as a whole. He said that he had come to ask for assistance—assistance of three kinds, moral, technical and economic. He would prelude his request for moral assistance by stating that the former Russia no longer existed. It had been divided up into several parts, each one of which had established its own government. At the moment, excluding Siberia and Great Russia, there were twelve such separate sections. All the governments in these sections have as their fundamental idea the preservation of law and order and were against Bolshevism. The only rational way of treating these people would be to recognize them all provisionally as *de facto* governments until a Democratic Constituent [Assembly?] could be called. It would be very possible that when these various Constituents were called, they would all elect to participate in a Federalized Russia.

He went on to say that it was very difficult for his people to acknowledge that either Koltchak or Denekin had the authority to speak for all of Russia, including The Ukraine, instead of for only those parts which they controlled. Denekin and Koltchak had received aid and a practical recognition from the Allied and Associated Governments in their fight against Bolshevism. Why could not The Ukraine be

given similar assistance? The only real outstanding political difference between the two was that while Koltchak had pledged himself to creating a General Constituent Assembly for the whole of Russia, The Ukraine desired local Constituent Assemblies, which would really represent the wishes of the various peoples. For instance, if Koltchak should call a Great Assembly, the Ukrainians would not send delegates to it, because they would know beforehand that they would be in the minority and that their interests would be sacrificed to the interests of the Great Russians.

In regard to technical assistance, Mr. Margolin stated that he wished very much to have American technical help in the development of his country. Possibly an American mission could be sent which would not only go to Galicia but to Odessa and the rest of The Ukraine. Some five weeks ago a French mission had been promised for Eastern Galicia, but it never materialized. Unless some mission of officers with experience, together with equipment and munitions, could be sent in the near future, Mr. Margolin feared that anarchy might result throughout The Ukraine.

Economic assistance was indispensable to The Ukraine, according to Mr. Margolin, where industry had been practically ruined; she was badly in need of foreign capital; her transportation system had completely broken down and she required expert advice and assistance in rebuilding it; whereas she has an excellent river system throughout her territory, she was unable to develop this system because she had not the capital to dam and canalize her great river arteries. She would be only too willing to make concessions to American capitalists or engineers. The French were already looking over the field, but The Ukrainians would welcome Americans ahead of Frenchmen.

At this point Mr. Lansing inquired what future the Ukrainian Delegation felt was in store for their country. Mr. Margolin replied that the idea of federation had been born in The Ukraine and had been fostered there for many years. In fact, The Ukrainians had often desired that the old Russian Empire be reorganized, giving various states within the Empire a certain degree of autonomy within a federalized state. Recently, however, Bolshevism and Bolshevik Russia had killed this idea of federalization. The Ukrainian people could not have federalization imposed upon them from above. It would therefore be much better to begin from below; give the small semi-independent parts provisional recognition and then let their respective Constituent Assemblies decide the greater question of federalization.

Mr. Lansing then inquired whether there was Bolshevik control in The Ukraine or how strong the Bolshevik minority in the Ukraine was at the present moment. Mr. Margolin replied that the Russian and Ukrainian peasants were all naturally conservative and against Bolshevism. Bolshevik bands had, however, invaded the Ukraine

in spots and had completely possessed themselves of certain industrial centers such as Kiev and other cities. It could hardly be said that the Bolshevists were in control of large portions of the country but they had seized a large part of the administrative machinery and thereby were able to maintain a partial control.

Mr. Lansing then inquired if it was not true that The Ukrainians were really working for much the same ends as Koltchak and Denekin. If this were true, why did they not join hands with these leaders and arrange that some system of autonomy be granted to them under their leadership. To this both the Ukrainian delegates replied that they had already spoken to Malakoff, who represented Admiral Koltchak in Paris, but that the latter was rather untractable. He felt that he spoke in the name of all of Russia and was not willing to come to any definite agreement. The question of the Constituent Assemblies made it difficult for them to agree.

Mr. Lansing stated definitely that the United States was not in favor of independence for the Ukrainians but that it was in favor of a single Russia, in which the various portions should have a certain degree of autonomy.

Mr. Margolin replied to this that only a Constituent Assembly called by the Ukrainians could decide this question of federalization. If the Ukrainian delegates had proper guarantees from Admiral Koltchak that their people would be given the proper degree of autonomy, they would be only too glad to join a federalized Russia.

Only in the event that the Ukrainians come to an agreement with Admiral Koltchak, said Mr. Lansing, would it be possible for the United States to give to it proper support in material and technical help. It appeared to him, however, that the Ukrainian delegation was going at the matter entirely wrong; that it should ask for assistance in a different way. As yet the United States had recognized no part of Russia, except the countries which should by rights remain permanently independent, such as Finland and Poland. They could not recognize even provisionally the independence of The Ukraine. If, however, as he had said before, the Ukrainian delegation could make a suitable agreement with Admiral Koltchak, conditions might be different.

Mr. Margolin concluded by stating that he feared that his people would be afraid of Great Russian control unless he made them some very definite promises and that they would likewise never agree to vote for a general Constituent Assembly. He likewise added that his people might very much resent being handed over to the domination of the Poles, Czecho-Slovaks and Roumanians without being consulted. To this Mr. Lansing replied that self-determination would govern the transfer of any Ukrainian from one country to another.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/100

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, July 1, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GEN. BLISS

MR. HERTER

1. The Commissioners approved of having General Edgar Jadwin take the place of Colonel Warwick Greene on the Commission to Poland.

Appointment
of Gen.
Jadwin to
Polish
Commission

Russian
Division of
American
Peace
Commission

2. The Commissioners approved of the creation of a Russian Division, composed in accordance with the following schedule, with the understanding that General Bliss would charge himself with the oversight of all Russian matters dealt with by the Commission and would, accordingly, initial all outgoing correspondence connected therewith:—Secretariat, Mr. Whitehouse; European Russia and Poland, Dr. Lord; Baltic Provinces, Colonel Greene and Major Tyler (A member of Col. Greene's staff at Riga will come to Paris when Col. Greene leaves); Caucasus and Asia Minor, Mr. Buckler; Siberia, Captain Hornbeck and Mr. Marshall.

3. Memorandum No. 417 was read in regard to a request submitted by Mr. Lithgow Osborne to be released from the Commission, in order to return to the United States to apply at the Department of State to be placed *en disponibilité* for a year. The Commissioners approved of Mr. Osborne's release for the purposes indicated.

Release of
Mr. Osborne

4. Memorandum No. 418 was read, stating that Mr. Patchin requested to be relieved from the Commission, on or about July 15th. The Commissioners approved of Mr. Patchin's release at that date.

Release of
Mr. Patchin

5. Memorandum No. 419 was read, stating that Mr. J. G. D. Paul, a member of the Division of Current Diplomatic and Political Correspondence, had applied to be released from the Commission at the end of the current week, in order to enable him to return to the United States. The Commissioners approved of Mr. Paul's release on the date indicated.

Release of
Mr. Paul

6. Memorandum No. 420 was read in regard to the request made by Lieutenant J. H. Smith, Jr. to be relieved from duty with the Commission on or about July 15. The Commissioners stated that they had understood from Mr. Grew that Lt. Smith would replace Mr. Patchin, provided Mr. Patchin's release was approved, and they therefore felt that they

Request of
Lieut. Smith
for Release

would be unable to approve of Lt. Smith's release, unless Mr. Grew could report favorably thereon and explain satisfactorily how the vacancy which would be created by Mr. Patchin's release could properly be filled. In this connection the Commissioners stated that it was the duty of the chief of each bureau to see that his bureau was not depleted in its personnel to such an extent as to harm the work which still has to be done, and that it would be necessary therefore in future to have every request from an applicant for release approved by the chief of the bureau in which that applicant was employed.

7. Memorandum No. 421 was read, quoting a letter dated June 30 from Mr. Auchincloss in regard to the release of the personnel employed in Colonel House's office. The Commissioners felt that they could not release the Naval personnel referred to in Mr. Auchincloss' letter, without the approval of Admiral Knapp, and therefore requested that this matter be referred to him.

In regard to Mr. Shepardson and Mr. Auchincloss, they noted the fact that these gentlemen's resignations had already been accepted. They inquired, however, as to the status of Miss Frances B. Denton. They had been under the impression that she was a personal employee of Col. House's and that therefore there would be no necessity of their approving or disapproving her release from the Commission or having her name removed from the rolls of the Commission. Mr. Frazier's release was approved of, but the Commissioners stated they could take no action in the case of Miss Marcou and Mr. W. S. Byars without first receiving an expression of opinion in the premises from Mr. Grew.

8. Memorandum No. 422 was read, quoting a letter from Messrs. Morgenthau, Johnson and General Edgar Jadwin, requesting an appropriation to cover the expenses of these gentlemen on their trip to Poland, together with authorization to purchase three Cadillac limousines and one Cadillac touring car, together with the necessary equipment and employment of personnel. The Commissioners approved of an initial appropriation of \$10,000 for the expenses of this Commission, as well as the purchase of two Cadillac limousines and one Cadillac touring car, together with the necessary equipment and employment of personnel.

9. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Col. Grant and warmly endorsed by Mr. Grew, recommending the promotion of 1st Lieut. C. G. Burden to the rank of Captain. After a brief discussion, the Commissioners decided to refer this matter to General Bliss for final disposition and to accept any action which he might consider advisable to take in the premises.

Release of
Personnel in
Col. House's
Office

Purchase of
Automobiles for
Commission
to Poland

Question of
Promotion
of Lieut.
C. G. Burden

10. A memorandum addressed by Lieut. R. C. Foster to Mr. Grew, dated June 30, 1919, was read to the Commissioners. In this memorandum Lt. Foster stated that, owing to his experience in Poland he felt under certain obligations to accept Mr. Morgenthau's invitation to accompany him on his visit of investigation of the Jewish question in Poland and that therefore he requested the Commissioners to suspend action on the question of his release and, at the same time, hold up his papers applying for his discharge from the United States Army. The Commissioners approved entirely of Lieut. Foster's remaining with the Commission for duty with the special commission for the investigation of the Jewish question in Poland and likewise his retention in the Army.

**Assignment of
Lieut. Foster
to Commission
Going to
Poland**

11. Memorandum No. 423 from Messrs. Davis, McCormick, Baruch and Lamont, was read, advising the Commissioners that Mr. John Foster Dulles would be in charge of the reparation and financial clauses of the treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey.

**Reparation
and Financial
Clauses in the
Treaties With
Austria, etc.**

12. Memorandum No. 424 was read with regard to certain suggestions made by Captain D. B. Gilchrist, Librarian of the Commission, in regard to the disposition of the Commission Library. The Commissioners felt that it would not be wise to plan to have the Library completely closed up and therefore requested that Capt. Gilchrist leave the library *in statu quo* unless at a later date it should be found advisable to close it down. At the same time, the Commissioners requested that Captain Gilchrist submit a report as to the exact status of the Library, with particular reference to the nature of the material which he had in the library, the source from which this material came, and the funds which provided it. They likewise desire a report from Captain Gilchrist as to a statement made to one of the Commissioners that some of the books in the library had recently been sent to G-2, at Chaumont, when these books had been purchased by money belonging to the Commission and were therefore the property of the Department of State. They felt that if this report were exact, the individual responsible for the transfer of this State Department property to the Army would have to be directly responsible for them and for any loss which might have been incurred.

**Library of
the Com-
mission**

13. Memorandum No. 425 was read, inquiring whether the Commissioners desired to authorize the use of a portion of the funds allotted to the American Section of the International Commission on Mandates in Turkey, for the purchase of motor cars for their use in Constantinople and in Turkey. The Commissioners stated that they had no objection to the purchase of these cars in question by the mem-

**Purchase of
Motor Cars
for Inter-
national
Commission
on Mandates
in Turkey**

bers of the American Section of the Commission on Mandates in Turkey, but requested that should such cars be bought by them, they be turned over to the American officials in Constantinople as soon as they were no longer required by Messrs. King and Crane.

14. Memorandum No. 426 was read in regard to requesting Mr. Dewitt C. Poole, formerly American Consul and Acting Consul General of the U. S. at Archangel to report in Paris for the purpose of meeting the Commissioners. The Commissioners felt that it would be extremely well worth while to have Mr. Poole come to Paris and were extremely anxious to receive from him a first-hand statement in regard to the affairs in the north of Russia. They therefore requested that the State Department be asked to order Mr. Poole to Paris to report to the Commission.

Mr. Dewitt C.
Poole To Re-
port to
Commission in
Paris

15. Memorandum No. 427 was read, in which Mr. Grew suggested that a small committee be designated by the Commissioners to keep them advised of appointments which must be made in accordance with the terms of the Peace Treaty and to submit to them a list of suggested names in each instance. The Commissioners approved highly of Mr. Grew's suggestion and requested that they have presented to them a list of the individuals whom Mr. Grew [considered?] to be properly qualified to serve on such a committee.

Appointment
of Committee
for Suggestion
of Members
for Various
Committees
Under Peace
Treaty

In regard to the appointment of Mr. Grant Smith on the Commission to deal with the Schleswig question, the Commissioners requested that a telegram be drafted to the Department of State to the effect that they consider it highly improper that a member of the American Legation in Denmark should be appointed on such a commission. They likewise desire that the State Department be informed that they were endeavoring to secure a competent army officer with experience in other fields where plebiscites were taking place, to fill this post. They also suggested that the State Department take up with the War Department the question of the assignment of such an officer, at the same time inquiring whether Colonel Solbert, at present American Military attaché in London, could be made available for this purpose.

The meeting adjourned at 11:30 and reconvened at 12 noon. Mr. Hoover, Col. Logan and Mr. Hudson entered the meeting. Mr. Hoover stated that he had come to the Commissioners to discuss the whole Hungarian question in general and the matter of opening up the Danube in particular. The normal functioning of the river trade on the Danube was one of the chief clues to settling the entire Central European problem. This, at the present time, was impossible with Bela Kun in power at Budapest. The time had now come when the Allied and Associated Powers would either have to negotiate with

Bela Kun or else throw him out by force of arms. All of the British and American economic and food relief experts were strongly of the opinion that he should be thrown out. In any case, a decision would have to be taken very urgently, and only the Supreme Council could make such a decision.

Mr. Hoover then read a memorandum prepared by Col. Logan, embodying many facts which have been collected in regard to Bela Kun's activities and the necessity of supplanting his government by some better balanced organization. Mr. Hoover was convinced that the two French divisions at present in the Southeast of Europe were fully capable of accomplishing this act. It would be inopportune to allow either the Czecho-Slovaks, Jugo-Slavs or the Roumanians to invade Hungary, because of the fact that the present Hungarian army contained a very large Nationalist element which had not turned Red and which would resent any occupation which appeared to have an ulterior motive.

The Commissioners agreed that this was a very urgent question and they therefore requested Mr. Hoover to send to them copies of a memorandum embodying his ideas on this subject, which they stated they would then have circulated to the members of the Council of Ten, with a view to having the matter discussed at an early meeting of that Body.

Mr. Hoover then inquired as to the present status of Upper Silesia. He explained that the coal fields in this region constituted the most important source of coal for Central Europe and that unless some stable arrangement were made in that district for the proper allocation of coal to various states interested, there would be constant dissatisfaction in that region. He was convinced that by an informal arrangement between Germany, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, it would be possible for an American coal dictator to be named who would have full control over the allocation of coal from this whole district to the different sections where it was needed. The Commissioners expressed their approval of such an arrangement being effected if possible.

The Commissioners discussed with Mr. Hoover the question of the appointment of an American arbitrator or arbitrators provided for in the Treaty of Peace, to determine the cession and distribution of canal boats, etc. on the Danube, Oder, Elbe, etc. Mr. Hoover explained that this was a very vital problem which required immediate attention and that he, in his capacity as chairman of the Supreme Economic Council or as director of Relief in Europe would be glad to make the appointment of the individual whom the Commissioners might select for this purpose, in order that that individual might familiarize himself with conditions before he could receive his final appointment as arbitrator after the ratification of the treaty. Mr.

Hudson suggested that Mr. Chamberlain, of New York, would be an excellent man for this position owing to the fact that he had made a special study of transportation problems in Europe with particular reference to the Danube. Mr. Hoover suggested that, because of the excellent organization in the navy it might be possible to obtain cooperation between some naval expert and Mr. Chamberlain, but that in any case he would be glad to consult with Admiral Knapp on this point.

The Commissioners discussed the question of an American mandate over Armenia and Constantinople. Mr. Hoover expressed himself as being very adverse to the United States becoming the mandatory power in Armenia alone for the following reasons:

Armenia was the poorhouse of Europe. It was at present overrun with Turks and in order to repatriate the Armenians an equivalent number of Turks would have to be replaced. This would require an army, and an army of at least 50,000 to 100,000 men. . . . Altogether such an undertaking would cost the United States at least \$100,000,000 a year for many years.

In Mesopotamia, however, the situation was very different. This was the richest and most fertile country of Asia Minor and could easily be developed to support an additional population of from 5,000,000 to 10,000,000 people. It would therefore be only fair to the power which took a mandate over Armenia to give it at the same time a mandate over Mesopotamia. The British had, however, spent a great deal of money and shed much blood in order to become the possessors of Mesopotamia, and it would therefore be very difficult to oust them from this country. Accordingly, Mr. Hoover suggested that the British be told that the United States would be glad to take a mandate over Armenia provided they were able to have Mesopotamia at the same time. Or that, vice versa, that if Great Britain wished to maintain a mandate over Mesopotamia, they should at the same time assume the same obligation for Armenia. He was convinced that the British would rather bear the burden of Armenia than run the risk of losing Mesopotamia.

In regard to Constantinople, Mr. Hoover felt that it would be a terrific burden and a public act of charity for the United States to take a mandate over this city, or of the area in which the city would be located. At the present time the city has a population of 2,000,000 people and is entirely without any economic resources or any hinterland. As a port, it serves no purpose except as the gateway to the Black Sea, as a coaling station, and as a home for pilots. Modern conditions of traffic no longer made it necessary for ships even to stop in the port, and that it was inevitable, therefore, that the city should soon be reduced to about 200,000 inhabitants, or else that the 2,000,000 inhab-

itants should be supported as a matter of charity of some Great Power. Mr. Hoover thought that France would be the logical power to receive a mandate over this City because of her future associations which France would undoubtedly have with Russia.

The Commissioners inquired of Mr. Hoover his opinion in regard to the appointment of Mr. John Gade as a civil commissioner to go to the Baltic Provinces as suggested by Mr. Polk. Mr. Hoover thought that this would not be a very advisable appointment and that Colonel Greene was much the best person to act as the American representative in these provinces.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/101

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, July 2, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memoranda Nos. 428, 429 and 430, regarding the political situation in Germany and the status of Mr. Dyar's office, were read and noted by the Commissioners.

2. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Professor Johnson. The Commissioners decided that the following concessions should be made to Professor Johnson:

**Privileges
for Prof.
Johnson**

1) To grant Professor Johnson a vacation of two weeks, without loss of salary, to be taken by him at a time when his services can be best spared.

2) To allow Professor Johnson commutation as a particular favor, in order that he might move from the hotel to other lodgings. In this connection, the Commissioners wished it understood that this was absolutely an exceptional case, and could not be used as a precedent by any other individuals requesting commutation.

3) To authorize Professor Johnson the use of an automobile, as he requested. As in No. 2, this is to be considered as an exceptional favor.

4) To give to Professor Johnson such assistance in the form of stenographic help that he might need.

5) To authorize an increase of \$200.00 per month in Professor Johnson's salary, for the months of July and August.

3. Memorandum No. 431 was read, in regard to a number of informal requests that had been received for space on the Crillon balconies

Space on
Balconies
of Crillon
Hotel on
July 14th,
1919

or in the windows facing 4 Place de la Concorde for July 14th. The Commissioners agreed that only the requests of Americans for such space should be considered. In any case, they desired that Mr. Grew furnish them with a list of applicants in order that they might determine the priority of these requests.

4. Mr. Herter read a letter addressed to Mr. Harrison by Mr. McNeir, requesting that he be relieved from duty with the Commission on or about July 20th, with permission to travel about thirty days before returning to the United States. The Commissioners approved of Mr. McNeir's request. They likewise approved of having the vouchers of Mr. McNeir's office turned over to a guard, for shipment to the United States, at the time of the final closing of the Commission.

Release of
Mr. McNeir

5. Memorandum No. 432 was read, inquiring if the Commissioners approved of having certain questions in regard to the settlement of the Teschen question put upon the agenda of the Council of Five and whether the Commissioners approved of an additional appropriation to Mr. Howe, the American representative on the Inter-Allied Commission for the Control of Teschen, of from \$1,000 to \$2,000. The Commissioners authorized the allotment of from \$1,000 to \$2,000 to Mr. Howe, but felt that they did not wish to pass upon the matter of having the Teschen questions put on the agenda of the Council of Five without first receiving the advice of Professors Johnson and Coolidge on this point.

Inter-Allied
Commission
for Control
of Teschen

6. Memorandum No. 433 was read, suggesting that Dr. Manley O. Hudson be named the American representative on a Committee to Examine and Draft a reply to the Austrian Note of June 23 on the League of Nations. The Commissioners approved of Dr. Hudson's appointment on the committee in question.

Committee on
Reply to
Austrian
Note

7. Colonel Greene, Major Devereux and Major Tyler entered the meeting. Colonel Greene summed up, briefly, for the Commissioners the situation in the Baltic States, and, at the same time, submitted a written report as to conditions in that district as he had found them. He, likewise, made certain recommendations as to the way in which the situation in that district should be treated. After some discussion, it was decided that General Bliss and Colonel Greene should see Mr. Bakmetieff, formerly Russian Ambassador to Washington, as to the best course to pursue in regard to the Baltic states. In this connection, Mr. Lansing again outlined briefly the policy which he felt that the United States should pursue in regard to Russia and the small states bordering on Russia which now desire independence. This policy was substantially

Col. Greene,
Major Devereux,
Major Tyler

the same as that which he outlined to the Ukrainian Delegation two days previously.

The meeting adjourned at 11:30 and re-convened at 12 noon.

Mr. Hoover entered the meeting.

Mr. Hoover stated that he had come to again discuss with the Commissioners the question of relief in Armenia. He stated that he understood that General Harbord was to be sent to Armenia to investigate conditions in that country and to report as to the total number of troops which would be required to repatriate the Armenian population and keep the country in order. To send General Harbord in this capacity, Mr. Hoover felt would be very unwise, and, at the same time, to realize the difficulty of giving to General Harbord an administrative position without supplying him with a great number of troops. At the same time he felt that by sending General Harbord to Armenia, the American Commission would be doing an involuntary piece of propaganda, looking towards the acceptance by the United States of a mandate over that country.

Mr. Hoover then described the work which had been done in Russian Armenia by the Commission of the Far [Near?] East, to assist in relieving hunger and want. . . . In Mr. Hoover's opinion, a single competent official should be sent to Armenia, to whom Mr. Hoover could turn over all the foodstuffs now in that district for distribution and to whom the Commission of the Far East should be required to turn over its funds for relief purposes. Such a person, if invested with proper authority by the Supreme Council in Paris, could become a virtual dictator in that country and could develop a proper and competent administration.

Mr. Hoover read a memorandum which he had prepared in regard to the whole Armenian situation. The Commissioners agreed that the substance of this memorandum should be embodied in any reply that was sent to the telegram which had been received by the Commissioners from a committee, of which Charles E. Hughes was the chairman, and which had asked certain specific questions in regard to Armenia.⁹⁹ Mr. Hoover felt, however, that if this were done, there should be added to this memorandum a statement to the effect that no action should be taken by the United States in Armenia without a complete and very thorough investigation of the geographical boundaries which would be given to this country because of the tremendous economic importance of these boundaries.

The Commissioners decided that Mr. Hoover, with Mr. Morgenthau and Mr. Buckler, should draft an appropriate reply to Mr. Hughes.¹

⁹⁹ For this telegram, see *Foreign Relations*, 1919, vol. II, p. 824.

¹ For the reply as sent, see *ibid.*, p. 825.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/102

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, July 3, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING

MR. WHITE

GEN. BLISS

MR. HERTER

1. General Bliss stated that General Pershing had recommended that the American to be designated on the Schleswig Commission, provided for by the Treaty of Peace, should be General Sladen. The Commissioners agreed this would be a better appointment than Col. Solbert, and requested, therefore, that a telegram be drafted to the Department of State, asking it to take up with the War Department the question as to whether General Sladen would later be available for this post, and, at the same time, stating that the Mission feels that, because of Col. Solbert's association with the Legation at Copenhagen, which the Commissioners had just discovered, he would not be the most suitable person.

General Sladen
for Schleswig
Commission

2. Mr. Herter brought to the attention of the Commissioners four suggestions which the Steering Committee desired to have considered.²

These suggestions were the following:

Suggestions
of Steering
Committee

(a) It being understood that the American representatives are not attending some of the meetings of the Commissions on the subjects relating to the Treaties with Bulgaria and Turkey, the opinion of the Commissioners is desired as to whether our experts should not attend all such meetings and participate fully in the preparatory work for these treaties. If decided that they shall participate in such meetings, we recommend that instructions be issued to that effect.

The Commissioners decided that the American experts on the various commissions should participate fully in all the work aiming toward the preparation of the Treaties with Bulgaria and Turkey, and desired that a circular to that effect be issued to all the members of the Commission who might be affected thereby.

(b) The Steering Committee requests that a memorandum from Professors Day and Coolidge, asking certain questions in regard to the Near-East, be referred to a Special Committee, as a membership for which the following individuals are suggested:

² Concerning the organization of the Steering Committee, see p. 259; for minutes of its meetings, see pp. 453-479.

Dr. Johnson
 Professor Coolidge
 Mr. Buckler
 Mr. Dominian

The Commissioners approved entirely of the formation of this Special Committee, with the exception of Mr. Dominian, whom they felt it would be unnecessary to include.

(c) The following subjects appear to require prompt attention, and as far as the Committee knows, have not been definitely settled:

(1) The appointment of Commissions of Control, etc. called for to execute the terms of the Treaty of Peace with Germany as shown in a list which we have prepared.

(2) It is suggested that the Commission may decide to designate a committee to ascertain the desirability of designating Americans to do some preliminary work in anticipation of the definite establishment of Commissions required by the Treaty. In many cases the labors of these Commissions will be such, and the time within which they are to accomplish their work so short, that unless some preliminary work is done for them, it will be difficult to execute the intended treaty.

It was decided that in regard to these two unsettled questions, a committee consisting of Mr. Harrison, Mr. Dresel, Mr. Foster Dulles and Mr. Grew should be constituted to consider the whole question of appointments on these commissions, as well as the extent to which the American appointees should begin their preliminary work therefor at once.

(d) It is recommended that the policy of the United States in regard to Russia and the countries formed from the old Russian Empire should be confidentially circulated among the assistants to the Commission for their guidance.

The Commissioners agreed entirely with this recommendation and requested Mr. Herter to draft a short statement for their approval which could be circulated to the members of the Mission interested.

3. Memorandum No. 434 was read in which Mr. Morgenthau requested the assignment of certain military personnel to be attached to his Mission to Poland. The Commissioners stated that, before taking any decision in this matter, they desired that Mr. Morgenthau ascertain informally from General Pershing whether there would be any objection to these officers and men being assigned to the Mission in question.

**Military
 Personnel for
 Mission to
 Poland**

4. Memorandum No. 435 was read in which it was inquired whether the Commissioners would be willing to authorize Mr. Grew to give to Mr. Shepardson, for use in connection with the work which he is about to undertake on the International Secretariat of the League of Nations, the Minutes and Proceedings of the Council of Ten, the Council of Five, etc. and the various commissions appointed by

**Minutes of
 Council of
 Four, etc.
 of Allied and
 Associated
 Governments**

the Conference. The Commissioners decided that since they were unable to grant Mr. Shepardson any official recognition at this time in connection with his proposed work for the International Secretariat of the League of Nations, they could not give him the Minutes in question, since he would soon have only the status of a private citizen.

5. Memorandum No. 436 was read, inquiring whether the Commissioners desired to authorize the payment by the Disbursing Officer of a sum of \$225 per week for the maintenance of the Committee on Public Information News Service from the New York office. The Commissioners approved entirely of the authorization of the payment of the sum in question.

Committee
on Public
Information

6. Memorandum No. 437 was read, stating that Mr. Whitney Shepardson proposed to assist Mr. Raymond Fosdick, whom Sir Eric Drummond had asked to assist him on the International Secretariat of the League of Nations, subject to the approval of the Commissioners. The Commissioners stated that they were unable to express either approval or disapproval in this matter, since it was none of their business what Mr. Shepardson did after leaving the Commission, as he would then become a private citizen.

Mr. Whitney
Shepardson's
Proposal To
Assist on Inter-
national
Secretariat
of League
of Nations

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/103

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, July 4, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. The Commissioners approved of the suggestion made by Mr. White that Mr. Thomas Barclay, who is at present in Paris, attached to the American Red Cross, should be attached to the Commission for services in Mr. White's office. At the same time, they approved of Mr. Barclay's being given the sum of \$150.00 per month and be[ing] furnished quarters in the Hotel Crillon, also guaranteeing his return passage to the United States, provided the American Red Cross is not willing to pay it.

Employment
of Mr. Barclay

2. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Mr. Grew in which he made inquiry as to whether all matters pertaining to the Russian situation should first be referred to Mr. Dresel. The Commissioners felt that it would be unnecessary for Mr. Dresel to pass first upon matters which would later be referred to General Bliss. This might merely cause unnecessary delay in getting papers sent out from the Commission, and the Commissioners feel that they have absolute confidence in any decisions which General Bliss may take.

Russian
Situation

3. Mr. Herter read certain correspondence from Mr. George Howe, with regard to the budget for the American Delegation to the Inter-Allied Teschen Commission for the next fiscal year. The Commissioners approved of the budget submitted.

Inter-Allied
Teschen
Commission

4.³ Mr. Herter read a letter from Mr. Norman to Mr. Grew with regard to the request of the Secretary-General of the Polish Delegation at the Peace Conference to be supplied with extracts of the meetings of the Council of Four at which Mr. Paderewski and Mr. Dmowski were present.

Minutes of
Council of
Four

The Commissioners approved of the attitude taken by Mr. Norman in the premises, namely, that the Polish Delegation should not be supplied with copies of the Minutes in question, because of their confidential nature.

5. Memorandum No. 438 was read, inquiring whether the Commissioners approved of Lieutenant-Colonel Greene's being authorized to purchase one Cadillac automobile, one Dodge car, and one ½ ton truck or field observation car, together with the necessary tires, spare parts, etc. for use in connection with the Baltic Mission. The Commissioners approved of the purchases in question.

Motor Trans-
portation
for Baltic
Mission

6. Memorandum No. 439 was read, submitting a telegram which it was proposed sending to the American Legation, Warsaw, regarding the desire of the Polish Government to send a special mission to Dantzig to arrange with the German authorities regarding shipments into Poland and requesting the assistance of the American Government in facilitating the trip of the Polish Delegates. The Commissioners approved of the telegram.

Telegram to
Warsaw

7. Memorandum No. 438, in regard to certain Belgian propaganda, was read and noted by the Commissioners.

Belgian
Propaganda

³ The text of minute 4 is that of a correction issued later.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/104

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, July 5th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HARRISON

1. General Bliss stated that he had received a request from General Pershing, under date of June 30th, that General McAndrew, who had been ordered to Washington as Commandant of the General Staff College, should be furnished with copies of pamphlets, memoranda, etc. pertaining to the Conference by the various delegations, and particularly copies of certain S-H bulletins which were not of a confidential nature.

Bulletins
for Gen.
McAndrew

The Commissioners approved General Pershing's request. General Bliss undertook to reply in this sense to General Pershing, and to refer the matter to Mr. Harrison's office for attention.

2. General Bliss referred to the various telegrams which had recently been received from Colonel Riggs of the Mission to Carinthia, and in particular to the question of the claim of the Jugo-Slavs to the war material in the Klagenfurt Basin.

Claims of Jugo-
Slavs for War
Material in
Klagenfurt
Basin

General Bliss stated that he proposed to telegraph to Colonel Riggs, advising him that it was the duty of the Commission to determine the ownership of this material. The Commission should then examine their instructions to see whether they had authority to intervene in the matter.

3. Memorandum No. 420, with reference to the release of Lieutenant J. H. Smith, Jr. from the Commission, was again considered by the Commissioners.

Release of
Lt. J. H.
Smith, Jr.

The Commissioners approved Mr. Grew's recommendation for the appointment of Major Stedman Hanks as Assistant to Mr. Grew, in the place of Lieutenant J. H. Smith, Jr. upon the departure of the latter, at a nominal salary not to exceed \$2,000 per

Assignment of
Mr. Charles
Russell and
Major Sted-
man Hanks

annum.

The Commissioners were pleased to learn that Mr. L. Osborne would continue with the Mission and that the services of Mr. Charles Russell had been secured.

4. Memorandum No. 439, with regard to the request of Lieut. A. V. Ferreira, on duty in the Reception Room, to be relieved from duty

Question of
Lieutenant
Ferreira's
Release

in order that he may be assigned to the Postal Express Service, was read.

Before taking action on this request, the Commissioners desired to be informed by Mr. Patchin whether he has someone available to take Lieut. Ferreira's place in the Reception Room.

Assignment of
Mr. H. C.
Jacquith to
Mission to
Poland

5. A memorandum prepared by Mr. Morgenthau, requesting that Mr. H. C. Jacquith be added to the personnel of the Mission to Poland, was read and approved by the Commissioners.

6. Mr. Buckler entered the meeting and offered a memorandum regarding the question of Armenian relief. The Commissioners approved the recommendation contained in the memorandum, that the British authorities be requested to consult General Milne as to the possibility of immediately repatriating a certain number of Armenian refugees. Their protection, until Armenia receives a mandatory, would devolve upon the British forces, while their food would be supplied, as at present, by the American Relief organization.

Armenian
Relief

6 [7]. By direction of Mr. Grew, Mr. Harrison inquired as to the wishes of the Commissioners regarding the use of the Hotel Crillon and 4 Place de la Concorde for the parade on July 14th, and whether they would approve of Mr. Grew's proposal to use the Versailles list as a basis for the list of invitations.

Space on
Crillon Bal-
conies for
Parade
July 14th

The Commissioners approved Mr. Grew's proceeding in this manner and expressed a desire that the first floor of the Crillon should be reserved for the use of the Commissioners. The Commissioners also suggested that it would be desirable for Mr. Grew to have an estimate made of the remainder of the space available in the Crillon and No. 4 Place de La Concorde, and that this space should not be overcrowded.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/105

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, July 7th, 1919*

Present :

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HERTER

1. Memorandum No. 440, with regard to the reply to the Austrian notes, as intimated by a member of the British Delegation, speaking informally, was read and noted by the Commissioners.

Reply to
Austrian
Notes

2. Memorandum No. 441 was read, recommending the solution of the Teschen question at an early date. The Commissioners felt that if possible it would be best to allow the Poles and the Czecho-Slovaks to settle this question amicably by themselves, but that, at the same time, this should be done in the very near future, and therefore requested that Professor Coolidge draw up a resolution for the Council of Five to consider, to the effect that Mr. Paderewski and Mr. Benes be requested to settle this problem within a given time limit or else be prepared to accept a solution laid down for them by the five Great Powers.

Solution
of the
Teschen
Question

3. Memorandum No. 442 was read, in which Colonel Sherman Miles requested that he be relieved from duty with the Commission.

Release of
Colonel
Miles

The Commissioners approved of the release of Colonel Miles.

4. Memorandum No. 443 was read, in which Captain Walter Peirce, in charge of the translation bureau, requested that Captain Percy A. Chapman be assigned to duty in his office.

Assignment of
Captain
Percy A.
Chapman

The Commissioners approved of the assignment of Captain Chapman.

5. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Mr. Arthur Sweetser, in which he requested that he be relieved from duty with the Commission on or about July 20th.

Release of
Mr. Sweetser

The Commissioners accepted Mr. Sweetser's resignation, as effective on or about July 20th, provided Mr. Grew had no objections thereto.

6. Mr. Herter read a memorandum from Colonel Warwick Greene, regarding the situation in the Baltic provinces.

Situation in
the Baltic
Provinces

The Commissioners noted this memorandum, but felt that they were not in a position to take any action upon the recommendations made by Colonel Greene, and requested that Colonel Greene speak to General Bliss in regard to this matter as soon as possible.

7. Mr. Herter read a memorandum prepared by Mr. Buckler, in regard to the situation in Asia Minor.

Situation in
Asia Minor

The Commissioners felt that Mr. Buckler's recommendations would be very difficult to carry out and that it would be better to wait a few days before taking any definite action in this matter, until the attitude of the

Italians on the whole Asia Minor problem had been definitely ascertained.

8. A telegram, containing congratulatory messages to the Commissioners for the Fourth of July, signed by the
Telegram From Executive Committee of the Unredeemed Hellenes,
Hellenes was read and noted by the Commissioners.

9. Professor Coolidge and Mr. Dulles entered the meeting. Professor Coolidge inquired what attitude he should assume in regard to the Austrian counter-proposals with respect to the Northern frontier. He explained his own point of view in regard to this matter and inquired how far the Commissioners were willing to back him in demanding that certain rectifications be made in favor of Austria.

The Commissioners authorized Professor Coolidge to at least insist upon the historical boundary between Bohemia and Austria, and, at the same time, to ascertain whether the Czecho-Slovaks would make concessions beyond that line, provided their claims to the area on the south bank of the Danube opposite Presbourg were granted.

Professor Coolidge left the meeting and Mr. McNeir and Lieutenant Condon entered the meeting.

Referring ⁴ to his application for release from the Commission, Mr. McNeir informed the Commissioners that he had presented his request for permission to return to the United States as it appeared that his presence was required in the Department of State. He would, however, remain if the Commissioners desired him to do so. The Commissioners agreed that it would be very desirable for Mr. McNeir to remain and asked his views as to the arrangements which it would be now necessary to make in regard to the personnel of the Commission and the maintenance of quarters for the Commission.

Mr. McNeir recommended that the entire management of the Commission should be placed as far as possible upon a civilian basis and proposed that the office of the Administrative Officer might be done away with and that a number of the military personnel attached to that office might be released. He suggested that Mr. Harry Young should be placed in charge of the hotel under his general supervision.

Mr. McNeir further recommended that if Mr. Patchin should leave as seemed to be probable, Mr. Welsh should be appointed Executive Secretary of the Commission to act under his supervision.

The Commissioners approved of having the management of the Commission civilianized as far as possible and desired that Mr. McNeir should consult with Mr. Grew regarding the suggestion he had put forward. Any changes in the organization of the Commission should, of course, be subject to Mr. Grew's approval.

⁴The text of this and the three following paragraphs is that of a correction issued later.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/106

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, July 8th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. General Bliss recommended that Major General C. P. Summer-
Allied Commission to investigate the recent incidents
at Fiume in accordance with a decision of the Council of Five taken at their meeting on July 7th.⁵

Inter-Allied
Commission
to Fiume

II. Mr. Lansing stated that he had just received from M. Clemenceau a copy of a ciphered telegram from General Savy, Commandant of the French troops at Fiume dated July 7, 1919. In this telegram General Savy reported that there had been further serious incidents; that one of the French base ports had been attacked by the Italian populace and Italian soldiers; that several French troops had been killed and wounded; that the details are not yet known; that the situation was very serious as the Italian troops were overwrought and that individual French officers had been attacked in billets and that a solution was most pressing.

Further Reports
on the Incidents at
Fiume

III. Memorandum No. 444. The Commissioners approved the expenditure of \$300.00 per week instead of \$225.00 for the purpose of keeping open the New York office of the Committee on Public Information, and that the State Department should be informed of the matter.

Maintenance
of New York
Office of the
Committee on
Public Information

IV. Memorandum No. 445. The Commissioners approved the issuance of a passport to Mrs. Jadwin, wife of Brigadier-General Jadwin, subject to Army Regulations.

Passport for
Mrs. Jadwin

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/107

*Notes on the Meeting of the Commissioners and the Technical Experts
of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Hotel Crillon,
Paris, Tuesday, July 8, 1919*

The Commissioners called the meeting. Mr. Lansing explained their purpose in so doing. Mr. Harrison, at the request of the Steering

⁵ See HD-1, vol. VII, p. 32.

Committee, read out a list of subjects connected with the German Treaty which still remained uncompleted.

SECRETARY LANSING: That is all that is left of the German Treaty unless somebody else has something to mention.

MR. HARRISON: Treaty with Austria. 1st: The Sudbahn. This question was adjourned by the Supreme Council on June 28th, no decision having been reached.⁶ That is relating to French holdings in the Sudbahn.

SECRETARY LANSING: Yes, Mr. Dulles knows about that.

DOCTOR SCOTT: Mr. Dulles stated this morning that he had a very important meeting at half-past ten at the Quai d'Orsay which might prevent his being present at this meeting, and asked to have that fact reported to you.

MR. HARRISON: 2nd: The Status of Montenegro. The discussion on this question was adjourned pending the receipt by President Wilson of a report from United States Commissioners.

SECRETARY LANSING: I don't know who was on that Commission. Do you know about that? (Addressing Prof. Coolidge.)

PROF. COOLIDGE: I haven't any information about it.

MAJOR JOHNSON: I didn't know that any special commission was formed on that.

SECRETARY LANSING: What does the "United States Commissioners" mean?

MAJOR JOHNSON: I think that a commission had been sent to Montenegro.

MR. HARRISON: If I remember correctly, Mr. Secretary, I think somebody who was a military observer for those countries was instructed through the embassy in Rome, to make an investigation and report. I don't remember his name.

SECRETARY LANSING: That was several months ago.

MAJOR JOHNSON: That was several months ago.

MR. HARRISON: Is the report in?

MAJOR JOHNSON: Yes, he is here in Paris at this moment. Sherman Miles.

SECRETARY LANSING: We had better find out what his views are.

MR. HARRISON: Did he ever report to you, General?

GENERAL BLISS: No. I think the matter that you refer to was when they sent over two officers who were attached to the embassy in Rome; they went over—I don't know under whose instructions,—and they made reports several months ago. Since then I have heard of no commission there.

SECRETARY LANSING: What does that mean—the 28th? Has there been a further discussion?

⁶ See CF-98, vol. VI, p. 746.

MR. HARRISON: No, this was not the 28th. This was some time before.

SECRETARY LANSING: Who is directly handling the Montenegrin situation?

MAJOR JOHNSON: I suppose it came up in connection with the Rumanian and Jugo-Slav question.

SECRETARY LANSING: I should think so. Or the Balkan.

MAJOR JOHNSON: The question came up in the Jugo-Slav Territorial Commission; my impression is that it was referred to the Albanian and Greek Commission.

MR. HARRISON: 3rd: Italian Claims in the Adriatic. That is being handled.

SECRETARY LANSING: Yes, that is still under discussion.

MR. HARRISON: Repatriation of Austrian Prisoners of War. Report of Committee. That is on the agenda for the meeting this afternoon—if it takes place.

SECRETARY LANSING: Is there going to be one?

MR. HARRISON: If it takes place. The 5th is also on the agenda for this afternoon: Frontiers of Jugo-Slavia with Hungary in: Baranya and Prekomurje. It is a note from the Jugo-Slav Committee dated May 22, 1919.

MAJOR JOHNSON: That has not been acted on by the Council.

SECRETARY LANSING: Is that a revision?

MAJOR JOHNSON: Yes, slight rectification of both areas.

MR. HARRISON: That is all on the list of the Council for the treaty with Austria, sir.

SECRETARY LANSING: The rest of it is settled, is that correct?

DOCTOR SCOTT: Yes.

SECRETARY LANSING: I mean, is it drafted up to that point?

DOCTOR SCOTT: Yes. You called attention yesterday at the Quai d'Orsay to the fact that a certain portion of the Treaty with Austria had been given, and a certain portion reserved. It took some time for the reserved portions to be given, because the details of the German Treaty were apparently handled by the Supreme Council, and the Austrian matters were set aside for the time being. Those supplementary matters have all been completed; they have all been referred to the Drafting Committee, and all been put in form, and I brought over, as a matter of interest, the draft of the Austrian Treaty, which is completed from the first number to 374.

SECRETARY LANSING: What I was trying to get at yesterday was whether the articles in the Austrian Treaty that never had been delivered to Austria should not be delivered without waiting until we had considered all their objections to the other articles.

DOCTOR SCOTT: That is a question of policy.

SECRETARY LANSING: I think so.

MR. WHITE: When is it proposed to give the whole thing?

DOCTOR SCOTT: You will have to ask your neighbor, I should think.

SECRETARY LANSING: I think it will be ready tomorrow or the next day.

DOCTOR SCOTT: As far as the Drafting Committee is concerned, it would be ready this evening. The only outstanding matter, with which we are acquainted, that is delaying it, is the proposed change of boundary lines between Hungary and Austria.

SECRETARY LANSING: That is the trouble, and I don't see any reason for holding up the whole treaty for that.

DOCTOR SCOTT: If that Committee does not report, I should think a method of settling it would be to transmit the entire treaty as it can be printed, either tomorrow or the next day, and calling attention to the Austro-Hungarian frontier, and stating that there may be a subsequent communication on the boundary line there.

SECRETARY LANSING: But that can be said to arise from the notes that Austria submitted.

DOCTOR SCOTT: Exactly.

SECRETARY LANSING: And therefore I don't see why those other articles that never have been delivered should not be delivered.

DOCTOR SCOTT: They are ready.

SECRETARY LANSING: That is the way I feel about it.

MR. HARRISON: Shall we put the delivery on the agenda for the next meeting, sir?

SECRETARY LANSING: Yes, let us get that point settled.

MR. HARRISON: The delivery of the remainder?

SECRETARY LANSING: Yes. There is no sense of holding them up on that. They might just as well be working on that as cooling their heels waiting for it.

MAJOR JOHNSON: Have they decided on the form in which they will present the clauses respecting the southern frontiers of Austria assuming that the Italian-Jugo-Slav controversy remains unsettled until afterwards?

SECRETARY LANSING: I don't think we ought to go on, but I think that is settled, that is, Austria renounces, without specifying to whom.

DOCTOR SCOTT: Is that regarding Italy?

SECRETARY LANSING: Well, it covers all that southern boundary: Jugo-Slavia and Italy.

DOCTOR SCOTT: I would like to say that there are four provisions in the Treaty as drafted bearing directly on that very point, and they can all be summed up in the single statement that where a boundary has been left to subsequent agreement, or there has not been a present agreement contained in the treaty, that an obligation is imposed upon Austria to recognize any disposition in accordance with the terms of the treaty that may be made of this territory by the Principal Allied

and Associated Powers and the Powers in particular interested, and that includes Italy, because you cannot trace the boundaries of Jugoslavia without outlining the Italian boundary, and there is no doubt about that—that is clearly done, and acceptable to all the parties.

MR. HARRISON: That completes the Austrian Treaty and the whole of the Hungarian Treaty.

SECRETARY LANSING: The Hungarian Treaty is not touched yet?

DOCTOR SCOTT: Not quite true, Mr. Chairman. The Drafting Committee has, in printed form, all of that part of that treaty which might be considered of a general nature.

SECRETARY LANSING: Following the German and the Austrian?

DOCTOR SCOTT: Following the German and the Austrian the Pact: the Political Clauses, the Labor Convention, and all of those matters of a general nature, are ready, and they form at least half of the treaty.

SECRETARY LANSING: Yes. And then we have got the Economic and the Boundary questions.

DOCTOR SCOTT: The Economic and the Boundary questions. Those are really the only outstanding things that will require consideration.

SECRETARY LANSING: Do you know whether they have been considered at all?

MAJOR JOHNSON: The frontiers.

SECRETARY LANSING: Of course the frontiers have, but not definitely, have they?

MAJOR JOHNSON: There are some parts of them that have not yet been definitely decided upon.

SECRETARY LANSING: Has your Commission been requested to draw the boundaries of Hungary? I mean the General Commission, with Tardieu?

MAJOR JOHNSON: Not with my knowledge. Prof. Coolidge maybe knows about that.

SECRETARY LANSING: Are you on that?

PROF. COOLIDGE: Not to my knowledge. There has been no word of that.

SECRETARY LANSING: Please have that put on the agenda.

PROF. COOLIDGE: Certain boundaries have been notified.

SECRETARY LANSING: What?

PROF. COOLIDGE: That is, Major Jung has been told by telegraph what the permanent boundaries of Hungary will be.

MR. HARRISON: The Banat has been finished, and also the northern boundary of Serbia.

SECRETARY LANSING: I know, but the whole thing has not been coordinated.

PROF. COOLIDGE: The whole thing has not been referred to any committee.

SECRETARY LANSING: Put that down for reference merely.

MAJOR JOHNSON: The question of the boundaries of Austria and Hungary is still under consideration, to be determined upon by the Commission, and will be ready to be submitted to the Council at any time.

SECRETARY LANSING: How long?

MAJOR JOHNSON: I think this afternoon.

SECRETARY LANSING: Better report it at once.

MAJOR JOHNSON: Certain changes in the Austrian lines elsewhere are dependent upon certain concessions in that part of the boundary.

SECRETARY LANSING: But I think we had better leave the whole question of the drafting of the boundaries of Hungary so that that can be pushed along.

MR. HARRISON: There are one or two other points, in addition to frontiers, in connection with that Treaty, sir—in connection with responsibilities.

SECRETARY LANSING: Responsibilities?

MR. HUDSON (?): The responsibilities for crimes, etc.

SECRETARY LANSING: Yes. Do you put that in the general clauses?

MR. HUDSON (?): Put that in the general clauses. We just have it in the general form.

COLONEL GRANT: The draft has been submitted to the Council of Four.

MR. HUDSON (?): Yes, about six weeks ago.

SECRETARY LANSING: Has that ever been acted upon, do you know?

COLONEL GRANT: I don't think so.

SECRETARY LANSING: Please put that down for a question to ask the Council. Just ask the question: What has happened to that report?

MR. HARRISON: Ports, Waterways, and Railways.

MR. HUDSON (?): They are being drafted this week. The report will be ready on Wednesday.

SECRETARY LANSING: Tomorrow?

MR. HUDSON (?): Yes, sir.

MR. HARRISON: Economic clauses.

MR. NIELSEN: I think they are substantially completed; I mean those that are called economic clauses in the other treaties.

SECRETARY LANSING: Financial and reparations?

MR. NIELSEN: No, that does not include that; but what is called "Section 10" in the other treaty.

SECRETARY LANSING: Trade and Commerce, etc?

MR. NIELSEN: Yes.

SECRETARY LANSING: Do you know anything about the Reparations and Finance?

MR. NIELSEN: No, I have had nothing to do with that. I think Mr. Dulles has to do with that.

SECRETARY LANSING: I know, but I wanted to know whether you had any knowledge of it.

DOCTOR SCOTT: They are working on that, and making very considerable progress, but the details I don't know.

MR. HARRISON: "Prisoners of War." Gen. McKinstry is not here.

SECRETARY LANSING: That all comes under the same head, doesn't it, Colonel? That is under Gen. McKinstry?

COLONEL GRANT: Yes.

SECRETARY LANSING: I suppose it is almost the same in the case of Hungary as it is in the case of Austria.

COLONEL GRANT: I should think so.

SECRETARY LANSING: Any material difference?

COLONEL GRANT: I haven't seen any draft of it.

SECRETARY LANSING: Is that all?

MR. HARRISON: That concludes Hungary.

MR. HUDSON: The Minorities Clauses are to go into the treaty with Hungary. They have not been prepared.

SECRETARY LANSING: Who is in charge of that?

MR. HUDSON: The Committee on New States. The clauses will correspond to those in the Polish Treaty, which were also put into the Austrian Treaty, and it is merely a matter of adaptation, which can be done in a very short time.

SECRETARY LANSING: Has that Committee been requested to do it?

MR. HUDSON: Yes, the Supreme Council requested them to prepare clauses for the Austrian and Hungarian and Bulgarian treaties, in addition to those of the New States.

MR. HARRISON: Then the Treaty with Bulgaria. "Note: The main outstanding point in the Treaty with Bulgaria is the Southern Boundary, which is dependent on the settlement as regards Turkey in Europe." And that was referred to that special committee the other day.

SECRETARY LANSING: What?

MR. HARRISON: The Southern Boundary.

SECRETARY LANSING: We had better ask them why they did not have a meeting. And that cuts them off entirely from the Aegean Sea, doesn't it?

MR. JOHNSON: Well, it does, as recommended in the report. I think there is a reservation by the American representatives making that question of cutting off Bulgaria from the Aegean Sea dependent upon the nature of the Constantinople state—the extent of it, really.

SECRETARY LANSING: Of course it affects very materially their economic life to cut them off from the Aegean. For stability I am not at all sure that it is a good thing.

DOCTOR SCOTT: There is that other question of Dobrudja, the extent of territory in which you would have to get a search warrant out for Rumania.

SECRETARY LANSING: I notice it was reported—whether true or not, I don't know—that Rumania had suggested to Bulgaria that she furnish two divisions to help her fight the Bolshevists, and as a consideration they would give them the southern portion of Dobrudja.

MR. WHITE: Bulgaria declined.

MR. LANSING: Bulgaria declined. [*Sic.*]

SECRETARY LANSING: But that matter of Dobrudja ought to be pretty carefully studied. I don't know what the economic problems are in the Dobrudja.

MR. JOHNSON: They are very small.

SECRETARY LANSING: But the ethnological problems are very apparent.

MR. JOHNSON: The Territorial Commission agreed to the principle of restoration by Rumania to Bulgaria of a portion of the Dobrudja, with the dissension of one of the French representatives; one gave a dissenting opinion. The others were in agreement.

SECRETARY LANSING: Where is that report?

MR. JOHNSON: That is the report of the Commission on Rumanian and Jugo-Slav Affairs.

SECRETARY LANSING: Has it been made to the Secretary-General?

MR. JOHNSON: I am quite sure that it has.

MR. HARRISON: Responsibilities and Breaches of the Laws of War. The Articles included in the Austrian Treaty are applicable to the Treaty with Bulgaria.

Military, Naval and Air Clauses.

SECRETARY LANSING: They have been made?

MR. HARRISON: They have been started.

SECRETARY LANSING: I don't think there is any use of starting on that.

MR. HARRISON: Ports, Waterways and Railways.

SECRETARY LANSING: I think that ought to go on the agenda, because the whole Italian problem ought to be one problem together, very largely, don't you?

MR. WHITE: I do.

MR. HARRISON. Like that in the Austrian Treaty.

SECRETARY LANSING. Well, I think it ought to be on the agenda for consideration, to see whether there is any difference. I assume that it is practically the same thing running through all. That is, it doesn't make any difference.

MR. HUDSON: Could a discussion be held on the Ports, Waterways and Railways clauses to go into the Treaty with Hungary and Bulgaria?

SECRETARY LANSING: I think it would be wise.

MR. HUDSON: And some changes would be necessary in the Treaty with Austria. I suppose in the reply to the Austrians notice will be given to those changes.

SECRETARY LANSING: In regard to the use of the Danube?

MR. HUDSON: To the Danube.

SECRETARY LANSING: Of course in Hungary and in Jugo-Slavia and in Bulgaria the Danube runs through their territory, doesn't it?

MR. HUDSON: Yes.

SECRETARY LANSING: It is not a boundary, I mean; it runs entirely through their territory?

MR. HUDSON: Well, it will be a boundary part of the way.

SECRETARY LANSING: Part of the way it is a boundary, but I mean at the same time each of those countries has it in their territory?

MR. JOHNSON: Not in the case of Bulgaria.

SECRETARY LANSING: How about the mouth? No, that runs through Rumania,—that is true—the Dobrudja. Well, it would make a difference in the event that the southern portion of the Dobrudja was ceded, especially if they ceded it up to the Danube. I don't suppose they will do that. But as to the use of the Danube, couldn't that go into the Hungarian Treaty so that Rumania will be bound by it?

MR. JOHNSON: I should think so.

SECRETARY LANSING: As to the use of the Danube.

MR. WHITE: It ought to be.

SECRETARY LANSING: There ought to be some Article in there that will control the use of the Danube after it enters Rumanian territory, and that can be just as well inserted in some general clauses as to the use of the Danube. Are all three of the mouths of the Danube navigable, or only two?

MR. JOHNSON: I am not sure about the three. Two of them are.

SECRETARY LANSING: The central one is the least important one.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: Two mouths are navigable, and the third for small craft. Only one of them is navigable to vessels of considerable draft.

SECRETARY LANSING: Is that the northern one or the southern one?

REAR-ADMIRAL KNAPP: That is the southern one, as I recall it, sir, and that has not been improved during the war, and needs very much improvement. They will need very considerable work or reparation before the mouth of the Danube is ready.

SECRETARY LANSING: Is there a provision as to contribution for improvements of the Danube?

MR. HUDSON: There is only a provision, Mr. Secretary, as to continuing the European Commission of the Danube as it was before the war. That situation will go on.

SECRETARY LANSING: Well, is that sufficient to make the mouths navigable?

MR. HUDSON: It is thought so.

MR. HARRISON: Economic Clauses: Report of Commission, though not sent in, is ready for consideration by the Supreme Council.

SECRETARY LANSING: Is that a unanimous report?

MR. NIELSEN: I think it is. I know of no exception.

SECRETARY LANSING: Then that can be sent in.

MR. NIELSEN: I think so.

MR. HARRISON: Prisoners of War. Still under consideration. Reparation. The Reparation Commission has failed to reach an agreement.

SECRETARY LANSING: Well, we will have to wait for them.

MR. HARRISON: And "Financial Clauses" depends on the result of the Reparation Commission, I should say.

I have nothing else regarding Bulgaria, sir.

MR. HUDSON: There will be a separate treaty with Bulgaria concerning minorities,—no, it will be into the Treaty of Peace with Bulgaria.

SECRETARY LANSING: Yes, a separate section.

MR. HARRISON: Are you working on that?

MR. HUDSON: Yes, that is about ready.

MR. PALMER: Is it expected the United States will sign the treaty with Bulgaria?

SECRETARY LANSING: The President's point of view is that we are more or less guaranteeing this peace, and if we do, why we have got to take part in the Treaty. I don't quite know what we are really to do; we have never made war with Bulgaria, and never even broke diplomatic relations with her.

MR. PALMER: In regard to the Economic Clauses, I attended one or two meetings of the Commission discussing those subjects, and I understood from the instructions at that time that we were to participate in the meetings, but we are not to participate in the Treaty.

SECRETARY LANSING: I think that was the first view.

MR. PALMER: We discussed a good many subjects with which we are totally unfamiliar. I know nothing about Bulgaria and its relations with its neighbors. Now some of the very long discussions that came up were respecting the rights to railways which the Greeks had interests in. Now I should not care to be bound by those discussions, because it is a subject I don't know anything about whatever. The only remarks that the American delegates made were of a very general character, such as that the rights of everybody should be protected, and things of that kind, and I should hesitate to think that the United States delegates had passed upon those topics with a view to signing the treaty. The treaty was to be signed by the others who were to have the responsibility for the adjustments, etc. It sounds all right on the surface, but I don't feel like saying that we

are bound by them when we go to sign the Treaty. If we are going to sign the Treaty I think we ought to study it from a different angle.

SECRETARY LANSING: Well, I think we ought to study it then from a different angle, because I think that is the President's disposition—to sign.

MR. NIELSEN: What Mr. Palmer says could be said in behalf of all of those who sat on the several commissions, some of whom are not here now, because under the instructions we announced the general rule that we took no part in the decisions.

SECRETARY LANSING: Yes, that is right.

MR. PALMER: It appears on the records.

SECRETARY LANSING: But I think it ought to be carefully studied and a memorandum prepared, at least for our own use, in the event that it comes up before the Council, as to the determination of the question.

MR. HARRISON: Treaty with Turkey. As far as the Supreme Council is concerned, the consideration has been postponed until it is known whether the United States will accept a mandate.

SECRETARY LANSING: Yes, and of course that comes after the Treaty with Germany.

MR. HARRISON: The Economic Commission is considering the Turkish Treaty at the present time.

SECRETARY LANSING: The Economic—and I assume the Territorial too,—are you not? Has it been submitted at all to the Territorial Commission, as to boundaries?

MAJOR JOHNSON: The Commission has taken up that side of it.

SECRETARY LANSING: Yes, under the Aegean?

MAJOR JOHNSON: Yes.

SECRETARY LANSING: Well, how is it, Mr. Buckler?

MR. BUCKLER: Nothing decided yet.

SECRETARY LANSING: Has there been a commission on the subject?

MR. BUCKLER: No, I think Mr. Venizelos has rather avoided any commissions. Nothing been decided.

SECRETARY LANSING: I think that can rest.

MR. NIELSEN: The economic clauses have been drafted, Mr. Secretary, along the lines of the other treaties, except the disagreeable question of capitulation.

SECRETARY LANSING: But that all depends, doesn't it, or depends in very large measure, on whether it goes under mandates or whether there is to be an independent Turkish state?

MR. NIELSEN: Well, they proceeded on the supposition that there was to be a certain Turkey which has been called Turkey proper, but the really disagreeable question is as to capitulations, as to whether it can be maintained, or extended even, as some have proposed.

SECRETARY LANSING: I think we will have to drop that, except I think we ought to continue the study of it, and I think we ought to study the boundaries. We don't want a perfectly impoverished Armenia, for example. That is a perfectly useless proposition. You might just as well make the Sahara a state as to do that.

Well, has anybody any suggestions? Of course there is this that we want to bear in mind, and that is the necessity, so far as possible, of cutting down our personnel, but we don't want to cut it down to where it is going to materially impair our work at all, but it is quite essential on account of the state of funds, that the personnel be cut down as much as possible.

(Discussion as to appropriations followed.)

MR. HARRISON: There are still some miscellaneous questions.

SECRETARY LANSING: What are they?

MR. HARRISON: Mandates. A special commission is considering them.

Size of the Army of Occupation in the Rhine Provinces. Referred to the Military Representatives at Versailles on June 27th.

Supply of Armaments to New States. This was a report of a special committee composed of M. Loucheur, Mr. W. T. Layton, and an Italian representative.

Shipping for the French Colonies. Referred to a special Commission. Mr. Hipwood is the British representative.

SECRETARY LANSING: What is that?

MR. HARRISON: Shipping for the French Colonies. Do you know anything about that?

SECRETARY LANSING: No. Never heard of that.

MR. HARRISON: Co-operation of Czecho-Slovak troops with Admiral Koltchak.

SECRETARY LANSING: Never heard of that.

MR. HARRISON: General Bliss is handling that.

SECRETARY LANSING: Oh, those are the ones in Siberia?

MR. HARRISON: Yes.

SECRETARY LANSING: That is under General Bliss.

MR. HARRISON: Eastern Frontiers of Germany: (a) Assistance to Poland. (b) Size of Allied Army of Occupation in Upper Silesia during plebiscite. Referred to the Military Representatives at Versailles on June 27th.

Military Supplies to Poland. Referred to the Military Representatives at Versailles on June 27th.

Disposal of German Warships.

SECRETARY LANSING: Which German warships?

MR. HARRISON: Apparently they did not sink those in German ports, sir, and then there is the proposed Treaty regarding entrances

to Baltic. Recommendation of Baltic Commission. That is to come up to the Council pretty soon.

The sale by Germany of State Property in Danish Slesvig. That is for its attention.

Reparation for destruction of German Fleet in Scapa Flow. Report of Commission on Reparation. Mr. Dulles said this morning that he didn't see how anything could be done.

COLONEL GRANT: You didn't read No. 11.

MR. HARRISON: That was finished yesterday.

Loan to the Baltic States. Recommendation of Baltic Commission.

SECRETARY LANSING: What is that?

MR. HARRISON: The members of the British and French said they would try to get an appropriation of two hundred thousand pounds apiece. I don't think they have yet.

SECRETARY LANSING: I haven't heard of it.

MR. HARRISON: Approval of the Air Commission. I received the report last night. It is very lengthy.

Evacuation of Klagenfurt. Claim of Jugo-Slavs to regard Austrian war material as war booty.

Question of adding members to Commission of Control.

That is all I have.

SECRETARY LANSING: Have you got anything, gentlemen?

MR. HUDSON: The Committee on New States is preparing drafts of treaties with Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Rumania and Greece analogous to the separate treaty with Poland.

SECRETARY LANSING: I want to ask one thing. What treaties have we, the United States, got to negotiate directly with Germany? Treaties of commerce?

MR. NIELSEN: That will depend on the status of the treaty that we want to maintain. Under certain of the Economic Clauses all bilateral treaties are abrogated, with the right of any country to revive such treaty as they want to revive. It has always been my supposition that we would get rid of these separate German state treaties, and probably revive those which we concluded with the Empire, avoiding all these disagreeable questions.

SECRETARY LANSING: I think we have a consular treaty with the Empire.

MR. NIELSEN: Yes.

SECRETARY LANSING: But there are some of the earlier commercial treaties that we have lived under, and I think our extradition treaty is an early one too.

MR. NIELSEN: Yes, the naturalization, commerce, navigation and extradition are all with separate states.

SECRETARY LANSING. Ought we not to negotiate new treaties?

MR. NIELSEN: I don't think there is any great hurry about those things, because the economic clauses so perfectly protect our commerce, leaving, of course, the matter of extradition, which is serious. But, if I [may] make a suggestion, I think it would be advisable not to revive any of the separate extradition treaties, because they are very nasty, and they have given rise to disagreeable questions. I think our naturalization and commerce are perfectly covered by the economic clauses. I think an extradition treaty could be negotiated in a few months, and I think that will be better than reviving.

SECRETARY LANSING: What form will the revival take? A notification?

MR. NIELSEN: A notification that it will become effective on a certain date, and then give them a date.

SECRETARY LANSING: I suppose we had better have a draft of the form as to the revival. Of course we have got to revive our consular treaty.

MR. NIELSEN: . . . I think there is danger in reviving.

SECRETARY LANSING: Then let us build a new treaty and get one signed. I think we ought to have a consular treaty. My belief is to have, as far as possible, separate treaties on separate subjects, and not include them in one big treaty.

DR. LORD: Mr. Secretary, there are a few territorial questions still unsettled which I think were not mentioned. One of the worst is Teschen. There is a divided Commission report on that subject presented some months ago, and various things have happened since that time which may perhaps render a new consideration in the Commission desirable, if the Supreme Council should approve of that.

SECRETARY LANSING: Well, will you be good enough to prepare a memorandum on the status of that question, and what the needs are in regard to the subject.

DR. LORD: I believe Mr. Dulles prepared a memorandum.

MR. A. W. DULLES: It has already been prepared. Have you gotten it?

SECRETARY LANSING: No.

DR. LORD: Was it a short memorandum?

MR. A. W. DULLES: Yes.

DR. LORD: The question of the Eastern frontiers of Poland.

SECRETARY LANSING: What was the trouble with that Eastern Galicia question?

DR. LORD: I think you will remember, Mr. Secretary, that the Council of Foreign Ministers referred it back to the Commission to draft a project of autonomy. The project is being worked upon, but it is not quite completed yet.

SECRETARY LANSING: It was not a project of autonomy in Eastern Galicia?

DR. LORD: Yes.

SECRETARY LANSING: With Poland?

DR. LORD: A project whereby Eastern Galicia should be connected with Poland, while given a measure of autonomy, pending the time when a consultation could be held.

SECRETARY LANSING: Well, there was a very little autonomy considered by the Council. I don't know who put that in.

GENERAL BLISS: Yes, it was to be a civil government, with full guarantee of religious liberty; it was to be more or less a form of government approved by the Council of the Allied and Associated Powers.

SECRETARY LANSING: Yes, it was to be a conditional authority, to be conditioned on their protecting certain rights, but my understanding was that Polish law should extend over Eastern Galicia. There was to be no legislative body to make laws in Eastern Galicia.

DR. LORD: I believe the word "autonomy" was used in the resolution of the Council of Foreign Ministers.

GENERAL BLISS: The establishment of civil government was specifically provided for in the resolution, Authorized to establish a civil government.

SECRETARY LANSING: Yes that was quite right, and to employ as many Galicians as possible in that government. The point was that you would have to have an entirely separate legislature, with an inter-allied commissioner at the head, in the event that they were separated in any way from Poland, but that the Polish law would extend over the territory in order that the courts and the government might be, just as the military were, under the Polish authority, and that ultimately they would have the opportunity to determine their own allegiance.

DR. LORD: And then one other question connected with Poland is the eastern frontier with Russia. Some months ago the British were very eager to get that question settled as quickly as possible, and had it presented to a Polish Commission, who presented a report on it, which has never been acted upon.

SECRETARY LANSING: That was in the neighborhood of the Lithuanian corner?

DR. LORD: Yes.

SECRETARY LANSING: As I remember it the French were the people that wanted something to do with that. It is so long ago that I cannot remember.

MR. HARRISON: They wanted to force the withdrawal of the Germans up there.

SECRETARY LANSING: They wanted to force the withdrawal of the Germans and let the Poles occupy Lithuanian territory.

MR. HARRISON: But the Council never considered the report of the Commission.

SECRETARY LANSING: I have never seen it.

MR. HUDSON: Will the United States take any part in the negotiations between the Netherlands and Belgium—the revision of the Treaty of 1839? ⁷

SECRETARY LANSING: I don't think we ought to. I am not in favor of it, unless they ask us to come in as an arbiter.

End of Meeting.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/108

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, July 9th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. Mr. Grew and Mr. McNeir entered the meeting and discussed the question of the re-organization of the Commission.

Changes in
the Organi-
zation of
the American
Commission
To Negotiate
Peace

The Commissioners and Mr. Grew approved the two following orders submitted by Mr. McNeir:

“It is hereby ordered that the office of the Personnel Officer of this Commission be abolished and the duties of that office transferred to the office of the Executive Secretary.

All records affecting the army officers shall be transferred to the Commanding Officer of the Headquarters Detachment who will, in the future, keep such records as are necessary for the military service of the Commission.”

“It is hereby ordered that the office of the Administrative Officer be abolished and that the duties of that office be transferred, together with the archives of the office, to the office of the Executive Secretary and that the personnel of the now existing office of the Administrative Officer be released as soon as army requirements allow.”

It was decided that Mr. Grew should issue a general circular notifying the various members of the American Commission regarding the changes in the present organization.

II. Memorandum No. 446 of July 8th, submitted by the Committee on Appointments, was read out:

⁷ For the French text of this treaty, see *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. xxxvii, p. 1320.

**Memorandum
Submitted by
Committee on
Appointments**

(a) The Commissioners approved the appointment of Mr. Osborne to serve as Secretary of the Committee;

(b) The Commissioners disapproved of Mr. Osborne's appointment as a member of the Committee;

(c) The Commissioners approved the appointment of Colonel U. S. Grant as a member of the Committee;

(d) The Commissioners thought that it would be unnecessary to request that a personnel officer should come to Paris for consultation regarding the appointment of army officers, as it was understood that G. H. Q. was moving to Paris by the 15th of July.

III. The Commissioners approved Mr. Frank L. Warrin, Jr.'s request for release from the Commission, to take effect either on the 14th or 20th of July, as transportation and other arrangements may permit.

**Release of
Mr. Frank L.
Warrin, Jr.**

IV. Memorandum No. 447 was read out. The Commissioners approved the acceptance of the resignation of Miss Babeuf, and the appointment of Army Field Clerk de Serres for service in the Translation Bureau.

**Change in
Personnel of
Translation
Bureau**

V. Memorandum dated July 7th, submitted by Major Tyler regarding the appointment of Baron von Lersner as Chairman of the German Delegation, etc., was read out, and the contents noted by the Commissioners.

**Appointment
of Baron von
Lersner as
Chairman of
German
Delegation**

VI. Memorandum No. 448 regarding the salary and release of Mr. D. L. Ullman was read out. The Commissioners approved Mr. Ullman's release and the payment of salary and transportation, as stated in the Memorandum.

**Payment of
Salary and
Release of
Mr. D. L.
Ullman**

VII. Memorandum No. 449 regarding the request of the Chief Engineer of the A. E. F. for the temporary release of Colonel T. H. Dillon from duty with the Commission was read out. The Commissioners directed that a message should be sent in the name of the American Commissioners to the Chief Engineer stating that the services of Colonel Dillon are so valuable to the Commission at this time that he cannot be spared.

**Request for
Temporary
Release of
Col. T. H.
Dillon**

VIII. Memorandum No. 450 regarding the request submitted by Captain Simon Reisler, now attached to the Inter-allied Rhineland Commission, that the Commission authorize the issuance of a passport to his wife and two children, was read.

**Request of
Capt. Reisler
for Passports
for His Wife
and Children**

The Commissioners had no objection to the issuance of the passports in question, provided the War Department has, likewise, no objection thereto.

IX. Memorandum No. 451 regarding the assignment of military personnel to the Mission to Poland was read.

**Assignment
of Army
Personnel to the
Mission to
Poland**

The Commissioners gave their approval, and directed that a request for the assignment of the army personnel mentioned in the memorandum be addressed to General Pershing by the Secretary General.

**Payment of
Gratuities
to Barbers
and Tailors
Serving in
the Crillon**

X. The Commissioners approved the payment of 100 francs to each barber, as outlined in Mr. Patchin's memorandum to Mr. Grew of June 26th, and directed that the question of the settlement with the tailors be referred to Mr. McNeir.

General Bliss introduced Major General Summerall who had been named the American representative on the Inter-allied Commission of Inquiry to Fiume.

Mr. Lansing gave General Summerall a brief outline of the recent events at Fiume according to the information which he had received and also stated briefly what had occurred in the Council of Five at the meetings of July 7th and July 8th.⁸

Mr. Lansing suggested that General Summerall should obtain the information which Admiral Knapp received from Admiral Andrews and directed Mr. Harrison to see that the General received all the papers in the case.

The Commissioners requested General Summerall to keep them advised by telegraph of the results of his investigation which it was thought he would have no difficulty in doing through the Navy wireless, as there was already an American destroyer at Fiume and it would not be long before the cruiser already ordered there would arrive.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/109

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, July 10th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. General Bliss read a letter which he had received from Mr. Pierrepont B. Noyes, American Rhineland Commissioner, in which Mr. Noyes recommended that some provision be made for the continuation of the intelligence service, now maintained by the Army, for the benefit of the American Rhineland Commissioner.

**Intelligence
Service for
the American
Member of
the Rhine-
land Com-
mission**

The matter was referred to General Bliss and the

⁸ See HD-1 and HD-2, vol. VII, pp. 32 and 45.

Commissioners requested that he be good enough to ascertain whether it would be possible for the American Forces of Occupation to continue this service.

In this connection the Commissioners expressed some doubt as to the desirability of recommending Mr. Pierrepont B. Noyes as permanent member of the American Commission to be set up under Article 2 of the Rhineland arrangement, and it was agreed that the Commissioners would recall the question of the appointment of the American Commissioner by telegraph to Mr. Lansing after his arrival in the United States.

Letter of
Appreciation
to Major
Patterson
From the
Commissioners
for His
Services

II. The Commissioners approved and signed a letter to Major Patterson, Administrative Officer of the Commission, expressing their appreciation of his services. Mr. Lansing also signed a letter to the Secretary of War transmitting a copy of their joint letter to Major Patterson with a request that it be placed upon Major Patterson's record.

Arrangements
for the
Parade on
July 14th

III. Memorandum No. 452, dated July 10, 1919, from the Secretary General regarding the arrangements for the review of the parade on July 14th was read.

(a) The Commissioners approved the proposed arrangement regarding the assignment of rooms and windows on the first floor of the Hotel de Crillon and designated Lieut. Condon to take charge of the allotment of this space.

(b) The Commissioners approved the proposed arrangement for the accommodation of the enlisted personnel of the Headquarters Battalion, the enlisted personnel of the Commission, and field clerks, on the roofs of the buildings at 4 and 10 Place de la Concorde. (It would be well to make sure that the buildings were capable of supporting the estimated number of 400 persons.)

(c) The Commissioners approved the allotment of places to members of the Commission as stated in paragraphs 3 and 5.

(d) The Commissioners approved the proposal that after filling requests of members of the Commission preference should be given for the remaining places as follows:

First—Request of the Embassy for 80 places.

Second—Request from Mr. Hoover for 160 places. (It was understood that Mr. Hoover's request would apply only to regularly attached officials to the American Relief Administration.)

Third—Request of members of the Commission for personal guests.

(e) The Commissioners approved the allotment of the seats in the Tribune to the members of the Commission who have applied therefor.

(f) The Commissioners highly approved of the proposal that the balcony of Room C-2 of 4 Place de la Concorde should be allotted

to the President and shareholders of the company owning that building.

Mr. Lansing requested that seats in the Tribune should be allotted to the Misses Lansing who will return to the [one word illegible] Hotel next Sunday.

IV. The Commissioners disapproved Mr. Allen W. Dulles' request for release from the Commission, desiring that he should stay for the time being, certainly until the arrival of Mr. Polk. (Memorandum No. 453.)

V. Memorandum No. 454 was read regarding the release of Lieut. A. V. Ferreira from the Commission.

The Commissioners noted Mr. Patchin's statement that this officer's services were no longer required and that the duties which he has been performing could be taken over by the Intelligence Officer on duty in the reception room. In view of Mr. Patchin's statement, the Commissioners approved Lieut. Ferreira's release from the Commission.

VI. The communication from the French Minister of War requesting that the decorations on the facades of the buildings at 4 and 10 Place de la Concorde be made to harmonize with the decoration on the Ministry of Marine, was read, together with a note from Major DuBose estimating the cost in the change of the decorations at from 5,000 to 6,000 francs.

Before approving this expenditure, the Commissioners desired that it be ascertained whether it would not be possible to secure some of the necessary decorations, flags, etc. from the French Government. The Commissioners required that an exact estimate of the cost should be submitted before giving their approval.

VII. Memorandum No. 455 by Mr. Sweetser recommending that space should be allotted to ten members of the American Press with one guest apiece, was read.

The Commissioners approved of the allotment of ten tickets to the Press, and, if possible, of ten more tickets for their guests.

VIII. The Commissioners desired to be furnished with a statement of the various field missions now maintained by the Commission, the names of the various officers attached to these missions, their whereabouts and present duties.

Release of
Mr. A. W.
Dulles From
the Commission

Release of
Lieut. A. V.
Ferreira

Decoration
of the
Buildings
at 4 and 10
Place de la
Concorde

Allotment
of Space to
Members of
the Press
for the
Parade on
July 14th

Field
Missions

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/110

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, July 11th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

Telegram to
American Leg-
ation, Athens,
Regarding
Smyrna
Zone of
Occupation

- I. The Commissioners approved the draft telegram to the American Minister at Athens, in reference to the telegram dated July 6th, received from Mr. Horton,⁹ and requesting the Minister to instruct Colonel Poillon to name the places around Smyrna which he considers necessary to be held by the army occupying Smyrna.

Release of
Captain
R. H. George

- II. Memorandum No. 456, regarding the release of Captain George was read.
The Commissioners approved the release of Captain George.

Special Train
for the
President
Feb. 14 and
March 12, 1919

- III. Memorandum No. 457, regarding the payment of the expense of special trains for the President on February 14th and March 12th, 1919, was read.

The Commissioners approved the payment of this bill out of the President's special fund.

Additional
Automobile
for the
Rhineland
Commission

- IV. Memorandum No. 458, regarding the request of Mr. Pierrepont B. Noyes for an additional allotment of 30,000 francs for the purchase of a Cadillac automobile for the use of the American Commissioner on the Inter-allied Rhineland Commission was read.

The Commissioners disapproved this request and approved the recommendation submitted in the memorandum under reference.

- V. Memorandum No. 459, regarding the request of the Minister of Marine that the Hotel de Crillon and the office building at 4 Place de la Concorde be decorated in harmony with the other buildings in this vicinity, was read.

Decoration of
Buildings for
Celebration
on July 14th

The Commissioners approved an allotment of 7,150 francs from the Commission funds for this purpose.

Leave of
Absence for
Maj. R. C.
Patterson, Jr.

- VI. The Commissioners approved Major Patterson's request for leave of absence for ten days, dating from July 15th, as set forth in Memorandum No. 460.

⁹ Consul General at Smyrna.

Passport for
Mrs. Ellie
Normant
Gilbert

VII. The Commissioners authorized the issuance of a passport for Mrs. Gilbert, subject to military regulations, as set forth in Memorandum No. 461.

Retention of
Mr. A. W.
Dulles With
the Commission

VIII. The Commissioners approved the telegram to the Secretary of State regarding the retention of Mr. A. W. Dulles with the Commission, and desired that an additional sentence be added informing the Department that as Mr. Dulles was probably the best equipped man to act as Diplomatic Secretary to Mr. Polk, it was the purpose of the Commissioners to retain him for this duty.

IX. Memorandum No. 462, dated July 11th, from the Committee on Personnel, was read.

Appointment
of American
Members on
the Commissions
To Execute
the Treaty of
Peace

While recognizing the importance of having properly qualified persons to undertake work on commissions in a technical capacity and familiarize themselves with the work with which they will be charged prior to the regular appointment of American members on such commissions, the Commissioners felt that it would be unwise to endeavor to retain any such persons who might be found available from the army forces of the United States in Europe, and that it would be impossible to attach any such persons to the Commission, as there were no funds available for this purpose.

If the Committee on Personnel thought it desirable, the Commissioners did not object to Colonel Grant's telephoning to G. H. Q. to arrange for the appointment of some officer by G. H. Q. to discuss with the Commission as to the availability of any army officers for commissions provided for in the Treaty with Germany.

X. Memorandum No. 463 in regard to certain recommendations submitted by Lieutenant Colonel Greene was read.

Baltic
Commission

The Commissioners expressed their disapproval of certain recommendations contained in the memorandum and referred the matter to General Bliss.

Proposed Sale
of Arms,
Munitions
and Military
Equipment to
Esthonia,
Latvia and
Lithuania

XI. Memorandum No. 464, regarding the proposed sale of arms, munitions and military equipment to Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, submitted by Lieutenant Colonel Greene, was referred to General Bliss.

Proposed Sale
of Arms, Muni-
tions and Mili-
tary Equipment
to Russian
Volunteer
Forces

XII. Memorandum No. 465, regarding the proposed sale of arms, munitions and military equipment by the Liquidation Commission to the Russian volunteer forces, submitted by Lieutenant Colonel Warwick Greene, was referred to General Bliss.

Cards of
Admission to
Crillon on
July 14th

XIII. The Commissioners approved the issuance of two cards of admission to the Crillon on July 14th, to M. Monod.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/111

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, July 12th, 1919*

Present:

MR. LANSING
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. Memorandum No. 466 containing a list of the various missions and commissions now in existence was read.

Field Missions
and Other
Commissions
Retained at
the Expense
of the Peace
Commission

The Commissioners desired to be furnished with copies of this memorandum so that they might have an opportunity of studying this data with a view to cutting down unnecessary expense.

Generally speaking the Commissioners were inclined to believe that it would be necessary to continue the Rhineland Commission, Mission to Turkey, the Teschen Commission, Klagenfurt Mission, Halstead Mission, Dyar Mission, Summerall Mission and the Polish Mission. General Bliss has now under consideration the revision of the Mission to the Baltic Provinces. The Commissioners felt that the Mission to Southern Russia might be dispensed with and that the Mission [*Commission?*] rely on the information from the American Consul in that region, as this would be sufficient for all practical purposes.

II. Memorandum No. 467 was read. The Commissioners disapproved making the advance in question pending a decision regarding the necessity for continuing the Field Mission to Southern Russia. (See Item I above.)

Advance of
2,000 Francs
to Ensign
Greene

III. Memorandum No. 468 regarding the temporary assignment of Mr. Arthur B. Lane to the Commission was read and approved.

Assignment of
Mr. Arthur B.
Lane

IV. Memorandum No. 469 regarding additional personnel for Mr. Morgenthau's Mission to Poland was read. The Commissioners hesitated to approve Mr. Morgenthau's request in view of the large expense that would be entailed thereby, and desired to discuss the matter to-morrow, Sunday, afternoon at 6:30 P. M. with General Jadwin in Mr. White's office.

Additional
Personnel for
Mr. Morgenthau's
Mission

The Commissioners desired to be furnished with a brief memorandum regarding each of the officers already assigned to the Polish Mission and those whose names were now proposed, showing the

duties to which each man will be assigned and his qualifications therefor.

V. Mr. Harrison stated that he had received inquiry by telephone of Mr. Sterling of the American Embassy asking for the opinion of the Mission as to whether the Embassy should deliver to the Azerbadjian Peace Delegation in Paris the sum of 1,000 pounds sterling which the Embassy had received from the American Consul at Tiflis.

**Delivery of
1000 Pounds
Sterling to
the Azerbadjian
Peace
Delegation**

The Commissioners felt that the American Consul at Tiflis had been remiss for accepting this money for transmission and believed that it would be undesirable for the Embassy to deliver the money to the Azerbadjian Peace Delegation. If the money had been received by draft this might be returned to the Consul or the Embassy might send the money to the Secretary General of the Peace Conference with a statement to the effect that the disposition of this money seemed to be a matter for the decision of the Allied and Associated Governments.

**Withdrawal
of Detachment
Now in Vienna
for Enforce-
ment of
Blockade
Against
Hungary**

VI. Memorandum No. 470 regarding the proposed withdrawal of the detachment of the American soldiers now in Vienna to help in the enforcement of the Blockade against Hungary was read.

The Commissioners believed that the detachment should be withdrawn and approved the recommendations set forth in the memorandum.

**Release of Mr.
George Louis
Beer and Cap-
tain Stanley K.
Hornbeck From
the Commission**

VII. Two memoranda addressed to the Commissioners by Captain Hornbeck requesting that they permit Mr. Beer to leave for the United States on or about August 1 and Captain Hornbeck on or about July 25 were read.

The Commissioners regretted that for the time being they were not in a position to grant the request for release of these two gentlemen.

**Appointment of
Brigadier General
John H. Rice
to the
Commission To
Examine the
Conventions
Proposed by
the British
and French
Governments
Regarding the
Arms Traffic**

VIII. The attention of the Commissioners was invited to the fact that there was no record of the President having approved the recommendation contained in Mr. Lansing's letter of June 13 for the appointment of Brigadier General John H. Rice on the Commission to examine the Draft Convention on the Arms Traffic submitted by the British and French Governments.

The Commissioners approved the appointment of Brigadier General Rice.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/112

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, July 15th, 1919*

Present :

MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. Memorandum No. 471 recommending the designation of Mr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, as special librarian to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, was read.

Mr. Putnam
Designated
Special
Librarian
of the
Mission

The Commissioners approved this designation and authorized the Secretary General so to inform Mr. Putnam.

II. Memorandum No. 472 regarding an inquiry addressed to the Secretary General by Mr. J. B. Brown, inquiring whether or not the United States is to be a party to and bound by the Treaties to be signed with Bulgaria and Turkey, was read.

Signature by
the United
States of
Peace
Treaties
With Bul-
garia and
Turkey

The Commissioners desired that a telegram be sent to the President stating that this question had been put to them by one of the technical advisers, and that they had referred to the President's statement made to the Press before his departure, to the effect that the United States would sign the Treaties with Bulgaria and Turkey, and that, consequently, the United States would be bound by these Treaties. The Commissioners thought it well that the President should also be informed that our experts had stated that if the United States were not to guarantee these Treaties, the position which they would take in drawing up the terms of the Treaty might perhaps be different. The President should be asked whether the Commissioners' action in the matter had his approval.

III. Memorandum submitted by Mr. Tyler, dated July 12th, containing certain information regarding the Austrian Delegation, was read, and the contents noted by the Commissioners.

Memorandum
From Major
Tyler Rela-
tive to
Austrian
Delegation

IV. The Commissioners decided to make the following reply to the recommendations submitted in Memoranda Nos. 464 and 465, dated July 10, 1919 :

Sale of Arms,
Munitions and
Military Equip-
ment by the
Liquidation
Commission to
Russian
Volunteer
Forces and
to Estonia,
Latvia and
Lithuania

“Colonel Greene should be informed that at the last meeting of the American Delegation, prior to the departure of Mr. Lansing, it was unanimously held that the American Peace Commission cannot properly advise the Liquidation Commission on such matters. The sale of public property of the United States left in France by the Army is prescribed in a law of Congress. If the sales in question can properly be made under that law, it is assumed that the Liquidation Commission will be glad to make them. If the Commission holds that these sales cannot properly be made under the law, it is not competent for the American Peace Delegation to advise, but it would seem that the interested parties should have the matter brought to the attention of the Attorney General.”

V. The Commissioners decided that a reply be made to the recommendations contained in Memorandum No. 463 of July 10, 1919, based on the following memorandum presented by General Bliss:

Mission to
Finland,
Estonia,
Latvia and
Lithuania

“In the light of the discussion in the American Delegation before the departure of Mr. Secretary Lansing, I suggest that the following reply, in substance, be communicated to Lieut. Colonel Greene:

(1) That Mr. Secretary Lansing disapproved the designation ‘Mission’, on the ground that it is competent neither for the State Department nor this Delegation to send a Mission, but only a ‘Commission’.

(2) That the Commission should be for the Baltic States, including Lithuania, and excluding Finland.

(3) That the only duties which can be assigned to the Commission by this Delegation are ‘to investigate and report on political, economic and military conditions:’ that this Delegation may assign such duties because information on these subjects may assist it in solving problems which may come before it in its official capacity as the American Peace Delegation; and that additional functions can be assigned to it only by the government in Washington.

(4) That the American Delegation is empowered solely to take part in the negotiations of a Treaty of Peace with the Central Powers with which it had been at war and that it can have no other policy than to accomplish this task as soon as it can properly be done; and that it cannot, therefore, authorize any policy to be carried out by anyone other than itself.

In paragraph 3 (c) ¹⁰ there is noted a reference to the ‘British Military Mission’. It is believed association with this British Military Mission has given a natural, but wrong impression as to the character of the American Commission in the Baltic Provinces. The British Military Mission was sent out by the British Government and not by the British Peace Delegation in Paris. It is a governmental agency and may exercise such powers and perform such functions as

¹⁰ Of Colonel Greene’s memorandum.

its government may assign to it. The case is entirely different with the American Commission. The natural misunderstanding as to the powers and duties of the members of the American Commission must be the explanation of the statement in the footnote at the bottom of Colonel Greene's memorandum, and which is to the effect that Colonel Dawley is now, as Colonel Greene understands, acting as Military Governor of Riga. I am obliged to invite the attention of the American Delegation to this extraordinary fact, because I very much fear that it may lead to the War Department directing the withdrawal of all army officers of this Commission. The American Peace Delegation is now in the embarrassing position of having an officer, who was sent at its request to collect certain information, acting as Military Governor of a foreign city belonging to a country with which we have never been at war and acting under the orders of a foreign general. In his capacity as Military Governor he may at any moment be obliged to resort to measures resulting in the loss of many lives. I think that the American Peace Delegation would be in an indefensible position were it to become known that an officer attached to it may be occupying the position which Colonel Greene thinks it possible that Colonel Dawley is now occupying. I urgently recommend that this Delegation immediately, in writing, direct Colonel Greene to immediately communicate with Colonel Dawley and should he actually be performing the functions of Military Governor of Riga, that he be ordered to immediately surrender this position and return to his proper functions."

VI. The Commissioners heard Mr. Homer Johnson regarding Mr. Morgenthau's request for additional personnel to be assigned to his mission, as stated in Memorandum No. 469 of July 11th.

Additional
Personnel for
Mr. Morgenthau's
Mission to
Poland

Mr. Johnson pointed out that the list given in Memorandum No. 469 was not up-to-date. The correct list was that given in Major Otto's letter of July 11th. He would point out, however, that Mr. H. C. Jacquith was coming back to Paris, that 1st Sergeant John P. Lawton might be stricken off the list as he had not gone with the automobiles to Warsaw, and that three of the six remaining chauffeurs would return to Paris as soon as the cars had been delivered in Warsaw. Mr. Booth was also coming back to Paris.

Mr. Johnson felt that all the remaining personnel mentioned in Major Otto's letter of July 11th were necessary, with the possible exception of Captain G. C. Stefaniak and Second Lieutenant W. S. Gunbeck. These men, however, were both fine types of Americans, and both came from a part of the country where the population was very mixed, realized the difficulties to be faced, and knew how the problem had been solved in the United States. Mr. Johnson felt that the Mission needed just such a steady American flavor.

Mr. Johnson also stated that if he were unable to obtain the services of Captain George Gordon, he would like to employ Mr. Tyng.

After talking the matter over somewhat further with Mr. Johnson, the Commissioners approved the list as given in Major Otto's letter of July 11th, with the exception of 1st Sergeant John P. Lawton, whose services were not desired. The Commissioners also approved of the confirmation of the assignment of Lieutenant Colonel M. C. Bryant, who had already left for Poland, and whose name did not appear in Major Otto's letter.

VII. General Bliss introduced Brigadier General Sladen, whom the Commissioners had appointed as American representative on the Inter-allied Mission to Schleswig.

Brig. Gen.
Sladen,
American
Representative
on
the Inter-
allied
Mission to
Schleswig

The Commissioners suggested that General Sladen should see the Secretary General, from whom he should obtain his letter of appointment, instructions, and any information which he might desire. The Commissioners stated that they would be glad to receive General Sladen tomorrow morning if he were ready, but certainly sometime before his departure.

VIII. M. Hymans and the Comte de Gruin (?) were received by the Commissioners. M. Hymans explained that he had come before his departure to ask that the American Delegation give its approval to the proposed convention between Belgium and Great Britain relating to German East Africa, which was to be considered at the meeting of the Commission on Mandates on the 17th instant. This convention had been negotiated between Lord Milner and M. Orts. The part of German East Africa to be assigned under the convention to Belgium was less large than the part that Belgian troops had occupied and administered for the last three years. M. Hymans was pleased to state that the way in which Belgium had administered this territory had given the greatest satisfaction to the natives, as he was prepared to prove by the submission of various documents. He hoped that the American Commissioners would examine this question favorably, as he considered it to be of the greatest importance to his country. He explained further that this convention was known to Colonel House, the American member of the Commission on Mandates, who had sat in when the agreement between France and Great Britain on the Togo and the Cameroons had been approved. M. Hymans was leaving this evening for Brussels, and during his absence the Comte de Gruin would have charge of the matter on his behalf.

Proposed
Convention
Between
Belgium and
Great Britain
Relating
to German
East Africa

Mr. White informed M. Hymans that the American Commissioners had no feeling of antagonism to any arrangement between Belgium and Great Britain. Nevertheless, there was the question of American participation in such matters before the treaty had been ratified on the part of the United States.

M. Hymans stated that the Council of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers had referred the general question of mandates and this matter to a special commission set up for the purpose before the Treaty with Germany was signed. He again expressed the hope that the American Delegates would see their way to give the matter favorable consideration, as it was of great importance to Belgium.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/113

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, July 16th, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. Memorandum No. 473 regarding Lieutenant Burden's resignation and his recommendation that Captain Paul Chapin should replace him was read.

Release of
Lieutenant
Burden and
Assignment
of Captain
Chapin

The Commissioners regretted that Mr. Burden found it necessary to submit his resignation, but in view of the strong recommendations Mr. Burden had submitted regarding Captain Chapin the Commissioners approved the proposed transfer, and accepted Mr. Burden's resignation.

II. Memorandum No. 474 regarding the inquiry as to whether the Commissioners thought it desirable that a successor be appointed to General Patrick on the Aeronautical Commission was read.

Aeronautical
Commission
Appointment
of a Successor
to Gen. Patrick
on the

The Commissioners approved in principle that somebody should be appointed to take General Patrick's place, although it was understood that the question of the approval of the draft convention submitted by the Aeronautical Commission was now in the hands of Mr. Lansing who had undertaken to let the Supreme Council have a definite answer in this regard within three weeks.

III. Memorandum No. 475 regarding Mr. G. L. Beer's request for release from further service with the Commission to take effect on or about July 26th, was read.

Release of
Mr. G. L.
Beer

The Commissioners had no objection to granting this release provided the work on which Mr. Beer is now engaged should be completed by that date.

IV. Memorandum No. 476 regarding the termination of the lease for the Hotel Coislin, 4 Place de la Concorde, was read and noted by the Commissioners. In view of the information in the above mentioned memorandum, the Commissioners approved the proposed letter to Mr. Edgar Sincay accompanying memorandum No. 477 of July 8th, 1919.

Termination
of Lease for
the Hotel
Coislin

The Commissioners heard Mr. Poole on the situation in Russia.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/114

Minutes of Meeting of Commissioners and Technical Advisers of American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Hotel Crillon, July 16, 1919, at 2 p. m.

MR. WHITE opened the meeting and called upon those present to give information concerning the status of various Commissions' work, and asked for suggestions concerning the uncompleted treaties.

DR. SCOTT: In regard to the Austrian Treaty, Mr. Commissioner, the Drafting Committee is practically in the position that it was last week; it has everything completed as far as material has been handed to it. There are three outstanding things—two of them are on your agenda for this afternoon: one is the question of the railroad—

MR. WHITE: Is that the Sudbahn?

DR. SCOTT: Yes. And that is on the agenda for this afternoon. The other is in regard to the slight rectification of the boundary, which was settled, but the text of which will come to the Drafting Committee this afternoon. And there is one thing that may affect the Treaty one way or the other in the matter of protection of minorities: There will be a slight change made in the original Austrian Draft.

MR. WHITE: I made three efforts yesterday to get the Reparation, Financial and Air Clauses sent at once to the Austrians, and they kept saying: "Well, we will have the whole thing ready by tomorrow." That was the answer.

DR. SCOTT: If, sir, you can get your decisions on those matters into the hands of the Drafting Committee this afternoon, those three outstanding matters, that can go to press tonight, and the Treaty itself—it is all in type—can be delivered before the end of the week.

MR. WHITE: I understood there was a new Italian proposition.

DR. SCOTT: There has been an Italian proposition looking to the conveyance from Austria-Hungary of certain rights and concessions that Austria-Hungary had in Tien-Tsin, but I understand that has been positively negated.

MR. WHITE: I turned that down.

DR. SCOTT: I understand, Mr. Commissioner, that there is a communication on Ports and Waterways. Mr. Hudson would know about that.

MR. HUDSON: None from the Ports and Waterways Commission.

DR. SCOTT: That may be advance information that some of the members have such a thing in contemplation.

CAPT. HORNBECK: That is in regard to the railroad running from Trieste to Vienna.

DR. SCOTT: I could not say what it is. I have not seen the text.

MR. WHITE: You had your meeting this morning?

CAPTAIN HORNBECK: Yes.

MR. WHITE: What happened?

CAPT. HORNBECK: That matter was entirely disposed of. That is the Tien-Tsin concession mentioned a moment ago. The committee recommended that it make certain suggestions, but as far as the Austrian Treaty is concerned, that is entirely disposed of.

MR. WHITE: That is one thing. The Sudbahn is another. And the other is what?

DR. SCOTT: Protection of minorities.

MR. WHITE: And both of them are coming up this afternoon.

DR. SCOTT: And if those can be gotten out of the way, there is no clause, as far as I understand, that needs to be added to the Treaty to make it complete, inasmuch as the text of the boundary matter is complete.

MAJOR JOHNSON: The proposition in regard to the railroad involves territorial matters indirectly, and that ought to be looked into carefully, because there was a proposition from the Italians in connection with the railroad to assure them transit from Austrian to Italian territory without any interference; "unhampered communication" are the words; the meaning intended to be conveyed was: without having to cross the territory of another country. And that matter was brought up in connection with the territorial matters. It was acknowledged in principle in the meeting of the Supreme Council, but with the definite statement on the part of Mr. Balfour when he said "unhampered" that he wanted it clearly understood that it involved nothing in regard to territorial matters.

DR. SCOTT: I wish to call your attention to the fact that this is the skeleton copy of the Treaty with Bulgaria, and I was thinking, if you did not have anything that you consider more worthy of attention, it would be desirable if each one of those items should be submitted to the meeting with a request for a statement as to the progress of the work in each one of those sections, so that we could facilitate the progress in that way.

MR. WHITE: Do you mean to ask now, in this meeting?

DR. SCOTT: Yes. Or would you like me to read it?

MR. WHITE: Yes.

DR. SCOTT: The outline of the Treaty with Bulgaria is fashioned upon the Treaties with Germany and with Austria-Hungary, consist-

ing of the Preamble, the names of the plenipotentiaries—and, in that connection, who are to be the American plenipotentiaries to sign the Treaty? In the case of the Austrian Treaty, sir, whom do you wish?

MR. WHITE: I don't know whether Colonel House is going to sign it or not. Do you mean to put that in?

DR. SCOTT: I had that in mind. Mr. Lansing's name will not be there nor the President's.

MR. WHITE: No.

DR. SCOTT: Is it your pleasure that Colonel House remain?

MR. WHITE: We will telegraph him. Before it is printed we will know.

DR. SCOTT: And then the first part of the Treaty with Bulgaria is to be the Pact.

MR. WHITE: Yes.

DR. SCOTT: There was considerable opposition on the part of Great Britain and France as to including the Pact in the Treaty with Bulgaria. The President informed the American members that it was to appear, and so it does. The second is: Frontiers of Bulgaria. Perhaps Mr. Johnson can state the exact situation of the frontiers.

MAJOR JOHNSON: The matter has been referred to the Commission which is working on it now. The Commission found itself confronted with diversity of opinion, the Italian and American delegations maintaining that the territory ceded to Bulgaria in 1913 giving her access to the sea should not be taken from her. The French, British and Japanese agree in taking this territory from Bulgaria and annexing it to Greece. The result was that it was deemed desirable for this Territorial Commission to refer to the Supreme Council the general question involved in order that the principle may be decided before we proceed to the discussion of the details of the frontiers. The Greeks have asked for a certain rectification of the frontiers decided upon by the Committee on Greek Affairs, but it was found impossible to deal with those minor rectifications so long as we were unaware what action would be taken by the Supreme Council. The thing comes up tomorrow at 11 o'clock again for the final preparation of the report to the Supreme Council, and immediately thereafter it goes to the Supreme Council for their decision as to whether or not Bulgaria is to have access to the sea. When that is disposed of, then the matter will be very quickly arranged.

MR. WHITE: Bulgaria is in actual possession?

MAJOR JOHNSON: Bulgaria is in actual possession, and has been since 1913.

DR. SCOTT: Mr. Chairman, the next part of the Treaty consists of the political clauses. Those are of very general nature, and are based upon those of the German Treaty and the Austrian Treaty. Of

course the protection of minorities will be handled by the Committee with that.

MR. HUDSON: I have discovered that the Council of Four has not given the Committee on New States direction to draw clauses dealing with the Bulgarian Treaty, and it will take action, if those clauses are thought desirable.

DR. SCOTT: The next part, following in order, consists of the military, naval and air clauses.

COLONEL GRANT: They have never been taken up.

DR. SCOTT: They were prepared and submitted to the Council for consideration.

COLONEL GRANT: They were submitted before the Council of Four broke up.

GENERAL BLISS: A new proposition for military clauses was suggested; it was referred to the military representatives, but no final action has been taken.

DR. SCOTT: The next one, Mr. Chairman, is Prisoners of War. The next is the question of sanctions or penalties. The Greeks, the Serbs, the Croats, the Slovenes and the Rumanians presented a draft modifying in principle and in practice the section in the German Treaty and the one in the Austrian Treaty. Instead of the military commissions they proposed an international tribunal. A proposition was laid before the Commission, debated for a period of six weeks, and rejected by the Supreme Council. Its fate probably will be the same either in the Commission or when it reaches the Supreme Council.

MR. WHITE: They brought it up in another form.

DR. SCOTT: Originally. The proposition which they are renewing was rejected.

MR. WHITE: They brought it up in another form.

DR. SCOTT: Yes, sir. That commission will report very rapidly. Part 7 is Reparations.

MR. J. F. DULLES: The Reparation Clauses have [*had?*] been practically agreed to three weeks ago by the British, French and the Italians. Just before he left, Mr. Lansing (?) instructed me to take an active part in the deliberations about reparations and that resulted in discarding all the work that had been done. We have not yet started a redraft of the clauses for the reason that the new British delegate, who is Colonel Peel, while in personal sympathy with the views which the American delegation proposed, does not feel himself in position to discuss the matter yet because he has written Mr. Lloyd George asking authority to modify the position taken previously by the British delegates. He has not since heard from Mr. Lloyd George, and we are holding up the meeting until he gets those instructions. We have discussed the matter informally with the British and French, and if Colonel Peel gets Mr. Lloyd George's

approval it can probably be concluded in a short time. In case he does not, we can get together on a majority-minority report.

DR. SCOTT: The next part consists of Financial Clauses.

MR. DULLES: The Financial Clauses have been drawn up and are in print, subject to modification, which will have to be made as soon as the Reparation Clauses are determined upon. The work on the Financial Clauses is held up until the Reparation Clauses are finished.

DR. SCOTT: The next part is Economic Clauses.

MR. NIELSEN: My understanding is that they were presented a week ago.

DR. SCOTT: Complete?

MR. NIELSEN: Complete.

DR. SCOTT: They have not been passed upon?

MR. NIELSEN: They were completed about a week ago.

DR. SCOTT: The 10th is Aerial Navigation. Might I continue with three more, Mr. Chairman, and then the list will be complete. Part 11 is Ports.

MR. HUDSON: The report has been completed by the Commission, and has been sent to the Council of Five, and has not yet been acted upon.

DR. SCOTT: The Labor Convention requires no modification, and is in print. That is the 12th. And then the 13th and final part consists of General Clauses of a general nature, fashioned upon those of the German and Austrian Treaties. I think you can see, Mr. Chairman, that with a little acceleration of the pace, it will be only a few days until most of the Treaty will be ready.

MR. WHITE: Yes.

DR. SCOTT: Would it be your desire that this should be copied off and a copy sent to each member?

MR. WHITE: A statement as to the condition of each one.

DR. SCOTT: When the Steering Committee meets tomorrow we can get together and try to present a detailed statement of the work up to date, with the list of the conventions completed and handed in to the Council.

GENERAL BLISS: I would like to ask Major Scott if he knows officially just where it is, and approximately how long we will be waiting to take up the Turkish Treaty. I have understood that it was held up until the President could find what the position of the United States would be in the matter of taking of mandates. I don't know.

DR. SCOTT: I haven't any official information, only there is a general understanding to that effect.

MR. BUCKLER: There was circulated a little while ago a resolution of the Big Four distinctly postponing it until the United States will say what it will do about mandates.

COLONEL GRANT: It seems to me there is a hole in that air proposition. As far as I know we have no one left who is on that Commission. I don't know whether Colonel Lippincott is looking after that or not.

GENERAL BLISS: Our representative on the former air commission has gone home, but as far as the military importance of the air terms is concerned, I don't see why we need bother ourselves about it at all. We will accept whatever is satisfactory to the Allies, because we have no concern with it.

COLONEL GRANT: This particular section was not so much the military air terms as the commercial aerial navigation.

GENERAL BLISS: Doesn't that all come in the air convention that Mr. Lansing has taken home and refuses to take any action on until that is passed upon?

DR. SCOTT: That is a separate and distinct convention. This is a series of clauses of general nature, distinct from the military on the one hand and international on the other.

MR. BUCKLER: I ought to modify what I said just now by saying that I know that Mr. Nielsen knows that certain sections of the Turkish Treaty are being discussed just now.

MR. HOOVER: What action is going to be taken to appoint men for the various commissions that are being formed? There are commissions being formed all around the place by the other people, and I want to know whether it is not best for our government to designate certain men for places on those commissions who would be subsequently confirmed in those commissions. It would seem necessary to have men so appointed, who can familiarize themselves with the situation, and be ready to act later on.

GENERAL BLISS: It was decided that we would not appoint anybody until the Senate acted.

MR. HOOVER: Because of the present situation our arrangement, in Silesia, for example, is breaking down. We have had a convention with the Germans, Poles and Czechs, with an American at the head, whom I selected, and with this new situation created by the Treaty, that arrangement is breaking down.

MR. WHITE: Can we not get around it?

MR. HOOVER: My suggestion was that if we were going to participate in Commissions that had to do with the plebiscite in Silesia, that if Colonel Goodyear, who is there, can be appointed temporarily on that Commission, it would give him a sufficient status to carry on.

GENERAL BLISS: I can see that in respect to a good many of these things it makes no difference if the United States is represented on them or not. Take these Commissions of control in Germany. The English and the French and the Italians can perfectly well accomplish the whole matter of the determination of the surplus military material

over and above what is to be allotted to them by the Treaty, and call for the delivery of the remainder and dispose of it in the way in which the treaty requires.

Now with respect to that commission on plebiscite in Silesia, the President told me that while we would participate in the study of the general question, the authority of the commission and the approximate number of people that ought to be on it, and their general functions, that we were not to take any part whatever in the assignment of the number of American delegates, and still less to attempt to make any designation.

But, in regard to commercial questions and trade questions, wherever they are involved it seems to me that the President might take a different view in regard to Commissions like that where our interests might be prejudiced if we were not represented in the very beginning, even before the Treaty went into effect, and if a telegram to the President could be prepared that would make a distinction between these classes of commissions, I think he might take a different view.

MR. WHITE: I think we ought to send him one.

GENERAL BLISS: Yes.

MR. HOOVER: That also applies to the Waterways question, does it not?

MR. HUDSON: Yes. May I ask whether the Commissioners shall distinguish between the United States participating in these questions as a signatory to the Treaty and as a power that is not yet bound by the Treaty, but is asked by powers that are bound to come in? Suppose a treaty goes into effect between Italy, England and France and Germany, for instance, which calls for the appointment of an arbitrator by the United States to do a certain thing. The United States might consent to appoint that arbitrator, who can function without we ourselves being bound by the treaty, and the United States would occupy the position that we would occupy if Panama and Guatemala should make a treaty calling for an arbitrator appointed by the United States. I wonder if on some such theory as that we might be getting ready for some of this work?

MR. WHITE: I should suggest we might.

GENERAL BLISS: The meaning is to require the designation of the individual.

MR. HUDSON: I think it requires, as Mr. Hoover said, that some man should be on the spot, ready, so that the moment the situation justifies it he can begin to act.

MR. HOOVER: Yes, and he ought to be selected with the assurance, both to him and to everybody else that he will be the man who will eventually be selected permanently. Otherwise he will not take the interest in the questions to be studied, which is quite natural, if he is not sure he will be confirmed.

MR. WHITE: We ought to send a telegram today.

GENERAL BLISS: Yes, and we ought to discuss its contents with the gentlemen who are familiar with the situation.

MR. DULLES: I am sitting on the Commission for the execution of the treaty, and I have been considerably embarrassed as to what position to take. If we do not take the necessary preliminary steps in appointing these men, we will soon not have any left. The only way this can be taken care of is to hold these men here, telling them that when the treaty goes into force they will be appointed. Now, the treaty provides for a number of Commissions, Boundary and Plebiscite, for example, which call for an American, and further provide that the commissioners shall undertake their duties either immediately upon the going into force of the treaty or within fifteen days. In view of the unsettled conditions in Europe, particularly in Poland and places of that sort, the Allies are very insistent that there shall be no delay in getting the commissioners of certain of these commissions on the spot. The presence of those commissioners is essential to the maintenance of order; their presence is necessary for the effect it will have.

On the other hand, Germany has the right to ask that those commissioners should not start to work without the presence of an American. The presence of an American is, in a sense, an assurance to Germany (that is the way Germany feels about it), that they will get fair treatment, and they are entitled to that.

GENERAL BLISS: Why should the Germans insist that the Americans be there? The treaty might go into effect and we not take part at all.

MR. DULLES: It says: "The Allied and Associated Powers" should draw a boundary, for instance.

MR. WHITE: Which it does in a number of cases. I don't think there is any danger of the Senate rescinding anything of that sort, except as concerns the League of Nations. I think it might be recommended that that distinction be made.

MR. DULLES: I prepared this morning, General Bliss, a memorandum covering this very point.

MR. WHITE: Will you and Mr. Hudson and Mr. Hoover draw a telegram, however long, and we will send it at once.

MR. HUDSON: Do you approve that distinction, Dr. Scott?

DR. SCOTT: I think that is very just.

MR. WHITE: There is no question that the Senate will approve the treaty, except the League of Nations.

GENERAL BLISS: I should like to ask Dr. Scott this thing, as an expert on treaties: Suppose the treaty says that the Allied and Associated Powers will do so and so, will appoint a plebiscite commission, and so on,—as I understand it that is not at all the same as

if it were to say: "The Five Principal Powers" or the "Five Principal Allied and Associated Powers", because in the military clauses, where it says that the Allies shall furnish a force for Upper Silesia—I think that is the wording of the Treaty—it does not say "An Allied Force"—or possibly it does say "An Allied Force", anyone of them assigned to that duty will undertake it; we can send a British force or we can send an American force, and nobody else can intervene. Consequently, referring to what Mr. Dulles just said, that Germany could refuse to act if Americans were not represented, I don't see how they could take that position. If it said "The Five Powers", that would be one thing, but if it said "The Allied and Associated Powers", why if one member of the Allied and Associated Powers whose signatures are necessary to put the Treaty into effect, should act, that would be sufficient.

DR. SCOTT: I should say so, General, where the obligation is general in its terms—"Allied and Associated Powers". Where, however, the Treaty is specific—"The Principal Allied and Associated Powers"—naturally those who are to act are designated, and in the cases of plebiscites, the Principal Allied and Associated Powers are those designated to perform the obligation.

MR. WHITE: And in certain cases of arbitration, such as Mr. Hudson referred to.

MR. HUDSON: We could act, although the United States refuses to ratify the treaty.

DR. SCOTT: Exactly as he has illustrated in the case of a treaty between Panama and Guatemala. If they should agree that the President of the United States should appoint an arbitrator, the President of the United States would take advantage of such a provision of the treaty, although there were no treaty obligation to do so.

MR. WHITE: Or he might decline it.

DR. SCOTT: Or he might decline it.

MR. HOOVER: My sole interest is to get an administration between the time that I withdraw mine and the time a new one comes in.

MR. WHITE: It is of the greatest importance.

MR. NIELSEN: In line with Mr. Buckler's suggestion, I might call your attention to what we did with regard to Turkey. We framed the usual economic clauses, with some material differences, and I think they are all framed, but a hitch was struck with regard to the capitulatory regime, and whether we sign or not, we would be interested in what happened with the capitulation[s]. These old treaties that give extra-territorial rights and extensive commercial privileges, we of course are not parties to these rather elaborate treaties that the French and British have. We only have the old 1830 treaty,¹¹ the

¹¹ Hunter Miller (ed.), *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, vol. 3, p. 541.

interpretation of which has always been in question, and the old 1862 treaty,¹² which Turkey says is not in effect, but by custom and by usage and through these treaties we have had extensive rights in Turkey. Now whether we sign or not, we are interested in what the other nations do with the old capitulations. I should say, perhaps, that if we revise the old treaties, our League of Nations would derive a benefit from it, but if they only carry rights, then a very disagreeable situation might arise with Turkey. But if we sign we are in the same position as the others.

The hitch seems to be now that the French want to proceed with rather an elaborate scheme of reorganizing the judiciary. They will maintain the old consular jurisdiction, but they will want to establish mixed courts. And I should think that that matter will perhaps be taken away from the Commission, and brought by the British up to the plenipotentiaries to be decided, and that it will involve, perhaps, a considerable controversy, and it seems to me that we are interested, whether we sign or not, in a considerable degree, since we must protect our commercial interests there. We must maintain our judicial functions, because we cannot let the rights of our nationals be determined by Turkish courts.

MR. HOOVER: We have a telegraph system running all over Europe, and you are very largely dependent on it. These systems are operated by American operators, and the lines have been leased to us by various governments. Two-thirds of your telegrams come over the lines in question, and if they are not continued you will find yourselves absolutely cut off. I have got 250 telegraph operators, and my appropriation has run out.

MR. WHITE: Could we not send a telegram on that?

MR. HOOVER: I am using less and less of that service every day, and I think the Peace Commission should take that service over until after peace is signed and telegraphic communication is established.

MR. WHITE: Couldn't we send a telegram on that?

GENERAL BLISS: We could not do anything until the appropriation is passed.

MR. WHITE: We could perhaps hasten action.

MR. DULLES: Couldn't that be combined with the other telegram, because if we are to hold people in Paris in order to put them on these commissions, that in itself will require a considerable disbursement.

GENERAL BLISS: Do you mean that we are to keep here, out of the State Department funds, the people who are to go to these various missions?

¹² William M. Malloy (ed.), *Treaties, Conventions, etc., Between the United States of America and Other Powers, 1776-1909* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1910), vol. II, p. 1321.

MR. DULLES: Yes, to hold them, so we may have time to educate them in the work they will have to do. It will take sixty principals, besides clerical assistance.

MR. WHITE: I would suggest that you send a telegram. It will get there by the time that Mr. Lansing gets home.

MR. BUCKLER: It might also be well to include in that an appropriation to cover the expense of the expedition of General Harbord to report on Armenia, because in that connection there was nothing said about expenses.

End of Meeting.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/115

*Minutes of the Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
July 17, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. L. HARRISON

Six Additional
Field Clerks

I. The Commissioners approved Memorandum No. 478 regarding the assignment of additional field clerks to the Commission.

II. The Commissioners heard Mr. Henry James on the situation in Hungary. Mr. James presented the following memorandum:

MEMORANDUM CONCERNING POSSIBLE ACTION AT BUDAPEST

There would seem to be two ways of loosening the knot at Budapest which now ties up all normal communication in southeastern Europe. Both proceed on the basis that Bela Kun's Government cannot be taken at its word—that mere promises by that Government cannot be accepted.

First. The Bela Kun Government can be upset by force and another government may be set up under the auspices of an Allied army of occupation with which treaties and engagements can be made. This is military interference in the internal affairs of Hungary.

Second. Another alternative is to proceed to police the Danube River and the vital railway lines which pass through Hungarian territory and which are essential to the normal economic life of the surrounding countries which the Allies have already made immense sacrifices to liberate. This need not involve the dictation of a form of government to the people of Hungary and is susceptible of being handled in such a manner that it will be rightly recognized by the public opinion of the world as a police measure. It should be handled as just such a police measure as the League of Nations is devised to countenance

and encourage as an alternative to warfare. To elaborate this alternative:

The first step should be taken in the name of peaceful commerce. The Interallied Danube River Commission, on which America, Great Britain, France and Italy are the only countries now represented, has already been requested by agents of the Bela Kun Government to arrange for the resumption of traffic on the Danube. This Commission could open negotiations for the resumption of traffic and could insist that in return for permitting the Hungarian interest to trade by river and railway the following conditions shall be accepted:

First. Assurances shall be [given?] that railway traffic and navigation will be guaranteed uninterrupted passage, such assurance to take the form of the admission of an Allied police force to such parts of Budapest and such points on the Hungarian railway and river systems as may seem necessary to preserve order.

Second. Bela Kun shall immediately arrange for the inclusion of a moderate element in his Government.

If this is done it should be announced immediately that the action does not imply political recognition to the Bela Kun Government, nor even an attempt to interfere with the internal politics of Hungary. Consistent with this action the people within the territory held by Bela Kun's Government will still be able to determine whether they will continue to support his Government or to change it. In this manner, the way will be opened for a moderate and peaceful change of government, if the people so desire. This kind of change is greatly to be preferred to that change which will ultimately occur by counter-revolution unless a police force is introduced into Hungary soon. Should Bela Kun refuse compliance with this program, the Allied High Command acting on the advice of Admiral Troubridge, the Chairman of the Interallied Danube River Commission, and without further reference to Paris should issue the necessary orders to such Allied or Associated military forces as may now be in this territory to establish the above outlined police protection of traffic and thus guarantee to Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Yugo-Slavia and Roumania direct communication and through traffic which they need for their economic life, and of which they are now deprived.

If it were decided to deal with the Budapest situation in this manner something like the following procedure would have to be adopted. The Council of Ten would announce that it was acting in view of the serious embarrassment which the Hungarian situation causes to the neighboring countries and to the efforts of the Allied and Associated Powers to assist these countries to resume their normal economic life.

It would empower the Interallied Danube River Commission, acting through its Chairman, Admiral Sir Ernest C. T. Troubridge, to offer to lift the blockade of Hungary upon the condition above mentioned.

It would instruct the Commander of the *Armée de l'Orient* to supply such troops as may be required to guarantee safe and uninterrupted passage to railway and river transport through Hungarian territory including Budapest.

Such troops would be ordered to act under the command of a British or French officer of general rank to be designated by the Allied High Command. So far as the Danube River is concerned, such officer, if not Admiral Troubridge shall act in close co-operation with Admiral Troubridge who shall be charged with the special mission of securing traffic conditions on the Danube.

The forces detailed to this police work should be adequate to deal with local disorders but should strictly limit their activity to securing transport and communication for relief supplies and bona fide commercial traffic of any nation or of the nationals of any nation, including Hungary. Except so far as may be necessary to the performance of this police service, they shall avoid interfering in any manner with local institutions or officials.

So long as this police service is not interrupted by armed Hungarian force, no Roumanian, Czecho-Slovakian or Jugo-Slavian troops shall be employed in this service.

In the event that this peaceful solution of the present reciprocal blockade is opposed by armed Hungarian forces, the *Armée de l'Orient* should be instructed to take such measures as may be necessary to occupy and police the river and railway communications passing through Hungary, and in that event to impose all restrictions upon Hungarian traffic as it may deem necessary to the reduction of resistance.

Lieutenant Emory Pottle and Dr. E. Dana Durand were heard of [on] the subject of existing conditions in Hungary. Mr. A. W. Dulles was also present.

Lieutenant Pottle and Dr. Durand submitted the following memorandum:

MEMORANDUM REGARDING CONDITIONS IN HUNGARY

Prepared by Lieut. Emory Pottle and E. Dana Durand of the
American Relief Administration

We visited Budapest during the three days July 6th to the 9th, and as the first Americans holding official status, other than Captain Weiss, to visit that city for more than a month, we consider it our duty to report the conditions as we found them and to submit our views regarding the possible methods of improving the situation.

Capt. Weiss is an American citizen and member of our army who was born in Hungary and has spent a considerable part of his life

there. He was interpreter and assistant to the Coolidge Commission and since its departure from Budapest he has continued to go there from time to time by automobile from Vienna and to report to Capt. Gregory of the American Relief Administration and to Mr. Halstead at Vienna. He was of the greatest assistance to us in our visit, and the information which he furnished us supplemented that which we obtained directly and confirmed it in every particular.

We interviewed during our stay at least twenty persons representing all classes of society and all shades of opinion. Some of them came at our invitation, but more of their own initiative, having learned in various ways that we were in the city. They included labor leaders, members of the former aristocracy and land owning classes, one of the leading former bankers, Jewish merchants, professors of economics and other subjects in universities and various others. Several representatives of the foreign press and of the local press also contributed much information. For obvious reasons we consider it preferable not to mention names in this memorandum.

We made it clear to those with whom we talked that we had no authority to represent our government politically and did not know at all what plans were contemplated by our Government or by the Allies. However, as it at once became evident that the universal sentiment was in favor of some allied intervention, we formulated various hypothetical methods of intervention which we discussed with our visitors. As a result we found a large measure of uniformity in their views as to the precise method which could be most efficient and involve the least danger of bloodshed.

The leaders of certain of the labor unions desired to confer with us, but decided that it was scarcely safe for them to do so. We were informed, however, regarding their attitude by others who had talked with them.

We also had a long interview with Bela Kuhn. We naturally did not discuss with him at all the subject of allied intervention, but sought rather to ascertain his views as to what would happen in the absence of such intervention.

Our conclusion as to the facts of the present situation were strengthened by various items and editorials appearing in the Budapest papers, notably the *Pester Lloyd*. There is absolutely no freedom of the press and the only newspapers are government organs which do not, of course, represent public opinion of the majority or of the different classes. Nevertheless they themselves reveal a great deal regarding the desperateness of the situation and the conflict between different factions. Walks and drives through the city also directly reveal a great deal.

Food and Economic Situation.

The weakness of the present government, while it arises largely from recognition of its unsound principles, and from resentment at the criminal acts of many of its representatives, rest chiefly in the desperate economic situation and the hardships due to lack of supplies of all sorts. This economic situation, while partly attributable to the blockade and the inability to obtain necessary products from outside, is just as much due to internal disorganization of industry. The people have lost the desire to work. The production even of those industries which have necessary materials has fallen off greatly. Bela Kuhn is forced constantly to appeal for greater production and for greater patience in enduring the openly-admitted hardships. The coal production, partly by reason of the occupation of important mining regions by the other national states, and partly because of internal conditions, is exceedingly small and suffices barely to operate a limited number of trains and to operate those factories which are engaged in manufacturing munitions; the production even of munitions, we are informed, is very small.

There is probably sufficient food in the country as a whole, but the peasants are unwilling to give it up, both because of their opposition to the system of government and because the Bolsheviks' money, with which they are paid, is virtually worthless and there are no goods which the peasant desires on which to spend it. A large part of the food supply of Budapest at present is extorted from the peasants by sheer violence.

The result is that even for the favored adherents of the government life in Budapest is one of very great hardship. Everyone gets a fair quantity of poor bread. As regards other foods, so far as they exist at all, the cards of the soldiers and munition workers and similar protégés of the government are honored before those of other people and the latter get practically nothing in the recognized distribution, though a few are fortunate enough to get food by illicit trading, in which exchange of goods for goods has almost superseded the use of money. There is a great shortage of fats even for the most favored classes. Clothing, boots and shoes, and fuel, are scarcely obtainable at all by anyone.

It is obvious that the conditions in these respects will become far worse during the winter and everyone looks forward to a period of frightful destitution. This foresight of the situation to come is one of the chief reasons why the people want to change the government.

Unrepresentative Character of Government.

It must be perfectly clear that the present government is in no sense democratic. It does not rest on the consent of a majority of the people, nor even of a very considerable minority. It rests on armed force

exclusively. While some of the leaders may be actuated by idealistic motives the control has fallen into the hands of a compact group of adventurers who seek only their own power and gain, but who, because they are compact, have been so far able to hold down the opposite element. It is useless for the entente to address itself to Bela Kuhn's government and tell it that it must reform itself. The opponents of the government are in a state of moral lassitude and of abject fear. It is useless for the entente to appeal to them to overthrow the government either by peaceful or by violent methods unless it offers them the promise of effective support.

The Attitude of Bela Kuhn.

We are unable to form a definite judgment as to the mental and moral character of Bela Kuhn. If it be conceded that he has ideal motives and believes that he is working for the benefit of the people, it is nevertheless certain that he is powerless to control the violent and self-seeking elements among his associates.

Bela Kuhn himself says that communism is an ideal which can be realized only after a long period of education. To a large extent the present economic system in Budapest is communistic, but Kuhn wishes to go back to a socialistic system, a fact which is well worth bearing in mind considering any reconstruction of the government, since a new government must inevitably partake of a socialistic character. He has already caused arguments in favor of socialism as against communism to be published, and is trying to initiate some specific measures, such as trying to introduce virtually a wage system according to what the worker produces instead of paying every one alike. The trouble is that Bela Kuhn, even if sincere, is not going to be able to effect these changes in the face of the armed power of the little clique of adventurers. The only way in which any material change in present methods can be effected, unless by Allied intervention, is by violent counter revolution, and the prospects of the prompt success of such a counter revolution are none too good. In fact, counter revolution is likely to mean prolonged anarchy, continuous armed conflict between the different groups of Reds and Whites.

The Attitude of the Working Classes.

The majority of the working classes, especially of the more skilled, have never favored such radical economic measures as are now in force, and have become bitterly opposed to them in recent weeks because of the hardships they have suffered. On the other hand, the great majority of these classes are socialistic and it would be quite impossible to get their support for a return to the old form of government and the old inequality in income. They will insist on universal equal suffrage, the freest of political institutions and a large measure of socialization of industry. Only fear keeps them

from taking immediate steps to overthrow the present government, and they will welcome any intervention that will help them do so and support it with arms if necessary.

It is needless to mention the attitude of the former *bourgeoisie* which constituted a very large factor in the population and whose opposition to the present government is inconceivably bitter. On the other hand we are convinced that most of them will take fairly kindly to a regime acceptable to the working classes, and will not attempt to intrigue in favor of a royalist regime.

Attitude of the Peasants.

Before the war about two-thirds of the land of Hungary was owned and operated by small peasants, the remainder being in large estates worked by hired labor, the laborers, however, having small tracts assigned to them for their family use, keeping a cow, pig, etc. The government has seized these large estates and the already planted crops are being harvested by them collectively. The land owning peasants are violently opposed to the present government, partly because they fear that their land itself may ultimately be taken away from them, but chiefly on immediately practical grounds. The peasants think very little about systems of government at all, but they object to having to sell their crops for worthless paper money or to being absolutely robbed of them. Within the few days before we were in Budapest there had been several massacres of peasants who had attempted to resist the requisitioning of their supplies. Where such resistance arose the Terrorist troops shot down many of the peasants, made prisoners of the people of entire villages, condemned selected persons to be hung, levied huge money fines on the people and carried off all of their grain and livestock. With the slightest opportunity this class of peasants would rise as a mass. The peasants on the large estates are said by most of our informants to feel almost as hostile to the government, but Bela Kuhn himself claims to the contrary, and says that he expects to be able to feed Budapest chiefly by the products of the cooperative large estates, amounting to about six and one half million joch (about ten million acres). There is no reason whatever to anticipate that this class of peasants would lend any effective military or political support to the present government in the event of a counter revolution or of intervention by the Allies.

The Army.

The army consists of soldiers of three classes: first, a small minority who are thoroughly Red, mostly mere adventurers and cutthroats; second, those who have joined the army because of the pay and the food, since they find it difficult to support themselves as well in any way; third, those who are actuated by strictly nationalist motives and

who are willing to fight to preserve the sacred soil of Hungary, and for no other motive.

The soldiers of the second and third classes, who are in the great majority, would, if they dared, immediately either throw down their arms, or actually attack the present government, provided they were assured that the territory of Hungary was safe from further aggression. Boehm, the commander-in-chief of the army, is himself, according to our best information, a moderate socialist and opposed to the more violent element. He has recently issued a proclamation against the Terrorist troops, who appear to be largely under the control of one of the other peoples' commissaries, a desperado by the name of Samueli.

The general mobilization, which as indicated by dispatches was ordered by the government a few weeks ago, was the result of discontent on the part of many of the troops in the field. They asked why they should fight when others stayed at home. The actual effect of the order in increasing the strength of the army is almost nil; the mobilization is, for all practical purposes, on paper only.

We are informed from credible sources that the munition works are producing only two or three hundred rifles per week and one battery of field artillery per week, and very little ammunition.

Szegedin Government.

All elements in Budapest are united in disowning and despising the Szegedin government, and insist that any participation of that government in an attempt to overthrow the Bela Kuhn government would be a great mistake. It is considered to represent essentially the old aristocratic and landlord class, and can get no support from the working or middle classes.

Summary.—The Necessity of Interallied Intervention.

The problem of Hungary is twofold; and on its solution depends not only the welfare of the country itself, and all that that implies, but also the welfare of the surrounding countries. An adjustment of this desperate situation would have an immediate and salutary effect upon the vicious Bolshevistic tendencies only too apparent in German-Austria, Bohemia, Italy and various other localities. In this connection it is only necessary to recall to your minds the unflagging efforts which the Hungarian Bolsheviks are making to propagate their cause throughout Europe. In fact, in newspapers throughout Europe, even those not of socialist or Bolshevik tendencies, much of the news that appears in regard to the present Hungarian government is paid for out of that government's pocket.

Entente intervention in Hungary must keep vividly in mind the fact that it must proceed with the extremest tact and caution lest in attacking Bolshevism it affront the national spirit, or in combating

the national spirit it unite with it the Bolshevist forces. From what has been said above it is clear that the great majority of the people of Hungary are eager to overthrow the present government and to do away with Bolshevism, but they are not willing to go back to the old regime of government, or to the gravely unjust distribution of wealth and income which formerly existed.

However, as we have indicated, the people are neither morally, nor from the military standpoint, able to overthrow the present government if left to themselves. They need the moral and, in a small measure, the military support of the Entente. The army is ready for defection and the working classes are eager for a change. The farmers will not feed the Bolshevists except under compulsion by armed force. So strong and universal is the desire for allied intervention that there is not the slightest possibility, in our opinion, of any armed opposition to a properly constituted allied movement. Bela Kuhn himself would not dare to give orders to shoot at allied forces who entered the country under proper declaration of purpose. If he gave such orders it is extremely doubtful if they would be executed, especially in view of the attitude of Boehm.

It is impossible to overstate the undesirability of intervention which takes the form of an advance by the troops of the countries surrounding Hungary. Whatever might be proclaimed as to the purpose of such an advance, it would immediately be construed by the masses of the Hungarian people as an aggression designed to acquire and permanently hold more territory, and they would regard it as the gravest offense to their national rights. Such a movement would at once consolidate the army into a brave and effective fighting force, and would rally all classes of people to the government, the question of Bolshevism being at once sunk from mind.

We should like to call sharply to your attention the fact that the French are hated, root and branch, in Hungary, this being in large measure due to the Vyx¹³ affair and its echoes. The Italians are viewed with a hostility not equal to that given to the French, but of a very definite character. On the other hand, the popular nation in Hungary today is the American nation, followed closely by the British. Therefore any display of entente force should be composed, if possible, entirely of troops of these two nations. The British and American flags, we are convinced, would be an open sesame to every difficult door in Hungary.

Plan of Intervention.

With the foregoing factors well in hand, and after many conferences and close study of the conditions involved—conditions which not only

¹³ Lieutenant Colonel Vyx of the French Army, military representative of the Allied powers in Budapest.

relate closely to Hungary, but also have a direct bearing on the world in general, especially in regard to the proletariat of the entente countries—we are convinced that a successful and logical entente intervention should proceed along the following lines:

1. A distribution by aeroplane over the whole of Hungary, and a contemporaneous publication in the press throughout the world, of a manifest clearly setting forth the following points:

a) The Entente assumes the occupation of certain portion of Hungary, according to the terms of the Armistice.

b) This occupation is to be construed solely as a peaceful occupation and in no sense a military aggression. Its sole aim is to maintain order and to establish a government which by resting on the will of the people—as the present government does not—will be stable and competent to negotiate a binding peace with the Entente Powers.

c) Upon the arrival of the Entente forces they will—in consultation with leading citizens of all classes—appoint a temporary directorate which shall proceed as promptly as possible to conduct an election, with universal suffrage, for the choice of a constitutional assembly to determine the future form of government, and to negotiate a final Treaty of Peace with the Entente Powers.

d) The Entente guarantees to the Hungarian nation a just consideration of the problems of its national borders, and protection against external aggression.

e) The lives of the present members of the government, as well as those of their families, will be in every case preserved, unless such individuals on the arrival of the entente forces shall be guilty of armed opposition or seditious acts.

f) The Entente will undertake immediately to provide for the Hungarian people food, coal, clothing and other necessaries of life, and to arrange the necessary credits therefor.

g) The Entente forbids absolutely any form of revolutionary movement on the part of the Reds, or counter revolutionary movement on the part of the Whites, and demands that the people of Budapest and all Hungary assist in maintaining absolute order throughout the country.

2. The day following the distribution over all Hungary of the foregoing manifest there should take place in the city of Budapest the arrival of a number of monitors flying the British flag, which monitors should bear a detachment of some four hundred or five hundred men, more or less, who should land and immediately proceed to the Royal Palace where the allied flags should be flown and a post command be established. These troops should be composed chiefly of British and Americans.

3. The commander of this body of troops should immediately demand the presence of Bela Kuhn and his government associates at the post of command. They would then be kept there, and their families sent for. The city would then be properly policed by the allied troops.

4. As a guarantee of the good faith of the Allies in the occupation, they should bring with them in person Mr. Garami (now in Switzerland), the well-known leader of the moderate Socialists, who is unquestionably a man of ability, and, most important of all, *persona grata* with all the factions of Budapest except the extreme Communists. The presence of Garami should be immediately made known to the people by manifest, which should declare that Garami is to head the new directorate.

5. Garami should immediately proceed to form his directorate in accordance with paragraph "c" of the above manifest.

Notes on Above Plan.

The distribution of the manifest is absolutely imperative as a means of securing the popular support for this intervention and preventing misconstruction on the part of Bela Kuhn as to the Allied aims. More important still, it will disarm the opposition to such intervention on the part of the proletariat of the Allied nations.

The proposal that the troops shall come on monitors is partly based on the greater speed with which they could thus be brought up, and partly on the impressive effect of the monitors themselves and their ability for defense. The monitors which came down the Danube at the time of the recent counter revolution, being controlled by officers familiar with the river, were able to avoid the mines. These same officers, who were Whites, will serve as pilots for monitors bearing the Allied forces. It is practically certain that no further mines have been laid as the one mine layer which the Communists possessed has been destroyed.

If the sending of such a small body of troops is considered to involve too great a military risk, a larger force could enter at the same time or as soon thereafter as possible. It would be well, of course, to have Allied troops massed at the border and to let it be clearly understood by the Hungarian Government and the people that they were massed there ready to march in and avenge any attack on the intervening forces.

We are able to suggest the names of leaders of different factions in Hungary who could be called upon to join with Mr. Garami as a temporary directorate.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/116

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, July 18th, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. Memorandum No. 479 of July 17th, was read, recommending the release of Captain D. B. Gilchrist, Librarian of the Commission, to be effective July 20th, in view of the necessity for his returning to the United States at an early date to accept a position with the University of Rochester. Attached to the memorandum and covered by it, was a suggestion by Dr. Lord that Captain Gilchrist be detailed to convoy back to America about ten boxes of books which the Harvard University Library had sent to Paris for the use of the Peace Commission.

Release of
Captain D. B.
Gilchrist
and Return
to America in
His Care
of Books
of Harvard
University

Understanding that such current work in the Library as is necessary can be handled by his assistant, the Commissioners approved the release of Captain Gilchrist as indicated above, and concurred in Dr. Lord's suggestion, relative to the return of the books in question to Harvard University in the care of Captain Gilchrist.

II. Memorandum No. 480 of July 17th, was read, recommending the discontinuation of the services of Mr. James J. McNerney on and after August 1st next.

Release of
Mr. James J.
McNerney

The Commissioners approved the release of Mr. McNerney to be effective August 1st.

III. Memorandum No. 481 of July 17th, relative to the release of Dr. R. H. Lord, from duty with the Commission, was read. The memorandum stated that, in view of the fact that certain matters with which Dr. Lord is concerned have not as yet been completed, he had agreed to remain with the Commission until August 9th, by which time he is of the opinion that these questions will have been settled.

The Question
of the Re-
lease of
Dr. R. H.
Lord

As Dr. Lord had previously been granted release from the Commission "to be effective not earlier than July 19th", the Commissioners noted with appreciation his decision to continue with the Commission until August 9th, and directed that a letter to this effect be sent to him in their behalf.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/117

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, July 19, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

**Mr. Dominian's
Application
for Release**

The Commissioners approved of Mr. Dominian's release as set forth in memorandum No. 482.

**Release of Mr.
Arthur Sweet-
ser and Closing
of Press
Bureau**

The Commissioners finally approved Mr. Sweetser's request for release, as well as the closing of the Press Bureau as set forth in memorandum No. 483.

**Additional
Compensation
to Mr. F. A.
Carlson**

The Commissioners approved the granting of room and board in the Hotel Crillon to Mr. Carlson as set forth in memorandum No. 484.

**Release and
Return to
the United
States of Mr.
C. A. Leedy, Jr.**

The Commissioners approved Mr. Leedy's release and the payment of his transportation to the United States as set forth in memorandum No. 485.

The Secretary read a draft telegram to the Secretary of State regarding the necessity for the new full powers on account of the forthcoming arrival of Mr. Polk. The words, "and Hungary" seemed to be superfluous to the Commissioners and with this one alteration the telegram was approved.

**New Full
Powers for the
Commissioners**

In view of Dr. Scott's approval, the Commissioners approved the release of Mr. Joseph Bailey Brown on or about July 25 as set forth in memorandum No. 486.

**Release of
Mr. Joseph
Bailey Brown**

The Commissioners approved the recommendation of the assignment of Lieutenant Smith in the Translator's office set forth in memorandum No. 487.

**Assignment of
Lieutenant
Thomas J.
Smith**

The Commissioners saw no objection to a request being made for permission for Mrs. Morgenthau to proceed from Zurich to Warsaw on the Diplomatic Train in order to join her husband, provided, however, that her expenses while in Poland should not be defrayed by the Commission. Memorandum No. 488.

**Request for
Mrs. Morgenthau for Per-
mission To
Proceed From
Zurich to War-
saw From [on] the Diplomatic
Train**

The Commissioners approved the recommendation of the Steering Committee that the following items in connection with the preparation of the Bulgarian Treaty be placed upon the Agenda of the Supreme Council:

**Memorandum
From the
Steering
Committee**

1. Military and Naval Clauses, and Jugo-Slav note on this question.
2. Economic Clauses.
3. Report of the Committee on Ports, Waterways and Railways.
4. Issuance of instructions to the Committee on New States to draft minority clauses for the Bulgarian Treaty.

The Commissioners also approved the recommendation of the Steering Committee for the distribution and circulation of the summary of the present stage of preparation of the Bulgarian Treaty.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/118

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, July 21, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

The President's
Message to the
Emir Faisal

I. The Commissioners desired to know what, if any, action had been taken with a view to the delivery of the President's message to the Emir Faisal.¹⁴

II. The Commissioners took note of a telegram from Mr. Halstead dated July 19, 1919, regarding the coal situation in Central Europe.

Coal for
Central
Europe

The Commissioners thought it desirable that Mr. Hoover should be consulted in the matter and that it might be well to send a recommendation to the

Department.

III. The Commissioners took note of a telegram from Mr. Halstead requesting to be informed of their wishes as regards the new form of government to be set up in Hungary.

Changes in the
Hungarian
Government

The Commissioners felt that Mr. Halstead should be instructed in a general way that the United States was not considering changes in the Hungarian Government.

IV. Memorandum No. 489 regarding the continuation of the New York and Paris Offices of the Committee on Public Information was read.

Continuation
of the New
York and Paris
Offices of the
Committee on
Public Informa-
tion

The Commissioners did not feel that they were empowered to authorize the Disbursing Officers in the State Department and here to continue the payment of the sums necessary for the maintenance of the New York and Paris offices. Consequently it would be desirable to refer the matter to the Department of State by telegraph. For their part,

¹⁸ See p. 328.

the Commissioners would be glad if the news service from the United States could be continued as they found it very valuable. On the other hand, they were uncertain as to the present necessity for maintaining the office in Paris in view of the departure of Mr. Sweetser and so many of the American Press Representatives, and the closing of the Press Room of the Commission.

It was suggested that Mr. Suter¹⁵ be consulted in this regard and a memorandum be submitted by the Secretary General to them for their consideration.

**Appointment of
Dr. Manley O.
Hudson on the
Commission on
Ports, Waterways
and Railways**

V. The Commissioners approved the recommendation contained in Memorandum No. 490, regarding the appointment of Dr. Manley O. Hudson on the Commission on Ports, Waterways and Railways.

VI. The Commissioners approved the acceptance of the resignation of Mr. George Howe on the conditions as set forth by him in memorandum No. 491. In view of the fact that Mr. Howe would not return to Teschen, the Commissioners desired to learn from the Secretary General if it was necessary to send someone to take his place and whom the Secretary General would recommend for that purpose.

**Resignation
of Mr. George
Howe**

VII. Memorandum No. 492 regarding the appointment of a successor to General Patrick was read. The Commissioners desired that the matter be pursued, and in case General Patrick should have been appointed from Washington, that is to say, by the Secretary of War, they recommended that a telegram should be sent to the State Department advising them of the departure of General Patrick and suggesting that the Secretary of War appoint a suitable officer, not lower in rank than Colonel, to fill his place. The attention of the Secretary of War might also be called to the fact that Colonel Gorrell, U. S. A. seemed to be especially qualified for this duty as he had acted as assistant to General Patrick in connection with his duties on the Aeronautical Commission.

**Successor to
General Patrick
on the Aero-
nautical
Commission**

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/119

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, July 22, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

¹⁵ Herman Suter, of the Committee on Public Information, attached to the Commission to Negotiate Peace.

I. Memorandum No. 493 regarding the authorization of further funds for the American Section of the Inter-Allied Commission on Mandates in Turkey was read.

Further Funds
for Messrs.
Crane and
King

Before approving the authorization of the \$10,000 requested by Messrs. Crane and King, the Commissioners desired to be informed whether the Disbursing Officer of the Commission was in a position to make provision for this allotment.

II. Memorandum No. 494 from Mr. Coolidge to Mr. Grew regarding

Mr. Coolidge
Arranges To
Sail on
August 9th

the arrangements which had been made by the former to sail on the 9th of August for the United States, "unless something absolutely unforeseen should come up in the interim", was read and noted by the Commissioners.

III. The Commissioners approved the dispatch of a telegram to the

Frontiers of
Finland

State Department regarding the acceptance by the Finnish Government of the decision by the Peace Conference in regard to the Frontiers of Finland, submitted with memorandum No. 495.

IV. General Bliss read a memorandum which he had received from Lieutenant Colonel Warwick Greene recommending that Colonel Dawley and 2nd Lieutenant Stonestreet be instructed to return to Paris.

Recall of
Col. Dawley
and Lieut.
Stonestreet
to Paris

The Commissioners desired to suspend action on this recommendation until the receipt of a reply from the State Department to the Commission's inquiry regarding the continuance of Field Missions.

V. The Commissioners approved the draft telegram submitted with memorandum No. 496 in reply to an inquiry from the State Department proposing a change in the regulations so as to allow Germans in the United States to return to Germany or to proceed to other countries.

Permission
for Germans
in America
To Return
to Germany

The words in the telegram, "even by the French" should be modified in view of the statement made by M. Clemenceau at the meeting of the Council of Heads of Delegations yesterday to the effect that the French Chambers would probably ratify the Treaty with Germany in the first ten days of August.

The Commissioners also desired that a sentence be added to the telegram suggesting that the Department await the arrival of Mr. Lansing before taking final action in the matter.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/120

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary.
Wednesday, July 23, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Commissioners noted and approved the information submitted by the Secretary General with Memorandum No. 497 to the effect that he had forwarded the President's message to the Emir Faisal through the Secretary General of the Hedjaz Delegation in Paris with a request that it be telegraphed to its destination.

President's
Message to
the Emir
Faisal

Release of
Capt. B. L.
Gorfinkle

II. The Commissioners approved Captain Gorfinkle's request for release as stated in Memorandum No. 498.

III. Referring to Memorandum No. 499, the Commissioners approved a request being made to the French authorities to have a special car placed at the disposal of Mr. Polk and his party from Brest to Paris and authorizing the Disbursing Officer to pay the necessary expenses, should the French authorities fail to furnish the car gratis.

Special Car
From Brest
to Paris for
Mr. Polk
and Party

IV. The Commissioners approved Dr. Hudson's "request for permission to return to the United States" as set forth in Memorandum No. 500, provided that the status of the work on which he is now engaged (particularly the Ports, Waterways and Railways Clauses for the Treaty with Bulgaria) shall have been completed. As Mr. Polk was on a fast ship and would probably reach Paris next Monday or Tuesday, Mr. Hudson might find it possible in any case to delay his departure until Mr. Polk's arrival.

Return to
America of
Dr. Manley O.
Hudson

V. The Commissioners approved the draft telegram to the Department of State regarding the appointment of a successor to General Patrick submitted with Memorandum No. 501.

Successor to
General
Patrick on
the Aviation
Committee

Mr. Harrison observed that there was some doubt as to whether Colonel Gorrell was still in Paris. Should he have already left France, the last three lines of the telegram in question might then be stricken out.

VI. The Commissioners approved the draft telegram to the Secretary of State submitted with Memorandum No. 502 regarding the

Maintenance
of the New
York and
Paris Offices
of the Com-
mittee on
Public
Information

continuance of the New York and Paris Offices of the Committee on Public Information. The Commissioners desired that an additional sentence be added expressing their hope that the State Department would find it possible to furnish the funds necessary for this purpose.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/121

Minutes of Meeting of the Commissioners and Technical Experts of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Hotel Crillon, Paris, Wednesday, July 23, 1919, 2 p. m.

Present:

THE HONORABLE MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. NIELSEN
MR. BEER
MR. HOOVER
DR. BUCKLER
COLONEL GRANT
DR. DRESEL
DR. SCOTT
LT. BURDEN
CAPT. CHAPIN
CAPT. HORNBECK
MAJOR JOHNSON
MR. J. F. DULLES
ADMIRAL KNAPP
PROF. COOLIDGE
MR. A. W. DULLES
MR. LELAND HARRISON

MR. WHITE called the meeting to order. Mr. White asked what the status of the Bulgarian Treaty was.

DR. SCOTT: There remain several clauses to be passed upon by the Commission.

MR. WHITE: But they are not to be drafted?

DR. SCOTT: No, sir.

MR. J. F. DULLES: There is one point I might bring up, which is of possible interest to Mr. Hoover. The Supreme Economic Council is still functioning. The Financial Section and the Section on Germany are meeting, and they are putting all sorts of things on the agenda. I don't know whether they are necessary or not. It is not

necessary that we attend, and I am not sure but that we should definitely withdraw from all those bodies.

MR. HOOVER: I have tried on several occasions to wind that up. The British are particularly obsessed with the idea of continuing that body with all its ramifications, and any assault we make on any minor part of it they take as an assault on the whole.

MR. WHITE: What have you done?

MR. HOOVER: Various proposals have been taken up, which we have not agreed upon. As far as the Economic body is concerned, we have tried to transfer the questions on Germany over to the Reparations Commission, because if it has any function it is a purely international function, and we need to get rid of all those German relations. But they hope to build out of that thing an elaborate piece of international machinery for economic control, and I don't think any American who has given it any study is at all prepared to launch into it; but they are very anxious to retain the machinery in its present form in order that it may mold the character of it. I have felt that we will all go away one of these days, and we would bid this thing good-bye.

MR. WHITE: Is there anything to prevent our doing it?

MR. HOOVER: No.

MR. J. F. DULLES: When Mr. Davis went away he said there would be nothing more to come up; that these financial matters would all be closed, and we would not need a financial representative to attend the meetings. But things are constantly being placed on the agenda whose importance I do not know, and I have no time to go to these meetings, nor have I anyone to send. But they are doing things the importance of which I cannot judge.

MR. WHITE: To which we are a party.

MR. J. F. DULLES: To which we are a party, nominally. And not taking an active part, I cannot protect our interests, in case they need protection. I don't know just what to do about it, whether to formally notify them that we are off the financial section and do not consider ourselves bound by anything that occurs, or not. But that would do what Mr. Hoover hoped we could avoid—having an open break.

MR. WHITE: There is no middle course. You have to go on.

MR. HOOVER: I don't know. I think they ought to send me the agenda, and if there is anything on it that is damaging to our interests, we ought to go over. In the meantime we have called a meeting of the Supreme Economic Council for next Friday, and I hope we can then finally wind up a lot of things.

MR. WHITE: You think we had better not break off then?

MR. HOOVER: Well, I will send to the sections and have them send around the agenda, and if there is anything damaging on it we will

go. I haven't time to run around to many more sections than I am going to now. But it is foolishness—a phantom in the air; it is the result of a situation where an official has an occupation and hates to let go of it.

GENERAL BLISS: Do you see any reason for letting go of it? It is better to wait for a while.

MR. WHITE: I thought we ought to pull out if we could. You would be in favor of waiting? (Addressing Mr. Hoover).

MR. HOOVER: I think so. Well, we are all going to go away some one of these days.

MR. WHITE: Major Johnson?

MAJOR JOHNSON: I think there is nothing of particular importance. There are several minor frontier rectifications that are being considered by the Rumanian and Yugo-Slav Committee, which will be reported to the Supreme Council in a few days—none of them of considerable importance. The matter in reference to the Bulgarian frontier you are already acquainted with.

MR. WHITE: Yes. I understand that Mr. Venizelos sent a telegram direct to the President.

GENERAL BLISS: Have you seen a copy?

MR. WHITE: No, I have not. Have you?

GENERAL BLISS: Yes. I have one here.

MR. WHITE: He feels very strongly on the matter. Captain Hornbeck?

CAPTAIN HORNBECK: I have nothing, sir.

LT. BURDEN: I have nothing.

COLONEL GRANT: There is one little point that is up before the Council of Foreign Ministers. We were asked by the military advisers at Versailles to assist them with a report they were working on for the repatriation of the Czecho-Slovak troops, the question was whether it was to be decided as policy that the allied troops should be taken out of the north Russian ports before winter. The council has never paid any attention to that inquiry, as far as I know. It has never been put on the agenda. I don't know whether that is really going to be necessary to answer or not.

GENERAL BLISS: I doubt it. Was that communication sent to London? We returned the paper to the Supreme Council asking them to find out from the British government officially whether that expedition would remain or leave.

COLONEL GRANT: Yes, sir. That was sent to the Secretary-General of the Conference, and it was also sent by General Sackville-West to England. I have never heard any reply from either.

GENERAL BLISS: Well, all that makes it impossible to carry out the plan, because we said at the time that if we began at once it would be almost impossible then to execute it.

MR. WHITE: Nothing can be done about that then.

GENERAL BLISS: Besides that, we have official word from Omsk that the Czecho-Slovaks would not attempt that movement via Archangel.

GENERAL [*Colonel*] GRANT: That was, of course, a more or less roundabout report. I think that came from the Czecho-Slovak government.

GENERAL BLISS: It came from their diplomatic representative.

MR. HOOVER: There is one incidental piece of news: in the preliminary round between the Rumanians and Bela Kun, Bela Kun got the best of it. That the Rumanians are in retreat.

We have a whole lot of ragged edges hanging around here. One is that same question of Archangel. When the proposition was first taken up by the War Trade Board, our Board participated in the feeding of the civilian population at Archangel; when the troops were withdrawn, our interest in that subject ceased. The British have put a little food in there, but they say now that they will not put any more in there, and if they withdraw their troops, that population will starve during the coming winter, and I understand the British intend to withdraw before the winter, and they are asking us, I understand, to stock up that place with food and do it at once. It is going to cost ten to fifteen millions to do it, and we have no available funds for anything of that kind.

And another ragged edge is this question of German and Austrian prisoners in Siberia. The Austrians and the Hungarians both have been asked to contribute something towards their repatriation. The Germans have refused to put up anything for some reason or another, and in any event nobody is looking after it. And it is a question in my mind as to whether or not it would not be well for the Council to appoint a Commission, comprised of military people probably, and this commission to say to Germany, Austria and Hungary that we will undertake the repatriation of those prisoners for them provided they find the money, and that the various governments should co-operate to get them some shipment. But I don't see that it ought necessarily to fall on us to provide this, because to move 200,000 men from Vladivostok to Germany would be a very large undertaking.

MR. WHITE: Are there many Germans?

MR. HOOVER: Half Germans and half Austrians. And they are dying like flies because the people of Siberia won't feed them. They joined the Bolsheviks up there one time, and of course Koltchak hasn't any use for them.

DR. DRESEL: I thought there was one German to five Austrians.

MR. HOOVER: I don't know the proportion. I was told 200,000 Germans and Austrians. But I thought that if we put up a commission and said to the governments: "Here is the commission that will carry out the repatriation of these prisoners", and have the governments

co-operate in finding means of transportation, this matter could be taken care of properly.

MR. WHITE: I think that would be good.

MR. BEER: The question was brought up a month or so ago about drawing up a convention concerning the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, but no one seems to know what the procedure is to be after the conventions are drawn up. That the conventions should be signed here the same time as the Austrian Treaty; but no decision has been taken. All we know is that we have been instructed to draw up these conventions and report to the Council of Five. But I think the matter of what ought to be done after they are drawn up should be considered.

MR. WHITE: The Council of Five should say.

MR. BEER: Yes. The final articles about ratifications, and so on, should be taken up.

MR. WHITE: They could not take it up until they get the report.

MR. BEER: Until they get the conventions themselves.

MR. WHITE: Yes.

MR. BEER: No, I think they could discuss it in advance, whether it should be signed later.

MR. WHITE: Would you like that brought up?

MR. BEER: Yes, I think it would be of great advantage to have it brought up and settled; otherwise it would take years and years to get the parties to agree to these things.

MR. HARRISON: I think Mr. Lansing's desire was that as soon as Mr. Beer completed that work, to send it to the State Department, and he will advise you.

MR. BEER: I did not know what the plans were.

GENERAL BLISS: Then it means that that is not to be ratified at the time of the signing of the Austrian Treaty.

MR. BEER: Of course there is a big disadvantage in waiting.

MR. HARRISON: Why could not a clause be inserted like the one in the aeronautical convention, namely that certain people should sign, and there should be provision for others to sign later.

MR. BEER: I presume that could be done.

MR. WHITE: I presume that could be done. Do you see any immediate objection?

MR. BEER: No, I see no immediate objection. Of course if every party acts that way it will cause very great delay, because as soon as a conference like this stops—

MR. WHITE: Can we Americans take action without our government's approval? Can we agree to a ratification of the same kind?

MR. BEER: Of course those conventions would all be subject to ratification. It is merely to what extent the signature would bind them. It would have to be ratified now.

MR. WHITE: What is your recommendation?

MR. BEER: I should like to talk that over with Mr. Harrison, and find what Mr. Lansing's desires are in the matter.

MR. HARRISON: In the first place you would have to have special full powers.

MR. WHITE: What?

MR. HARRISON: You would have to have special full powers; the Department would have to give you special full powers to sign—or to Mr. White to sign, because his full powers, as in the case of the aeronautic convention, would not give him full powers to sign.

MR. WHITE: Perhaps it would be well for you and Mr. Beer to talk it over.

MR. HARRISON: Yes.

MR. NIELSEN: There are one or two things out of the ordinary, one of which I presume I should have some instructions about, and that is an agreement with regard to the disposition of Spitzbergen to Norway. At Mr. Lansing's request, we have a representative on the Commission, which consists of representatives from Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States. The idea was to settle, if possible, that old question of Spitzbergen.

MR. WHITE: Norway wants it?

MR. NIELSEN: Norway wants it, and it was Mr. Lansing's view that to concede sovereignty to Norway would be a good disposal. I was delegated to a conference in 1914. We then tried to frame an international administration, and that was, of course, a very fantastic thing. The conference broke up when the war began.

All the delegates seem to favor this idea of conceding sovereignty in Norway. For some reason the governments not represented here have been asked for their views, and owing, perhaps, at least in a measure to the delay in the mails, we have not received all the replies. The Norwegian minister here made the proposal that the five Principal Allied and Associated Powers should conclude a treaty with Norway, that is, the Five Powers on the one hand and Norway on the other hand, conceding sovereignty in Norway, on certain conditions, of course, with regard to guarantees of private rights.

In 1914 our people had very material industrial concerns up there, which have been since sold, so we really have no property up there, and we have always disclaimed having any political interests, but I think, in view of the part we took in trying to solve this rather disagreeable question in the past, and in view of Mr. Lansing's participation here, in going so far as to state that he thought Norway should have sovereignty, perhaps we ought to continue to take part.

The question is raised then again: if this idea of the treaty between the Five Powers and Norway goes through, I ought to know how far I might go in participating in the proceedings leading up to it. Again,

the question might come up as to whether our plenipotentiaries here would have power to sign such a treaty—which I presume they have not—and we should have instructions from our government as to whether they favor such a solution.

MR. WHITE: There is no doubt they favor it. You have no objection, Admiral, to Norway getting such sovereignty?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: Not at all.

MR. NIELSEN: The only question I should say, is whether in trying to facilitate a solution in the matter, which we now have not much more than a sentimental interest in, we would be willing to enter into a treaty to do it.

MR. WHITE: Do you see any objection?

MR. NIELSEN: No.

MR. WHITE: Do you see any objection? (Addressing Dr. Scott)

DR. SCOTT: On the contrary, I would say it would be a very good thing.

MR. NIELSEN: On the other side: whether that is a proper kind of a treaty. Norway thinks she can bring in line these five powers, and France, in an unofficial way, so far, has said that after this treaty is concluded she will invite the acquiescence of the other governments. In other words, in getting the five powers to concede sovereignty it would have a great influence in getting the others in line.

MR. WHITE: How about the small countries?

MR. NIELSEN: Sweden has not replied. There has been some foolish bitterness between Sweden and Norway. Russia—that part which calls itself the Russian government here—seems to be falling in line. I do not think that either the Netherlands or Sweden will object, and that being the case, the coast will be clear for an agreement.

DR. SCOTT: I presume that we would have to ask for instructions from the Department.

MR. WHITE: For signing it, yes.

DR. SCOTT: Of course you would participate in the making of the treaty, but for signing you have to have full powers.

MR. WHITE: Would you ask, however, for power to participate?

DR. SCOTT: No, I would not, because that has already been directed.

MR. WHITE: Authority in regard to asking sovereignty for Norway would not be necessary. It has not assumed the formal treaty form yet. They are just discussing it.

MR. NIELSEN: I feel a little disagreeable in working along with that plan, if, in the last moment, we should be instructed not to take part.

DR. SCOTT: Perhaps you might obtain it by cabling and suggesting full powers in the event of a treaty; that would bring the thing to a head.

MR. WHITE: Yes.

MR. NIELSEN: In his talk, Mr. Beer brought up the question of Russia. Russian nationals have gone in there and have overlapped some of the American claims. I don't see how we can negotiate with any better people than those who are here representing the Russian government. They sent in a very remarkable document; not only is it remarkable because of the historical facts it recites, but from a legal standpoint. These people either have access to those archives up there, or they are in communication with men who are very well versed in the situation. I don't see how we can postpone the thing until we find out what is the Russian government; I don't think that is an absolute obstacle. I can see how they can make trouble, but that is a thing that will have to be met later.

MR. WHITE: I think we will have to send a telegram. Have you any suggestions? (Addressing Admiral Knapp)

ADMIRAL KNAPP: No. This is the first time I have heard of this proposal that the Five Powers recognize the claim of Norway. I will say that a doubt has arisen in my mind as to the advisability of going into that. But it is a perfectly new thing to me.

MR. WHITE: You mean the treaty of the Five Great Powers?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: Yes.

MR. WHITE: What objection occurs to you?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: It seems to me that our interests are very much more remote than are those of some neutral powers that are closer to Spitzbergen,—and for the Five Great Powers to set out to regulate the world—that is the idea in my mind. I am speaking very crudely now.

DR. SCOTT: They are doing it. They are not setting out to do it; they have been doing it all the time.

MR. WHITE: You think that the assumption of power outside the Peace Treaty would be a burden.

GENERAL BLISS: I think you can take it up in a telegram to Washington and that would take it out of our hands.

MR. NIELSEN: I think, Mr. White, we could insist that the treaty be so framed that it is merely a recognition on the part of the five powers of the sovereignty, so we would say that as far as we are concerned we recognize the sovereignty.

MR. WHITE: Will you draft a telegram, you and Dr. Scott? Any further remarks?

PROF. COOLIDGE: With regard to Teschen: the delay originally granted the Poles and the Czechs expires day after tomorrow, and the French government has received a request, through its minister in Warsaw, for a prolongation of the delay. That was considered this morning. The American delegates, not knowing the question would come up, took the position that they would oppose the delay unless they had some very good assurance that if it were granted the two

parties could get together. This question has been delayed and delayed, and Mr. Hoover knows through reports from that part of the world, that it is interrupting the transportation of coal very much in the district of Teschen.

MR. WHITE: In that connection, Mr. Paderewski came to see me the day he left and said that he had received notice from the Conference that the time given within which he and Mr. Mazaryk were to come to an agreement, would expire on the 25th. He said that when he went to Prague, on his way back to Paris, he had had a talk with him, but they had not been able to come to an agreement. They had thereupon each appointed nine men to form a council of eighteen to discuss this matter, and he had reason to believe that they had already met at Warsaw. I asked him as a friend, and entirely confidentially, whether he considered that those eighteen gentlemen would arrive at a conclusion by the 25th or anywheres near it, and he was quite frank in saying that he did not. He therefore did not wish to make any objection to the powers taking the matter up—to the Council taking the matter up on the 25th, only he must beg that a plebiscite be accorded to Teschen just as it had been to the rest of Silesia and on the same conditions, and that everybody who had anything to do with it should get out, and he said that the Allies and their numerous troops which they had at their disposal, should come in. And there is where the matter rests. I forget whether I reported that to the Council. I am not sure that I did.

MR. HOOVER: Under an agreement we constituted a commission up there with, I think, a German representative, and I think a Czech and a Pole, with an American chairman. We got production up to a good point, but now, since the Treaty has been signed, it is going to pieces. Colonel Goodyear is coming down day after tomorrow, and I wish you would discuss the matter with him.

MR. WHITE: Yes.

MR. HOOVER: He has got some ideas on the subject, having conducted the coal mines for several months.

MR. WHITE: He has had success?

MR. HOOVER: Some success.

PROF. COOLIDGE: Do you approve of hastening this, after consultation with Colonel Goodyear, rather than having postponements?

MR. WHITE: I see no reason for delay, because if the nine Poles elect any more representatives, and the Czechs do the same I don't think they will get anywhere. That Council of 18 really looked to me like a Council of Chaos.

MR. HOOVER: One question in that regard, as well as Silesia. The coal production is on the ebb now. There will be an economic collapse if something isn't done about the coal situation. As far as the boundaries are concerned, that ought to be settled now. There are social,

racial and religious questions which are beyond the ability of any human soul to settle, but the boundaries should be settled.

DR. DRESEL: Isn't it necessary that we appoint an expert who could handle all these questions?

MR. HOOVER: It is a terrible problem; Europe needs at the present moment a total of 600,000,000 tons per annum, which is its normal production. The total production is now down to 350,000,000 tons, or something of that kind. And if we had a complete dictatorship of the whole European coal production the production of Europe might be increased up to say 500,000,000 tons, but even then I think they would have an economic collapse. But I would hesitate about going into it, because I don't see any solution other than the whole thing reaching the bottom and going up again. But outside of these social questions is the restriction of effort we have got everywhere, and that is a thing I don't believe anybody could solve. I don't see any daylight at all in the coal situation in Europe anywhere. So that I feel if we monkey with this thing too long in an informal way, we are likely to call down upon ourselves a good deal of blame, because we are taking responsibility without any authority, and I don't know that any authority could be constituted that would remedy it. If someone possessed all the food resources in the world and cold-bloodedly exchanged bread for coal with each and every miner individually, I think he might solve the situation, but I don't see any other way of doing it.

DR. SCOTT: May I ask a question about Bulgaria. I understand there is an intention on the part of the commission to ascertain formally if there is any doubt whether the American Commissioners should sign the treaty with Bulgaria. Is there any information on that subject?

MR. WHITE: We made inquiry about that and we received a communication yesterday which sounded rather cryptic: that we would not be responsible for the treaties with Bulgaria and Turkey.

MAJOR JOHNSON: He¹⁶ said: we regard ourselves as bound by it.

MR. WHITE: He didn't say whether we would be bound by it or not. We can inquire about Bulgaria.

DR. SCOTT: I asked because there is some uncertainty over at the Quai d'Orsay, and there is something of a feeling that those who will not sign, who are not going to sign, should not participate in the proceedings.

MR. WHITE: Well, we have participated thus far on the assumption that we were going to sign, because I heard the President say in this very room to the Press on the day that he went away, that we are to sign the treaties with Bulgaria and Turkey.

¹⁶ i. e., President Willson.

DR. SCOTT: He said it!

MR. WHITE: He said it to the Press, and they were on their word. But I don't know whether he wants us to hold out as a minority or not against all the others. As you know, England, France and Japan support Greece; Italy goes with us. And I have asked my Japanese colleague whether he had very strong feelings on the subject; I have sounded him and he said he was bound to admit that he had not, except he felt that the Bulgarians were the enemy and the Greeks friends, and therefore, if it was a question at all it was reasonable that he should support his friend, his ally, and not his enemy. But he admitted frankly that he had no feeling on the subject. That discussion is coming up tomorrow.

PROF. COOLIDGE: Do you know whether the President's health is likely to delay the answer?

MR. WHITE: I am glad to say he is better. I notice that he was up yesterday.

MR. HOOVER: Do you know whether anything has been done about defining the eastern frontier for Poland?

MR. WHITE: No, and that is likely to remain indefinite on account of Russia.

MR. HOOVER: It materially affects this whole European situation.

MR. WHITE: Yes. I am informed that the Rumanians are about to hold an election in Bessarabia for members to the Rumanian parliament. The representative of Bessarabia says that is a most infamous proceeding.

PROF. COOLIDGE: Did you see under what conditions they were to vote?

MR. WHITE: No.

PROF. COOLIDGE: No one under forty is to have the suffrage in the new Rumanian territories. We got word of that the night before last, and we submitted it to the meeting of the Committee on the Protection of Minorities yesterday, but there was no action.

MR. WHITE: Is that a matter that you would suggest I should bring before the Council of Five, or not?

PROF. COOLIDGE: I don't think it is quite ready for that.

MR. WHITE: Because the first of August is near.

PROF. COOLIDGE: No, this election is in October.

MR. WHITE: I received a note about it.

PROF. COOLIDGE: In considering these matters we have thought of religions and different nationalities, but we had not thought of the matter of age. We received this communication from Mr. Schoenfeld,¹⁷ in Bucharest.

MR. WHITE: No, mine is from a Russian.

¹⁷ H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld, Chargé in Roumania.

PROF. COOLIDGE: Mr. Schoenfeld sent us a message night before last which said there was to be an election in all the Rumanian territories, including Bessarabia and Transylvania, but in the new territories no one had a right to vote until he was forty years of age, which seemed to be an ingenious way of giving a majority to the people in the older territories.

MR. WHITE: There is no urgency about it.

PROF. COOLIDGE: It is not urgent, and it might wait until the Committee on Minorities discussed it. It comes at a moment when they were to hand in a note on the protection of minorities in Rumania.

MR. DULLES: The question of election in Bessarabia—I don't see how that is a question of protection of minorities. I think the point is whether they have a right to vote at all.

MR. WHITE: That is the point, because nothing was to be done in any of the territories that formed part of Russia, as I understood from Mr. Lansing.

PROF. COOLIDGE: Was that ruling formally adopted?

MR. WHITE: Was that adopted? (Addressing Mr. Harrison)

MR. HARRISON: Mr. Lansing opposed any decision until Russia could take part.

MR. WHITE: And his decision was acquiesced in?

MR. HARRISON: The Council heard the Russian ambassador, and then they heard Bratiano, and then Mr. Bratiano left immediately after the meeting, if you remember, sir, and since then nothing more has been done.¹⁸

MAJOR JOHNSON: My recollection of the same meeting was that there was certainly no definite acquiescence.

MR. WHITE: I want to say that the Rumanian minister came to see me a day or two ago, and he said that it [was] high time to settle the annexation of Bessarabia to his country. He hoped that we would co-operate in that arrangement. I repeated to him what Mr. Lansing said, and I told him that I should certainly adhere to that principle.

MR. HARRISON: There is this in the Koltchak correspondence. Koltchak agreed to accept the decision of the Council.

MR. WHITE: Koltchak did?

MR. HARRISON: Yes.

MR. WHITE: But Mr. Lansing's position was that nothing formerly belonging to Russia should be dealt with until Russia should become a power again.

PROF. COOLIDGE: But Koltchak was asked if he would consent to it.

MR. HARRISON: He said he would.

MR. WHITE: But he isn't all of Russia.

¹⁸ See FM-29 [IC-201], vol. VII, p. 8.

MR. HARRISON: No, sir, but the Allied Powers in their note to Russia took the ground that Koltchak had the right to decide the Bessarabian question, and laid down as one of the conditions that Koltchak acquiesce in what the Bessarabians should decide.

MR. DULLES: I thought all those conditions were to be accepted by the Russian government if recognized.

PROF. COOLIDGE: Mr. Lansing inquired of Bratiano if he were willing to take a plebiscite in Bessarabia, but Bratiano replied that a plebiscite would not be possible under the circumstances, because it would be a plebiscite on the question of Bolshevism.

MR. WHITE: You would not go so far as to say that the principle had been adopted in the Council?

MR. HARRISON: Certainly not.

MR. WHITE: But that was our principle.

MR. HARRISON: That was our principle.

MR. WHITE: And I told the Rumanians that I would entirely concur.

MAJOR JOHNSON: Mr. Lansing said something to this effect: "I don't think I have authority to deal with such an act", and I remember Mr. Balfour said to him that he hoped he would get instructions giving him the authority, because he thought it was a matter that ought to be settled. The matter was left without any decision, indefinitely, as I recall it.

MR. WHITE: I must find out whether that date was not mentioned: August 5th, as to the election in Bessarabia. I thought they were going to steal a march on us, as far as Bessarabia was concerned, by a special election there.

MR. NIELSEN: I think another question might come up as to still another treaty. The Italian delegation presented a large batch of so-called political clauses to a special committee on which I represented Mr. Lansing, at his request. They wanted those clauses that related to Italy and the new states, as well as Poland and those states that received new territory, imposed on these new states. That I objected to on the ground that these clauses related to purely local matters; that while the Allied and Associated Powers were interested in broad questions growing out of the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary, they were not concerned with such things as coast-wise trade and provincial duties and railroad rates; that those matters should be settled between the interested states, and certainly should not be settled without the interested states being given a hearing. The British concurred in that view. And then the question was considered of putting these clauses into the Austrian Treaty. Fortunately that Treaty was closed for the insertion of other clauses. Then the assertion was made that the Allied and Associated Powers conclude a treaty between the Allied Powers on the one hand, and

the new states on the other hand; and then there was the suggestion that these clauses be considered generally as to their merits as clauses that might go into some kind of a treaty, and we have gone over them, and that consideration I took a part in. Now I made it very clear at the end that the American delegation participated, but that it neither approved these articles in form nor in substance, but it merely considered the question whether these questions were proper articles to be laid before the new states as a basis for negotiation. There was a good deal of effort made to make it appear that we had done more than that; that in a sense we were committed to these. But I presume that matter will come before you later, as to just what shall be done with these articles, and I thought I would call your attention to a little of the history of these matters. Certainly it would not be fair to put in such clauses as these relating to the new states, into a treaty, without the new states being heard—which seems to be the intention.

MR. WHITE: Any remarks to make on this? It seems reasonable that the new states should be heard.

MR. NIELSEN: I think this committee will just make its report to the Supreme Council, and they will know the facts.

GENERAL BLISS: I would like to ask Dr. Scott a question about a matter that came to my attention today, and the decision of which, I think, would have a bearing on the attitude that the American delegation would be apt to take. The report which you showed me this morning, Dr. Johnson, was a divided report on the question of the Bulgarian southern boundary, and the attitude of the American and Italian delegations was that the boundary should remain as in 1915, isn't that right?

MAJOR JOHNSON: That is right.

GENERAL BLISS: Reserving to the Allied and Associated Powers the right to attach any part of this disputed territory to the International State of Constantinople. The British, French and Japanese stood for a cession by Bulgaria of this territory to the Allied and Associated Powers. Now, as I understand it, in the first case the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to attach any part of this to the International State extends over an indefinite time in the future—either ten, fifteen or twenty years, or longer.

DR. SCOTT: In none of the clauses is there a limitation. They say sometime, if there is a plebiscite. It may be in a certain time, but there is no limitation as to when it is to be held.

GENERAL BLISS: Well, it designates cessions made deliberately to the Allied and Associated Powers, I suppose with the idea that they would themselves dispose of it very soon, but there is nothing to indicate it.

DR. SCOTT: Not at all.

GENERAL BLISS: What would be the probable attitude of the United States, or the United States Senate towards a treaty which binds the United States in a continued association? We are an associated power during the war against the Germans. How about our remaining associated for an indefinite term to come? And for what purposes?

DR. SCOTT: I think Mr. White's reply covers it. There are a number of provisions in the treaties already negotiated to which the United States is to be a party, in which we are associated with the four other powers for the final disposition of this territory or territories, and there is no limitation of any kind. It is a question of policy whether we should undertake such an obligation, and that question of policy having been settled, there would seem to be no limit.

GENERAL BLISS: I don't think it has been thought of.

DR. SCOTT: The United States has taken cessions of that kind in conjunction with the four other powers, and the cession is: that Germany or Austria renounces its sovereignty or rights or title over such and such territory, and agrees to recognize any disposition which the Principal Allied and Associated Powers shall make of such territory. There is no limitation as to time. The United States has agreed, apparently, to become a trustee, with these other powers, of this territory, and in co-operation with them to determine the question of ownership. This clause would not differ from other clauses which are already in the treaty.

MR. WHITE: I was told that Western Thrace would not be given to Bulgaria, and also not be given to Greece, but to be held subject to the decision of the Powers, in view of a possible mandate for Turkey.

DR. SCOTT. That is a question of policy, Mr. White. Dr. Johnson could tell us something about that.

MAJOR JOHNSON: I should think it would be of a very distinct advantage should it not be left with Bulgaria. Certainly from the general political and economic point of view it would be very much better for Bulgaria if it were under international control than in the hands of Turkey. The Bulgarians would doubtless so regard it. In both cases—both in the American-Italian proposition and in the French-British-Japanese proposition—the power of control of that territory rests in the Allied and Associated Powers, but there is a very distinct difference in the wording. According to the proposal of the British, French and Japanese that the Bulgarians cede the territory to the Allied and Associated Powers, that prejudices the disposition of that territory to this extent: you would not ask the Bulgarians to cede it if you were going to turn around and give it to them. The Americans insisted that the frontiers of Bulgaria should remain as they were in 1915, with the exception of any portions of

territory which the Allied and Associated Powers deem wise to attach to the International State.

MR. WHITE: That takes it away from Greece at the same time.

MAJOR JOHNSON: That takes it away from Greece, and restricts the future attribution of the territory to the International State if it does not go to Bulgaria.

PROF. COOLIDGE: Owing to the previous recommendation of the Greek Committee, if the Allied and Associated Powers were not to keep it, according to the English and French view, then it would go to Greece.

MAJOR JOHNSON: To the proposition that we might simply draw the southern frontier of Bulgaria and leave the territory north of it indefinitely, we replied that it would prejudice it, but would be glad to have the statement whether, in view of the French and British it would not prejudice the disposition, and the chairman was not willing to say that it would not prejudice the disposition of the territory. For that reason we were unable to accept that wording. We believe, and they admit that it does prejudice the case, because we would not ask Bulgaria to cede it if we intended to give it back to her. It would imply that it would go to someone else.

Thereupon, at 3:15 P. M. the meeting adjourned.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/122

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, July 24, 1919, at 9:30 a. m.*

Present:

MR. WHITE

MR. HARRISON

Additional
Allotment
to Messrs.
King and Crane

I. Mr. White approved the draft telegram to the State Department attached to Memorandum No. 503, regarding an additional allotment of \$10,000 to Messrs. King and Crane.

II. Mr. White approved the recommendation that a request be made of the American Minister at Copenhagen to consent to the assignment of Mr. E. E. Norris, an Assistant in the Legation, at present in Paris on leave, to the Commission for duty until sometime in October and should Mr. Haggood agree, to submit the matter to the State Department for approval.

Assignment
of Mr. E. E.
Norris

III. A letter from Admiral Knapp to Mr. Grew dated July 23rd regarding Chaplain Duff of the Navy was read.

Chaplain
Duff, U. S. N.

Mr. White stated that he would be glad if Admiral Knapp would introduce Chaplain Duff to the Com-

missioners Friday morning at 10:00 o'clock as the Commissioners would be glad to hear his views on the situation in the Adriatic.

IV. In response to an inquiry from Mr. Grew, Mr. White approved the granting to any persons attached to the Commission of requests for passports for their wives to join them from America, provided their coming over and their residence in Paris would be without expense to the Commission.

Wives of
Persons
Attached
to the
Commission

Release of
Lieutenant
David W.
King

V. Mr. White approved of the release of 1st Lieutenant David W. King on duty with the Commission, as stated in Memorandum No. 504.

VI. Mr. White approved the recommendation submitted by Mr. Grew that the Commission secure the services of Captain George Gordon and his assignment to duty in Mr. Grew's office to replace Mr. Lithgow Osborne, whose release had been granted by the Commissioners sometime ago.

Assignment of
Capt. George
Gordon to
Mr. Grew's
Office

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/123

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, July 25, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HARRISON

CONVERSATION WITH MR. STETTINIUS

Mr. White stated that during a conversation the previous evening with Mr. Tittoni, the latter had referred to the desire of the Italian Government to secure a credit in the United States for \$650,000,000 for three years. The United States Government had put in a caveat that nothing must be done for three weeks. The Italian Government was particularly anxious to obtain this credit, as their needs are very pressing, and Mr. Tittoni inquired whether the President would not consent to remove the veto on one-quarter of this amount.

Mr. Stettinius, in reply, stated that he thought that he might perhaps go into the history of the matter. Some six weeks or two months ago Mr. Crespi¹⁹ had approached him on the subject of an American loan to Italy. At that time Mr. Davison²⁰ was considering most

¹⁹ Of the Italian delegation.

²⁰ Henry P. Davison, of J. P. Morgan & Co.

tentatively the question of forming some plan or corporation in the United States to handle the whole subject of European credits. As he looked into the matter, he was soon convinced that government support was necessary, and came to realize that nothing should be done in any way whatsoever without government approval. He had endeavored at that time to ascertain what the Italian requirements were, and had also asked the British the same question, as well as the French, his purpose being to present a statement of total requirements to American bankers.

As regards security for an Italian loan, the Italians had proposed that their importers form consortiums, that the importers be held personally responsible, that the drafts of the importers be guaranteed by these consortiums or the Italian banks, and that the latter be then guaranteed by the Italian Government. The Italians had approached the representatives of our leading banks on this matter about June 22nd. On or about July 4th, Mr. Stettinius had received a cable from Mr. Davison stating that American exporters and bankers were not keen about the proposition, and there was serious doubt in Mr. Stettinius' mind whether the plan could be put through.

Mr. Stettinius stated that he had written Mr. Jung that no arrangements had been worked out for Italian credit, and expressed the hope that Mr. Jung and his associates would be able to make arrangements through their usual channels. Last Friday or Saturday Mr. Springer, Governor of the Bank of Italy, had referred to Mr. Stettinius' letter to Jung, and had asked whether it would not be possible for the big plan to take over any temporary arrangements which might be made in the meanwhile. Mr. Stettinius had replied that for his part he saw no objection, and thought that this might be done, but laid stress on the fact that the whole matter was in abeyance. There was, moreover, this difficulty, that American exporters were accustomed to having the money paid them in the United States, and were not used to giving long term credit, while American bankers seemed desirous of carrying on their old arrangements. In addition, the United States Treasury representatives in New York had been instructed to withhold action, possibly on account of the fact that the President had in mind the issuance of a general statement regarding the whole question of credits to Europe.

Mr. Stettinius stated that he had seen the Italian Minister of Finance last night, and that Mr. Schanzer had repeatedly asserted the urgent need of the Italian Government to obtain money. In reply to a question he had stated that it was for the purpose of purchasing food, particularly wheat, which Mr. Stettinius understood Italy did not need. Mr. Schanzer had urged Mr. Stettinius to help in obtaining the flotation of short term treasury bills. Mr. Stettinius had replied that nothing could be done with private people until the government had re-

viewed the situation and had taken action. Mr. Schanzer stated that he was proceeding to London to place 12,000,000 Pounds sterling of short term notes, and that he wanted to place \$100,000,000 worth in the United States. Mr. Stettinius had advised him to talk with Hoover if he needed food supplies. Mr. Schanzer had asked him to arrange a meeting for him with Mr. Hoover, and this would take place this evening. Mr. Stettinius had spoken to Mr. Hoover, and the latter stated that Italian food requirements were fully covered.

In reply to a question by Mr. White regarding the financial situation in France, Mr. Stettinius expressed the opinion that France was in a healthier condition financially than any European country, with the exception of Belgium. A group of young men had been formed here in France who were courageous, intelligent and straight. They had friends in the government, although they were not actually connected with the Government. Mr. Stettinius had been much impressed by them. They had gone into the situation very carefully, and had well-considered plans for bringing down the cost of living. In his opinion, the principal requirement of France at this time was coal. They seemed to think that they could get it in the United States, but they had probably not realized the difficulties of moving it in the United States, and the importance of having port facilities for shipment. Mr. Stettinius estimated French requirements for financing exports from the United States as from \$700,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000.

Mr. White then reverted to Mr. Tittoni's statement to him the previous evening, and asked Mr. Stettinius if it were correct that the Italian proposals regarding terms had been accepted, and that the only thing that stood in the way of the completion of the credit was the President's veto.

Mr. Stettinius replied that Mr. Tittoni's statement was quite incorrect, and pointed out that all that had taken place so far was in the nature of conversations of a most informal character. These had related to the \$100,000,000 short term treasury bills, not \$150,000,000 as Mr. Tittoni had stated. Moreover, the conversations were purely tentative, and it was extremely doubtful whether the matter would go through at all.

Mr. Hoover then entered the meeting.

Mr. Hoover stated that he had looked into the question of what the United States had to sell. He estimated that the amount of wheat, copper, coal and iron the United States would have for export would amount to \$3,000,000,000 during the next year. He called attention to the fact that our production is "seasonal". European countries who needed this \$3,000,000,000 worth of exports from us, were not in a position to purchase these goods when they were seasonal. He thought, therefore, that the United States must form some organization to control the sale of these exports and control the purchase by

the European countries in such a manner as to protect the United States. Through this same organization we might have a lever to force these European countries to disarm and get down to work.

There then ensued a discussion between Mr. Hoover and Mr. Stettinius regarding the labor situation in Europe. Mr. Hoover mentioned the fact that in certain places in northern France the French had 2,000 German prisoners working in a certain locality, where there were 15,000 French workmen idle.

Mr. Stettinius then left the meeting.

The Commissioners then discussed with Mr. Hoover the three following telegrams which had been received from Captain Gregory in Vienna:

"A. R. A. Received July 25, 1919.

1 VN
Col. Logan.

For action.

"ZZ" strongest factor past and present military personages in the territory now under consideration approached Cunningham with view ascertaining terms on which Entente willing come again in contact with people of said territory after conference Allied representatives here. Formula was submitted to him set forth my 935 and 937.²¹ He has accepted it provisionally as working basis and is going conference with associates. He can control army and handle situation without outside military support. This is best proposition by far which has come up and each representative here is sending message to respective Government Paris of which foregoing is substance and which you will get copy but we understand mission of four Generals ordered proceed into said territory to repeat the former Generals' fiasco and most important this mission be stopped. It involves tacit recognition and would again strengthen hand of present control.

Gregory."

"A. R. A. Received July 23, 1919.

54 x go 92 rush.
Vienna July 23, 9 p. m. 1919.
Col. Logan, Paris.

For action.

Ham 937. First: Assuming of dictatorship in which complete powers of Government are vested in names to be discussed: Haubrich, Agoston, Garamy. Second: Dismissal of communistic Kuhn Government, repudiation of Bolshevism and complete cessation of Bolshevistic propaganda. Third: Dictatorship to bridge over until formation of Government representative of all classes. Fourth: Immediate cessation of all terroristic acts of confiscation and seizures. Fifth: Immediate call of Entente advisory body. Sixth: Raising of blockade and immediate steps to be undertaken by Entente to supply food, coal and assistance in opening Danube river. Seventh: No political prosecutions. Eighth: Ultimate determination of socialization to be left to permanent Government.

Gregory."

²¹ *Infra*.

"A. R. A. Received July 24, 1919.

For action.

52 x u. 53.

Vienna July 23, 1919.

Hoover, Paris.

Ham 935. For Logan. Am sending important message which would like to know if acceptable at once as working basis for business about which we have been talking. Head of affair would be General Boehm who accepts principle stated and believes can arrange business along these lines at once.

Gregory."

Mr. Hoover suggested that the matter be placed on the Agenda for the Council of Five at the earliest possible moment, and recommended that the civilian representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in Vienna be instructed to handle the matter. He was led to make this recommendation, as he thought it would be very unfortunate if the French Military were mixed up in the conversations with General Boehm.

In this connection Mr. Hoover seemed to think that it would be preferable if his representative, Captain Gregory, should act for the United States . . .

After some conversation, Mr. Hoover made the proposal that the Allies should, in his opinion, inform General Boehm that if the Social Democrats in Hungary should set up a government of law and order and guarantee the immediate calling of general elections, the Allies would undertake to treat with them for peace, open the Danube, and lift the Blockade.

Mr. Hoover also touched on the coal question of Central Europe, and referred to the meeting of yesterday with the Germans. He pointed out that the Reparations Organization Committee was starting in to make demands on the Germans for the delivery of certain quantities of coal and that it was quite clear that France and Italy required a large portion of the coal to be supplied by Germany. He stated that Colonel Goodyear had at last been able to complete the contract between the Poles, Czechs and Germans, and that starting from tomorrow, under this contract, Vienna would begin to receive German coal. If the Reparations Committee insisted on their demands for German coal for France and Italy, it would be impossible for the Germans to make the necessary shipments to Poland, Czecho-Slovakia and Vienna, although the Germans had stated yesterday that they were prepared to carry out the Goodyear contracts. But if the Reparations Committee insisted on their demands, Germany will of course comply, and Czechs, Poles, and especially the Viennese, would be left stranded.

It seemed to Mr. Hoover that his organization had better be withdrawn. Either the United States should have the controlling voice or we should leave it to the Europeans to arrange their own troubles.

Mr. Hoover spoke of the present situation in the Silesian coal fields. The situation there had been torn to pieces by the propaganda carried on by the Germans and the Poles. The Poles were doing all they could to keep down production to force the Allies to take charge, while the Germans had increased the allowances to the miners, had made other promises, and were doing all they could to get as much coal as possible out of the Silesian fields, before the territory was lost to them. At the present time the production of the Silesian fields was about 50 per cent of what it ought to be.

General Bliss suggested that it would be well to have a full memorandum prepared on the whole situation showing the necessities of all countries for next winter. Mr. Hoover stated that such a memorandum was already in course of preparation, and that in the memorandum the necessity for some dominant action would be pointed out, that it was a European action and not an American action that was required, and that it was vital for Europe to establish a general complete control over the whole coal situation. Mr. Hoover mentioned the fact that lately there had been talk about obtaining coal for Europe in the United States, and that they had spoken of obtaining a million tons in America. Even if it were possible to get this out of America on account of the lack of dock facilities which were now and would be for the next six months entirely taken up with the handling of our coastwise shipments, it would be necessary to find some two and a half million tons of shipping to handle this coal, and that this would result in the complete disorganization of the tonnage of the world. The world tonnage situation was, in any event, going to be affected by the fact that the northern neutrals had ordered coal in America, and would use their ships for this purpose, when they should be engaged in other trade.

I. Major Tyler's memorandum dated July 24th, regarding his conversation with General Slatin was read.

**Austrian Red
Cross Dele-
gation to
Siberia**

The Commissioners desired that the matter brought up in this memorandum regarding the refusal of the Allies to permit the departure of an Austrian Red Cross Delegation to Siberia, should be referred to the American Representatives on the Prisoners of War Commission for report and recommendation.

II. The Commissioners approved the dispatch of a telegram to the State Department asking for an immediate reply to the cablegram of July 18. They also approved the draft telegram attached to Memorandum No. 505, but desired that the last sentence be stricken out, and the following inserted:

**Commission to
the Baltic
Provinces**

“Can you not obtain an immediate reply from the Secretary of War to question raised in our telegram No. 3211 of July 18, 7 p. m.”

The Commissioners also approved the suggestion that Col. Greene should be asked to wait a few days longer before taking any action in the matter of closing up the work of the Commission to the Baltic Provinces.

III. The Commissioners approved the payment by the Commission of Mr. Howe's transportation to the United States as stated in Memorandum No. 506. They suggested, however, that before authorizing an allotment for this purpose, inquiry should be made as to whether the Army would not carry Mr. Howe to the United States as a member of the Peace Commission.

Payment of
Transportation
to the
U. S. of
Mr. George
Howe

IV. The Commissioners approved the recommendation submitted in Memorandum No. 507 regarding the appointment of Colonel Goodyear to succeed Mr. George Howe on the Teschen Commission, provided Mr. Hoover gave his consent.

Colonel
Goodyear
To Succeed
Mr. Howe
on the
Teschen
Commission

The Commissioners also expressed the desire to hear Mr. Goodyear regarding the coal situation of Central Europe, as well as the problem involved in the settlement of the Teschen question, at their next meeting.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/124

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, July 28th, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HARRISON

Release of 2nd
Lieut. Robert
Hale

I. The Commissioners approved the release of 2nd Lieutenant Robert Hale, as stated in Memorandum No. 508.

Release of
1st Lieut.
Khachadorian

II. The Commissioners approved the release of Lieutenant Khachadorian, as stated in Memorandum No. 509.

III. The Commissioners approved the draft telegram submitted by the Secretary General to remind Mr. Lansing of the question of the appointment of a permanent American member of the Inter-Allied High Commission on the Rhineland Territories, under Article 2, of the Rhineland Agreement.²²

Appointment
of American
Member on
the Rhine-
land Com-
mission

²² For the telegram as sent. see *Foreign Relations*, 1919, vol. 1, p. 6.

IV. Mr. Harrison read a memorandum from Mr. Grew regarding the suggestion which had been made by the French Government to the American Embassy in Paris, that the American delegate on the Transportation Section of the Supreme Economic Council should be present at an international meeting on August 6th, to discuss the re-organization of commercial relations with Oriental Europe.

The Commissioners took note of the contents of the memorandum in question, and suggested that Mr. Grew should call the attention of the Embassy to the policy of the American Government as the Commissioners understand it, not to participate in any permanent Inter-Allied Economic Commissions after the labors of the Supreme Economic Council of the Peace Conference shall have been concluded. There might not be any objection to having the American delegate on the Transportation Section of the Supreme Economic Council attend the meeting on August 6th. If the Commissioners' understanding of the policy of the Government were correct, it might be desirable to call the matter to the attention of the Embassy, or the State Department, so that the American Delegate in question would not commit the United States Government to continued participation in any international organization without obtaining definite instructions in this regard.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/125

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, July 29th, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. Memorandum No. 510 regarding an inquiry of the Department of State relative to the proposed appointment of a Governor General for North Russia was read.

Proposed
Appointment
of a Governor
General for
North Russia

The Commissioners approved the attached draft telegram, but desired that the last sentence be eliminated and the following substituted: ²³

“Ammission has taken no action in the matter, and in any case does not see what action could be taken by the United States Government or Ammission, except possibly friendly advice by Cole to local authorities, should occasion offer.”

²³ For the telegram as sent, see *Foreign Relations, 1919, Russia*, p. 643.

II. Memorandum No. 511 regarding the continuance of Field Missions was read.

Field Missions The Commissioners directed that the Secretary General submit his recommendations as to the officers whom it is imperatively essential to retain.

III. The Commission took note of the contents of Memorandum No. 512 regarding the proposed retention of Lieutenant Colonel F. A. Doniat with the Halstead Mission in Vienna to represent the United States on the Inter-Allied Blockade Commission at Vienna.

Blockade of Hungary The Commissioners approved the recommendation contained in the memorandum, in principle, but in view of the telegram which had been sent on yesterday to Mr. Halstead authorizing the retention of the military contingent for the time being at least, action with regard to the case of Colonel Doniat should await a final decision in the matter.

IV. The Commissioners approved the recommendation contained in Memorandum No. 513, that Miss Groth's salary be paid on a dollar basis, and that beginning July 1st, she be paid at the rate of \$250 per month.

Miss Groth's Salary

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/126

Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary, Wednesday, July 30, 1919

Present:

MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Commissioners approved releasing the map showing the boundaries of Germany and the dispatch of the telegram submitted to the Department of State as well as the telegram to General Churchill suggested by Major Martin, as stated in Memorandum No. 514.

Publication of Map Showing Boundaries of Germany

II. The Secretary read Major Tyler's memorandum regarding a proposal for the preservation of Austrian Art and Scientific Collections, drawn by Dr. Klein of the Austrian Delegation.

Preservation of Austrian Art and Scientific Collections

The Commissioners thought well of the principle set forth in Dr. Klein's memorandum and suggested that the Secretary General take the matter up with the American Representative on the Reparations Commission, as it was understood that the Reparations Commission had made some provision for the creation of a sub-commission of the Reparations

Commission in the Austrian Treaty for the purpose of preserving Austrian Art and Scientific Collections.

III. The Secretary read Memorandum No. 515 containing a statement submitted by the Secretary General regarding the assignment of two American Officers to assist in carrying out the terms of the Armistice protocol between the Czecho-Slovaks and Hungarians in accordance with a request recently made by General Pellé.

Two American
Officers To
Assist in
Carrying Out
Armistice
Protocols
Between
Czecho-
Slovaks and
Hungarians

The Commissioners approved the dispatch of the draft letter addressed to the Chief of Staff, but suggested that the last paragraph should be changed to state that the services of Lieut. Colonel Jones and Captain Wise would only be required for three weeks dating from the commencement of their duties.

The Commissioners withheld action on the second recommendation in the memorandum, namely, the dispatch of a telegram to the State Department to confirm the Mission's understanding of General March's statement to the effect that the necessary military personnel could remain with the Commission until the end of the Peace Conference, pending the receipt of certain information by General Bliss.

IV. The Commissioners desired to be informed of the action that it was proposed should be taken in regard to telegram No. 87 of July 28, 6 P. M. from the American Minister at Warsaw [*Prague*] relative to the repatriation of Czech Legionaries.

Repatriation
of Czech
Legionaries

V. General Bliss read telegram No. 374 of July 26, 5 P. M. from the Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm and inquired whether an answer had been sent. The Commissioners saw no objection to instructing Mr. Wheeler to join in the action taken by his British and French colleagues in the matter.

Securities
Stolen by
Bela Kun

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/127

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, July 31, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE

GEN. BLISS

MR. HARRISON

Transportation
of Mr. George
Howe to the
U. S.

I. The Commissioners approved the payment by the Commission of Mr. Howe's transportation expenses to the United States as set forth in Memorandum No. 516.

II. Memorandum No. 517 regarding a request from Messrs. King and Crane on the Inter-Allied Mission on Mandates for Turkey for two automobiles and spare parts at a total cost of \$6,566.46 f.o.b. Paris, was read.

Request of
Messrs. King
& Crane for
Two Auto-
mobiles and
Spare Parts

The Commissioners approved the recommendation submitted by the Secretary General in this memorandum, namely, that the purchase of these cars be declined until Congress makes the appropriation now being sought by the Secretary of State, or unless money can be furnished from other sources than the \$10,000 recently allotted by the State Department for salaries and expenses of the Mission.

III. The Secretary read Admiral Knapp's strictly confidential letter of July 29th to Mr. Grew as regards certain information submitted by the United States Naval Attaché in Stockholm. The Commissioners noted the contents of this letter with interest.

Japanese
Activities
in Stock-
holm and
Finland

[IV.] The Secretary read a letter from Mr. George Louis Beer to Mr. Grew, dated July 31st, in which the former stated that he had been requested by Colonel House to attend the meetings of the Mandates Commission to be held in London on and after August 5th. Mr. Beer requested that if Captain Hornbeck could be spared for four days he be detailed to accompany Mr. Beer to London.

Request of
Mr. Beer
for Detail
of Captain
Hornbeck To
Accompany
Him to
London

The Commissioners approved Mr. Beer's request in this regard.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/128

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, August 1, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Commissioners were of the opinion that no further action could be taken with regard to telegram No. 87 of July 28th, 6 p. m., from the American Minister at Prague, relative to the repatriation of Czech Legionaries, except repetition to the Department of State, which they understood had already been done.

Repatriation
of Czech
Legionaries

II. Referring to a letter from Admiral Knapp to the Secretary General dated July 20th, the Commissioners expressed the desire to hear Rear Admiral McCully, with regard to conditions in Northern Russia, at their next meeting tomorrow morning at 10:15.

Commissioners
To Hear Rear
Admiral
McCully

III. The Commissioners approved a draft telegram proposed by General Bliss in reply to Colonel Dawley's telegram to the Mission dated July 28th. The telegram will read as follows:

"Your telegram of July 28th, quoting letter signed by Gough, Boset and Dawley acknowledged. Your participation in this letter not understood by American Commission, in view of fact that sole function of American Baltic Commission is to observe and report on economic, political and military situations. Your undated personal telegram to General Bliss, Supreme War Council, acknowledged."

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/129

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, August 2nd, 1919*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

Release of 2nd
Lieut. Copley
Amory, Jr.

I. The Commissioners approved the release of Lieutenant Amory, as stated in Memorandum No. 518.

II. Memorandum No. 519 from the Disbursing Officer regarding Mr. Hudson's request for an allowance of \$300 for his passage to America on the S. S. *Baltic* was read.

Transportation for
Mr. Manley O.
Hudson

The Commissioners approved Mr. Hudson's request for an allowance of \$300 to defray the expenses of his passage to America on the S. S. *Baltic*, sailing on August 8th. The Commissioners hoped, however, that Mr. Hudson would see his way clear to remain until the various questions connected with the Bulgarian Treaty are decided.

III. Memorandum No. 520, submitted by Major Tyler regarding his conversation with Baron Eichoff and General Slatin was read and noted by the Commissioners.

Major Tyler's
Report of
Conversation
With Baron
Eichoff and
General
Slatin

The Commissioners directed that the matters contained in the first paragraph of Major Tyler's memorandum should be brought to the attention of Mr. John Foster Dulles for consideration and report, and that the question brought up by General Slatin as reported in the last paragraph of Major Tyler's memorandum should be referred to the American Representatives on the Prisoners of War Commission for consideration and report.

IV. Memorandum No. 521, recommending the withdrawal of all Field Missions as soon as possible, with the exception of the Rhineland Commission, the Missions to Austria and Germany, and the Tiflis Section of the South Russian Mission, and an allotment of \$2,000 to the last named Mission, was read.

The Commissioners questioned the necessity for maintaining the Tiflis Section of the South Russian Mission, in view of the report concerning the Mission that had been received from Mr. Ravndal, at Constantinople. It was believed that Colonel Haskell could secure any necessary information from the American Consul.

The Commissioners therefore directed that this question be referred back to the Secretary General for further consideration.

The Commissioners approved the other recommendations submitted in the Memorandum in question, namely, that the Rhineland Commission, and the Missions to Austria and Germany should be maintained, and that all other Field Missions should be withdrawn as soon as possible.

V. Memorandum No. 522, regarding military personnel of the Commission was read.

General Bliss explained that his check marks on the list of officers now with the Commission was not to be considered final, and was based on his understanding that the officers in question were attached to Field Missions and had been, or were about to be relieved. The General had not checked the name of Lieutenant Milton Garver, listed as doing current intelligence summaries, as he did not feel in a position to state whether this officer was indispensable or no. If Lieutenant Reginald C. Foster was not to be relieved but was to be demobilized in Europe, this was a matter for the State Department to decide, as he was attached to the Legation at Warsaw. The General had checked the name of Major Martin, as he was on the list as a Field Observer. The General would have no objection to his remaining with the Mission if this was thought desirable.

The Commissioners desired that the Secretary General submit as soon as possible a complete list of regular army personnel, officers, field clerks and enlisted men, which General Bliss might communicate to General Pershing, with a request that he endeavor to detail them for service with the Commission.

The Commissioners also desired that the Secretary General should prepare a list of the temporary officers whose services with the Commission are found indispensable, and who could not be substituted by regular officers.

The Secretary General was further requested, with this list, to submit a memorandum of the expense which would be entailed in each

Field
Missions

Military
Personnel
of the
Commission

case, as suggested in the ante-penultimate paragraph of the memorandum under consideration, with a view to final reference to the State Department, with a request for necessary appropriation.

In this connection General Bliss requested that Major Tyler furnish him as soon as possible with a list of the personnel to be relieved immediately under the decision regarding Field Missions.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/130

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, August 6, 1919*

Present :

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. Memorandum No. 523 with regard to a request dated August 2nd, from Mr. Albert Halstead for a credit of \$5,000 to be placed to his account and to be used for the payment of salaries in dollars to employees of his mission, was read.

Mr. Halstead's
Request for
\$5,000 Gold
for Paying
Salaries of
Employees

The Commissioners approved Mr. McNeir's recommendation that Mr. Halstead's request be disallowed.

Release of
Major Martin
for Service
With General
Harbord's
Mission to
Asia Minor

II. The Commissioners approved the recommendation that Major L. Martin be relieved temporarily from service with the Peace Mission to be attached to General Harbord's Mission to Asia Minor.

III. The Commissioners approved the recommendation submitted in Memorandum No. 524 for an allotment of \$5,000 to the Legation at Warsaw, to defray expenses incurred in making reports, etc., for the Mission.

Allotment for
Legation at
Warsaw

IV. Memorandum No. 525 submitting a draft telegram to Constantinople with regard to the recall of the Mission on Mandates for Turkey was read.

Return of
Mission on
Mandates for
Turkey

In view of the fact that this mission had been appointed by the President for a particular purpose, the Commissioners considered that it was inadvisable to instruct them to return, and that they should be permitted to complete their work.

The Commissioners took note of the fact that the Mission "intended to finish their task within the current month".

V. The Commissioners approved the recommendation in Memorandum No. 526 submitted by Mr. John Foster Dulles that a request be made to have Captain Reginald Norris temporarily attached to the Peace Commission and assigned to Mr. Dulles for financial work.

Employment
of Captain
Reginald
Norris

VI. Memorandum No. 527, regarding the receipt by Colonel R. H. Van Deman of instructions to proceed to the United States and report to the Chief of Staff, was read.

Release of
Colonel R. H.
Van Deman

The report on the activities of the Negative Intelligence Section submitted by Colonel Van Deman was handed to General Bliss.

In view of the instructions that had been received by Colonel Van Deman the Commissioners approved his release. The Secretary was directed to confer with Colonel Van Deman with regard to the continuance of a Negative Intelligence Department with particular reference to the maintenance of the control of this building, and the necessary personnel therefor.

VII. The Commissioners approved the maintenance of the South Russian Field Mission at Tiflis, in view of the fact that General Harbord expressed the desire that they be allowed to remain on so that he might have an opportunity to confer with them after his arrival in Asia Minor.

Maintenance
of South
Russian
Field Mission
at Tiflis

VIII. Mr. McNeir entered the meeting at the request of the Commissioners and submitted a preliminary report on the personnel of the Commission in accordance with the directions given by the Commissioners on August 2nd.

Military
Personnel
of the
Commission

1. The Commissioners approved the release of the officers now assigned to duty with Field Missions (total 23 officers), as given in Mr. McNeir's Memorandum, provided that none of these officers were attached either to the Mission on Mandates under Messrs. King and Crane, or the South Russian Mission at Tiflis.

2. The Commissioners approved Mr. McNeir's recommendations for the release without replacement of the 13 officers as stated in Mr. McNeir's memorandum.

3. The Commissioners desired the recommendations of the Secretary General relative to the 5 officers with regard to whose release or replacement Mr. McNeir did not feel competent to express an opinion.

4. The Commissioners approved Mr. McNeir's recommendation that the 7 officers mentioned in his list be demobilized and retained by the Commission on a salary basis, as stated in the Memorandum.

The Commissioners approved the recommendations contained in the memorandum from the business manager dated August 4th, submitting

a list of army personnel necessary for the operation of the Hotel Crillon, supplies, accounting, etc., on the basis of salaries therein.

Mr. McNeir undertook to submit by the next meeting on August 7th, to the Commissioners, the lists together with the recommendations regarding field clerks and enlisted men now with the Mission, who can be released, a list of those who can be retained, and a list of the personnel whom the Army will be asked to supply.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/131

Minutes of Meeting of the Commissioners and Technical Advisers of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Hotel Crillon, Paris, August 6, 1919, 2 p. m.

Present:

MR. POLK
 MR. WHITE
 GENERAL BLISS
 ADMIRAL KNAPP
 DR. SCOTT
 DR. JOHNSON
 DR. LORD
 MR. NIELSEN
 COL. GRANT
 DR. HUDSON
 MR. J. F. DULLES
 DR. COOLIDGE
 MR. DRESEL
 MR. A. W. DULLES
 MR. BUCKLER
 MR. OSBORNE
 MR. SHAW
 MR. HARRISON
 LT. CONDON
 MR. RUSSELL

MR. POLK: Admiral Knapp, have you anything in particular to bring up?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: Nothing in particular, excepting that matter I sent down to you this morning.

MR. POLK: I haven't it with me.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: Very briefly: the bulletin which was on my desk this morning, of the resolutions adopted is entirely different, in the first place, from what we presented to the Supreme Council, and it entirely changes the meaning, as I understood the resolutions that were

adopted on the first of August regarding the disposition of the war materials, and which were submitted to the Supreme Council. It makes it refer simply and solely to aeronautical material. The resolution was first drafted in the Air Commission, the air clauses to include all material, and it was expressly stated that possibly it would be so broad that the members of the Commission would not care to accede to it, but they did, and in that form it went to the Supreme Council, and as I recollect the proceedings, there was no limitation put to it, and I distinctly recall hearing Mr. Balfour say that he thought the Council could accept the second point which was made, which was to not have it go outside of the jurisdiction of the state to which it went, but that it first should go to the military representatives at Versailles, with no limitations whatsoever.²⁴

MR. POLK: My recollection is the same as yours.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: It seems to me that it is a thing that should be corrected.

MR. POLK: Do you know who our reporter was; who reported it?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: No, I have not seen that.

MR. WHITE: Our secretary is Mr. Harrison.

MR. POLK: My recollection is clear on that.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: A vexed question is coming up: the distribution of ships. It is the worst question that I see ahead. My very purpose in drafting the resolution in the Air Commission was to get the whole thing settled, to get some principles laid down on which the Commission could work. As far as I now can see they are all going off on their own tacks, with no principles to govern at all. And the resolutions I introduced in the Air Commission not only mentioned all air material, but further specified whether it would be used on land, on sea or air.

MR. POLK: I will take your memorandum over with me this afternoon, and speak to Mr. Balfour about it, and see that it is presented properly. Dr. Scott, have you anything?

DR. SCOTT: A volume; very briefly stated, there are three outstanding items, as far as the Drafting Committee is concerned, in the Bulgarian Treaty. The first is, of course, the matter of the southern boundaries, which is under very serious discussion, I understand, and if there are to be Greek clauses, and if there are to be Turkish clauses—that is, special clauses in the treaty concerning the affairs of Greece such as there were concerning the Italians, in the Austrian Treaty, and if there are to be special Turkish clauses—those three things are lacking, and, with the exception of those three, the Bulgarian Treaty is drafted and would be ready to submit, as far as that Committee is concerned, if the Supreme Council is satisfied that all the terms are there.

²⁴ For the discussion in the Supreme Council, see HD-21, minute 12, vol. VII, p. 461.

MR. POLK: What clauses do you have in mind that should be in there?

DR. SCOTT: Well, there were some clauses sent in,—that is, privately sent to the chairman of the Drafting Committee—merely for his information, and they were clauses concerning nationality, concerning the treatment of co-religionists, and concerning distribution to be made of property, the treatment to be accorded the citizens of the two countries: Bulgaria and Greece. We saw at once that they were matters which would need to be passed upon by the Supreme Council, and of course, we took no action, even in drafting, because the principle had not been settled.

MR. POLK: Isn't there another committee working on it?

DR. SCOTT: Oh, yes, but there are three things which have not as yet been definitely determined by the Supreme Council, and when those three things are determined, the Treaty will be ready.

MR. POLK: Hasn't your committee got that?

DR. HUDSON: Our committee has made a study concerning the intermigration of Balkan peoples, and we have made a report concerning those proposals to the Supreme Council, and when I asked yesterday that the report be presented to the attention of the Supreme Council, it was stated that nothing can be done until the boundaries of Greece and Bulgaria are settled. It seems to me that that is not true, and that Mr. Venizelos' proposals for inter-migration of Balkan peoples may be passed upon by the Supreme Council tentatively, and that our Committee be given the authority which it asks, to negotiate with Mr. Venizelos on the subject, and that those clauses can be agreed upon, even though the frontier, as far as Thrace is concerned, is not settled.

I wish the report could receive the attention of the Supreme Council and the Committee could be given the authority to negotiate—to deal with Mr. Venizelos. I think it does not infringe upon the jurisdiction of Mr. Nielsen's committee, because this is a matter, Mr. Nielsen, of the interchange of peoples, where a village in Bulgaria wants to pick up and move into Greece.

MR. NIELSEN: I was under the impression that I saw a notice indicating that the Supreme Council had referred this to the Committee on Political Clauses. I am afraid that is what has happened.

DR. HUDSON: I cannot find that that is true. I heard, last week, that that was true, but I have not found any record.

MR. NIELSEN: I think that is probably true, but we have not considered it at all.

MR. POLK: Is that one of your committees?

MR. NIELSEN: Yes.

MR. POLK: But you have not heard it yet?

MR. NIELSEN: I saw a notice.

MR. POLK: But you have not considered it?

MR. NIELSEN: No, we have not considered it at all.

MR. POLK: It does not seem to me possible to complete your treaty until those matters receive attention, because it seems to me they are essential.

DR. SCOTT: Exactly. And on this occasion I have called your attention to the fact that there are three outstanding matters on which an agreement would have to be reached before the treaty could be presented.

Then a word about the Hungarian Treaty. We have been requested to pick it up and to put it into shape, following, as far as possible, the procedure with the German Treaty and with the Austrian Treaty, and the resolutions already had in the matter by the previous Supreme Council during the time the President was here.

To make what might be a long report, a very brief one,—there are four or five matters outstanding. All the other matters can be considered, and have practically been drafted in accordance with reports of commissions and with the decisions of the Supreme Council,—except these four or five which I should like to lay before you.

They are: the military, naval and air clauses for Hungary; a preliminary report of these matters; that the draft was made on the 7th of June, and Col. Grant can state the extent to which that represents the views of the committee. The project concerning the Prisoners of War has not been received or presented to the Supreme Council. It will likely be based upon that of the German and Austrian treaties, which will have some changes because of the different terms in the armistice. Two clauses upon Reparation and Finance. Both of these are lacking. And of the report on Ports and Waterways, the technical clauses concerning Railways, etc., are left. But with the exception of these—1, 2, 3, 4 and a part of the 6th—the Treaty is so far advanced that it is already in print.

MR. POLK: You might let us have a memorandum of that treaty. I was going to say that a great many of your labors have been taken from you by the Roumanians, because they are making peace on their own terms: a brand new armistice today.

Have you the Ports and Waterways clauses? (Addressing Dr. Hudson.)

DR. HUDSON: I thought they were all done. I am surprised to hear that they are lacking.

MR. POLK: Have you anything more?

DR. SCOTT: No.

MR. POLK: Colonel Grant, have you anything?

COLONEL GRANT: No.

MR. POLK: Mr. Nielsen?

MR. NIELSEN: There is on the agenda a rather important thing this afternoon relating to certain clauses that this Committee that you

just mentioned has framed. I mention it, not because it is on the agenda, but because I think the Commissioners will probably want instructions from Washington. These clauses govern certain matters that grow out of the breaking up of the Austro-Hungarian empire, such as joint railroad rates between the new states and Austria and Hungary, coast-wise trade, and the restoration of articles belonging in one or another of the states, and contemplating a number of new conveyances. It was the Italian plan to have these new articles framed without having the Slav states consulted, and without negotiating with them, and that I objected to, and others did also, and I thought that we were proceeding on the plan that these new states would, with our assistance, conclude this treaty. The idea was to have it signed when the Austrian treaty was signed. But the plan now proposed is that the Five Principal Allied and Associated Powers should be signatories to this treaty, with the idea that although these questions are local, still they have some interest for all those who have been in the war.

Now I presume the Commissioners would want to have that treaty submitted to Washington, perhaps, and this is the first opportunity I have had to bring it up. I would suggest that these articles, which collectively are not very lengthy, might be telegraphed to Washington, with a brief explanation made of this thing, and inquiry made as to whether we will sign, as I think the others will, such a treaty as we finally agreed to.

MR. POLK: Will you prepare such a telegram and send it immediately.

MR. NIELSEN: The only other minor point I would like to bring up is with regard to this Spitzbergen Treaty. The idea is to frame a treaty acknowledging sovereignty and not binding ourselves,—which we will have to do some time. The British have introduced an article with regard to the moral rights that have been acquired in these northern countries and the adjustment of these rights by arbitration, and then propose in there that an arbitrator be named by the United States of America as well as other countries which have a claim. In the absence of instructions I made no objections to that, because there are no obligations involved at all. The compensation will come from the other interested countries; it will merely be the designation of the lawyers. So I don't see any great harm in that. But I probably could still have it stricken out. I favor leaving it in.

MR. POLK: I gather that you are in favor of it. (Addressing Dr. Scott.)

DR. SCOTT: Decidedly.

MR. NIELSEN: There is no political interest involved.

MR. POLK: If they suggest that we appoint an arbitrator, I see no reason why we should not do it.

DR. JOHNSON: I want the idea of the Commissioners with regard to the Bukovina question. I see on the record two resolutions passed by the Supreme Council, dated August 1st,²⁵ one of which states that the whole of the territory of Bukovina be given to Roumania; the other postponing the thing until the assurance by the Roumanians of their attitude toward the Entente powers. Just what is the status of that Bukovina problem?

MR. POLK: I don't know. Do you know, Mr. Harrison?

MR. HARRISON: As I remember it, sir, that question of the disposition of that little strip of territory, that no man's land in Bukovina, came up, and after the recommendation was approved, Mr. Polk raised the question whether it be to include the whole valley or not, one way or the other.

MR. POLK: It came up the other day. It is the British line that is the most northerly line, and I suggested that as that line ran down at the bottom of the valley, they take, instead, the crest on one side or the other—I didn't care which way or which side it went,—but not to take the bottom of the valley, not to make a line of division at the bottom of the valley and have the two people on either side of the line in the valley staring across at each other constantly. That was adopted.

MR. HARRISON: And then they continued the discussion, and talked about Bessarabia, but at Mr. Balfour's suggestion, they were not to take any decision at all until Roumania would take a more conservative attitude.

MR. POLK: Further than that, this Commission is not prepared to discuss the disintegration of the Russian empire,—its dismemberment.

DR. JOHNSON: The situation regarding Thrace—may I say a word with regard to that?

MR. POLK: Please do.

DR. JOHNSON: There was a meeting of the Central Territorial Committee called yesterday afternoon to consider further the Thracian question. In the course of the discussion, the object of which was to see if we could possibly find an intermediate point of view between those who wished to give most of the territory to Greece which is being claimed by Greece—but not quite all—and the American point of view, which was to not take any of this territory from Bulgaria which belonged to her at the beginning of the war. There was perhaps an hour or an hour and one-half's discussion, in the course of which it developed that the suggestion for placing Thrace under International control, which has been made by the Americans—and it was not very favorably received when it was first suggested in the Council—was supported by the Italians, and the Japanese also said that they were rather inclined to that solution. So that the com-

²⁵ See HD-21, minutes 9 and 10, vol. VII, pp. 455 and 457.

plexion of the situation had changed rather materially in favor of the American point of view. In the Commission's meetings we came to no conclusion. The situation is that the Americans took the position that the best intermediate solution was the one which was suggested on the basis of the President's telegram, of putting the territory under international control rather than giving it to Greece, or leaving it to Bulgaria. And there was some support of that from the Italians and from the Japanese.

Then in the discussion in the Council Mr. Balfour suggested as a compromise giving quite a considerable portion of that territory back to Bulgaria, but still cutting her off from the sea by a very narrow band, narrowing the strip to Greece, and in principle they accepted Mr. Tittoni's suggestion to give it back to Bulgaria, with quite a slice of territory to Greece. But the approach to the American point of view was more marked.

MR. POLK: As a matter of fact I went over the question this morning with a gentleman named Boucher. There was a very strong feeling in Great Britain against the British plan here.

DR. JOHNSON: It is very intense; the feeling is very intense.

MR. POLK: What I meant to say was that Mr. Venizelos made a great point of that port—Portolaga (?) [*Portolagos*]. Now the line I suggested the other day would take that in and give it to Greece. Now that would strike off one of Veniselos' great objections, according to this man. One of the great fears he expressed concerning this was that it might be a possible submarine base.

MR. WHITE: Was that in the Greek section?

MR. POLK: Yes.

DR. JOHNSON: The statement was made by Mr. Venizelos, before the Greek parliament, at the end of the second Balkan War, as to the Greeks wanting to claim that territory, that it would be a dangerous geographical frontier to have a long, narrow strip, without any background; that she was much better off without it.

PROF. COOLIDGE: I would like to ask a question. We received today the Austrian answer. I confess I am not clear how seriously we were expected to examine it—to take it. On the one hand we are to take anything that they say, that is reasonable, and consider it; and on the other hand, the minute you suggest any change in anything you are met with the argument that you are breaking a bargain; that the point has only been reached as the result of compromise and discussion, and we have no right to raise that whole question.

MR. POLK: I don't think that ought to stand for one minute. If they can point out anything in the treaty that should and can be changed, it seems to me that we should make a try to have it changed.

PROF. COOLIDGE: I think the whole question whether this new examination is a real one or merely a formal one, is not at all clear.

MR. POLK: I think it should be real. Don't you, General?

GENERAL BLISS: Yes, sir, I think so.

MR. A. W. DULLES: Another question. When the German reply was presented, as I remember it the Supreme Council indicated to the technical commissions that they wished an examination of various phases of the various questions raised by the Germans. It came from the top down to the Committee. Now the question arises whether a similar procedure will be followed, or whether the various committees will make the examination without any decision from the Supreme Council.

MR. POLK: I don't know, but I imagine it will be transmitted, to save time.

PROF. COOLIDGE: If they are to have instructions, I hope they will come today, so we can waste no time.

DR. JOHNSON: There is this one question that comes up in connection with the frontiers, in the territorial matters. When the Commission has drawn a line, after studying the question,—for geographic or various reasons it invariably happens that there are certain places where you must favor one side or the other, and then, as an offset, you favor the other side in another place, and anyone can make a point concerning the first place, but when such a point is made, the whole question should be considered.

MR. POLK: But if they show something that is clearly an error.

DR. JOHNSON: If it is a detail of that kind you have to open up the whole question.

DR. HUDSON: May I ask whether the Commissioners have taken any stand on the Austrian suggestion that the treaty ought to be constructed on the theory that the whole Austro-Hungarian empire is being liquidated, and that, as far as the states previously forming part of the Austro-Hungarian empire are concerned, there ought to be complete reciprocity at once, in the navigation of rivers, transit, etc. The Economic people have reduced their period of reciprocity from five to three years.

MR. NIELSEN: The idea was simply to make a slight concession there, that was all.

MR. HARRISON: When the Austrian Treaty came up, I think it may be generally said that the idea was to take the German Treaty as a basis and draw the Austrian Treaty on that basis. Various delegations thought the Treaty should be treated the other way.

DR. HUDSON: I think the Austrians' objection is thoroughly right. The Austrians, I think, are going to live intolerable lives if we continue to make the kind of clauses that are in the treaty, without reciprocity, in the Ports, Waterways and Railways. I think the Austrians make a very strong claim. They say there should at least

be territorial reciprocity between the states formed out of the former Austro-Hungarian empire.

MR. POLK: I think that that has not been acted upon. Have they made a protest along that line?

DR. HUDSON: The Austrians have, yes.

MR. POLK: What has been done with it?

DR. HUDSON: Nothing has been done. It has been voiced a number of times in their communications.

MR. POLK: It will probably be repeated in their protest today.

DR. HUDSON: I don't doubt it will be repeated. In the Ports, Waterways and Railways Commission it was impossible for us to get on with the consideration of the Austrian reply without some indication from above of the policy toward the Austrian Treaty.

MR. POLK: That should be brought up as soon as we get the answer. It seems to me that would be a very important question to be considered.

MR. NIELSEN: That thing has come up very largely in connection with customs matters, but there has been no disposition among those who have worked on those clauses to decide that the new states and Austria should be on terms of equality. The argument, as Mr. Hudson suggests, is strong, but I don't believe that anybody has shown a tendency to take that view. I think it would be very difficult to bring about an acceptance of any such view.

MR. A. W. DULLES: AS I remember it, the Austrian Treaty was drawn on the theory that Austria was an old state, and had to renounce possession; then the head of the British delegation presented a draft pointing out that it should be a liquidation of the old monarchy. The treaty was drawn up first on the old theory and then a preamble was inserted on the new theory. The Austrians claim that they do not own Bukovina, and they cannot renounce something they do not own.

DR. HUDSON: The Serbian delegation has sent a letter to the president of the conference protesting against that article in the Austrian Treaty which would require the Serb-Croat-Slovene state to accept a provision for the protection of minorities, etc., in a treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers. The Serb-Croat-Slovene letter indicates that they may attempt to sign the Austrian Treaty with a reservation as to that article. It seems to me that that might produce some embarrassment at the time of the signing of the Austrian Treaty.

MR. WHITE: Isn't that a similar situation as the Chinese reservation?

DR. SCOTT: That question, Mr. White, would be a little different. It would be a little stronger in favor of China, because at the time it was

submitted at the Plenary Session China made distinct reservation as to this article and requested that this reservation be spread upon the minutes, and practically made its acceptance subject to that, so that when it proceeded to sign, it would sign in pursuance of the acceptance of the treaty as it had made it on that particular day. And that ruling being made in the case of China would be rather stronger than in the case of a nation that had made no exception at the time.

MR. POLK: It would be stronger against Serbia?

DR. SCOTT: It would be stronger against Serbia.

DR. HUDSON: The Serbo-Croats will say that they never saw the article before it was presented to the Austrians, and they never had a chance to accept the treaty before it was given to the Austrians, and that this is their first chance to protest. That is what they will say.

DR. LORD: May I say, Mr. Polk, that I think the Teschen question is one that should receive the attention of the Supreme Council very soon, since the delay which the Council has granted to the Czecho-Slovak and Polish governments within which to try to reach an agreement between themselves expired last night, and I believe that Mr. Benes has presented a note for the Czechs asking that the Council settle the question before them. There is on that subject a joint report of the Polish and Czecho-Slovak Commissions of last April, and I have a little fear that a certain delegation may attempt to lay that report before the Supreme Council and attempt to get a decision on the basis of that. As a matter of fact, a great deal has happened since April, and much new information has been received, and at present I believe the majority of both those commissions would recommend another solution of those questions if the matter was referred back to them. So I think it is the opinion of the American representatives, at least, in those commissions, that it might be well if the Council would refer the question back to the Czecho-Slovak and Polish Commissions and ask for a definitive recommendation.

MR. HARRISON: When the question of giving an extension of time to the Czecho-Slavs and Poles, as they requested, came up, the Supreme Council instructed the chairman of the Commission to prepare a solution which would be ready and which the Supreme Council would act upon and consider in case the Czechs and Poles did not get together at the end of this period.

DR. LORD: Yes, there was a phrase: "to study it". I don't know whether that in itself is enough to warrant the two Commissions in presenting the recommendation at once.

MR. HARRISON: It was to have something ready so the Supreme Council could act.

MR. POLK: We might suggest that we have no objection to them proceeding to an investigation of the subject.

DR. LORD: I suggested to the French yesterday that we do that, but they held that we were not authorized to do that without further word from the Council.

MR. HARRISON: When was the limit to be? Last night?

DR. LORD: Last night.

MR. POLK: Anyone else have anything?

MR. NIELSEN: I notice that the Yugo-Slav delegation have sent a note to the Supreme Council asking about the difference between the nationality clauses as affecting former Austro-Hungarians in Jugo-Slavia as against the former Austro-Hungarian subjects in Italy. That seems to me to be very serious. It will come before you in time. Speaking offhand, there seems to be a good deal of justice in that complaint. It would seem to me that people of that kind ought to have about the same opportunity to obtain nationality in their own countries.

DR. SCOTT: Might I remark that it seems probable that all these treaties that are now on the docket could be prepared and ready for delivery on the 25th of the month.

MR. POLK: They will be?

DR. SCOTT: They could be if steps were taken to galvanize the various committees into action.

MR. POLK: If you will give me a memorandum of this I will bring it up tomorrow.

DR. SCOTT: Yes, it really can be done.

The meeting adjourned at 2:40 p. m.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/132

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, August 7, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Secretary read memoranda submitted by Major Tyler dated August 4th and August 6th regarding conversations with Baron Eichhoff of the Austrian Peace Delegation.

Conversations
With Baron
Eichhoff

The Commissioners desired that the suggestion in regard to "Ungarisch-Altenburg" mentioned in the first paragraph of Major Tyler's memorandum of August 4, 1919, be referred to the Territorial Experts for an expression of their opinion.

II. Memorandum No. 528 regarding a request submitted by Captain Richard S. Wise for two automobiles for the use of the Mission composed of Lieutenant Colonel William A. Jones and Captain Richard S. Wise in connection with the Czecho-Slovak-Magyar frontier, was read out.

Automobiles
for Lieut.
Colonel Jones
and Capt.
Wise

The Commissioners disapproved the assignment of two of the Commission's machines to this Mission.

It was pointed out by General Bliss that these officers had been appointed by the War Department upon the request of the American Minister to Prague for special service with the French Commander in Chief of the Czecho-Slovak Army. Consequently this Mission is in no way connected with the Peace Commission, and a decision as regards their request rests with the American Legation at Prague, the State Department and the War Department.

III. The Secretary read extracts from two letters addressed by the American Minister at Warsaw to the Secretary General in which Mr. Gibson expressed the hope that the Commissioners might find an opportunity to hear

Visit of
Captain Earl
Bassett

Captain Earl Bassett on the general situation in Poland.

The Commissioners expressed their desire to hear Mr. Bassett.

IV. Memorandum No. 529 in regard to certain recommendations submitted by Major Devereux relating (1) to the establishment of consulates in the Baltic Provinces and (2) the freedom of access to the Baltic Provinces for American commercial representatives and relief workers, was read out.

Establishment
of United
States Consu-
lates in the
Baltic Provinces

The Commissioners approved the draft telegram to the Secretary of State in this regard submitted with the memorandum in question.

V. The Secretary read out a memorandum prepared by Professor A. C. Coolidge and countersigned by Mr. Dresel, Mr. Dulles, Mr. Buckler, Major Tyler and Dr. Lord concerning the policy to be adopted by the Commission in regard to the settlement of the frontiers of states which have been formed out of the territories of what was formerly the Russian Empire. (Memorandum No. 530).

Frontiers of
States Formed
Out of Terri-
tories Belonging
Formerly to the
Russian
Empire

The Commissioners thought favorably of the recommendations contained in this memorandum and directed that a telegram to the Secretary of State and the President be prepared based on the memorandum and requesting instructions in the matter.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/133

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, August 9, 1919*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

Release of
Mr. H. E.
Mills

I. The Commissioners approved the release of Mr. H. E. Mills, as stated in Memorandum No. 531.

II. The Commissioners approved the recommendation that the Secretary General of the Peace Conference be informed that the American Delegation desires Major Tyler to act as liaison officer between the American Commission and the Bulgarian Delegation at Chateau Madrid, as stated in Memorandum No. 532.

Liaison
Officer for
the Bulgarian
Delegation

III. The Commissioners approved the draft telegram to the Embassy in London and the dispatch of the letter to Ambassador Davis with regard to the designation of Mr. Ethelbert Stewart of the Labor Department to attend the meetings in London of the Organizing Committee of the International Labor Conference, as submitted with Memorandum No. 533.

Designation
of Mr. Ethelbert
Stewart To
Attend Meetings
in London of
Organizing
Committee,
etc.

Mr. A. W.
Dulles To
Take Mr.
Hudson's
Place on
Minority
Clauses
Committee

IV. The Commissioners approved the suggestion by Dr. Hudson that Mr. A. W. Dulles be appointed to take over Dr. Hudson's work on the Minority Clauses Committee, as stated in Memorandum No. 534.

Appointment of
Mr. Lester H.
Woolsey on
Editing Com-
mittee

V. The Commissioners approved the suggestion submitted by Dr. Hudson that Mr. Woolsey be appointed to take his place on Mr. Tardieu's Committee to prepare the final answer to the Austrians, as stated in Memorandum No. 535.

VI. With reference to the question of the continuation of the New York and Paris offices of the Committee on Public Information, submitted on August 4th in Memorandum No. 536, the Commissioners approved the dispatch of a telegram, in reply to the Department's telegram No. 2681, July 31, 3 p. m. to inquire whether it would be possible for

Continuation
of N. Y. and
Paris Offices
of C. P. I.

Mr. Emery to handle the receipt of the daily service of 3,000 words by radio which, in view of the request of the Executive Committee of the American correspondents in Paris, it was thought desirable to continue; also to inquire whether Mr. Emery could send an enlarged

daily news telegram by radio, and, in that event, to request the Department's approval to continue the New York office until the end of the month and to the maintenance of the Paris Office for the time being at an estimated cost of \$120 per week.

The Department was also requested to pay the expenses of the New York Office to date, charging the Commission's allotment.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/134

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, August 11, 1919*

Present :

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. Mr. White introduced Mr. Buxton who had recently arrived from Budapest, having left there last Wednesday evening.

Hearing of
Mr. Buxton
From
Budapest

Mr. Buxton stated that the Rumanians were requisitioning cattle, flour; that they had cut off all telephone communication in private houses; that they were seizing all sewing machines, factory machines and motor cars. In a word he considered the present Rumanian action to be an efficient looting expedition and tried [*carried?*] on by a second rate state in the face of the wishes of the Conference. Moreover, the Bratiano Government had been about to fall and he believed that the Rumanian counterattack against the Hungarians had been a desperate effort on the part of Bratiano to re-establish his position. As it happened it had turned [out] to be a magnificent success. Mr. Buxton asked whether any means had been found to coerce Rumania. In reply Mr. Polk stated that the Conference seemed to have no immediate means. While the Rumanians now seemed to be independent, they would shortly find themselves in a difficult position, say in about six months, when they would undoubtedly present requests for financial assistance from the United States and Great Britain. The Rumanians had been told that they could not expect such economic assistance from the United States and he knew Mr. Balfour felt the same way as regards assistance from England.

Mr. Buxton observed that the Rumanian Government was not representing the Rumanian people but was, in fact, a small clique . . . Mr. Buxton also spoke of the attitude of the Rumanian soldiers in Budapest and stated that a Rumanian soldier had bayoneted a woman in whose house he was billeted. He pointed out, however, the chief type

of outrage now being practiced was against the former Reds and that the whites were undoubtedly hunting suspected Bolsheviks. He believed that disorder would have been less if the compromise government of Peidl had been kept going. He said that the Rumanians had refused to let him depart by train, and that he finally got away by motor. The foreign press representatives in Budapest had reported rumors of pogroms, also that 300 to 500 persons had been killed. It was uncertain whether this was true. Just before Mr. Buxton left Budapest arrangements had been made to get some food into the city from Vienna. The reactionary Hungarians who had taken refuge in Austria were now streaming back to Budapest.

As regards the Archduke Joseph, Mr. Buxton said that he was a good fellow, that he was very popular and had been one of the few who had not run away on the event [*advent?*] of the Reds to power.

Mr. Polk asked Mr. Buxton how far the Rumanians had been responsible for the overthrow of the Peidl Government and the setting up of the Government under Archduke Joseph.

Mr. Buxton answered that General Gorton was of the opinion that the change in government had been entirely due to the support given by the Rumanians. The latter had got together with Hungarian *Gendarmerie* and had armed them. Moreover, the *Gendarmerie* had been able to feel that they were backed by the Rumanian forces. As a matter of fact, however, even before the *coup d'état*, the Peidl Government machine had been lying idle as they had no means of enforcing their authority in the presence of the Rumanian occupation.

Mr. Buxton said that the food situation on Wednesday had been very bad, that there was no food at all, even for the hospitals. The situation had been critical until the Americans managed to get some food in on Thursday.

Mr. Buxton then withdrew.

Loan of
Certain
Archives to
the Mission
of General
Harbord

II. The Commissioners approved the request of General Harbord's organization for permission to take to Armenia certain reports belonging to the Commission as stated in Memorandum No. 537.

III. General Bliss said that he had received a letter from General Weygand asking for the appointment of the American officers to the Organizing Commission of Control in accordance with the decision taken by the Supreme Council at its meeting of August 8th.²⁶ The General pointed out that he had already informed Marshal Foch that

it would be impossible for the United States to appoint representatives to take part in commissions under the Treaty with Germany until the ratification of the Treaty by the United States. He would therefore have to answer General Weygand's letter in that sense.

American
Participation
in Commission
of Control

²⁶ HD-27, minute 9, vol. VII, p. 632.

General Bliss also suggested that in approving the creation or appointment of commissions, it would be well for purposes of record to state that the United States would be unable to participate in such commissions until the treaty had been ratified.

IV. The Commissioners had before them a memorandum from Mr. Nielsen asking that military and naval representatives be appointed to attend the meeting to be held tomorrow, August 12th, regarding the revision of the Treaties of 1839.

**Appointment of
Military and
Naval Experts
To Attend the
Meeting of the
Commission To
Revise the
Treaties of
1839**

General Bliss designated Colonel Embick to attend the meeting as military representative, and the Secretary was directed to request Admiral Knapp to

designate a naval representative for this purpose.

V. The Commissioners directed the Secretary to consult Admiral Knapp regarding action to be taken on Department's telegram No. 2767, August 8, 8 p. m., regarding cable communication between Manila and Shanghai.

**Cable Com-
munication
Between
Manila and
Shanghai**

VI. Mr. Polk stated that he had had a conversation with Mr. Hudson of the Editing Committee. Mr. Hudson had recommended the recasting of the Austrian Treaty, an opportunity for which was presented in making the reply to the Austrian observations, and had requested instructions from the Commission in the matter.

**Recasting the
Austrian
Treaty**

Mr. Polk stated that he agreed with Mr. Hudson's views.

The Commissioners decided to authorize Mr. Hudson or his successor on the Editing Committee to support the proposal of their British colleague, looking to the recasting of the Austrian Treaty.

VII. The Secretary read certain telegrams which had been received over Mr. Hoover's wires from Budapest since the last meeting of the Commission. First, a telegram dated August 7th, from Colonel Causey to Mr. Hoover regarding the railroad situation; second, a telegram dated August 8th, from General Gorton to Colonel Twiss of the British Mission; third, a telegram from Archduke Joseph to Mr. Clemenceau dated August 8th; fourth, a telegram from Colonel Causey dated August 8th, to Messrs. Hoover and Atwood; fifth, a telegram from General Gorton, dated August 9th, to Mr. Balfour.

**News From
Hungary**

VIII. The Commissioners had before them telegram No. 2750 of August 7th, 6 p. m., from the State Department, addressed to Mr. Polk, asking that he confer with General Bliss and Mr. Parker of the Liquidation Committee with a view to supplying the forces acting under General Yudenitch with military equipment from American supplies in France.

**Military
Equipment
From
American
Supplies
in France
for General
Yudenitch**

General Bliss undertook to investigate this matter, and directed the Secretary to request Major Tyler to report to him immediately for a conference in regard thereto.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/135

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, August 12, 1919*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Commissioners approved the recommendation contained in Memorandum No. 538 for the demobilization of Major Royall Tyler and Captain Hayford Peirce, and their employment by the Commission at their present army salaries.

Retention of
Major Tyler
and Captain
Peirce by
the Com-
mission

In this connection the Commissioners desired that the Secretary General submit a list of temporary officers now attached to the Commission whose demobilization in Europe should be requested of the War Department, and that a telegram to the Secretary of State be prepared for their approval, giving the names of these officers, requesting the Secretary of State to ask the Secretary of War to permit these officers to remain with the Mission as long as possible, say until September 20th, and that the Secretary of War instruct General Pershing that they be demobilized at that time.

II. Memorandum No. 539 regarding the assignment of officers for duty in the neutral zone between the Czecho-Slovak and Hungarian Forces with particular reference to the assignment of Captain Wheeler for this duty was read.

Assignment of
Officers for
Duty in
Slovakia

The Commissioners approved the recommendation submitted in the memorandum that Captain Wheeler be informed that the Commissioners are not in a position to make the assignment suggested by him. Furthermore, this question is a matter resting entirely between the American Minister at Prague, the State Department and the War Department and does not concern the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. The Commission has simply assisted in the transmission of the request presented by Mr. Crane ²⁷ to the Department of State.

²⁷ Richard Crane, Minister to Czechoslovakia.

Return of
General
Summerall

III. The Secretary read a communication from Admiral Knapp dated August 10th, quoting a telegram received from Rear Admiral Andrews to the effect that the Commission would finish their labors Saturday, that they would leave Sunday for Venice, and that they would arrive in Paris Tuesday morning.

Military
Equipment
for General
Yudenitch

IV. The Commissioners approved the telegram prepared by General Bliss in reply to the Department's Telegram No. 2750 of August 7, 6 p. m., with regard to supply[ing] the forces acting under General Yudenitch with military equipment from American supplies in France.²⁸

American
Contingent
for Force
of Occupation
in Upper
Silesia

V. The Commissioners approved a telegram to the Secretary of State requesting that the question of American participation in the occupation of Upper Silesia under the Treaty be laid before the President and his wishes ascertained in the matter.

Modifications
in the Austrian
Treaty Proposed
by the Austrian
Government

VI. The Secretary read a very urgent telegram No. 731 of August 9, 5 p. m., from Mr. Halstead, suggesting that the liquidation of the Austro-Hungarian bank be delayed until December, and also transmitting an appeal submitted by a delegation from Marburg.

The Commissioners directed that the first two paragraphs of the telegram in question be brought immediately to the attention of Mr. John Foster Dulles, and that the last paragraph be referred to Prof. Coolidge.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/136

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, August 13, 1919*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HARRISON

General
Harbord's
Mission to
Armenia

I. General Harbord, who was accompanied by General McCoy, informed the Commissioners that it appeared that it would be impossible to obtain the Transport *DeKalb* to convey them to Armenia. General Harbord submitted the following telegram:

²⁸ For the telegram as sent, see *Foreign Relations*, 1919, Russia, p. 700.

"No. 3831-R
August 11th.
Confidential.

August 12, 1919.

Pershing Amexforces.

Reference P. 2900. Due to urgency of demobilizing emergency men in Navy Crews at earliest practicable date, Navy Department urges that Transport *DeKalb* or no other transport be used for the purpose of going to Armenia unless conditions make such action imperative. Transport *DeKalb* is scheduled to be withdrawn from transport fleet upon next arrival in United States and assigned on other important service. If so desired Navy will place at General Harbord's disposal a destroyer to be operated from Constantinople. March. Harris."

General Harbord explained that the *DeKalb* was the only suitable ship available in European waters for the purpose. Mr. Polk thereupon dictated a telegram to the Secretary of State requesting that the matter be laid before the President and that the President be urged to direct the Navy Department to place the *DeKalb* at the disposal of the Mission. General Harbord pointed out that the *DeKalb* was particularly suited for this purpose, inasmuch as it was fitted up as an auxiliary cruiser, carried guns, and was just the sort of vessel desired by the Mission.

General Harbord stated that he was prepared to leave Friday and to set sail from Brest on Saturday, if the question of the ship were settled. He also submitted a list of personnel which was approved, and a draft letter of instructions which was slightly modified and approved.

General Harbord also requested that the President of the Conference should be informed of his Mission, and that the representatives of the Principal Allied Powers in Asia Minor and Constantinople be advised of his Mission. Drafts of communications to the Secretary General of the Peace Conference in this regard were submitted by Mr. Buckler, who was requested to change them in certain particulars to meet the views of the Commissioners.

General Harbord recommended that a publicity man be attached to his Mission, and mentioned the names of Mr. Bass and Mr. Selden. The Commissioners had no objection to the General's proposal, if he thought it desirable to have a publicity man with the Mission.

At this point Mr. Polk left the meeting.

II. Memorandum No. 539 regarding a request received from Mr. Henry Morgenthau for an additional allotment of \$15,000 for his Mission was read out.

Additional
Allotment of
\$15,000 for
Morgenthau
Mission

The Commissioners approved the recommendations contained in the Memorandum in question, namely, that in view of the present condition of the funds of the Mission, \$10,000 only be allotted to Mr. Morgenthau.

III. The Commissioners approved the recommendation for the release of 1st Lieut. Milton Garver from duty with the Commission to be effective August 20th, as set forth in Memorandum No. 540.

Release of
Lieutenant
Garver

IV. The Secretary read a memorandum submitted by Major General Summerall requesting that a communication be addressed to the Italian Government expressing the appreciation of the American Government for the courtesies shown him by Lieutenant General Grazioli at Fiume.

Expression of
Appreciation
to Italian
Government
for Courtesies
Shown to
General
Summerall

The Commissioners approved General Summerall's suggestion, and directed that an appropriate letter to Mr. Tittoni be immediately prepared for Mr. Polk's signature expressing on behalf of the American Government appreciation for the courtesies shown General Summerall by General Grazioli.

V. Telegram No. 7-A of August 7, 4 p. m., which had been received from the American Chargé d'Affaires, Bucharest, through the French Foreign Office was read.

Representation
to the Ru-
manian Govern-
ment Regarding
Advance on
Bucharest

In view of the contents of this telegram the Commissioners considered that no purpose would be served by having the Chargé d'Affaires carry out the instructions contained in Mission's telegram No. 23 of August 4, 5 p. m., and therefore desired that a telegram be sent to the Chargé d'Affaires directing him to disregard those instructions.

VI. The Commissioners approved the recommendation contained in Memorandum No. 541, that Colonel U. S. Grant III, be appointed the American member on the Ports, Waterways and Railways Commission to succeed Dr. Hudson.

Successor to
Dr. Hudson
on Ports,
Waterways
and Railways
Commission

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/137

Minutes of Meeting of Commissioners and Technical Advisers of American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Hotel Crillon, August 13, 1919, 2 p. m.

Present:

MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
ADMIRAL KNAPP
COLONEL GRANT
DR. LORD
CAPT. HORNBECK
MR. NIELSEN
PROF. COOLIDGE
MR. BUCKLER

CAPT. CHAPIN
MR. HARRISON
MR. SHAW
MR. A. W. DULLES
LT. CONDON
MR. OSBORNE
MR. RUSSELL

MR. WHITE: Col. Grant, have you any observations?

COLONEL GRANT: Nothing whatsoever.

MR. WHITE: Prof. Coolidge?

PROF. COOLIDGE: The Central Territorial Committee is struggling with one or two questions. It has the Austrian one in hand; I think we will come to an agreement this afternoon. There will be a few changes—I am speaking of the territorial side of the Austrian question—and it will then be ready to go to the Co-ordinating Commission, and there seems to be some uncertainty as to what the Co-ordinating Commission is or is not to do: whether it is merely to be occupied with textual revision, or whether it is to have an opinion of its own.

MR. WHITE: We were to settle that important question.

PROF. COOLIDGE: I don't know whether they have had a meeting. Mr. Woolsey represents us. He yesterday raised the question whether our recommendations were final before going to the Supreme Council, or whether the Co-ordinating Commission might change them.

MR. WHITE: Well, is it for us to pass on it?

PROF. COOLIDGE: No, I don't think so.

MR. NIELSEN: I heard Monday that the reply to the Austrians in regard to the nationality clauses might be delayed somewhat. The Committee on Political Clauses has considered that subject. It has not framed its reply, principally because there was a hitch in regard to the Drafting Committee.

MR. WHITE: Dr. Lord?

DR. LORD: The Polish Commission has had for some time three problems on its hands, none of which it seems to get finished. The East Galician question is almost ready for report; in accordance with instructions from the Supreme Council we have drafted a kind of treaty containing the outlines of the constitution for Eastern Galicia as an autonomous province of Poland. That draft is in the hands of the Redaction Committee now, which is going to confer with us this afternoon about it.

MR. WHITE: What is the question, in a general way?

DR. LORD: That Eastern Galicia should be under the sovereignty of Poland, provisionally, until a consultation of the population some time in the future, the date of which we are precluded from making any recommendations about. That during this provisional regime the

country should have the most complete guarantee for the racial, linguistic and religious rights of the different populations there, and as wide a measure of local autonomy as seems practicable.

We are proposing a local diet, a local cabinet of ministers responsible to the diet, and an independent judiciary—on the whole, a kind of provincial autonomy.

On the other hand the Polish government will have control; they are represented by a governor who will have the veto on the diet. And in other ways we are trying to make Poland able to keep order in that rather turbulent and distracted country.

There is one difficulty. I hear that Mr. Paderewski is coming back in a day or so, and I understand that he is coming back to attack the whole arrangement, that is, in so far as it does apply to an eventual plebiscite. The Poles do not object to the autonomy, but they object to the uncertainty that they will feel from the fact that in ten or fifteen years nobody is going to know quite what is going to be the definitive status of this country.

MR. WHITE: Why must they wait so long?

DR. LORD: Well, that is just the opinion.

MR. WHITE: What are the arguments now? That they cannot tell now what they want?

DR. LORD: Partly that, and partly that the country has got to be pretty thoroughly reconstructed; that it would be a matter of ten years, probably, and it has suffered terribly from the war; it has been conquered four or five times, and there is a big work of reconstruction to be carried out there, and we think also that a big work of education should be carried out. The people are frightfully ignorant—the great majority illiterate, and it seems it would be only the part of wisdom to give them a certain time to acquire more education and maturity.

MR. WHITE: That seems only reasonable.

DR. LORD: Then the other question. We have the Teschen question, which is sent back to us from the Supreme Council. That is up for discussion at present, and I hope that within about a week we shall have a recommendation for the Supreme Council.

MR. WHITE: Have you given up all hope of their coming to an agreement? Do you suppose they are more in the humor now of falling in with any arrangement made by the Supreme Council than they were before?

DR. LORD: Both of them recognize that they cannot agree among themselves. Both of them want to have it settled, I think, by the Supreme Council, in order that neither government will assume responsibility for the concessions that each side will have to make.

And then our third question is about the Eastern Frontier of Poland, which is going to be a very difficult question. It is largely a question

of policy there. I don't know whether this is the proper place to raise it, although I should very much like to get instructions some day on that subject. It raises the question whether, pending the restoration of Russia, Poland should be left without any kind of frontier on the East, or whether she should receive some kind of provisional frontiers until there is a recognized government in Russia again, after which there will have to be an agreement between Poland and Russia, and very probably there will have to be a mediation by the League of Nations.

MR. WHITE: I should think that there should be some kind of a line.

COLONEL GRANT: I should think that would very much alleviate a great many of the difficulties that occur—the interference of the Germans there. There is constant action all along that front, not only in Poland, but in those other countries.

MR. WHITE: In that connection the representative of Bessarabia said he understood that Roumania was going to hold an election in Bessarabia for members, from Bessarabia, to the Roumanian parliament. He was very anxious that the Council should recognize that fact.

MR. BUCKLER: Mr. Polk raised the same point, of the plebiscite that is going to be held in provinces that were formerly parts of Russia.

MR. WHITE: Only Bessarabia has a defined limit, and as I understand, in this proposed election to be held in old Russia, it is in a more or less undefined area—or is it defined?

DR. LORD: Well, it is a continually growing election. It is in Vilna and Grodno. As their armies move forward they continue to hold elections.

MR. WHITE: Do you think it would be wise for the Conference to give notice to the Roumanians?

PROF. COOLIDGE: I don't think it is wise for the Council to meddle in it one way and not the other. I don't think they ought to meddle in the question until they know what they are going to do.

MR. WHITE: We have laid down the rule that we do not think that any of the territory that we formerly called Russian territory should be disposed of until we know what the Russian situation will be.

PROF. COOLIDGE: When was that laid down?

MR. WHITE: I think that was laid down by Mr. Lansing.

MR. A. W. DULLES: There were certain exceptions in regard to Finland and Poland.

PROF. COOLIDGE: But Mr. Lansing spoke of the Polish plebiscite.

MR. WHITE: And Bratiano did not agree.

PROF. COOLIDGE: And Bratiano did not agree.

DR. LORD: I think the nearest to a thoroughly official act is in the note of the Council of Four to Admiral Koltchak in which they make a distinction between Bessarabia and other parts of the former Russian Empire.²⁹ They expressly reserve the right of the Peace Conference here to settle the Bessarabian question. As for the frontier of Russia towards Poland and Finland, they ask only that Koltchak agree that in case those frontiers could not be settled by a voluntary agreement between the two parties, that Koltchak's government should accept the collaboration, and some other phrase like "mediation" of the League of Nations. That seemed to contemplate an immediate settlement of the Bessarabian question by the Peace Conference.

MR. WHITE: It is terrible the way things are said to be going on in Bessarabia; if what is being done in Buda-Pesth is any criterion it is probably more or less true. Russian language prohibited, and anybody suspected of Russian proclivities deported.

COLONEL GRANT: Couldn't that Polish frontier question be settled by recognizing a *de facto* frontier? That would to a certain extent, I think, settle the constant bickerings up there on frontiers for the moment, until the Russian frontier is solved by force of arms, or whatever way it is solved.

MR. WHITE: Would you exclude Bessarabia and Roumania?

COLONEL GRANT: I was not referring to the Bessarabian question, which, as Dr. Lord says, deserves a special settlement, for it is very much mixed up by the Roumanian situation at the present time. The proposition of [*is?*] the east frontier of Poland and the Baltic states.

MR. WHITE: I think it would be the sense of the meeting that something ought to be done along these lines.

DR. LORD: The situation between the Poles and the Lithuanians is another reason why something should be done. There have been demarcations imposed on them several times, but still that can only stave off trouble. I think that unless there is a kind of a provisional fixing of a frontier, those two nations are going to get into serious fighting pretty soon.

MR. WHITE: Any observations? (Addressing Capt. Hornbeck)

CAPTAIN HORNBECK: No.

MR. WHITE: One of the press men told me just now that there had been two notes received from Bratiano, which are being decoded. I don't know how true that is.

MR. BUCKLER: You saw that telegram from Mr. Davis this morning? ³⁰

²⁹ See appendix I to CF-37, vol. VI, p. 73.

³⁰ Apparently a reference to the telegram of August 12, 1919, 4 p. m., sent by the Ambassador in Great Britain to the Secretary of State and repeated to the Commission to Negotiate Peace as the Embassy's No. 2766, *Foreign Relations*, 1919, vol. II, p. 829.

MR. WHITE: Telling about the Armenians—yes, I saw that. Meanwhile we have heard nothing more about massacres having begun.

MR. BUCKLER: There are three American Relief workers missing there, and nothing has been heard of them.

MR. WHITE: I think we have a very able mission; General Harbord and the men who are with him. Their presence should have a good moral effect. Have you any observations, Admiral?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: I have got a telegram from Admiral Bristol requesting funds for himself and his mission; he is on the Smyrna Commission. He was appointed by the President, and I should like to know what answer to make to him.

MR. WHITE: He certainly has not a monopoly on that kind of a request. I think we will have to put that up to the representative of the government.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: I will just answer him back—

MR. WHITE: I would wait till you have seen Mr. Polk.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: I have got quite a long report, which is in three parts, from Bristol. I think he has made it himself. My aide has run through it and has marked several places; I have not yet had time to read it myself. I might read some of the places which he has marked.

(Admiral Knapp thereupon read excerpts from Admiral Bristol's report)

It is a long report and I have not had time to go over it yet. I have a spare copy, which I will give you. I think this might be valuable for General Harbord too.

There is one more thing I would like to ask: I would like to know the status of the President of the Georgian Republic, and the status of the Georgian Republic.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: They have not been recognized by any government then?

DR. LORD: No.

MR. WHITE: Certainly not by ours.

(There was some further discussion concerning the Georgian Republic, the statement being made that the Georgian Republic had not been recognized by anybody.)

Meeting adjourned at 2:50 p. m.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/138

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Thursday, August 14, 1919*

Present:

MR. POLK
GEN. BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Commissioners approved the proposed reply to be made to

Inspection
of Chemical
Plants in
German
Occupied
Territory

Mr. Thaw's inquiry regarding the desirability of giving facilities to an American and a Swiss citizen for visiting German occupied territory submitted with Memorandum No. 542.

II. The Commissioners approved Mr. Noyes' request for the retention of Mr. Henry E. Mills, Jr., provided that Mr. Noyes will pay the salary and expenses of Mr. Mills out of the Rhineland Commission allotment as stated in Memorandum No. 543.

Retention
of Mr. Mills
by Rhineland
Commission

III. Memorandum No. 544 regarding a request from the American Minister at Warsaw that three Army Officers be assigned by the military authorities for the duties formerly undertaken by Captain Bassett in Posen was read.

Assignment
of Regular
Military
Officers To
Carry on
the Work
Performed
by Capt.
Bassett
in Posen

In view of the nature of this work the Commissioners were of the opinion that this matter rested between the Legation at Warsaw, the State Department and the War Department. It was suggested that Mr. Gibson make a request for the assignment

of additional representatives as attachés to his Legation for this intelligence duty.

IV. Memorandum No. 545 regarding the designation of a successor to Col. Dillon on the Central Geographical Committee was read over.

Appointment
of Repre-
sentative
on Central
Geographical
Committee

The Commissioners requested that the Secretary General submit the name of a suitable appointee for their consideration.

V. Memorandum No. 546 suggesting the employment of Mr. A. L. Picard to assist in the work of an economic and financial nature called for by the Committee on Organization of the Reparation Commission, was read out.

Additional
Expert for
the Com-
mittee on
Organization
of Reparation
Commission

Before expressing an opinion in the matter, Mr. Polk desired to confer with Mr. John Foster Dulles and Mr. Dresel.

VI. The Commissioners approved a draft telegram to be sent by Admiral Knapp to Admiral Bristol informing the latter of General Harbord's mission and requesting him to advise American Officials in Turkey and Armenia and to instruct them to assist him by all means in their power.

Notification
to Admiral
Bristol
Regarding
General
Harbord's
Mission

VII. Memorandum No. 547 regarding the payment of expenses to be incurred by Colonel Masteller in the administration of his duties, namely, subsistence in Paris, clerical assistance and travelling expenses, was read.

Expenses
of Col.
Kenneth C.
Masteller

General Bliss observed that the duty of the Commission on which Colonel Masteller was to act as American representative was to draw up a plan for the co-operation of the Allied Armies in the work of clearing up munitions and war material left in the liberated regions and to submit the plan to the Supreme Council. It was not intended that the Commission should be in charge of doing the work of clearing up liberated regions.

The Commissioners were quite willing to furnish Colonel Masteller with living accommodations in the Hotel Crillon, but they were not prepared to defray the other expenses enumerated in the memorandum under consideration. General Bliss undertook to see Colonel Masteller and explain the matter to him.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/139

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, August 15, 1919*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Commissioners discussed with Professor Coolidge the status of the question of the disposition of Western Thrace and particularly the drafting of a telegram to the State Department in the light of the situation created by the confidential telegram received that morning from Mr. Lansing transmitting the President's views in the matter.

Western
Thrace

II. Mr. McNeir submitted a report on the Personnel of the Mission in accordance with a request of the Commissioners of August 6th, 1919.

Personnel
of the
Mission

Mr. McNeir explained that the lists of personnel as regards the names of enlisted men were subject to

change. He also stated that the Embassy was trying to establish a courier service making Paris a clearing house for missions in the continent of Europe. He expected to have definite information in a day or so.

Mr. McNeir brought up the question of the assignment of a medical officer to take the place of Major McKenna. The Commission thought it well to have a regular officer assigned to take his place. Mr. McNeir called attention to the case of Captain Hornbeck and the case of Captain Paul Chapin. The decision in these two cases rested with the Secretary General.

The Commissioners approved Mr. McNeir's recommendations regarding the continuation of the Negative Intelligence Service, Indexes and Files, Motor Transport Service, etc., etc., also the retention of Captain Chenay on the terms recommended by Mr. McNeir.

III. The following memorandum submitted by Mr. John Foster Dulles in regard to the seizing of cattle, rolling stock, etc., by the Rumanians in defiance of the wishes of the Conference, was read and noted by the Commissioners:

Rumania's
Share of
Reparation

"It was originally proposed in the Treaties with Austria and Hungary to impose a liability to make reparation payments on all of the portions of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, including those to be transferred to Allied States. In response to the urgent representations of the Allied States in question, the Principal Allied and Associated Powers agreed to forego their admitted right to secure indemnity from all portions of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, upon the Allied States which were to acquire former Austro-Hungarian territory agreeing to make a moderate contribution toward the costs of the war of liberation. Mr. Antonesco, Roumanian plenipotentiary at Paris, on June 27, 1919, signed an agreement, subject to the formal approval of his Government, whereby Rumania undertook to make such a contribution. In order further to facilitate such payment by Rumania the Principal Allied and Associated Powers agreed that the amount of this contribution would not actually be payable by Rumania but would be discharged by offsetting the same against reparation to which Rumania was entitled. This is contemplated by the agreement signed by Mr. Antonesco, which further states 'no further payments on account of reparation shall be made until the other states to whom reparation is due shall have received payments on account of a like proportion of their approved claims for reparation.' Rumania, accordingly, by this agreement, which she has signed is entitled to no reparation until the other Allied and Associated Powers have received out of the common assets of the enemy sums which bear the same proportion to their total claims as contribution from Rumania bears to the total of Rumanian claims.

The action of Rumania in endeavoring to appropriate the assets of Hungary under the guise of securing reparation payments is in clear violation of the agreement signed by Mr. Antonesco and accordingly restores to the Principal Allied and Associated Powers entire freedom

of action with respect to imposing a liability for indemnity upon such territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy as Rumania hopes to acquire."

IV. The Commissioners heard Major Arnold, U. S. A., Managing Director of Near Eastern Relief, regarding the situation in Asia Minor.

Hearing of
Maj. Arnold

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/140

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, August 18, 1919*

Present:

MR. POLK
GEN. BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. Memorandum No. 548 recommending that Miss Ryder be employed at a salary of \$200 per month and that she be assistant to Mr. Nielsen's office was read.

Clerical
Assistance
for Mr.
Nielsen

In view of the fact that Miss Ryder was understood to be a British subject, the Commissioners were not prepared to approve this recommendation.

II. Mr. Harrison read a communication received by him from Major Boykin Wright of the American Relief Administration in regard to a report that the French were planning to take over the A. R. A. wire between Paris and Coblenz and put it in civilian use.

Taking Over
of A. R. A.
Telegraph
Lines

Mr. Polk directed that a letter to M. Clemenceau be prepared by the Secretary General for his signature in this regard as it was of vital importance that communication over these wires between Paris and Coblenz be maintained.

Treaty Re-
garding
Question
Growing Out
of Breaking Up
of Austria
Hungary

III. The Commissioners inquired as to the exact subject to which the Department's telegram No. 2851 of August 16th, 12 a. m. related. It was noted that the Department's telegram did not refer to any telegram from the Mission.

IV. The Secretary read a telegram from Admiral Bristol addressed to Admiral Knapp regarding American acceptance of mandates for Turkey.

Report From
Adm. Bristol
Regarding
Mandates
for Turkey

In view of the contents of this telegram the Commissioners directed that it should be repeated to the Secretary of State with a request that a copy be furnished to the Navy Department.

V. Memorandum No. 549, inquiring as to whether the Commissioners would care to hear Colonel Vladimiroff on the Russian situation was read.

Hearing of
Colonel
Vladimiroff

The Commissioners felt that it would not be worth while to have Colonel Vladimiroff come to Paris for the purpose stated in the memorandum.

VI. The Secretary read a number of telegrams furnished by the American Relief Administration, one of which was addressed by General Bandholtz to the President of the Peace Conference, and the others by British officials in Budapest and Vienna to the British Peace Delegation, Paris.

Information
From Budapest
and Vienna

VII. Memorandum submitted by Major Tyler dated August 12th, regarding his visit to the Bulgarian Delegation at the Chateau de Madrid, at Neuilly, was read and noted by the Commissioners.

Bulgarian
Delegation

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/141

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, August 19, 1919*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. HARRISON

I. Mr. Polk approved the recommendations contained in the memorandum entitled "Courier Service", dated August 18th, namely, that a telegram be sent urging the State Department to approve the request of the Embassy for authority to appoint or have assigned to it, nine marines in addition to the four or five they now have, to maintain a courier service with the principal Embassies and Legations in Europe, and that a Lieutenant to be designated by Colonel Moore, be demobilized and placed in charge of the Courier Office of the Commission.

Courier
Service

II. Memorandum No. 550, regarding the release of members of the Turkish Mandate Mission and their return to the United States (see telegram No. 1310, August 16, from Admiral Bristol), was read.

Release of
Members of
Turkish Mandate
Mission

Mr. Polk approved the release of the members of the Mission in the same way and at the same time as members of other field missions have been or will be released, and authorized the Executive Office to proceed to obtain transportation for the members of the Mission as set forth in the memorandum under reference, it being understood that this would not apply to any

temporary army officers attached to the Mission for whom transportation to the United States would, of course, be arranged by the Army.

III. Memorandum No. 551, regarding a request made by Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, Assistant to Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League of Nations, to Mr. John Foster Dulles for a number of records of the Conference, and in particular the minutes of the Commission on the Execution of the Treaty with Germany, was read.

Mr. Fosdick
Requests
Records of the
Conference

In view of the fact that the Treaty had not yet been ratified by the United States Senate, and in view of the fact that none of the minutes of the Conference Commissions had as yet been made public, Mr. Polk disapproved Mr. Fosdick's request for copies of any documents which had not been communicated to the Senate, and which were still treated as confidential. In any case, the consent of the Secretary of State would have to be secured by Mr. Fosdick before he could be furnished with any confidential Conference documents.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/142

*Minutes of Meeting of Commissioners and Technical Advisers,
American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Hotel Crillon, Paris,
August 20, 1919, 2 p. m.*

Present:

MR. POLK
ADMIRAL KNAPP
COLONEL GRANT
MR. NIELSEN
DR. LORD
PROF. COOLIDGE
DR. BUCKLER
MR. DRESEL
CAPT. HORNBECK
MR. HARRISON
MR. A. W. DULLES
MR. SHAW
CAPT. CHAPIN
MR. RUSSELL

MR. POLK: Admiral, have you anything?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: Nothing in particular, sir. Nothing except what I sent to you.

MR. POLK: There is nothing further on that question of the distribution of ships?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: I telegraphed some days ago to the department, and inquired whether the War and Navy Departments could get together and settle on some scheme. I wanted to know in particular about the air craft.

MR. POLK: There is no question about the submarines at all? It is perfectly clear that they are to be destroyed?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: Not all have agreed to that.

MR. POLK: Didn't they all agree to the destruction of the submarines?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: No.

MR. POLK: The British did not?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: Yes, the British agreed to the destruction. The only people holding out are the French. And there is that unfortunate misunderstanding about the Scapa Flow incident.

I telegraphed Washington for a little more definite information about the aircraft, whether we are permitted to leave what we don't want in the pool, or whether the message applied to aircraft too. It was so written that apparently it only applied to ships.

MR. POLK: In connection with the blockade question which we discussed yesterday, is it your understanding that they are going to make any announcement on that?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: From here?

MR. POLK: Yes.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: No, I shouldn't think we could do that until the governments have been approached. The whole thing is just a matter of beating the devil around the stump. By the time anything can be done it will be too late. So I think the proper thing will be to get together and look wise, but I don't anticipate there is going to be any great result from it.

MR. POLK: Does anyone know how Scott and Morley are getting along with the draft?

PROF. COOLIDGE: The Coordinating Committee met yesterday morning. They met this morning, and meet again this afternoon.

MR. POLK: All the other committees are through?

MR. NIELSEN: With the reply to Austria, yes.

MR. A. W. DULLES: The Nationality Clauses are still outstanding. Drafts have been prepared by the Drafting Committee, but they have to go to the Supreme Council for approval before the reply is given the Austrians. They cannot reply on the basis of these clauses until they are passed upon by the Supreme Council.

MR. NIELSEN: What did the Council decide on that, Mr. Harrison?

MR. HARRISON: It was agreed yesterday that everything was to go to the Coordinating Committee.

MR. POLK: Who sits on the Drafting Committee for us?

MR. HARRISON: James Brown Scott.

MR. POLK: Doesn't Dr. Scott sit on the Coordinating Committee?

MR. HARRISON: No.

MR. NIELSEN: The Coordinating Committee will get a report from us which consists of the work being done by the Drafting Committee.

MR. POLK: Have you anything? (Addressing Mr. Dresel.)

MR. DRESEL: No, sir.

DR. LORD: I may as well report progress on one or two questions in regard to Teschen. The members that have been sitting on that commission reached a unanimous decision yesterday, which will go to the Supreme Council at once. That part of the mining region where the Polish majority is so overwhelming, and the feeling of the population so intense against the Czechs, it seems rather unwise to recommend that that go to Czecho-Slovakia. It will leave about sixty percent of the coal produced in Teschen on the Czech side.

MR. POLK: How about the railroad?

DR. LORD: It will be cut into in several places, although it will leave to the Czechs the possibility—by building a small line of about twelve kilometers—of getting a double track line from the mining district, through the Jablunitza Pass to the frontier. It will take in to Poland about ten thousand Czechs living in that territory, and would give about three-fourths of the Poles that live in Teschen to Poland. In case the Supreme Council accepts this frontier, it is proposed that it then authorize the Commission to negotiate with the Czechs and Poles about economic arrangements which may be made and put into the Treaty to ensure the interests of the Czechs in regard to railway communications and coal. It seemed to the Commission that when it came to a question of comparing the rights of the people with the question of coal, that the people came first.

MR. POLK: Have you anything, Colonel Grant?

COLONEL GRANT: No, sir, excepting several things that are a little bit in suspense about Thrace. I think the Ports and Waterways Clauses will have to be changed a little bit.

MR. POLK: I see one French paper yesterday favored our solution. Have you anything else? (Addressing Mr. Harrison.)

MR. HARRISON: No, sir.

MR. POLK: When do you think the Austrian Treaty is going to be ready?

MR. HARRISON: It depends on what the Coordinating Committee does with the proceedings of yesterday. If the French draft goes through, they might be ready by Friday or Saturday. If there are too many annexes, and if Mr. Balfour brings it up in the Supreme Council, it will take three months.

MR. POLK: I think you are reasonably safe in eliminating that last proposition; Mr. Balfour leaves on the 30th.

COLONEL GRANT: One other little thing, and that is this matter of shipments of material from other countries into Serbo-Croatia. The present arrangement is that shipments are temporarily suspended until a decision is reached as to how much should be shipped and how much should not; and that awaits a decision as to whether anything is to be done definitely about a limitation of armaments in those countries. And in the meantime shipments have stopped, and of course the Italians have by that means gotten just exactly what they started out to get; prevented shipments from going in.

MR. POLK: They will do everything they can to prevent the shipment of railroad material.

COLONEL GRANT: We are interested on account of that railroad material, and things of that kind.

MR. HARRISON: Mr. Tittoni wanted that put off the agenda until M. Clemenceau gets here. He is supposed to be here tomorrow.

PROF. COOLIDGE: After the Austrians are given the Treaty they will have to take it back to Vienna, and that alone would take five days. It has got to be approved by the Austrian Assembly, and the Orient Express takes at least two and one-half days each way, so the fact that they have to take it to Vienna will mean an additional 5 days.

MR. HARRISON: They will ask for an extension.

MR. A. W. DULLES: The Committee on New States has four treaties in advanced state of preparation. The Czecho-Slovak treaty has already been presented to the Supreme Council. It is proposed that it be signed at the same time as the Austrian Treaty is signed, inasmuch as the Polish Treaty was signed at the same time as was the German Treaty. The Rumanians have made no observations. They object to clauses relative to the Protection of Minorities in the Austrian Treaty. And then there are also the treaties for the Serb-Croat-Slovene State. The last two are not quite ready, but the Czech Treaty is practically completed.

MR. HARRISON: In connection with the Rumanian attitude just mentioned, Mr. Dulles sent me a dispatch from our Chargé d'Affaires at Bucharest, reporting a conversation with Mr. Bratiano. Mr. Bratiano in that conversation said that Rumania would refuse to accept the boundary line with Hungary assigned to her by the Conference. They would insist upon the boundary line of August 1916.

MR. A. W. DULLES: In the Treaty with Austria they are obligated to sign a provision for the Protection of Minorities. Rumania objects most strenuously.

Mr. Nielsen spoke of the treaty of 1839 between Belgium and Holland; that he had no instructions whatever as to what position to take in connection with the negotiations.

Meeting adjourned at 2:55 p. m.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/143

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, August 23, 1919*

Present:

MR. POLK
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. Memorandum No. 552, regarding the recommendation that Colonel D. C. Jones be appointed American Representative on the Central Geographical Commission to succeed Colonel Dillon, was read.

The Commissioners approved the appointment of Colonel Jones, and that General Connor be informed accordingly.

Colonel Jones
Appointed
American
Representative
on Central
Geographical
Commission

II. Memorandum No. 553, regarding a request from General Bandholtz that one limousine and one touring car now with the Morgenthau Mission be transferred to him upon the completion of the labors of the Morgenthau Mission, was read.

Two Cars
for General
Bandholtz

The Commissioners approved the ultimate transfer of these two cars to General Bandholtz under the conditions stated in the memorandum under reference.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/144

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, August 26, 1919, 10 a. m.*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Secretary read a memorandum submitted by Major Tyler under date of August 22, regarding the conversation with Baron Eichhoff of the Austrian Peace Commission under the following headings: South Styria, The Tyrol and West Hungary.

Memorandum
of Con-
versation With
Baron Eichhoff

II. The Secretary invited the Commissioners' attention to the department's telegram 3932, August 23, 3:00 p. m. in reply to the mission's 3766, August 19, 2:00 p. m. in which it appeared that the department approved the taking over of the A. R. A. wires by the mission.

The Taking
Over of
A. R. A. Wires

Conditions
at Arch-
angel

III. The Secretary read memoranda submitted by Admiral Knapp, August 25, giving certain information furnished by the Commander of the U. S. S. *Des Moines*, at Archangel, regarding the situation in that port.

Information
for the Har-
bord Mission

IV. The Secretary read a communication received from General McCoy, Chief of Staff to General Harbord, dated on board the S. S. *Martha Washington*, Brest, France, August 23, with which General McCoy submitted a draft telegram to be sent by the Mission to Dr. Katissian, President of the Armenian Republic, requesting certain definite information for the information of the Harbord Mission.

The Commissioners approved the despatch of a telegram to the American Commissioner at Constantinople requesting him to compile as far as possible the information desired by General Harbord and to deliver the same to the General upon his arrival.

Dr. Herron
To Represent
Macedonian
National
Committee

V. The Secretary read a communication addressed by Dr. George D. Herron under date of August 16 to the American Minister at Berne requesting an opinion of Mr. Stovall as to whether it would be proper for him to come to Paris as an official delegate of the Macedonians to present their claims to the Peace Conference. (Memorandum 554, August 25, 1919.)

The Commissioners directed that the following telegram be sent to the Legation: "The Commission is distinctly of the opinion that it would be entirely undesirable for Dr. Herron to come to Paris."

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/1443

Minutes of Meeting Between the Commissioners and Technical Experts, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Hotel Crillon, Paris, August 27, 1919, 2 p. m.

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
ADMIRAL KNAPP
COLONEL GRANT
MAJOR TYLER
MR. WOOLSEY
DR. LORD
MR. HARRISON
MR. A. W. DULLES
CAPT. CHAPIN

CAPT. GORDON
MR. SHAW
MR. RUSSELL

MR. POLK: Have you anything, Admiral?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: No, everything is fairly clear.

MR. POLK: Your decks are clear, are they?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: The distribution of ships seems to be in the background. The aircraft matter is pretty well settled now.

MR. POLK: That ship question has not put its head up at all recently, has it?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: No, it really hasn't. I don't know what the result will be. I don't know any basis of distribution. If we could only persuade our French friends to have a change of heart.

MR. POLK: They have put out quite a bit of propaganda. They say they had no people to work at shipbuilding during the war; that all their men were in the army; therefore the United States and Great Britain, because they were able to have men in their shipyards, were able to build ships, while the French were not able to do so.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: That fortunately, does not rest on my devoted head.

MR. POLK: I have expected Clemenceau to bring it up, but he hasn't mentioned it. I know he and Balfour had it up.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: I might possibly mention some of those dispatches about depredations that have taken place in the Italian zone down there, the way they have treated the Yugo-Slavs, and all that. The Fiume question has been settled, hasn't it?

MR. POLK: Yes, Tittoni accepted everything.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: He couldn't do anything else, considering the way that was arrived at.

MR. POLK: Have you anything further?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: No, sir, I don't think I have anything further.

MR. POLK: Have you anything, Prof. Coolidge?

PROF. COOLIDGE: No, sir, I haven't got anything.

MR. POLK: Mr. Woolsey?

MR. WOOLSEY: No.

MR. POLK: Dr. Lord?

DR. LORD: A report has just been sent in on Teschen to the Supreme Council, and our report on Eastern Galicia has also gone in now, I understand.

MR. POLK: Is that Galician report apt to make trouble? The Teschen report is.

DR. LORD: The Teschen report is a unanimous report by the Commission. It will doubtless arouse a considerable amount of criticism from the Czechs, and, to a less extent, from the Poles. The Galician

report is not unanimous, with regard to three of the articles of the proposed treaty, where the British have made minority proposals. I suppose that that may lead to some discussion. And then I understand that the Polish Delegation has sent in a memorandum to the Council requesting, or demanding, a change with regard to one of the most cardinal features of the treaty, namely, the one which provides that some time in the future there must be a plebiscite or some other kind of consultation of the inhabitants of Eastern Galicia.

MR. POLK: Have you anything new? (Addressing Mr. Harrison)

MR. HARRISON: No, sir.

MR. POLK: Have you anything, Major?

MAJOR TYLER: No, sir.

COLONEL GRANT: I think it would be advisable for the Supreme Council, at its meetings, to go over the previous day's resolutions and decide if they are correct or not. As to the proceedings at the present time, it is a little bit difficult to tell which side of the hill you stop on.

MR. POLK: This morning the Council didn't know what they decided day before yesterday.

COLONEL GRANT: But it wouldn't take very long to go over this and settle the question immediately, because the work of the other commissions is dependent upon the exact wording of the resolutions.

MR. POLK: We will do that tomorrow.

CAPT. CHAPIN: It might be well to get the British representative to agree not to finally print the minutes until they have been reviewed at the next meeting. Have the carbon copies that are circulated sufficient for the 24 hours intervening.

MR. POLK: Do they print them?

CAPT. CHAPIN: They run them off and then they Roneo them. And sometimes they are not decided; they say, "we will make that definite tomorrow morning". In the meantime somebody at the British asks for a copy at once, and then they run them off, and then it is a question of getting out a corrigendum. If they wait 24 hours until they are approved at the next meeting it would make more accurate and better looking minutes.

MR. POLK: When do you think we are going to get through with this Austrian Treaty?

MR. WOOLSEY: It will require at least two more sessions of the Supreme Council.

MR. POLK: Isn't it possible to eliminate some of those questions?

MR. WOOLSEY: There are two things that remain. One is the examination of the covering note; that will have to be gone over carefully. The other thing is the point I want to make as to whether these reports of the various commissions have been regarded as a sufficient interpretation. I think it is very important to us. The treaty will have to go to the Senate. We will be bound. And per-

haps these other countries, if they do not understand that we are bound will think we do not understand that anybody is bound, and that they are not bound. Those are the only two points.

MR. POLK: Are the British or French raising the question? Has that been raised with them?

MR. WOOLSEY: Yes. They don't know what to think about it. They have expressed no opinion, although it has been raised quite a few times. They all shake their heads and claim they do not know.

MR. POLK: It is only a question now of the way we are going to consider Austria—that is the only question now—whether as a new state.

MR. WOOLSEY: Yes, that will come up in the covering letter.

MR. POLK: Only in the covering letter—

MR. WOOLSEY: That is a point in the covering letter; I have raised it as a point. It will come up in connection with the covering letter. There is a question there whether the clause in the preamble of the Treaty shall stand or be removed. It now reads: "Austria is recognized as a new and independent state under the name of the Republic of Austria", and the phrase, "as a new and independent state" seems to me to be fraught with embarrassments. I don't think it adds anything to the Treaty; I think it is quite gratuitous; I think it is contrary to the theory of the Treaty. I think it might give Austria a handle to try to absolve herself from some things. My suggestion would be to leave out the clause: "as a new and independent state", or leave the whole sentence out. Up above here we describe Austria; we call her the Republic of Austria.

MR. WHITE: I think that is sound.

The meeting adjourned at 2:30 p. m.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/145

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, August 29, 1919, 10 a. m.*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Secretary stated that Capt. Chapin was willing on being demobilized to be employed by the mission on a salary equivalent to that which he now received as a captain, viz, \$220 per month, and that he would be prepared to remain with the mission until about October 20 as he would have to be in the United States by the first of November.

Retention
of Capt.
Chapin

The Commissioners expressed their pleasure on hearing the foregoing and approved the demobilization of Capt. Chapin at the latest moment possible and his employment by the mission on the terms as stated above and as is usual in such cases.

II. The Commissioners approved the release of Mr. Fenstermacher so as to enable him to return to the United States as stated in Memorandum 555.

Release of
Mr. Fenster-
macher

III. Memorandum 556 regarding the salary of Mr. Condon was read.

The Commissioners disapproved the request submitted in the memorandum.

Salary of
Mr. R. E.
Condon

IV. The Secretary brought up the question of a salary for Mr. E. L. Dresel. The Commissioners approved the payment of a salary to Mr. Dresel, the amount to be fixed by Mr. Polk.

Salary of
Mr. E. L.
Dresel

Meeting resumed at 3:30 p. m.

V. Mr. Dresel stated that it was necessary to keep in close touch with the work of the Organization Commission of the Commission on Reparations and recommended that a suitable person be assigned to him to act as his representative on the secretariat of the afore-mentioned commission. Mr. Dresel suggested the name of Lt. Moseley.

Assistant
to Mr.
Dresel on
the Secretariat
of the Organ-
ization
Commission
of the
Commission on
Reparations

General Bliss questioned the desirability of appointing an American in such a capacity.

The Commissioners approved Mr. Dresel's recommendation and requested him to examine further into the qualifications of Lt. Moseley for the duty in question.

VI. Mr. Dresel stated that a request had been received from the Secretary General for the appointment of two American representatives on the sub-committee of the Committee on Execution of the Treaty clauses. The sub-committee was to be charged with the duty of organizing the Territorial Commissions under the Treaty with Germany in conjunction with the Central Geographical Committee. Mr. Dresel questioned the desirability of appointing American representatives on this sub-committee and requested the Commissioners' instructions. (See Memorandum No. 557.)

American
Representative
on the Sub-
committee of the
Committee on
the Execution
of the
Clauses of
the Treaty
With Germany

The Commissioners considered that it was improper for the United States to take part in the organization of Territorial Commissions under the Treaty and disapproved the appointment of the American representatives in question.

VII. The Commission heard Lt. Col. Dawley of the Field Mission to the Baltic provinces on the situation in Lithuania, Latvia and

Hearing of
Lt. Col.
Dawley

Esthonia. Colonel Dawley also explained at length his views regarding the actions which in his opinion should be taken to support the Esthonian Government and prevent the spread of Bolshevism.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/146

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Saturday, August 30, 1919*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. Memorandum No. 558, suggesting that the Commissioners recommend Major J. Ronald McCrindle, commanding No. 2 Communication Squadron, be recommended for the award of the Distinguished Service Medal, was read.

Award of
Distinguished
Service Medal
to Major
McCrindle,
R. A. F.

The Commissioners approved and directed that a letter be sent to the State Department requesting the Secretary of State to submit the matter to the

Secretary of War.

II. The Secretary read for the information of the Commissioners a telegram transmitting Mr. Hoover's reply to the Department's telegram No. 9058 of August 25, 9:00 a. m., regarding the shipment of flour to General Yudenitch.³¹

Food
Supplies
for Gen.
Yudenitch

III. The Secretary read a draft telegram in reply to the Department's telegram No. 2948 of August 26, 2:00 p. m., with regard to the immediate repatriation of some 55 invalid German prisoners of war now held at Fort McNulty, Georgia.

Repatriation
of Invalid
German Pris-
oners of War
in the United
States

The Commissioners approved.

IV. Memorandum No. 559 regarding a request through the Department of Commerce by the Commercial Attaché of the American Embassy at Paris, for certain reports of the Supreme Economic Council and other sections of the Peace Conference, which bear on economic conditions in France, and for a copy of General McKinstry's report, was read.

The Infor-
mation for
the Com-
mercial
Attaché of
the Embassy
at Paris

³¹ For the Department's telegram, see *Foreign Relations*, 1919, Russia, p. 705. For the reply as sent, see *ibid.*, p. 707.

The Commissioners approved in principle the suggestion contained in Paragraph "a" of the memorandum in question and requested that Mr. Dresel assemble the information in question and submit it for the Commissioners' approval before delivery to the Commercial Attaché.

The Commissioners also approved the recommendation contained in Paragraph "d" of the memorandum in question, with regard to General McKinstry's report.

V. The Secretary read the Department's telegram, No. 2980 of August 28, 3:00 p. m.,³² and also Memorandum No. 560 with regard to participation in committee work in anticipation of the Treaty.

American
Participation
in Committee
Work in Antici-
pation of
the Treaty

In view of the contents of Section 2 of the Department's telegram in question, the Commissioners reconsidered their decision of August 29 with regard to American participation on the sub-Committee of the Committee on Execution of the Treaty with Germany and approved the recommendation submitted by Mr. Dresel in the memorandum in question.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/147

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, September 1, 1919*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Commissioners approved Mr. Gray's request for a vacation of two weeks beginning Wednesday, September 3, 1919, as stated in Memorandum No. 561.

Application
for Vacation
by Mr. Louis
H. Gray

II. The Secretary read Memorandum No. 562 with regard to Dr. Johnson's application for termination of his connection with the Mission on September 30 with the understanding that he would leave Paris in time to reach New York by that time.

Release of
Dr. Johnson

Mr. Polk pointed out that he was himself opposed to granting Dr. Johnson's release from duty with the Mission, but in view of the fact of Dr. Johnson's insistence that he should be relieved in time to reach

³² *Foreign Relations*, 1919, vol. I, p. 7.

New York by September 30, he found himself constrained to grant Dr. Johnson's request.

The Commissioners approved Dr. Johnson's release as stated in memorandum mentioned above.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/148

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, September 2, 1919*

Present :

MR. POLK

MR. WHITE

GENERAL BLISS

MR. HARRISON

I. The Commissioners approved the final list to be sent to the Secretariat General of the Peace Conference in response to their letter of the 7th August, regarding plaques to commemorate the work of the Peace Conference.

List for
Plaques

II. The Commissioners approved the employment of Captain Reginald Norris on the terms stated in Memorandum No. 563, as assistant to Mr. Dresel on financial and economic work.

Employment
of Captain
Norris

III. The Commissioners approved the request for demobilization of Captain Yale at the latest moment possible and his employment by the Mission on a salary equal to the remuneration he now receives as a captain in the Army. The Commissioners also approved Captain Yale's request for a week's leave of absence, commencing September 4.

Employment
of Captain
Yale

IV. In regard to the request of certain American newspaper correspondents for permission to send their mail reports by pouch from points in Central Europe, the Commissioners decided that the American newspaper correspondents in question should be informed that couriers would carry their reports if sent unsealed in a special bag, which would be provided for that purpose.

American Press
Correspondents'
Use of Com-
mission Wires
and Pouches

As regards the use of the Commission's wires by American press correspondents, the Commissioners decided that they should be permitted to send a restricted number of words per day from those points where there was no local censorship in force. For instance, as there was a censorship established by the Roumanians in Budapest they could not be sent from there, but they might send their messages to Vienna, from whence they could be sent on to Paris.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/149

Minutes of Meeting Between the Commissioners and Technical Advisers, American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Hotel Crillon, Paris, September 3, 1919, at 2: 15 p. m.

Present:

MR. POLK
 MR. WHITE
 ADMIRAL KNAPP
 MR. HOOVER
 DR. SCOTT
 DR. JOHNSON
 MR. WOOLSEY
 PROF. COOLIDGE
 MR. NIELSEN
 DR. LORD
 COL. EMBICK
 LT. COL. GREENE
 MR. A. W. DULLES
 MAJOR TYLER
 MR. DRESEL
 MR. MARSHALL
 MR. SHEPARDSON
 LT. COL. DAWLEY
 CAPT. CHAPIN
 MR. SHAW
 CAPT. GORDON
 THE HON. MR. GIBSON
 MR. HARRISON
 MR. BUCKLER
 MR. CROCKER
 LT. CONDON
 MR. RUSSELL
 MR. BARCLAY

*Stenographer:—*MR. CARLSON

MR. POLK: Admiral, have you anything to bring up?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: I received a dispatch this morning from Captain Madison at Archangel, in which he says that everybody will probably be out of the country up there except the British troops, by the end of this week. Our own Embassy people, the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A. and the military mission.

MR. POLK: Is Cole leaving?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: The Chargé and the Consul and one other man are going to stay, but they expect to leave on the 7th, and I have telegraphed the Department that I will withdraw the *Des Moines* unless I am otherwise instructed.

MR. POLK: The British have sent more troops in there recently, haven't they?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: They have in the last three months. They sent up some so-called volunteers.

MR. POLK: Did you want to bring up some question in regard to Dalmatia, or do you want to bring it up later?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: Just as you choose.

MR. POLK: All right, you might bring it up now.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: Andrews³³ has mentioned several things from Fiume. One is about conscription in the American zone by the Serbs. They are using conscription down there. I spoke to you about it, as you remember.

MR. POLK: And we told them to stop it.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: Yes.

MR. POLK: Remind me of it, and I will bring it up again tomorrow.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: And then he speaks of some very cruel and unusual punishments that have been given down there in the Italian zone, showing the attitude of the Italian people. I got a very interesting report from him, which is too long to read . . . he said they did not have even enough schools in Italy for the better classes. And then he is very much concerned about an article which appeared in the London *Times*, but I was speaking with Dr. Johnson about that, and he said that his fears about that were groundless.

MR. POLK: What was that question in regard to the neutral zone you spoke to me about this morning?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: And then there is a question of us being authorized by the Conference here to mark out a neutral zone between the Italians and the Serbs. They are continually having clashes down there of one kind and another: the Serbs accuse the Italians of coming over into their zone, and vice versa, and I guess they are both right, and his idea was that as a rank outsider and a neutral in the thing, it might be a good thing if he could be authorized to mark out a neutral zone.

MR. POLK: Who would authorize him to do that? The Council?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: I should think so.

MR. POLK: Will you give me a memorandum on those two things and I will bring them up tomorrow.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: I will, sir. And then there is just one other thing. He has written me about the candidates for the position of

³³ Rear Admiral Philip Andrews, commander of the United States naval forces in the eastern Mediterranean.

head of that new mission that is recommended by the Commission of Four Generals in Fiume, and he said that rumor has it down there that there are three candidates: one is General Watts, who was the British member of that Generals' Commission; the other is General Gordon, who was the head of the British Mission there in Fiume—I don't know just exactly what that was; that is new to me—and the third is Lt. Col. Peck, who is the present member. . . .

MR. POLK: Major Tyler, have you seen your Austrian friends in the last day?

MAJOR TYLER: I have not seen them since they got the Treaty, sir.

MR. POLK: You don't know what they are going to do about that? Whether they are going to ask for more time?

MAJOR TYLER: I am pretty sure that they will ask for more time.

MR. HARRISON: They have asked for two more days, sir.

MAJOR TYLER: The National Assembly will consider the thing on Friday.

MR. POLK: Two more days; when does that bring it to?

MR. HARRISON: Seven days from yesterday.

MR. POLK: That is just a week, isn't it.

MAJOR TYLER: Yes, sir.

MR. POLK: That will bring it up next Tuesday; to be signed next Tuesday.

MAJOR TYLER: That will give them seven full days. They ought to be able to sign then.

MR. POLK: Have you got anything, Dr. Scott?

DR. SCOTT: Nothing, except to say, sir, that if the Supreme Council can get the geographic clauses put into shape for the Treaty with Bulgaria, and the southern boundary of Thrace, and the matter of the Dobrudja, and then if the Supreme Council can consider, either itself, or refer to a proper committee the Greek clauses, the Bulgarian Treaty can be finished almost immediately.

MR. POLK: Are there any Greek Clauses?

DR. SCOTT: Some time ago there was laid before the Drafting Committee the clauses which the Greeks would like to have inserted in the Treaty.

MR. POLK: Are those two economic clauses?

DR. SCOTT: I can't state what they were.

MR. POLK: Because if they were, there were some suggestions that came from the Greeks this morning.

MR. HARRISON: I think they are clauses relating to reciprocal immigration, which will be considered tomorrow.

MR. POLK: We disposed of the economic clauses this morning.

DR. SCOTT: At that time the draft we received contained some thirty or forty-odd articles. Now if that whole section can be gotten

out of the way, and the geographical boundaries, the treaty can be completed immediately.

MR. POLK: You raised a question here which was raised this morning: the question in regard to Dobrudja. In view of the present attitude of the Roumanians, of course it is obviously impossible to negotiate about that. Is it your understanding that the Bulgarian Treaty cannot go forward without the rectification of the Dobrudja line?

DR. SCOTT: I can't say what the political effect would be, but as for the draft of the treaty, there would naturally have to be a completed boundary.

MR. POLK: The point has been made: the present boundary of Bulgaria could be described as the boundary. Now the Dobrudja question is a question to be settled with a friendly state—that is, Roumania, presumably friendly, and therefore that could properly be in a separate treaty. It is obvious at the present moment that Roumania would not discuss that question unless she were given compensation in Bessarabia. Now I understand the position of the Delegation has been, before I came here, that we could promise them nothing in Bessarabia; that that is part of Russia, and that therefore we would not be a party to the disintegration of Russia. Is it your understanding, Dr. Johnson, that the Dobrudja rectification would necessarily have to be a part of the Bulgarian Treaty?

DR. JOHNSON: I don't see why it is not possible to complete the frontier of Bulgaria, putting in the Treaty some statement to the effect that the problem of the Dobrudja should be made the subject of a special provision later. I don't know whether we can take it up or not. The position of the American Delegation on the Territorial Commission was—and it was supported by Mr. Lansing and later by the President—that although Roumania was a friendly state we had a right to require the cession of the Bulgarian portion of the Dobrudja to Bulgaria, in view of the fact that we were giving to Roumania very large areas of territory which were acquired as the result of the common victory of the Allies, not by the Roumanians' own efforts. That point of view was not supported by the British or the Italians, who took the position that Roumania being a friendly state, we could require no cession of territory. But our position has been that while we may not require outright cession of territory, we will say that "we will give you territory if you cede that."

MR. POLK. Aren't we more or less blocked? We cannot give them Bessarabia.

DR. JOHNSON: But even outside the question of Bessarabia, there is Transylvania.

MR. POLK: There is Transylvania, of course.

DR. JOHNSON: Where the Territorial Commission gave Roumania territory at the expense of Hungary. They were treated very generously.

MR. POLK: But they made no deal at that time.

DR. JOHNSON: No, but it has not been approved, as finally settled, I understand. We are still in the position of saying when the Treaty has been negotiated, that while in general their frontiers have passed the preliminary stages, "We can give you that if you are willing to cede. We will give you that territory if you will cede the Bulgarian territory to Bulgaria." We can make a Treaty on that basis. Now if you are not going to deal with Roumania because of the present attitude in these questions—

MR. POLK: Roumania is going to deal with us.

DR. JOHNSON: (Continuing) Well, whichever it happens to be—it makes it rather difficult to use that means of securing the cession of the Dobrudja. I don't see what we can do other than frame some article in the Treaty which will show that we intend to take up the Dobrudja question when we make the treaty with Roumania.

DR. SCOTT: On that theory, Mr. Polk, we can have a general clause to the effect that the Allied and Associated Powers reserve the right to consider at some ultimate time the disposition which would ultimately and in justice and equity be made of the Dobrudja.

MR. POLK: (Addressing Mr. Harrison) Didn't that question come up this morning?

MR. HARRISON: Yes, sir.

MR. POLK: The British recommended that we proceed, and leave out the question of the Dobrudja, that is, not attempting to draw a new line, and it was agreed to by all except myself, and I reserved, because I understood that Mr. Lansing had always been very strong for giving that part of the Dobrudja properly belonging to Bulgaria, to Bulgaria. Now, in view of the present attitude of Roumania, it would be a waste of time to attempt to draw the line. We certainly do not want to put ourselves into the position of being turned down. So don't you think it would be quite consistent to so draft the Treaty that that question could be left open to be disposed of later on by the Allied and Associated Powers?

DR. SCOTT: Yes, but if you are going to consider the question as subject to reconsideration at some future time, there should be, I think, an apt clause of that kind in the Treaty.

MR. POLK: Yes, I agree with you, but then we could take it up in the Hungarian Treaty.

DR. SCOTT: Then, Mr. Polk, do you think it advisable to have considered at the earliest meeting possible the various Greek clauses, so that that might be put in form for the Treaty?

MR. POLK: Yes.

DR. SCOTT: And at the same time would you take up in the Supreme Council the question of the reservation on the part of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers?

MR. POLK: On Bessarabia, yes.

DR. SCOTT: No, not on Bessarabia; on the Dobrudja.

MR. POLK: On Dobrudja, yes. If you will let me have the suggestions, I will bring them up.

DR. SCOTT: Yes.

MR. POLK: (Addressing Mr. Woolsey) Have you anything to bring up?

MR. WOOLSEY: Our Committee has finished its work and [is] waiting for the next thing to do.

MR. POLK: Have you anything, Prof. Coolidge?

PROF. COOLIDGE: Nothing except to point out one thing in connection with what we have been saying about Bessarabia. Bessarabia was one of the points mentioned in the memorandum which was approved by the President.

MR. POLK: He did not go so far as to actually say to award it to Roumania.

PROF. COOLIDGE: No, but that very principle would allow the discussion.

MR. POLK: I think it would be a mistake to go into discussion with Roumania; they are holding an election there. (Addressing Dr. Johnson) Dr. Johnson, have you had anything in regard to the reservations in connection with West Thrace?

DR. JOHNSON: No, I have not.

MR. POLK: That has to be very carefully considered.

DR. JOHNSON: I understood that they were going to submit a statement of the proposed draft of that part of the treaty.

MR. POLK: Tardieu wasn't there this morning?

DR. JOHNSON: He was not. I have asked for an appointment with him, but I have not received a reply.

MR. POLK: I pointed out this morning that that telegram they asked me to send the President was incomplete inasmuch as it does not set out any plan; Venizelos is not getting all he thinks he is entitled to, but does not offer any suggestion for the President to accept.

DR. JOHNSON: I have not seen the draft of that telegram.

MR. POLK: Well, I haven't sent it. I have it upstairs.

PROF. COOLIDGE: Are we bound, by yesterday's meeting, to accept a foreign occupation of West Thrace?

MR. POLK: No.

PROF. COOLIDGE: I can't see where there is any more necessity for occupation there than in East Thrace. There is where the friction was.

MR. POLK: If we can get an international force in there it would be well, rather than to leave the Bulgarians in there to take a farewell wallop at it.

PROF. COOLIDGE: I don't think they would take a wallop.

DR. JOHNSON: There is nobody there to wallop.

MR. POLK: There might be a difference of opinion on that.

PROF. COOLIDGE: The situation is the same as in Eastern Thrace, and why introduce this element—?

MR. POLK: Well, Eastern Thrace is tied up with Constantinople, and practically being administered now from Constantinople (as I understand, all of Eastern Thrace) by the International body that is there. Now we can make no objection to their sending in troops other than Greek troops into West Thrace, if they offer to.

PROF. COOLIDGE: It is an element that would more likely make trouble than anything else.

MR. POLK: I don't think there would be very much ground to object to that suggestion. (Addressing Mr. Nielsen) Have you got anything?

MR. NIELSEN: I might call your attention to the fact that this treaty governing certain questions between the new states will probably be laid before you soon with report. We have explained to Mr. Lansing the reason why the reservation was made that he should sign, indicating briefly the very urgent desire of most of the delegates of the other powers that we do sign. I presume in the absence of instructions from him to the contrary we will stand on the reservations as made in the committee, that we won't sign because the treaty embraces local questions.

MR. POLK: I will keep that consideration off as long as I can, because in the Secretary's mind, and in the mind of the Department there is no reason why we should sign; they see no reason why we should sign. Until we get a satisfactory answer to the last telegram I think we should not sign.

MR. NIELSEN: Now they have all the facts before them.

MR. POLK: We will probably get an answer.

MR. NIELSEN: I think you will soon have before you the Spitzbergen Treaty, but inasmuch as we incur no obligations under it, I don't think that will be very serious.

This Belgium-Holland Treaty Commission may make a preliminary report to you. I would like to talk with you a little more in detail about that.

MR. POLK: Well, that belongs to the State Department rather than to the Conference.

MR. WOOLSEY: Will the Serbian attitude delay the Treaty at all?

MR. POLK: No.

MR. WHITE: Do they object to it?

MR. WOOLSEY: They want to see it.

MR. POLK: That is a very natural curiosity on their part. Have you anything, Mr. Dresel?

MR. DRESEL: I will say that I think the Committee on Repatriation of Prisoners has practically finished its labors. There seem to be left only the practical questions involving the handling by General Connor and he is going to arrange with the French that they will start at once to carry back the prisoners. There seem to be no obstacles except the possible difficulty in getting rolling stock, and it may be necessary to get the Germans to help with rolling stock. The British have their own rolling stock, so they are not up against that difficulty, but we have not, so it is a question of depending more or less on the French, but I don't think there will have to be any more meetings on that.

MR. WHITE: How will they go?

MR. DRESEL: By train. I think it is open to question whether some of them cannot march over the road. I think General Connor is going to take that question up.

MR. POLK: March some of them?

MR. DRESEL: March some of them, yes. But I think we were all agreed that they should be gotten out at the earliest moment possible, and General Connor is rushing the matter ahead.

MR. WOOLSEY: Has any section of the Bulgarian Treaty been handed in now?

MR. POLK: I think it is practically complete, except the two boundaries, and those questions raised by Dr. Scott. That is what the British representative said this morning.

DR. SCOTT: I should say also that the Hungarian Treaty is practically five-sixths in type.

PROF. COOLIDGE: Everything ready but the Hungarian.

MR. POLK: Well, see if we cannot expedite them. Have you anything, Dr. Lord?

DR. LORD: I should like to raise one question about Dantzig. The long delay about the entry into force of the peace with Germany has been particularly inconvenient for the Dantzig people and for the Poles, who are expecting some day to have arrangements made with Dantzig which are extremely important for them. The Dantzigers have already been more or less cast off by Germany, and they have not the faintest idea of what is going to become of them under the new arrangement, and apparently they are getting extremely impatient to have some things settled, and the Poles are also extremely anxious to get their economic privileges and rights at Dantzig settled as early as possible so that regular business relations can be established to Dantzig with the outside world.

And I ought also to say that the German Delegation here has presented a letter to the President of the Peace Conference raising a number of important and rather puzzling questions about the interpretation of the Treaty with regard to Dantzig. It seems to me that everything that can legally and fairly be done to clear up the Dantzig situation ought to be done at as early a date as possible. And there is one thing which I think could and ought to be considered rather quickly. The peace with Germany provides that the Free City of Dantzig shall be organized only at the same time as the Treaty between Dantzig and Poland goes into force, and that Treaty between Dantzig and Poland is to regulate the whole series of relations—political and economic—between the Free City and the Polish State.

Now the negotiation and drafting of the Treaty between Dantzig and Poland is a matter reserved for the Allied and Associated Powers; it is not for the League of Nations; it is not for the High Commissioner who will some day represent the League of Nations down there. Now, since the Dantzig state cannot be organized until the Polish-Dantzig Treaty is drafted by the Allied and Associated Powers, and since there will be nothing fixed or settled about Dantzig until the Free City is organized and until its relations with Poland are definite, I wonder whether the Allied and Associated Powers could not set somebody to work at once to draft the treaty between Dantzig and Poland—to do it on the spot, I should suppose—and have it all ready so that it can be signed and go into effect almost as soon as the German Treaty goes into effect.

MR. POLK: No one is working on it now at all?

DR. LORD: No one is working on it now at all.

MR. POLK: Suppose you give me a memorandum to that effect.

DR. LORD: I wonder if our domestic situation would render it difficult for us to touch a question like this? I suppose all this could be regarded as a part of the work for the commission now sitting for the execution of the treaty.

MR. POLK: I don't see that it has any bearing on it. It is a question to properly come before the Council for approval, isn't it?

DR. LORD: Yes, but it would, I think, require the appointment of a commission, which would probably have to go to Dantzig and do its work mainly there, in consultation with the Dantzig city authorities and the Polish government.

MR. POLK: No, we couldn't do that.

DR. LORD: It seemed to certain people that it was going too far in executing the German Treaty.

MR. POLK: That would come under the ban; anything that hasn't anything to do with dollars is banned.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: Would it be a situation that Captain Abele of the Navy could handle? Captain Abele is up there.

MR. POLK: He is on duty there?

ADMIRAL KNAPP: He is Naval Attaché to Poland. He is in Dantzig, mainly, and I am getting advices from him periodically, from Dantzig.

DR. LORD: I think that Admiral Knapp's suggestion could very well be acted upon. I was told this morning that there was a British naval man about to proceed to Poland to organize the Polish navy, and matters relating thereto, and that mission could furnish the British personnel for such a commission, and if we could nominate Captain Abele to sit, I think the work could be done rather quietly, and be all ready to sign the moment the German Treaty goes into effect.

MR. POLK: If you will give me a memorandum I will bring it up and suggest that the informal committee begin sitting and report. (Addressing Col. Embick) Have you anything, Colonel?

COL. EMBICK: No, sir.

LT. COL. GREENE: I would like to bring up the question of the consular and diplomatic representatives in the Baltic Provinces.

MR. POLK: That is a State Department matter.

LT. COL. GREENE: Yes, but it seems to me that it should be brought to the attention of the State Department.

MR. POLK: I will bring it to the attention of the State Department if you will give me a memorandum.

MR. DRESEL: It has been. A message was sent about a week ago.

LT. COL. GREENE: That was about the diplomatic service, but not about the consular service.

MR. POLK: No, I quite agree with you. That is up to the Department.

MR. DRESEL: We suggested that consuls be sent to Libau, Riga and Reval.

MR. HOOVER: Did you have any discussion about these cars and locomotives in Hungary?

MR. POLK: Yes, and there were two very interesting reactions in there. On the question of Alsace-Lorraine the French got up on their hind legs, and then I suggested that it be referred to the proper committee. Mr. Balfour raised this point: under the reparations clauses would the Czecho-Slavs, the Yugo-Slavs, the Italians and the Poles be entitled to railway material that had formerly belonged to those governments? And I suppose there is some question about that.

MR. HOOVER: If you are going to follow that theory to its logical extreme you can take all the rolling stock that the Poles have got now.

MR. POLK: Oh, if they have got it now, no. It was referred to the Reparations Committee.

MR. HOOVER: Our cars will all be going down to Roumania. Then what is the progress about settling that Teschen question? Is there any settlement arrived at or any hope of settlement?

MR. POLK: It was brought up this morning; they tried to persuade us that no agreement had been reached, but they couldn't persuade Clemenceau, who lost his temper. Of course that was not the case; he pointed out that they had reached an agreement and there was some political reason for preventing the report being made. We finally had the report made, and then agreed to have both Paderewski and Benes come tomorrow and take it up.

MR. HOOVER: The Polish miners struck some time ago because the coal they were mining wasn't going to Poland; they said they wouldn't work unless the coal went to Poland; and now this morning the Czechs have struck because they won't work to produce coal to be sent into Poland.

MR. POLK: We are going to try to settle that tomorrow.

MR. HOOVER: Then I have got further news. The Germans up there will accept the American occupation in Silesia.

MR. POLK: You go home and persuade the Senate to let us do it.

MR. HOOVER: There is one point about the whole Polish relationship with the Germans in the areas ceded to the Poles. The Germans are stripping them bare, and the Germans are still in occupation; they are so anxious to get the food-stuffs out of those areas that they are hauling off the crops unthreshed, hauling off the green, unthreshed crops, and they are going to leave that place absolutely bare of food-stuffs. I don't suppose there is any way to expedite the handing of that stuff over to Poland.

MR. POLK: That is in the Treaty of Peace, isn't it?

MR. HOOVER: The Germans refuse to feed the City of Dantzic any more from the German general food supplies, or to include it in the German food supplies, and the result is we have persuaded the Poles to feed the City of Dantzic for a time—I don't know how long that will go on—so the city is going to be in a great deal of trouble.

And there is one thing in regard to the Scheldt, in connection with this quarrel between Belgium and Holland. We have been operating a whole lot of boats on the Scheldt, and we have an organization established. The Dutch are undoubtedly doing everything they can to obstruct that commercial situation there.

MR. POLK: What are they doing?

MR. HOOVER: The Scheldt has silted up during the war, naturally, and there is only about seventeen feet of water. It is impossible to get shipping in to Antwerp with any degree of safety, and the Dutch will not dredge the river, and the Belgians cannot do it, and all in all they have put the city of Antwerp in a very difficult situation, and my own impression is that the Dutch are going to do their best to prejudice

the Port of Antwerp in favor of Rotterdam, so that I do think that we ought to take an attitude of a great deal of sympathy on anything that provides for helping the Belgian situation.

MR. POLK: Who did you get that report on the Scheldt from?

MR. HOOVER: From Fletcher.

MR. POLK: Could you ask him to write me a report on that, because I will take that up with the Dutch, who have been talking to me personally, saying that they have been so liberal to Belgium. Now if I have a report of that kind I can make it disagreeable to them, saying that we will throw our sympathy on the side of Belgium.

MR. HOOVER: There is only one solution, and that is to put the Scheldt under an international commission, because the Dutch, as they have practically control of the improvement of the Scheldt, can always defeat anything that is done at the present moment. The Belgians have the right to call on the Dutch to improve it, but if they do not improve it, nothing can be done about it.

MR. POLK: If you will get that report for me I will take it up.

MR. HOOVER: So when all the rivers around here are being internationalized, that ought to be internationalized also. I have had the Belgians withdraw their territorial aspirations there, and in view of that, the Dutch might agree to that. I think inquiry will establish that there is not more than 17½ feet draft in the river now, whereas it was navigable for steamers up to thirty feet before.

MR. POLK: There is a funny thing about that; I raised the question the other day about the proposed visit of the King of the Belgians to the United States, concerning his going over in one of our ships; I raised the question about the *George Washington* going in there and Tardieu assured me it could.

MR. WHITE: Admiral Benson would not authorize it.

MR. POLK: I told him that both McCullough and Benson were in doubt about it, but Tardieu assured me that it was deep enough.

ADMIRAL KNAPP: When the President left the second time it was proposed that the President go up there and leave from Antwerp, and I had the question examined and found it was not safe for the *George Washington* to go up there. Of course she is rather a large ship, but I haven't any doubt that the river has silted up in these five years.

DR. JOHNSON: I think I can get a certain report of the condition of the Scheldt before the war, which shows that the Dutch were placing obstacles in the way of the development of the channel there, making difficulty for the Belgians.

MR. POLK: If we have that information, and tell them that in view of those facts it will be necessary for us to change our position, I think it will have a considerable bearing on the attitude of the Dutch.

(Addressing Mr. Hoover) Is that all you have?

MR. HOOVER: That is all. This Silesian thing seems to have quieted down. Col. Goodyear has transported 450 German prisoners back to Germany, and gotten out his Poles that were up for execution, but nevertheless that situation is not going to be satisfactory as long as that bunch of German prisoners stay in there.

DR. LORD: Mr. Polk, is there no way of putting pressure on Germany to induce her to accept Allied occupation and not merely American occupation. If the Council can send an ultimatum of fifteen days over an article in the German Constitution, it seems to me that this is at least of as great importance.

MR. POLK: There is no way of getting at it. Every kind of pressure has been brought to bear, economic and everything else, but it is a political question. They are afraid that no man is strong enough to consent to it in Germany today; there is no man strong enough to consent to it who will last 24 hours.

MR. HOOVER: They would consent to an American occupation.

MR. POLK: They would consent to an American occupation, but not an Allied occupation, for no man could last 24 hours who would consent to it. I think that is perfectly reasonable, for I think that in any country where the statesmen gave up an important part of the country—as Silesia undoubtedly is to them—to Allied occupation, it would not be a question of days, it would be a question of hours before they would be out. But I am sure the British and French both would be very keen for doing it if they can find any excuse for doing so.

DR. LORD: I thought the excuse was furnished; that by their present procedure the Germans are making the plebiscite provided for in the Treaty rather personal. They are already preventing the execution of one of the cardinal items of the Treaty.

MR. WHITE: The plebiscite cannot be held under six months after the treaty goes into effect, and may not be held in less than a year and a half. Wouldn't that be a good time to get the Poles back?

MR. HOOVER: The Poles will start in as soon as it goes into effect, plus more Poles.

DR. LORD: There is another fact; that the Germans can arrest anybody for high treason, and sentence them to Magdeburg and bury them for ten years.

MR. POLK: We will cure that when we begin to call for the German punishments. There will be a way found to bring those Poles out. That can be controlled.

MR. WHITE: Do you mean to say that the German government has consented to the American occupation?

MR. HOOVER: I have had a hint to that effect, and Col. Goodyear has been told they would.

The meeting adjourned at 3:00 p. m.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/150

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, September 8, 1919*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Commissioners approved the recommendation contained in Memorandum No. 565 that Mr. A. W. Dulles be assigned to carry on the work of the Commission formerly undertaken by Dr. Lord.

Mr. Dulles
To Take
Over Work
of Dr. Lord

II. The Commissioners authorized the payment of the sum of 278 francs, the amount of living and board expenses at the Hotel Crillon incurred by Major Lawrence Martin for the period subsequent to his release by the Commission and his departure for Armenia, during which time he was performing geographical work for the Commission as stated in Memorandum No. 566.

Expenses of
Major Martin

III. Referring to previous memorandum of September 2, the Commissioners approved the draft letter submitted with Memorandum No. 567 to be addressed to the President suggesting that he write letters of appreciation to certain heads of departments and high officers connected with the Commission.

Letters of
Appreciation

The Commissioners approved the following list:

Mr. Hoover
Mr. Baruch
Mr. McCormick
Mr. Hurley
Mr. Gompers
Mr. Davis
Mr. Lamont
Admiral Benson
Mr. Grew

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/151

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, September 16, 1919*

Present:

MR. WHITE
GEN. BLISS
MR. HARRISON

[I.] The Commissioners approved the sending of a telegram to the Department of State as recommended in Statement No. 568. This telegram should also state that General Bandholtz has appealed for further funds, but that owing to the depleted condition of the Commission's allotment the Commission is unable to make additional advances to the Mission. The Commissioners directed that the telegram should contain a statement that the Commission will be grateful for an immediate answer.

Funds for
Bandholtz
Mission

[II.] The request of General Bandholtz for four army officers—set forth in statement No. 569—is to be held in abeyance, pending the receipt of reply from the Department to the Commission's telegram regarding funds for General Bandholtz's mission.

Officers for
Gen. Bandholtz

[III.] The recommendation contained in Statement No. 570 that Lt. Col. Warwick Greene be awarded the D. S. M., was disapproved by the Commissioners, inasmuch as the services with the Commission of Col. Greene—and in general the services of any officer assigned to the Commission—were in no way connected with the prosecution of the war.

Award of
D. S. M. to
Officers
Connected
With the
Mission

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/152

Minutes of Meeting of the Commissioners and Technical Advisers of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Hotel Crillon, Paris, Thursday, September 18, 1919, 2:15 p. m.

Present :

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
ADMIRAL McCULLY
DR. SCOTT
MR. NIELSEN
MR. WOOLSEY
MR. BUCKLER
COL. EMBICK
COL. BROWNING
CAPT. GORDON
CAPT. CHAPIN
MR. SHAW
LT. CONDON
MR. RUSSELL
MR. BARCLAY

Stenographer:—MR. CARLSON

MR. POLK: Have you anything, Admiral?

ADMIRAL McCULLY: I have made a memorandum of the work I have been covering during the last week, for information.

MR. POLK: Has the blockade of the Baltic been brought up to you, Admiral?

ADMIRAL McCULLY: Nothing has come to my attention in that connection except the decision that I have seen which was taken in the Supreme Council.

MR. POLK: The British representatives have not raised the question at all?

ADMIRAL McCULLY: No, sir.

MR. POLK: You haven't heard anything more from those people, Mr. Woolsey?

MR. WOOLSEY: No, sir, not a thing.

MR. POLK: Admiral, have you anything further that you want to bring up?

ADMIRAL McCULLY: I thought I would mention again the distribution of war material. I have been trying to get all the data in regard to it,—have telegraphed and written for it, but have received no answer. And as the proceedings went on, I decided in accordance with what instructions I had. Apparently they want to make some changes. The officer is arriving tomorrow.

MR. POLK: You want to delay action on that?

ADMIRAL McCULLY: I want to delay action on that until I hear what he wants to say.

MR. POLK: The officer who is arriving tomorrow is one of your officers?

ADMIRAL McCULLY: Yes, sir. I would like to ask, for my information, in regard to these boards that I go to: what force any resolution that I join in has?

MR. POLK: What boards are they?

ADMIRAL McCULLY: In some there is nothing at all going on, but in the Baltic Commission and in the Commission on the Distribution of War Material, and in the Belgian Commission there are questions coming up, and I don't like to approve the resolutions without knowing how much effect they have.

MR. POLK: The Baltic Commission is not a commission of the Peace Conference, is it?

GENERAL BLISS: Not the Allied Commission; not the one which General Gough is on.

MR. POLK: But there is a Baltic Commission appointed; there is a Baltic Commission sitting. If you will let me have a memorandum I will look it up.

ADMIRAL McCULLY: The Baltic Commission which is handling the question of the entrances to the Baltic.

MR. POLK: Have we anyone sitting on the board?

ADMIRAL McCULLY: There are three army officers there; I do not know if they are members. I did not see any of our representatives that I knew.

MR. POLK: Will you let me have a memorandum on that, please. I am going to suggest that everyone hand in a list of the various commissions that they are sitting on (other than, of course, those concerned with the framing of the treaties and things of that kind), and see if we can adjourn those that are just hanging on; clean them up and get them out of the way.

GENERAL BLISS: The man that we had on the Baltic Commission has been withdrawn.

MR. POLK: This Commission is examining the question and is going to report on the ultimate disposition of the Baltic Provinces; on the attitude to be taken. I am not positive, but I think Professor Coolidge was a member of that.

ADMIRAL McCULLY: I have information as to what action they want to take, but I don't know whether to join in that resolution, or simply to be considered as an adviser to this commission.

MR. POLK: The latter is true of most of the commissions we are sitting on now; we are not supposed to have any official representatives on any of these commissions. But if you will let me have a list of the commissions, and if everyone else will do the same, I will take this matter up.

ADMIRAL McCULLY: It is stipulated that the Baltic Commission shall not come to any decision in regard to the cession of any territory or international servitude; I would like to ask if that would guide me in any other decisions that might come up, if that same principle should govern me in case some other question came up in regard to that—that is, the Belgian Commission?

MR. POLK: That Belgian Commission has to do with the question of the Scheldt, hasn't it?

ADMIRAL McCULLY: Yes, sir.

MR. WHITE: Do you sit on that?

ADMIRAL McCULLY: I am adviser to our members.

MR. POLK: Well, it is a perfectly safe rule to follow, about all these things, I think. Have you anything, Dr. Scott?

DR. SCOTT: Nothing, except what you already know, that as far as the Drafting Committee is concerned, the Treaty with Hungary would be in general complete if it had the Fiume clauses in. I understand that something has happened there recently.

MR. POLK: Are you going to put the Fiume matter in the Hungarian Treaty?

DR. SCOTT: We intended to. There are three paragraphs left which can be entirely covered by the usual one; that Hungary accepts

such disposition as may be made of this and that. And if that is your pleasure, the Treaty is ready.

MR. POLK: Well, it is my pleasure as far as it goes, but the Italians do not stay hitched more than 24 hours at a time. If you can settle the Fiume question, and also produce a Hungarian government with which we can treat, you will be doing a great service to your country.

DR. SCOTT: A large part of the Hungarian Treaty has been decided upon at different intervals by the Supreme Council, and with the general direction that the clauses dealing with various matters should, as far as possible, be based upon the Austrian clauses, it makes it a comparatively simple matter, but that one matter requires to be passed upon. If you care to have it mentioned, there is a space for it. If you would rather have the usual renunciatory clauses, there is no reason why the Hungarian Treaty should in any way wait in respect to the disposition of Fiume.

MR. POLK: As I suggested, it would be very helpful if everyone would hand in to Mr. Grew a list of the committees you are on and matters pending in which they are engaged. I think there are a great many matters sort of dragging around that we ought to either send back to the Foreign Offices as not to be handled by the Peace Conference, or try to see if we cannot dispose of them. So if everyone will hand in a list of the committees you are on and the matters pending we will have it ready for next Wednesday. Have you anything, Colonel?

COL. EMBICK: No, sir.

MR. POLK: Mr. Nielsen?

MR. NIELSEN: I will mention one thing, which, however, does not concern me: the Secretary-General asked me a little while ago whether we were to be represented on the Supreme Economic Council meeting at Brussels tomorrow.

MR. POLK: We are not.

MR. NIELSEN: I supposed we were not, and I told him so.

MR. POLK: Not only because the Senate does not desire it, but I think it would be very bad policy for us at the present moment. It is purely their show.

The Bulgarian Treaty will be handed in tomorrow. We had rather an interesting discussion about that. Their first idea was to let only the Council of Five be present, but it was pointed out that that would hardly be fair to the Greeks and the Serbians, who had considered that to be their particular show (or their particular funeral), and therefore they very grudgingly said we would let in the Balkan states, and then it was pointed out that the Belgians would be objecting, and finally they said they would let in the heads of the Delegations, but they did so very grudgingly, with very bad grace.

MR. WHITE: What is their point?

MR. POLK: Their so-called courtesy is very much overestimated. Apparently the Secretary-General objected to it more than anyone else. We were finally able to get every power represented. This they very grudgingly agreed to. And they finally agreed to let ten representatives of the Press come in. As a matter of fact the other small powers seem to resent it more than Bulgaria.

DR. SCOTT: Could you state whether a definite date has been determined upon within which the Bulgarians are expected to answer? I have seen various dates mentioned.

MR. POLK: My recollection is bad on that; I am sorry Mr. Harrison isn't here. Was it 21 or 25 days? Captain Chapin?

CAPTAIN CHAPIN: 25 days after presentation.

MR. POLK. It is entirely too long. I fought for fifteen days. The thing should have been presented to them last week. This thing has been dragged along, and now finally it is to be presented tomorrow, and then they are to be given 25 days. The fact that it will take them fifteen days to get home would indicate that they are going to walk. I can't understand why it should take them that long.

MR. WOOLSEY: I think perhaps it would be well if the Commissioners were advised of a question that Admiral McCully has up in regard to the entrances to the Baltic.

MR. POLK: The which?

MR. WOOLSEY: I would rather have the Admiral state it, if he would.

ADMIRAL McCULLY: I have copies of the matters that relate to this question, if you will take time to look them over. I have made copies of each one of the questions I have been dealing with, and what has happened to it during the week.

MR. POLK: Which particular point do you have in mind, Mr. Woolsey?

MR. WOOLSEY: I understand one of these committees on which the Admiral has been sitting—the Admiral has been discussing this point with me—has up now the British proposal to make the entrances to the Baltic available for warships in time of peace and in time of war, so that any country like Denmark or Sweden, which abuts the entrance could not mine the entrances and keep out all ships, as they did during the past war. They want us to join in some declaration to be made by the Council here to that effect. Now all the countries have treaties with Sweden [*Denmark*], I guess—anyway we have treaties covering those entrances, of 1857. The United States has a separate treaty of its own.³⁴ I think the treaties of Great Britain, France and other countries here are joint treaties,

³⁴ Convention between the United States and Denmark, signed April 11, 1857, Malloy, *Treaties, 1776-1909*, vol. I, p. 380.

providing that the channels shall be open for vessels and their cargoes, and it would seem from the reading of the treaty that it refers to merchant vessels. Now the British would be satisfied if the Treaty was made to read, or understood to read: "merchant vessels and warships". As far as the United States is concerned, I think it is a matter of negotiation with the countries that are on the Baltic.

MR. POLK: It certainly is not the function of the Peace Conference to pass on that. If it comes up I would be inclined to send it to Washington. That would be your view too, wouldn't it?

GENERAL BLISS: Yes.

MR. WOOLSEY: Did I state the case properly, Admiral?

ADMIRAL McCULLY: Yes. I could not quite understand why they should bring up a case of that kind and want some decision right away.

MR. POLK: I have discussed this general question of policy with General Bliss and Mr. White and they are agreed that these questions are outside the work of the Peace Conference, and they should be taken up with the various Foreign Offices.

ADMIRAL McCULLY: In the last meeting of the Commission on Baltic Affairs a resolution was introduced in regard to this thing, a resolution which had not been seen by any of us, and even the British naval adviser had not seen it before we got it. The Japanese, British and Italians agreed to it; the French said they could not see any objection.

MR. POLK: I would like to know what the resolution was, what its scope is. Perhaps we had better have that looked up; in fact we had better look them all up and see what they are.

MR. WOOLSEY: It looks as though they wanted the Council here to make a declaration as to the meaning of that Treaty.

MR. POLK: It does not seem to me that that is its function.

MR. WOOLSEY: Regardless of the other parties to the Treaty.

MR. POLK: I can't see the system at all. Is there anything else?

MR. WHITE: The French issued a suggestion that we should have a meeting on Ports and Waterways with a view to taking up the questions in the Treaty connected therewith, for the League of Nations. Is it desirable that we should take part in that?

MR. POLK: We might sit in as a matter of curiosity, but until we ratify the Treaty we cannot take part.

MR. WHITE: It is not under the Treaty.

MR. POLK: But it comes under the League of Nations?

MR. WHITE: No, it is proposed to take up and discuss the way in which these international questions of Ports, Waterways and Railways concerning the League of Nations, are to be worked out by the League, when they come up for discussion.

LT. CONDON: The French government has issued an invitation, suggesting that our government have a representative who would sit unofficially; in other words, they feel there are a number of those clauses that should be acted upon unofficially until the League of Nations comes into being, and they feel that the same men who have been handling those questions all during the discussion of the treaties here would be the most competent ones to sit in on these discussions.

MR. WHITE: Dr. Hudson telegraphed that he was coming back.

MR. POLK: I don't think we have a right to be represented on any such committee in the absence of instructions from Washington. Even last winter, when we had invitations to sit on anything not directly connected with the Peace Conference, we did not sit in.

LT. CONDON: But this is a continuation of the Ports and Waterways.

MR. POLK: Who is handling that invitation now, do you know?

LT. CONDON: The invitation came through from the French.

MR. POLK: Who is handling it here?

MR. WHITE: It came to me. M. Itachi, the Japanese, is very much interested in it; he is coming to see me directly.

MR. POLK: Why not send it to Washington?

MR. WHITE: We had better send a telegram; that is probably the best thing.

LT. CONDON: It was arranged so that the French government send the invitation, in order that it would not seem to come from the Peace Conference at all.

MR. POLK: It had better go to Washington.

MR. BUCKLER: May I ask as to the best course to take in regard to the Albanians. They call on us here on an average of three times a week, and they make me very tired, for they are always assuming that there is a chance that we will take the mandate, and I tell them quite vigorously that they had better forget it.

MR. POLK: No chance in the world.

MR. BUCKLER: I have told them, along the line of General Phillips, that the best thing for them to do is to take the Italian protection; that she is a good friend of Albania, and that that is the best thing they can do. Do you think that is the best thing?

MR. POLK: Yes.

MR. BUCKLER: I was very reluctant to come to that, but that is the best thing I can suggest.

I have a feeling that we ought to be arranging about a financial expert familiar with all the intricacies of the Ottoman debt; we ought to be looking forward to having someone ready to serve in that capacity when the Turkish Treaty comes up for discussion. I don't know personally of any one, but I think someone ought to be selected so he can work up the subject.

MR. WHITE: Have you anybody in view?

MR. BUCKLER: I might suggest Mr. Hutchins, the National City Bank man, who has been in Constantinople for two or three months.

MR. POLK: As a matter of fact I think the Turkish Treaty is going to take a different organization from the one we have at present. We don't need experts on Teschen for that purpose—not that we haven't an expert at the present moment on Teschen—but there are a good many subjects we haven't got experts on. But it is rather my view that the Department should be called on to organize a new personnel for that purpose.

MR. BUCKLER: That is a very good plan.

MR. POLK: I assume that we are not going to touch the Turkish Treaty. Every time they take up anything in regard to Turkey we make the reservation that it is altogether temporary. For instance, with regard to this arrangement that Clemenceau and Lloyd George were discussing, I made it clear several times in the procès verbal that it was in no way binding on the United States, that it was purely temporary, provisional.

MR. BUCKLER: Might it not be well to call [to] the Department's attention that that particular thing is an extremely intricate one, and that it needs a certain amount of preparation?

MR. WHITE: Yes, we should. He ought to be down there studying it now.

MR. BUCKLER: Yes, or studying the documents and preparing himself.

MR. POLK: If you will prepare a telegram along that line I will send it.

Meeting adjourned at 2:50 p. m.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/153

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, September 23, 1919*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

[I.] Mr. Polk gave a brief account of what had occurred at the meeting of the Council of the Heads of Delegations during the morning session³⁵ and spoke of the report from Sir George Clerk transmitting a summary of the Roumanian reply to the notes of the Allies. It had been

Roumanian-
Hungarian
Situation

³⁵ See HD-59, minute 4, vol. VIII, p. 328.

agreed to postpone consideration of the Hungarian-Roumanian problem until the arrival of Sir George Clerk.

[II.] The Commissioners discussed the present situation with regard to Fiume, the possible results, the danger of revolution in Italy and the attitude of the Yugo-Slavs with regard to the Franco-British proposal that the city of Fiume should be given to the Italians.

Fiume

[III.] Mr. Polk stated that he had a conversation that morning with Mr. McNeir with regard to the future of the Commission. It appeared that Mr. McNeir had also discussed the matter with Mr. White and General Bliss.

The Future
of the
Commission

Mr. Polk was inclined to think that the present plant was very large in comparison with the number of persons engaged in Conference work. He believed that a good many matters should from now on be properly left to the foreign offices and handled by the State Department and the Embassy. It might be possible to close up the press room at once and commence the transfer of certain matters to the Embassy. He had requested Mr. McNeir to submit a list of persons who might now be released. Mr. Polk also stated that he understood from Mr. McNeir that it would be impossible to give up the hotel on the first of October as it was necessary to give the owners thirty days' notice. Consequently, it would be impossible to leave the hotel until November first. On the other hand, a number of persons could be got rid of by October 8 and perhaps by October 25 the Communication Office and such other offices as it was necessary to keep after that date might then be moved into the buildings on the avenue Montaigne or into the Hotel d'Iéna.

[IV.] Mr. White stated that the Archbishop of Alessio had called upon him and protested vigorously against the occupation of Koritza and Argyrokastron by Greek forces, should the French troops be withdrawn from Albania.

Greek Occu-
pation of
Koritza

(At this point Mr. Polk left the Meeting, having an important engagement.)

[V.] The draft of a letter to be addressed to M. Clemenceau pointing out the dangers attending Greek occupation of Western Thrace, was read.

The Commissioners approved the draft with an amendment proposed by General Bliss.

Occupation
of Western
Thrace by
Greek
Troops

The letter in question reads as follows:

Paris, September 23, 1919.

My dear Mr. Clemenceau: The Council of the Heads of Delegations in its session of September 18th⁸⁶ and 22nd⁸⁷ has determined upon

⁸⁶ See HD-56, minute III, vol. VIII, p. 263.

⁸⁷ See HD-58, minute I, vol. VIII, p. 300.

an Inter-Allied occupation of that portion of West Thrace which is to be taken from Bulgaria under the terms of the Treaty of Peace. In the discussion of this question I pointed out to the Council the grave apprehension which I felt in permitting Greek troops to participate in this occupation, but did not consider myself in a position to insist on their entire exclusion, as I felt would have been wise, in view of the non-participation of the United States in this occupation.

The formula which was finally accepted contemplates the initial occupation of West Thrace by Allied troops to the exclusion of Greek troops, but leaves it to the discretion of the Commander-in-Chief, General Franchet d'Esperey, eventually to make use of Greek troops exclusively in a restricted and carefully defined zone in the western part of Bulgarian Thrace, which ultimately may be ceded to Greece.

I venture to call your attention to this decision of the Council and to emphasize that I consider it of the utmost importance that every precaution should be taken by General Franchet d'Esperey to prevent any violation by Greece of the prescribed zone which may eventually be accorded to her troops of occupation. The unfortunate experiences which the Conference has already had through attempts to create *faits accomplis* by the extensions of military occupations, have led me to bring this matter to your personal attention.

I am, my dear Mr. Clemenceau,

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Frank L. Polk

[VI.] The memorandum dated September 21 submitted by Captain Pierce reporting a conversation with Mr. Theodorov of the Bulgarian Delegation on September 20 was read and noted by the Commissioners; particularly the statement of M. Theodorov, to the effect that he would in all probability ask for a two weeks extension of the 25 days accorded him in which to submit his observations on the terms of Peace.

The Commissioners considered that such an eventuality would be very unfortunate and approved the suggestion that instructions be sent to the Chargé d'Affaires in Sofia to urge the Bulgars to make all haste possible in submitting their reply. It would be to their best interests to have the answer delivered to the Conference before the 25 days were up.

[VII.] Despatch # 379 of September 10 from the American Chargé d'Affaires at Bucarest reporting the visit of General Bandholtz to Bucarest was read and noted by the Commissioners.

[VIII.] A despatch addressed to the Mission by the American Chargé d'Affaires at Sofia dated September 11, reporting the decision of the Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies of the Orient to send Roumanian Gendarmes into Southern Dobrudja, against which a protest had been lodged by the Bulgarian Government, was read and noted by the Commissioners.

Departure
of the
Bulgarian
Delegation

General
Bandholtz's
Visit to
Bucarest

Sending of
Roumanian
Gendarmes
Into
Southern
Dobrudja

[IX.] The Secretary read a copy of the letter from the Emir Feisal to Mr. Lloyd George with regard to the desire of the former to visit England; also a memorandum submitted by Mr. William Yale under date of September 16, on the subject of the Emir's letter, and a further memorandum submitted by Mr. Yale on September 19, reporting a conversation with M. Berthelot regarding the 11 points put forward by Mr. Lloyd George in the *aide-mémoire* in regard to the occupation of Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia, presented by him to M. Clemenceau on September 13 and circulated at the meeting of the Supreme Council held on September 15.³⁸

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/154

Minutes of Meeting of the Commissioners and Technical Advisers of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Hotel Crillon, Paris, Wednesday, September 24, 1919, 2:30 p. m.

Present:

MR. POLK
 MR. WHITE
 ADMIRAL McCULLY
 DR. SCOTT
 MR. DRESEL
 MR. NIELSEN
 MR. BUCKLER
 COL. EMBICK
 COL. BROWNING
 MR. HARRISON
 MR. BONSAI
 CAPT. GORDON
 CAPT. CHAPIN
 LT. CONDON
 MR. RUSSELL
 MR. BARCLAY

Stenographer:—MR. CARLSON

MR. POLK: Admiral, have you got anything?

ADMIRAL McCULLY: I have made a memorandum, sir, of the work of the Commissions that I am on. That summarizes everything. (Handing papers to Mr. Polk.)

MR. POLK: Thank you very much.

ADMIRAL McCULLY: And I have a memorandum on the Adriatic situation.

³⁸ See HD-53, minute 5, vol. VIII, p. 205.

MR. POLK: Have you anything, Dr. Scott?

DR. SCOTT: I am sorry to say, sir, nothing.

MR. POLK: Aren't you doing anything at all?

DR. SCOTT: We are busily engaged in waiting on the decisions of the Supreme Council.

MR. WHITE: For Bulgaria?

DR. SCOTT: For anything.

MR. WHITE: Isn't that pretty well completed now?

DR. SCOTT: I haven't a list here, but there are some 23 or 24 treaties in all that were to be prepared; practically they are all done. The only one that is outstanding that requires any work done on it is the Hungarian Treaty. That is waiting on the Council as to whether there shall be a general renunciatory clause concerning Hungarian territory, or articles regarding the relations of Italy to its acquired territory, and I understand there is to be some revision of the articles of reparation and the financial clauses, but with those changes—if any are to be made—the Hungarian Treaty is ready for delivery whenever there is a government to which it is to be delivered.

MR. POLK: The territory in question is more or less dependent on the attitude of Rumania?

DR. SCOTT: Yes, or rather, as far as we are concerned, these matters are dependent upon the action of the Supreme Council.

MR. POLK: Why don't they put them on the agenda? Are they awaiting action?

DR. SCOTT: Of course we cannot do anything in the matter of the financial clauses or the reparation clauses until these various bodies have decided what changes, if any, they intend to make in the text. We have incorporated in those portions of the Hungarian Treaty the articles as they figured in the Austrian Treaty, inasmuch as they were prepared with the idea of being transferred in almost identical terms to the Hungarian Treaty. But that is just lying on the table until such time as the Supreme Council desires to see it and modify or approve it.

MR. POLK: Would it be possible to adopt the reparation clauses now or do we have to make different provision in case Rumania has taken more than its proportion?

DR. SCOTT: Of course it is for the Allied and Associated Powers to determine what the content of these clauses shall be, and if the Supreme Council should direct the appropriate commission to make changes or to consider what changes should be made in view of that consideration, that could be done, I take it, at almost any time.

MR. POLK: Are those clauses ready for action by the Council?

DR. SCOTT: They would be ready for action—they are, as far as the Drafting Committee can determine the matter, ready for immediate action, but if the clauses are to be modified they can only be modified

either by the Supreme Council directly or by some agent authorized and directed by it to make the necessary changes. But the Treaty is practically all there, unless those clauses are to be changed.

MR. DRESEL: They were passed on by the so-called Reparation Commission, which was empowered to deal with the reparation clauses of the various treaties, and I should think the Supreme Council could refer them back to this Reparation Commission at any time, and they could be reconsidered with a view to the situation in Rumania. That could well be the appropriate action. We took this up with the Reparation Commission three weeks ago—that was before the Hungarian situation became so acute—and I think that it might well be that they could be reconsidered by that Commission now.

DR. SCOTT: I would like to say, Mr. Polk, that if the Supreme Council will ask, or will direct that we take this action that has been suggested, both with the reparation clauses and with the financial clauses, and if you will give the further direction that the draft treaty, as it now exists, should be changed in that regard, it could be laid before you almost at any time.

MR. POLK: Frankly, what I have in mind is this: There is no government in Hungary, and there is no telling when there will be a government in Hungary. Now we do not want to be in a position of sitting around here waiting on their pleasure. The other difficulty is the question of our relations toward Rumania. Now, if our relations with Rumania can be straightened out, it would seem to me that the proper course to pursue would be to draw the clauses in such a way that the Reparations Commission would have power to adjust the so-called "requisition", or, as we call it, stealing, by the Rumanians; complete the treaty, and then consider that that is as far as we can go in the matter, and just wipe the Hungarian Treaty off the slate, and direct by a protocol, or in some other way, Serbia, Rumania or these countries that are to take over territory, to take over the territory to be assigned to them as theirs, and administer it, and then the new Hungarian state would be in certain bounds, and when they had a government the treaty would be ready for them. It seems absurd to hold up the whole situation waiting for the Hungarian government to be formed when it would be possible to administer this territory in this manner. The question as to which country is to get certain territory can be settled; in each case the territory can be given to the country which is ultimately to receive it, and they can begin to administer it. Then the final cession could be taken up with Hungary when Hungary is in a position to act. There would be no objection to that.

DR. SCOTT: None whatever, and you could by two clauses, if you wanted to have those clauses incorporated in the Treaty itself, provide that the Reparation Commission should investigate these acts in question, Rumania agreeing to accept in advance whether, and to

what extent the property seized by Rumania is in excess of the property or the share that would come to Rumania under the Treaty as originally drafted. That could be done.

MR. POLK: And then by a protocol with those different countries the question of the occupation of those territories, under international law, could be taken care of; in other words, a protocol with Rumania and Serbia.

DR. SCOTT: It could all be taken care of in that way by a series of protocols in which these powers, in consideration of receiving this territory at the present time, would accept such propositions as the Council proposes.

MR. POLK: And that might take care of it, except that we would have to do the negotiating and signing of the treaty.

DR. SCOTT: That could be done.

MR. POLK: For instance, assuming we can get the Bulgarian Treaty negotiated and signed within a reasonable time, say within the month of October, and there is no government in Hungary in sight at that time, and assuming that we have composed our difficulties with Rumania, which I think it is fair to assume,—why then it would be much better to dispose of the Hungarian Treaty in that way, don't you think so?

DR. SCOTT: It would be the best way, I think.

MR. POLK: Because you see the other side of the picture is this. At least what we have to consider in connection with this is this, that the Turkish Treaty undoubtedly will not be negotiated for a long time. Now it is manifestly ridiculous to keep people waiting on a country to be formed, like Hungary, when we can accomplish all we need accomplish just now by protocol.

DR. SCOTT: You can accomplish all that you have in mind, as you have expressed it here, by a series of protocols, either collectively or individually, and in addition to that, you can have the Hungarian Treaty prepared and ready for signature when a government has been formed and when plenipotentiaries have been appointed by that government in order to sign, because it is not a negotiated treaty—it is really an imposed treaty. Otherwise, of course, you would have to wait on the formation of the government for negotiation. But the treaty can be drawn and left in such a shape that it can be handed over to the representatives of the government when the government is formed and when those representatives are here to receive it, and in the meantime all these relations between the Allied and Associated Powers outside of and beyond Hungary, can be arranged either by a general protocol, or by separate protocols with each of the nations concerned.

MR. POLK: A protocol could take care of, for instance, the subject of reparations.

DR. SCOTT: Absolutely.

MR. POLK: Which we would refer to the Committee to study to see what steps are necessary to be taken in order to protect Serbia and Poland and other claimants. That could be taken care of by a protocol.

DR. SCOTT: Everything could be taken care of by protocol.

MR. POLK: I think that would be the first step: to refer it to the Reparations Committee to see what they would recommend.

DR. SCOTT: That would include, of course, the financial clauses.

MR. POLK: The financial clauses would be included in that. Then complete the Hungarian Treaty directly, and then if within three or four weeks the Hungarians are not ready to act, we can get authority to sign a protocol taking care of the territorial questions, and at the same time binding all parties on the question of reparations.

DR. SCOTT: And we would get that much of the Treaty taken care of.

MR. POLK: As a matter of fact that would take care of the situation excepting the ultimate contribution which Hungary has to make as to reparation.

DR. SCOTT: The difficulty is that you would negotiate with Rumania and Serbia and the other powers, whereas you do not negotiate with Hungary, so that if these negotiations were begun toward that end at once agreements might be reached and reduced to the form of protocol for signature, leaving, just as you say, the Hungarian Treaty to be handed to the Hungarians when there is a government to receive it, and in that way, by separate instruments, you cover the entire field—and we can get home.

MR. POLK: Mr. Dresel, you were going to bring that up, were you not?

MR. DRESEL: Yes. You understand that when they are speaking of the Reparations Commission, there are two so-called committees that there may be some confusion about. There is the committee on organization—the Reparation Commission. That is a body which meets every week and discusses current business and the future organization of the Reparation Commission. Outside that there is a commission which the French call the Reparation Commission, which was formed merely to discuss the Treaty clauses.

MR. POLK: The Commission on Treaty clauses was the one I had in mind; that is the one we are actually represented on. The other one we merely sit in on.

MR. DRESEL: Exactly.

MR. POLK: Was there anything you wished to bring up?

MR. DRESEL: Just this: I have been considering with Mr. Woolsey the rather important question of how far the Reparation Commis-

sion and other important committees are going to be authorized to function as soon as three of the Allied and Associated Powers ratify the Treaty, and that has been brought to my attention by the French in the first place, and now by the British, who have handed in a memorandum on the subject. Mr. Woolsey prepared a memorandum, which I think you saw, to the effect that in his opinion these committees are authorized by the Treaty to enter upon their functions as soon as three powers ratify, apart from whether we ratify or not.

MR. POLK: He is of that opinion?

MR. DRESEL: He is of that opinion, and I am inclined to agree with him. There was quite a bit of doubt at first, and there was a difference of opinion, but after looking over all the Treaty clauses and the Reparation clauses, I am quite sure of that myself. The question is coming up tomorrow in the Reparation Committee, and I am also drafting a telegram to the Department expressing my views, but I think it is our attitude, and I hope it is one that the Commission would take, that they can function as soon as three ratify. So much hangs and depends on this Reparation Commission at the present time, that I think if all the machinery is blocked it may lead to the most serious consequences.

MR. POLK: Surely.

DR. SCOTT: Mr. Polk, might I say as a part of the remark that has just been made by Mr. Dresel, that making the Treaty go into effect upon the ratification by three powers was a measure devised by the American Commission for the express purpose of putting it into effect should there be a refusal on the part of Italy or Japan to agree to it, and it is the distinct understanding of all concerned that the Treaty would go into effect legally just as soon as three of the Principal Powers—whatever ones they might be—should deposit their ratifications, and it was for that purpose and none other.

MR. POLK: It seems obvious that the whole machinery should not be held up.

DR. SCOTT: Of course that remark is of a confidential nature, but that was the reason for it.

MR. POLK: We have provided a remedy for the ills created by ourselves.

Have you anything, Colonel? (Addressing Col. Browning)

COLONEL BROWNING: No, sir.

MR. POLK: Mr. Nielsen?

MR. NIELSEN: No, sir.

MR. POLK: Mr. Buckler?

MR. BUCKLER: I would like to ask if there is any objection to the British Commission having (to keep in their secret files as a secret document) a copy of the Crane-King report. They saw it and their interest in it was excited.

MR. POLK: I think they had better trust to their memories. There will probably be a fight on that. They read it, and I don't doubt that they made very copious notes of it.

MR. BUCKLER: No doubt they did. But they want a complete copy. They undoubtedly could have made extensive notes of it.

MR. POLK: Yes, but they just tried, perhaps, to economize on stenographers.

MR. NIELSEN: Before coming here today I started to dictate a page and one-half of telegram to the Secretary of State on the main points that have been raised in this Belgian-Holland affair. I suppose we ought to keep them posted as to what is going on.

MR. POLK: Yes. Has anyone else anything to bring out?

If anyone is on a committee, and the committee report is unanimous, and the matter is to be brought before the Supreme Council, I wish you would please notify me the day before so I will have an opportunity of reading the report. I was able yesterday to change the procedure, and hereafter there will be no report read or made to the Council where there has been a unanimous report below. Each delegate is supposed to inform himself on the matter, and if he has any objection to raise he must raise it; where there is objection he must say that he wishes the matter heard. We are not going to waste our time in having a report read and then everybody agreeing, having been properly instructed from their rear that they should agree. There has been a frightful waste of time because of these things. We have a long calendar, and we have not been able to get along as fast as we should. The unfortunate Colonel Goodyear sat out there for five days; his matter is on the calendar each day, but it is not reached. How they make up the calendar I have not been able to discover. None of the important things are ever put on. The things that the French Foreign Office does not want on it, do not appear on it.

MR. BUCKLER: I was told by Colonel Castoldi, the Italian, who is very much in sympathy with us on the Koritza matter, that nothing more will be heard about that Koritza thing. It is dropped off the agenda.

MR. POLK: It is dropped off because I made such an awful howl about the thing when it appeared.

MR. NIELSEN: Mr. Polk, you wanted to know of those reports in which there was unanimity—or the contrary?

MR. POLK: No,—unanimous. The point being this: the other day there was up the question of Galicia. We listened a whole morning to dear old Mr. Cambon . . . about matters that there had been no disagreement whatever on, but he reported in detail, and when he got through each one of our experts said there was no disagreement. We were all agreed. We wasted an hour and a half on that. There were three points on which we did not agree. We should all have been

notified the day before that this was put on. There was absolute agreement except on the questions of Military Service, Agrarian Legislation, and Representation in the Polish Diet. We moved that the thing be adopted in full, excepting the three subjects I mentioned, and then discussed them. We will be here the rest of our lives if we go on in the manner we have been going on . . .

DR. SCOTT: Did you consider the three clauses of the Galician Treaty?

MR. POLK: We considered two of them, and we found grounds to compromise on the agrarian laws and on the subject of representation in the Polish Diet.

DR. SCOTT: But the military you did not?

MR. POLK: Not the military. I proposed a solution on which the British were holding out; the British were willing to accept, but before we got to that Mr. Paderewski came in, asking for a hearing, and he played on the Council as he played on the famous piano, and we all almost wept—and we are all on the point of reversing ourselves on it. I think he exaggerated his position, but I think he is quite right in doing so—he said that they would rather not have Galicia, tied up the way we have it tied up. I think he is right; they could not administer it; I think it would just make trouble. I am not sure but that he is not right. I think we are disposed to send it back to the Committee and see if they can work up some scheme. That report legislates on every blooming thing; they don't leave anything to the imagination at all, and it is such an iron-clad arrangement that we are giving Poland to administer, that I think there is a great deal in what Mr. Paderewski said.

DR. SCOTT: That is nothing that our Drafting Committee had to do with?

MR. POLK: No.

The meeting adjourned at 3:10 p. m.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/155

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Friday, September 26th, at 10:30 a. m. and 3:30 p. m.*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. General Bliss read a communication which he had received from the Military Attaché at the Hague giving certain information

obtained from a source not stated to the effect that Germany was preparing to attack France in October, when a revolution was expected to break out, and giving further detailed information regarding the plot and the preparatory steps which had been and were now being taken by the German military party to carry this out.

The Commissioners approved the suggestion that General Bliss should forward a copy of the report in question to Major-General Allen commanding the U. S. Forces of Occupation on the Rhine.

II. General Bliss read a communication from Mr. Grew dated September 24th with regard to the questions raised in the Department's telegram No. 3184 of September 20th, 4 p. m.,³⁹ relative to the policy which should be followed by the United States Government with regard to the further shipment of supplies and food stuffs to Esthonia in view of the peace *pourparlers* now under way between representatives of the Esthonian Government and the Bolsheviks.

The Commissioners were not in a position to make reply to the inquiries contained in the Department's telegram under reference and were of the opinion that inasmuch as the matter did not directly concern the Peace Conference it was a matter for the attention of the Embassy.

III. The Commissioners approved a further allotment to General Bandholtz⁴⁰ and directed that he should be sent as soon as possible the sum of \$6,000.00 to defray the expenses of his Mission, any unexpended balance to be returned to Mr. McNeir.

IV. The Commissioners approved the release of Mr. Russell to be effective October 25th on the conditions stated in memorandum 571 of September 25th.

V. The Commissioners approved the recommendation as stated in Memorandum 572 of September 25th that an additional allotment of \$1000 be made to Lieutenant Hynes.

VI. In view of the contents of the Department's telegram No. 3159 the Commissioners approved in principle the discontinuance of the Press Bureau of the Commission and authorized the Secretary General to wind up the Bureau unless he should be satisfied that there were adequate reasons for its continuance. Should the Bureau be closed, the Commissioners

³⁹ *Foreign Relations*, 1919, Russia, p. 712.

⁴⁰ Brigadier General Harry H. Bandholtz, American member of the Interallied Military Mission to Hungary.

desired that a telegram be sent to the Department of State requesting that the daily news telegram "For Grew from Emery" be enlarged.

In this connection the Commissioners approved the recommendation contained in Memorandum 573 dated September 26th regarding the release of Mr. Beryl and the payment of his salary up to October 1st. It was understood that upon the departure of Mr. Beryl the morning summaries of the French Press would be prepared by Captain Gordon of Mr. Grew's office.

VII. The Secretary read an unnumbered dispatch dated September 13th from the American Chargé d'Affaires at Sofia to the Commission regarding the systematic violation of the armistice conditions with Bulgaria. (Memorandum 574 dated September 24th.)

The Secretary also read a copy of dispatch No. 297 of August 27th from the American Chargé d'Affaires at Sofia to the Secretary of State reporting the departure of General Chrétien for Paris and also the attitude of his colleagues and of the chiefs of the British, French and Italian military missions in Sofia with regard to the policy heretofore pursued by the Conference vis-à-vis Bulgaria.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/156

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Monday, September 29, 1919*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Commissioners discussed the most recent information received from Admiral Andrews regarding the situation in the Adriatic.

Mr. Polk mentioned the instructions under which the United States Naval Forces were operating and it was agreed that he would send a telegram to inquire whether the President desired any change in these standing instructions.

II. Mr. Polk stated that he had received a telegram from Mr. Phillips giving the answers made by the French and Italian ambassadors in Washington to the representation which had been made to them by Mr. Phillips regarding the obstructive pro-Rumanian attitude of the French and Italian ministers in Bucarest. In Mr. Polk's opinion both replies really meant nothing at all.

Allied Violation of Bulgarian Armistice

The Situation in the Adriatic

Attitude of French and Italian Diplomatic Representatives in Rumania

III. Mr. Polk stated that he had looked into the matter of turning over of the Hotel to the management and was inclined to think that in view of the fact that the Hotel had been requisitioned it would be unnecessary to give the usual month's notice. He had been told that the British had not given the month's notice in giving up the Majestic. For this reason, and also on account of the difficulties of properly carrying on the work of the Commission, should it be necessary for the Commissioners to stay over beyond the first of November, he thought it would be desirable to cancel the orders already issued that notice should be given to the management on October first that the Hotel would be given up on the first of November.

Handing Over
of the Hotel
Crillon

Lt. Commander John W. Reeves, Jr., U. S. N. entered the meeting.

IV. The Commissioners heard Lt. Commander Reeves, Jr. on the situation in the Adriatic.

Mr. Reeves stated that he had been with the *Pittsburg* since July 12, that he had left Fiume on the 25th, proceeding via Venice and Switzerland, direct to Paris.

Hearing of
Lt. Comdr.
Reeves

Speaking of the incident at Trau, Mr. Reeves stated that the *Olympia* and a destroyer had proceeded to Trau and that 100 men from the *Olympia* and 25 from the destroyer had been landed; that the Italians had no idea of resisting, that they had offered to surrender but this had not been accepted, and that they had been ordered out of the American zone. After they had left the town, three Italians had been found and had been turned over to the Italian warship at Spalato. The American landing force had successfully patrolled the town and had placed the Italians in one house so that there would be no possibility of any untoward incident. As the Americans left, the Serbs had come in. There were now more Serb troops in Trau than there had been previously.

When word reached Spalato of the arrival of the Italians in Trau, Capt. Boyd had sent his liaison officer to the Serbs and had secured their consent to withhold action to two hours. This enabled the Americans to settle the matter without a conflict between the Serbs and the Italians. Capt. Boyd had arranged for the same arrangement to be in force should any further encroachments be made by the Italians.

Mr. Reeves stated that the Serbs generally say that war exists. Local feeling is very bitter. But, so far there have been no disorders at Spalato which is effectively policed by the Serbs.

As regards Fiume, Mr. Reeves stated that the Italians had treated the Serbs badly from the beginning. The population of the town of Fiume consisted of 75% Serbs and 25% Italians. The so-called suburb of Sussac was entirely Serb. When the Italians arrived in

Fiume they prevented an election and put in the National Council. They also brought in a number of cut-throats under Major Abba. These men were practically kept under lock and key and only turned loose when the Italians wished to create disorder. The Italian troops took control of the issuance of passports, favored their own people and oppressed the Serbs. They also either compelled people to leave or forcibly deported them. Some of the former were to be found in Gravosa and Ragusa, and of the latter, some were in Italy and others in the Islands off Spalato.

Mr. Reeves described d'Annunzio's entry into the town. On hearing of his approach, General Gondolfo, commanding the Italian forces, had proceeded in his automobile to meet d'Annunzio and had made a speech imploring him not to enter. D'Annunzio had answered from his automobile, saying that he had to come in. Gondolfo replied he could not forcibly keep him out as this would lead to fratricide. D'Annunzio then entered.

Mr. Reeves estimated that d'Annunzio had between five and eight thousand men in Fiume at the time of his departure. The so-called "Queen's Brigade", which was occupying Sussac, was really loyal to d'Annunzio. D'Annunzio seemed to have no difficulty in feeding his troops. The blockade was a farce. Sixty carloads of food and supplies had been allowed to enter Fiume for d'Annunzio's forces.

In reply to a question as to the attitude of the Commander-in-Chief of the Italian forces surrounding Fiume, Mr. Reeves stated that General di Robilant who had been in command had made it known that he would use any means necessary to suppress d'Annunzio. The next day he was relieved. He was succeeded by General Badoglio, Chief of Staff of the Italian Army. Badoglio had announced that he proposed to starve out the rebels but had not committed himself about using force. Badoglio was now in Trieste. At the present time there were from fifty to seventy-five thousand Italian troops in the neighborhood of Fiume. All of these were prepared to go over to d'Annunzio. The Serbs had about fifteen thousand regular troops along the frontier line, and some volunteer forces. Mr. Reeves commented upon the lack of discipline in the Italian troops and especially certain statements in this regard which had been made to him by the Captain of the *Dante Alighieri*.

Referring to the American forces in the Adriatic, Mr. Reeves suggested the advisability of making an announcement to the effect that additional American and Allied forces would be sent to the Adriatic. It would be necessary to send battleships from home but he believed that if a strong force appeared their mere presence would ensure order. In answer to a question as to whether Admiral Andrews would land marines in Spalato, Mr. Reeves stated that the Admiral would not do so under his new orders.

In conclusion, Mr. Reeves stated that he planned to leave Paris for Italy on Wednesday evening, and would be glad to have any instructions or information which the Commissioners cared to give him for Admiral Andrews.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/157

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Tuesday, September 30, 1919, 3:30 p. m.*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Commissioners discussed with Admiral McCully the latest news regarding the Adriatic. Mr. Polk stated that after the meeting of the Council that morning, Mr. Clemenceau had said that he was withdrawing the French troops from Fiume and that he was leaving the French base and the supplies there, valued at some 16,000,000 francs in the charge of the Italians. Mr. Polk also said that he had spoken with Sir Eyre Crowe with regard to the intentions of the British Government and had discovered that Sir Eyre Crowe was not informed in the matter. Sir Eyre Crowe, however, promised to take up the matter with London and ascertain whether the British Government intended to send any naval units.

Situation
in the
Adriatic

Mr. Polk asked Admiral McCully to see the French naval authorities with a view to ascertain[ing] what steps, if any, they proposed to take. He also asked that Admiral McCully telegraph Admiral Knapp suggesting that the latter should endeavor to discover the intention of the British Admiralty.

II. The Commissioners approved the release of Captain Walter Peirce, head of the translation bureau, as stated in Memorandum 575.

Release of
Capt. Peirce

III. The Commissioners asked Mr. McNeir to attend the meeting and informed him that they had reconsidered their decision that notice should be given to the management on the first of October that the Commission would give up the Hotel on the first of November.

Delivery of
the Hotel
Crillon

Mr. McNeir stated that it would be possible to give up the Hotel without necessarily giving the management a month's notice as he felt that they would be only too glad to get the Hotel at any time.

There was, however, the question of the French help. The law required that they should receive thirty days' notice. It would therefore be necessary to give them this notice or pay them a month's salary, if they should be suddenly discharged. It was agreed that Mr. McNeir should inform the help that it was probable that the Commission would give up the Hotel on the first of November. Mr. McNeir believed that there would be no difficulty in keeping on the help as long as was desired as they would receive a month's pension from the Hotel's management in any case.

As regards giving up certain sections of one or more floors of the Hotel, Mr. McNeir stated that the management would be glad if this could be done. They hoped to have the hotel ready for regular clients by the first of the year and they desired, if possible, to have sixty days to put the hotel in shape.

The Commissioners approved Mr. McNeir's suggestion that as soon as possible a floor of the hotel might be closed up for repairs. He suggested that a start be made with the fifth floor. In order that this should be done, the Commissioners approved Mr. McNeir's recommendation that from now on he should refuse all applications for permission to reside in the hotel, and likewise restrict the sale of dining room tickets.

The Commissioners decided, however, that rooms should be found in the hotel for those regularly attached to the Peace Commission, the members of the field missions and departmental officials. Any applications from members of the Army for permission to reside in the hotel should be referred by Mr. McNeir to General Bliss.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/158

*Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
Wednesday, October 1, 1919, 10:30 a. m.*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. Mr. Polk stated that Mr. Misu, the Roumanian delegate, had called upon him with Colonel Antonesco. As an instance of the attitude of the French Foreign Office, Mr. Polk pointed out that although Antonesco had been sent to Paris by the Roumanian Government in order to explain their point of view to the conference and had seen M. Pichon and various members of the French Foreign Office,

Call by
Roumanian
Representatives on
Mr. Polk

nothing had been said of his visit and no effort at all had been made by the Secretariat General to have him heard by the Council.

Colonel Antonesco's attitude at the conference with Mr. Polk had been at the beginning rather stand-off-ish and he had been much on his dignity but towards the end his attitude had improved. It appeared from Antonesco's remarks that the Roumanians had taken their cue with regard to their policy of seizures from the French, who on entering Hungary had seized large quantities of rolling stock and other supplies. Mr. Polk assured Colonel Antonesco that he was always anxious to hear anything the Roumanians had to say but at the present moment it was incumbent upon them to supply the arms necessary for the *gendarmerie*. He observed that they had procrastinated even after promising to furnish the arms. He insisted that the Roumanians comply with the instructions given them in this regard by the Allied generals. Antonesco had tried to evade the issue and had made excuses of various kinds and had also referred to the Allied grab of the Mackensen supplies, which has greatly incensed the Roumanians. Finally, Mr. Polk informed Antonesco that if and when the Roumanians would arm the police force, he would be prepared to discuss other questions.

The most interesting point developed by the conversation was the fact that the Roumanians were in a serious situation, as they had no ammunition. It appeared that the embargo placed by the Supreme Council on the shipment of ammunition and supplies was the real factor in the matter. Mr. Polk had no doubt that the Roumanians would be good as long as the embargo were enforced.

II. The Commissioners inquired what if any action had been taken on General Bandholtz's telegram No. 59, and expressed an opinion favorable to granting the request made by General Bandholtz in this telegram.

Assistance for
General Band-
holtz

III. The Commissioners approved a recommendation contained in Memorandum No. 576 regarding a request from General Bandholtz that Colonel William E. H. Godson, Jr., Military Attaché at Berne, should be assigned for temporary duty to his Mission.

Assignment
of Colonel
Godson to
General
Bandholtz

IV. The Commissioners directed that the Secretary General prepare for their approval a suitable reply to the identic letters dated September 17, 1919, addressed to them by the Honorable Edward Voigt with regard to the repatriation of German prisoners of war in Siberia. It was suggested that the Secretary General transmit to Mr. Voigt a copy of the recent decision of the Supreme Council in this regard.

Letter From
the Honorable
Edward Voigt
Regarding
German
Prisoners
of War in
Siberia

V. General Bliss read a copy of a letter dated September 24, 1919, which he had received from Major General Henry T. Allen, U. S. A.,

Cost of Maintenance and Transportation of German Subjects Convicted of Crimes in the American Zone of Occupation

commanding the U. S. troops of occupation on the Rhine, relative to the question of the cost of maintenance and transportation of German subjects convicted by proper tribunals and sentenced to confinement in the United States for grave offenses committed within the American zone of occupation.

At the suggestion of General Bliss the Commissioners decided that the question should be brought up by the American delegate on the Supreme Council.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/159

Minutes of the Daily Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary, October 2, 1919, 3:30 p. m.

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

Release of Messrs. Woolsey, Condon and Crocker

I. The Commissioners approved the release of Mr. Lester H. Woolsey, Lieutenant R. E. Condon and Mr. H. G. Crocker as stated in Memorandum 577.

D. S. M. for British, French and Italian Members of Budapest Mission

II. Memorandum 578 regarding a recommendation submitted by General Bandholtz that his British, French and Italian colleagues on the Interallied Mission to Budapest be awarded the American Distinguished Service Medal, was read.

At the suggestion of Mr. Polk, the Commissioners directed that the matter be held in abeyance for the time being.

De Salis' Report on Montenegro

III. Memorandum 579 with regard to the report on Montenegro submitted by the Count de Salis was read and noted by the Commissioners.

IV. A memorandum dated October 1st, addressed by Mr. McNeir to the Commissioners through the Secretary General, was read.

Commission Cars

The Commissioners approved the recommendation that eleven out of the forty-seven cars now in the service of the Mission be turned over to the Motor Transport Corps immediately.

The Commissioners desired that the question of possible further reduction in the number of Commission cars should be brought up for consideration some time after the sixth instant.

In this relation the Commissioners gave direction that no cars should be used for trips to the front or the devastated regions without their explicit permission.

V. Mr. Polk referred to the request which had been presented to him by Commander McLean for permission to return to the United States. The Commander had stated that his work could be taken over by the Army officer of whom he had spoken to Mr. Polk.

On this understanding, the Commissioners approved the release of Commander McLean.

Release of
Commander
McLean

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/160

*Minutes of the Meeting of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
October 7, 1919, 3:30 p. m.*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Commissioners discussed and approved a telegram to be sent by General Bliss to the Secretary of War with regard to the question referred by the Supreme Council to the Military Advisors at Versailles, relative to the furnishing of military supplies, ammuniton and rolling stock by the United States, France, Great Britain and Italy to Poland.

Supplies
for
Poland

II. Mr. Polk stated that he was more than satisfied that both the British and the French were doing everything possible to secure German trade. The main points of entry into Germany through the occupied territory were at Cologne and Mayence; also to a very much smaller extent, at Coblenz. In Mr. Polk's opinion it was highly desirable that the United States should have a Consular Officer at Coblenz who should be assigned there as commercial advisor. He knew that such an appointment would be very acceptable to Major General Allen, commanding the American forces of occupation on the Rhine. Mr. Polk also thought it desirable that the United States should have an official in a smaller capacity at Cologne, and suggested the name of Mr. Coffin. Mr. Polk stated that he would telegraph to the State Department in this regard.

Facilities
for American
Businessmen
To Enter
Germany

Mr. Polk stated further that he had spoken to General Allen with regard to the difficulties encountered by Americans proceeding to Germany through Cologne. General Allen had assured him that he would do everything possible to facilitate the entry of such Americans via Coblenz. In this connection Mr. Polk pointed out that our businessmen were at a considerable disadvantage as compared with the

British and French in view of the fact that Coblenz was not one of the main arteries into Germany.

III. Mr. White stated that he had learned from a reliable source that the British had completed contracts with Germany to supply the latter with oil. Mr. Polk questioned the truth of this report in view of the recent decision of the Supreme Council that the German oil tankers now at Hamburg should be used for their first voyage, and if necessary for a second voyage, to carry oil from the United States to Germany.

**British
Oil for
Germany**

**Effect of
Recent Ulti-
matums of the
Conference
in Germany**

IV. Mr. White stated that he had been informed by Mr. Bonsal, who had just returned from Germany, that in a conversation with Count Bernstorff,⁴¹ which took place in the Adlon Hotel in Berlin, Bernstorff had asked Bonsal to try and persuade the Conference not to send any more offensive notes. Bernstorff had claimed that the last note with regard to the withdrawal of the German forces in the Baltic Provinces had cost the German Government 200,000 votes.

V. Memorandum 580, on the subject of the release of Mr. Huguenin on duty with the Commission, and a memorandum submitted by him dated October 7 in this regard, was read. The Commissioners did not feel prepared to refuse Mr. Huguenin's request in this regard should he thereby run the risk of losing his permanent position in New York City as Professor of French. On the other hand, the Commissioners did not consider it wise to leave the translator's office with but one translator. They therefore directed that the Secretary General look into the matter, and should he find it necessary to release Mr. Huguenin, provision should be made to secure a suitable person to take his place.

**Release of
Mr. C. W.
Huguenin**

VI. A memorandum from Mr. McNeir to the Commissioners reporting the return of Dr. Bowman, and his assignment to the Commission by direction of the Secretary of State, was read and noted by the Commissioners.

**Return of
Dr. Bowman**

**Bulgarian
Protest to
the Cession
of Tzaribrod**

VII. Memorandum 581 with regard to Bulgarian opposition to the cession of Tzaribrod to Serbia was read and noted by the Commissioners.

VIII. The Commissioners approved the request presented by Colonel Logan and submitted in Memorandum 582 with regard to the assignment of rooms in the Crillon and the granting of dining-room privileges to Mr. White and Miss Stacey, assistants to Colonel Logan.

**Assistants [*Privi-
leges?*] for Clerical
Assistance [*Assist-
ants?*] to Col. Logan**

It was understood that the salaries of Mr. White and Miss Stacey would be defrayed by Colonel Logan as heretofore.

IX. Mr. White called attention to a communication addressed by the Bessarabian delegates, Kroupensky and Ch. Schmidt, to the

⁴¹ German Ambassador to the United States, 1908-1917.

Elections of
Bessarabia

President of the Peace Conference under date of September 26, 1919, with regard to certain actions of the Roumanian Government in Bessarabia, in particular to the compulsory participation in the parliamentary elections of Roumania which will shortly be held. Mr. White proposed that this matter should be brought up in the Supreme Council; a suggestion in which the Commissioners concurred.

X. The permission of the Commissioners was requested for the assignment of an automobile to Messieurs Welsh and Harris and perhaps two others from the Commission, for a trip to Germany, as set forth in Memorandum No. 583.

Request of
Messieurs
Welsh and
Harris for
Trip to
Germany

The Commissioners were unable to grant the permission requested but authorized the assignment of a car to Messrs. Welsh and Harris for a two-days' trip to the front on the understanding that at least three other members of the Commission would accompany them.

In this connection the Commissioners directed that Peace Commission cars should not be used for visits to German occupied territory, to Luxemburg, or to Belgium. Peace Commission cars, however, might be used for the purpose of visiting the front and places of principal interest, such as Verdun. These trips should preferably take place over Sundays as heretofore and should not exceed two days.

XI. The Commissioners saw no objection to granting the request submitted by General Bandholtz in his telegram No. 122 of October 5, 1919, for permission to visit Belgrade. It was desired, however, that the telegram in question should not be answered until after Sir George Clerk had been heard by the Supreme Council.

Visit of
General
Bandholtz to
Belgrade

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/161

*Minutes of the Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
October 8, 1919, 11 a. m.*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. Mr. Polk read a telegram which he proposed to send to the Secretary of State with regard to the question of furnishing supplies, ammunition and rolling stock for the Polish Army. He also

read a telegram which he was sending to the Secretary of State relative to the question of closing up the Commission and with regard to the various matters which might be turned over to the Embassy.

The Commissioners discussed briefly the situation in the Baltic Provinces and the nature of the reply to be made to the last German note. Mr. Polk directed the Secretary to endeavor to obtain a copy of the draft to be presented to the Supreme Council at the next meeting by Marshal Foch, in order that he might have time to examine it before the meeting.

Mr. Polk explained the nature of the telegram which he had sent to Mr. Dodge at Belgrade with regard to the settlement of the Fiume question. He had informed Mr. Dodge that the President's suggestion with regard to a buffer state included a provision whereby the inhabitants of the state, should they so desire, might make an appeal to the League of Nations for permission to hold a plebiscite. Mr. Dodge could therefore state to the Serbian Government that the ultimate disposition of the territory was left to the League of Nations. Mr. Dodge had also been instructed to volunteer the information to the Serbian Government orally that it was not for them to place any obstacle in the way of a settlement of the Fiume question, in view of the attitude of the President throughout the negotiations.

II. The Commissioners took note of a report submitted by Commander McLean, U. S. N., under date of October 2, with regard to the Medical Dispensary attached to the Commission, and the fact that Captain Whitmore, U. S. A., who has been attached to the Commission since September 1, 1919, would be in charge of the Dispensary after his departure.

III. Memorandum No. 584, with regard to a letter addressed to Mr. Clemenceau by the Austrian Peace Delegation regarding the danger of Jugo-Slav aggression in the Klagenfurt district in case of evacuation by the Italians was read. The Commission approved the first paragraph of the recommendation submitted in the memorandum under reference, to the effect that a copy of the letter in question be sent to the American Legation at Belgrade with instructions to bring the matter informally to the attention of the Jugo-Slav Government, expressing the unfortunate impression which would be created by any violation of the terms of the Treaty of Peace.

The suggestion contained in the second paragraph of the recommendation in question was disapproved.

Departure
of Commander
McLean; Captain
Whitmore in
Charge of
Medical
Dispensary

Danger of
Jugo-Slav
Aggression in
Klagenfurt
District

IV. The Commissioners approved the recommendation contained in Memorandum No. 585 to the effect that quarters and office space should not be provided in the Hotel Crillon for the members of General Harbord's Mission, but that if possible they be accommodated at 45 Avenue

Quarters
for General
Harbord's
Mission

Montaigne.

V. The Secretary read a confidential report prepared by Mr. Leeper of the British Delegation, who accompanied Sir George Clerk to Bucharest, with regard to the situation in Roumania and the Roumanian policy towards

The Roumanian
Situation

Hungary.

The Commissioners noted the report with interest.

VI. Mr. White called attention to and read certain extracts from a memorandum dated October 6th, submitted by Mr. W. H. Buckler regarding a conversation with Hain Nahum, Grand Rabbi of Turkey. The memorandum in question reads as follows:

Views of Hain
Nahum, Grand
Rabbi of
Turkey

"The Grand Rabbi, who has just arrived from Constantinople, emphasizes the importance of dealing immediately with the Turkish question and of not allowing it to be postponed for three or four months, as seems to be the present intention.

1. The dangers are (a) financial collapse of the Turkish Government and (b) increasing disorder in the interior of Asia Minor. The second of these is partly dependent on the first because the present poverty of the Turkish Government makes it impossible for them to keep an adequate *gendarmerie*.

The Government has hitherto maintained itself by selling large stocks of tobacco, wool and other materials acquired during the war. This source of ready money is now coming to an end, and there is practically no revenue owing to the fact that trade cannot revive and customs-duties depending on imports cannot be paid until peace is made. The comatose condition of the port of Smyrna and the impossibility of exporting the large surplus of this year's magnificent harvest are examples of the general financial paralysis.

Unless something is done, the result will be that thousands of government employees, police officers, army officers, etc. will go unpaid, they and their families will be starving, and complete disorganization with disorder is certain to follow. Constantinople is full of Bolshevik agents, and, notwithstanding the lethargy of the Turk, the Rabbi believes that Bolshevik propaganda will take root among the thousands of starving government officials who will crowd Constantinople during the coming winter.

2. The Grand Rabbi regards international control of Turkey under the League of Nations for a considerable period as the only feasible solution. A provisional arrangement, he thinks, could be made for Armenia, subject to the transferring of that province to the United States under a mandate, should the United States be willing to accept it.

The cutting up of the Turkish Empire by a series of "surgical operation" would have been possible at the time of the Armistice but is impossible now, and no peace can be expected unless Anatolia is

evacuated by Greeks and Italians. The movement under Mustafa Kemal is not aimed at Greek[s] or Armenians within the Ottoman Empire, on the contrary it appeals for their support. But it *is* aimed at stopping amputations from the Empire. It has an army of 40,000 good fighters capable of being largely increased, and it knows that the Allies will not send British, French or Italian soldiers to reconquer Turkey.

3. As to Smyrna, the Grand Rabbi (who expects to visit and to warn Venizelos) regards permanent Greek occupation as impossible but believes that local autonomy for Smyrna and its district, under a Greek governor but within the limits of the Empire, would work well and would be accepted by the Turks.

A prompt solution of the Smyrna question is urgently needed because the blocking of Turkey's chief seaport is ruinous to the Nation's finances, and because it stirs up revengeful bitterness even in the remotest corners of Anatolia.

4. If the Allied Powers will not discuss a permanent Turkish settlement until the American attitude on mandates is known, the Grand Rabbi thinks that a *provisional regime* should be agreed upon, under which the Turks would receive advances of money enabling them to pay current salaries and expenses, subject to some joint foreign control.

Unless immediate steps of this kind are taken by the Supreme Council, the Grand Rabbi regards increasing disorder and chaos in Turkey as inevitable."

Paris Peace Conf. 184.00101/162

*Minutes of the Meetings of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary,
October 9, 1919, 11 a. m.*

Present:

MR. POLK
MR. WHITE
GENERAL BLISS
MR. HARRISON

I. The Commissioners discussed the question of the disposition of the German tank ships now in Hamburg and in particular the last telegram from the Department in regard thereto. Mr. Polk undertook to telegraph Mr. Lansing personally expressing the Commissioners' views in the matter.

Mr. Polk gave an account of a conversation which he had had with M. di Martino of the Italian Delegation with regard to the Adriatic question. It seemed that there was now hope of reaching a settlement, although some of the latest Italian demands were not deemed acceptable. It was decided that Mr. White should invite M. di Martino to call upon him in order to explain the Italian proposition in further detail. The Commissioners also agreed as to the attitude which Mr. White should assume with regard to certain of the Italian demands.

II. Telegram No. 585 of October 3d from the American Minister at Warsaw was read with regard to the appointment of a subordinate Consular officer to be assigned as assistant to Captain Abele, U. S. N., at Danzig.

Appointment
of a Subordinate
Consular
Officer to
Danzig

In view of the fact that Mr. Huddle's transfer to the Consulate General in Paris had been recommended by Consul-General Totten and submitted to the Department, the Commissioners did not approve the assignment of Mr. Macatee to Danzig as suggested by Mr. Gibson.

The Commissioners, however, approved in principle the recommendation made by Mr. Gibson in the telegram under reference and directed that the matter should be referred to the Department of State with their endorsement.

III. Dispatch No. 400 of September 23d, addressed by the American Chargé d'Affaires at Bucarest to the Department of State with regard to Sir George Clerk's visit to that city was read and noted by the Commissioners.

Visit of Sir
George Clerk
to Bucarest

IV. The Commissioners approved the suggestion contained in Memorandum No. 586 that a list of the officers who have been on duty with the Commission should be sent to the Secretary of War together with a copy of the form letter of appreciation of services rendered addressed to them by the Commissioners and accompanied by a suggestion from the Commission that a notation in that regard be made on the records of the officers in question.

Commissioners'
Letters of
Appreciation
To Be Placed
on Records
of Army
Officers

V. Telegram No. 3359 of October 6 from the Secretary of State approving the immediate appointment of an American representative on the Interallied Teschen Commission and suggesting that the appointment be made from Paris, was read. The following names were suggested by the Secretary General of the Commission for the consideration of the Commissioners: General Jadwin, General McCoy, General Sladen, Colonel Bowditch and Colonel Greene. General Bliss suggested the name of General Bandholtz.

American
Appointee on
Teschen
Plebiscite
Commission

Mr. Polk recalled the fact that the French had appointed a civilian representative, M. de Manneville, and that when the matter had come up in the Supreme Council it had been suggested that civilians only should be appointed to the Commission. It was his understanding that the British would appoint a civilian and he was therefore inclined to think it desirable that the American appointee should be a civilian.

The Commissioners directed that the Secretary General should make recommendations in this regard as soon as possible.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS OF THE STEERING
COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION

MINUTES OF MEETINGS OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/1

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 1, 1919, at 9 a. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT
COLONEL U. S. GRANT
PROFESSOR JOHNSON
MR. J. F. DULLES
MR. HERTER

Dr. James Brown Scott was unanimously elected Chairman of the Committee.

The questions which were considered by the Committee were:

- (1) The present status of the Conditions of Peace with Austria.
- (2) The machinery which should be created for considering the counter proposals submitted by the Austrian Delegation.
- (3) Whether or not the concessions which were made in the Conditions of Peace with Germany should, in so far as applicable, be made in the Conditions of Peace with Austria.
- (4) What time limit should be given to the Austrian Delegation within which to submit counter proposals.
- (5) What matters were still outstanding in regard to the Conditions of Peace with Austria.
- (6) The form in which proportions of the Austrian-Hungarian indebtedness should be assumed by the new states receiving a part of the old Austria-Hungarian territory.

It was decided:

- (1) That Mr. Herter report to the Commissioners that the Conditions of Peace with Austria had been completely determined upon, but that the sections dealing with financial, reparation, military, Italian political and Klagenfurt matters were still in the course of drafting and had not yet been submitted to the Austrian delegation.
- (2) That it will be advisable for the Council of Ten or the Council of Five to adopt at its next meeting, resolutions in accordance with the attached papers.
- (3) That the next meeting of the Committee should be held on July 2nd at 2:00 PM.

The Committee adjourned at 10:00 AM.

Unfinished Business

Memorandum addressed to Commissioners Robert Lansing, Henry White, E. M. House and Gen. T. H. Bliss by Professors Clive Day

and A. C. Coolidge requesting definite answers to certain specific questions regarding the Near East.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/2

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 2, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT
 COLONEL U. S. GRANT
 PROFESSOR JOHNSON
 MR. HARRISON
 MR. J. F. DULLES
 MR. HERTER

The Minutes of the Meeting of July 1 were considered.

Mr. Dulles suggested that No. 6 of the questions which had been discussed should more properly read as follows:

“The form in which contributions towards the cost of the war should be made by States acquiring territory of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was discussed. It was decided that a formal convention should be drafted by the experts, and after drafting should be submitted for approval to the Supreme Council.”

The suggestion was likewise made and approved, that in the future the minutes should be so drafted as to bring into juxtaposition questions which were discussed, together with the decisions reached in each case.

The questions which were considered by the Committee were:

1. The attitude which should be assumed by members of the American Commission towards the Bulgarian and Turkish Treaties. It was decided that the following question should be put up to the Commissioners:

“It being understood that the American representatives are not attending some of the meetings of the Commissions on the subjects relating to the Treaties with Bulgaria and Turkey, the opinion of the Commissioners is desired as to whether our experts should not attend all such meetings and participate fully in the preparatory work for these treaties. If decided that they shall participate in such meetings, we recommend that instructions be issued to that effect.”

2. A memorandum to the Commissioners from Professors Day and Coolidge requesting that certain questions be answered in regard to the Near East. It was decided that this matter should be brought to the attention of the Commissioners, with the recommendation that it be referred to a Special Committee, and we suggest for consideration as members the following:

Dr. Johnson,
Prof. Coolidge,
Mr. Buckler,
Mr. Dominian.

3. The matter of preparing a list of outstanding business. It was decided that the following statement should be made in regard to this matter to the Commissioners:

The following subjects appear to require prompt action, and as far as the Committee knows, have not been definitely settled:

(a) The appointment of Commissions of Control, etc, called for to execute the terms of the Treaty of Peace with Germany as shown in the accompanying list (Appendix 1).¹

(b) It is suggested that the Commission may decide to designate a Committee to ascertain the desirability of designating Americans to do some preliminary work in anticipation of the definite establishment of Commissions required by the Treaty. In many cases the labors of these Commissions will be such, and the time within which they are to accomplish their work so short, that unless some preliminary work is done for them, it will be difficult to execute the intended treaty.

4. Whether or not the United States had as yet adopted a Russian policy. It was decided that the following recommendation be submitted to the Commissioners:

"It is recommended that the policy of the United States in regard to Russia and the countries formed from the old Russian Empire should be confidentially circulated among the assistants to the Commission for their guidance."

5. The action of the Italian authorities in Fiume. It was decided that Professor Johnson should gather the facts in regard to this whole question and prepare a memorandum for the Commissioners, suggesting that it be placed on the minutes of the Council of Five for a decision at the earliest possible moment.

The Meeting adjourned at 3:10 PM.

Dr. Scott left the Meeting at 2:50 PM.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/3

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 3, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT
PROF. JOHNSON
MR. DULLES
MR. HERTER

¹ The list referred to does not accompany the file copy of the minutes.

Colonel Grant was absent owing to having to attend a meeting at Versailles at 3:00 PM today. Mr. Harrison stated that he was obliged to attend a meeting at the Quai d'Orsay at 2:30 PM. and he was, therefore, unable to attend.

1. Mr. Herter reported the action taken by the Commissioners on the recommendations which had been approved on the previous day by the Steering Committee.² The Committee felt that this action was sufficiently gratifying to have already justified its existence.

2. Dr. Scott made a short report of the recent work of the Drafting Committee, indicating that all the material was now in the hands of that Committee to enable it to complete the conditions of Peace with Austria. The only outstanding point was the settlement of the Italian-Yugo-Slav controversy over Fiume, which had been taken care of in the Conditions of Peace by a general blanket clause.

3. Mr. Dulles submitted the following recommendation for the consideration of the Committee:

"The Committee recommends to the Commissioners, as a matter of internal procedure, that all persons attached to the Commission, who are working in a responsible position on Peace matters, be afforded the opportunity of meeting with the Commissioners from time to time, for the purpose of a general exchange of information and views as to current matters.

"It is further suggested that if such meetings are held, advantage be taken of the first of these meetings to refer to the formation of the 'Steering Committee' and to make clear that it deals only with matters of procedure, and not with substantive matters of policy."

The Committee approved of this recommendation and requested that it be brought to the attention of the Commissioners at the next meeting.

4. The Committee considered a memorandum prepared by Dr. Lord on some documents sent to Mr. Lansing regarding the rectification of the Polish-Czecho-Slovak frontier to include the districts of Spiz and Orawa. The Committee decided that a recommendation should be made to the Commissioners to the effect that if the Teschen question is to be brought up in the Council of Five in the near future, the matter of this frontier rectification might be put on the agenda at the same time; if, however, the question of Teschen is to be left in the hope that the Poles and Czechs will come to an agreement upon it, this question of rectification of the frontier should be made a separate matter to be placed on the agenda of the Council of Five at an early date.

5. Dr. Scott referred to Mr. Dulles for an expression of opinion the revised draft of the Reparation and Financial clauses.

6. The Committee decided not to meet on July 4th nor on July 5th unless pressing business should require a meeting on the latter date.

7. The meeting adjourned at 2:45 PM.

² *Ante*, p. 265.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/4

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 9, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT

PROF. JOHNSON

MR. J. F. DULLES

MR. C. A. HERTER

The following questions were considered:

1. In what manner the final drafting of the treaties with Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria could be hastened. It was decided that the following recommendations on this point should be brought to the attention of the Commissioners:

(a) That the Council of Five fix the date for the delivery to it by the Drafting Committee of the Treaty with Bulgaria. This matter should be placed immediately on the agenda of the Council and the necessary instructions given to the different committees and commissions.

(b) That the attention of the Council of Five be called to the fact that certain of the principal Allied and Associated Powers have not yet designated delegates to sit on the committees (particularly the Reparations Committee) which are to prepare certain clauses of the Treaties with Bulgaria and Hungary, and that the absence of such delegates is preventing the prosecution of the work of the committees.

(c) That in the event that the preparation of the frontiers of Hungary have not been confided to any committee, that steps be taken immediately to this end.

2. The drafting of bi-lateral treaties between the United States and new States recognized by the different Treaties of Peace. This matter was brought up for consideration because of the fact that it was found that the British Government had already in the course of preparation certain bi-lateral treaties of a commercial and economic nature with the Polish government.

It was decided that the following recommendations should be made:

(a) That Mr. Nielsen be requested to consider the propriety of concluding:

- (1) Diplomatic and consular,
- (2) Commercial and economic,
- (3) Nationality,
- (4) Extradition,

conventions with all of the new States recognized by the Conference, and to ascertain and report the steps taken by other delegations to this end.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/5

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 10, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT

PROF. JOHNSON

MR. J. F. DULLES

MR. L. HARRISON

1. Mr. Harrison reported the action taken by the Commissioners on the recommendations which had been approved on the previous day by the Steering Committee, and in regard to question (a) of yesterday's minutes, the following was agreed upon:

(a) That the Secretary-General of the Conference shall take the necessary steps to insure that the Drafting Committee shall be in position to deliver to the Council the clauses of the Treaty with Bulgaria by July 25th.

2. In regard to question (b) of yesterday's minutes, Mr. Dulles stated that the British have named Mr. Peel on the Reparations Committee.

3. It was agreed that the question of the remaining portion of the frontier between Hungary and Yugo-Slavia should be placed on the agenda for the Council of Five.

4. In regard to the question brought up in the second paragraph of yesterday's minutes, Mr. Harrison stated that the Commission has approved that Mr. Nielsen be requested to consider the propriety of concluding conventions with all the new States recognized by the Conference.

5. The Session adjourned at 2:50 PM.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/6

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 11, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT

COL. U. S. GRANT III

1. As there was not a full attendance at the meeting no questions were discussed.

2. The members of the Committee are respectfully requested to inform the Chairman in advance of their inability to be present so that if it proves impossible to have a quorum present, the other members can be notified in advance that there will be no meeting.

3. The meeting adjourned at 2:20 PM.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/7

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 12, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present :

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT
COL. U. S. GRANT
PROF. JOHNSON
MR. L. HARRISON
MR. J. F. DULLES

1. The following resolutions were made :

(a) It is recommended that the following resolution be sent by the Secretary-General of the Commission to persons involved or likely to be interested in it :

“Attention is called to the fact that there is sitting, under the authority of the Supreme Council, a Committee on the Execution of the Treaty with Germany. This Committee is taking up those provisions of the Treaty which require prompt executive action and is recommending to the Supreme Council the procedure to be followed, and, in case[s] where the Treaty is ambiguous, is recommending an agreed interpretation of the Treaty.

“Persons desiring to have any subject of interest to the United States placed on the Agenda, or who feel that the interests of the United States require a particular construction or procedure under the Treaty, are requested to communicate with Mr. John Foster Dulles, the American member of the Committee in question.”

(b) The Committee recommends that an organization chart or diagram be prepared and distributed to all the members of the Committee for their information and guidance.

(c) It was moved and seconded that the Commissioners be requested to detail Mr. A. W. Dulles as permanent Secretary of the Steering Committee.

2. The meeting adjourned at 2:40 PM.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/8

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 15, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present :

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT
COL. U. S. GRANT
PROF. JOHNSON
MR. HARRISON
MR. J. F. DULLES

1. The Committee recommends that the American Commission urge the Council of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, to hand the

complete Treaty to the Austrian Delegation, with the understanding that corrections have not yet been made which may result from negotiations now going on. If this be considered impracticable, it is recommended that so much of the treaty as has not already been given to them, and as can be given to them, be handed to them immediately.

2. The meeting adjourned at 2:35 PM.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/9

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 17, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT
COL. U. S. GRANT
PROF. JOHNSON
MR. J. F. DULLES
MR. L. HARRISON
MR. A. W. DULLES (*Secretary*)

1. It is recommended that the Secretary, (Mr. A. W. Dulles) be requested to prepare a statement of the progress in the preparation of the Bulgarian Treaty, arranged under the different heads.

2. It is recommended that the Secretary-General draw up and issue subject to the approval of the Commissioners, an organization diagram for the information and guidance of all the personnel engaged in work in connection with the Commission.

3. For the information of the Commissioners, it is stated that the British delegation is opposed to countries not at war with Bulgaria being signatory to the treaty. It appears that this may be due to the fact that the American Delegation has opposed the annexation of Bulgarian Thrace to Greece.

The meeting adjourned at 2:40 PM.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/10

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 18, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT
COLONEL U. S. GRANT
PROFESSOR JOHNSON
MR. LELAND HARRISON
MR. J. F. DULLES
MR. A. W. DULLES (*Secretary*)

1. Doctor Scott reported that the French Secretariat General had requested the Drafting Committee to insert a clause in the Austrian Treaty prohibiting the fortification of the territory granted Czechoslovakia south of Pressburg. The Drafting Committee had received no instructions in this regard from the Supreme Council and therefore hesitated to take action. Mr. A. W. Dulles stated that as the territory concerned was taken from Hungary and not from Austria it appeared more appropriate to provide against its fortification in the treaty with Hungary rather than in the Austrian treaty. The Supreme Council had as a matter of fact approved the report of the Committee which provided for the cession of this territory to Czechoslovakia under the condition that it should not be fortified.

Doctor Johnson inquired what precautions were taken to prevent clauses being slipped into the Austrian Treaty without the approval of the Supreme Council. Doctor Scott replied that each delegate on the Drafting Committee was personally responsible in any case where there was the slightest doubt, such as the above instance, to inquire of his delegation before accepting it in the treaty.

2. Doctor Scott reported to Doctor Johnson that all slight alterations in the territorial clauses of the Austrian Treaty which he had indicated had been incorporated in the final proof by the Drafting Committee with two exceptions which Doctor Scott mentioned and to which no exception was taken.

3. It was noted that a number of Committees had finished their reports on sections of Bulgarian Treaty but that the Supreme Council had not considered these reports. Mr. A. W. Dulles was instructed to prepare a report for the Commissioners with a view to having these matters presented to the Supreme Council at the earliest possible moment in case the Commissioners approved.

4. Mr. J. F. Dulles inquired regarding point 3 of the minutes of the meeting of July 7 [17] concerning the attitude of the British Delegation on the United States' being a signatory to the Treaty with Bulgaria which had been discussed in his absence. He stated that while in his opinion a certain group of the British delegation took this attitude there was another group which desired American participation and he cited the instance of the British representative on the Reparations Commission.

5. Mr. A. W. Dulles read the summary of the state of preparation of the Bulgarian Treaty which was approved with certain corrections and he was instructed to circulate it to the Commissioners, for distribution to the other persons interested, in case the Commissioners approved.

6. It was recommended that the Commissioners request the Supreme Council to have prepared a list of all countries technically and legally at war with Bulgaria.

The meeting adjourned at 2:45 P. M.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/11

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 19, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT

COLONEL U. S. GRANT

MR. J. F. DULLES

MR. A. W. DULLES (*Secretary*)

1. With regard to the summary of the stage of preparation of the Bulgarian Treaty, Dr. Scott reported that section 10 in regard to Aerial Navigation has been completed, approved by the Drafting Committee and put in final form in the Treaty. Colonel Grant pointed out that these clauses were contained in recommendation of the Military, Naval and Air representatives of June 5.

2. The Committee discussed the question of full powers for the signing of the Bulgarian Treaty and decided to invite the attention of the Commissioners to the desirability of determining immediately and before the arrival of the Bulgarian delegation on July 25 what countries are to sign the Bulgarian Treaty, if it is to be signed by the American Commissioners and if so what Commissioners are to sign it. The Committee recommends that the necessary steps be taken to have the credentials of the American Commissioners in due form for exchange with the Bulgarians upon their arrival, if the American Commissioners are to sign.

3. Dr. Scott reported regarding difficulty which he had previously experienced in making rapid progress with the work of the Drafting Committee. He stated however that on his recommendation the Drafting Committee had agreed to continue their work on the Bulgarian Treaty taking as guides the treaties with Germany and Austria and also working into final form clauses based upon unanimous reports of Committees, pending the approval of these reports by the Supreme Council, in order that if these reports were approved the Treaty clauses would be completed.

4. Mr. J. F. Dulles called attention to a question which had arisen in drawing up an authoritative interpretation of the Rhineland Convention. He stated that as the Convention was official in both French and English he had taken the position that an authoritative interpretation should also be in these two languages. Mr. Dulles added that although this position had met with some opposition by Mr. Clemenceau it had been finally accepted by the Supreme Council.

5. The Committee after some discussion of the question of the Treaty clauses decided to call the attention of the Commissioners to the desirability of determining the language or languages to be used in the treaties with the new States, in the Treaty with Bulgaria and in the

arrangements of protocols that may be drafted to complete these treaties. While these treaties would necessarily be drafted and signed in French and English and possibly Italian the Committee felt it was desirable that the text in one language should be accepted as a standard in case of divergence. In the Austrian Treaty this language was French. Secretary Lansing, before leaving, expressed to Dr. Scott the desirability that the French text should as in the case of the Austrian Treaty, prevail in case of divergence.

6. Dr. Scott requested that six copies of the German Edition of the Treaty of Peace as ratified at Weimar on July 9, 1919, containing the instrument of ratification, which were printed by the German Government, be obtained.

The meeting adjourned at 2:45 P. M.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/12

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 21, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT
COLONEL U. S. GRANT
DR. DOUGLAS JOHNSON
MR. LELAND HARRISON
MR. J. F. DULLES
MR. A. W. DULLES, *Secretary*

1. Dr. Scott stated that he had been informed by the British representative on the Drafting Committee that Mr. Balfour was insistent that the Treaties with Bulgaria and Hungary should be finished by August 15 at the latest.

2. Dr. Scott reported that the Austrian Treaty had been handed in on Sunday, the Austrians being given copies in three languages, French, English and Italian. They will have ten days in which to file their reply.

3. Dr. Scott stated that the Drafting Committee was at present working on the Economic clauses of the Bulgarian Treaty.

4. With reference to the question raised by Mr. J. F. Dulles regarding the reply of the Allies to the German note on The Rhineland Convention, Dr. Scott reported that the Drafting Committee had decided not to make use of the phrase "Imperial" in the Allied reply as the translation of the German "Reich" but to use the phrase "of the Empire". A first proof of the Allied reply, as corrected by the Drafting Committee, would be submitted to Mr. J. F. Dulles for approval.

5. Mr. J. F. Dulles reported that satisfactory progress was now being made on the Reparation clauses for the Bulgarian Treaty. There was one question which had not been settled, namely: Whether the United States was to be represented on the Bulgarian Reparations Commission. Mr. Dulles stated that he was drafting a telegram of inquiry from the Commission to the President in regard to such representation.

6. Dr. Johnson reported that a number of documents had been brought to his attention showing that the Yugo-Slavs had failed to carry out the order of the Allies regarding the evacuation of Klagenfurt. Mr. Harrison reported that this question had been put upon the agenda of the Supreme Council for the meeting of the 21st.

7. Mr. Harrison reported that two questions which had been brought to the attention of the Commissioners by the Steering Committee, namely: That of full powers for the signing of the Bulgarian Treaty and as to whether Colonel House would be one of the signers—had been discussed and telegrams had been drafted to cover them. As regards the language to be used in the treaties to be prepared with the New States and with Bulgaria and Hungary, Mr. Harrison desired information why the question had been raised by the Committee as he thought the precedent set by the Austrian treaty, in which the French language was to be authoritative in case of divergence, was to be followed in other treaties to be prepared. Dr. Scott stated that the question had been raised because of the objection of the British Delegate on the Drafting Committee to accepting this method of procedure.

9 [*sic*]. Mr. J. F. Dulles inquired exactly what action was being taken regarding the preparation of the Turkish Treaty. He added that in view of the probability that the Financial Liquidation of Turkish affairs would require many months, he did not feel that he could in any way become involved in this task. Mr. Harrison reported that when the President left for America, it was understood that the preparation of the Turkish Treaty would be delayed pending determination of America's attitude regarding a Mandate; that the President has subsequently telegraphed that as there might be considerable delay before he could give the final answer in this regard, he suggested that the Conference go ahead with the preparation of the Treaty; that this reply was referred to the Supreme Council which had reached the conclusion that it would be impossible to proceed with the Treaty until America's attitude was known, but that in the meantime every effort would be made to preserve peace in the Turkish Empire. This opinion of the Supreme Council has been referred to the President, and no reply has yet been received from him.

10. Mr. A. W. Dulles stated that it was suggested to him that it might be desirable to confidentially circulate the minutes of the Steer-

ing Committee to the persons at the weekly meetings of the Commissioners. The meeting approved of this being done, and directed the Secretary to make the necessary arrangements.

The meeting adjourned at 2:35 P. M.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/13

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 22, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT
PROFESSOR DOUGLAS JOHNSON
COLONEL U. S. GRANT
MR. J. F. DULLES
MR. L. HARRISON
MR. A. W. DULLES (*Secretary*)

1. Dr. Scott reported that the Drafting Committee had almost finished the Economic Clauses for the Bulgarian Treaty. Certain provisions regarding the maintenance of the Capitulations led him to believe that the United States had not taken a very active part in the preparation of these clauses. He had therefore brought the matter to the attention of Mr. Nielsen.

2. Dr. Scott reported that the Committee on Responsibilities had held a final session on the report for the Bulgarian Treaty, and adopted a draft similar to the previous reports of the Commission, with the same reserves on behalf of the United States and on behalf of Japan. This report will shortly go to the Council for consideration.

3. Mr. Harrison reported that Mr. White had suggested that the Supreme Council consider the reports of Committees on the Military, Naval and Air clauses, the Economic Clauses, and the Ports, Waterways and Railroad Clauses for the Bulgarian Treaty. Mr. Balfour had replied that he considered it useless to take up these matters until the question of Bulgarian frontiers had been settled.

4. Mr. Dulles inquired whether the Drafting Committee had received a draft agreement regarding the share of Austrian debt to be assumed by the states receiving Territory from the old Monarchy. Dr. Scott reported that this had been received and that he and his French and British colleagues had considered that it was in a form which would require little alteration. The Italian delegate had objected to accepting it and no progress could be made. Mr. Dulles stated that the form of Italian participation in Austrian financial obligations had been considered again and again in committee and in every case the final assent of the Italian delegate had been obtained. He could not therefore understand on what ground the Italian delegate

in the Drafting Committee could raise objection. The Committee suggested that Mr. Dulles discuss the matter informally in Commission and ascertain the reason for the present objection of the Italians. The Committee was of the opinion that if such informal discussion could not clear up the difficulty it would be necessary to refer the matter to the Commissioners with a view to its being discussed by the Supreme Council.

5. Mr. Dulles stated that he had received a number of inquiries as to whether President Wilson has sent any reply to the inquiry regarding the blockade of Russia. He therefore desired to know whether Mr. White had communicated to the Supreme Council the substance of the President's telegram.⁴ Mr. Harrison stated that Mr. White had not yet done this but that he would bring it to his attention in order that the necessary information might be given to the Allies.

The meeting adjourned at 2:35 P. M.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/14

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 24, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT
 COLONEL U. S. GRANT
 PROF. DOUGLAS JOHNSON
 MR. LELAND HARRISON
 MR. J. F. DULLES
 MR. A. W. DULLES (*Secretary*)

1. Mr. Harrison reported that there was to be no afternoon meeting of the Supreme Council (July 24th).

2. Mr. Harrison reported that the Supreme Council had decided to inform the Yugo-Slavs that the Council's order relative to the evacuation of Klagenfurt must be carried out. They were to be given a receipt for the arms and ammunition which they had captured and which were to be left in the possession of Allied officers.

The Committee discussed the desirability of recommending to the Commissioners a possible successor to Colonel Riggs who was returning to Paris from Klagenfurt. In view of the fact that the situation had materially changed since the President had sent Colonel Riggs to Klagenfurt to supervise the carrying out of the Armistice, the Committee did not deem it necessary to recommend any action to replace Colonel Riggs.

3. Mr. Dulles reported that the Financial and Reparation clauses for the Bulgarian Treaty would be completed on the 25th.

⁴ Telegram No. 2594, July 18, 1919, noon, *Foreign Relations*, 1919, Russia, p. 153.

4. Dr. Johnson reported that the Yugo-Slav and Rumanian Territorial Committee had considered a number of proposed modifications of the northern frontier of Yugo-Slavia and had rejected all of the Yugo-Slav claims with one slight exception. The frontier between Yugo Slavia on the one hand and Rumania and Hungary on the other could now be considered settled as far as the territorial experts were concerned. It only remained for the Supreme Council to consider the report of the experts.

5. The question of the American attitude on the signing of the Bulgarian Treaty was discussed at length. The committee recognized that there might be some ambiguity in the wording of the President's telegraph reply that the United States would be "Bound by the Treaty". The specific statements of President to Dr. Scott, Mr. J. F. Dulles and others of the Commission that America would be a signatory power and would be bound by the Treaty, were however, in the judgment of the Committee, sufficient to permit the American delegation to proceed on the supposition that America would sign the Treaty. Dr. Scott agreed to write Mr. White a statement of his conversation with the President on this question during which the latter had told him very specifically that the United States would be included as one of the contracting parties and would sign the treaty. Mr. Harrison inquired whether the President realized in making this statement that he was reversing the attitude previously taken when he had instructed American representatives, in dealing with Bulgarian affairs, to be present at Committee meetings but not to take any active part in the preparation of the Treaty. Mr. Dulles replied that the President had stated very clearly to him that he realized that in deciding to sign the Treaty he was altering the position he had previously taken on this point. Dr. Scott added that in his conversation with the President he had pointed out to him the broader questions involved in the signing of the Treaty which the President had noted so that there could be no misunderstanding as to his attitude in the matter at the time he left for America.

6. Dr. Scott stated that Mr. Beer was anxious to proceed as soon as possible to the signing of the Convention regarding "Traffic in Arms" which was practically completed. Dr. Scott inquired whether in Mr. Harrison's opinion this convention as well as the "Air convention", which Mr. Lansing had taken with him to the United States, might not be signed with a provision regarding ratification or later adherence to the Convention as far as the United States was concerned. Mr. Harrison stated that as far as the Arms Traffic Convention was concerned he did not see why it could not be telegraphed in full to the United States as soon as completed and, if approved, full power issued the American Commissioners to sign it. As regards the Air Convention Mr. Lansing had doubted whether he had full powers to

sign the Convention and in any case did not wish it to be hurried through until the American reservations have been carefully considered and The Convention submitted to the interested parties in America. Mr. Harrison saw no reason why it could not be signed at a later date and at the same time, possibly, as the Bulgarian and Hungarian Treaties.

7. The Committee decided to ask Mr. Dulles to inquire of Mr. Grew whether he could find time to meet with the Steering Committee. The Committee felt that Mr. Grew's presence would greatly facilitate its discussions and its recommendations to the Commissions regarding the work of the American Delegation.

The meeting adjourned at 2:40 P. M.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/15

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 25, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT
 MR. J. C. GREW
 COLONEL U. S. GRANT
 PROFESSOR JOHNSON
 MR. LELAND HARRISON
 MR. J. F. DULLES
 MR. A. W. DULLES (*Secretary*)

1. Mr. Harrison read the agenda of the afternoon's meeting of the Supreme Council. He stated that a special item was to be added, namely, the situation in Hungary, regarding which Mr. Hoover had just received important information which he desired to communicate to the Council.

2. Dr. Scott showed to the Committee copies of the German official editions of the peace treaty, as well as special pamphlets noting the changes which had been made in the original draft presented to the Germans. Dr. Scott suggested that the appropriate experts should look over this German edition of the treaty and compare it with the official text and also ascertain whether the translation was an accurate reproduction of the English and French text. Dr. Scott felt that it might be of value to point out to the Germans any errors either in text or translation of this text which the government was printing. Mr. Harrison stated that in his opinion by indicating corrections we might in some way make ourselves responsible for the accuracy of the remainder of the text, and that it would be safer to rely exclusively upon the official copy in the French Foreign Office, signed and ratified, as the standard in case any dispute arose as to the accuracy of any text.

3. Dr. Scott reported that Mr. Hurst, the British member of the Drafting Committee, had inquired regarding Bulgarian frontiers and had expressed the hope that the Americans would not insist on their attitude. He stated to Dr. Scott that he understood that Italy had abandoned its support of the American position. Dr. Johnson replied that Castoldi, the Italian representative on the committee studying Bulgarian claims, had recently informed him that rumors that Italy had changed its attitude regarding Western Thrace were incorrect.

4. Dr. Scott stated that he had further evidence of the impatience of the British to finish the work of the Conference as rapidly as possible. He added that he was informed that Mr. Balfour intended to serve notice that he was leaving on the 15th of August. A further rumor had reached him that the British were threatening to make a motion that the Conference adjourn on the 15th to reassemble in London 15 days later, in case the French did not hurry up the general action of the Conference.

5. Dr. Scott reported that the drafting committee had received certain general instructions from the former Big Four regarding the drafting of the Hungarian Treaty, and that in his opinion almost one-half of the treaty was ready to be put into final form. He inquired whether in the opinion of the committee it would be best for action to be taken in order that the drafting committee might work on the Hungarian treaty or whether it would be best to finish the treaties regarding the New States. The committee felt it would be preferable to take the latter course of action which made no special recommendation to the Commissioners necessary.

6. Dr. Scott inquired whether completion of the Bulgarian treaty could not be hastened by arriving at a formula under which Bulgaria would agree to accept such southern frontiers as the principal Allied and Associated Powers might subsequently indicate. The Committee pointed out that such a solution would not make it possible for any final decision to be reached regarding either the provisions on Ports and Waterways or the Economic clauses and that therefore it really seemed essential to definitely decide Bulgaria's southern frontiers before the treaty could be put into shape for presentation.

7. The Committee discussed a provision which had crept into a draft of the Bulgarian treaty providing for American representation on the commission which would determine the fate of Bulgarian prisoners of war. It was understood that the attitude of General Bliss was that the United States should not be represented on this commission.

8. Just as the meeting was breaking up and when no quorum was present, Mr. J. F. Dulles brought up the question of the advisability of showing the draft of the Bulgarian treaty to the Jugo-Slavs,

Roumanians, and Greeks before its presentation to the Bulgarians. Mr. Dulles felt that the most satisfactory method of doing this would be for the various committees to call the representatives of these states and discuss with them the portions of the Bulgarian treaty which the committee concerned had drafted. It seemed best to take up this question at the next meeting of the Steering Committee with a view to a definite recommendation to the Commissioners.

The Meeting adjourned at 2:45 P. M.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/16

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 26, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT
 MR. LELAND HARRISON
 COL. U. S. GRANT
 PROF. DOUGLAS JOHNSON
 MR. J. F. DULLES
 MR. A. W. DULLES (*Secretary*)

1. Mr. Harrison reported a statement by Mr. Balfour that he expected that the Bulgarian Treaty could be finished up by August 10.

2. Dr. Scott stated that he felt that the Steering Committee had largely finished the work for which it had originally been formed, and suggested that in the future meetings should be held on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, at the same time—2 P. M.—rather than daily. The Committee unanimously accepted Dr. Scott's suggestion with the amendment that the Chairman should call special meetings at any time it might seem advisable to him.

3. Dr. Johnson reported that he had taken up the questions regarding the Balkans and Turkey which had been referred to the Committee consisting of Prof. Coolidge, Mr. Buckler and himself and he was able to report that the majority of the questions had already been answered or, where necessary, had already been referred to the President and the Department of State for decision.

4. The Committee discussed the situation with regard to The Dobrudja and Bessarabia. Dr. Johnson suggested that the two questions might be taken up with Roumania at the same time with the suggestion that Roumania's aspiration in Bessarabia might be satisfied in case she would consent to certain concessions in The Dobrudja.

5. Mr. Dulles called the attention of the meeting to a question he had raised at yesterday's meeting regarding communicating the Bulgarian Treaty to the small States directly interested—Servia, Roumania and Greece—previous to handing it to the Bulgarians. The

Committee unanimously approved of Mr. Dulles's suggestion that it was advisable to take such action and deemed that Mr. Dulles's proposal, that the various Committees should ask the representatives of these States to meet with them, was the most feasible way of communicating the various parts of the Treaty. Mr. Harrison suggested that it might be desirable to suggest to Mr. White the advisability of bringing up the matter at the afternoon meeting of the Council.

6. Mr. Dulles reported that instructions had been received from the President that the United States was not to be represented on the Bulgarian Reparations Commission.

7. Dr. Scott reported that it was the desire of the Commissioners that the United States should not be represented on the Commission dealing with Bulgarian prisoner questions. The Committee agreed that in view of the Commissioners' desire it would be well for Dr. Scott to take this matter up at an early meeting of the Drafting Committee and cause the wording of the Treaty to be revised accordingly.

8. Mr. A. W. Dulles reported that Mr. Polk was expected to arrive in Paris on Tuesday and inquired whether the Committee had any further suggestions to make regarding preparations for his arrival. Mr. Dulles added that Mr. Grew desired an expression of opinion from the Committee whether any notification to the French authorities seemed necessary in addition to the letter which he had already addressed to Mr. Dutasta. The Committee felt that it would be quite proper to enquire of Mr. White whether he thought it best to make a short statement in the Supreme Council regarding Mr. Polk's arrival.

The meeting adjourned at 2:30 P. M.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/17

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, July 29, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT

DR. DOUGLAS JOHNSON

MR. J. F. DULLES

MR. A. W. DULLES (*Secretary*)

1. Dr. Scott inquired whether any further action could be taken to speed up work on the Bulgarian Treaty. He suggested certain formulae which might be employed to permit the completion of the Treaty without necessitating a final settlement of the Southern Frontier and the Frontier in Dobrudja. Dr. Johnson felt that as the matter was on the agenda of the Afternoon meeting of the Supreme Council it would be best for the Committee to await the result of that meeting before making any specific recommendations to the Commissioners.

2. Dr. Scott inquired whether the Treaties and Conventions with the New States could not be immediately completed. Mr. J. F. Dulles reported that the agreement with Italy regarding its share in the contribution to the general Austrian debt was being delayed because of a change in Italy's attitude. He added that Colonel Peel, the British delegate on the Committee concerned, had requested that he be given time to discuss the matter personally with the Italian representatives in the hope of securing their final consent. Mr. Dulles deemed it wise that Colonel Peel be allowed a couple of days for these conversations but stated that if no further progress was made before the Thursday meeting of the Steering Committee he would bring the matter again to the attention of the Committee.

3. Dr. Scott reported that the Drafting Committee had already put into form approximately one-half of the Hungarian treaty. Mr. J. F. Dulles suggested that the Commissioners request the Supreme Council to instruct the various Committees dealing with Hungarian matters to immediately take up and finish their reports for the Hungarian Treaty. Mr. Dulles remarked that in case the Austrians were granted the additional delay for which they had asked, this period could be profitably employed in the preparation of the Hungarian Treaty.

4. Mr. J. F. Dulles reported that the Supreme Council had accepted the proposition that the Bulgarian Treaty should be submitted for comment to the Small States particularly interested, previous to being presented to the Bulgarians.

The meeting adjourned at 2:45 P. M.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/18

*Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, August 5, 1919,
at 2 p. m.*

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT

PROF. JOHNSON

MR. HARRISON

MR. J. F. DULLES

MR. A. W. DULLES (*Secretary*)

I. Dr. Scott gave the following analysis of the present state of preparation of the Hungarian Treaty:

(1) The Preamble and the Covenant of the League of Nations are ready. The frontiers of Austria are being finally drafted by the geographers and are practically ready for insertion in the Treaty.

The Political Clauses for Europe are ready with the exception of the Italian Clauses. The Hungarian interests outside of Europe can be modeled on the same clauses in the Austrian Treaty.

With regard to the Military, Naval and Air Clauses, Colonel Grant submitted the following written report.

1. The Military, Naval and Air Terms for Hungary were proposed by the Military, Naval and Aviation Representatives to the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers on June 7.

2. Report on the strength of the army that should be left Hungary was contained in a general report of the Military Representatives on the strength of the armies for the new Eastern countries a few days later.

3. A different draft for the military terms was proposed by the Delegation of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes June 19th. See S. H. Bulletin 478.

No action has apparently been taken on the Prisoners of War Clauses, but they can very closely follow the Austrian Treaty. The Clauses on Penalties can be taken bodily from the Austrian Treaty.

Mr. J. F. Dulles gave the following statement regarding the Reparation Clauses for the Hungarian Treaty—The first meeting was held on the 4th. In principle they will closely follow the Reparation Clauses in the Austrian Treaty, but it will probably be difficult to put them in final form until it is known whether any modifications will be made in the Austrian Reparation Clauses as result of the Austrian reply, as such changes, if made, should be embodied in the Hungarian Treaty. The same applies to the Financial Clauses.

The Economic Clauses were adopted by the Supreme Council on May 26th for insertion in the Hungarian Treaty.⁵ They will probably now have to undergo the same changes as were made for the Economic Clauses in the Austrian Treaty.

As regards Ports, Waterways and Railways, the Supreme Council directed that the clauses originally adopted for this section by the Supreme Council should be included in the Hungarian Treaty. With the exception of Section 3, Chapter 4, the Ports, Waterways and Railways Clauses are in final form.

As a result of this summary, Dr. Scott suggested that the following recommendations be made to the American Commissioners:

(1) That action be taken to ascertain what Political Clauses as regards Italy should be inserted in the Hungarian Treaty.

(2) That the Supreme Council consider at an early date the Military, Naval and Air Clauses which were prepared by the Versailles Council on June 7th.

(3) That the Supreme Council direct the preparation of Clauses on Prisoners of War.

⁵ See CF-34, minute 9, vol. vi, p. 53.

(4) That the Supreme Council direct the Commission on Ports, Waterways, and Railways to draft clauses for Section 3, Chapter 4, in case this has not already been done.

II. Mr. A. W. Dulles stated that the Austrian counter-reply would probably be received on the 6th instant. He inquired whether any definite action by the Commissioners was necessary to see that the appropriate members of the American Commission should be prepared to consider it. Mr. J. F. Dulles stated that he understood that the Supreme Council had adopted a resolution directing that this reply be submitted for consideration to the various Committees which had drawn up the original clauses.

III. Dr. Scott asked whether Mr. J. F. Dulles could take further action to hasten the completion of the agreement with Italy regarding the share of the Austrian debt. Mr. Dulles replied that the Italians had submitted a new proposal to which Colonel Peel and he had replied. Mr. Dulles added that the matter would be actively pressed in the hope of an early solution.

IV. Dr. Scott suggested that the American Commissioners consider the advisability of asking the Supreme Council to refer to the Drafting Committee the Arms Traffic and the Liquor Conventions, as well as the Revision of the Berlin and Brussels act.

The meeting adjourned at 2:45.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/19

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, Tuesday, 12th August, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. SCOTT
MR. WOOLSEY
MR. J. F. DULLES
COL. GRANT
MR. A. W. DULLES (*Secretary*)

1. Colonel Grant reported that the military, naval and air clauses for the Treaty with Hungary had been approved in principle by the Supreme Council, but referred back to the War Council to be put into accord with the corresponding terms as modified for the Austrian Treaty.

2. Mr. J. F. Dulles reported that the financial clauses of the Hungarian Treaty had been withdrawn from the agenda of the Supreme Council, as it was useless to submit them until the final modifications had been made in the corresponding clauses for the Austrian Treaty.

3. As regards reparations, Mr. Dulles reported that it was useless to submit a final draft for the Hungarian Treaty until it was known what the Roumanians had taken from the country and what restitution should be demanded. He referred to the fact that the Roumanians had demanded one-half of the river boats, cattle, etc.

4. Mr. Dulles reported that the agreement regarding Italy's contribution to the general Austrian debt had been referred to the Drafting Committee.

5. The Committee decided to cause inquiries to be made as to who was taking Dr. Hudson's place on the Ports, Waterways and Railways Commission. It was felt that it would be desirable to indicate to the Commissioners that an appointment should be made to carry on what might remain of this work.

6. Mr. A. W. Dulles reported regarding steps which had been taken to draft a reply to the Austrian remarks on the territorial clauses of the Treaty.

7. Colonel Grant reported that it was the opinion of a number of military authorities that injustice was being done Austria in forcing her to maintain only a volunteer army. Colonel Grant added that notwithstanding this opinion the military representatives had been obliged to follow the precedent set in the German Treaty in this regard. He felt, however that this was a matter which might well be brought to the attention of the Commissioners in order that when the Austrian reply was submitted to the Supreme Council, the question of a change in the military terms might be considered. Colonel Grant agreed to furnish a memorandum for the information of the Commissioners in regard to this matter.

8. Colonel Grant stated that it appeared to him to be vital to the peace of Central Europe that the military forces of not only the enemy powers but also of the new states should eventually be limited. The Committee shared Colonel Grant's view of this question and unanimously accepted the following statement:

"It appears to this Committee that, if it is intended to obtain the formal consent of the smaller powers to disarmament to a definite extent, a provision to this effect should be included in the treaties now being drafted for signature by the minor powers."

9. Dr. Scott suggested that a meeting be called on Thursday at 2:00 PM.

10. The meeting adjourned at 2:45 PM.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/21

*Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, August 19, 1919,
at 2 p. m.*

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT
COL. U. S. GRANT
MR. J. F. DULLES
MR. L. HARRISON
MR. WOOLSEY
MR. A. W. DULLES (*Secretary*)

1. Dr. Scott requested the views of the Committee in regard to the powers which should be included as contracting parties in the agreements to be made with Italy and other states obtaining territory from the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy, specifying the share of these states in the cost of the war of liberation. It was the opinion of the Committee that only the principal Allied and Associated Powers should be contracting parties with the contributing states above mentioned, rather than all the Powers that figure in the Treaties of Peace with Germany and Austria.

The Committee desired that this expression of their opinion be brought to the attention of the Commissioners, in order that a ruling might be obtained on the question for the guidance of the American delegate on the Drafting Committee.

2. Dr. Scott stated that a difference of opinion had arisen in the Drafting Committee regarding the Powers which should be included as contracting parties in the "Arms Convention," "Liquor Convention," and the "Revision of the Berlin-Brussels Acts." The British delegate on the Drafting Committee desired only the states having colonies in Africa, together with the United States, to be parties. Mr. Beer, the American delegate, had felt quite strongly that all the Allied and Associated Powers should be parties to and bound by these conventions and that neutrals should have the right of adhering.

The Committee was of the opinion that Mr. Beer's position in this matter was entirely correct and should receive the support of the American delegation. It was decided to bring this matter to the attention of the Commissioners, in order that a ruling might be obtained for the guidance of the American delegate on the Drafting Committee.

3. Dr. Scott submitted revised clauses on nationality for the Austrian Treaty and requested Mr. A. W. Dulles to examine them in the light of criticism which had been submitted of the former clauses of the Austrian Treaty.

4. The Committee remarked on the fact that the German Government had issued a publication giving publicity to certain events and

confidential discussions which had led up to the conclusion of the Armistice.⁶ The Committee requested the Secretary to obtain copies of this publication and to see that a copy was sent as soon as possible to Washington.

Mr. A. W. Dulles reported that Mr. Dresel had already received three copies of this publication.

5. The Committee decided to investigate whether the German Government had issued a publication giving details regarding the abdication of the Kaiser, as the German press had recently given a number of new facts in regard to this matter.

6. Mr. Woolsey inquired whether the Commission was in possession of a certified copy of the original Armistice conditions and the conditions of prolongation of the Armistice. Mr. Woolsey was informed that the Commission had no such certified copy. It was decided that it was highly desirable to obtain such a copy for the archives of the Department of State, and the Committee decided to bring the matter to the attention of the Commissioners and to suggest that a letter be addressed to Mr. Clemenceau, as President of the Peace Conference, requesting him to furnish the American Commission with such a certified copy of the original Armistice conditions.

7. The meeting adjourned at 2:55 P. M.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/22

*Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, August 21, 1919,
at 2 p. m.*

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT
COL. U. S. GRANT
MR. J. F. DULLES
MR. WOOLSEY
MR. A. W. DULLES (*Secretary*)

1. The Committee discussed the programme of the work of the Coordinating Committee and the attitude of the British delegate.

2. Dr. Scott explained the situation in regard to the nationality clauses of the Austrian Treaty and gave a history of the steps which had led up to the draft which was at present submitted by the Drafting Committee to the Political Committee.

⁶ The publication referred to is probably Germany, Reichskanzlei, *Vorgeschichte des Waffenstillstandes; amtliche Urkunden* (Berlin, 1919); see translation by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, *Preliminary History of the Armistice* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1924).

Mr. A. W. Dulles stated that he had discussed the nationality clauses with Mr. Headlam Morley and would, if the Committee saw no objection, attend the meeting of the Political Committee with Mr. Nielsen when the clauses next came up for consideration.

3. Dr. Scott stated that the Drafting Committee had noted the confusion which had arisen in the draft of the Austrian Treaty through the use of the term "Austrian national" to refer both to subjects of the former Austrian empire and citizens of the new Austrian republic. He stated, therefore, that the Drafting Committee had decided upon the following terms which would be uniformly used throughout the Treaty:

1. "Subject of the former Austrian empire"—to indicate former nationals of the old Austrian Monarchy.

2. "Austrian national"—to indicate citizens of the new Austrian Republic.

4. It was decided to hold no meeting, Saturday August 23rd.
The meeting adjourned at 2:45 P. M.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001101/23

Minutes of Meeting of the Steering Committee, Thursday, September 4, 1919, at 2 p. m.

Present:

DR. JAMES BROWN SCOTT

MR. L. HARRISON

MR. WOOLSEY

MR. A. W. DULLES (*Secretary*)

1. Mr. Harrison reported that the Supreme Council at its morning session had approved a note to the Roumanian Government drafted by Mr. Balfour.⁷ It was agreed that this note should be taken to Bukarest by Sir George Clerk, who had been acting as Mr. Balfour's secretary and who was British Minister designate to Prague.

2. Mr. Harrison further reported that Mr. Polk had submitted to the Council a draft of a proposed article to be inserted in the Bulgarian Treaty regarding future disposition of the Dobrudja. Mr. Harrison stated that while the Council would discuss this at its next session, it appeared likely that the British and French would oppose it.

3. Dr. Scott stated that in case the Drafting Committee could have a final decision from the Supreme Council regarding (1) the Dobrudja, and (2) Bulgarian access to the sea, the Bulgarian Treaty could be completed and sent to the printers on Friday. Mr. Har-

⁷ See HD-47, minute 3 and appendix E, vol. VIII, pp. 98 and 111.

risson replied that as the Council would discuss both of these questions at its next session, the Drafting Committee should be in possession of the necessary information by Friday afternoon.

4. Mr. Harrison reported that it was believed that the Austrian Treaty could not be signed before Thursday or Friday, September 11th or 12th, as Dr. Renner could not possibly return to Paris before the afternoon of the 11th.

5. Dr. Scott inquired whether the Supreme Council had authorized the Drafting Committee to work upon the Hungarian Treaty on the basis of the concessions which had been made to the Austrians in the last draft of that Treaty. Mr. Harrison requested a memorandum from Dr. Scott in order that the matter might be presented to the Commissioners and taken up in the Council if approved. Dr. Scott added that if the Drafting Committee were pressed, he saw no reason why the Hungarian Treaty could not be finished by the 17th instant.

6. The Committee suggested that it would be desirable to have the Treaty for the Protection of Minorities in Czecho-Slovakia signed at the same time as the Austrian Treaty. As this Treaty is in the hands of the Drafting Committee, there seemed to be no difficulty in this regard.

The meeting adjourned at 3 P. M.

**OTHER PAPERS RELATING TO THE COMPOSITION,
ORGANIZATION, AND ACTIVITIES OF
THE AMERICAN DELEGATION**

OTHER PAPERS RELATING TO THE COMPOSITION, ORGANIZATION, AND ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1/19

*The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to the Executive Secretary of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Patchin)*¹

PARIS, January 14, 1919.

Subject: Committee on Personnel.

1. In view of the express wish of the Commissioners that no additional personnel be assigned to the Commission except to fulfill absolutely essential duties which the present personnel cannot adequately perform, it becomes necessary to form a committee within the organization to take charge of this question. This Committee will carefully examine every application for new assignments of civilians, officers, or enlisted men, and after investigating the necessity for the assignments and the records of the individuals applied for will make specific recommendations to the Secretary of the Commission, giving all available facts and circumstances upon which the applications are based, so that each case may be submitted to the Commissioners for their approval.

2. You are hereby requested to form such a Committee, of which you will be chairman, and to advise me of your choice of members for this body, so that I may duly inform them of their designations.

3. I believe that the Committee should be known as the Committee on Personnel, and that Captain Patterson, as Executive Officer of the Commission, should be a member ex-officio.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.21/58

Admiral W. S. Benson to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

PARIS, 14 January, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. GREW: I have just received a memorandum dated January 9th, 1919, and signed W. L. Black, First Lieutenant, U. S. Army, relative to the measures which have been directed in order to improve, (a) Poor elevator service, and (b) Congestion of the

¹ For the names, positions, and functions of the principal members of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, see p. 552.

lobby. In paragraph two of the memorandum I note that, due to these conditions, Lieutenant Black states that he is in receipt of the following order which he requests be transmitted to all enlisted men :

“In order to relieve the congestion in the elevators, it is directed that all enlisted men of the Army or Navy use the side door of the Hotel Crillon and the passage through the baggage room exclusively, and in ascending to the upper floors use either the freight elevator or the stairway. Heads of departments are requested to communicate this order to their enlisted personnel.

G. P. duBose,
Business Manager.

By George W. Martin,
Assistant Manager.”

I am not sufficiently well informed regarding the organization of the Peace Conference to question by what authority Messrs. duBose and Martin issue orders of this character, but my own convictions and my long training in the Naval Service force me to bring to your attention the situation which is being created, with the request that you refer it to such persons as may have authority to give it consideration and to take whatever action may be deemed appropriate.

There has been an effort for many years in our country to make the public feel and believe that the uniform of the Army and Navy is something which they should look upon as their very own, an emblem of service to the public and not to individuals. With this in mind, Congress and many of the state legislatures have passed laws prohibiting discrimination against the enlisted men of the Army and Navy. It has been my experience that the enlisted man of the Navy, and I have no doubt of the Army also, is proud of his uniform and proud of his service, but it is seldom that you can find a man who has not at some time noted a tendency toward discrimination against him while in uniform. I beg to point out that the uniform of the enlisted man of the Army and Navy is a uniform of service, not of servility, and that all the men of the Navy wearing this uniform, and a large portion of those in the Army, are doing so because they felt that they should do their share. A tremendous percentage of these men have enjoyed the advantages of a university education and training and are men of no little importance in civil life. Our country prides itself upon its democratic principles. Discrimination against the uniform of the country is abhorrent to me personally and is certainly not in keeping with my ideas of what American democracy stands for. So far as the men directly associated with me are concerned, I think I may say with all due modesty, that there is not a better equipped clerical staff connected with the entire Mission, either from the viewpoint of ability to handle the work in hand, or from a standpoint of education and training.

I beg that this matter be given the earnest consideration of those to whom it should be submitted and that action be taken to rescind this or any other orders which would tend to handicap a man in uniform who has a proper appreciation of his duties and his obligations to his country.

Very respectfully,

W. S. BENSON
Admiral, U. S. Navy

Paris Peace Conf. 184/79a

Dr. A. A. Young to the Director of the Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics (Gay)

PARIS, January 15, 1919.

MY DEAR GAY: Major Dulles and his group arrived some days ago. They will be invaluable, I am sure, in the important work which has to be done here. We have had some friendly discussion with Dulles and the others respecting the precise way in which the group could best fit into the organization of the Peace Conference. I am sure that the solution which has been reached is one which you will approve. Since I last talked with you in Washington the general organization of the American delegation to the Peace Conference has been altered in two ways:

1. Messrs. Hoover, Hurley, Baruch, McCormick and Davis, who under the original plans would have been members of the peace organization as "technical advisors", are to form a separate organization dealing with current business in the food, raw materials, shipping and financial situation and, through liaison arrangement, advising the Peace Commission on these matters.

2. At the instance of the American commissioners, the Inquiry has absorbed the whole research and intelligence organization of the Peace Commission organization proper; that is, whatever specialists on territorial, economic, and political problems have been sent to Paris by the Department of State or by the Army have been assigned to the Inquiry and distributed in to the different parts of its organization. This means that the Inquiry is now the general division of economic, political, and territorial intelligence of the Peace Commission organization. I am in charge of the Central Economics Section of this Division. Aside from the Inquiry, as enlarged, the Peace Commission organization includes only the commissioners and their personal aides, the advisors on international law and on military and naval problems, the secretariat and the general executive organization.

Under these conditions there were only two alternatives with respect to the disposition of your group:

1. They could have maintained their separate identity and could have been directly attached to the other council composed of the heads of the War Boards and the representative of the Treasury.

2. They could be absorbed in the Central Economic Office under my direction.

This situation was explained very frankly to Major Dulles and to Messrs. Leith and Tower. Their decision was that their work would be more effective if they were absorbed into the organization of the Peace Commission proper.

It has been arranged, accordingly, that Major Dulles will remain closely attached to McCormick and the other War Board heads, familiarizing himself with their problems, ascertaining their needs, and advising them with respect to sources of information. The other men become members of the organization of the Peace Commission and as such become members of my central office. Wolman and Cumberland will work directly as members of this organization. Tower and Leith, I hope, will have an office so located that they can easily maintain the necessary contact with the heads of the War Boards.

The whole group, however, will operate as a unit. All important problems will be discussed in conference in such a way that there can be joint and mutual determination of the best way of handling them, whether by special assignment here or by securing the information from you or from organizations on this side.

I expect that many of the larger problems will have to be referred to Washington and that, particularly, there will be very frequent cable requests for specific information.

I trust that you will agree with me that this is a better outcome than would have resulted from installing your group as a separate and distinct staff outside of the Peace Commission. There are some problems, such as those relating to shipping, trade, and raw materials, with which your group is best equipped to deal. There are other problems, especially those bearing upon territorial adjustments upon which the Inquiry has more material.

It would be highly unfortunate if it should happen that the particular problem was assigned to the wrong group of men. The present arrangement makes that impossible. Furthermore, the present arrangement has, I believe, the unanimous approval of your group here. As the thing is worked out there seems to be better chance than I had ever thought possible of accomplishing that general co-ordination and centralization in which you and I have been mutually interested.

Sincerely yours,

[File copy not signed]

*Memorandum by the Secretary of State*²

[PARIS,] January 16, 1919.

No plan of work has been prepared. Unless something is done we will be here for many weeks, possibly for months. After the President's remarks the other day about a draft-treaty no one except the President would think of preparing a plan. He must do it himself, and he is not doing it. He has not even given us a list of subjects to be considered and of course has made no division of our labors.

If the President does not take up this matter of organization and systematically apportion the subjects between us, we may possibly have no peace before June. This would be preposterous because with proper order and division of questions we ought to have a treaty signed by April first.

I feel as if we, the Commissioners, were like a lot of skilled workmen who are ordered to build a house. We have the materials and tools, but there are no plans and specifications and no master-workman in charge of the construction. We putter around in an aimless sort of way and get nowhere.

With all his natural capacity the President seems to lack the faculty of employing team-work and of adopting a system to utilize the brains of other men. It is a decided defect in an executive. He would not make a good head of a governmental department. The result is, so far as our Commission is concerned, a state of confusion and uncertainty with a definite loss and delay through effort being undirected.

Edward M. House Papers

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

PARIS, January 18, 1919.

DEAR GOVERNOR: Poincare will open the session this morning by an address of welcome and you as ranking delegate will be expected to reply. You doubtless know this but here are some suggestions that have occurred to me.

I would speak of the privilege it is to be here at Paris in the center of French Civilization under such circumstances and for such purposes. I would say something regarding Paris as an ancient city, and speak of this event as the crowning glory of her history.

I would say that the eyes of the world are upon us watching anxiously. We are trusted, else we would not be here, but the people have been tricked in the past so many times that they cannot feel secure in this instance. They will be impatient at delay after nearly

² Reprinted from Robert Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations: A Personal Narrative* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921), p. 201.

five years of the agony of war, and they are looking eagerly towards the day when the world shall be again released and under conditions which it is hoped will bring about a better and more enduring international society.

I would suggest that the windows be left open so that the people may hear, not indeed all our deliberations, but, at least, before those deliberations have become fixed conclusions and have assumed concrete form.

Affectionately yours,

[File copy not signed]

Paris Peace Conf. 184.21/75

The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)
to Admiral W. S. Benson

PARIS, January 19, 1919.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL BENSON: Your letter of January 14th reached me only this morning, the 19th. That I am heartily in accord with the views expressed in your letter, regarding the use of elevators by enlisted men, may be seen from the fact that on January 15th I wrote to the Executive Officer of the Commission³ stating that I strongly disapproved of the order in question, and asking him to reconsider it. His reply, dated January 17th,⁴ explained that the intention had been to direct hotel employees to use the freight elevators or stairways, and that the notice, as it was actually published, had been published without his final approval. Furthermore, he explained that at that time, January 17th, it had already been canceled. The officer responsible for the actual publishing of this notice, without its first having been submitted to me for approval or disapproval, has been relieved of his duties.

Regretting that this action should have resulted in inconvenience to your staff, and assuring you of my entire agreement with your views on the matter, I am,

Yours very respectfully,

[File copy not signed]

763.72119P43/171a : Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, January 20, 1919—6 p. m.

326. For Grew from Phillips.⁵ It would be great help if you could see that Department is kept advised of all important matters relating to the Conference. At present we seem to receive very little

³ Letter not printed.

⁴ Not printed.

⁵ William Phillips, Assistant Secretary of State.

official information. For instance the publication in this morning's press of the rules for the Conference is first information we have on the subject, and to-day we have been obliged to answer various inquiries from Latin-American diplomats that we have no information as to the representation of their respective countries in the Conference.

The Department is now dispatching its pouch to the Mission on every available steamer, an average of at least once a week. On the other hand we have never received a pouch from the Mission although a few pieces of more or less personal mail is occasionally received through the War Department. Could not this be remedied?

POLK

763.72119/3448

The Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (Hitchcock) to the Acting Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, January 20, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I enclose herewith copy of Senator Knox's⁶ resolution, declaring that the purposes of the United States at the peace conferences should be confined to the restitution, reparation, and guarantees against the German menaces to the peace of our country. The committee will consider this resolution next Wednesday and I would be pleased to know before that time whether you have any suggestions to offer as to the wisdom of adopting the resolution.

Yours truly,

G. M. HITCHCOCK

[Enclosure]

Senate Resolution No. 361 of the Sixty-fifth Congress, Third Session, Submitted December 3, 1918

Whereas the United States of America entered the war with Germany and Austria-Hungary in order to vindicate the ancient rights of navigation as established under international law and in order to remove forever the German menace to our peace; and

Whereas the splendid effort of the American people and the valor of our soldiers and sailors during a year and a half, when added to the enormous sacrifices, the steadfast fortitude, and the noble courage displayed by our allies during more than four years, have made possible the attainment of those aims, now best expressed as restitution, reparation, and guaranties against the German menace; and

Whereas the surrender of Germany and Austria-Hungary to the terms of the armistice has attained a great part, and has rendered enforceable the remainder of those aims; and

⁶ Senator Philander Knox of Pennsylvania.

Whereas conferences are about to take place with the purpose to complete, to perfect, and to guarantee the attainment of the war aims aforesaid and thus to pass to the state of formal peace: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the purposes of the United States of America in those conferences should be confined to the aforesaid aims and matters germane thereto.

Second. That for the safeguarding of those aims the first essential is a definite understanding that the same necessity arising in the future there shall be the same complete accord and cooperation with our chief cobelligerents for the defense of civilization.

Third. That any project for any general league of nations or for any sweeping change in the ancient laws of the sea as hitherto recognized as international law and violated by the Teutonic powers should be postponed for separate consideration not alone by the victorious belligerents but by all the nations, if and when at some future time general conferences on those subjects might be deemed useful.

Resolved further, That immediately upon compliance with the terms of the armistice and the guaranteed attainment of the war aims as aforesaid, the Army and Navy of the United States should be withdrawn from foreign territories and waters except in so far as their retention might be temporarily necessary to establish the status contemplated by the armistice; and further that the extraordinary powers conferred upon the President for the prosecution of the war should be withdrawn and the country restored to a normal condition of peace with the greatest possible celerity consistent with the national interest.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.82/13

The Chief of the Press Bureau (Baker) to the Secretary of State

[PARIS,] January 21, 1919.

Subject: Resolutions of the American Press Correspondents.

1. At the request of the officers of the Newspaper Correspondents' Association, I am enclosing herewith a copy of the resolutions adopted at the recent meeting relative to publicity of the Peace Conference. It is a response to the statement of the Peace Conference on the same subject issued last Thursday [*Friday*].⁷

RAY STANNARD BAKER

[Enclosure]

Resolutions of American Press Representatives

The American press delegation acknowledges receipt of the reply of the Peace Conference to the resolutions addressed to them.

⁷ See BC-4A, minute 3, vol. III, p. 609.

The delegation notes that the decision that "representatives of the press shall be admitted to the meetings of the full Conference" is an acceptance of the principle of direct press representation for which the press of America, Great Britain, Italy and the smaller nations contended.

The value of this principle, however, turns upon the extent and frequency of its limitations in practice. The Peace Conference announces its intention to limit it to the extent that "upon necessary occasions the deliberations of the Conference may be held in camera". Without assent on our part to this limitation, we trust that if ever it is applied the public will be advised through the press at the outset of each session in camera of the subject to be discussed and the name of the delegate or delegation making the motion to go into camera; and at the close of the session the conclusions or agreements reached.

In view of the fact that we have not been advised to the contrary, we necessarily assume that any rule designed to prohibit communication between individual delegates and the press on the subjects of the Conference has now been abrogated; and that the press is to have access to verbatim records of the proceedings.

We call the attention of the Peace Conference to our request for not fewer than five direct press representatives at each session of the Conference and we submit that, because of the manner in which the several press associations serve the newspapers of America and because of the attendance upon the Conference of numerous individual press representatives, American newspapers cannot carry on their business of informing their vast public with fewer than five.

Committee:

MARK SULLIVAN, *Chairman.*
 ARTHUR B. KROCK, *Secretary.*
 R. V. OULAHAN,
 HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE,
 JOHN EDWIN NEVIN,
 PAUL SCOTT MOWRER,
 DAVID LAWRENCE.

763.72119P43/110c : Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, January 22, 1919—5 p. m.

362. From Polk, for Grew, Harrison and Patchin. Would it not be possible to arrange to have one clerk detailed to keep the Department informed. Information from the papers accurate, but we do not like to rely on it in discussing questions with diplomats. When the President returns the record will be useful, even if we do not need

the information now. Either arrange for better information or ask a newspaper man who regularly attends the sessions to be good enough to report, as sometimes newspaper reports disagree and we would like to be in a position to reconcile statements, merely as a matter of courtesy if nothing else.

POLK

Paris Peace Conf. 182/52

Draft Declaration by the Allied and Associated Powers^a

The representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers, in conference assembled, declare

That freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press are essential principles of democratic states;

That no state should discriminate in the matter of public rights against any of its nationals by reason of race or religious belief, whether nationality is acquired by birth, marriage or naturalization;

That an individual possesses the right of expatriation and having become a legally naturalized subject or citizen of another state and sworn allegiance thereto owes no allegiance to the state of his origin;

That individuals in the exercise of their public or private rights should not be permitted to advocate anarchy which is destructive of all rights, or to organize for the purpose of overthrowing law and order, on which the exercise of public and private rights depends;

That the political domination of a class of society for its own interest and at the expense of other classes without regard to their rights and liberties is contrary to that impartial justice and equality which are fundamental to democracy; and

That to the foregoing declarations the representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers give their unqualified assent and will recommend to their respective Governments the adoption of appropriate legislation to give them legal effect.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.63/7: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, January 23, 1919—11 p. m.

404. For Phillips from Grew. Your 326, January 20, 7 [6] p. m. Situation which you describe will be remedied immediately. We have been mailing the minutes of the informal conferences now being held by the representatives of the Great Powers, and shall hereafter cable summary of every such conference.

^a This undated draft is in Secretary Lansing's handwriting.

Regarding pouch service, it appears that all our mail has hitherto gone in special pouches to the War Department. Have now arranged that all mail from the Mission shall henceforth be sent in special State Department pouches to be taken by overseas couriers leaving generally every three days. Please inform me if situation does not show early improvement.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1/19

Memorandum by the Executive Officer of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Patterson)

Memorandum No. 62

PARIS, January 23, 1919.

Subject: Personnel Committee.

1. A Personnel Committee, so called, consisting of Mr. Philip H. Patchin, Chairman, Captain Whitney Newton, Jr., Mr. C. B. Welsh and Captain R. C. Patterson, Jr. as member ex-officio, has been appointed.

2. This Committee will pass on applications for additional personnel. Such applications should, as at present, be transmitted to the Personnel Officer, Captain Newton, who will refer them to the Personnel Committee which will in turn submit its recommendations in connection therewith to the Commissioners through the Secretary of the Commission.

3. This Committee will also effect any reorganization of the present personnel of the Commission necessary to increase the efficiency of the Commission staff and to this end it will consult with all the chiefs of sections to secure their recommendations and suggestions as to personnel. The Committee will meet daily at 3 P. M. and any member of the Commission staff desiring to discuss matters of personnel with the Committee may do so at this time.

4. The Commissioners consider that it is of greatest importance that problems of personnel be studied closely so that personnel in the different divisions may be neither superfluous nor inadequate and for this purpose the co-operation of all officials with the Personnel Committee is earnestly requested.

R. C. PATTERSON, JR.
Captain, U. S. A.

Approved:

J. C. GREW,
Secretary

763.72119/3448

The Acting Secretary of State to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (Hitchcock)

WASHINGTON, January 24, 1919.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of January 20th, enclosing a copy of Senate Resolution No. 361, introduced by Senator Knox, and inviting suggestions from me as to the wisdom of adopting the resolution.

After mature consideration I am very strongly of the opinion that it would be inadvisable to confine the purposes of the United States in the Peace Conference in the manner suggested by this resolution.

I have [etc.]

FRANK L. POLK

Paris Peace Conf. 184.63/13: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, January 25, 1919—2 a. m.

430. For Polk [from Lansing]. Your 362 January 22nd, 5 p. m. Please see telegrams from Grew for Phillips on this subject. Trust that existing arrangements will prove satisfactory. Every paper issued and received by General Secretariat of the Conference is being sent you by mail. Summaries of minutes of the Conferences will be telegraphed. First plenary session of Conference was public, and all that transpired was carried by the newspapers. Meeting tomorrow will also be public. Newspapermen do not attend meetings of representatives of five Great Powers nor sessions of the Supreme War Council. Official Communique now issued immediately after each of these meetings. Notes on these conversations are being sent by mail; summaries of what transpires will be telegraphed daily. We fully realize importance of keeping Department informed, and will do our utmost to see that you are properly advised of all that transpires.

Lansing.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119P43/86

The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, January 29, 1919.

[Received February 19.]

SIR: With reference to an informal memorandum received from the Bureau of Appointments⁹ requesting prompt information as to the

⁹ Not printed.

exact language used in the titles of the commissions sent out at the request of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace for Mr. Grew, Mr. Harrison and Mr. Patchin, I have the honor to inform you that the President has today signed these commissions as of November 30, 1918, as follows:

Joseph C. Grew, of Massachusetts, Secretary General of the Commission of the United States of America to Negotiate Peace, with the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary;

Leland Harrison, of Illinois, Diplomatic Secretary of the Commission of the United States of America to Negotiate Peace, with the rank of Counselor of Embassy;

Philip H. Patchin, of Iowa, Executive Secretary of the Commission of the United States of America to Negotiate Peace, with the rank of Counselor of Embassy.

The other commissions forwarded by the Department for these three officials have been destroyed.

I have [etc.]

J. C. GREW

Paris Peace Conf. 184/84

*Mr. E. L. Dresel to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)*¹⁰

Subject: Organization of new department to handle correspondence.

The following is suggested as a rough outline of the organization proposed:

1. The name of the bureau will be "Division of Current Diplomatic and Political Correspondence".

2. The objects of the bureau will be as follows:

(a) To act as a receiving agency for all correspondence, telegraphic or otherwise, coming to the Commission from the file and index room, which is not either personal in its nature, relative to administrative matters, or appertaining to special technical departments such as the military, financial, supply and relief divisions, etc.

(b) In case immediate action is desirable or possible, to draft letters and telegrams for the approval and signature of the Secretary.

(c) To transmit to the Commissioners such communications as should have their personal attention. For this purpose appropriate covering blanks will be used, which will be filled out with such recommendations as seem advisable, and which will be approved by the Secretary and personally presented by him.

(d) Where further information is needed in order to draft answers or to recommend action to the Commission, to refer the communication to the "Inquiry" or to other appropriate source of information with a request to return the same with a reply. After receipt of this, the bureau will take action as under (b).

¹⁰ This memorandum bears the initials "R. L." and the notation "Approved, J. C. G."

(e) Where the communication only conveys information needing no action, to refer the communication to such organization or organizations as is interested in the subject matter, after which the communication will go to file.

(f) When no action is necessary and no information of value is conveyed, to send the communications to file at once.

(g) To prepare memoranda and data based on recent communications for the use of the Commissioners at conferences.

3. The Division should be charged with the duty of preventing duplication of action. For this purpose all outgoing telegrams and important written communications should pass through this office before being sent out.

4. Flimsies (so-called) of all outgoing as well as incoming telegrams should be filed with the Division after their dispatch or receipt. In this connection, it is recommended that either outgoing or incoming flimsies shall be prepared on colored paper in order to prevent confusion.

5. While the fields of the "Inquiry" and the correspondence division are entirely distinct, the former being responsible for technical information and the latter an executive body, the two should work in the closest possible cooperation.

6. The Division should be in as close touch as possible with other departments in order to enable it to act competently and therefore proposes to assign a liaison officer to the work of coordination and reciprocal information. The Division should have copies of the minutes of the daily meetings of the Commission. It should also, as far as possible, be informed in advance as to the subjects to be taken up at Inter-Ally Conferences in order that it may prepare memoranda and data embodying the latest current information.

7. The personnel of the Division cannot yet be given and the following skeleton organization is merely tentative:

E. L. Dresel, Director of Division.

A. W. Dulles, Executive Officer.

E. T. Williams, Chief of Far Eastern Division.

J. G. D. Paul, Specialist on Northern Neutrals, etc.

S. Y. Smith, Drafting Officer.

Lieutenant E. Pottle, Liaison Officer.

8. The Division will endeavor to separate the work according to countries or groups of countries, but no hard and fast classification will be attempted at present, and possibly none will be found to be practicable. It is evident that at certain times the bulk of the work will be absorbed by two or three countries, and a considerable latitude as to assignments to different countries is therefore advisable.

[PARIS,] January 31, 1919.

Paris Peace Conf. 184/10

*Memorandum Regarding the Executive Office of the Commission to Negotiate Peace*¹¹

The establishment of the Paris home of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace necessitated the taking over and the operating of a large hotel and of two office buildings nearby, the setting up of courier, telegraph, cable, mail, telephone and transportation services, the securing of a large staff of experts in many lines and a large number of enlisted men of the Army. The work has grown until it is now far beyond the original estimates. At the time of organization of the Commission when it was necessary to arrange for office furniture, desks, stenographers, motor transportation, and similar needs even before the size of the Commission had been determined upon, the best that could be done was intelligent guessing. The original estimate, for example, of 150 enlisted men has constantly been revised until today it is several times that number. The requirements for office space have grown until 4 Place de la Concorde has proven inadequate, and additional offices have had to be secured at 3 Rue Royale. Similarly, accommodations at the Hotel Crillon have been so used up that many members of the Commission have had to be quartered at nearby hotels. The personnel for the many different and specialized activities has come, in large part, from the Army notwithstanding the non-military character of the work. Among the officers and enlisted men in the service are many whose previous civil life experience had fitted them for the work to be undertaken, and who could easily be located by the system of qualification cards. It was strongly advisable, therefore, from the standpoint of economy and expedition to draw this personnel from men already in France rather than to bring over a corresponding number of men from the United States.

Most of the work of the operation and maintenance of the Paris home of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace is under the direction of Captain R. C. Patterson, Jr., of New York City, Executive Officer of the Commission, assisted by Captain C. N. Peacock and Mr. John Wattawa. The Executive Office has under it the following sub-divisions: General Business Managership of the Commission, Hotel Crillon Managership, Auditing and Purchase, Construction and Repair, Building Superintendency, Telephones, Printing, Supplies, Personnel, Headquarters Detachment, Transportation, Courier Service, Photography and Post Office Service.

¹¹ The file copy of this undated memorandum bears a notation indicating that it was issued at the Conference for the confidential information of correspondents.

The General Business Managership of the Commission, one of the sub-divisions of the Executive Office, is in direct charge of Major George P. duBose. In this sub-division are placed the following sections: Hotel Managership, Auditing and Purchase, Construction and Repair, Building Superintendency, Telephones, Photography and Supplies.

The Hotel Crillon, fronting on the Place de la Concorde, the most beautiful square in Paris, is the center of the Commission's activities. The best features of the French hotel have been retained with many purely American features such as a buffet luncheon and an American barber shop added. The conventional French "petit déjeuner" of coffee or chocolate, rolls and confiture, has been replaced by a real American breakfast served to 300 persons daily. The very difficult problem of labor has been solved by keeping the French personnel as nearly intact as possible, especially in the cuisine and dining room, and also by placing a large number of American enlisted men in positions where they are useful. Lieuts. W. L. Black and Charles C. Walker, formerly manager and assistant manager of one of New York's largest hotels respectively, are in charge of the Hotel Crillon Managership section.

The Auditing and Purchase section maintains an intricate system of accounts due to the fact that part of the supplies are bought in the open market in Paris, part secured from Army Supply Depots, and part shipped direct from the United States.

The section, Construction and Repair, under Captain H. R. Shepley, is maintained to keep the buildings and quarters occupied by the American Commission in proper order and condition. The work of this section is co-ordinated more or less with that of the Superintendency of Buildings in charge of Lieut. T. W. Scott.

The American telegraph and telephone systems originally installed by the Signal Corps have had to be greatly enlarged to carry the mass of material sent over the wires. As a result a joint system of land wire, radio, wire, and cable connects all the American interests in Europe. The occupied territory in the East, Marseilles in the South and Brest, St. Nazaire, Bordeaux and Liverpool in the West are connected with Paris, and across the Atlantic with the United States. In Paris alone a personnel of over 100 men is required to conduct the flow of wire traffic coming in and out of the Commission. From any one of the telephones at the Hotel Crillon, long distance telephones are possible to London, Coblenz, Brest or Bordeaux, or to any of the other Signal Corps exchanges in France. Within Paris itself, two modern American telephone extensions have been established, one for President Wilson's immediate entourage at the Murat Palace Hotel, and the other for the Hotel Crillon and its office buildings. From these exchanges telephone service is given directly

to four other American exchanges in Paris without the necessity of passing through the French central. 25 extra telephone operators brought over from the United States assure speed in making connections, not only with the American systems, but because of the operators' knowledge of the French language, with the French systems also. This service was originally installed by Colonel John J. Carty, formerly Chief Engineer of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, with Captain A. L. Hart now in direct charge.

The Printing Section handles all printed matter for the Commission. The printing itself is done at the Central Printing Plant of the Quartermaster Corps in Paris. Preferred service is given to requests from the Commission, and the material is turned out with the least possible delay.

All matters of supplies are handled by the Supplies section directly in charge of Lieut. Kilpatrick and assistants.

Captain Whitney Newton, Jr. is in charge of the Personnel Section, which also includes the Transportation section. All matters pertaining to personnel of the Commission including civilians, commissioned and enlisted men of the Army and Navy, field clerks, and Marines, are handled by the Personnel Section which in general acts as a clearing house in all matters pertaining to personnel.

The transportation needs of the Commission are cared for by 52 motor cars, including 15 limousines and 15 sedans. Sixteen machines are definitely set aside for the exclusive use of the Commissioners and other important officials, while the other machines are pooled for other officials having immediate important business. For the handling of supplies such as food and coal two light Ford trucks and six trucks of from 1½ to 6 tons capacity are on hand. This section is in charge of Lieut. Kloeber.

The Headquarters Detachment Section of the Executive Office, under Colonel E. G. Peyton has charge of enlisted men assigned to the Commission. This detachment is unique not only because it includes men from every branch of the Army and Marine Corps, but also because of its many duties including private secretaryships, stenography, bookkeeping, auditing, linotyping, printing, coding, plumbing, automobile driving, electrical work and so on. Practically all of these men have seen active service at the front, some for 18 months or more and a large number have been wounded. The Headquarters Detachment assists in policing the quarters occupied by the Commission.

In addition to wire and postal facilities there is also the Courier Service which connects the Commission not only with points in Paris, but also with the most important centers in Europe and with Washington and New York. This section is in charge of Major A. J. Peaslee, with 42 officers as assistants. To maintain local service in

Paris, a corps of courier sergeants leaves 4 Place de la Concorde every hour from 9 A. M. to 10 P. M., following definite routes which include the President's residence, the American Embassy, Naval Headquarters, Headquarters District of Paris and the Central Printing Plant. The service is also maintained to carry official messages to any point in Paris not on the regular hourly routes, and to carry special messages which are too important to wait until the next regular courier. For points outside of Paris officer couriers are employed who make their journeys by rail, boat or motor car as the case may necessitate. There is a service twice daily to General Headquarters of the A. E. F. at Chaumont, and to the French General Headquarters at Metz, one daily to the 125 Army post Offices, and to Berne, Rome, Brussels, The Hague, London, Milan, Padua, Tours, and to British Headquarters at Montreuil. Almost every third day an officer courier leaves for New York and Washington. The time consumed by this trans-atlantic trip runs from 7½ days to two weeks.

The Photography section, under the superintendency of Lieut. Scovell, is also attached to the Executive Office to handle the photography needs in connection with the work of the Commission.

Every effort to minimize delay in sending written communications to the United States has been made by the establishment of a special army post office, officially known as A. P. O. 702, but usually called the Commission post office. This post office is equipped with money order, registry and stamp departments, and with a courier service. The personnel is made up entirely of enlisted men from nearly every branch of the service who have been wounded and reclassified for postal service. Lieut. L. N. Cobbledick is in charge of this section of the Executive Office. The official closing time for the day's mail is 5:30 P. M. when the mail is sorted, tied in separate packages according to destination, placed in sealed pouches and taken to the station by automobile. There it is placed on board a waiting mail car of the Postal Express Railway Mail Service, bound for the port from which the next fast steamer sails. When the pouches arrive at New York City they are sent direct to the Chelsea terminal. This service is open to any one who cares to use it. In connection with this office a branch office of the Base Censor of the A. E. F. under Capt. B. F. Yates has been established to assure censorship as directed in General Orders 145 and 210 of purely military matters.

In brief, the Executive Office of the American Commission is the division of Service and Supply. The Executive Office is also charged with the smooth running of the organization of the Commission. These duties make its work vital to the success of the Commission as a whole.

Edward M. House Papers

*Memorandum by Dr. Isaiah Bowman*¹²

The work of some divisions of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace is so inefficient that there should be complete reorganization and rigid economy. If we are getting poor service from a large staff at a high cost, let us reduce the staff and the cost. If the service remains poor, at least we shall not be wasting money on it; and the conviction is growing that if we had fewer officers about we would be able to do more work.

It is proposed:

- 1) To reduce the personnel of the Commission from about 1,300 to about 650.
- 2) To reduce the cost of the Commission at a progressive rate substantially from the first, and reaching a minimum seven weeks from the time that this plan is put into operation.
- 3) To test the utility of every proposal for expense or added personnel by a professional examination of the recommendation, and not by a purely executive decision.

It is assumed:

- a) That if an information service is being operated which is of no use to the Commission it should be abolished.
- b) That no "spotty" modification of the present organization or of the following recommendations will be made which would leave a large and useless personnel in one division and at the same time overwork a useful and devoted division; we are already in the way of demoralization on this score.

It is specifically recommended:

- 1) That the following divisions be abolished and the officers in them returned to duty in the army or sent home:
 - a) The Personnel Division. (Present staff: 11)
For this division there should be substituted a force of three persons, working under the direction of Captain J. T. Adams in cooperation with Mr. McNeir, the Disbursing Officer.
 - b) The Liaison Division. (Present staff: 19)
 - c) The Ceremonial Office. (Present staff: 3)
 - d) The entire military group, including General Churchill and his staff, and the so-called Combat Situation Section. (Present staff: 27)

The offices of General Churchill and the Combat Situation Section should be placed outside the Hotel, and the maintenance and work of this force should not be a charge against the Commission.

It should be possible for the President to request Secretary Baker to establish in Paris a Military Intelligence office, which

¹²To this undated memorandum is attached a note from Dr. S. E. Mezes to Colonel House, which reads: "From Bowman. White has asked B for suggestions. Would it be all right to send him copy of enclosed? S. E. M."

can be run in any way that the Secretary directs, since he would be responsible for both the costs and the results. It is impossible to prevent the growth of any military group on the Commission to an absolutely absurd size. I am convinced that only the complete detachment of the Commission from the army will reduce costs and increase efficiency.

e) The Negative Intelligence service. (Present staff: 59)

This service has proved itself incapable of management of the pass system of these two buildings. Two people have come into this building within the past two weeks, one at 7:30 in the morning and another at 2:30 in the morning, and walked through the lobby without meeting a single person, with the front door open without guard. The getting of passes to the buildings has been accompanied by every form of inconvenience and delay that one could imagine.

2) That the personnel of the following divisions be reduced, as indicated in each case by the accompanying index number:

Mr. White	2		
Colonel House	15		
General Bliss	2		
Mr. Grew	2		
Distribution	6		
Indexes and Files	20		
Translators	21		
Executive Office	11		
Hotel Management	71		
Auditing and Purchase	1		
Building Superintendent	11		
Construction and Repair	3		
Telephone	10		
Headquarters Detach- ment	243		
Transportation	45		
Postoffice	10		
Courier Service	16		
Supply	8		
Naval	20		
Financial Advisors	9		
Territorial, Economic, and Political Intelli- gence	18	Distributed as follows:	
		Current Intelligence Summaries	7
		Economics and Statistics	2
		Library	9
Total	544		
Personnel of divisions it is proposed to abolish as in 1) above	119		
GRAND TOTAL	663		

3) Special recommendations are required for the expensive service now maintained under the head of Field Observers. It is recommended:

a) That the Austrian mission be recalled at the end of six weeks from the time of its starting, and the staff given ten days in which to prepare their final reports and conclusions, and that except for possibly four or five persons the services of that group be discontinued.

b) That the German mission be recalled at the end of six weeks, and the party given ten days to prepare their report, and that the mission be thereupon dissolved.

c) That the Russian mission be maintained for a brief but indeterminate time, and thereupon recalled and dissolved after report.

d) That the Turkish mission when sent out be maintained for a brief but indeterminate time, and thereupon recalled and dissolved after report.

Unless these missions are recalled at the end of a few weeks and close study given to their reports and the results of their efforts, there will be heavy calls for more money and more men and the gathering of perfectly useless material will take place. After a time the men get too detached from the work of the conference, and the value of their work decreases very noticeably. In spite of the very high importance of the results of the Austrian mission, I very much doubt if it will be of any real value to the peace conference in a few weeks more. Any unexpended balance remaining to the credit of these missions should be turned back to the Commission.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1/20

Memorandum by the Executive Officer of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Patterson)

Memorandum No. 73

PARIS, February 6, 1919.

Subject: General Order from the Commissioners.

1. For the purpose of attaining the highest possible state of efficiency in the office organization of the Commission, the Commissioners have directed the Personnel Committee to visit and investigate each office with a view to ascertaining whether there is a surplus or shortage of assistance. Heads of offices and sections will furnish the committee with full data.

2. Mr. White and General Bliss, with Mr. Patchin and Mr. McNeir, have been asked to investigate the results, and where the preliminary report shows further inquiry necessary, they will call in the heads of departments for personal consultation.

R. C. PATTERSON, JR.,
Captain, U. S. A.

Approved:

J. C. GREW
Secretary

Paris Peace Conf. 184/103

Lieutenant Colonel C. H. Mason to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

[PARIS,] February 8, 1919.

Subject: Making strategic information available for the use of the Commissioners.

1. The questions now coming before our Commissioners all have strategic permutations that cannot be safely overlooked. Yet oversights of this kind must occur so long as there are no arrangements within the Secretariat for their supervision, as at present. It was for this purpose, presumably, that I was ordered to duty with the Commission. I have not been so used, and it is impracticable for me to function in this regard unless I am informed of the nature of the questions arising and when they are to be considered.

2. The personnel and organization of the important foreign Commissions indicate that their Commissioners are adequately supported in this respect, thus putting our Commissioners at a disadvantage.

3. The Planet air routes; the Ussuri objective; the Tangier-Dakar Railway project may be mentioned as examples of the numerous strategic factors requiring supervision and recognition.

4. It is therefore recommended that I be given the necessary status and entrée to enable me to analyze the strategic permutations of questions about to come before our Commissioners. To determine how this may best be done, I suggest a conference with you.

C. H. MASON
Lt. Col., Gen. Staff Corps

Edward M. House Papers

Memorandum [by the Secretary of State] of Subjects To Be Dealt With in the Preliminary Treaty of Peace

FEBRUARY 14, 1919.

1. Restoration of Peace and official relations.
2. Restoration of commercial and financial relations subject to conditions stated.
3. Renunciation by Germany of all territory and territorial rights outside of Europe.
4. Minimum territory of Germany in Europe, the boundaries to be finally determined in the Definitive Treaty.
5. Maximum military and naval establishments which Germany will be permitted to maintain, including production of munitions.

6. Total amount of money and property to be surrendered by Germany for reparation of losses with time limit for payment and delivery.

7. German territory and property to be held as security by the Allied and Associated Powers for the faithful performance of the undertakings by Germany until the Definitive Peace is ratified.

8. Declaration of approval of the League of Nations.

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/173

Bulletin of the Commission to Negotiate Peace, February 14, 1919

NOTICE

The President will leave Paris for Brest this evening at 9:20 P. M. from the Gare des Invalides, (Opposite the Quai d'Orsay).

Paris Peace Conf. 102.1/84a: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, February 15, 1919—1 p. m.

775. D-52 for Rathbone¹⁴ [from Davis, Lamont, and Strauss]. While Strauss and Lamont were in transit, Davis cabled you regarding (1st) numbering cables, and (2nd) removal of all records to Paris and arrangements for getting needed information from London. See cables D-25 and D-5.¹⁵

Organization now consists of Davis, Lamont, Strauss, Jeremiah Smith, Loree, Cook, Whitney and sufficient stenographers.¹⁶ Harris will probably remain, but status not settled. Cables are coded by Ammission. Cook has just arrived after having closed London office. He and Loree are dealing with daily cables, but Loree is taking his family back to New York next week and cannot, until his arrival there, tell if he can return. Davis, Lamont, Strauss, with Smith as Counsel, will keep each other thoroughly posted and consult on all matters daily. Work of Mission here is done through Committees, American membership of which is settled by President, who has appointed Davis on Committee for Reparation of Damages and Armistice Committee. Strauss, besides other more temporary tasks assigned to him, while in transit, was named on Finance Committee. Members of Committees can designate alternates and we expect to conduct our affairs interchangeably, Lamont to act on Armistice Committee, Davis on Reparation, Strauss on Finance. Treasury

¹⁴ Albert Rathbone, Assistant Secretary of the U. S. Treasury.

¹⁵ Neither printed.

¹⁶ Organization representing the U. S. Treasury.

point of view as to advances and terms of obligations and generally of settlement of all financial questions by Secretary of Treasury, is fully understood by all and Davis has heretofore succeeded by insisting on this view in warding off numerous requests for advances. Lamont has been laid up with influenza, but is well now. Strauss has gone to most meetings with Davis, getting acquainted with people and organization. These meetings have so multiplied recently that there has been practically no time to draft cables posting you generally, which we hope to find time for shortly. The Supreme War Council has set up a Supreme Economic Council consisting of representatives of five principal powers, on which President has named for United States, Davis, Hoover, McCormick, Hurley, Baruch. Supreme Economic Council constituted under following resolution of Supreme War Council:

“(1) Under present conditions many questions not primarily of military character which are arising daily and which are bound to become of increasing importance as time passes should be dealt with on behalf of the United States and the Allies by civilian representatives of these governments experienced in such questions as finance, food, blockade control, shipping and raw materials,

(2) To accomplish this there shall be constituted at Paris a Supreme Economic Council to deal with such matters for the period of the Armistice. The Council shall absorb or replace such other existing inter-allied bodies and their powers as it may determine from time to time. The Economic Council shall consist of not more than five representatives of each interested government,

(3) There shall be added to the present International Permanent Armistice Commission two civilian representatives of each government, who shall consult with the Allied High Command, but who may report direct to the Supreme Economic Council.”

Supreme Economic Council, like all other interallied bodies, can only act by unanimous consent. Financial questions to come before Economic Council are likely to be limited to relief questions, also methods in which Germany and Austria will pay for food or kindred questions. Davis will not of course act without your instructions in any cases except where your views or instructions have been communicated.

All Inter-Allied questions are becoming more and more Armistice questions or Peace Treaty questions, consequently present Inter-Allied bodies are referring more and more problems to Supreme War Council which has neither time nor organization to deal with them. Supreme Economic Council is therefore intended as a sort of Executive Committee of Supreme War Council to settle questions on which after discussion unanimous consent may be obtainable leaving, it is hoped, only a few clear-cut issues to be presented for decision.

We have taken every occasion to impress on all National representatives that we meet, the limits on power of the United States to

make advances because of legislative limitations and also impossibility of placing unlimited Liberty Bonds and have urged them to induce their merchants and bankers to make private arrangements with American business men, encouraging them with our opinion that credit and investment markets in the United States if properly cultivated can probably deal with all needs for purchases in the United States. Davis, Lamont, Strauss.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 185.1/19

The Executive Secretary of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Patchin) to the Secretary of State

[PARIS,] February 15, 1919.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I wish to submit the following observations: Most of the severe attacks which have been made on the Peace Conference, and on the President, have been based on the charge that little progress was being made toward actual peace, demobilization, et cetera.

Now that the President has gone, I think that there should be even fuller publicity of the activities of the Conference than before, for it seems to me very necessary that we should avoid having it appear that his departure means delay, and that things are being held up, and the peace of the world postponed, as the opposition, I am sure, will say, pending his return to Paris.

I would suggest, therefore, that the American Delegation, at least, give out everything possible as to what it is doing, and as to the progress of events generally.

PHILIP H. PATCHIN

Paris Peace Conf. 184/109

Memorandum by the Administrative Officer of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Patterson)

Memorandum No. 77

PARIS, February 15, 1919.

Subject: Official Commission Designations.

1. The designations of officials of the Secretariat are now as follows:

Joseph Clark Grew, Secretary General, with the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary.

Leland Harrison, Diplomatic Secretary, with the rank of Counsellor of Embassy.

Philip H. Patchin, Executive Secretary, with the rank of Counsellor of Embassy.

2. The title of Executive Officer, Captain Richard C. Patterson, Jr., is changed to Administrative Officer, and the Executive Offices will hereafter be called the Administrative Offices. The symbol used in correspondence is changed from EO to AO.

3. The foregoing involves no change in the functions of the officials mentioned.

R. C. PATTERSON, JR.
Captain, U. S. A.

Approved:
J. C. GREW
Secretary

Paris Peace Conf. 184.6/72

Bulletin No. 20 of the Commission to Negotiate Peace, February 17, 1919

CONFIDENTIAL CHARACTER OF REPORTS OF MINUTES OF QUAI D'ORSAY CONVERSATIONS

1. Attention has been directed informally by the Secretary General of the Peace Conference to the fact that the number of copies of the minutes of the Quai d'Orsay Conversations which are at the present time under distribution to representatives of the Four Allied Great Powers and the United States is much greater than was at first anticipated.

2. Mention is also made of the publication in the press of certain confidential material from or about these conversations.

3. In view of the importance set by President Wilson and the Prime Ministers on the confidential character of their conversations, the evident embarrassment to the American Commission should leakage occur through an act either of omission or commission on the part of any person in the American Delegation in whose possession these reports may be or into whose knowledge their contents may come, and finally in view of the warning from the Secretary General of the Conference, may I request the earnest cooperation of all concerned in a concerted and continued effort to protect their secrecy?

4. This will involve, naturally, care in the use, filing and retention of the reports and except, of course, where it may be required for official purposes in connection with the work of the Commission, particular avoidance of discussion of their contents.

5. With an increasing number of copies distributed among the representatives of all the Governments concerned, it is obvious that chances of leakage of secret information are increased.

6. As has been stated previously, every effort is made to insure safe and prompt delivery of the minutes sent out by this office to the

persons whose names are listed with the approval of the American Commissioners.

7. Each copy bears a number which is charged to the person opposite whose name the number appears on the "Distribution Receipt List." A certain number of copies are received in this office, each is numbered, and an effort is made to keep a definite tally on all copies distributed or on file.

8. Should you deem it desirable, the copies may be returned to the office of Mr. Harrison, Room 302, Hotel Crillon, where they will be held readily available for your use, provided you do not wish to retain them in your own files.

9. Whatever can be done to reduce all chance of leakage to a minimum will be appreciated, in view of the international character of the responsibility attaching to the possession of these reports.

By direction of the American Commissioners.

J. C. GREW

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/178a : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to President Wilson

[PARIS,] February 18, 1919.

10. [From House.] Newspapers announce you are to make an important speech about the Conference upon landing at Boston.¹⁷ When you left I understood that you had no such intention. However in view of the dinner you are to give to the members of foreign relation committees of Congress¹⁸ I hope you will compliment them by making your first explanation of affairs over here to them and confine your Boston remarks to generalities. Edward House.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 184/111

Memorandum by the Administrative Officer of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Patterson)

Memorandum No. 79 PARIS, February 19, 1919.

Subject: Division of Current Diplomatic and Political Correspondence.

1. A new section of the Secretariat, the Division of Current Diplomatic and Political Correspondence, has been established, room 415

¹⁷ Address at Boston, February 24, 1919, *The Public Papers of Woodrow Wilson*, authorized edition (1927) vol. v, pp. 432-440. An address was also given at New York, March 4, *ibid.*, pp. 444-455.

¹⁸ President Wilson gave a White House dinner on February 26, 1919, for members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the House of Representatives' Committee on Foreign Affairs. Apparently no official record of the discussion was made.

Hotel Crillon, telephone Crillon 41, Mr. Ellis L. Dresel in charge. The symbol for his office, to be used in the distribution of documents, is S-D.

R. C. PATTERSON, JR.
Captain, U. S. A.

Approved:
J. C. GREW
Secretary

Paris Peace Conf. 184.6/72

The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to the American Secretaries of the Commissions and Committees on the Peace Conference

[PARIS,] February 19, 1919.

Subject: Procedure.

In order that the work of the American representatives on the various commissions and committees of the Peace Conference may be coordinated and the proceedings made readily available to the Commissioners, it is requested that the following procedure be carefully observed by the American secretaries of these commissions:—

1. As regards the meetings themselves:—

(a) Immediately after each meeting it should be decided by the secretaries of the different powers represented whether a communique is to be given out to the press, and if so, this communique should be drawn up identically in English and French, compared and approved. A copy of this communique in English should then be placed by the American secretary, at the earliest possible moment, in the hands of Mr. Sweetser, Acting Chief of the Commission's Press Bureau, 4 Place de la Concorde, to be given to the American newspaper representatives as nearly as possible at the same moment that it is given to the French and other newspaper men.

(b) The American secretary should then draw up a short statement of proceedings of the meeting and of any resolutions adopted and should submit this statement, as soon as possible, to Mr. Huddle, Room 302, Hotel Crillon, to be embodied in the Commission's Confidential Bulletin for the information of the Commissioners.

(c) The proces-verbal of the meeting should be drawn up in collaboration with the secretaries of other powers represented, both in English and French, compared, approved and distributed to the delegates of the various powers represented. This distribution is usually left to the Secretary-General of the commission in question, but it should be clearly understood that he will distribute the English and French versions simultaneously.

2. As regards the Commission:—

A central office under Mr. Huddle, Room No. 302, telephone Crillon 55, has been established at the Hotel Crillon with a view to centralizing all information in regard to the commissions and committees of the Peace Conference. The following information should be furnished Mr. Huddle as promptly as possible:—

(a) The date and hour of every meeting as soon as such meeting has been called. Mr. Huddle should also be furnished with a complete calendar of all meetings held up to the present date.

(b) Any change of personnel of the commissions or committees, or other matters of an unusual nature.

(c) Copies of (1) the press communiques; (2) confidential statement of proceedings for the Commissioners; and (3) the final proces-verbaux.

(d) It is furthermore important that the Secretary General of the American Commission be apprised from time to time as to the expected time for the completion of the work of the Commission or Committee, and when the final report may be expected. He should also be furnished, if possible, with an advance provisional copy or draft of the final report immediately upon its completion.

(e) The residence addresses of all secretaries, with telephone numbers, in case it should be desirable to get in touch with them at night or on Sundays.

(f) Mr. Huddle, on his part, will immediately, upon receiving any notice from the General Secretariat, of the calling of a meeting, notify the Secretary of the commission in question, and it shall be the duty of that Secretary to notify the American members of that commission.

J. C. GREW

Edward M. House Papers: Telegram

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

[PARIS,] February 19, 1919.

20. The memorandum I received containing account of conversation between British Chief of Staff and Foch was sent Feb. 19 in regular cipher on account of its length. Clemenceau, Balfour and I were to have had a conference at ten o'clock this morning to discuss plans for speeding up work of Conference. Clemenceau was shot at nine o'clock so conference had to be abandoned. French have changed their position and now desire to hurry the signing of peace. I believe their change of position may be explained by realization that their own army is becoming demoralized. Amount of compensation mentioned by Foch is far less than sum contended for by French Treasury which is demanding that costs of war be assessed against Germany. I am doing everything possible to hasten work of Conference so that upon your return terms of preliminary peace will be ready for your consideration.

EDWARD HOUSE

763.72119/3820 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, February 20, 1919—1 p. m.

[Received February 21—1:24 a. m.]

836. For Honorable H. Cabot Lodge²⁰ [from Henry White]. Respecting irritation at delay in concluding peace, mentioned second page your letter February 1st,²¹ I sent you yesterday by courier documents containing military peace terms urged by General Bliss on Supreme War Council with President's approval for original Armistice, November 11th, which Foch declined to accept.²² They involved complete disarmament and demobilization of German Army. Have reason to hope efforts we have been steadily making to push settlement of peace terms with Germany may before long be successful. Delay not our fault. President landing Boston because Mayor Peters urging him to come there for more than a year and certain reasons render landing New York undesirable. Papers announce he will speak Boston, which I believe erroneous. When leaving he had no such intentions at Boston or elsewhere before meeting Foreign Relations Committees. Condition Clemenceau precarious next few days owing to advanced age. His absence from Conference even short time very unfortunate just now. Attack symptomatic of unrest, general uneasiness and discontent. Lieutenant Condon, my military secretary, intelligent, discreet, arriving and returning with President, will visit you my request for impressions you may confide to him. Henry White.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Edward M. House Papers : Telegram

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

[PARIS,] February 23, 1919.

3. At his request I had a conference yesterday with Clemenceau.

1. He is anxious to speed up and make any [*an?*] early peace with Germany. He at last realizes the danger of delay.

2. He is insistent upon the creation of a Rhinish Republic. There will be about four million of Germans aggregated in this way. He desires that this Republic should be exempt from the payment of any indemnity; That they should have no armed force; that everything should be done to make them prosperous and contented so that they

²⁰ Senator from Massachusetts.

²¹ Not found in Department files; for a summary of its contents, see Allan Nevins, *Henry White: Thirty Years of American Diplomacy* (New York, Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1930), p. 373.

²² For General Bliss' account of these negotiations, see *Foreign Relations, The Lansing Papers, 1914-1920*, vol. II, pp. 284-297.

will not want to join the German Federation and if they have such a desire they will not be permitted to do so.

3. On the East Clemenceau thinks the Dantzig should go to Poland. Our experts also believe this to be the best solution and they are joined I understand in this belief by the British experts, but the British Government disagree on this point.

4. Clemenceau says that German-Austria will not join the German Federation if they received an intimation from the Allies that they do not wish them to do so. He is insistent that this intimation be given them.

5. He thinks the entire terms should be given at once and that the military terms should not be made now as at first planned. There was afterwards common agreement on this point at our meeting at the Quai d'Orsay.

6. He thought he would be able to attend meetings in a few days. I doubt it. I feel he is by no means out of danger.

7. I assume that you are getting full reports of the meetings at the Quai d'Orsay.

EDWARD HOUSE

Edward M. House Papers : Telegram

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

[PARIS,] February 24, 1919.

4. You have no doubt received the text of the separate resolutions adopted today regarding the preparation of preliminary peace terms with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey.²³

1. General Bliss is working with the military authorities and their report will be cabled when the same has been prepared.

2. Our territorial experts are in substantial agreement with the British and the French respecting boundaries of Germany. Tardieu, who, since attack on Clemenceau, has become more prominent, said to me yesterday that France would be willing to have the Rhinish Republic set up only for a limited period of years, at the end of which the population would be permitted to decide for themselves what their future should be. He said that in this way a breathing space would be given us all and France would secure protection until she recovered from the present war. The principle of self-determination would be in this way safeguarded.

3. It now seems possible that we shall arrive at a solution of the reparation matter which we can accept without abandoning the principle accepted by Germany and the Allies at the time of the Armistice. In the event however that this principle is seriously threatened with

²³ See appendices to BC-38, vol. iv, pp. 108-111.

repudiation by the Allies it may be wise for us to intimate that as we do not wish to impair in any respect the agreement between the Associated Governments and Germany at the time of the Armistice we would prefer to withdraw from any participation in any recovery from Germany except to the extent of our own claims for reparation which we can satisfy out of the funds in the hands of the Alien Property Custodian. If this intimation is given it may be that the Allies will reconsider their position.

4. The statement of the economic conditions to be accorded Germany will necessarily have to be made in general terms.

5. At the present time the plan we are pursuing is as follows: the giving of priority to the work of committees involving matters essential in the preparation of a peace treaty with Germany. Reports from these committees should be available by March 8th and should upon your arrival be in shape so that you can consider them without delay. After you have approved them they should be submitted to a Plenary Session of the Conference and an agreement of all of the powers reached respecting them. If this procedure is followed it ought to be possible to summon the Peace Conference for a date not later than the first week of April.

6. It is probable that French Government will insist that you be their guest. I will cable you definitely about this and the question of servants tomorrow.

HOUSE

Paris Peace Conf. 181/14

The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to the American Secretaries of the Commissions and Committees on the Peace Conference

[PARIS,] February 24, 1919.

Subject: Distribution of Minutes of the Various Sub-Committees and Special Commissions of the Conference.

Supplementing my communication of February 19, 1919, and with reference to our conversation of Wednesday morning, may I call to your attention the following points relative to the preparation and distribution of the minutes of the various meetings of your commissions or committees:—

I

1. Information has been received that at a meeting of the International Secretariat of the Peace Conference, Thursday, February 13, 1919, it was decided that the minutes of the various sub-committees

and special commissions of the Conference are to be distributed to these committees and commissions by the secretaries of each.

2. They will be distributed among the various delegations which are not represented on the committees or commissions, in respective instances, by the Secretary General of the Peace Conference, to whom a sufficient number of copies should be furnished for this purpose.

II

1. An inquiry was also made by the Secretary General of the Peace Conference as to whether the American Delegation intend to print the American text of the minutes of such committees and commissions. This matter is in direct connection with the production of mimeograph copies of the minutes, which are now being made as a result of the conference in my office on Wednesday morning, February 19, 1919.

2. I have therefore taken the liberty to answer the Secretary General of the Peace Conference to the effect that he will be furnished with texts of the minutes of the meetings in the English language, which consequently it will be necessary for you to submit to his office, possibly in collaboration with your British colleague.

III

1. In mentioning the matter discussed in Section II, preceding, I am reminded that a final report is, of course, to be prepared by each committee or commission. May I venture to direct your attention to the fact that these final reports should be prepared in *printed* form for consideration by the Peace Conference, and that a sufficient number of copies in the English text should be at hand for the use of the members of the American Commission at least twenty-four hours before the matter is to be taken up for consideration by the Conference. This may also be worked out in collaboration with your British colleague, if such action is found practicable.

2. The text of the printed copy of the final report will be official and will, as mentioned on last Wednesday morning, agree exactly with the sense of the official text of the copy printed in the French language. The number of printed copies of these reports which should be furnished to the Secretary General of the Peace Conference will depend upon his needs therefor, but without knowing exactly how many he may require, I would suggest that one hundred copies be placed in his hands at a time not less than twenty-four hours before the session at which the report will receive consideration.

Very sincerely yours,

J. C. GREW

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/187a : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to President Wilson

PARIS, February 26, 1919—4 p. m.

913. Personal and confidential for President Wilson from Vance McCormick.

My conferences with Belgians and French have impressed me with the very great desirability of your landing on your return at Antwerp and proceeding to Paris through Belgium and invaded regions of France. I feel that far more than local considerations would be involved in such a procedure and that it would beneficially affect political forces which cannot be ignored. There has been a distinct improvement in the atmosphere here at Paris within the last fortnight and I believe that announcement of your intention to return via Belgium and Northern France would go far toward maintaining our relations with France and Belgium on this more favorable basis. I also point out that you may consider it preferable to make your second landing in Europe in a country which you as President have not yet visited and where a new welcome would accordingly be awaiting you. I have talked this over with Colonel House who heartily approves.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Edward M. House Papers : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to President Wilson

[PARIS,] February 26, 1919.

For President from House.

1. George is desirous of arranging his engagements so that he can be in Paris at a time most advantageous from your standpoint. He can either come the later part of this week and remain here for about a week or can be here on about March 14th and remain here for approximately ten days. His Labor Committee is expected to report on March 20th but he can probably put off receiving this report for five or six days at the most provided he is engaged in Conference in Paris during that time. I suggest that you authorize me to express to him your hope that he arrive on March 14th and stay as long as practicable. Please cable me as soon as possible respecting this matter.

2. Last Monday night Pichon and Klotz called on me. They were very much disturbed over the French financial situation and stated that unless England furnished France with some sterling exchange almost immediately there would be a serious break in the price of the French franc with disastrous results. They stated that the British Chancellor of the Exchequer would come to Paris if he could see me

for a conference respecting this matter. I agreed to see him at any time he came. On Thursday at noon Klotz, Tardieu and other French Treasury officials called on me and asked me to intervene at once with England so that France would be furnished immediately with a few million pounds of sterling exchange to tide them over until the Chancellor of the Exchequer could come to Paris for conference. I promised to do what I could. I at once took steps to point out Lloyd George the unfortunate effect which would be caused by French financial difficulties at this time and I urged that some sterling exchange be given the French to tide them over their difficulties. George directed that this be done. Klotz expressed deep gratification of French Cabinet for this assistance. British Chancellor of the Exchequer will come to Paris early next week for conference.

3. Tardieu has submitted memorandum on French position respecting left bank of Rhine. I will cable you about this fully when I have had an opportunity of studying it.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119/3943a : Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in France (Sharp)

WASHINGTON, February 27, 1919—5 p. m.

7549. Department desires to call your attention to the fact that the Embassy is not keeping it advised of the general attitude of the French Press, and more especially the reported changes in sentiment towards the American program in the League of Nations. The American correspondents in Paris are sending daily reports on this subject, and it is therefore embarrassing that the Embassy has failed to keep the Department advised. Call your attention in particular that no report was made as to attacks on our program which led to threat of moving Peace Conference.

POLK

763.72119/3944 : Telegram

The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, February 28, 1919—9 p. m.

[Received March 1—12:41 a. m.]

7467. Your 7549, 27, 5 p. m. While I shall be very happy to comply with the Department's request to keep it promptly informed as to the attitude of the French press, particularly as it has to do with the American program on the League of Nations, yet, until the receipt of your telegram, I had supposed that the American mission was giving such information to the Department. We have been supplying the

Commission almost daily with a translation résumé of French press comments bearing on such questions. Though we send to the Department a pouch three times a week containing many comments of the French press pertaining to the work of the conference, yet hereafter, in view of your statement, I [will] see that the Department gets the information by telegraph which it has asked. Possibly you had not received my 7439, 26, 12 p. m.²⁴ giving rather copious extracts from French press on the President's Boston speech.

SHARP

Edward M. House Papers : Telegram

President Wilson to Colonel E. M. House

FEBRUARY 28, 1919.

1. 1. Unless you think I should come more immediately to Paris I shall land at Antwerp and go from there to Bruxelles and from Bruxelles through the devastated regions arranging it from Lille to Paris. I believe that I can be confident of reaching Antwerp by the 14th and should be in Paris some four days later. I would be obliged if General Harts would arrange the motor transportation through the devastated regions.

2. This, however, seems to conflict with the appointment Mr. Lloyd George made, and I am quite willing, if he wishes me to do so, to come direct to Paris by Brest, and I hope that you will say to him that I regard it as of the highest importance that we should constantly have the benefit of his counsel and guidance. Please let me know as soon as possible whether the Antwerp plan should be given up and my visit to Bruxelles made later.

3. We note what you say about the house we are to occupy and the insistence of the French Government that we should be its guests. We find that it will not be possible to bring a complete set of servants and think it on the whole unwise to attempt to bring a few. We would be very much obliged therefore if you would arrange through the French Government for reliable servants.

4. I am glad that you were able to assist the French Government in the matter of exchange.

WOODROW WILSON

Edward M. House Papers : Telegram

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

[PARIS,] March 1, 1919.

12. After receiving your No. 1, I got in communication with Lloyd George by telephone. He thinks that it is essential for you to come

²⁴ Not printed.

directly to Paris as soon as possible. His difficulties with the coal miners and other laborers culminates around the 24th or 25th of March and it will be necessary for him to return to England by then. If you arrive in Paris by the 13th or 14th we both believe it may be possible to settle the preliminary peace terms with Germany by the 23d and name a day for the regular peace congress in which the Central Powers are to participate. I have April 2d tentatively in mind for the assembling of the Congress. The preliminary peace terms for Austria should also be ready early in April. The Brussels trip can be taken during the interim between the calling of the Peace Congress and its date of assembling. I am glad you are not bringing your servants. The French Government are holding those you had at the Hotel Murat intact for you.

EDWARD HOUSE

Edward M. House Papers : Telegram

President Wilson to Colonel E. M. House

MARCH 3, 1919—3 p. m.

3. I will come directly to Brest and Paris as you think best. Advise.

WOODROW WILSON

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/195

Mr. A. W. Dulles to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

PARIS, 3 March, 1919.

At the meeting of the Commissioners this morning, Mr. White read a telegram which had been received from the naval authorities regarding the proposal that the President land at Antwerp.²⁵ This telegram mentioned that while the mine fields in the English channel were largely cleared up, there was still some danger from mines, and that the navigation of the Scheldt was as yet very difficult for a vessel of the size of the "George Washington". The naval authorities recommended that if the President made the trip as contemplated, he should land at Flushing and proceed by destroyer to Antwerp. The Commissioners were unanimous in the decision that they could not assume the responsibility for advising the President to take a trip which involved an element of danger. Mr. Lansing pointed out that it would be out of the question to touch at Flushing, which was Dutch territory.

A. W. DULLES

²⁵ Not printed.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.6/72

*The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)
to the American Secretaries of the Commissions and Committees on
the Peace Conference*

[PARIS,] March 4, 1919.

Subject: Distribution of Minutes of the Various Sub-Committees and Special Commissions of the Conference.

1. Please refer to Section I, paragraph 2, of my communication of February 24, 1919, relative to the above subject. In connection with the purpose expressed therein on the part of the Secretary General of the Peace Conference to circulate minutes of the meetings of the different commissions and committees among the delegations not represented on these organizations, it has been found that this action, under certain circumstances, might prove undesirable.

2. The matter therefore has been taken up with the Secretary General of the Conference with the result that he has stated that at a meeting of the Secretariat General of the Conference, it was decided that procès verbaux and minutes of the committees would not be circulated except to delegations represented thereon.

3. The Secretary General of the Conference, however, is desirous of being furnished with thirty copies of these minutes in English after their approval by the commission for the archives of the Conference. It is stated that none of the minutes which have come into the hands of the Secretary General have up to the present been given general circulation.

4. The above comments also bear on paragraph 2, of Section II, of my communication of February 24, 1919, and you will be guided accordingly.

5. May I also take this occasion to remind you of the necessity for having printed copies of the final reports of the commission to which you may be attached ready for distribution at least twenty-four hours before the matter is to be considered by the representatives of the Associated Great Powers in the Bureau Conference. Thirty copies of the English text of these printed reports should be furnished Mr. Leland Harrison, the Diplomatic Secretary of the Commission for use of the American Commissioners, Technical Advisors and Technical Experts in a limited distribution, and probably one hundred copies should be furnished the Secretary General of the Conference, as suggested in paragraph 2, of Section III, of my communication above noted.

6. These should be available, at the latest, on the afternoon of Friday, March 7.

J. C. GREW

Edward M. House Papers : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to President Wilson

PARIS, March 4, 1919.

1. For the President from House.

1. We have not yet found a satisfactory way to make the League of Nations function as I suggested and nothing will be done until after your arrival. In the meantime we will try to shepherd the neutrals into the fold.

2. The situation in Germany, particularly in Bavaria, is extremely critical and I have tried to impress both the British and French with the necessity of getting food into these countries immediately. After a conference with Clemenceau and Balfour we agreed to bring the question of supplying Bohemia before the Council of Ten tomorrow. Clemenceau asked that he be given a short time to bring the French public to a realization of the importance of sending food into Germany, when he promises earnest cooperation with us in that direction.

3. Balfour and I also took up with Clemenceau the question of Luxemburg. He has agreed to withdraw the French troops stationed there and I shall confer with Pershing on Thursday as to whether American troops shall occupy it.

4. Everything has been speeded up and I feel confident that by the time of your arrival all questions will be ready for your approval.

5. Lloyd George is expected here tomorrow night.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

*Statement by President Wilson Upon the Adjournment of Congress,
March 4, 1919*²⁶

A group of men in the Senate have deliberately chosen to embarrass the administration of the government, to imperil the financial interests of the railways systems of the country, and to make arbitrary use of powers intended to be employed in the interests of the people.

It is plainly my present duty to attend the Peace Conference in Paris. It is also my duty to be in close contact with the public business during a session of the Congress. I must make my choice between these two duties, and I confidently hope that the people of the country will think that I am making the right choice. It is not in the interest of the right conduct of public affairs that I should call the Congress in special session while it is impossible for me to be in Washington, because of a more pressing duty elsewhere, to cooperate with the Houses.

²⁶ Reprinted from *Official U. S. Bulletin*, vol. 3, No. 552, March 4, 1919, p. 1.

I take it for granted that the men who have obstructed and prevented the passage of necessary legislation have taken all of this into consideration and are willing to assume the responsibility of the impaired efficiency of the government and the embarrassed finances of the country during the time of my enforced absence.

Paris Peace Conf. 185.1/33

*General Tasker H. Bliss to the Commission to Negotiate Peace*²⁷

PARIS, March 11, 1919.

I suggest that the American representative or representatives on each of the Committees appointed by the Peace Conference or by the Council of Ten be instructed to report to the American Delegation, before the arrival of the President, in what respect (if any) the report of his Committee violates (if it does violate) any of the President's Declarations, and what is the justification for it.

TASKER H. BLISS

Paris Peace Conf. 185.1/34

The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to the American Secretaries of the Commissions and Committees on the Peace Conference

[PARIS,] March 11, 1919.

Subject: Possible Violations of any of the President's Declarations in Committee or Commission Reports.

On Tuesday, March 11, a request was made by the American Commissioners that the American Representative or Representatives on each of the Committees or Commissions appointed by the Peace Conference or by the Council of Ten be instructed to report to the American Delegation before the arrival of the President in what respect (if any) the report of his Committee violates (if it does violate) any of the President's declarations and to state the justification therefor.²⁸

In order to comply with this request it will be necessary for you to submit to me either by mail or in person, if possible, before twelve o'clock on Thursday, March 13, such a report as you may have to

²⁷ This memorandum bears the notation in Secretary Lansing's handwriting: "Mr. Grew: I heartily approve this. Ask for reports by Thursday, the 13th RL."

²⁸ See minutes of the meeting of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary, March 11, 1919, p. 110.

make on behalf of the American Representatives on the Committee in which you are acting as Secretary.

If the work of your Committee or Commission has not sufficiently progressed to admit of the preparation of such a report by the time indicated, I shall be glad to receive information from you to that effect.

I shall greatly appreciate your co-operation in this matter in order that I may have a full report to make to the members of the American Commission before the arrival of the President on Thursday evening.

J. C. GREW

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/208: Telegram

President Wilson to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

ON BOARD U. S. S. "GEORGE WASHINGTON," March 12, 1919.

[Received 10:20 p. m.]

For Colonel House. Shall probably reach Brest at 8:30 and shall of course take dinner on the boat before going ashore. Regret late arrival but in circumstances of course agree to arrangements suggested.

WOODROW WILSON

Paris Peace Conf. 185.1/36

*The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)
to the Secretary of State*

PARIS, March 14, 1919.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: At the meeting of the Commissioners on March 11th, the following letter from General Bliss to his colleagues of the Commission was read, and I was directed to send a circular letter, based thereon, to the Secretaries of the various Commissions appointed by the Peace Conference or by the Council of Ten, instructing them to submit reports by noon on March 13th:

[Here follows text of memorandum printed on page 522.]

Action accordingly was taken by me; and I beg herewith to submit a statement (with the papers mentioned therein appended thereto) based on the reports which have been received from the various Commissions.

I am sending these reports to you in accordance with your request at yesterday's meeting and shall furnish you with copies of further reports as soon as they are received.

Yours very respectfully,

J. C. GREW

[Enclosure]

*Statement Concerning Possible Violations of Any of the President's
Declarations in Commission or Committee Reports*

In accordance with instructions from the Commissioners, based on a memorandum by General Bliss under date of March 11, inquiry has been made to the Secretaries of the Committees or Commissions appointed by the Peace Conference or by the Council of Ten, as to whether the report of his Committee or Commission violates any of the President's declarations, and if so, in what respect; and also to state the justification therefor.

In response to this inquiry, replies summarized as follows have been received:—

The following named commissions have not progressed sufficiently to date in the preparation of their reports to admit of making a statement in regard to the subject given above:—

Commission on International Labor Legislation.
Reparation Commission.
Supreme Economic Council.
Central Commission for Territorial Questions.
Economic Commission.
Financial Commission.

The reply of Dr. Clive Day and Dr. W. L. Westermann, members of the Committee on Greek Claims, to the above noted inquiry is quoted in full as an annex to this memorandum. (See Annex "A")

The reply of Captain Stuart Montgomery, Secretary of the Polish Commission states that it is believed that the report of that commission adheres to the President's principles in an entirely reasonable manner. He explains that the report consists of two main sections (Sections 2 and 3), both of which were prepared by Dr. Bowman, and accepted by the British and French Delegations. (See Annex "B")

The following commissions have not reported:—

League of Nations,
Responsibility,
Ports, Waterways and Railways,
Czecho-Slovak Affairs,
Rumanian Territorial Claims.

In regard to the reports submitted by the Belgian and Danish Territorial Commission the Secretary, Mr. Frank L. Warrin, Jr., stated by telephone that the report relative to the Treaty of 1839 recently adopted by the Council of Ten as submitted by this commission contains no violations of the President's principles. He said that the second report of the commission was not as yet sufficiently advanced to admit of a statement on the question at hand.

[Subenclosure 1—Annex A]

Dr. Clive Day and Mr. W. L. Westermann to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

MARCH 13, 1919.

Subject: Violation of the President's Declarations in the Report of the Committee on Greek Claims.

The points where the American Delegation disagrees with the other delegations, in the effort to hold more closely to the President's Declarations, are given in the report itself. The points can be summarized as follows:

1. As regards the proposal for Northern Epirus, it is the belief of the American Delegation that argument III of the British and French Delegation "For political and strategic reasons" was the determining consideration in the minds of the British and French delegates, and that the attribution of the Koritza district to Greece would be a clear sacrifice of the national interests and aspirations of the great majority of the people concerned.

2. In regard to Western Asia Minor the United States Delegation could not accept the proposal of the British and French to give a coastal strip to Greece basing its position on the fact that such an assignment is not for the best interest of the Greek and Turkish populations and is not desired by a large part of the Greeks; basing its position also on the large percentage of Turks included in any such arbitrary assignment, and furthermore on the inexpediency of cutting off a narrow coastal strip from its hinterland, especially when the intention of the Peace Conference is to assure the equitable government in Anatolia.

3. The British, French and Italian Delegations felt themselves, because of the Treaty of 1915, unable to discuss the Islands of the Dodecanese in Italian possession.

The United States delegates did not recognize the applicability of that treaty and on plain grounds of justice recommended assigning the islands to Greece.

[Subenclosure 2—Annex B]

Captain Stuart Montgomery to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

MARCH 13, 1919.

With reference to your memorandum of March 11th, instructing me to report, before the arrival of the President, in what respects if any the report of the Polish Commission violates or does not violate any of the President's declarations, and the justification therefor, I beg to say that it is believed that the report of the Commission

adheres to the President's principles in an entirely reasonable manner.

This statement is considered to be all the more justified because the report of the Commission consists of two main sections (Sections two and three), the first of which deals with the principles which guided the deliberations of the experts in determining the boundaries, and the second the application of the principles to special cases.

In addition the fact may be noted that both these paragraphs were prepared by Dr. Bowman, and accepted by both the British and the French delegations, and that in the preparation of these sections the President's principles were always kept in mind.

STUART MONTGOMERY

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/213 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in France (Sharp) to the Acting Secretary of State*²⁹

[PARIS,] March 16, 1919—1 a. m.

7701. That I might have before me Press comments upon the significance of his return and what his presence again at the Conference will mean, I have delayed reporting upon the reception of President Wilson on his arrival in Paris yesterday. I believe his coming has been at heart more wished for by the real lovers of France than one can see from the surface. The large crowd assembled at the station gave him a hearty welcome. I get this view from the talks I have had with a number of prominent Frenchmen who with a clear vision have come to understand the importance if not the necessity of having Mr. Wilson's counsels in determining the great problems which now demand the most prompt solution. The Marquis de Chambrun, member of the Chamber of Deputies who as member of the Foreign Affairs Committee is in a position to know the frame of mind of his colleagues, voiced this sentiment very strongly the other day. He told me in a long and frank talk that he was glad to see the evidence of a better understanding of Wilson's plan for helping France. He explained quite fully the reasons for his belief. Having expressed a desire for an appointment several days ago, this morning M. Leygues Minister of Marine, who is one of the most high minded and able men in public life came to the Chancery to see me. His encomiums of Mr. Wilson were as sincere as they were generous, for I have known M. Leygues as a warm friend almost since I came here. He told me that I might rely on the fact that the French people as well as the Government had entire confidence in the wisdom of President Wilson and his unselfish plans for maintaining peace among all nations. What has been my own conviction for a long time past that a number of the French papers were printing partisan and distorted despatches from their Washington correspond-

²⁹ Paraphrase of telegram furnished by the Embassy in Paris to the Commission to Negotiate Peace.

ents who were influenced by Republican partisans in Washington, there being evidence that there was a studied political campaign being carried on by such means to be exerted over here, was corroborated by M. Leygues.

I stated in a former recent telegram that I had observed evidences which I rather sensed than being actually told that the President was coming to be understood as quite as good a friend of France in times of peace as he had been in war. That this feeling has a very substantial foundation, I believe more firmly than ever. Much has been done to remove the scales from the eyes of those over here who had not before understood the real difference between the position of the President and that of his opponents by the open declaration of his opponents at home in favor of isolation of the United States from European Affairs. I do not expect any serious opposition over here from now on, as one was so evidently for their interests and the other against them.

Like the *Petit Parisien* and the *Gaulois*, some of the papers of the largest circulation and of the greatest influence display a genuine welcome toward his coming that betokens a feeling that he is greatly needed. The following quotation from the journal *L'Avenir* of this morning perhaps bears out this view as succinctly as could be stated:

"It must be admitted even by those who regarded Mr. Wilson as a rather embarrassing person that things have stagnated since his departure. When Mr. Wilson is not here there is no society of Nations and nothing can be done without this society. This stagnation of things is due largely to the fact that the solution of pressing difficulties can only be approached from a point of view which he alone knows how to defend with conviction and authority.

France must state the problem as it really is. The society should at first consist of a moral and material alliance between the great Entente countries."

SHARP

Paris Peace Conf. 184/132

Major George L. Berry to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

PARIS, March 17, 1919.

DEAR MR. GREW: I hand you herewith formal report of my activities as Liaison Officer for the American Commission to Negotiate Peace to Labor. I trust this report will meet with your approval.

In connection with my work permit me to advise that the duties assigned to me will be completed according to the statement of Mr. Gompers and the Labor Committee, on Saturday March 22nd. and inasmuch as I have received military orders to accompany the Delegation to London, and thence to America, I ask you to accept my

resignation as Liaison Officer, on date Saturday March the 22nd. 1919.

Trusting that same will be accepted [etc.]

GEORGE L. BERRY

[Enclosure—Report]

PARIS, March 17, 1919.

DEAR MR. GREW: As the Liaison Officer appointed by the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, to Labor, I beg herewith to present a report upon the work performed by this office during the period of my assignment.

1. Upon the arrival of the American Federation of Labor Delegation a Conference was immediately arranged with the American Commission to Negotiate Peace and at this meeting the American Federation of Labor Delegation presented verbally their claims for recognition before the Peace Commission.

2. Two conferences were arranged with the President of the United States and the American Federation of Labor Delegation. At these conferences a clear understanding was arrived at in respect to the claims of American Labor.

3. After the departure of the President of the United States a second conference was held with the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, and at this time the American Federation of Labor Delegation presented the formal position of American Labor, and a clear understanding was arrived at as to the wishes of the American Federation of Labor Delegation.

4. Following the appointment by the Allied nations of two men from each nation with authorization to establish a committee known as the International Committee on Labor Legislation, arrangements were made for a place of meeting at the office of the French Ministry of Labor and at the first meeting, called for organization, Mr. Samuel Gompers one of the appointees by the American Commission to Negotiate Peace was elected President of the International Committee on Labor Legislation.

5. Arrangements have been carried out for all of the meetings of the International Committee on Labor Legislation, and every facility for the handling of the business devolving upon the American representatives upon this committee has been provided for by this office.

6. The establishment of headquarters for the American Labor Delegation in rooms 204, 205 and 206 with the proper and satisfactory office staff was arranged and business has been conducted in a manner that is receiving the full approval of Mr. Gompers and his colleagues.

7. A series of conferences have been held in Paris with the American Labor Delegation, the French Labor Delegation, the British Labor Delegation and the Belgian Labor Delegation. These meetings had

to do largely with the subject of the Berne Conference. The American Federation of Labor Delegation and the Belgian Delegation declined to attend the Berne conference. All other countries, with the exception of Russia, Holland and Sweden, were represented at the Berne conference. The program of the Berne conference is known to the Peace Commission and no comment is necessary by the writer in respect thereto.

8. A series of conferences have been arranged between the heads of the various departments appointed by the American Commission to Negotiate Peace with the Labor representatives and in every instance general satisfaction has been expressed by the Labor Delegation and a full appreciation of the effective and business like manner with which they have been able to conduct their work during their stay in Paris. To date no complaints have been made to this office, nor have any requests been made that have not been fully met, answered and complied with to the satisfaction of the Labor representatives.

9. Because of certain disagreements between the members of the International Commission on Labor Legislation over the proposal of the English Delegation which provided the machinery for the International Labor Bureau, I was requested by Colonel House to confer with Doctor Shotwell with the view of working out a substitute proposal that could be accepted by all parties in the conference; carrying out the suggestion of Colonel House I arranged a conference between Mr. Shotwell, Mr. Robinson, Mr. Gompers and the United States members of the Commission and with other parties representing other Governments and have started in the preparing of a substitute which I believe will be accepted.

I also arranged to have Mr. Shotwell act as Proxy upon the Commission on International Labor Legislation for Mr. Robinson during his visit to Brussels upon other governmental work.

The writer begs to herewith transmit to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace his appreciation of the honors conferred in appointing him as the Liaison Officer to Labor and in as much as the work associated with labor has been practically completed this report is made as a finality.

Very respectfully yours,

GEORGE L. BERRY

*President Wilson, M. Clemenceau, and Signor Orlando to Mr. Lloyd George*³⁰

[PARIS,] 17 March, 1919.

DEAR MR. PRIME MINISTER: It seems to us imperative, in order that the world may wait no longer for peace than is actually unavoidable,

³⁰ Reprinted from *Official U. S. Bulletin*, vol 3, No. 566, March 20, 1910, p. 4.

that you should remain in Paris until the chief questions connected with the peace are settled, and we earnestly beg that you will do so. If you can arrange to remain for another two weeks we hope and believe that this all-important result can be attained.

We write this with a full comprehension of the very urgent matters that are calling you to England, and with a vivid consciousness of the sacrifices we are asking you to make.

Sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON
G. CLEMENCEAU
V. ORLANDO

Paris Peace Conf. 184/137 : Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, March 19, 1919—7 p. m.

[Received March 20—noon].

1188. In reply to urgent request to Legations Berne, Hague and Copenhagen for frequent cable reports on conditions in Germany, Austria and Hungary, Legation at Berne replies that it has no means at its disposal for collection such information, as its staff has been so reduced to meet the requirements of the Mission to Negotiate Peace. The Legation suggests that, inasmuch as the American Peace Mission has sent special missions of investigation to different portions of Central Europe comprising, in several instances, former members of the Legation staff who are in constant telegraphic communication with Paris, the information desired by the Department be supplied by some person attached to the Mission at Paris, who will make it his business to keep the Department informed. The Department has no current information regarding conditions and developments in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, Czecho-Slovakia, or Yugo-Slavia, and because of the depletion of the staffs of the Legations adjacent to Central Europe for the use of the Mission, I am unable to call upon those Legations to supply desired reports regarding Central European conditions. May not arrangements be made whereby some one on the Mission staff can be assigned to furnish the Department with comprehensive cable summary and mail copies of important telegraphic and mail reports received by the Mission from its representatives in Central Europe and Russia? Would greatly appreciate an early reply.

POLK

Paris Peace Conf. 182/68

The American Commissioners Plenipotentiary (Lansing, White, Bliss, House) to President Wilson

[PARIS,] March 21, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: May we bring to your attention a matter, which has come to the notice of the Commission, concerning the feeling which has arisen among the Delegates of the Latin American countries against the action of the Council of Ten in not giving them more ample representation on the Financial and Economic Commissions?

When the above mentioned Commissions were formed it was decided by the Council that the lesser powers should have five delegates from their number on each of the Commissions. A meeting of these powers was held under the Presidency of Mr. Cambon, and resulted in a request for more representation on each Commission.⁵¹ One or two other meetings were subsequently held in which an attempt was made to make a list which would be satisfactory to both the lesser European Powers and to the Latin American nations. The attempt failed and a vote was taken in which the Latin American Delegates supported by China and Siam, had a majority and elected as representatives, a majority of Latin American Delegates, with only two or three Europeans. This list was not accepted by the Council of Ten and representatives of the lesser powers were chosen by it, giving six places on the Financial Commission and seven places on the Economic Commission to the European nations, but including Brazil on the latter Commission. This left Panama, a belligerent, and Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia without representation on any of the various Commissions, producing very hard feelings against the Great Powers.

A crisis has now come and various meetings have been held by the Latin American delegates in which some of them have gone so far as to say that they considered that an insult had been given to Latin America and that to protect themselves from the arbitrary acts of the Great Powers, they should withdraw from the Conference and possibly try to make a separate peace with Germany. There were also remarks made to the effect that if such an action as this on the part of the powerful nations was to be an indication of what the Great Powers would do in the League of Nations, it was best for them not to enter the League.

Unless the Council of Ten will make some further concessions to the Latin American countries, such as giving Panama and Peru representation on either the Financial or Economic Commissions, if it is not possible to give places to Ecuador and Bolivia also, coupled with

⁵¹ See minutes of the meetings of the powers with special interests, vol. III, pp. 447 ff.

an appropriate statement, setting forth that there was no intention to treat the Latin Americans in an arbitrary manner, the feeling of resentment will undoubtedly react most unfavorably on the cause of the Associated Governments, and may give an opportunity for German propaganda, which is only dormant in South and Central America, to work on their feelings and impair the work which is being done at the Conference.

The actual importance to the lesser Latin American nations of having representation on either Commission is probably very slight, but the pride of various governments seems to have been hurt for the reason that although they were invited to send delegates to the Conference, their delegates were not allowed a place on any of the Commissions.

As the United States is represented in the Council of Ten, it comes in for its share of the resentment against the Great Powers and our relations with Latin America may be seriously impaired if we do not do all in our power to better the situation.

We are [etc.]

ROBERT LANSING
H. WHITE
TASKER H. BLISS
E. M. HOUSE

Paris Peace Conf. 185.1/41

*The Diplomatic Secretary of the Commission to Negotiate Peace
(Harrison) to Mr. Henry White*

[PARIS,] March 25, 1919.

DEAR MR. WHITE: Mr. Lansing has directed me to deliver the attached skeleton draft of the Treaty of Peace with Germany.

An original copy of this document was handed to Dr. Scott by Mr. Hurst of the British Delegation. Dr. Scott and Mr. Hurst have gone over the draft together.

Very respectfully,

LELAND HARRISON

[Enclosure]

TREATY OF PEACE WITH GERMANY

MEMORANDUM

The following suggestions are submitted with regard to the form and nature of the forthcoming Treaty of Peace with Germany.

War, i. e. the state of belligerency, cannot be brought to an end more than once. If the forthcoming treaty is to enable the transition of the Allied countries to a peace footing to be carried through, and demobilization to be completed, it should put an end to the state of war.

Demobilization may deprive the Allied Powers of the power to apply

further coercion to Germany, consequently reference should be made in the forthcoming treaty to all matters affecting the enemy Powers for which provision is to be made in the Peace Settlement. Matters which have been worked out in detail can be dealt with in detail in the treaty. Matters which have not by then been worked out in detail should be provided for by imposing upon the enemy acceptance of the principle agreed upon by the Allies and by stipulating that the principle is to be worked out in detail after the treaty has been signed.

Subjects which can only be dealt with in principle in the first treaty will probably be fairly numerous, and it will be convenient that the documents containing the detailed arrangements which may be come to for carrying the principle into effect should ultimately be collected and annexed to some second treaty or convention to be signed by all the parties.

Questions which are purely inter-allied need not be included in the forthcoming treaty. This will give the Allies more time to arrange matters between themselves. In practice it will probably be found convenient to make the settlement with the enemy comprehensive, and to include in it the arrangements to which the enemy must be a party and also those which it is convenient that he should have no *locus standi* for contesting afterwards.

If the above suggestions are approved there is no need to call the forthcoming treaty the *Preliminary Treaty of Peace* as there will only be one. Peace will have been made once and for all. The second instrument to which the detailed arrangements are annexed can be called the Final Act.

So far as one can judge at present, if the plan outlined above were adopted, the treaty of peace with Germany might be arranged as follows:—

ANALYSIS

PART I. POLITICAL.

Termination of the State of War.

- A. Cession of Territory, and arrangements consequential on each cession such as financial adjustments.
 1. Alsace Lorraine including Saar Coalfields.
 2. Left Bank of Rhine including prohibition of fortifications.
 3. Abrogation of Customs Union with Luxembourg and other Luxembourg questions.
 4. Malmedy and Moresnet.
 5. Schleswig.
 6. Heligoland and Dune including questions as to future of fortifications.
 7. Poland.
 8. Memel.
 9. Rectification of Bohemian frontier.

PART I. POLITICAL—Continued.

A.—Continued.

10. South West Africa.
11. East Africa, Cameroons and Togoland.
12. Islands North of the Equator.
13. New Guinea and other islands South of the Equator.
14. Samoa.
15. Kiaochao.
16. Shantung, German rights in,
? Opium Convention, see VI. 11.
17. Waiver of German rights in Morocco.

B. Recognition of new States which receive no German Territory.

(Probably no need to mention these specifically.)

C. Russian Section.

- Renunciation of all rights under Brest-Litovsk treaties.
- Renunciation of all rights under Treaty of Bucharest.
- Recognition of all arrangements made by Allied and Associated Governments with reference to previous Russian territory, including special agreements with new States.

D. Turkish Section.

1. Assignment to Allies of right to repayment of German loans to Turkey.
2. Agreement by Allies to induce Turkey to waive right to pay for German imports in Turkish paper at fixed rate.
3. Turkish gold to be handed over for currency purposes and German obligation to send gold to Turkey maintained.
4. Consent to abolition of Ottoman Council of Debt.
5. Surrender of Turks hiding in Germany with their property.
6. Renunciation of rights resulting from treaties made since August 1st, 1914 in territories to be ceded by Turkey.
7. Undertaking to be bound by terms of Treaty of Peace with Turkey.
8. Recognition of British protectorate over Egypt and renunciation of extraterritorial privileges and recognition of transfer to H. M. G. of Sultan's rights under Suez Canal Convention.

E.

1. Acceptance by Germany of Arms Convention.
2. Waiver of rights under Berlin and Brussels Acts and acceptance if desired of new instrument to replace them.
3. Acceptance of new régime replacing Treaty of 1839 as to Belgium.
4. Opening of Kiel Canal to ships of all nations.
5. Special arrangements for control of Rhine, Oder, Vistula, Niemen, Elbe.
6. Rhine—Danube Canal.
7. St. Gotthard Railway.
8. Acceptance of new arrangements as to European Commission of Danube.

PART I. POLITICAL—Continued.**E.—Continued.**

9. Other political multilateral treaties; acceptance of abrogation (if so desired by Allies).
10. Waiver of all *pre-war* claims against Allied and Associated Powers on behalf of either Government or individuals.
11. Acceptance of all Allied Prize Court decisions and orders, including orders for the payment of costs.

PART II. LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Undertaking by Germany to join League when invited and to enter into no international engagement inconsistent with it.

PART III.

- A. Military Terms,
(excluding those placed in other sections).
- B. Naval Terms,
(excluding those placed in other sections).
- C. Air Terms.
- D. Questions as to Restoration of Prisoners of War and interned persons.
- E. Waiver of all claims on behalf of Prisoners of War and interned persons.

PART IV. REPARATION.

Return of works of art from Turkey and also of relics, etc. removed by Turks from Medina and handed over to Germany.
Return of objects of native veneration removed from German East Africa.

PART V. BREACHES OF THE LAWS OF WAR.

Demand and surrender of Individuals.
Creation of Court.
Jurisdiction and procedure.
Punishment of offenders.

PART VI. ECONOMIC.

1. Settlement of pre-war private debts:
—scheme of a clearing house—.
2. Regulation of pre-war Contracts between Allied and enemy individuals, including non-application of Statutes of Limitations.
3. Settlement of claims arising out of businesses, etc., liquidated, sold, etc.
4. Revival of Economic Treaties.
5. Provisions as to Industrial Property. (Patents, Trade-marks, etc., etc.).
6. Provisions as to Freedom of Transit.
7. Provisions as to international use of Railways, Ports and Waterways, if of general application.
8. Acceptance of the draft commercial clauses (Economic Section's Draft A. of March 6, 1919.)
9. Enforcement of Customs Control (if necessary).
10. Undertaking to adhere to Labour Convention when invited.
11. Undertaking to ratify and enforce the Opium Convention.

Paris Peace Conf. 184/137: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, March 26, 1919—1 p. m.

1331. Department's 1188, March 19, 7 p. m. Ammission cannot understand allusion to former members of Berne Legation staff being in constant telegraphic communication with Paris from different parts of Central Europe. Special information missions now operating under directions of Commission or on their way are: one, Austro-Hungarian mission including also Poland; two, Southern Russian mission; three, Baltic Provinces Mission. None of these includes service diplomats nor at present in any case any person who has been attached to any Embassy or Legation during the war.

Referring to depletion of Legation staffs for use of Mission. Ammission in view of great mass of diplomatic and political correspondence has found it necessary to establish a special division in charge of persons with diplomatic experience to handle the material and they are kept exceedingly busy. This division includes two members of diplomatic service from Berne Legation staff and three clerks from Berne. The Berne Legation has emphasized the decrease of work there and willingly assented to the transfer of this personnel. Besides these the Division includes one member of The Hague Legation staff. In addition to these one member of The Hague Legation and one of the Berne Legation act as secretaries to Commissioners and Osborne shortly expected here from Copenhagen. It is not thought that this utilization of members of the Central Europe missions is unreasonable or excessive in view of great and increasing volume of work here.

As far as Germany is concerned for reasons fully explained in Ammissions 921, February 26, 9 p. m., the Mission has been withdrawn. Detailed written reports from members of German party have only just been compiled and will be promptly forwarded by courier. Ammissions 968, February 27, represents latest direct news of real importance from observers in Germany. If another mission goes in Ammission will not fail to keep Department fully informed by cable.

Referring Austro-Hungary and other missions same course of forwarding written reports and telegraphing summaries of important information is being pursued and will be carefully followed up.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119/3943a : Telegram

*The Acting Secretary of State to the Ambassador in France
(Wallace)*

WASHINGTON, March 27, 1919—2 p. m.

7853. Department's 7549, February 27th. Your attention is called to the fact that no reports whatever on the general attitude of the French press have been received for the past ten days. Department requests that it be kept more fully advised on this subject.

PHILLIPS

Paris Peace Conf. 184/145

*Memorandum on the Organization of the American Commission to
Negotiate Peace*

PARIS, 27 March, 1919.

The Commission comprises the following departments. There are also certain associated bodies which perform, in some degree, services for the Commission but also are engaged in work wholly unconnected with any of the functions of the Commission. The following is a brief, suggestive description of the scope of these departments and associated bodies, with the numbers of personnel. The staff of the President is not included:

<p>Commissioner Plenipotentiary</p>	<p>Hon. Robert Lansing</p>	<p>Also a member of the Committee on Responsibilities of the Authors of the War and for the violations of the Laws, as well as other subsidiary committees. Civilian..... 4 Army, commissioned..... 1 Army, enlisted..... 8</p>
		<p>Total..... 13</p>
<p>Commissioner Plenipotentiary</p>	<p>Hon. Henry White</p>	<p>Member of the Commission on International Regime of Ports, Waterways and Railways; of Committee on Credentials, and various subsidiary committees. Civilian..... 2 Army Field Clerks..... 3 Army, commissioned..... 2 Army, enlisted..... 5</p>
		<p>Total..... 12</p>
<p>Commissioner Plenipotentiary</p>	<p>Hon. Edward House</p>	<p>Also member of the Commission on the League of Nations, and various subsidiary commissions. Civilian..... 8 Army, commissioned..... 2 Army, enlisted..... 1 Navy, Commissioned..... 3 Navy, enlisted..... 18</p>
		<p>Total..... 32</p>

Commissioner Plenipotentiary	Gen. Tasker H. Bliss	Also member of the Supreme War Council. Army Field Clerk..... 3 Army, Commissioned..... 5 Army, Enlisted..... 6 <hr/> Total..... 14
Secretary-General	Hon. Joseph C. Grew	General Supervision of the organization of the Commission. Civilian..... 4 Army, Commissioned.... 1 Army, Enlisted..... 4 Navy, Commissioned..... 1 Navy, Enlisted..... 1 <hr/> Total..... 11
Diplomatic Secretary	Mr. Leland Harrison	Also Counselor of Embassy and in charge of all Peace Conference reports and communique. Civilian..... 2 Army, Enlisted..... 7 <hr/> Total..... 9
Executive Secretary	Mr. Philip H. Patchin	Also Counselor of Embassy, and in charge of administration of the offices of the Commission. Civilian..... 2 Army, enlisted..... 1 <hr/> Total..... 3
Disbursing Officer	Mr. Wm. McNeir	Bureau of Accounts, Department of State. In charge of all Commission accounts and expenditures. Civilian..... 2 Army Field Clerk..... 1 Army, Enlisted..... 1 <hr/> Total..... 4
General Military Liaison	Major Birch Helms	Civilian..... 1 Army, Commissioned.... 1 Army, Enlisted..... 4 <hr/> Total..... 6
Military Information	Capt. J. C. Hildt	Collates and furnishes information regarding the military situation to the Commission. Army Field Clerk..... 1 Army, Commissioned.... 1 Army, Enlisted..... 6 <hr/> Total..... 8
Ceremonials	Capt. Henry J. Whitehouse	Has charge of all diplomatic courtesies, official dinners, receptions and other social functions. Receives visitors at the Hotel de Crillon. Advises the Commission and its members on all matters connected with the relations of the Allied

Cereemonials—Con.	Capt. Henry J. Whitehouse—Continued.	Commissions and other bodies. Civilian 1 Army Field Clerk 1 Army, Commissioned 2 <hr/> Total 4
Press	Mr. Ray Stannard Baker	Furnishes official reports and communications to American and Allied Press Representatives. Civilian 3 Army, Enlisted 3 <hr/> Total 6
Current Diplomatic and Political Correspondence	Mr. Ellis L. Dresel	Has charge of the handling and drafting of diplomatic and political correspondence and reports of the Commission. Civilian 8 Army Field Clerks 2 Army, commissioned 4 Army, enlisted 1 Navy, commissioned 1 <hr/> Total 16
Communications	Lt. N. E. Wharton	All cipher and code messages to and from the Commission are handled by this office. It is open 24 hours a day and is kept fully staffed in order to meet maximum demands. About one-third of the business is for Mr. Hoover's Food Relief organization and not strictly Peace Commission matters. However, it is desirable that these messages should be handled by this Department. Navy, commissioned 25 Navy, enlisted 46 <hr/> Total 71
Distribution	Mr. C. B. Welsh	Handles all incoming telegrams, decoding and distributing them. Is in active operation 24 hours a day. About one-third of this office is for Mr. Hoover's Food Relief organization. Civilian 7 Army, enlisted 4 <hr/> Total 11
Stenographic	Sgt. Fred A. Carlson	Copies and mimeographs all documents or papers of a confidential nature. Makes verbatim reports of all plenary sessions of the Peace Conference. Furnishes stenographers for emergencies. Army Field Clerk 1 Army, enlisted 8 Navy, enlisted 4 <hr/> Total 13

Indexes & Files	Lt. Arthur A. Chenay	<p>Opens and routes all Commission mail. Distributes all mail and messages between all offices in the Hotel de Crillon and 4 Place de la Concorde. Indexes and keeps record of all correspondence and other important papers of the Commission. About one-third of the work of this office is for Mr. Hoover's Food Relief organization.</p> <p>Civilian..... 2 Army, Commissioned..... 2 Army, Enlisted..... 35</p> <hr/> <p>Total..... 39</p>
Translators	Capt. Kenneth McIntosh	<p>Nearly all of the translating for the Commission is performed by this office.</p> <p>Civilian..... 1 Army, Commissioned.... 8</p> <hr/> <p>Total..... 9</p>
Administrative Office	Maj. Richard C. Patterson, Jr.	<p>The actual management and supervision of the internal affairs of the Commission. A printing plant is operated in connection with this office, performing the printing work for the Commission.</p> <p>Civilian..... 1 Army, Commissioned..... 3 Army, Enlisted..... 22</p> <hr/> <p>Total..... 26</p>
Business Manager	Maj. Geo. P. DuBose	<p>Has general supervision of the administration of the hotel and office buildings, assigning rooms, making out bills, etc.</p> <p>Commissioned, Army..... 3 Army, Enlisted..... 1</p> <hr/> <p>Total..... 4</p>
Hotel Manager	Lt. Wm. L. Black	<p>Has charge of the management of the Hotel.</p> <p>Army Field Clerk..... 1 Army, Commissioned.... 2 Army, Enlisted..... 64</p> <hr/> <p>Total..... 67</p>
Audit & Purchase	Lt. Alfred Gini	<p>The keeping of all accounts of the Hotel de Crillon. The making of purchases for the Hotel de Crillon and 4 Place de la Concorde.</p> <p>Army Field Clerk..... 2 Army, Commissioned.... 1 Army, Enlisted..... 5</p> <hr/> <p>Total..... 8</p>
Construction & Repair	Mr. W. R. Brashear	<p>In charge of 4 Place de la Concorde. The taking care of all furniture repairs, plumbing, gas lines, electrical equipment</p>

Construction & Repair—Continued.	Mr. W. R. Brashear—Continued.	<p>(except telephones) typewriter and mimeograph repairs, painting, carpentering, etc., of this building and a part of 3 Rue Royale also occupied by the Commission, comprising 109 rooms, not including halls and passageways.</p> <p>Civilian..... 2 Army, enlisted..... 20</p> <hr/> <p>Total..... 22</p>
Personnel	Capt. Whitney Newton, Jr.	<p>All the records of the personnel, attached to or connected with the Commission are kept by this office, which is the clearing house for all information regarding such personnel. All requests for assignment or detachment of army personnel, commissioned or enlisted, are handled by this office; also travel orders, mileage and pay vouchers, bread tickets, luxury tax exemptions and permits for passes to the commission buildings. Regular lists of personnel of the commission and the associated bodies are issued, as well as the required daily military reports. The supervision of commission transportation is also exercised.</p> <p>Army, commissioned... 3 Army, enlisted..... 6</p> <hr/> <p>Total..... 9</p>
Photography	Lt. D. W. Scovell	<p>All the photostating and blue printing and reproduction of maps and drawings for the commission. The mimeographing of all papers, except those of a confidential nature. The taking of photographs for passports and passes to the Commission buildings.</p> <p>Army Field Clerk..... 1 Army, Commissioned... 1 Army, Enlisted..... 18</p> <hr/> <p>Total..... 20</p>
Medical	Commander Allen McLean	<p>The performance of medical services, the hours of this office being from 9 A. M. to 9 P. M., daily.</p> <p>Army, Commissioned... 2 Navy, Commissioned.... 1 Navy, Enlisted..... 3</p> <hr/> <p>Total..... 6</p>
Supply	Lt. Emmett Kilpatrick	<p>Furnishes practically all supplies for the commission and other occupants of the Commission buildings, and stationery, coal, wood, ammunition, cots, blankets, etc., for</p>

Supply—Continued.	Lt. Emmett Kilpatrick —Continued.	foreign parties; mimeograph and photostat materials. Has charge of 2 three-ton trucks for commission work. Army, Commissioned..... 1 Army, Enlisted..... 7 Total..... 8
International Law	Mr. David H. Miller	Mr. Miller is one of the technical advisors of International Law and is also a member of the Commission of the League of Nations. Mr. James Brown Scott is the other technical advisor on International Law and is also a member of the Commission on the Responsibilities of the Authors of the War and for the Violations of the Laws. Civilian..... 13 Army, Commissioned..... 1 Army, Enlisted..... 10 Total..... 24
Naval	Admiral W. S. Benson	Technical Advisor on Naval Affairs, and Chief of Operations, U. S. Navy. Navy, Commissioned..... 7 Navy, Enlisted..... 18 Total..... 25
Military	Maj. Gen. F. J. Kernan	Technical Advisor on Military Affairs. Head of American Mission to Poland. Army, Commissioned..... 4 Army, Enlisted..... 1 Total..... 5
Financial	Maj. John Foster Dulles	Technical Advisor on questions of finance. Civilian..... 2
Army Codes	Lt. J. R. Childs	All army code work in connection with the Commission. Army Field Clerks..... 1 Army, Commissioned..... 1 Army, Enlisted..... 1 Total..... 3
Reparation Commission	Mr. Jerome D. Greene	Matters connected with war damages, their amount, responsibility therefor and methods of payment. Civilian..... 3 Army, Commissioned.... 2 Army, Enlisted..... 2 Total..... 7
Negative Intelligence	Col. Ralph H. Van De- man	In charge of protection of the buildings of the Commission. Army, Commissioned..... 1 Army, Enlisted..... 3 Total..... 4

Courier Service	Lt. Joseph P. Sims	All messages to and from Paris and various parts in Europe and the United States; also the distribution of messages in Paris. About 75% of the work is for the Peace Commission, the remainder being for the Food Relief Administration and other organizations in Paris.
		Army Field Clerk..... 1
		Army, Commissioned..... 2
		Army, enlisted..... 37
		Total..... 40

TERRITORIAL INTELLIGENCE

Administrative Dr. S. E. Mezes

This Department is subdivided into various sections, each having its own head who is responsible for the gathering and collating of information relating to his particular subject and the furnishing of it to the Commission. The nature of the work which these subdivisions do is sufficiently indicated by their titles.

Civilian.....	6
Army Field Clerks.....	2
Army, Commissioned....	2
Army, Enlisted.....	5
Navy, Enlisted.....	3
Total.....	18

Austria-Hungary	Mr. Charles Seymour	Civilian..... 1
		Army, Commissioned.... 2
		Total..... 3
Balkans	Mr. Clive Day	Civilian..... 3
		Army, Commissioned.... 2
		Total..... 5
Colonial	Mr. George L. Beer	Civilian..... 1
		Army, Enlisted..... 1
		Total..... 2
Current Intelligence Summaries	Mr. William Bullitt	Civilian..... 2
		Army Field Clerks..... 2
		Army, Commissioned.... 3
		Army, Enlisted..... 5
		Navy, Enlisted..... 1
		Total..... 13
Economics & Statistics	Mr. Allyn A. Young	Civilian..... 5
		Army Field Clerks..... 2
		Army, Commissioned.... 3
		Army, Enlisted..... 2
		Navy, Enlisted..... 1
		Total..... 13

TERRITORIAL INTELLIGENCE—Continued.

Ethnography	Mr. Roland B. Dixon	Civilian	1
		Army, Commissioned	1
		Total	2
Far East	Mr. E. T. Williams	Civilian	1
		Army Field Clerk	1
		Army, Commissioned	1
		Total	3
Geography	Mr. Mark Jefferson	Civilian	5
		Army Field Clerk	1
		Army, Enlisted	14
		Total	20
Germany	Mr. Wallace Notestein	Civilian	1
		Navy, Enlisted	1
		Total	2
History	Mr. James T. Shotwell	Civilian	3
		Army Field Clerk	1
		Total	4
Inner Asia	Mr. Roland B. Dixon	Civilian	1
Italy	Mr. W. E. Lunt	Civilian	1
Library	Mr. James T. Shotwell	Civilian	3
		Army, Commissioned	2
		Army, Enlisted	16
		Total	21
Russia & Poland	Mr. Robert H. Lord	Civilian	4
		Army, Commissioned	2
		Army, Enlisted	4
		Total	10
Western Asia	Mr. W. L. Westermann	Civilian	4
		Army, Commissioned	1
		Army, Enlisted	1
		Total	6
Western Europe	Mr. Chas. H. Haskins	Civilian	1
		Army, Commissioned	1
		Army, Enlisted	1
		Total	3

ASSOCIATED BODIES

Courier Officers	Maj. A. J. Peaslee	This office sends officer couriers to various points in Europe and America, only about 70% of its work being strictly Peace Commission business. Army, Commissioned	81
Field Observers	Maj. Royall Tyler	All field parties are under the jurisdiction of this office. Reports are made upon military, economical and political condi-	

ASSOCIATED BODIES—Continued

Field Observers—
Continued.Maj. Royall Tyler—
Continued.

tions and the parties serve as a method of contact between the U. S. and the various nationalities in the different parts of Europe. While it is impossible to make a clear division of the duties of these parties and how much is for strictly Peace Commission purposes and how much for Food Relief, diplomatic, financial or other purposes, it is probable that not more than 50% of their activities should be charged against the Commission.

Civilian.....	8
Army, Commissioned.....	32
Army, Enlisted.....	12
Navy, Commissioned.....	9
Navy, Enlisted.....	15

76

Financial Commissioner

Mr. Norman H. Davis

Representative of the U. S. Treasury Department. Technical advisor on Finance. Member of Commission on Reparation and Damages.

Civilian.....	12
Army, Commissioned.....	1
Army, Enlisted.....	4

17

Headquarters
Battalion

The enlisted men performing services for the Peace Commission or one of its associated bodies all belong to this regulation military organization, are carried on its rolls, paid, fed, lodged and in every way cared for by it. It is responsible to their civilian chiefs for the proper performance of their various duties as orderlies, stenographers, clerks, etc.

All these enlisted men will be found in the Barracks Co., Lt. Meadows, at 71 Blvd. Pereire, or the 4 Place de la Concorde Co., Lt. Lawton, or the Hotel de Crillon Co., Lt. Stein, or the Mess Co., Capt. French, or with the Hotel Manager, Lt. Black, and those who have been assigned to various departments and bodies and are found in the list of their personnel.

There is also the Peace Commission Guard Co. No. 2, belonging to the Hq. Battalion, but on detailed service under Col. E. M. Watson of the Military Section. It is charged with the duties of furnishing the proper military guards for the President and the buildings of the Commission.

The Barracks Co.

The number of men detailed to the taking care of the barracks, performing such duties as guard, orderlies, cleaning, kitchen, fires, carpentering, and other routine matters is larger than would be necessary if the men working directly in the various departments of the Commission were not unable to take their turn, owing to the long hours of work, it being not uncommon for many to share in the night labors of the Commission.

Owing to the difficulty and delay in obtaining additional men from the Army and the impossibility of the work of the Commission being interfered with because of

ASSOCIATED BODIES—Continued

The Barracks Co.— Continued.	the lack of enlisted personnel, it has been found necessary to keep a reserve of thirty or forty men to meet emergency demands, such as sudden calls for field parties and to compensate for the usual sickness encountered in every large organization.	Army, Commissioned 1 Army, Enlisted 161	162
Mess Company	The mess for the enlisted men is at 4 Place de la Concorde and supplies meals for from 650 to 670 men. The meal hours are long 6-8 for breakfast; 11:30 to 1:30 for lunch and 5-7 for supper, owing to the different periods of work which the men have. There is also the necessity of furnishing a midnight meal for some 40 enlisted men and civilians who work all night.	Army, Commissioned 1 Sergeants 4 Cooks 9 K. P.'s 32	46
Hotel de Crillon Co.	An officer is in charge of the 37 men who act as day and night orderlies for the reception room, doormen, carriagesmen, car dispatchers. He is also responsible for the proper performance of the duties of the various enlisted men in the building acting as orderlies, clerks, stenographers, etc.		
4 Place de la Concorde Co.	These men take care of the 109 rooms in this building and 3 Rue Royale, used by the commission, as well as hallways, passageways and sidewalks.	A First Lieutenant and 76 enlisted men perform the following duties: 28 day and night orderlies and local runners act as guides to visitors, carry documents and run errands between the offices of the commission and various points in Paris; 12 build and maintain fires in the offices; 8 act as fatigue detail, moving furniture, unloading coal, handling baggage and miscellaneous jobs, such as cleaning the offices of Mr. Baruch at 10 Rue Pasquat; 21 clean the offices; 7 take care of the elevator, act as clerk and orderly to the officer and as guards and supernumeraries.	
	This officer is also responsible for the proper performance of the duties of the enlisted men assigned to the various departments.		
Post Office	Lt. L. N. Cobblestick	All mail to and from the Commission Buildings are handled through this Office. All the usual activities of a post office are performed here.	
		Civilian 1 Army, Commissioned 2 Army, Enlisted 13	16
Secret Service	W. H. Moran	Representative of the U. S Secret Service, having an office in the Commission building. Civilian 1	

ASSOCIATED BODIES—Continued

Shipping Board	Mr. Edward Hurley	Representative of the U. S. with regard to all maritime transportation. Advisor to the Commission on such questions. Civilian..... 12 Army, Commissioned.... 4 Army, Enlisted..... 1
		17
Telephones	Capt. A. L. Hart	A detachment of the signal corps, maintaining and operating all telephones in the Commission buildings. Civilian..... 19 Army, Commissioned.... 2 Army, Enlisted..... 25
		46
Transportation	Capt. Robert Kloeber	In charge of the various automobiles and trucks assigned for commission work. Part of the transport corps on duty in Paris. Civilian..... 6 Army, Commissioned.... 4 Army, Enlisted..... 96
		106
War Industries Board	Mr. Bernard M. Baruch	Chairman of the War Industries Board and Technical Advisor on Economic questions; member of the Commission on Reparation and Damages. Civilian..... 16 Army, Commissioned.... 4 Army, Enlisted..... 4
		24
War Trade Board	Mr. Vance McCormick	Chairman of the War Trade Board. Technical Advisor on economic questions; member of the Commission on Reparation and Damages. Civilian..... 5 Army, Enlisted..... 3 Navy, Enlisted..... 2
		10

*Memorandum by the Secretary of State*³⁴

[PARIS, March 30, 1919.]

I am sure now that there will be no preliminary treaty of peace, but that the treaty will be complete and definitive. This is a serious mistake. Time should be given for passions to cool. The operations of a preliminary treaty should be tested and studied. It would hasten a

³⁴ Reprinted from Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations*, pp. 208-209.

restoration of peace. Certainly this is the wise course as to territorial settlements and the financial and economic burdens to be imposed upon Germany. The same comment applies to the organization of a League of Nations. Unfortunately the President insists on a full-blown Covenant and not a declaration of principles. This has much to do with preventing a preliminary treaty, since he wishes to make the League an agent for enforcement of definite terms.

When the President departed for the United States in February, I assumed and I am certain that he had in mind that there would be a preliminary treaty. With that in view I drafted at the time a memorandum setting forth what the preliminary treaty of peace should contain. Here are the subjects I then set down:

1. Restoration of Peace and official relations.
2. Restoration of commercial and financial relations subject to conditions.
3. Renunciation by Germany of all territory and territorial rights outside of Europe.
4. Minimum territory of Germany in Europe, the boundaries to be fixed in the Definitive Treaty.
5. Maximum military and naval establishments and production of arms and munitions.
6. Maximum amount of money and property to be surrendered by Germany with time limits for payment and delivery.
7. German property and territory to be held as security by the Allies until the Definitive Treaty is ratified.
8. Declaration as to the organization of a League of Nations.

The President's obsession as to a League of Nations blinds him to everything else. An immediate peace is nothing to him compared to the adoption of the Covenant. The whole world wants peace. The President wants his League. I think that the world will have to wait.

*Memorandum by the Secretary of State*³⁵

After the experience of the last three months [January–March, 1919] I am convinced that the method of personal interviews and private conclaves is a failure. It has given every opportunity for intrigue, plotting, bargaining, and combining. The President, as I now see it, should have insisted on everything being brought before the Plenary Conference. He would then have had the confidence and support of all the smaller nations because they would have looked up to him as their champion and guide. They would have followed him.

The result of the present method has been to destroy their faith and arouse their resentment. They look upon the President as in favor of

³⁵ Reprinted from Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations*, p. 219. Mr. Lansing does not give the date of this document.

a world ruled by Five Great Powers, an international despotism of the strong, in which the little nations are merely rubber-stamps.

The President has undoubtedly found himself in a most difficult position. He has put himself on a level with politicians experienced in intrigue, whom he will find a pretty difficult lot. He will sink in the estimation of the delegates who are not within the inner circle, and what will be still more disastrous will be the loss of confidence among the peoples of the nations represented here. A grievous blunder has been made.

*Memorandum by the Secretary of State*³⁶

Everywhere there are developing bitterness and resentment against a secretiveness which is interpreted to mean failure. The patience of the people is worn threadbare. Their temper has grown ragged. They are sick of whispering diplomats.

Muttered confidences, secret intrigues, and the tactics of the "gumshoer" are discredited. The world wants none of them these days. It despises and loathes them. What the world asks are honest declarations openly proclaimed. The statesman who seeks to gain his end by tortuous and underground ways is foolish or badly advised. The public man who is sly and secretive rather than frank and bold, whose methods are devious rather than obvious, pursues a dangerous path which leads neither to glory nor to success.

Secret diplomacy, the bane of the past, is a menace from which man believed himself to be rid. He who resurrects it invites condemnation. The whole world will rejoice when the day of the whisperer is over.

Paris Peace Conf. 185.1/45a

*The Secretary of State to President Wilson*³⁷

PARIS, April 10, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: After conferring with General Bliss and Mr. White, we reached the conclusion to suggest to you that it would be wise to say to the various divisions charged with investigations, as well as with the conduct of political matters, that they should suggest any subject which they might think advisable for inclusion in the treaty of peace.

³⁶ Reprinted from Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations*, p. 221. Mr. Lansing prefaces his quotation of this document with the following remarks: "Two days after I wrote the note [presumably the document *supra*], which is quoted (April 2, 1919), I made another note more general in character which follows: . . ."

³⁷ Bears the notation: "Approved—Woodrow Wilson."

Of course this does not mean that we would consider all these questions but it would avoid the possible neglect of some subjects more or less proper for inclusion.

Do you think that such a course would be advisable, and that we should request our various experts to confidentially submit their views to the Commissioners?

Faithfully yours,

ROBERT LANSING

Edward M. House Papers

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

PARIS, April 16, 1919.

DEAR GOVERNOR: I saw Clemenceau again yesterday after you left. He was perfectly delighted with what I was able to tell him concerning the Syrian-Armenian matters, and the period of occupation.

I took occasion to ask him if he had signed the Russian Memorandum. He said he had not but would do so. He thought that Pichon had it. He rang for his secretary giving instructions to have it brought to him. I find, however, that it is in Hoover's hands and I am sending it to you under this cover so you may have Clemenceau sign it this morning.³⁸

I spoke to Clemenceau about the attacks in the French press. It made no difference I told him except that it was bringing about strained relations between our two countries—a condition which I was sure he did not wish. He rang for his secretary again and told him to give directions to the *Echo de Paris*, *Le Petit Journal*, *Le Petit Parisien*, *Le Figaro*, *Le Temps*, *La Liberté* and several others which I do not recall, to say that the relations between France and the United States were of the very best and that there was no disagreement between yourself and himself upon any of the great questions before the Conference. I shall await with interest to see what happens.

Affectionately yours,

[File copy not signed]

Paris Peace Conf. 184/148

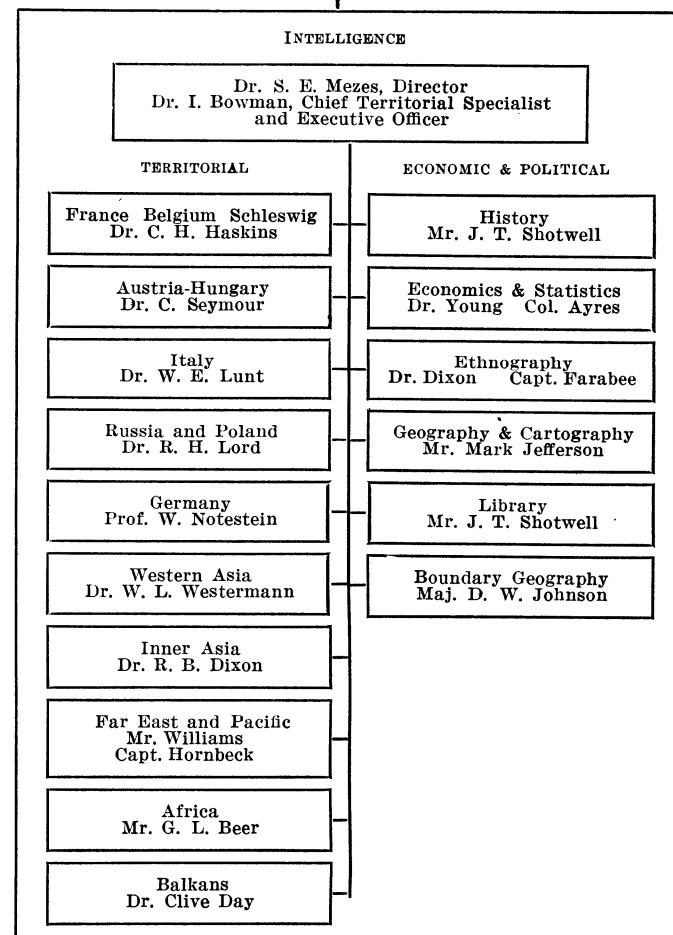
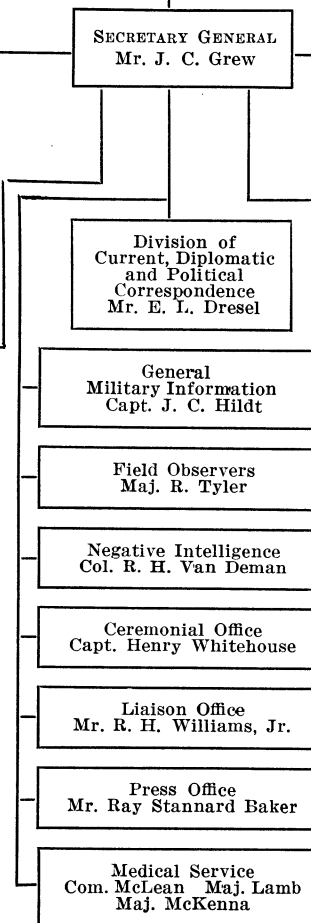
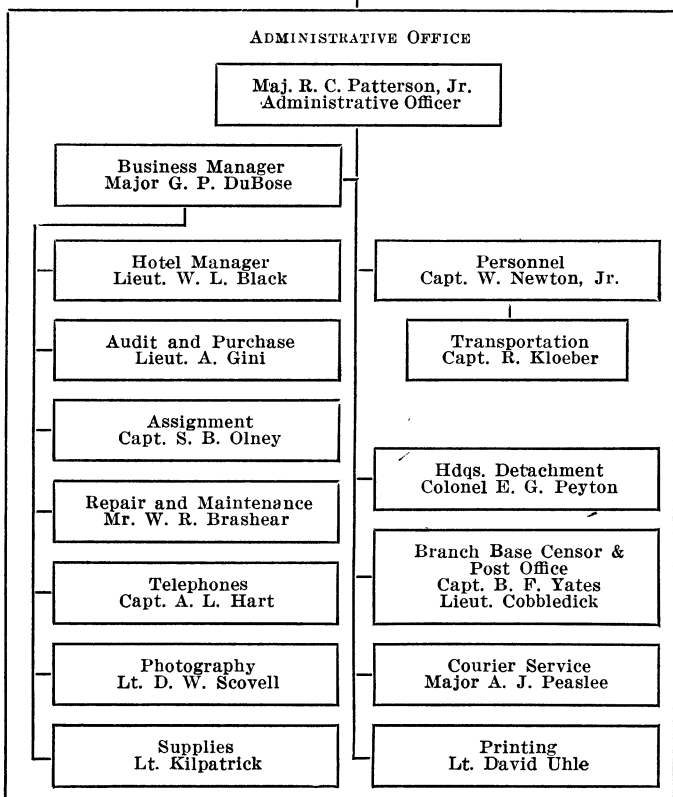
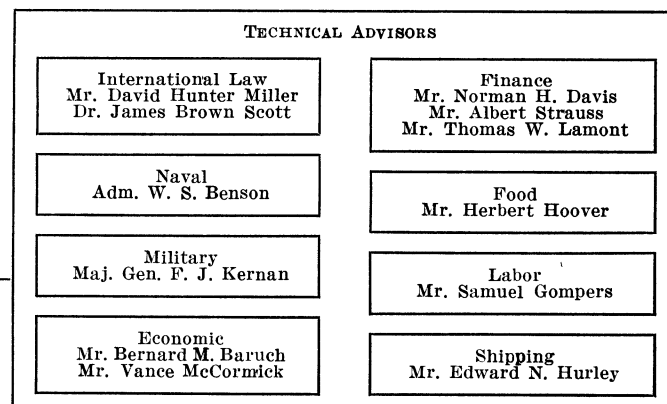
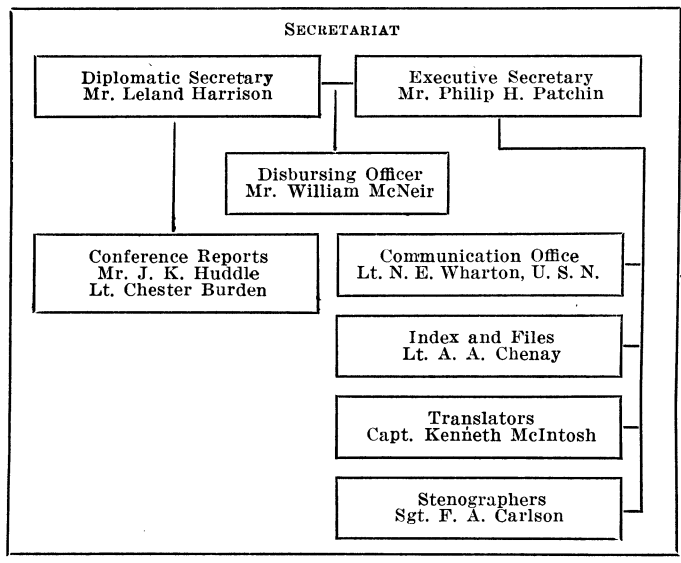
*The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)
to the Acting Secretary of State*

PARIS, April 21, 1919.

SIR: I have the honor to enclose, for the information of the Department, two copies of a chart showing in detail the organization

³⁸ See communication of April 17, 1919, from Messrs. Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Orlando to Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, *Foreign Relations*, 1919, Russia, p. 108.

AMERICAN COMMISSION TO NEGOTIATE PEACE
 PRESIDENT WILSON
 MR. LANSING MR. WHITE MR. HOUSE GEN. BLISS





of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace.⁸⁹ These charts are revised to April 1, 1919.

I have [etc.]

J. C. GREW

Edward M. House Papers

Dr. S. E. Mezes to Colonel E. M. House

PARIS, 22 April, 1919.

FUTURE NEED FOR THE STAFF OF THE INTELLIGENCE SECTION (INQUIRY)

I. Agreements.

All are to have subsistence while attached to Conference, salary till they reach home, and transportation home.

The following are promised in addition salary to July 1st, but subsistence only, of course, while here: Clive Day, C. H. Haskins, Mark Jefferson, D. W. Johnson, A. K. Lobeck, P. T. Moon, Charles Seymour, W. L. Westermann.

Assistants, clerks etc., are mainly from the Army, so they could no doubt be detached, and their keep and space saved when their chiefs are relieved.

II. Needs.

Assuming that the reports of Territorial Commissions will be accepted where they are unanimous, and that enemy states must accept these frontiers and will not be allowed any readjustments requiring further study, the boundaries and territorial questions still to be settled are,

(1) All within Russia (except Polish-German frontier) i. e., Finland, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland north, east and south, Ukraine, and the fringe along the south of Russia. Lord and his assistants, or substitutes, would be needed for these problems whenever they are taken up.

(2) Italian-Austrian and Italian-Jugo-Slav frontiers are unsettled, but would take only a few days after the Four act; for them only Major Johnson and one assistant would be needed.

(3) Albanian frontiers; also held up by Italian settlement. A matter of a few days after the Four decide. This falls in Day's field, but *could* be taken on by Johnson or Westermann.

(4) All of Turkey. Westermann and an assistant, or substitutes, will be needed whenever this comes up. It is a matter of a few days only unless the Syrian and Palestinian questions get into a mess *and* call for difficult frontier decisions—the last being unlikely.

(5) Colonial questions. I do not know their status. It might be well to hold Beer, and decide about him later.

(6) China-Japan. Hornbeck or Williams needed. I have no idea when this will come up. I assume that none of our men will be needed on boundary commissions.

⁸⁹ See diagram facing p. 550.

(7) Economics and Statistics. This force probably will not be needed after May 10th to May 15th.

(8) Library. A beginning should be made in packing the least used books, only indispensable books being kept out for later attention.

(9) Maps. A beginning should be made in the cutting down of the cartographic force. The decision as to Jefferson and some assistants might well wait until later.

III. Conclusions; note assumptions above.

(1) The following men and their assistants could be advised soon that they will be relieved by May 10th to May 15th; Haskins (Western Front); Seymour (Austria-Hungary); Lunt (Italy); Williams or Hornbeck (Far East); Day (Balkans); Mezes or Bowman (Administration); Shotwell (Library and History); Young (and Ayres?) (Economics and Statistics).

(2) It will be necessary to decide about the following men later unless *you* can decide now; Lord (Russia); Beer (Colonies); Westermann (Western Asia); Hornbeck or Williams (Far East); Johnson (Italian claims); Jefferson (Maps).

(3) If some territorial questions are to be settled after an interval following the break-up of the Conference, it might be well to keep here in convenient custody, a minimum of maps, statistics and other material bearing on them.

Paris Peace Conf. 184/160

Composition and Functions of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, May 1, 1919

COMMISSIONERS PLENIPOTENTIARY AND PERSONAL STAFFS

Honorable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States.

Aide: Rear Admiral Cary T. Grayson, U. S. N.

Confidential Secretary: Mr. Gilbert F. Close.

Honorable Robert Lansing, Secretary of State of the United States.

Assistant: Mr. A. C. Kirk, Second Secretary of Embassy.

Aide: Captain James Garfield, U. S. A.

Confidential Secretary: Mr. Richard C. Sweet.

Honorable Henry White.

Assistant: Mr. Christian A. Herter, Special Assistant, Department of State.

Aide and Secretary: Lieutenant R. E. Condon, U. S. A.

Honorable Edward M. House.

Secretary: Mr. Gordon Auchincloss.

Diplomatic Assistant: Mr. Arthur Hugh Frazier, Counselor of Embassy.

Aide: Lieutenant-Colonel Benjamin Moore, U. S. A.

Assistant Secretary: Mr. W. H. Shepardson.

Confidential Secretary: Miss F. B. Denton.

General Tasker H. Bliss, U. S. A.

Staff:

Colonel S. D. Embick, U. S. A.

Colonel U. S. Grant, 3rd, U. S. A.

Colonel W. S. Browning, U. S. A.

Lieutenant-Colonel W. B. Wallace, U. S. A.

SECRETARIAT

Secretary General:

Mr. Joseph C. Grew, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

Assistants:

Lieutenant J. H. Smith, Jr., U. S. N.

Mr. Grafton Winthrop Minot.

Confidential Secretary: Mr. Albert Ward.

Diplomatic Secretary:

Mr. Leland Harrison, Counselor of Embassy.

Liaison with Secretariat General: Lieutenant Chester Burden, U. S. A.

Secretary: Mr. J. K. Huddle, Consular Assistant.

Executive Secretary:

Mr. Philip H. Patchin, Counselor of Embassy.

Secretary: Mr. R. B. Macatee, Consular Assistant.

Communications: Lieutenant N. E. Wharton, U. S. N.

Distribution: Mr. C. B. Welsh, Chief of Bureau, Department of State.

Translations: Captain Kenneth McIntosh, U. S. A.

Indexes and Files: Lieutenant A. A. Cheney, U. S. A.

Stenographic Reporters:

Mr. F. A. Carlson.

Mr. C. A. Leedy, Jr.

Disbursing Officer:

Mr. William McNeir, Chief of the Bureau of Accounts, Department of State.

Assistant Disbursing Officer: Mr. George H. Harris.

Division of Current Diplomatic and Political Correspondence:

Mr. Ellis Loring Dresel, Special Assistant, Department of State, Chief of Division.

Mr. Jordan Herbert Stabler, Chief of Division of Latin American Affairs, Department of State,

In charge of matters pertaining to Latin America, Spain, Portugal and Liberia.

Mr. E. T. Williams, Formerly Chief of Division of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State,

In charge of matters pertaining to the Far East.

Mr. S. Y. Smith, Chief of Diplomatic Bureau, Department of State,
Drafting Officer.

Mr. Frederic R. Dolbeare, Second Secretary of Embassy,
In charge of matters pertaining to Russia and Poland.

Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Second Secretary of Embassy,
In charge of matters pertaining to Austria-Hungary and
the Balkans.

Mr. Lithgow Osborne, Second Secretary of Embassy,

Mr. J. G. D. Paul, Special Assistant, Department of State,
In charge of matters pertaining to Germany and the
Northern Neutrals.

Mr. Leon Dominian,
In charge of matters pertaining to Syria and Turkey.

Liaison Officers:

Major de Lancey Kountze, U. S. A.

Captain C. S. Forbes, U. S. A.

Lieutenant A. H. Leavitt, U. S. A.

Current Intelligence Summaries:

Mr. William C. Bullitt, Special Assistant, Department of State.

Field Observers:

Major Royall Tyler, U. S. A.

Military Information Section:

Captain J. C. Hildt, U. S. A.

Negative Intelligence:

Colonel R. H. Van Deman, U. S. A.

Press Bureau:

Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, Chief.

Mr. Arthur Sweetser, Assistant.

Ceremonial Officer:

Major H. J. Whitehouse, U. S. A.

Medical Dispensary:

Commander A. D. McLean, U. S. N.

Major A. R. Lamb, U. S. A.

Major W. D. McKenna, U. S. A.

Military Intelligence Library, G-2:

Lieutenant P. H. Moseley, U. S. A.

TECHNICAL ADVISORS

International Law Section:

Mr. David Hunter Miller.

Mr. James Brown Scott.

Assistants:

Mr. Joseph Bailey Brown.

Mr. Henry G. Crocker.
Mr. Amos S. Hershey.
Mr. Manley O. Hudson.
Mr. Frank L. Warrin, Jr.

Naval Section:

Admiral W. S. Benson, U. S. N.

Advisory Staff:

Rear Admiral H. S. Knapp, U. S. N.
Captain F. H. Schofield, U. S. N.
Captain L. McNamee, U. S. N.

Aide for Shipping: Commander J. C. Fremont, U. S. N.

Personal Aide: Commander A. F. Carter, U. S. N.

Military Section:

Major-General F. J. Kernan, U. S. A.

Aides:

Captain M. J. English, U. S. A.
Captain J. E. Ewell, U. S. A.
Lieutenant John Hart, U. S. A.

Economic Section:

Mr. Bernard M. Baruch.

Associates:

Mr. Alexander Legge.
Mr. Charles MacDowell.
Mr. Fred K. Nielsen.
Mr. John C. Pennie.
Mr. Leland L. Summers.
Mr. Frank W. Taussig.

Secretary: Mr. Andrew P. Martin.

Mr. Vance McCormick, Chairman, War Trade Board.

Advisory Staff:

Mr. John F. Dulles.
Mr. George McFadden.
Mr. L. C. Sheldon.

Secretary: Mr. H. E. Mills, Jr.

Finance Section:

Mr. Norman H. Davis, Finance Commissioner of the United States.

Mr. Thomas W. Lamont.

Counselor: Captain Jeremiah Smith, U. S. A.

U. S. Treasury Aides:

Mr. George Whitney.
Mr. Hayden B. Harris.
Mr. Herman J. Cook.

Secretary: Mr. Henry C. Breck.

Food Section:

Mr. Herbert Hoover, Director General of the American Relief Administration.

Secretary: Mr. Lewis Strauss.

Labor Section:

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President, Commission on International Labor Legislation.

Special Assistant: Mr. W. E. Walling.

Private Secretary: Mr. Guy H. Oyster.

Liaison Officer: Major George L. Berry, U. S. A.

Aide: Lieutenant Francis E. Adams, U. S. A.

Shipping Section:

Mr. Edward N. Hurley, Chairman, United States Shipping Board.

Special Commissioner U. S. Shipping Commission: Mr. H. M. Robinson.

Assistant to Mr. Hurley: Mr. John E. Barber.

Legal Advisor: Mr. Harold V. Amberg.

Assistant Director of Operations: Mr. Edward E. Palen.

Liaison Officer: Commander John Fremont, U. S. N.

Statistician: Mr. C. S. Duncan.

DIVISION OF TERRITORIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE

Dr. S. E. Mezes, Director.

Office Assistant: Lieutenant E. C. Wynne, U. S. A.

Dr. Isaiah Bowman, Chief Territorial Specialist and Executive Officer.

Executive and Technical Assistant: Mr. P. T. Moon.

Secretary and Confidential Clerk: Mr. John Storck.

Dr. C. H. Haskins, Specialist on Western Europe.

Dr. Charles Seymour, Specialist on Austria-Hungary.

Dr. R. H. Lord, Specialist on Russia and Poland.

Dr. Clive Day, Specialist on the Balkans.

Dr. W. E. Lunt, Specialist on Italy.

Dr. W. L. Westermann, Specialist on Western Asia.

Mr. E. T. Williams, Specialist on the Far East and the Pacific.

Captain S. K. Hornbeck, U. S. A., Specialist on the Far East and the Pacific.

Mr. G. L. Beer, Specialist on Africa.

Dr. J. T. Shotwell, Librarian and Specialist on History.

Dr. A. A. Young, Specialist on Economics.

Colonel L. P. Ayres, U. S. A., Statistician.

Professor Mark Jefferson, Specialist on Geography and Cartography.

Dr. D. W. Johnson, Specialist on Boundary Geography.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICES

Major R. C. Patterson, Jr., U. S. A., Administrative Officer.

Assistants:

Captain C. N. Peacock, U. S. A.

Mr. J. Wattawa, Special Assistant, Department of State.

Col. E. G. Peyton, U. S. A.....	Commanding Officer, Hdqs. Battalion
Captain Whitney Newton, Jr., U. S. A...	Personnel Officer
Major G. P. DuBose, U. S. A.....	Business Manager
Major S. B. Olney, U. S. A.....	Assignments
Lieutenant W. L. Black, U. S. A.....	Hotel Manager
Captain A. Hart, U. S. A.....	Telephones
Lieutenant A. S. Gini, U. S. A.....	Auditing and Purchase
Lieutenant E. Kilpatrick, U. S. A.....	Supplies
Lieutenant D. W. Scovell, U. S. A.....	Photography
Mr. W. R. Brashear.....	Repair and Maintenance
Lieutenant David Uhle, U. S. A.....	Printing
Captain Robert Kloeber, U. S. A.....	Transportation
Captain B. F. Yates, U. S. A.....	Branch Base Censor
Lieutenant L. N. Cobbledick, U. S. A....	Army Post Office
Major A. J. Peaslee, U. S. A.....	Courier Service

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*Memorandum on the Personnel of the American Commission to
Negotiate Peace*

PARIS, May 1919.

After the signing of the Armistice, when it was found necessary to organize the Peace Commission, it was determined that the Commission would depend upon the Army for staff assistance, drawing from the A. E. F. all the personnel required to meet stenographic and clerical needs, as well as depending upon the A. E. F. for cartographers, book-keepers, chauffeurs, orderlies, guards, etcetera. The Army, too, was to furnish certain officers expert in given lines, other officers from the intelligence organizations, others to act as aides to the Commissioners, others to be in liaison between the Commission and the French Government offices and between the Commission and the various peace delegations. Consequently the civilian staff brought from the Department of State was small, including, all told, four officials, four confidential clerks, five cipher clerks, and three other clerks.

An estimate was made in Washington of the number of assistants needed from the Army and this was cabled to Paris and the Army

was asked for aid. The estimate proved far too low, as did estimates generally concerning the personnel needs of the organization, and as one office after another was added to the Commission the Army was constantly called on for additional help.

In studying the personnel of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace it is first of all necessary to consider certain handicaps under which the Commission labors. First of all is the fact that the organization was formed over night, to meet an urgent need, and in a foreign country where there were not available many things to facilitate operations which would have been at hand in any American city.

An equally important factor is the character of offices available. The Commission took over the Hotel de Crillon, facing the Place de la Concorde, No. 4, Place de la Concorde, and a portion of the premises at No. 3, Rue Royale, which adjoin and connect with "No. 4." The Crillon is at one end of a structure extending the whole square. "No. 4" is at the other, a hundred feet away, and separated by two other buildings. The whole is an ancient structure. The interior of the Crillon has been modernized and constitutes a first-class hotel. "No. 4" is a large rambling building, evidently modelled and remodelled many times, until there are in it a hundred rooms from the largest 34 x 45 feet to the smallest 6 x 8. There are a score of floor levels, a dozen stairways and so many passages that even those familiar with the building find it difficult to make their way about. The building at 3 Rue Royale is much the same—mostly small rooms and very much cut up.

Were it possible to have the whole Commission installed in one modern building the personnel problem would be much simpler. It would be possible to get along with many fewer stenographers and orderlies, considerable duplication of work could be avoided and the personnel could probably be cut, considering everything, including guards and watchmen by from seventy-five to a hundred people. The quarters, however, were the best available unless the Commission took over one of Paris' biggest hotels, which would have been a far more elaborate and expensive proposition.

At first it was planned that all offices, with the exception of those of the Commissioners themselves, should be in No. 4. It was soon found that this was impossible, even with the preliminary organization, and it became necessary to convert many of the rooms in the Crillon into offices until thirty-five per cent of the rooms available were made into offices. Most of these are over-crowded. No. 4 is likewise crowded, the figures showing that there are only about forty square feet to a person throughout the building.

Personnel.

The personnel of the organization is of three kinds: Civilian, Army and Naval. The civilians are mainly administrative and advisory,

with a few stenographers and clerks and a score of telephone operators. The bulk of the personnel from the Army is clerical. The Navy personnel consists of Naval advisors, their aides, naval orderlies, and the Communications Office, consisting of twenty-five officers, all of them code experts, and forty-six men who do the typing and clerical work connected with keeping up telegraphic and radio communication.

In January a Personnel Committee was formed for the purpose of scrutinizing every application made by any office for additional personnel and also to examine the existing organization with a view to eliminating anyone not needed. Later another Committee was formed, which included Mr. White and General Bliss, two of the Commissioners, the purpose of which was to still further examine the personnel of the organization with a view to eliminations wherever possible. A very careful examination of the whole organization has been made since the formation of those committees and not only have the services of many officers and men been dispensed with, after examination, but the investigation resulted in numerous offices cutting down personnel voluntarily, and in general keeping a careful watch on personnel.

The investigation showed that in several instances the functions of offices which were important at the outset had, with the process of organization, disappeared, and their usefulness finished. Whenever this was found to be the case the offices were reduced or abolished. This has happened with respect to the Military Liaison Office which now has a personnel, including clerical, of four, where before it was thirteen, the Combat Section which now has a personnel of three against seventeen, the Political Liaison which has been reduced from seventeen to nothing at all except that two of the officers have been transferred to other departments.

The greatest portion of the Commission's personnel is composed of enlisted men of the army and with respect to their large numbers there are one or two most vital points which must be considered. First of all is the fact that it is necessary for the Army to feed and quarter all of these men and to look after their discipline. The men all belong to what is known as the Headquarters Detachment, a regular military organization, with a colonel commanding and with twelve other officers on duty with the men. This is a strictly military organization, set up and operated by the Army and devised to afford the best means of caring for the men on duty with the Commission. The men are quartered in barracks a couple of miles from the Place de la Concorde and sleep there. There are Army messes at the barracks and at "No. 4" where the men get their meals. The detachment includes the requisite number of cooks, guards, battalion non-commissioned officers, barbers, tailors, et cetera, needed by a

military organization of its size, all engaged in the duty of looking after whatever military regulations require, but none of them having anything directly to do with the business of making peace. This is cited to show the futility of endeavoring to balance the Commission's total personnel with the number of civilians which would be required for an equal quantity of work, but who would look after themselves.

Another important point in considering the numbers of men on the personnel rolls concerns the character of assistance which the Army has furnished. Army officers themselves freely admit that soldiers in offices do not turn out the volume of work that civilians accomplish. For whatever reason, this appears to be true here, and the note is made with the fullest appreciation of the splendid work which most of the soldiers are doing and the pride that they take in it and in being attached to the Commission. Most of the soldiers, however, are Class B and C men, many of them who have been wounded or gassed, and not capable of performing as great a volume of work as if they were entirely well. Further, for the first two months of the organization, the conditions under which they lived were deplorable—a damp barracks, badly lighted and without proper ventilation, sanitary facilities or sleeping quarters. This has led to a great deal of illness, in a climate where the percentage is high anyhow. This condition, however, has shown much improvement lately. But for a considerable period the men, as a body, were unhappy and forlorn, and incapable of their best work.

The result of illness is that a certain surplus of men must be kept on hand to take the places of men who become incapacitated. These, some of them, remain idle for a day at a time. In any business in America this would, of course, be impracticable and unnecessary. No business house would think of such a system. In this connection it must also be considered that the loss to the Government of detaining such men here is nil, for if the men were not in Paris they would be elsewhere. If these particular individuals were permitted to go home they would only take the places on transports of other individuals on transports who would have to remain in France until transportation became available. They may as well be in Paris as somewhere else in France. Where men have had a chance of returning to the States, the Commission has supported their applications.

Another important phase of the personnel question concerns the necessity of utilizing soldiers in the upkeep of the hotel and of the office buildings. Elsewhere this would not arise. Here there are soldiers who run the elevators, operate telephones, do fatigue duty, attend to the furnaces, serve as electricians, plumbers, car dispatchers, et cetera, to say nothing of the score who operate the small printing

plant which the Commission has taken over. The necessity of employing only American citizens in all of the work of the Commission swells the military personnel, as other Americans are not available.

Still another consideration is that in some cases offices are kept running twenty-four hours a day, which means double or treble shifts of men.

Following is an analytical report, office by office, of the personnel employed:

President Wilson:

Total personnel—15.

There are nine civilians, including secret service men, and stenographers. There are two commissioned Army officers, two commissioned Naval officers, and one enlisted man.

Commissioner Lansing:

Total personnel—13.

Of the civilians, one is an assistant; another a confidential secretary; and the third a stenographer. There is one commissioned officer who is an Aide. The enlisted personnel includes a chauffeur and hall orderlies, who are worked in shifts.

Commissioner White:

Total personnel—12.

One civilian, a member of the Diplomatic Service, who acts as an Assistant to Mr. White. There is one Military Aide; three field clerks, who are stenographers; and the remainder orderlies, who work in shifts.

Commissioner House:

Total personnel—32.

Including eight civilians, two Army officers, three Naval officers, eighteen enlisted Navy, and one enlisted Marine. This office looks after the bulk of the Presidential correspondence, which is voluminous, and this accounts for the magnitude of the personnel.

Commissioner Bliss:

Total personnel—14.

Includes four Aides, one of whom, Colonel Grant, is almost entirely engaged on the meetings of the Council of Ten; three field clerks, who are stenographers; the remainder are office assistants, guards, and orderlies.

Secretary General:

Total personnel—9.

Includes four civilians, who are office assistants, one Naval Lieutenant, who also serves as Mr. Grew's representative on certain committees; one Naval Yeoman, who is a stenographer; while the remainder are office assistants, or orderlies.

Diplomatic Secretary:

Total personnel—8.

Includes one civilian, who is in charge of the reports of the Conference; two stenographers; the remainder are office assistants and orderlies.

Executive Secretary:

Total personnel—3.

This is the immediate office of the Executive Secretary, and does not include other sections under his jurisdiction. There is one civilian, who is Confidential Secretary, and one orderly.

Disbursing Officer:

Total personnel—4.

Including one assistant from the Department of State, one field clerk, and an orderly.

General Military Liaison:

Total personnel—2.

This organization formerly had a personnel of thirteen. Now has one commissioned officer and a stenographer.

Combat Situation:

Total personnel—3.

This formerly totaled seventeen, and now has been entirely abolished, with the exception of one commissioned officer, and clerical assistants.

Diplomatic Liaison Section:

Total personnel—12.

Formerly consisted of seventeen, including eleven commissioned officers. Has now been abolished.

Liaison with American Federation of Labor:

Total personnel—1.

A commissioned officer requested by Mr. Gompers.

Ceremonial Division:

Total personnel—4.

Includes two commissioned officers, one the head of the office; the other in the reception room; 1 lady assistant; and one stenographer.

The Press:

Total personnel—5.

Includes the head of the section, Mr. Baker; his assistant, Mr. Sweetser; a stenographer, and two orderlies.

Current Diplomatic and Political Correspondence:

Total personnel—13.

This office handles the diplomatic and political correspondence of the Commission. Its civilian members, numbering eight, include experts on various subjects; the Chief of the Diplomatic Bureau of the Department of State; three commissioned officers, each an expert; and two stenographers.

Communications:

Total personnel—71, 25 commissioned, and 46 enlisted.

This office handles all cipher and code messages in and out of the Commission. It is open twenty-four hours a day, and the men work in watches. It is purposely fully staffed in order to meet the maximum requirements. About one-third of the business of the communications office is devoted to transmitting and receiving messages to Mr. Hoover's organization. It is desirable that these communications be handled by this office, although Mr. Hoover's work is not wholly Peace Commission work, but is really international. If such work were eliminated, the personnel could doubtless be reduced by twenty men.

Distribution:

Total personnel—8.

This section, which includes six code clerks from the Department of State, looks after the distribution of telegrams. It is run twenty-four hours a day. The code clerks are also available for certain special code work.

Stenographic Section:

Total—13.

Here all confidential prints are mimeographed. This section also makes verbatim reports of all plenary sessions of the Peace Conference. It is a pool of stenographers to be drawn upon.

Indexes and Files:

Total personnel—39.

This section keeps files and indexes of all correspondence of the Commission.

Translators:

Total personnel—10.

Including one civilian, and nine Army Officers. This division does the bulk of the translating for the Commission, and is a very busy section.

Administrative Office:

Total personnel—26.

Includes one civilian assistant, three commissioned officers, and twenty-two enlisted men, most of whom are printers in the Commission's plant.

Business Manager:

Total personnel—4.

Includes two commissioned officers, and two enlisted men, one of whom is a stenographer. The Business Manager runs the hotel, and generally supervises the administration of the hotel and office buildings.

Hotel Manager:

Total personnel—70.

Includes two commissioned officers, formerly hotel men, who have general charge of the hotel; the enlisted personnel includes cooks, elevator men, carriage men, telephone operators, supply men, porters, et cetera.

Audit and Purchase:

Total personnel—8.

Includes one commissioned officer, two army field clerks, and five enlisted men. This office is engaged principally in auditing the accounts of the hotel and general purchases therefor.

Assignment:

Total personnel—1.

A commissioned officer in charge of the assignment of all quarters and office space.

Building Superintendent:

Total personnel—16.

Includes two civilians and fourteen enlisted men engaged in making all repairs and alterations, painting, or other necessary work.

Personnel office:

Total personnel—9.

Includes three commissioned officers, and six enlisted men. This office keeps the records of all personnel, and is liaison between the Commission and the Army so far as personnel is concerned.

Photography:

Total personnel—18.

One commissioned officer, one field clerk, and sixteen enlisted men. This section does certain mimeographing; all of the photostating, of which there is a good deal; photography for passes; blue prints, et cetera.

Medical:

Total personnel—6.

Includes one Army commissioned, one Navy commissioned, and three Navy enlisted. This division looks after the health of all those attached to the Commission.

Supply:

Total personnel—9.

One commissioned officer, and eight enlisted men. The commissioned officer is in charge of the purchase of all supplies, and the keeping of the store room.

International Law:

Total personnel—25.

Includes fourteen civilians, two Army commissioned officers, and nine enlisted men. This is one of the largest civilian sections in the Commission, and handles all problems of international law. Its heads serve on several of the Peace Conference Commissions as representatives of the American Government.

Naval:

Total personnel—28.

This is headed by Admiral Benson, Chief of Operations, U. S. N., Technical Adviser to the Commission, and consists of seven commis-

sioned officers, and twenty-one enlisted men, who serve as stenographers, clerks, and orderlies.

Military:

Total personnel—5.

Headed by Major General Kernan, now absent in Poland.

Army Codes:

Total personnel—7.

Includes three commissioned officers, three field clerks, and one enlisted man. This section was devoted to the study of codes, but has now been abolished.

Reparations Commission:

Total personnel—6.

Includes three civilians, two Army commissioned officers, and one enlisted man. This is the office of the Reparations Commission consisting of Messrs. Baruch, Davis, and McCormick.

Negative Intelligence:

Total personnel—4.

Includes one commissioned Army officer, and three enlisted men. It is charged with the protection of the buildings and offices.

Courier Service:

Total personnel—40.

Includes two commissioned Army officers, one army field clerk, and thirty-seven enlisted men. This is the head office of the Courier Service which runs between Paris and various points in Europe where American Missions are stationed, as well as to New York. It likewise looks after the distribution of messages throughout Paris.

Territorial, Economic and Political Intelligence—Administration:

Total personnel—40.

This is the section headed by Dr. S. E. Mezes, and was formerly known as the "Inquiry", established in 1917 for the purpose of studying the problems of peace. This particular division comprises the administrative office of the organization, under its supervision is a group of specialists on various problems divided into the following sections:

Austria-Hungary—One civilian, and one commissioned Army officer.

Balkans—Two civilians, three commissioned Army officers, and one civilian employe.

Boundary and Geography—One commissioned Army officer.

Colonial—One civilian, and one stenographer.

Current Intelligence Summaries—Total 14. This division has divided the world into political, geographical zones, and makes a study of current events in each. It is now, however, being combined with another section.

Economics and Statistics—Total 12. Includes four civilians, four commissioned Army officers, one civilian employe and three field clerks.

Ethnography—One commissioned officer, and one stenographer.

Far East—One civilian, one commissioned Army officer, and two stenographers.

Geography—Total 20. Includes five civilians, one field clerk, and fourteen Army enlisted men, mostly draftsmen.

Germany—One civilian and one stenographer.

History—Three civilians and one field clerk.

Inner-Asia—One civilian.

Italy—One commissioned Army officer, and one civilian.

Library and Reference—Three civilians, two commissioned Army officers and sixteen enlisted men. This section handles the library of the Commission.

Russia and Poland—Four civilians, two commissioned army officers, and four enlisted men, the latter office assistants.

Eastern Asia—Four civilians, one commissioned army officer, and one enlisted man.

Western Europe—One civilian, one commissioned Army officer, and one stenographer.

Associated Bodies:

The personnel of some of the offices enumerated below are carried on the Peace Commission rolls, although they are not directly attached to the Peace Commission, nor is their personnel properly chargeable to the Commission. However, there is, in each case, an association which warrants a record being kept by the Commission.

Attached to the Commanding General, District of Paris—total 12. Includes eleven officers, and one enlisted man. While these officers have been engaged in looking after the President, they are not directly attached to the Commission.

Courier Service Officers—total, 81—all commissioned. This comprises the courier service between Paris and numerous points in Europe where American Missions are stationed. A similar service would have to be maintained whether the Peace Commission existed, or not, although not such an extensive service as this. Prior to America's entry into the War, such a courier service was maintained by the Department of State.

Field Observers—total 77. Civilians, eight; Army commissioned, thirty-two; Navy commissioned, nine; field clerk, one; Army enlisted, twelve; Navy enlisted, fifteen. These officers and men on duty as observers with the American Missions in Poland, Austria, Russia, Turkey, and elsewhere. While under the supervision of the Commission, they are working generally for the United States Government, and in reality the Missions afield take the place of certain Embassies and Legations.

Financial Commissioner—total 14. Includes eleven civilians, one commissioned army officer, and two enlisted men. While the Financial Commissioner is a Technical Adviser of the Commission, he is also the representative in Europe of the Treasury Department, and

a considerable portion of his personnel is devoted to United States Government work, rather than that of the Commission.

Headquarters Detachment—total, 297. Includes twelve commissioned Army officers, two hundred and eighty one enlisted men, one commissioned Marine officer, and three Marine enlisted men. The headquarters detachment includes all of the officers and men essential to the maintenance of a military organization. It furnishes certain orderlies to the Commission, as well as the outside guard at Hotel Crillon and "No. 4". Its officers are engaged in strictly military duties, looking after the discipline of the men, their feeding, and the "paper work" of the organization. The figures include cooks, barbers, tailors, organization non-commissioned personnel, et cetera.

Historical Branch, War Plans Division—total 2. Both Army officers, engaged in the study of the proceedings of the Commission on behalf of the War Department for historical purposes.

Post Office—total 16. Includes two commissioned Army officers, one civilian, and eleven enlisted men (Army), and two Marine enlisted men. The Post Office handles the mail for the entire organization, including a great quantity of soldier mail.

Shipping Board—total 18. Includes twelve civilians, four commissioned Army officers, and two enlisted men. Like the office of the Financial Adviser, this is an associate body, but not actually a part of the Peace Commission. The office, like that of the Financial Adviser, existed before the formation of the Peace Commission.

Supreme War Council—total 4. Includes three commissioned Army officers, and one field clerk. Another associate body.

Telephones—total 46. Includes two commissioned Army officers, twenty-five Army enlisted men, one civilian, and eighteen women operators. Engaged in installation and telephone service.

Transportation—total 106. Includes six civilians, four commissioned Army officers, and ninety-six enlisted Army men. This force handles all transportation, passenger, and otherwise; runs twenty-four hours a day; cares for the cars, and operates the garage. It includes waitresses employed at the men's mess.

War Industries Board—total 1[14]. Includes nine civilians, four commissioned Army officers, and one enlisted man. Another associated body, with dual functions, which is not entirely chargeable to the Peace Commission.

War Trade Board—total 10. Includes seven civilians, two Army enlisted men, and one Navy enlisted man. Another associate body not entirely chargeable to the Peace Commission.

*Memorandum by the Secretary of State*⁴⁰

[PARIS, May 8, 1919.]

The terms of peace were yesterday delivered to the German plenipotentiaries, and for the first time in these days of feverish rush of preparation there is time to consider the Treaty as a complete document.

The impression made by it is one of disappointment, of regret, and of depression. The terms of peace appear immeasurably harsh and humiliating, while many of them seem to me impossible of performance.

The League of Nations created by the Treaty is relied upon to preserve the artificial structure which has been erected by compromise of the conflicting interests of the Great Powers and to prevent the germination of the seeds of war which are sown in so many articles and which under normal conditions would soon bear fruit. The League might as well attempt to prevent the growth of plant life in a tropical jungle. Wars will come sooner or later.

It must be admitted in honesty that the League is an instrument of the mighty to check the normal growth of national power and national aspirations among those who have been rendered impotent by defeat. Examine the Treaty and you will find peoples delivered against their wills into the hands of those whom they hate, while their economic resources are torn from them and given to others. Resentment and bitterness, if not desperation, are bound to be the consequences of such provisions. It may be years before these oppressed peoples are able to throw off the yoke, but as sure as day follows night the time will come when they will make the effort.

This war was fought by the United States to destroy forever the conditions which produced it. Those conditions have not been destroyed. They have been supplanted by other conditions equally productive of hatred, jealousy, and suspicion. In place of the Triple Alliance and the Entente has arisen the Quintuple Alliance which is to rule the world. The victors in this war intend to impose their combined will upon the vanquished and to subordinate all interests to their own.

It is true that to please the aroused public opinion of mankind and to respond to the idealism of the moralist they have surrounded the new alliance with a halo and called it "The League of Nations," but whatever it may be called or however it may be disguised it is an alliance of the Five Great Military Powers.

It is useless to close our eyes to the fact that the power to compel obedience by the exercise of the united strength of "The Five" is the

⁴⁰ Reprinted from Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations*, pp. 272-274.

fundamental principle of the League. Justice is secondary. Might is primary.

The League as now constituted will be the prey of greed and intrigue; and the law of unanimity in the Council, which may offer a restraint, will be broken or render the organization powerless. It is called upon to stamp as just what is unjust.

We have a treaty of peace, but it will not bring permanent peace because it is founded on the shifting sands of self-interest.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.001/22

The Secretary of State to President Wilson

PARIS, May 9, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: AS I said to you over the telephone the other day my health requires me to take a few days rest, otherwise I am afraid that I will break down. I plan therefore to leave Sunday for London and to remain four or five days as the guest of Ambassador Davis. Mrs. Lansing will of course accompany me.

I have arranged my work here so that it will progress as well I think as if I was here, and I will be in daily touch with it. In the event, however, that anything demands my presence or if you desire me to return at any time I shall be glad to come back on receiving telegraphic notice.

Trusting that you will understand that I would not leave Paris at this time except that it seems necessary to keep myself in condition to proceed with the work in hand, I am

Faithfully yours,

[File copy not signed]

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Storck, John

Mr. John Storck to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

PARIS, May 14, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. GREW: I find that I shall not retain the least shred of respect for myself if I let the moment pass without protesting most vigorously against the treaty which has been presented to the German plenipotentiaries. This treaty, it seems to me, will by wronging Germany make her eager for revenge; it will foster the Prussian spirit in the countries whose power will give it its only sanction; it will stand as a monument of shame above the graves of the millions who suffered and died in the greatest of all wars. I may add that I have

spoken to many persons about the treaty, and that none express approval, while but few attempt extenuation. The opinion is general that the treaty with Austria will be even worse.

In view of my feelings as expressed above, it is possible that the Commission may no longer wish to continue my services, and if such action is taken I should be glad to be returned home.

Very truly yours,

JOHN STORCK

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Berle, Adolf A.

Lieutenant A. A. Berle, Jr., to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

PARIS, May 15, 1919.

From: A. A. Berle, Jr.

To: Mr. Grew (for the Commissioners).

After reading the summary of the terms of the proposed German treaty, and examining its text, I feel bound in honor to place on record my protest against American acquiescence in it.

The American war was declared, supported, and fought to a victorious conclusion on and for certain fundamental principles, stated by the President, to the attainment of which the United States pledged itself. The treaty as prepared seems in large measure to have abandoned both letter and spirit of these pledges. The abandonment seems to include not merely the compromises necessary to achieve a humanly workable scheme, but in many cases, a surrender of the principles involved. In certain striking instances (notably the Japanese clauses), the treaty threatens also to create a situation thoroughly dangerous to the interests of the United States.

Bearing in mind the difficulty of securing persons acquainted in detail with the subject matter of my present duties, and having no desire to hinder the work here in any way, I leave to the Commissioners the question of my continued connection with the Commission. My single desire is to serve faithfully the United States, and to assist in realizing, so far as possible, the ideals expressed by the President prior to the proposal of the treaty. But, (if by no other considerations), the honorable fulfilment of my oath as a United States officer would constrain me to a statement that conclusion of the proposed treaty will not, in my judgment, serve either the idealistic or material interests of America, or, indeed, of humanity.

A. A. BERLE, JR.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Fuller, Joseph V.

Sergeant Joseph V. Fuller to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

PARIS, May 15, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. GREW: I feel impelled by my own conscience to register in some manner a protest against the terms of peace which have been proposed to Germany. The United States entered the European War for the maintenance of certain principles of international justice clearly expressed by our President. Inspired by those ideals, we have borne great sacrifices in the hope that a better world would emerge as a result. Consideration of the terms of this peace leaves me with a profound sense of disillusionment.

We have bartered away our principles in a series of compromises with interests of imperialism and revenge, until hardly a shadow of them remains. Instead of assuring the peace of the world by a just reconstitution, this treaty seeks guarantees for a settlement in favor of the victors which reduces the vanquished to powerless and indefinite servitude. Such a settlement assures neither permanence nor tranquility. My earnest conviction is that our country dishonors itself in adding its signature and guarantee.

If, in view of these opinions, my services should be no longer desired, I shall be glad to be relieved from my duty with the Commission.

Very truly yours,

JOSEPH V. FULLER

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Morison, Samuel E.

Mr. S. E. Morison to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

PARIS, May 15, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. GREW: I feel it my duty to inform you that, after carefully reading the Conditions of Peace, I am convinced that, taken as a whole, they are in flagrant contradiction both to the interests of the United States and to the ideals and principles for the vindication of which the United States was supposed to be waging war against Germany.

That being my opinion, I should prefer to sever my connection with the American Commission to Negotiate Peace.

Dr. Lord, my division chief, has prevailed upon me not to insist upon resigning on the ground that such action would cripple the work of his division and still further delay the work of the Baltic Commission.

If, therefore, you are of the same opinion, I am willing to retain my position so long as my services may be required for the efficient functioning of the Commission; provided it be perfectly understood that I am no longer in accord with the present policy of the Administration, so far as it is reflected in the Conditions of Peace.

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Noble, George B.

Lieutenant George B. Noble to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

PARIS, 15 May, 1919.

DEAR MR. GREW: I should like to express to you, and, through you, to the members of the American Peace Commission, my sentiments on the Peace Settlement which is under way. I have found that my feelings are echoed by a surprisingly large number of persons connected with the American Commission.

I feel that the Peace, as proposed, will be an exceedingly dangerous settlement,—if it could be called a ‘settlement’,—of world affairs. I believe it to be provocative of future wars, rather than a guarantee of world peace. I believe it will stir up strife among the nations, rather than allay it. I feel that the idealism of America has been very largely sacrificed on the altar of imperialism. One need not go beyond the mention of Shantung to establish his case.

I have endeavored to be as useful as possible to the Commission, but I feel that that usefulness is largely at an end, and I put my services at your disposal, knowing, as you now do, my feelings.

Very respectfully yours,

GEORGE B. NOBLE

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Bullitt, William C.

Mr. William C. Bullitt to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

[PARIS,] May 17, 1919.

DEAR JOE: I append a copy of the letter of resignation which I have just sent to the Secretary of State and a copy of a note to the President. Personally, I regret extremely that I feel it necessary to leave the service of the Government, but I cannot convince myself that any good will ever come from the imposition on the world of the proposed peace and, therefore, I cannot conscientiously labor for its establishment.

Before I go, I wish to express to you the feelings of respect and friendship which I hold for you personally. I feel that I owe to you the experiences of the past year and a half and I shall never forget your unfailing courtesy and kindness to me. I hope that it may not be long before we are again working together for the establishment of a real peace.

With my sincerest thanks and all good wishes, I am

Very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM C. BULLITT

[Enclosure 1]

Mr. William C. Bullitt to President Wilson

[PARIS,] May 17, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have submitted today to the Secretary of State my resignation as an Assistant in the Department of State, Attache to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. I was one of the millions who trusted confidently and implicitly in your leadership and believed that you would take nothing less than "a permanent peace" based upon "unselfish and unbiased justice". But our Government has consented now to deliver the suffering peoples of the world to new oppressions, subjections and dismemberments—a new century of war. And I can convince myself no longer that effective labor for "a new world order" is possible as a servant of this Government.

Russia, "the acid test of good will", for me as for you, has not even been understood. Unjust decisions of the Conference in regard to Shantung, the Tyrol, Thrace, Hungary, East Prussia, Danzig, the Saar Valley; and the abandonment of the principle of the Freedom of the Seas make new international conflicts certain. It is my conviction that the present League of Nations will be powerless to prevent these wars, and that the United States will be involved in them by the obligations undertaken in the Covenant of the League and in the special understanding with France. Therefore, the duty of the Government of the United States to its own people and to mankind is to refuse to sign or ratify this unjust Treaty, to refuse to guarantee its settlements, by entering the League of Nations, to refuse to entangle the United States further by the understanding with France.

That you personally opposed most of the unjust settlements, and that you accepted them only under great pressure, is well known. Nevertheless, it is my conviction that if you had made your fight in the open, instead of behind closed doors, you would have carried with you the public opinion of the world, which was yours; you

would have been able to resist the pressure and might have established the "new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice" of which you used to speak. I am sorry that you did not fight our fight to the finish and that you had so little faith in the millions of men, like myself, in every nation who had faith in you.

Very sincerely yours,

WILLIAM C. BULLITT

[Enclosure 2]

Mr. William C. Bullitt to the Secretary of State

[PARIS,] May 17, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I respectfully submit to you my resignation as an Assistant in the Department of State, Attache to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. I believe that causes for future wars have been planted by unjust decisions of the Conference in regard to Shantung, the Tyrol, Thrace, Hungary, East Prussia, Danzig and the Saar Valley; and by the abandonment of the principle of the Freedom of the Seas. It is my conviction that the present League of Nations will be powerless to prevent these wars and that the United States will be drawn into them by the obligations undertaken in the Covenant of the League and in the special understanding with France.

I believe that the welfare of the American people and mankind would be promoted by the refusal of the United States to sign or ratify the Treaty of Peace, the League of Nations Covenant and the understanding with France. Therefore, I feel unable to assist, even as a subordinate, in the imposition on the world of these settlements and respectfully request you to accept my resignation.

With my sincerest personal regards, I am

Very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM C. BULLITT

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Bullitt, William C.: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

[PARIS,] May 19, 1919—9 p. m.

2168. [From Lansing.] Resignation William C. Bullitt accepted close business May 19th. Lansing.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Berle, Adolf A.

*The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to Lieutenant A. A. Berle, Jr.*⁴¹

PARIS, 20 May, 1919.

DEAR MR. BERLE: I have not sooner replied to your memorandum of May 15, expressing your attitude towards the conditions of Peace, as I wished to await the return of Mr. Lansing and General Bliss to Paris before submitting your memorandum to the Commissioners.

Your memorandum was brought to the attention of the Commissioners at their meeting yesterday, and while expressing appreciation of the straightforward course which you have adopted, they desire further time in which to consider what course they may feel it proper to pursue under the circumstances. I shall inform you in due course of any decision which may later be reached.

Yours very sincerely,

J. C. GREW

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Miller, D. H.

President Wilson to the Secretary of State

[PARIS,] May 22, 1919.

MEMORANDUM

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Will you be so good as to request Mr. David H. Miller (who is, I understand, a Special Assistant in your Department), to return to the United States so that he may be able to confer with some of the officials there respecting technical legal questions arising under the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Approved:

W. W.

Edward M. House Papers

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

PARIS, 22 May, 1919.

DEAR GOVERNOR: I enclose herewith the memorandum you asked each of us for at the last meeting you had with the Commissioners.

Affectionately yours,

[File copy not signed]

[Enclosure]

Memorandum for the President by Colonel E. M. House

Questions Remaining to be Settled After German and Austrian Peace Treaties are Disposed of.

⁴¹ Letters of almost identical text were sent on the same day to Messrs. Fuller, Morison, Noble, and Storck.

(There may be agreements with regard to some of these questions by the Council of Four that have not been announced.)

A.—TERRITORIAL MATTERS

I.—ENEMY FRONTIERS

1. With the frontier between Austria and Hungary settled, no questions are likely to be raised with regard to Hungarian frontiers unless they are raised by Hungary; her neighbors should be satisfied.

2. The Commissions concerned recommend a rectification of the Rumanian-Bulgarian frontier in the Dobrudja to the advantage of Bulgaria and the disadvantage of Rumania. Evidently it may be difficult to persuade Rumania, a friendly state, to agree to this suggestion.

3. The Bulgarians will certainly object very vigorously to the cession of practically the whole of Western or Bulgarian Thrace to Greece, as is recommended by the territorial Commission. They will maintain that there is but a small minority of Greeks in the territory concerned, and contest the Greek claim that the Moslems, who are in a majority, prefer Greek to Bulgarian sovereignty. Bulgaria may also for the same reasons contest the cession of Eastern or Turkish Thrace to Greece, though here her ground is not so strong.

4. The consideration of frontiers within the former Turkish Empire has been reserved by the Supreme Council, and therefore has not been dealt with by territorial commissions, except in the case of the Greek claim to Smyrna and territory adjacent thereto. This claim was recognized by the territorial Commission dealing with the Greek claims.

5. The other questions remaining to be settled within Turkey, all of them highly contentious and entangled in agreements among the principal European Powers, include the following:

a. Frontiers of the Constantinople state, if there is to be one; selection of its mandatory and drawing up of its mandate.

b. The extent and character of the Greek control of Smyrna and its neighborhood, i. e., whether any or all of the territory concerned is to come under Greek sovereignty, or whether some of it is to be merely subject to a Greek mandate.

c. The Italian claim to Adalia, and, if this is recognized, the drawing up of the terms of the mandate.

d. The boundaries of the Armenian state; its mandatory and the terms of the mandate.

e. The settlement with regard to the Kurdish and Assyrian areas south and east of the Armenian region.

f. The boundaries of the Mesopotamian area and the terms under which England is to exercise a mandate over that region and its people.

g. The boundaries of the Syrian area and the terms under which France is to exercise a mandate over that region and its people.

h. The boundaries of Palestine and the terms under which the British are to act as mandatory.

i. The action to be taken with regard to the Ottoman debt, a highly contentious question in which the British are especially interested.

II. OTHER FRONTIERS

1. The American, British, and French experts agree on all the frontiers for Czecho-Slovakia and Rumania, and on all the frontiers for Jugo-Slavia except those with Italy and Albania.

a. In the case of Czecho-Slovak frontiers, there is only one contentious stretch, and that is in Teschen, where any decision is difficult to reach and any reached will be unsatisfactory either to Poland or to Czecho-Slovakia. The difficulty, generally speaking, is that Teschen or most of it is an economic unit and an injury will be done by dividing it, whereas on the other hand, it contains both Poles and Czechs.

b. In the case of Rumanian frontiers, the only question likely to be contentious is in the Dobrudja, referred to above.

c. The contentious questions between Jugo-Slavia and Italy are too familiar to call for comment.

The Jugo-Slavs ask for some of the territory assigned to Albania at London in 1913, and the Albanians ask for some of the territory then and there assigned to Serbia and Montenegro respectively. It is also true that the Greeks claim Albanian territory as then delimited, and that the Albanians in turn claim Greek territory. It may be useful to mention that Albania differs from such new or enlarged states as Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia in requiring in the way of changes little if anything more than rectifications of frontier. If nothing is done except in the matter of the Italian claim to Valona and in providing for advice and guidance to Albania, she will at least be no worse off than she has been.

2. The Dutch and Belgians are at present negotiating with regard to frontier and other questions between them, especially in the region of the Scheldt and with regard to Limburg and Maastricht. They may settle their differences, but that, of course, is uncertain.

3. Certain Polish frontiers are highly contentious, notably the frontier with Lithuania, with Russia, in the Lemberg region of Galicia, and in Teschen as above mentioned. The possibility of reaching satisfactory settlements in these regions now or in the near future is very problematical.

4. Except in the case of Poland, nothing has been done in the matter of the frontiers of or within the former Russian Empire. The

attached map ⁴² gives some idea of the little peoples who have declared their independence and demand recognition, and the settling of their frontiers and of other questions concerning them. Here again the possibility of reaching satisfactory settlements in the near future is not very bright. No doubt boundaries could be assigned, but in some cases at least they would be unsatisfactory, and it might be that the peoples concerned would prefer self-help to help by the conference.

In connection with Finland, the assignment of the Aaland Islands either to Finland or to Sweden is likely to come up.

III.—TERRITORIES OUTSIDE OF EUROPE

1. The terms of the mandates for backward peoples in Africa and the Pacific remain for determination. The territories concerned have, it is understood, been allocated to various of the Great Powers as mandatories, but a contentious question seems to remain outstanding between Belgium and Great Britain in the matter of East Africa, and France and the British Empire have still to report with regard to Togo and the Cameroons.

2. General conventions with regard to arms traffic, liquor traffic, revision of the Berlin Act of 1885 and of the Brussels Convention of 1900 still remain to be drawn up.

IV.—MISCELLANEOUS

1. The status of Spitzbergen is unsettled. Norway, Sweden and Great Britain are chiefly affected.

2. There are many outstanding questions—spheres, consortiums, etc.—in China, Manchuria, Mongolia, etc.

Endorsement in W. W.'s (?) handwriting:⁴³

I think *generally* that I and II should be decided here *except* as they involve Russia. III & IV could wait and be referred to League of Nations except the last question which involves Russia.

B. NAVAL MATTERS

1. The disposition of enemy warships and war material.

(Admiral Benson has recommended that all enemy war material, including vessels, should be destroyed. Should division instead of destruction be decided upon then the question becomes a political one to be decided by the political representatives of the various governments.)

⁴² No map accompanies the file copy of this memorandum.

⁴³ This endorsement and other similar endorsements as they appear throughout the file copy of this memorandum are typewritten; hence it is impossible from this copy to verify the handwriting of the person who may have inserted them upon the original copy.

2. The final disposition of German cables and the question of international aspect of communication by land, telegrams, cables or wireless telegraph.

(The resolution adopted by the Chiefs of Allied Governments provided that:

"Such of the above-mentioned cables as are now in use, shall continue to be worked in the conditions at present existing; but such working shall not prejudice the right of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers to decide the future status of these cables in such way as they may think fit.

"The Principal Allied and Associated Powers may make such arrangements as they may think fit for bringing into operation any of the said cables which are not at present in use.

"The Principal Allied and Associated Powers shall as soon as possible arrange for the convoking of an International Congress to consider all international aspects of communication by land telegraphs, cables or wireless telegraphy, and to make recommendations to the Powers concerned with a view to providing the entire world with adequate facilities of this nature on a fair and equitable basis.")

3. The question of the abolition of submarines, as an instrument of warfare.

(It is possible that this latter question will be left for decision by the Naval and Military Commissions to be appointed under the League of Nations. However, attention is invited to it at the present time.)

Endorsement in W. W.'s (?) handwriting:

Not for the Conference I think.

C.—COMMISSIONS, ETC., TO BE APPOINTED UNDER PEACE TREATY WITH GERMANY

Endorsement in W. W.'s handwriting:

None of these for the Conference.

1. Organization of League of Nations (Resolution of the Conference).

The Committee consists of nine members appointed by the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Brazil, Greece and Spain.

2. Frontier Commissions

(a) Belgium (Article 35, page 25)⁴⁴

A Commission of seven persons, five of whom will be appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Germany and one by Belgium, will be constituted within fifteen days after the coming into force of the Treaty.

(b) Saar Basin (Article 48, page 29)

⁴⁴The references are to the preliminary draft of the treaty with Germany handed to the Germans on May 7, 1919 (185.1/112).

A Commission composed of five members, one appointed by France, one by Germany and three by the Council of the League of Nations, will select nationals of other Powers, will be constituted within fifteen days after the coming into force of the Treaty.

(c) Czecho-Slovak State (Article 83, page 49)

A Commission composed of seven members, five to be nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Poland and one by the Czecho-Slovak State, will be appointed within fifteen days after the coming into force of the Treaty.

(d) Poland (Article 88, page 51)

A Commission consisting of seven members, five to be nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Germany and one by Poland, shall be constituted within fifteen days after the coming into force of the Treaty.

(e) Danzig (Article 101, page 57)

A Commission of five persons, three nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, including a High Commissioner as President, one appointed by Germany and one by Poland, shall be constituted within fifteen days of the coming into force of the Treaty.

(f) Schleswig (Article 110, page 61)

A Commission composed of seven members, five of whom are to be especially nominated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, one by Denmark and one by Germany, shall be constituted within fifteen days from the date when the final result of the vote is known.

3. Commissions in charge of plebiscites

Saar Basin (Annex, Paragraph 34, page 37)

The plebiscite at the end of fifteen years is under the control of the Council of the League of Nations, acting by a majority. (Paragraph 40, page 38).

East Prussia (Article 95, page 53)

An Inter-national Commission of five members appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers will take charge of area not exceeding fifteen days after the coming into force of the Treaty (area between the southern frontier of East Prussia and a line described)

East Prussia (Stuhm, Rosenberg and Marienwerder) (Article 97, page 54)

An Inter-national Commission of four members appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers; it is contemplated that this Commission will commence operation within fifteen days after the coming into force of the Treaty.

Schleswig (Article 109, page 59)

An Inter-national Commission composed of five members, of whom three will be designated by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers; the Norwegian and Swedish Governments will each be requested to designate a member and in the event of their failing to

do so these two members will be chosen by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers; it is contemplated that the Commission shall operate within ten days after the coming into force of the Treaty.

4. Governing Commissions

The Saar Basin (Annex, Paragraph 17, page 33)

The Governing Commission shall consist of five members chosen by the Council of the League of Nations including one citizen of France, one native inhabitant of the Saar Basin not a citizen of France and three members belonging to three countries other than France or Germany, all appointed for one year. The Chairman shall be appointed in like manner. Salaries are fixed by the Council of the League. The Council acts by majority in these matters. (Paragraph 40, page 38)

5. Inter-Allied Commissions of Control (Article 203, page 89) These Commissions are three in number, representing the Five Powers: Military (Article 208), Naval (Article 209) and Aeronautical (Article 210).

All military, naval and air clauses contained in the Treaty for the execution of which a time limit is prescribed should be executed by Germany under the control of Inter-Allied Commissions especially appointed for this purpose by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

6. Commissions in charge of re-patriation of prisoners of war (Article 215, page 93)

A Commission shall be composed of representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers and of the German Government. Each Allied or Associated Power shall constitute a Sub-Commission composed exclusively of its representatives and of delegates of the German Government. These Commissions shall be constituted as soon as possible after the coming into force of the Treaty.

7. Commission for the maintenance of graves (Article 225, page 95)

Any Commission appointed by an Allied or Associated Government will be recognized.

8. Tribunal to try William of Hohenzollern (Article 227, page 96)

It will be composed of five (misprinted four) judges one appointed by each of the following Powers: United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. In addition, military tribunals may be constituted as required (Article 228). The Powers will address to Holland a request for the surrender of the Kaiser.

9. Reparation Commission (Article 233, page 98)

One Delegate and an Assistant Delegate will be appointed by the United States of America, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium and Serbia. Other interested Powers may appoint a Delegate without vote.

10. Manager of the Port of Strassburg and Kehl (Article 65, page 42)

Within three weeks after the coming into force of the Treaty a provisional Manager of French nationality may be appointed by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, to be succeeded by a Manager to be appointed by the Central Rhine Commission.

11. High Commissioner of the Free City of Danzig (Article 103, page 57)

He shall be appointed by the League of Nations.

12. Clearing Offices (Annex, page 137)

Each of the High Contracting Parties will establish a clearing office for the collection of the payments of enemy debts. This shall be done by each of them within three months after it has been given notice to Germany and within six months after the coming into force of the Treaty, and as provided in Article 296 (*e*), page 137.

13. Mixed Arbitral Tribunal (Article 304, page 156)

Within three months after the coming into force of the Treaty, a Mixed Arbitral Tribunal shall be established between each of the Allied and Associated Governments, on the one hand, and Germany, on the other, consisting of three members one chosen by each of the Governments concerned, the President being chosen by agreement of the two Governments concerned.

14. International Commissions of Ports, Waterways and Railways (hypothetical) (Article 336, page 171)

An Arbitrator or Arbitrators appointed by the United States of America to determine upon tugs and boats to be ceded (Article 339, page 172—see also, page 110)

River Commissions

(*a*) The Elbe (Article 340, page 173)

Four representatives of German riparian States, two representatives of the Czecho-Slovak State, one representative of Great Britain, France, Belgium, to be appointed immediately on the coming into force of the Treaty.

(*b*) The Oder (Article 341, page 173)

One representative each for Poland, Prussia, the Czecho-Slovak State, Great Britain, France, Denmark, Sweden.

(*c*) The Niemen (Article 342, page 173)

The League of Nations shall place the Niemen under the administration of an Inter-national Commission on the request of any riparian State, such commission consisting of a representative of such riparian State and three representatives of other States specified by the League of Nations.

(*a*), (*b*) and (*c*). The Commission on the Elbe and on the Oder shall meet within three months after the coming into force of the Treaty. The Commission on the Niemen shall meet within three months after the coming into force of the Treaty, upon request.

(*d*) The Danube (Article 346, page 174)

This Commission shall resume its function but shall consist only of representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy and Roumania. The part of the river not under the jurisdiction of the European Commission of the Danube shall be placed under the administration of an Inter-national Commission composed of two representatives of German riparian States and one representative of each other riparian State, and one representative of each non-riparian State represented on the European Commission of the Danube, in the future. This Commission shall meet as soon as possible after the coming into force of the Treaty (Article 352, page 175). A Conference of the Powers nominated by the Allied and Associated Powers shall meet within one year after the coming into force of the Treaty and will lay down a regime of the Danube which shall be accepted by Germany (Article 349, page 175).

(e) The Rhine (Article 355, page 177)

The Central Commission provided for in the Convention of Mannheim shall consist of nineteen members, two for Holland, two for Switzerland, four for German riparian States, four for France which, in addition, shall appoint a President for the Commission, two for Great Britain, two for Italy and two for Belgium. Within six months of the coming into force of the Treaty, the Central Commission shall meet to draw up the project for the Convention of Mannheim which shall be in harmony with the provisions of the General Convention (Article 338)

(f) General Convention (Article 338, page 172)

The Allied and Associated Powers shall draw up the General Convention subject to the approval of the League of Nations. Germany agrees to adhere thereto. It shall relate to Waterways recognized therein as having an international character and particularly to the Elbe, the Oder, the Niemen and the Danube.

(g) Rotterdam (Article 357, page 177)

The United States of America shall appoint an arbitrator to determine within one year after the coming into force of the Treaty the amount and specifications of cessions by Germany to France in the port of Rotterdam.

(h) Hamburg and Stettin (Article 364, page 181)

A Commission of Delimitation and Control consisting of one delegate of Germany, one delegate of the Czecho-Slovak State and one delegate of Great Britain.

(i) Kiel Canal (Article 386, page 188)

Any interested Power can appeal to the jurisdiction instituted for the purpose by the League of Nations and demand the formation of an Inter-national Commission in the event of violation of the Articles relative to the Kiel Canal or of disputes as to their interpretation.

Railway Commissions

(a) Commissions to designate rolling stock (Article 371, page 183)

Commissions of experts shall be designated by the Allied and Associated Powers on which Germany shall be represented.

(b) Arbitrator (Article 373, page 184)

An Arbitrator shall be appointed by the League of Nations to determine the divisions of initial cost of railway improvements on Ger-

man territory made upon the request of one of the Allied and Associated Powers with the consent of the League of Nations.

(e) Arbitrator (Article 374, page [185])

An Arbitrator may be appointed by the United States to determine the conditions of the denunciation of the St. Gothard Convention.⁴⁵

15. Labor Commissions.

(a) Labor Conference (Article 388, page 190)

Members of the League of Nations shall each appoint four delegates to the General Labor Conference, two to represent the Government, one of them employers and the other the working people. The appointment must be prior to a meeting to be held within one year of the coming into force of the Treaty.

(b) Governing Body of the Labor Office (Article 388, page 190)

The members of chief industrial importance shall nominate eight persons and the other Members four. The Council of the League of Nations shall decide which are the Members of chief industrial importance. Delegates representing employers shall elect six and delegates representing workers shall elect six. (Article 393, page 191).

(c) Director of the Labor Office (Article 394, page 192)

A Director of the Labor Office shall be appointed by the Governing Body.

(d) Funds (Article 399, page 193)

Funds for expenses of the Labor Office and meetings of the Conference or Governing Body shall be paid to the Director of the Office by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations out of the general funds of the League.

(e) Panel for Commission of Enquiry (Article 412, page 196)

Within six months, each member of the League will nominate a representative of employers, a representative of workers and a person of independent standing, all of industrial experience.

(f) First Meeting (Article 424, page 199)

The first meeting of the Labor Conference will take place in October 1919.

(g) Tribunal to be appointed pending creation of a permanent Court of International Justice (Article 426, page 200)

A Tribunal of three persons shall be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to determine questions arising from Labor matters, pending the creation of a Permanent Court of International Justice.

16. General Clause.

The Chairman of any Commission has a second vote when the vote is equal. (Article 437, page 206).

⁴⁵ *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. cv, p. 639.

D.—PRE-WAR DEBTS—ENEMY PROPERTY—CONTRACTS

As soon as the treaties are signed, by Germany and Austria, steps should be taken at once to ascertain (a) the status of American property, rights and interests in the enemy countries, and (b) the best procedure to collect debts and accounts in such countries. A report should be made with the least possible delay, and then Congress may consider and determine,

(1) What enemy property in the United States shall be returned to the former owners,

(2) What enemy businesses shall be liquidated in the public interest, and

(3) What disposition shall be made of all proceeds of liquidations.

Congress will have the right to determine whether the said proceeds shall be used to protect the property interests of American citizens, or to pay claims of American citizens against the enemy countries arising before the entry of the United States into the war, or to pay into the reparation fund.

These matters will involve serious questions of policy, such as the treatment of private property in the time of war, the measures of protection which should be accorded to the private foreign interests of our nationals, and our duty to enhance the fund for the reparation of our associates.

The amounts involved will be very large, and differences in point of view very great.

We have not been at war with either Turkey or Bulgaria. We have not seized any property of the nationals of those countries.

Endorsement in W. W.'s (?) handwriting:

To be considered for Austria Hungary Bulgaria & Turkey—otherwise not for the Conference

E.—TREATIES WITH NEW STATES AND STATES ACQUIRING NEW TERRITORIES

The Committee on New States is working out treaties between the five principal Allied and Associated Powers and each of the following States:

Poland
 Checho-Slovakia
 Yugo-Slavia
 Roumania
 Greece

The Treaty with Poland is provided for in Article 93 of the Treaty with Germany and the Treaty with Checho-Slovakia in Article 86. The other treaties will be provided for in the treaties of peace with Austria and Hungary.

The Clauses for protection of minorities have been agreed upon for the Treaty with Poland and similar clauses will be put into the treaties with the other countries. The clauses covering the economic and financial problems involved in the transfer of territories are not yet agreed upon.

The United States is particularly interested in the protection of minorities in each of these countries, more especially in the protection of the Jews in Poland and Roumania. The United States has little interest in the economic and financial parts of these treaties except for assuring to the nationals of all states equitable commercial treatment.

Endorsement in W. W.'s handwriting (?):

These treaties are between the 5 powers and Poland Roumania &c. They are not for the Conference

F.

No mention is made of Military matters or of matters arising under the Covenant of the League of Nations except under C *supra*.

Endorsement in W. W.'s (?) handwriting:

Not for the Conference except as to Austria Hungary Bulgaria & Turkey

G.—SHIPPING MATTERS

Endorsement in W. W.'s (?) handwriting:

Not for the conference

The situation to this date in relation to enemy ships seized by the United States is about as follows:

We have taken the position that our title is good.

In interpreting one of the provisions proposed for the Treaty of Peace and which afterwards went into the Treaty of Peace, Great Britain questions our international title to the ships. Because of this, and since the Treaty was passed, and under the provisions of the Treaty that as between the Allies distribution of the materials, money, etc., for reparation is to be settled by agreement, Great Britain agrees to waive any question of title in the United States to the seized ships, and in the same way agrees that Brazil, Cuba, China and Siam shall retain the ships seized by them respectively provided payment is made for the same.

France has agreed with the United States that it does not question the United States' title, but has not to this date agreed with relation to the ships seized by the other states.

We are now negotiating with Italy and Japan.

If the seized ships were all to be pooled and divided on the ton-for-ton basis, the interests of the various countries would be according to the percentages shown below:

U. K.	77. 65
France	6. 75
Italy	6. 70
U. S.	3. 00
Greece	3. 49
Japan	1. 32
Belgium	.77
Brazil	.14
Portugal	.14
Roumania	.04

Great Britain and France have waived any question as to our title, and we hope for similar agreements on the part of Italy, Greece, Japan and Belgium. With such agreements we need fear no further difficulty in maintaining our title. However, that as a matter of courtesy we should present the matter to Greece and Belgium and possibly the other countries, and will do so as soon as we have arrived at an understanding with Japan.

We know of no other questions involved in the seized ships which might give difficulty from the standpoint of the United States. There are some rather complicated claims put forward by Italy, particularly with relation to Adriatic shipping, but in this question we should not be affected so far as ship tonnage is concerned.

E. M. HOUSE

Robert Lansing Papers

The American Commissioners Plenipotentiary (Lansing, Bliss, White, House) to President Wilson

PARIS, May 27, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Your colleagues on the American Commission feel that as soon as the German Delegation has submitted its reply regarding the Conditions of Peace it would be very desirable to call a meeting of all the Commissioners, Technical Experts and Advisors connected with the American Mission in order that the German proposals might be discussed by the members of the Commission under your guidance.

In the event that you approve of this suggestion we shall be glad to take steps to prepare this meeting at the time and place which you may indicate.

Faithfully yours,

ROBERT LANSING
 TASKER H. BLISS
 HENRY WHITE
 E. M. HOUSE

Edward M. House Papers

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

PARIS, May 27, 1919.

DEAR GOVERNOR: The reason for the letter of May 27th which Lansing, Bliss and White composed and which I signed is this:

Hoover told me yesterday that for your own protection he strongly hoped that you would do what has been suggested in this letter. I did not go into details with him but I feel sure he was speaking advisedly.

I have no doubt that any view which you would take of the German objections to the Treaty would be the view of every one with whom you would confer. If you do not confer with them, I have a feeling that some of them will be disgruntled and perhaps make trouble.

I told the Commissioners what Hoover had said to me and they proposed the letter. I merely make this explanation so you will understand how it came about.

Affectionately yours,

[File copy not signed]

Robert Lansing Papers

President Wilson to the Secretary of State

PARIS, May 29, 1919.

MY DEAR LANSING: I have the letter signed by yourself, General Bliss, Mr. White, and House about the desirability of calling a meeting of the Commissioners, technical experts, and advisors connected with the American Mission to discuss the German proposals about to be received, and am heartily in sympathy with the idea. Indeed, it is just what I myself had in mind.^{45a}

Cordially and sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON

Henry White Papers

*Senator Elihu Root to Mr. Henry White*⁴⁶

[NEW YORK, N. Y.,] June 5, 1919.

MY DEAR WHITE: Do not think because I have not written to you that I have been unappreciative of your very welcome and interesting letters. The fact is that I have not been at all in agreement with the general course of diplomatic policy which has been followed in Paris. I have felt that we occupied a very strong position before the Conference. We had nothing to ask for, and everybody wanted something from us which we were quite willing to give so

^{45a} For stenographic report of meeting, June 3, 11 a. m., see p. 197.⁴⁶ Bears the notation: "Answd June 30, 1919."

long as they behaved decently. This situation plainly required on our part reserve and an avoidance of affirmatives in the first instance. With my slender means of information, however, I have not felt like writing letters which might make you unhappy; indeed, I have strongly suspected that you and Lansing and Scott were unhappy enough as it was. Of course, I may be all wrong, and you may be able easily to set me right when we come to talk about it; but in the meantime I think I better not discuss the subject, but simply express my strong desire to see you back again safe and sound.

Please give my kind regards to Lansing and General Bliss who began his diplomatic career in negotiating the Cuban Reciprocity Treaty⁴⁷ under the War Department while I was Secretary of War, and to Scott.

Always faithfully yours,

ELIHU ROOT

Paris Peace Conf. 103.93/34

The Executive Secretary of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Patchin) to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

PARIS, June 12, 1919.

In response to your instructions I have taken up with Mr. Suter of the Committee on Public Information the matter of suspension of their various services, and submit the following report:

Mr. Creel has ordered the suspension of all activities on July 1st. This involves the closing of the Paris and New York offices on June 15 in order that all records and accounts may be cleared up by the end of the fiscal year. This will deprive the Commission and the Government of the following services:

1. Utilization of the Committee's machinery, hitherto most effective and useful, for the world-wide distribution of Presidential speeches, Peace Commission communiques, Relief Commission communiques and various other things. There will doubtless be further Presidential addresses and official statements which in the interests of the country will require widest distribution.

2. The Committee has since the beginning of the Conference transmitted some thousands of words daily for American correspondents to the United States by radio. A suspension of this service would create a great deal of trouble with the correspondents who utilize it freely and depend upon it for quick transmission, the cable delays often running to sixty and seventy hours.

3. The Committee furnishes a daily summary of American news and editorial comment on matters of interest to the Commission,

⁴⁷ Malloy, *Treaties, 1776-1909*, vol. I, p. 353.

as well as to the A. E. F. The news summary comes by radio, the editorial comment, particularly if it is critical, by the more secret cable. This service is interesting and helpful. It is sent from the Committee's New York office which also attends to "broadcasting" Presidential messages, to the American, Latin-American and the Far Eastern press. Therefore, if that office is kept open for one purpose it can also without considerable additional expense, except cable tolls, furnish the news and editorial summary.

4. The Committee's London office has been closed. It furnished a voluminous daily report of the English press, incorporating the news sent by American correspondents of British newspapers, comprising the most elaborate news service from America received in Paris. Since May 31 the Commission has been without this service. This office was a most important link in the system of broadcasting Presidential messages, etc.

5. The Paris Office of the Committee attends to copying and distributing all material received, from New York and from London, filing outgoing material on the radio, filing Presidential and other addresses, broadcasting all official statements, et cetera. It also produced a review of the French press. This has been abandoned. The Commission, however, has a review of its own.

Cost:

The committee appears to have funds sufficient to run to the end of the present month so far as Paris is concerned. As to New York the exact situation is not known. The London Office can be reopened at once, the staff not having departed for the United States, at a cost of about \$300. per week, exclusive of cable tolls, the amount of which would depend on the quantity of material handled. The New York office would require \$400. weekly. The Paris office could be kept on for the \$500. weekly, a total of operating expenses of about \$1,200. per week, exclusive of cable tolls.

It is possible that the Committee on Public Information has funds which might be used for the continuation of the work until the end of the Conference. This could be ascertained by telegraphing Mr. Creel, who, however, is very anxious to wind up the Committee's affairs everywhere.

Mr. Herman Suter is now in charge of the Paris office, Mr. Rogers having departed, and is willing to carry on the work, although at considerable personal sacrifice.⁴⁸

P. H. P[ATCHIN]

⁴⁸ The Paris and New York offices of the Committee on Public Information continued after June 30 to furnish certain services to the Commission to Negotiate Peace. See the Commission's telegram No. 3283 to the Department of State, July 23, 1919, p. 617.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Morison, Samuel E.

Mr. S. E. Morison to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

PARIS, June 15, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. GREW: I have the honor to request the Commissioners to accept my resignation as an attaché to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace.

The occasion for my renewing this request, originally made on May 15th, is the adoption by the United States Government of a Russian policy fundamentally opposed to my conception of what is practical toward Russia as a whole, and what is just toward the Baltic states with which I have been especially charged. Under these circumstances I cannot honestly or with self-respect remain attached to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace any longer than may be necessary to obtain the appointment of a new American member to the Baltic Commission.

Thanking you for the several courtesies received from you while in Paris,

Very respectfully,

SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Morison, Samuel E.

The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to Mr. S. E. Morison

PARIS, June 16, 1919.

My DEAR DR. MORISON: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 15th and to advise you that the Commissioners have accepted your resignation from the Commission.

Yours very truly,

J. C. GREW

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Berle, Adolf A.

*Lieutenant A. A. Berle, Jr., to the American Commissioners Plenipotentiary*⁵⁰

Memorandum No. 376

PARIS, 17 June, 1918 [1919].

Subject: Relief from duty with the Commission.

⁵⁰ This memorandum bears the following notation: "18th June, 1919. The above memorandum was read at the Commissioners' meeting this morning. The Commissioners discussed this matter at some length but felt that they could not approve of Lieutenant Berle's release at the present time, unless he could not be persuaded to stay. They requested Mr. Herter to speak to Lieutenant Berle and explain to him the reasons for which they desired to continue his services with the Commission and report the result of this interview. C. A. H[erter]."

The Commissioners at their meeting of June 23, 1919, approved of the release of Lieutenant Berle in accordance with a previous request submitted by Dr. Lord. See the minutes of the meeting of June 23, 1919, p. 243.

I take the liberty of requesting reconsideration of the Commission's decision not to approve of my release.

I have the honor to submit the following considerations which, trusting that release might be approved in mere formal course, were not dwelt on in the original suggestion.

(1) Now that the American policy towards Russia has been defined by the correspondence with Admiral Kolchak, Russian affairs become peculiarly the province of the State Department and of men whose profession is the diplomatic service. This staff must shoulder the task of effectuating the outlined policy and the responsibility for the measures taken. Observers brought into the work during the emergency merely complicate matters. Further, I find myself in the peculiar difficulty of whole-heartedly disagreeing with the proposed line of action, and completely unable to secure its alteration, yet as the American Delegation stands committed to it, under military order to further it. Under the circumstances I feel that my own usefulness is largely ended.

(2) Either of two men now on duty with the Commission could easily perform my present duties without the above difficulty. Capt. Stuart Montgomery, formerly chief of the Russian Division, or Mr. Sheldon Whitehouse, now actually handling Russian affairs for the State Department, are both far more capable than myself of interpreting the incoming information.

(3) The fact that my assignment here is by military order instead of civilian appointment I submit should make no real difference. As the task is really political, it is not unreasonable to ask that no distinction be made between civilian and military appointees.

While renewing my request for release, I have to thank the Commission for its many courtesies, not the least of which is its kindness in this matter.

A. A. B[ERLE] JR.

763.72119/5371: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, June 19, 1919—7 p. m.

[Received 8:42 p. m.]

2651. [From Lansing.] For your information. Referring to Mission's number 2562 of June 13th, 1919.⁴⁹ Treaty with Germany in final form released in full to press this afternoon for publication Friday morning ^{49a} in accordance with decision by Council of Principal Allied and Associated Powers to publish at earliest possible date after release

⁴⁹ Not printed.

^{49a} June 20.

of German counter proposal and reply thereto. Ten copies of proof copy, first print, of final treaty forwarded you by courier this afternoon. Additional copies will be sent as soon as obtained. Lansing.

AMERICAN MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/348

*Report Covering the Visit of President Wilson to the King of the Belgians, June 18 and 19, 1919*⁵¹

On the morning of Monday, June 17th [16th], the Legation received an official telegram from the American Mission at Paris stating that the President, accompanied by Mrs. Wilson, Miss Wilson, his military and naval Aides, General Harts and Admiral Grayson, and by Messrs. Herbert C. Hoover, Vance McCormick, Norman Davis, Bernard J. Baruch, Ray Stannard Baker and others would visit Belgium.

On the afternoon of Tuesday, June 17th, the Minister, accompanied by Major Hoffman, Military Attaché, left by motor for Adinkerke to await the arrival of the Presidential party, which was due at Adinkerke the following morning at nine o'clock. The King and Queen of the Belgians flew to Adinkerke the same afternoon. There also arrived the same evening the various Aides to the King, as well as the members of the King's household who had been attached to the President and Mrs. Wilson. Baron Moncheur, General Joostens and Count de Renesse were designated to attend the President, while Madame de Wouters-d'Oplinter was chosen to perform the same duty for Mrs. Wilson.

The train with the Presidential party arrived on time Wednesday morning and the entire party then proceeded in Belgian and American motors which had been assembled the previous day at Adinkerke to a tour of the Belgian army front. They went first to Nieupoort, thence to Dixmude and so on to the Forest of Houthulst, where the party stopped for luncheon. A large tent had been pitched and servants from the Palace had brought from Brussels, food, tables, etc. After lunch they proceeded to Ypres, and thence, by way of Menin, Thourout and Ostende, went at [sic] Zeebrugge in time to take a special train to Brussels. The train left Zeebrugge at 6:45, arriving at Brussels at 9:15 at the Gare du Luxembourg. At the station, to meet the President, were Mr. Béco, the Governor of the Province of Brabant, the Burgomasters of Brussels and Ixelles, the former, Mr. Max, the distinguished Mayor who had shown such courage and determination in resisting the German dominion during the early days of the occupation. The station platform was lined with troops, and as the train

⁵¹ Transmitted to the Commission to Negotiate Peace by the Minister in Belgium in his despatch No. 22, July 18, 1919 (not printed).

came into the station the band played the "Star Spangled Banner", while all stood at attention. After the reception and presentation of certain officials the party proceeded by motors through the streets, which were lined with troops and large crowds, (in spite of the lateness of the hour and the growing darkness the line to the Palace was massed with people), to the Royal Palace, where a presentation of the Palace Officials took place.

Thursday, June 19th: At nine o'clock the President and King, accompanied by their suites, proceeded on a motor trip to Charleroi and the ruined factories at "La Providence". It should here be stated that, the previous days having been spent in Flanders, it was thought advisable that the President should visit the Walloon country, as well, before returning. Furthermore, the Belgian officials seemed anxious that the President, during his brief visit, should see as much as possible of the havoc and destruction deliberately wrought by the German army during the Occupation.

The party returned to Brussels in time for the luncheon arranged at the American Legation, officially given by the President to Their Majesties the King and Queen, which took place at 12:30. Previously to that hour, American troops had taken their places, lining both sides of the street before the Legation, and a military band from Base Section No. 9 at Antwerp was also present. At about 12:20, as the President's car came in sight, the flourishes and ruffles were given, following which the band broke into the "Star Spangled Banner", while the troops stood at attention. About five minutes later, on the arrival of the King, the flourishes and ruffles were repeated, while "La Brabançonne", the Belgian national anthem was played. As the King entered the Legation the Belgian flag was raised on a separate staff beside the American flag. (For list of the guests at the luncheon see enclosure 1.⁵²)

Following the luncheon, after the departure of the King and Queen, Cardinal Mercier, Burgomaster Max and other Belgian officials, the President received the staffs of the Legation, Military Mission and Consulate General, after which the American colony, the Belgian-American Chamber of Commerce and various Belgian delegations, including representations from the Comité de la Politique Nationale, the Belgian League of Nations, the Maison du Peuple, etc., were presented to the President.

At 2:30 the President and Mrs. Wilson, accompanied by their Aides, together with the American Minister and Mrs. Whitlock and other officials, proceeded to the Parliament, where the President was received on the floor of the Chamber of Deputies. A speech of welcome was

⁵² Not printed.

delivered by Mr. Poulet, the President of the Senate, after which M. Hymans, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, delivered an address of welcome in English. (For copies of these speeches in French see the *Moniteur Belge*, the official Government organ, No. 172 of June 21st forwarded to the Department under separate cover. For English text of President's speech see enclosure 2.⁵³)

After the reception at the Parliament the Presidential party, and the King and Queen, motored to Malines, where the President was received by Cardinal Mercier in the Archbishop's Palace. Following the reception at Malines, the party proceeded to Louvain, where the Burgomaster of the town greeted the President in the old Hotel de Ville in the same room in which the German High Commander in 1914 had summoned the people of Louvain to unconditional surrender. (For the reply of the President to the Mayor of Louvain see enclosure 3.⁵³) From the Hotel de Ville the party proceeded to the University of Louvain, the Library of which had been destroyed by the Germans, and here, among the ruins, the President was presented with the degree of Doctor of Laws by the Rector of the University. (For the speech of the President delivered on this occasion see enclosure 4.⁵³)

From Louvain the party returned to Brussels, going directly to the Hotel de Ville, where the President was greeted by the Burgomaster and Echevins of the city in the Gothic room where the old Spanish flags were still hanging. The Burgomaster greeted the President on behalf of the city, after which the President rose and thanked Mr. Max. (For the President's reply to the Burgomaster see enclosure 5.⁵³) After the scene in the Gothic room the President and King, together with the Queen and Mrs. Wilson, appeared on the balcony, where they were acclaimed by the populace in the stately Grand Place below. Various singing societies of Brussels then rendered a song in their honour, following which trumpeters gave a fanfare from the roofs. After this very impressive and stirring ceremony the President returned to the Palace, where he received the Diplomatic corps. This was immediately followed by a state dinner at the Palace, at which the King proposed the toast of the President and the President replied by drinking a health to Their Majesties. (For the President's greeting to the King see enclosure 6.⁵³)

At 11:00 o'clock the Presidential party returned to Paris by special train, the route to the station again being lined with troops, and large crowds being assembled to greet the President on his departure. Again the bands played the "Star Spangled Banner" while the officials of the town bade him farewell.

⁵³ Not printed.

Edward M. House Papers

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

PARIS, June 21, 1919.

DEAR GOVERNOR: Here is a cable which Lansing has prepared for your approval.⁵⁶

The great essential now is to have the Treaty ratified with the Covenant, and I believe that Lansing in his quiet way could influence many Senators. Bliss and White could keep things going here and I would always be nearby in case of need.

Affectionately yours, _____ [File copy not signed]

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Polk, Frank L. : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, June 21, 1919—11 p. m.

2709. [From Lansing.] The other American Commissioners consider in view of the general situation that it would be wise for me to return to Washington as soon as possible. In the event that I do so it would necessitate your taking my place on the Commission as soon as we could have a conference in Washington or New York. I would like your opinion as to the advisability of my return to aid with the treaty in the Senate and an expression as to your willingness to assuming the duties of a Commissioner.

So far as the duties of Commissioner are concerned I am sure that you would not from now on find them arduous and that they would be an agreeable change from the confining work of the Department. I am sure that the change would give you opportunity for rest while the experience would be interesting and useful.

This plan is not dependent entirely upon the Germans' signing the treaty but their failure to do so at once might compel some delay in putting it into operation.

Please telegraph me at once your opinion which I hope will not be adverse if based on personal disinclination alone. I wish you would be perfectly frank in expressing your views. Lansing.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Polk, Frank L. : Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, June 23, 1919—5 p. m.

[Received June 24—9 a. m.]

2381. Your 2709, June 21. Strictly confidential for the Secretary of State.

⁵⁶ *Infra.*

I am strongly of opinion that your presence here during debate on treaty is essential. It is daily brought home to us the necessity of having some one in the Department with whom friends of the administration can freely consult in connection with treaty. You have confidence of Congress and can speak with authority of your experience and your high office.

I am naturally deeply gratified at the suggestion of my assuming duties of Commissioner and grateful for the thought. Would it be possible for me to delay decision until I see you here as I would like to have some idea as to how long it would take and know something about the character of work. It will be necessary for me to make some plans for my family as I hesitate to take five children abroad for the winter and yet do not like to leave them, and I will also have to consult my doctor and get his opinion as to my undertaking this work. Is it essential that your successor go over at once? I hope not.

POLK

Robert Lansing Papers

The Secretary of State to President Wilson

PARIS, June 28, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It occurs to me that after your departure it will probably be necessary for me on different occasions to refer to conversations which have taken place at the meetings of the Council of Four and as no records of these meetings are at my disposal, I take the liberty of bringing the matter to your attention for such action as you may consider appropriate.

I believe that Sir Maurice Hankey has the reports of these meetings and at your request will no doubt furnish me with a copy.

Faithfully yours,

[File copy not signed]

763.72119/5597½

Memorandum by the Secretary of State

THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF PEACE WITH GERMANY AT VERSAILLES
ON JUNE 28TH, 1919⁵⁷

The Treaty of Peace with Germany was signed today in the Galerie des Glaces of the Palace of Versailles.

The hour set for the ceremony of signature was three o'clock and promptly on the hour the great assembly was opened by M. Cle-

⁵⁷ For minutes of the plenary session of June 28, 1919, see vol. III, p. 421.

menceau and before four o'clock the last delegate had affixed his name to this greatest of treaties.

For two or three days there has been much anxiety about who was to see the signing and who was not. The Secretariat of the Commission has had a very unhappy time with the applications for tickets, and I imagine that the Secretariat General of the Conference must have been nearly wild with the pressure brought to bear to obtain admission.

Friday night the matter was settled, the lists revised and the tickets issued. We obtained 60 tickets for the conference room, a lesser number for the gallery outside, and about 50 for the grounds of the Palace. There were some heart-burnings I know but that was unavoidable.

It seemed best in view of the possibility of confusion to go early to Versailles, so at one o'clock Mrs. Lansing and I accompanied by Foster and Allen Dulles and Captain Garfield started from the Hotel de Crillon in an automobile driven by Corporal Chaveriat who had Private Seymour, my personal orderly, with him. Mr. Kirk, my secretary, came in our other car with his mother and some of the staff. We ran out through the Bois de Boulogne, up the winding road to the terraced gardens of St. Cloud and then on to the Versailles road through the forest. All along the route were French soldiers with red flags to direct the way. On the windshield was pasted a circular device like a target, blue in the center, then a white circle and outside of that a red one. This acted as a pass. On entering Versailles the curious crowds lined the way while soldiers and *gens d'armes* kept them back from the pavement.

We drove to the Palace by the broad approach at the front. On either side of the spacious roadway was a row of cavalry in horizon blue and trench helmets and carrying their long lances from which fluttered little red and white streamers. Behind these rows and about 20 feet from them were *poilus* shoulder to shoulder; and behind the *poilus* were dense masses of people. We drew up at the entrance to the basement, where our hats were checked, and we then mounted the staircase to the main floor of the Palace. On every third step stood two dragoons in their white trousers, black boots, dark blue coats with red facings, and glittering silver helmets with black horse tails over their shoulders. They stood like statues with sabres drawn looking neither to the right or left.

Passing through several ante-rooms we finally reached the Hall of Mirrors where a great table extended along the inner side of the gallery with short wing tables at either end. The seats of the delegates were on the outside in the usual order followed at the Preliminary Conference except that delegates sat on both sides of the wing tables. The place for the German delegates was on the left wing table next

to the long table. In the center of the long table was the seat of the presiding officer, M. Clemenceau. Directly opposite his seat in the center of the room was a gold Louis XVth table on which lay the great treaty in a case of brown leather. On both sides of this table and filling all the available space between the tables of the delegates were the members of the Secretariat General and the Secretaries of the various Commissions. The space thus occupied took up about one third of the Hall, the rest of the space being filled with benches without backs, but beautifully upholstered in tapestry, for spectators and members of the press, the latter being to the right of Mr. Clemenceau.

When we arrived only a few people were in the room, but delegates and invited guests gathered rapidly. It was about two o'clock when M. Clemenceau arrived. He passed through the spectators section shaking hands right and left and causing perturbation to the ushers who were making way for him and who constantly got so far ahead that they had to turn back to find him. I was standing near the table where the aisle ended. When he saw me his face lit up with a smile and he exclaimed, "This is a great day for France". I replied, "A great day for the world, Mr. President". I had reached out my hand to shake hands, when he said, "No, give me both your hands, that is the way France and America should greet each other today". He then passed on toward his seat. A little later I followed him and he turned as I passed and showed me a wonderful gold pen and holder which lay in a leather case, a present from some organization. I discovered that he was sitting in President Wilson's seat and pointed out the fact to him. "Oh", he exclaimed, "I am glad you told me before the President came. He might have been embarrassed and I would have been very much annoyed."

It was soon after this, as the delegates began taking their seats in considerable numbers, that there began a regular field day in writing autographs. Most of these were put upon the place-programs but every now and then an album appeared. During this occupation the President arrived and was at once deluged with requests for his signature, which he gave at first willingly but later with evident unwillingness.

Soon, however, there was a stir at the entrance behind the spectators. The President said, "Here they come". Preceded by ushers and French officers and followed by four or five secretaries the German Commissioners, Müller and Bell came down the aisle. Their appearance was not prepossessing. Their expressions were tense or possibly stolid. They were nervous and unquestionably felt deeply the humiliation which they, as representatives of a vanquished and hated country had to bear. They came to the table and were directed to their seats by Dutasta, the Secretary General of the Conference.

No one rose and no acknowledgement of their arrival was given. I think that I would have felt a deep compassion for these scapegoats of Germany, save for the fact that I could not but think of the joy which would have filled their hearts if they were there representing a victorious Germany with the Emperor William seated in the place of "The Old Tiger" of France. It would have been an awful, not a glorious, day for the world and civilization.

As soon as they were seated M. Clemenceau stood up and briefly stated that the treaty was ready and that it was necessary for Germany to perform the conditions, which were irrevocable. After being interpreted into English, the remarks were rendered into German and, when the interpreter spoke of the necessity of performance and the unchangeable character of the conditions, Dr. Müller nodded his head and said in a low voice "Oui! Oui!". In some ways the scene was painful. It was as if men were called upon to sign their own death warrants, fully realizing that they were at the mercy of those whom they had wronged beyond the possibility of pardon. They seemed anxious to get through with it and be off.

After the translation of the words of M. Clemenceau, Dutasta and Martin, the fussy little head of "the protocol", walked over to the German delegates and conducted them to the table where lay the treaty, open at the place where they were to sign. Their seals like the seals of all other delegates had been previously affixed. With pallid faces and trembling hands they wrote their names quickly and were then conducted back to their places. Their names were at the end of the pages containing the signatures.

When the Germans had signed, the pages were turned back to the beginning. Then President Wilson rose and walked down to the right wing table and around the end and proceeded to the table with the treaty upon it. I followed, then Mr. White, Colonel House and General Bliss. In that order we signed opposite our individual seals, the old Lansing coat of arms being finely impressed. The President's seal was a small one with his name written stenographically. It had been made with a gold ring thus engraved. We then in turn signed the Polish treaty and the Rhine agreement which were on small side-tables.

I used, in signing, a plain steel pen in a silver penholder, the latter presented for the occasion by my office. The same penholder and pen I had used this morning at the President's house to sign the treaty with France by which the United States promises to come to her aid in the event of aggression by Germany. The Treaty was signed by Clemenceau, Pichon, the President and me, and is to be sent to the Senate at the same time as the Treaty of Peace is laid before that body.

When we had signed the Treaty of Peace and returned to our seats by way of the left wing table, the President whispered, "I did not know I was excited until I found my hand trembling when I wrote my name." I had noticed that his signature was unusually cramped. My own name I wrote without any feeling of nervousness. Possibly I was not as sensitive to the occasion as the President. It is hard to understand why I was not more responsive to the emotional impulses of such a momentous event. I cannot explain it myself.

After the American delegation had signed, the delegates of the British Empire followed, then those of France, Italy and Japan and so on down the list in the alphabetical order of the countries. From the time that the Germans affixed their signatures to the document to the end of the signing about forty-five minutes elapsed. It became a monotonous business after the first few had signed, and so the delegates and spectators visited with their neighbors, while the autograph-hunters continued their efforts, clustering about the central group of M. Clemenceau, President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George. It certainly took from the dignity of the occasion.

There was one circumstance which caused a feeling of disquietude and, in a measure, of surprise, and that was the absence from the assembly of the Chinese delegates.

In the morning Baron Makino, the head of the Japanese delegation, came to see me at my request. For three quarters of an hour I labored with him endeavoring to persuade him to issue a formal public statement embodying the assurances of Japan to the Council of Four as to the surrender of Shantung to China and the liberal policy Japan intended to pursue. I gave him a draft of a statement and urged him to see the Chinese and, if he was unwilling to issue the statement at once, to tell them that he would issue it after the signing of the treaty. I pointed out to him that such a course would gain general applause and cause satisfaction everywhere and that, if he failed to do it, I believed China would not sign the treaty since the Council of Four had refused to permit them to sign with reservations. I said that, if the Chinese failed to sign, the blame for their failure would fall chiefly upon Japan whatever the justice of the case might be, that it would cause the Shantung articles and Japan's designs to be the source of serious criticism, and might even endanger the ratification of the treaty in certain countries, while it would undoubtedly arouse bitter resentment in China and might result in forceful resistance to the Japanese throughout the country.

Baron Makino listened with great attention and expressed appreciation of my efforts but said that on account of Japanese public opinion he was afraid that the proposed action could not be taken and that he did not believe that the Chinese would refuse to sign the treaty. I repeated that I was sure that he under-estimated the intensity of

China's sense of being unjustly treated and that I was firmly convinced that the Chinese delegates would not sign unless some public statement of policy in the nature of the one which I had given him was issued or at least promised. I asked him again to study the draft and to act for his government in a way to relieve the situation and insure China's participation. I felt, however, that, while Makino was very courteous and apparently impressed, I had not made a dent in his armor of oriental inscrutability. In a word, I know that I have completely failed in persuading him.

Subsequent events proved the correctness of my assertion so far as the signature of the treaty by China was concerned, and I believe that the consequences will be like those prophesied unless Japan changes the course taken by her delegates and gives out a statement. Even then it may be too late to remove the impression already made.

The President was greatly disturbed at the absence of the Chinese. When I pointed it out to him, he exclaimed, "That is most serious. It will cause grave complications." I told him of my interview with Makino and he said that he was sorry that they had not listened to me, as he believed trouble would result. He then added "this is most unfortunate, but I don't know what we can do".

It was also a subject of remark that neither President Poincaré nor Marshal Foch was present. The impression seemed to be general that Poincaré was not there because Clemenceau did not want him, as the report is that there is little love lost between them. I believe, however, that the reason was that it would have caused embarrassment to find him a seat in conformity with his official dignity. Of course he could not preside and yet as head of the French Republic he could not have taken a position below the French Premier. This seems to me the most plausible explanation of his absence, though the former may have had some influence.

I do not know what excuse will be offered for Foch's not being present. Probably the call of duty will be given, a convenient but inconclusive reason, though possibly the true one. My own belief is that he purposely absented himself to show that he did not approve the treaty. At the plenary session of the Conference preceding the delivery of the treaty to the Germans on May 7th, he made an address⁵⁸ bitterly condemning the conditions of peace and declaring that the treaty ought not to be signed as it was not severe enough on Germany and failed to protect France from future aggression. Having taken this radical position, to which little or no attention was paid by anybody, he would have been in rather a humiliating position if he had sanctioned by his presence the celebration of a treaty to which he had so unequivocally objected. His absence, however, caused general remark, astonishment and regret.

⁵⁸ Vol. III, pp. 384-388.

After the signature and after M. Clemenceau's announcement that the session was ended, the German delegates were formally conducted out of the Hall. When they had gone, the other delegates without ceremony left their seats, some going to the windows to look at the famous fountains and the crowds swarming on the terraces, others chatting with the spectators, examining the signed treaty or making their way to the exit. Even before the last delegate had signed the cannon had begun to boom out the news while the whirring of aeroplanes over the palace and gardens was clearly audible.

One of the striking features of the ceremony was the presence of twenty poilus and twenty doughboys in the embrasures of the windows facing the long table. The French soldiers were hideously disfigured by face wounds, some appearing to have on the grotesque masks of Greek comedy and tragedy. The American boys were from different units and selected under General Pershing's direction.

M. Clemenceau accompanied by President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George proceeded to the Terrace, where immense throngs crowded about them cheering as they walked slowly between the playing fountains. Mrs. Wilson, Mrs. Lansing, Ambassador and Mrs. Wallace and I stood in one of the balconied windows of the Galerie des Glaces and watched the scene which was most inspiring, a wonderful demonstration of popular joy.

We then went down to the grand entrance and found our car after some little delay, and, foregoing tea with M. Clemenceau, we were soon on our way to Paris along roads black with people who waved flags and cheered as we passed. It was surprising how many American flags were in evidence.

Tonight Paris is a seething mass of rejoicing people. They are dancing, shouting, carrying flags of various nationalities and dragging about the streets captured German guns which have adorned the Place de la Concorde and Champs Élysées. Great army trucks, French, American and British, pass along simply hidden with men in uniform, and the cocottes are reaping a rich harvest of soldiers' caps as souvenirs. The scene is one hard to describe. Paris seems delirious.

We were dining this evening with the Paderewskis at the Hotel Ritz, but I had to leave at 9:15 to go to the Gare des Invalides to see the President and his party start for Brest. It was no easy matter to drive a motor car through the revellers who filled the roadway. Crowds were about the station and the President received a great ovation as he entered the decorated way to his train.

I saw M. Clemenceau at the station and said to him, "This is your day, Mr. President." "And yours, yes, yours too," he answered, his face beaming. "It is not the same", I said, "You are the great figure". He smiled even more broadly and shook my hand warmly as we parted.

The revelry is continuing as I write. It is after one o'clock now, and songs, cheers, and horns are making a joyous din, while the streets and the great square still are filled with men and women. Paris does not intend to sleep tonight. So ends this great day.

*Statement Issued by President Wilson on the Signature of the Treaty
With Germany, June 28, 1919*⁵⁹

My Fellow Countrymen: The treaty of peace has been signed. If it is ratified and acted upon in full and sincere execution of its terms it will furnish the charter for a new order of affairs in the world. It is a severe treaty in the duties and penalties it imposes upon Germany, but it is severe only because great wrongs done by Germany are to be righted and repaired; it imposes nothing that Germany can not do; and she can regain her rightful standing in the world by the prompt and honorable fulfillment of its terms. And it is much more than a treaty of peace with Germany. It liberates great peoples who have never before been able to find the way to liberty. It ends, once for all, an old and intolerable order under which small groups of selfish men could use the peoples of great empires to serve their own ambition for power and dominion. It associates the free governments of the world in a permanent league in which they are pledged to use their united power to maintain peace by maintaining right and justice. It makes international law a reality supported by imperative sanctions. It does away with the right of conquest and rejects the policy of annexation and substitutes a new order under which backward nations—populations which have not yet come to political consciousness and peoples who are ready for independence but not yet quite prepared to dispense with protection and guidance—shall no more be subjected to the domination and exploitation of a stronger nation, but shall be put under the friendly direction and afforded the helpful assistance of governments which undertake to be responsible to the opinion of mankind in the execution of their task by accepting the direction of the league of nations. It recognizes the inalienable rights of nationality; the rights of minorities and the sanctity of religious belief and practice. It lays the basis for conventions which shall free the commercial intercourse of the world from unjust and vexatious restrictions and for every sort of international cooperation that will serve to cleanse the life of the world and facilitate its common action in beneficent service of every kind. It furnishes guarantees such as were never given or even contemplated before for the fair treatment of all who

⁵⁹ Sent by cable to his secretary, Mr. Tumulty. Reprinted from the *Congressional Record*, vol. 58, pt. 2, pp. 1952-1953.

labor at the daily tasks of the world. It is for this reason that I have spoken of it as a great charter for a new order of affairs. There is ground here for deep satisfaction, universal reassurance, and confident hope.

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/336a : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Committee on Public Information

PARIS, June 28, 1919.

922. Statement by President Wilson upon leaving France.

"As I look back over the eventful months I have spent in France, my memory is not of conferences and hard work alone, but also of innumerable acts of generosity and friendship which have made me feel how genuine the sentiments of France are towards the people of America, and how fortunate I have been to be the representative of our people in the midst of a nation which knows how to show its kindness with so much charm and such open manifestation of what is in its heart. Deeply happy as I am at the prospect of joining my own countrymen again, I leave France with genuine regret, my deep sympathy for her people and belief in her future confirmed, my thought enlarged by the privilege of association with her public men, conscious of more than one affectionate friendship formed, and profoundly grateful for unstinted hospitality and for countless kindnesses which have made me feel welcome and at home. I take the liberty of bidding France God-speed as well as good bye, and of expressing once more my abiding interest and entire confidence in her future. Woodrow Wilson."

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119/5515 : Telegram

President Wilson to the Emperor of Japan

U. S. S. "GEORGE WASHINGTON," AT SEA, June 29, 1919.

Your Majesty's message of felicitation⁶⁰ is received with the greatest gratification. It has been a privilege to cooperate with the very able representatives of Japan in developing the terms of a peace which inevitably involved the interests of the whole world. I believe, with Your Majesty, that the results achieved forecast a new era in the world's history because they give promise of a peace in which justice will not be left to chance or exposed to the peril of selfish initiative on

⁶⁰ Not found in Department files.

the part of any single power but will be safeguarded by a concert of action upon which the weak and strong alike may confidently rely.

May I not extend my best wishes for the security and happiness of your people?

WOODROW WILSON

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Polk, Frank L.: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, June 30, 1919—10 p. m.

2894. [From Lansing.] Your 2709 [2381?] of June 23. The President considers that it is advisable that I return to Washington as soon as machinery can be started to complete work here, which I believe can be done in a few days.

I am, therefore, planning to leave on July 10th or soon after that date. You may of course reserve final decision as to taking my place until I arrive in America. I would however earnestly advise your coming in that capacity as I am sure that you would find the change of work a very great relief. I realize the difficulties which you mention but hope that they may be overcome.

My opinion is that someone fully representative of the Administration should continue my work here, which now that the German treaty is out of the way and the Austrian treaty about completed, ought not to be arduous.

In the event that you are able to come I wish you would consider the possibility of bringing Woolsey⁶¹ with you. If the Solicitor's office can be left by him in the hands of a competent head, I am sure that he ought to come with you, not only on your own account but because he will be greatly needed in arranging for the post-war work of the Department, a branch of the work with which you should not be burdened if you can arrange to come. If you think it wise you may confidentially sound Woolsey as to this plan. He would work well with Dr. Scott and Foster Dulles who will remain here.

I hope that in the event that my suggestion appeals to you you will plan to leave within a few days after my arrival in America as there should be as little hiatus as possible in the Commission's head since the work will be hampered during that period. Lansing.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

⁶¹Lester H. Woolsey, Solicitor for the Department of State.

Paris Peace Conf. 182/52

Memorandum by the Secretary of State Concerning Subjects Still To Be Settled by the Conference

[Undated—Circa July 1, 1919.]

Prepare Hungarian and Bulgarian Treaties at once.

Agree on boundaries of states with Russia and announce decisions.

Postpone Turkish matters until German treaty is ratified and our Syrian Commission⁶² reports.

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 184/187

*The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew) to Dr. R. H. Lord*⁶³

PARIS, 3 July, 1919.

DEAR DR. LORD: At the meeting of the Commissioners on July 1⁶⁴ they approved of the creation of a Russian Division composed in accordance with the following schedule, with the understanding that General Bliss would charge himself with the oversight of all Russian matters dealt with by the Commission and would, accordingly, initial all outgoing correspondence therewith:

Secretariat—Mr. Whitehouse,
European Russia and Poland, Dr. Lord,
Baltic Provinces, Colonel Greene and Major Tyler,
Caucasus and Asia Minor, Mr. Buckler,
Siberia, Captain Hornbeck and Mr. Marshall.

Will you accordingly please confer with Mr. Whitehouse with a view to adopting some system by which incoming correspondence on Russian affairs shall be referred to the appropriate office and by which outgoing correspondence shall be submitted to General Bliss for approval.

Yours sincerely,

J. C. GREW

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/338

The Armenian National Delegation to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

PARIS, July 4, 1919.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honour to enclose herewith a message to President Wilson signed by Mr. Veniselos, Mr. Pashitch, Dr. Benes,

⁶² The King-Crane Commission.

⁶³ The same communication was sent on the same day to Mr. Sheldon Whitehouse, Lt. Col. Warwick Greene, Maj. Royall Tyler, Mr. W. H. Buckler, Capt. S. K. Hornbeck, and Mr. H. D. Marshall of the Commission to Negotiate Peace.

⁶⁴ See minutes of this meeting, p. 256.

Boghos Nubar Pasha and Mr. Sokolow,⁶⁵ which I shall feel greatly obliged if you will kindly transmit to His Excellency by wireless at your earliest convenience.

I have [etc.]

JAMES A. MALCOLM
For the Armenian National Delegation

[Enclosure]

Messrs. Veniselos, Pashitch, Benes, Nubar, and Sokolow to President Wilson

Permit us on the eve of your return to America and in the name of the small nations to express to you the profound impression we have received of your sincerity, disinterestedness and good-will, as shown in your utterances and in your unremitting labors for a peace which shall be enduring because founded on justice.

The services which you have rendered to this generation and to posterity cannot be adequately measured until time has brought them into their true perspective, but none can attest so truly as we the sympathy and solicitude you have manifested to struggling nationalities lifting us up from despondency to hope and dispelling the apprehensions and misgivings which have afflicted us in the past.

That our peoples look to the future with confidence is, to a large extent, a tribute to your leadership and work and we beg that you will carry home to the Great American Republic whose disinterestedness, efficiency and altruism you so well applied to stricken Europe, our grateful acknowledgements.

E. K. VENISELOS
NIK P. PASHITCH
DR. EDOUARD BENES
BOGHOS NUBAR
NAHUM SOKOLOV

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/339 : Telegram

*The Chargé in Roumania (Schoenfeld) to the Ambassador in France (Wallace)*⁶⁶

BUCHAREST, July 4, 1919.
[Received July 10—4:50 p. m.]

Please repeat to Department.

I am requested by the Marshal of the Court to transmit following message from His Majesty the King of Roumania to the President:

⁶⁵ Representatives of the Greek, Yugoslav, Czechoslovak, Armenian, and Zionist delegations, respectively.

⁶⁶ Copy of telegram received by the Commission to Negotiate Peace from the Embassy in France.

"To the President of the United States: I profit by the occasion of the signing of the peace with Germany to send to you my warmest congratulations. I hope with all my heart that this first act of the gigantic work, crowning the efforts and sacrifices of millions of men who fought for the cause of justice, will open a new era of good will and prosperity; an era in which will be recognized and maintained the unquestionable right of all nations, great and small, who have suffered so cruelly by the vicissitudes of war, to be equally free and independent, and in which they shall be permitted freely to express their ideals and to build new lives upon the ruins of the old.

Roumania has fought for the realization of her long-deferred hope of national unity and the establishment of those rights so often in the past denied to small nations. She has seen her territory overrun, her prosperity destroyed, and her people subjected to untold hardships without pity through relentless foreign occupation. She places her trust in the spirit of fairness of the President and people of the American Republic in these moments of difficulty and danger when she is gallantly striving to maintain her position and perform her full duty as a bulwark of order and civilization in Southeastern Europe. (Signed) Ferdinand."

SCHOENFELD

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1/42½

*The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)
to Dr. Manley O. Hudson*⁸⁷

PARIS, July 6, 1919.

DEAR DR. HUDSON: The Commissioners have decided that the American experts on the various commissions of the Peace Conference should participate in all the work aiming toward the preparation of the treaties with Bulgaria and Turkey.

In case the commission or commissions on which you are acting as American representative should take into consideration questions relating to the Bulgarian and Turkish treaties, you are requested to act accordingly.

Yours sincerely,

J. C. GREW

⁸⁷ Sent also to the following members of the Commission to Negotiate Peace:

A. C. Kirk
C. A. Herter
J. F. Dulles
Herbert Hoover
Major Wright
Col. Logan
F. K. Nielsen
Col. Dillon
Gen. McKinstry
W. H. Buckler

F. L. Warner
Col. S. D. Embick
P. W. Slosson
Dr. D. W. Johnson
Prof. A. C. Coolidge
Capt. McNamee
Dr. R. H. Lord
A. W. Dulles
George L. Beer

Bradley W. Palmer
Gen. M. N. Patrick
Admiral Knapp
Joseph Bailey Brown
W. W. Cumberland
Captain Henderson
Dr. James Brown Scott
Rear Admiral A. T. Long
Lieut. Kiely.

Paris Peace Conf. 184/198

*The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)
to Mr. Henry White*

PARIS, July 8, 1919.

DEAR MR. WHITE: With reference to our conversation today, I have had a talk with Mr. McNeir and he tells me that he is prepared, subject to the approval of the Commissioners, to take over the responsibility for the organization and business management of the Commission, it being understood that he will have the choice of an Executive Secretary to succeed Mr. Patchin and to work directly with himself. This responsibility, if the proposed plan is adopted by the Commissioners, will cover all of the various branches of the business organization, including hotel management, communications office, index and files, distribution, translation, repair and maintenance, telephones, supplies, post office, transportation, personnel, printing, courier service, photography, headquarters detachment, medical office, and, finally, the disbursing office, of which Mr. McNeir is already in charge.

I shall be very glad if the Commissioners will approve of this transfer of responsibility, so that I may have more time to handle diplomatic correspondence and to attend to the affairs of the Commission directly related to the Peace Conference.

Very respectfully yours,

J. C. GREW

Paris Peace Conf. 184/200

*The Secretary of State to the Secretary General of the Commission to
Negotiate Peace (Grew)*

PARIS, July 9, 1919.

DEAR MR. GREW: After my departure I desire to have sent to me each day a brief comprehensive telegram informing me of all important matters relating to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace and its work in Paris. This telegram should be drafted after conference with the American member of the Council of Five as well as all American members of the different commissions which are now in session, and should be submitted to the presiding American Commissioner Plenipotentiary before it is sent. Wireless messages should be sent to me daily during my voyage on the SS *Rotterdam*, but the messages sent this way need not be as comprehensive as those which will be sent to me as soon as I arrive at the Department of State.

I believe that Mr. Allen Dulles would be the proper person to take this work in charge and accordingly I shall be glad if you will kindly inform Mr. Dulles that he has been appointed to undertake the work for as long a period as may prove necessary.

Faithfully yours,

ROBERT LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 184.7/16b : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, July 10, 1919.

3053. Reports have reached the Commission that stories are being published in America criticizing a dance recently given in the Hotel Crillon. On the night of July 4th, as a part of the general celebration in Paris, the members of the Staff of the Commission gave an informal dance, the first entertainment of any kind by them since the beginning of the Conference. It was a subscription affair, the expenses of which were borne by the guests themselves, and without any cost whatever to the Government. The story should be denied.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Edward M. House Papers : Telegram

Admiral Knapp to Admiral Benson.

[LONDON,] July 10, 1919.

3554. For Admiral Benson from Colonel House. Please have the following message delivered to Frank Polk.

"I strongly urge you come London on way Paris. Conference with Colonel before participating Peace Conference would be very helpful. Colonel finds it impossible to return to Paris. Signed Auchincloss."

KNAPP

763.72119/5603 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, July 10, 1919—8 p. m.

[Received 9 : 20 p. m.]

3063. For the President [from Lansing]. At the meeting of the Council of Five this afternoon M. Clemenceau stated that he had been requested, by the committee of the Chamber now examining the treaty with Germany, for copies of the printed minutes of the League of Nations Commission and inquired whether his colleagues on the Council had any objection to his furnishing the committee these minutes for their confidential information. I advised against it inasmuch as I believe that it would establish a very dangerous precedent. Copies of certain reports of conference commissions have been made public but none of the minutes of any of the commissions have been given out.

At M. Clemenceau's request I undertook to inquire as to your wishes and will let him know your answer at the earliest moment possible. Meanwhile M. Clemenceau will delay making reply to the request of the committee of the Chamber. Lansing.

AMERICAN MISSION

763.72119/5603 : Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, July 11, 1919—3 p. m.

2545. From the President [for Lansing]. Replying to your 3063, July 10, 8 p. m. think it would be most unwise to supply legislative committee with minutes of Commission on League of Nations or any other Commission. I do not remember any action of the Commission authorizing the printing of its minutes. Please thank Clemenceau for seeking my opinion. (Signed) Wilson.

POLK

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/344 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, July 12, 1919.

3115. Following for President Wilson from Emir Feisul, dated Egypt July 9.

"At this great historic moment I beg to tender to your highly esteemed person and to the American nation my sincerest and most heart-felt congratulations and wishes on signing the Peace through your personal efforts and the valuable support of your noble nation. Justice has secured a brilliant victory and your efforts have been crowned with success. I pray The Almighty to make it a complete and everlasting peace for the world."

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Robert Lansing Papers

*Statement by Secretary Lansing to the American Correspondents
Before His Departure From France, July 12, 1919*

Many thoughts rush to mind on leaving the Peace Conference after six months of effort. Never before has such an international gathering been held, for here has been the meeting-ground of 27 nations to liquidate a world-war and establish a new order, and a laboratory where already a system of world cooperation has been born out of necessity.

Out of it all has come the most important international document ever drawn, the treaty of peace with Germany, a document which not only meets the issues of the present war, but also lays down new agreements of the most helpful and most hopeful character. The nations are bound together to avert another world catastrophe; backward peoples are given a new hope for their future; several racial entities are liberated to form new States; a beginning is made towards removing unjust economic restrictions: and the great military autocracies

of Central Europe are destroyed as the first step in a general disarmament.

The treaty is, of course, not all that we had hoped for. It could hardly be expected to be. Too many conflicting interests were involved, as well as too many legitimate doubts which would tax the most perfectly balanced mind. Nearly everyone will find in it weaknesses both of omission and commission, provisions inserted which might better have been left out and provisions left out which might better have been inserted. Such a document must, however, be examined both against the background of its creation and in the large sweep of its spirit. From that point of view we may call it a stepping-stone from the old international methods to the new. If it still holds some of the distrusts and hatreds of the war which Germany has full well earned for herself, if its construction has been hindered by memories of secret pacts and promises, it must be borne in mind that it carries with it the evident purpose to throw off the old methods of international intrigue and plotting.

But the present treaties are but the starting-point of world reconstruction. Now that the general principles have been laid down it remains to execute them. And by that I mean, not so much retributive action against nations which have recently run amuck in the world, but rather the cleansing and healing processes that shall really make good our hopes and aspirations. Undoubtedly there is a great danger in the world today. Many people have thought that the mere signing of the treaty with Germany marks the ending of the world peril. Public opinion seems to have breathed a sigh of relief and lapsed back into apathy. Concentration of thought on world problems is weakening now when it is most essential, and the forces of disintegration and reaction have been given a freedom of action far greater than when the world was on its guard.

The situation today is serious. Western civilization is still dazed by the shock of four and a half years of destruction. Industry and commerce are not yet restored. All of Europe is impoverished; parts of it are starving. Its whole political fibre has been shot through. Russia and Hungary are gripped by subversive political doctrines; Austria-Hungary and Turkey as empires have ceased to be; Poland and Czecho-Slovakia are struggling to their feet as members of the family of nations. All that complicated machinery of society which it took decades to elaborate and a world war to tear down cannot be replaced overnight by a wholly different machinery.

Many problems remain unsettled. Territorial adjustments to secure the rights of peoples to live under their own flag as far as possible in the tangled skein of European nationalities must still be made effective. Attainment of the Polish frontiers on all sides, particularly in East Prussia, is very difficult. The Teschen coal fields are still

a source of contention between Poland and Czecho-Slovakia; Hungary is interrupting the trade of all Central Europe; the Adriatic problem is still unsolved, as well as the fate of those large territories formerly under the Turk, including especially Asia Minor and Armenia.

World statesmanship will be sorely tried in the next few years. Two things are essential, first an alert, intelligent, interested public opinion, and second cooperation of the nations. The former is needed both as a check on any sinister purposes that may crop up and as the great support for common action. The second is essential unless the nations are to return to a selfish particularism which can only breed the most dangerous disputes. The Peace Conference has been history's greatest instance of a unified world statesmanship directing the moral and material resources of the world's family of nations; to allow the spirit behind it to disintegrate at this moment of emergency when united action is imperative, would be fatal to all the hopes of permanent peace with which we entered the war. If it is true that one nation can destroy the equilibrium of all, it is all the more true that each nation is bound by its own law of self-preservation to cooperate with the others to check troubles before they gather headway.

So I leave for home tonight, pleased but not over-complacent with the outcome of the past six months, and hopeful but not in the least unmindful of the problems of the next few years.

*Statement by Secretary Lansing to the French Press, July 12, 1919*⁶⁸

May I, through the French press, bid an affectionate farewell to France and the French people and express my deep gratitude for all the courtesies they have shown me during the months I have been here? I return home with a deep sense of what France has suffered in the war, but with a still deeper conviction that the courage which brought her through to victory will carry her over the trying days of reconstruction.

I think that I should say that a delay in the sailing of my steamer has brought my departure to the eve of that day so historic to France, and which now is doubly consecrated by the first Victory Parade of the Allied and Associated Powers.

The temptation to remain is great, but imperative necessity prevents my doing so. The demands of peace, including the ratification of the treaty and the Franco-American agreement and the expansion of the work of America's Department of Foreign Affairs to meet the new problems involved, are no less stern than those of war, and I am sure that the French people, to whom I am deeply indebted, will appreciate better than many others the call of duty.

⁶⁸ Reprinted from the *New York Times*, July 15, 1919.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Polk, Frank L. : Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, July 12, 1919—6 p. m.
[Received July 13—10 a. m.]

2555. For White and General Bliss. Sailing the 21st on *Imperator*. I am looking forward with pleasure to my associations with you both. I will need a great deal of help and I know you will be able to give it to me.

POLK

763.72119P43/526a : Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, July 15, 1919—noon.

2567. Sailing *Imperator* July 21st Monday noon, with Mrs. Polk, two children and maid accompanied by G. Howland Shaw, Diplomatic Secretary and C. E. MacEachran, Drafting Officer. I assume Consul at Brest will arrange for transportation from Brest to Paris on arrival of ship. Please confirm.

Please notify Secretary Lansing by wireless that I regret I could not await his arrival, as President insisted it was better I should leave as soon as possible.

POLK

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/347 : Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, July 16, 1919.
[Received July 17—3:30 p. m.]

2583. Your 3019, July 7th.⁶⁹ Convey to those signing message to President the following reply from him.

“It moves me very deeply that you should so fully realize the heartfelt sympathy I feel for the cause of justice and particularly for the Nations which, because they are less strong than the strongest, have hitherto struggled with little hope for the realization of the highest and most legitimate ambitions. It gives me new courage and new pleasure in the work I am trying to do that you should hearten me with such a greeting.”

POLK

⁶⁹ Not printed; it transmitted the message of July 4, 1919, from Messrs. Venizelos, Pashitch, Beneš, Nubar, and Sokolow to President Wilson, printed on p. 608.

763.72119P43/550a : Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, July 19, 1919—3 p. m.

2601. Under Secretary of State Frank Lyon Polk has been appointed by the President a Commissioner Plenipotentiary of the United States to Negotiate Peace and designated as the senior member of the Commission, to act as Chairman upon his arrival in Paris. He sails from New York on the Steamship *Imperator* July 21.

PHILLIPS

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Polk, Frank L. : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, July 19, 1919—7 p. m.

3227. Arrival of Mr. Polk will necessitate issuance of new document of appointment and full power for the Commissioners jointly to supersede that of November 30, 1919 [1918].⁷⁰ It is believed that the wording used in the original document will empower Commissioners to sign treaties with Bulgaria and Turkey.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119P43/539

*Form of Commission Issued to Under Secretary of State Frank L. Polk
as Commissioner Plenipotentiary*

WOODROW WILSON

President of the United States of America

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, GREETING:

KNOW YE, That reposing special trust and confidence in the integrity and ability of the Honorable Frank Lyon Polk, Under Secretary of State of the United States, I do appoint him to be a Commissioner Plenipotentiary on the part of the United States at the International Peace Conference to meet at Versailles, hereby empowering him to meet and confer with any persons invested by their respective Governments with like power and authority and with them to negotiate, conclude and sign for and in the name of the United States, any and all International Acts necessary to the conclusion of a definitive peace, the same to be transmitted to the President of the United States for his ratification, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have caused the Seal of the United States to be hereunto affixed.

⁷⁰ See vol. I, p. 175.

Given under my hand in the District of Columbia, this nineteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-fourth.

WOODROW WILSON

By the President:

WILLIAM PHILLIPS

Acting Secretary of State.

Paris Peace Conf. 185.271/6: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, July 23, 1919—9 p. m.

3278. [From White.] In order to ascertain whether Colonel House expected to return to Paris to sign the Austrian Treaty, I telegraphed him on July 19,⁷¹ at the instance of the Drafting Committee who desired to know this definitely, in connection with the preparation of the text. Colonel House has answered as follows:

“The Commission on Mandates will sit in London August 5, therefore I had better not undertake returning to Paris to sign the Treaty with Austria.”

White
AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 103.93/50a: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Acting Secretary of State

PARIS, July 23, 1919.

3283. The Paris and New York offices of the Committee on Public Information have continued since June 30 by authorization of the American Commission to furnish a news and editorial service from America by radio. Such parts as are not confidential have been released to the English language newspapers of Paris, and also translated and delivered to the French press. The Paris office has transmitted the official statements and communiqués of the Peace Conference and the Commission to the New York Office for delivery to the three American press associations. In addition there is transmitted daily by radio from the Paris office an average of 6,000 words for the American press associations and newspapers, affording a definite relief from the cable congestion. In this way the transmission machinery hitherto most effective has been kept intact by the Commission at the very moderate cost of \$300 a week for the New York office

⁷¹ Telegram not printed.

and about \$210 a week for the Paris office. The Commission's authorization covering the operations of these two offices was effective to July 15, and further authority for this service is now necessary from that date and for a continuance to such time as the Commission's work in Paris may be concluded. Mr. Walter S. Rogers, who so effectively organized the radio and cable press service, is now in Washington and could furnish you directly any further information you may need on this matter. Commission hopes that Department will find it possible to furnish the funds necessary for this purpose.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119P43/536 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, July 25, 1919—5 p. m.

2634. Your 3227, July 19th, 7 p. m. Mr. Polk has with him individual document of appointment and full power conferring same powers as given commissioners in joint document of November 30th⁷² which Department understands still in effect as regards commissioners remaining in Paris.

Department concurs in your views as to powers Commissioners to sign treaties with Bulgaria and Turkey and regards present powers as sufficient.

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 184.0011/6

Mr. A. W. Dulles to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)

[PARIS,] July 25, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. GREW: As Secretary of the Steering Committee⁷³ I have been requested to communicate to you the desire of the Committee that you attend the meetings of the Committee whenever you find the time to do so. The Committee felt that your presence would greatly facilitate its discussions and its recommendations to the Commissioners, regarding the general work of the American Delegation.

The meetings of the Steering Committee are held in the office of Dr. Scott on the third floor of the Crillon at 2 P. M. daily except

⁷² Vol. I, p. 175.

⁷³ Concerning the establishment of the Steering Committee, see minutes of the meeting of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary, July 1, 1919, p. 259; for minutes of meetings of the Steering Committee, see pp. 453-479.

Sunday and except the day when the American Delegation as a whole meets with the American Commissioners.

Very sincerely yours,

ALLEN W. DULLES

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Polk, Frank L. : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, July 29, 1919—10 p. m.

3386. Strictly confidential for Secretary of State from Polk.

Arrived this morning. Everybody most kind trying to initiate me. Attended meeting of Council this afternoon with Mr. White.⁷⁴ It has been arranged that he will sit for next two or three days and I will be present. Would appreciate your views as to political situation in Washington for my confidential information and guidance.

Must tell you again how much I regret not having your advice. Please give our affectionate greetings to Mrs. Lansing.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 103.93/54

*Mr. Herman Suter*⁷⁵ *to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)*

[PARIS,] July 29, 1919.

Subject: Interchange of Wireless Service Between France and the United States.

When the United States entered the war an arrangement was made between the United States and France for an interchange of wireless service. This included the transmission of news reports from the United States to Paris through the Committee on Public Information.

After it had been decided that the Peace Conference was to be held in Paris a continuance of the wireless arrangement was negotiated personally between Colonel House and Premier Clemenceau: This continuance was for the duration of the Conference.

This made possible the continuance of the wireless news reports from America for release to the English Language newspapers of Paris, as well as the French press. In addition a large amount of editorial comment and many special reports were transmitted from the United States to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. There was transmitted back to America all the official communiqués and statements of the Peace Conference, announcements of the American Commission, and President Wilson's addresses. In addition this

⁷⁴ See HD-18, vol. VII, p. 369.

⁷⁵ Of the Committee on Public Information.

wireless arrangement greatly facilitated the frequent world-wide broadcasting of presidential and Conference announcements.

Owing to the crowded condition of the cables the service was broadened to include a daily transmission to the United States of 3,000 words for the three American Press Associations, and an additional 3,000 words for the leading American newspapers.

Still another development was the adding of a 400 word American news service daily to central Europe, sent from the wireless station located on Eiffel Tower.

This whole wireless arrangement has been of great value to the Government and to our people during the Peace Conference, especially in view of the terribly congested condition of the cables.

I have just had a letter from Colonel Cartier, head of the French Radio system, suggesting that the interchange of wireless service between the United States and France being a wartime arrangement, now that Peace has been signed with Germany, a new arrangement should be made.

In view of the many important matters before the Peace Conference yet, including treaties to be concluded with Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey, it would be very unfortunate to have the wireless service in any way curtailed until at least the bulk of the more important matters are settled.

I believe if Commissioner White recalled the arrangement to the attention of Premier Clemenceau, it could be continued without interruption. In this way a valuable line of communication is constantly available, one that has already proved to be an avenue for goodwill between the two countries.

Edward M. House Papers

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

LONDON, July 30, 1919.

DEAR GOVERNOR: Almost as soon as I arrived in England I sensed an antagonism to the United States. The English are quite as cordial and hospitable to the individual American as ever, but they dislike us collectively.

The war has left but two great powers in the world, where before there were seven. While Russia has collapsed internally, and Germany and Austria have fallen through defeat, France and Japan have gone from first to second rate powers because the United States and Great Britain have become so powerful. While the British Empire vastly exceeds the United States in area and population and while their aggregate wealth is perhaps greater than ours, yet our position is much more favorable. It is because of this that the

relations between the two countries are beginning to assume the same character as that of England and Germany before the war.

By her industry and organization Germany was forging ahead as the first power in the world, but she lost everything by her arrogance and lack of statesmanship. Will it be Great Britain or the United States who will next commit this colossal blunder. If we are farsighted we will conduct ourselves so as to merit the friendship of all nations, for it is to me conceivable that there may come a time when we will need it.

Our war expenditures gave a spectacular exhibition of our wealth which has excited the envy of the world, and which if we are unwise, may lead to a great coalition against us. It looks now as if it would be necessary for us to supply coal to those who formerly looked to England for this commodity, and if we continue our merchant marine building on the present scale, we will be hitting at two of her most lucrative industries.

Labor in Europe is showing a strange disinclination for work, and English labor is lagging behind more and more. This accentuates the widening economic position between us. The advanced liberals are questioning the Government as to the reason for their big navy estimates for next year. The Government's answer is that when the war was ended Great Britain was going at top speed in naval construction and that it would be a great waste not to finish the ships now on the ways. It was brought out that there would be eighty-four ships of the larger class and some thirty-five destroyers. It was the Government's intention, so it was said, to use the newer types to replace the older ones now in use. The truth is this new construction is because of us, and for no other reason.

Haldane,⁷⁶ Grey⁷⁷ and I dined together on Sunday. The purpose of the conference was to discuss the Government's request to Grey to become Ambassador at Washington. Curzon, acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, at Lloyd George's instance, asked Haldane to use his good offices with Grey, and Haldane, in turn, asked me to help. Haldane told Grey and me that the three matters that the Government had in mind to settle with the United States were, first, the naval building program, second, the Irish question, and third, the League of Nations. Grey said that in no circumstances would he become Ambassador, but he would consider going out on a special mission for the purpose of discussing these questions, provided the Government agreed with him about these. He thought there would be no difficulty in regard to the League of Nations or the naval program, but he was insistent that they should outline their Irish policy and that it should be one with which

⁷⁶ Viscount Haldane, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, 1912-1915.

⁷⁷ Viscount Grey of Fallodon, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1905-1916.

he could agree. I suggested that Lloyd George and Curzon be told that it was impossible to discuss an abstract question and that he Grey wanted to know what was their Irish program before even considering the question of accepting their offer. This would place the burden on the Government rather than upon Grey.

As to the naval building program, Grey told Haldane that he would write him a memorandum which he could hand to the Government. This memorandum would outline his, Grey's, views which are as follows:

That in no circumstances would Great Britain build against the United States no matter how many keels we laid. However, England would hold herself free to build against any European power in any quantity that seemed to her best. On the other hand, the United States could exercise her own judgment about building without regard to Great Britain as against Japan, and they would consider it a matter of no concern to them.

Grey told me in this conversation and in another I had with him some two weeks ago that the British Government's policy during the time he was in office was to disregard the naval program of the United States. In the first place they thought war between the two nations was inconceivable, and in the second, that in a rivalry it was admitted that the United States could outbuild Great Britain. In discussing this matter further with Grey he admitted that this was the liberal point of view and not the conservative or the one held in naval circles. I predict that when they receive Grey's memorandum concerning these questions, they will soften in their insistence that he go to Washington.

You may be surprised that I am not taking into account the League of Nations as a preventive, not only for trouble with Great Britain but also as a deterrent in naval armaments. I consider the League as the great hope of a peaceful solution of all these vexatious international jealousies, but we must admit that it is a long cry from today to the time when the League shall have proved itself such an instrument as we all hope it may be. The fact that this Government wishes an Ambassador of Grey's standing to go to America to discuss the question of naval armaments indicates that they do not expect it to be reached through the League of Nations.

You will have noticed that the British have been very insistent upon reduction of standing armies but they never protest against naval armaments. One of the necessary things to be done in my opinion is the creation of an international code of laws covering both land and sea. It is your belief that in the next war there will be no neutrals, therefore, there is no necessity for a revision of the laws of the sea. I do not agree with this position. It is quite conceivable that war might come between say France and England in which no other nations would be involved. However, the lack of sea laws would almost inevitably bring us into the conflict. If, on the other hand,

we had a chart which all nations had accepted, then any two belligerents would of necessity have to conform to it or bring the world in arms upon themselves. This question of the freedom of the seas is the one thing above all others that brought us into the war, and yet it is no nearer solution today than it was before Germany collapsed. If there were a Liberal Government here I am sure they would recognize the seriousness of this menace.

I do not know that I would advise doing anything more at present than to call attention to the fact that it was your purpose to ask consideration of the question sometime within the near future. In the meantime, there might be a Government here sympathetic to the view that a general international understanding upon this subject should be reached.

It is my judgment that we should go ahead as rapidly as possible with the organization of the League of Nations, and at the first meeting of the Assembly bring up the question of a reduction of armaments and seek an agreement. Do you not think also that our people should be warned not to expect complete payment of loans to the Entente? Should they not be asked to consider a large share of these loans as a part of our necessary war expenditures, and should not an adjustment be suggested by us and not by our debtors? If this is done then it would be well to do it with a *beau geste*. For instance, I notice we have sold our one billion of war material in France to the French Government for three hundred millions. Would it not have been better to have made this a gift in name as, indeed, it is in fact?

The one coalition which might conceivably prove dangerous to us is that of Great Britain and Japan, and yet a large section of our people, notably those of Irish and German descent, would welcome trouble in this direction. On the other hand, we have those that are trying to make difficulties with Japan.

If I were you I should take some early occasion to invoke the sober attention of our people to these dangers. The world is in a belligerent mood, and the next ten years will be the most dangerous to its peace. If we can get over this period safely and get the League in satisfactory operation, war may conceivably become almost obsolete. Could you serve mankind better at the moment than to caution all to sit steady in the boat, and do what is possible to bring things back to the normal. At present, the world is a long way from being safe, and another upheaval now may completely wreck civilization.

Affectionately yours,

[File copy not signed]

P. S. Hoover who has just left, is in one of his most pessimistic moods. He is simply reveling in gloom. He gives Europe but thirty days longer of orderly life—after that it is to be revolution, starvation and chaos. In his opinion the coal situation is the most menacing.

Paris Peace Conf. 103.93/55

*The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)
to Mr. Henry White*

PARIS, July 30, 1919.

DEAR MR. WHITE: Mr. Suter, who has been assisting us in our wireless news service, has brought to my attention a letter which he has received from Colonel Cartier, head of the French radio system, suggesting that the interchange of wireless service between the United States and France was a wartime arrangement and now that peace has been signed a new arrangement should be made by which news material would be sent over the regular wires. Mr. Suter feels that in view of the many important matters still before the Peace Conference, it would be very unfortunate to have the wireless service curtailed at present.

I remember that Colonel House personally arranged for this service with Mr. Clemenceau last autumn, and it is my impression that Mr. Clemenceau gave Colonel House assurances that this service would be continued for the duration of the Peace Conference—not merely until peace should be signed. If you consider it advisable, I can ascertain from Colonel House exactly what the understanding was, but I believe that if you should find an opportunity to say a personal word to Clemenceau about it he would very likely agree to keep the service running during the period of the Peace Conference.

I append Mr. Suter's statement⁷⁸ giving all the facts regarding the service, and should be glad to learn whether you feel that you can properly take the matter up personally with Mr. Clemenceau.

Very respectfully yours,

J. C. GREW

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Polk, Frank L.: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, July 31, 1919—noon.

[Received August 1—7:30 a. m.]

2678. For Polk. Your 3386, July 29, 10 p. m. Glad to learn of your safe arrival. I was greatly disappointed not to see you but have written you very fully and frankly though in greatest secrecy and explained that the political situation appears very mixed. The Republicans have no definite plan as to the treaty and seem considerably disorganized. They do not know whether to follow Taft, Root, Hughes or Lodge, while Borah, Hiram Johnson, Sterling and Fall seem to be flocking by themselves. The President has been very conciliatory and has undoubtedly smothered a good deal of opposition.

⁷⁸ *Ante*, p. 619.

I advised him not to arouse resentment by going on a speaking tour on August 4th. He seemed disposed to go but some of the Democratic senators gave him the same advice so he has postponed his trip which is good thing. He can win more support by talking to individuals here than by speaking to arouse the people. The impression is gaining ground that the opposition is to the President personally and not to the treaty and the public does not like it. I am sure the President is gaining ground every day.

The Colombian Treaty⁷⁰ was reported out of committee by unanimous vote and will probably be ratified this week.

I have had an hour with Lodge and he seems to be very friendly to the Department and to favor expanding its activities. I have not seen Porter but shall do so in a day or two.

Phillips left last night for a month's vacation. I shall not leave before September. I am trying to make some arrangement so Long can get away.

Affectionate regards to you and Mrs. Polk who I hope will enjoy the life in Paris.

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 103.93/56 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, July 31, 1919—3 p. m.
[Received August 1—11:40 a. m.]

2681. Your 3283, July 23rd. Before deciding upon the continuance of the Paris and New York offices of Committee on Public Information beyond August 1st, it is important to know definitely whether the service supplied by them is indispensable to the efficient functioning of the Commission. If not, it should be discontinued in view of necessity for economy. Would it be possible to transmit official communiqués to Department, for distribution to press associations and have someone within the Mission file the radios for transmission by French radio? And would not foregoing, with a slight enlargement of the cable information service now supplied by the Department, meet the requirements of the Mission and serve as a practical substitute for Committee on Public Information?

Please telegraph your views immediately, in order that decision may be made. Expenses of New York office to August 1st being charged to your allotment.

LANSING

⁷⁰ See *Foreign Relations*, 1919, vol. I, pp. 726 ff.

Paris Peace Conf. 184/160

Organization of the Commission to Negotiate Peace, August 1, 1919

COMMISSIONERS PLENIPOTENTIARY AND PERSONAL STAFFS

Honorable Frank L. Polk, Under Secretary of State of the United States.

Confidential Secretary: G. Howland Shaw, Secretary of Embassy.

Honorable Henry White

Aide and Secretary: Lieutenant R. E. Condon, U. S. A.

Honorable Edward M. House

Diplomatic Assistant: Mr. Arthur Hugh Frazier, Counselor of Embassy.

General Tasker H. Bliss, U. S. A.

Staff:

Colonel S. D. Embick, U. S. A.

Colonel U. S. Grant, 3rd, U. S. A.

Colonel W. S. Browning, U. S. A.

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Secretary General, Mr. Joseph C. Grew, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary.

Assistant: Captain George A. Gordon, U. S. A.

Confidential Secretary: Mr. Albert Ward.

Diplomatic Secretary: Mr. Leland Harrison, Counselor of Embassy.

Secretaries:

Mr. J. K. Huddle, Consular Assistant

Mr. R. B. Macatee, Consular Assistant

Liaison with Secretariat General:

Captain L. H. Paul Chapin, U. S. A.

Mr. Charles H. Russell, Second Secretary of Embassy.

Steering Committee:

Colonel U. S. Grant, 3rd, U. S. A.

Dr. James Brown Scott

Mr. Allen W. Dulles

Naval Section: Rear Admiral H. S. Knapp, U. S. N.

Field Observers and Liaison with Enemy Delegations:

Major Royall Tyler, U. S. A.

Captain Hayford Peirce, U. S. A.

Communications: Lieutenant N. E. Wharton, U. S. N.

Medical Dispensary:

Commander Allen D. McLean, U. S. N.

Captain W. C. Whitmore, U. S. A.

Radio News Service: Mr. C. M. Willoughby.

Diplomatic, Political and Territorial Division:

Mr. Ellis Loring Dresel, Counselor of Embassy.

- a) Austria Hungary and Poland
Mr. Allen W. Dulles, Second Secretary of Embassy.
 - b) Italy and Adriatic
Dr. D. W. Johnson
 - c) Chinese Loans
Mr. H. D. Marshall
 - d) Germany and Northern Neutrals
Mr. E. L. Dresel.
 - e) Near East
Mr. W. H. Butler
Mr. L. H. Gray
- Drafting Officer, Mr. S. Y. Smith.

TECHNICAL ADVISORS

Economic Commission:

Mr. Frederick K. Nielsen
Lt. E. Kilpatrick, U. S. A.

International Law Section:

Dr. James Brown Scott
Mr. H. G. Crocker

Editing Committee: Mr. Lester H. Woolsey, Solicitor for the Department of State.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS

Executive Officer: Mr. Wm. McNeir, Chief of Bureau of Accounts of the Department of State

Chief Clerk: Mr. Charles B. Welsh

Hotel Managers:

Mr. George P. DuBose
Mr. Harry R. Young

Disbursing Officer: Mr. Wm. McNeir

Index and Files: Mr. A. A. Chenay

Translation Bureau: Mr. Walter Peirce.

763.72119/62931a

The Secretary of State to President Wilson

WASHINGTON, August 4, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I have read your letter to Senator Lodge as Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations,⁸⁰ enclosing

⁸⁰ For text of the letter as sent, see p. 629.

copies of the various drafts of the Covenant.

My only criticism is that you indicate that there were memoranda relating to the debates in the Commission on the League of Nations which you cannot deliver to them on account of their being in the hands of your colleagues in Paris. I think that this may result in their saying to you that they wish to have copies of these memoranda and would like you to telegraph for them.

My own view is, in regard to the proceedings which took place before the Commissions, that they are all of a confidential nature and would require the assent of all the other nations before you could present them to a Senate Committee. This, as you will recall, is the position we took when Mr. Clemenceau asked whether we would be willing to consent to the submission of the minutes on the League of Nations to the French Senate.⁸¹ I fear that putting it solely on the ground of the memoranda not being in your hands will compel you later to refuse on the ground which I have stated.

My suggestion is that you state that ground in your letter and in that way prevent a further request.

Faithfully yours,

ROBERT LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 103.93/58

The Executive Committee of the American Correspondents in Paris to Mr. Frank L. Polk

[PARIS,] August 5, 1919.

DEAR MR. POLK: AS members of a committee designated by the American newspaper correspondents in Paris who are using the cable and wireless regularly and are especially interested in the activities of the Peace Conference, we wish to call to the attention of the American delegates the necessity, in our opinion, for the continuation throughout the negotiation of all the treaties growing out of the war of the arrangements for the press which obtained while the German Treaty was in process of negotiation.

The use of the wireless granted to American newspapers and news associations through the courtesy of the American Government has been of mutual advantage, in our opinion, to the American Government and the American Press, and we trust it will be possible for the Peace Delegation to arrange for the continuation of this service until all the treaties are disposed of. This service has enabled individual papers to carry much more matter than they could have afforded to send by cable and has undoubtedly been an important factor in enlightening public opinion in the United States.

⁸¹ See pp. 611, 612.

During the German peace negotiations the American correspondents were granted an audience with a member of the delegation both in the morning and in the afternoon. Mr. White saw us in the morning and Col. House in the afternoon. This arrangement enabled morning and afternoon newspapers to vary their service. Will it not be possible for you to see us daily at 6 p. m. and for Mr. White to see us at 10.30 a. m.? Such appointments would enable us to check up matter appearing in the foreign press and to keep the American view before the public at home.

Twelve of the representative newspapers of New York, Brooklyn, Chicago and Philadelphia, as well as the four more important news services of the United States, have correspondents who are covering the Conference daily. In addition many American magazines, weeklies and feature services have writers in Paris who are dependent upon frequent conferences for their information concerning the progress of the treaty negotiations. All of these correspondents will be deeply grateful for any assistance you and the other members of the American delegation may be able to give us which will make it possible to serve the American public more efficiently.

Very truly yours,

Executive Committee,
American Correspondents in Paris,
LAURENCE HILLS, *Chairman*.

President Wilson to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations (Lodge) ⁸²

WASHINGTON, 8 August, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: I have at last been able to go personally over the great mass of papers which remained in my hands at the close of my stay in Paris, and am disappointed to find that it is in no respect a complete file, the complete files remaining with the American Commission.

You ask for all drafts or forms presented to or considered by the Peace Commissioners relating to the League of Nations, and particularly the draft or form prepared or presented by the Commissioners of the United States. There are no formal drafts in my possession, except that presented by the American Commissioners, and this I take pleasure in enclosing, along with the formal Report of the Commission on the League of Nations.⁸³

You also ask for all proceedings, arguments, and debates, including a transcript of the stenographic reports of the Peace Commission relating to or concerning a League of Nations or the League of Nations

⁸² Reprinted from *Congressional Record*, vol. 58, pt. 4, p. 3752.

⁸³ Enclosures not reprinted.

finally adopted, and all data bearing upon or used in connection with the Treaty of Peace with Germany now pending. No stenographic reports were taken of the debates on the League of Nations, and such memoranda as were taken it was agreed should be confidential. The reason for regarding as confidential intimate exchanges of opinion with regard to many delicate matters will, of course, occur to you, and I beg to say that I am following the example of the representatives of the other Governments in making this explanation.

The various data bearing upon or used in connection with the Treaty of Peace with Germany are so miscellaneous and enormous in mass that it would be impossible for me to supply them without bringing from Paris the whole file of papers of the Commission itself, and would include many memoranda which, it was agreed on grounds of public policy, it would be unwise to make use of outside the Conference.

Very sincerely yours,

WOODROW WILSON

Edward M. House Papers : Telegram

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

GREEN WOOD GATE, ASHDOWN FORREST,
WITHYHAM, SUSSEX.
August 8, 1919.

For some weeks Grey has had under consideration an urgent request from this Government to become Ambassador to the United States, in order to bring about an understanding regarding the League of Nations, the naval building program and the Irish question. He declined to consider an Ambassadorship, but has been willing to discuss the possibility of going as a special envoy. His condition was that he might discuss the matter with me and determine what policies regarding the three subjects mentioned would be essential to a successful mission.

Grey, Haldane and I have had several conferences and came to these conclusions.

1st. There would be no difficulty regarding the League of Nations.

2d. As to the naval program there must be no rivalry. Great Britain should not undertake to build against us no matter how many keels we laid down. It was conceded that the United States could outbuild Great Britain in a contest of this sort. Great Britain was to be free to build whatever she thought necessary for her protection against any European power.

3rd. Ireland as a whole or any part that desired it was to have a full measure of home rule and which was to include the right to impose customs.

The Prime Minister, after consultation with Bonar Law, accepted this program with two reservations.

1. The moderation in naval construction must be reciprocal.
2. The right of Ireland to impose customs would have to be examined in order to determine whether such a plan would be practicable.

Haldane and I advised Grey to accept provided the conditions outlined are handed Grey in the form of instructions and are not left as a verbal understanding.

An announcement may be made immediately. If Grey goes under these conditions the most vexatious subject between the two countries will be in a fair way for settlement. The Prime Minister insists that this shall be entirely confidential until publication.

EDWARD HOUSE

Paris Peace Conf. 103.93/56: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, August 9, 1919—7 p. m.

3604. Your 2681 July 31, 3 p. m. Representatives of American newspapers here urge that arrangements be made for the continuation of the radio service until all the treaties are disposed of. French Government now allows them 3,000 words per day.

In view of the foregoing, would it be possible for this service to be handled by Mr. Emery and the messages sent direct to the Department so as to allow the discontinuance of the New York office? Also in order to maintain the exchange by radio, would it be possible for Mr. Emery to send us enlarged daily news telegram by radio? This American news could then be distributed to the French press as heretofore.

Suter is returning early next week. He should arrive by the 20th and will proceed to Washington to explain mechanics of the situation to Emery.

Under the circumstances and if you approve, it would seem desirable to continue the New York office until after Suter's arrival, giving the staff now notice that the office would be closed on the 31st. After Suter's departure the office here will cost about \$120 per week.

Please pay expenses of New York office to date, charging to our allotment.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 103.93/63

*Lieutenant R. E. Condon*⁸⁴ to the Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (*Grew*)

PARIS, 11 August, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. GREW: Following the suggestion contained in your letter of July 30,⁸⁵ regarding the interchange of wireless service between the United States and France for the use of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, Mr. White mentioned the matter to M. Clemenceau, who simply remarked that we should continue to use this service as heretofore. Therefore, Mr. White suggests that, if you consider it necessary that any further arrangements should be made, this message be communicated to Colonel Cartier, suggesting that he obtain the necessary authorization from M. Clemenceau.

I return herewith your letter under date of July 30 on this subject.

Respectfully,

R. E. CONDON

Edward M. House Papers

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

GREEN WOOD GATE, ASHDOWN FORREST,
WITHYHAM, SUSSEX.
August 11, 1919.

DEAR GOVERNOR: I am enclosing you a copy of a cable which I sent you on the 9th.⁸⁶

Haldane telephoned this morning and asked me to come to London to lunch at the Prime Minister's with Grey and himself. I had a chill day before yesterday and was not quite equal to the trip but Grey is coming down here this afternoon. Before I close this letter I will let you know the final outcome and will also send you a cable tomorrow.

I am very happy at the turn things have taken. It is not only that Grey's going has brought George and his Ministers to terms regarding the essential questions between our two countries, but since I last wrote you the Government have been hammered mercilessly by the Liberals.

A week or ten days ago a dinner was given me at the Reform Club to meet most of the representative liberal writers in England. I am enclosing you an extract from a letter which I have just received from Sir George Paish giving the result of the conference.⁸⁷ I gave these men sufficient information to guide them in their editorial work,

⁸⁴ Secretary to Commissioner Henry White.

⁸⁵ *Ante*, p. 624.

⁸⁶ Not enclosed with file copy of this letter.

⁸⁷ This extract does not accompany the file copy of Colonel House's letter.

and I am already beginning to see the result. The atmosphere has cleared considerably and with Grey in Washington with you I have no doubt but that everything will come right.

It is my intention to sail for home around the middle of September. There is no need of remaining longer than that. If Mandate A is to be finished before the Turkish Treaty is formed as we desire, there will be ample time to accomplish it before then. If the Council of the League of Nations should sit before our Senate ratifies the Treaty, it would not do for me to sit with them although it has been intimated that as a matter of courtesy they would like a representative of the United States to be present.

We are having a difference of opinion in regard to the time of the meeting of the Assembly. I am urging that it sit in Washington just as soon as the Treaty is ratified by the Senate and enough of the other powers to put it into force. Cecil and Drummond take a contrary view. They do not want it to be called until early next year or in the Spring. I consider this would be a great mistake, and every liberal in England with whom I have talked have [*has*] expressed an agreement with me. This includes Grey and Haldane and the liberal group of editors whom I met at the Reform Club. To delay the meeting of the Assembly as long as Cecil and Drummond desire would be to disappoint the world and make it feel that the League was to be another Hague Conference fiasco.

Cecil's argument is that there ought not to be a meeting until an agenda of sufficient importance is worked out to make it impressive. My contention is that an agenda can be formulated within an hour and then committees can be appointed at the Washington meeting to report if necessary at the next meeting of the Assembly which could be held in Geneva in the early winter or spring. The world would then have an assurance of the things that were in contemplation and under way. Happily, the matter is in your hands and the meeting can be called when in your judgment it seems best to do so.

My principal activities with the League now are to delay action and thus far I have been successful.

Affectionately yours,

[File copy not signed]

P. S. Grey has decided to go as Special Envoy about September fifteenth. Do you expect to make your speaking tour, and will you be back by then? He is laying down conditions which will be of the greatest advantage in the settlement of controversies.

Edward M. House Papers

Colonel E. M. House to the British Prime Minister (Lloyd George)

GREEN WOOD GATE, ASHDOWN FORREST,
WITHYHAM, SUSSEX.

August 12, 1919.

DEAR PRIME MINISTER: Thank you so much for wanting me to lunch yesterday with Grey and Haldane. I am sorry that I was not well enough to be there.

I want to congratulate you upon getting Lord Grey's consent to go to the United States. His appointment will have a splendid influence, and add to what you have already done to bring our two countries closer together.

I am [etc.]

[File copy not signed]

Edward M. House Papers

Mr. Frank L. Polk to Colonel E. M. House

PARIS, August 20, 1919.

MY DEAR COLONEL: I cannot tell you how glad I was to see that the British had decided to send Lord Grey over. I am sure he and the President will get on and with the assistance of Tyrrell a lot of hard spots will be smoothed out. I am sure you had a good deal to do with this arrangement.

We are drifting along here in rather an unsatisfactory way owing to the fact that I am having some difficulty in getting my instructions from Washington. We almost made a compromise on the Thracian situation after a hard fight against the whole "bunch" and were then told by Washington that they would not listen to any compromise whatever, but wanted East and West Thrace in an International State. That of course is out of the question, for as long as it is not known who is to have the mandate for Constantinople neither the British nor French would be willing to run the chance of the other getting all the territory along the Aegean. I have telegraphed again to Washington and am waiting anxiously to see whether I am going to get "spanked" or whether we can close up the Bulgarian treaty. This really is the only serious question I have left.

My information in regard to the Treaty prospects is rather mixed. My observation was when I left home that the situation was in the middle. It is not as bad as the republicans would make it out and it is not as good as the President is being told by some of his advisers. Personally, I think they will have to come to definitions and I don't think that would be particularly objectionable. I know

the French won't fight it. I rather look for the Committee to report in the next ten days and the Senate ought to pretty thoroughly talk itself to death in three weeks.

I hope to get over to London as soon as the Austrian Treaty is signed—that should be within the next ten days. Balfour wishes to shut up shop and leave then as the Bulgarians will take some time to consider their treaty and we cannot treat with the Hungarians until they have a government. Hugh Wallace is going to make a speech September 6th at Bordeaux and I have been asked to go down, but I think that I will let them dedicate the monument without my presence.

Looking forward to seeing you and with warmest regards to the family, I am

Yours faithfully,

FRANK L. POLK

P. S. I wish you would impress on the British how dangerous the Roumanian situation is. If we permit these little fellows to defy us they will all get the habit and Germany will catch the disease. Our people in Central Europe think that Colonel Cunningham had something to do with the Hapsburg Duke being in the foreground. That is a marvelously stupid thing for them to permit. If the Hungarians want a Hapsburg let them wait until they can vote for one.

Edward M. House Papers

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

LONDON, August 26, 1919.

DEAR GOVERNOR: Grey and I are coming out together. We plan to sail on the *Lapland*, September 16th.

As I wrote you before, there seems to be no purpose in my remaining after Mandate A has been formed. We should finish this by the tenth. I feel the need of getting out of the European atmosphere as I have been in it too long already.

Affectionately yours,

[File copy not signed]

P. S. Our annual falling out seems to have occurred. The Foreign Office received a cable the other day saying that we were no longer on good terms and asking that the Prime Minister and Balfour be informed. The press representatives also told me that they had the same news. I am wondering where this particular story originated and why they wanted the Prime Minister and Balfour to be informed. Tyrrell said it came from one of their men in New York and not from Washington.

Edward M. House Papers : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Davis)

[Paraphrase]

WASHINGTON, August 28, 1919—11 a. m.

[Received 8:08 p.m.]

5882. For Colonel House's information. Your telegram concerning Grey did not reach us until your letter enclosing a copy of it was handed to me.⁸⁹ If Grey arrives with satisfactory powers on the questions you refer to, the greatest service would be rendered to the two countries. In any case, Grey will be heartily welcomed although the fact that Great Britain continues to send us special envoys instead of a permanent Ambassador is causing a great deal of unfavorable comment on this side. We should all be glad if Grey were able to remain.

I beg you to reconsider your plans. You will make a grave mistake by coming back before the Senate ratifies the Treaty. It would undoubtedly be construed as a breaking up of the American Mission and it would supply great capital. I hoped that you could return to Paris and participate in the work carried on there. You should, in any case, be in reach to cooperate with the Mission in every possible way. The situation here makes this vitally important. I expect that by the early part of October the treaty will be ratified.

Please acknowledge receipt of note from the President.

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 103.93/69 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, August 28, 1919—1 p. m.

[Received August 29—2:47 p. m.]

2989. For Polk. Your 3604, August 9, 7 p. m. Please notify press associations and newspaper correspondents that transmission of their news matter by wireless from Paris to America will be discontinued, the last filings to be made in Paris on August 30th; the news report and editorial summary heretofore transmitted by the New York office of the mission will be continued by the Department.

LANSING

⁸⁹ See Colonel House's letter of August 11 to President Wilson, p. 632.

811.911/101 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Davis) to the Secretary of State

LONDON, August 29, 1919—11 a. m.

[Received August 29—9:30 a. m.]

2914. For the President from Edward House: The New York *Sun* story concerning a breach between us is being generally published over here. The representatives of the American papers have asked me for a statement and among them the *New York American*. I merely want to say that I have refused to comment upon the story and anything appearing to the contrary is without foundation.

DAVIS

811.911/101a : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Davis)

WASHINGTON, August 29, 1919—3 p. m.

5896. Your 2914, August 29, 11 a. m. From the President to Colonel House.

“Am deeply distressed by malicious story about break between us and thank you for your message about it. The best way to treat it is with silent contempt.”

LANSING

763.72119/6451 : Telegram

The Ambassador in Great Britain (Davis) to the Secretary of State

LONDON, August 30, 1919—9 p. m.

[Received August 30—7:45 p. m.]

2934. For the President [from House]: Today's papers carry news that you will definitely tour the States. My best wishes go with you. I believe that the people throughout the country are tired of the technical controversies into which discussion has lately been drawn in Washington and will welcome a reassertion of the ideals America fought for and the broad principles upon which the League is based. There is a noticeable sag in popular interest in Europe as well as in America and your voice is eagerly awaited.

The world needs to be reminded of the way in which the League will serve to avoid war through discussion, delay and publicity; it needs to be assured that some program of world disarmament is really contemplated which will contribute to remedy the cost of living; it needs to be shown the closely interwoven economic relations between countries which make international cooperation not only a moral choice but a shelter and even a selfish necessity.

From this distance it seems to me that hostility to the League in America is almost wholly based upon article 10. You will best know after your tour is over whether or not the American people show response to the argument that we are for the first time making order out of anarchy in international relations and are laying down the principle that territory is no longer to be acquired by force of arms. It would seem that our people have not yet grasped the limitations and significance of the external aggression clause. I cannot help feeling that you will find response to the argument that we are now taking in international relations the first primitive step which the state took in requiring its citizens to go to law for the vindication of their claims. Edward House.

DAVIS

Edward M. House Papers

Colonel E. M. House to Mr. Frank L. Polk

GREEN WOOD GATE, ASHDOWN FORREST,
WITHYHAM, SUSSEX.

August 30, 1919.

MY DEAR FRIEND: I have a cable from the President this morning insisting that I remain in Europe for the present, and expressing the hope that I might return to Paris soon.⁹⁰ He is so urgent that it leaves me no choice but to comply.

The final sittings of the Mandate Commission are to be on September 9th and 10th provided, indeed, they are held at all in view of the French attitude. Unless there is some change of plans we shall probably reach Paris on September 13th. I sincerely hope that I shall not have to remain longer than October 1st.

Our party will consist besides Mrs. House and myself of Miss Denton, Berry (Naval Yeoman) and perhaps Col. Bonsal. I would appreciate it if you would get us the best available rooms. Those formerly occupied by General Bliss would do if they can be had. However, I shall leave this to you.

In view of this change of front I would appreciate it if you would telegraph me or write what kind of statement you think should be given out upon my arrival in Paris or before I leave London. This is important. What I have in mind to say is that I am returning to Paris to advise with the Commission in regard to unfinished matters of the Peace Conference.

Please inform General Bliss and Mr. White, and all of you please keep the matter in confidence.

Sincerely yours,

[File copy not signed]

⁹⁰ No. 5882, August 28, 1919, to the Ambassador in Great Britain, p. 636.

763.72119P43/647 : Telegram

*The Ambassador in Great Britain (Davis) to the Secretary of State*LONDON, August 31, 1919—10 a. m.
[Received August 31—9:57 a. m.]

2938. For the President from Colonel House. In reply to your telegram 5882.⁹¹ I shall be glad to remain as desired when we finish the mandates on September 9th and 10th. I shall return to Paris. If you approve I shall not plan to sail until after October 1st. In view of the statements I have made about date of return, would it not be well for White House or State Department to say that:

“The statement that Colonel House is about to return to the United States is incorrect. It will be necessary after he has finished his work on the Mandate Commission in London for him to return to his duties in Paris.”

DAVIS

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 House, Edward M. : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, September 2, 1919—3 p. m.

4002. Strictly confidential for the Secretary of State only [from Polk]. House writes that President wishes him to return to Paris.⁹² Please send me a message to be decoded by me advising me reason of his return and my position in the Mission as regards him. Will he be head of delegation? Any arrangement will be satisfactory, but I would like to know grounds for move. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 181.227/9a : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Davis)

PARIS, September 2, 1919—6 p. m.

351. Strictly confidential for House from Polk. Delighted to hear you are coming. Would suggest you should state before leaving London, or, in fact, the sooner the better, that your work in London in connection with the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations is completed and that you are returning to Paris to wind up your work on the Peace Mission. Hope to get over for Grey dinner, but all depends on Austrian Treaty. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

⁹¹ *Ante*, p. 636.⁹² See Colonel House's letter of August 30, p. 638.

763.72119P43/647 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in Great Britain (Davis)

WASHINGTON, September 2, 1919—6 p. m.

5912. Your 2938 August 31. For Colonel House. By direction of the President the Department has today announced to the Press that the report of your return to the United States is not true, but that when you complete your conferences in England in regard to the organization and work of the League of the Nations, you will go to Paris to resume your duties as Peace Commissioner.

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 House, Edward M. : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

[Paraphrase]

WASHINGTON, September 3, 1919—1 p. m.

3019. [For Polk.] Your 4002 of September 2, 3 p. m. The reason the President has asked House to return to Paris is that Colonel House had planned to come to the United States shortly after September 1st and the President thought his return while negotiations were still proceeding at Paris would cause criticism. I am of the impression that the President does not wish to have the Colonel here while the treaty is being considered by the Senate because he would certainly be summoned before the Committee, which might be embarrassing.

Of course, you will remain at the head of the American delegation as House is below Henry White in rank. In my opinion, you should assert your position and keep control of affairs.

LANSING

Edward M. House Papers

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

LONDON, September 3, 1919.

DEAR GOVERNOR: After receiving your cable ⁹³ I notified Lord Grey that I would not be able to return with him to the United States on September 20th, as I had promised. He seems a little timid about the whole adventure and I hope you will give him the warmest possible welcome. He is one of the finest characters I have ever met and you will find him the most satisfactory man representing a foreign government with whom you have had to deal. He would like to meet you in a personal way first before discussing business, and if

⁹³ No. 5882, August 28, 1919, to the Ambassador in Great Britain, p. 636.

you could have him around some evening alone I think it would be a joy to you both.

I had a talk with Chamberlain, Chancellor of the Exchequer, yesterday. He believes that England can pull through and finally pay all her obligations provided she gets a little helpful consideration from the United States. It is not merely money that they want but at the moment they would like the interest payments deferred, and they would like the use of the American dollars which will come to them in one way or another during the next few months.

I am counting upon going over to Paris on the 13th. It is my intention to be there in an advisory capacity and not to sit in negotiations that are now pending. I shall try to get things so organized as to shorten their labors and bring them to an early conclusion. There is an enormous amount of criticism here and I suppose everywhere because of the delay.

The Hungarian, Bulgarian and Austrian Treaties should be out of the way by the first of the month, and it seems by common consent the Turkish Treaty is to be deferred.

I shall count upon sailing for the United States the 10th of October. This would bring me there after the Treaty is out of the way.

Affectionately yours, [File copy not signed]

Paris Peace Conf. 184.1 Polk, Frank L. : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, September 5, 1919—10 p. m.

4061. Strictly confidential for the Secretary of State from Polk. Your 3019, September 3. Very many thanks. Quite understand the situation and will follow your advice. I do not look for the slightest friction now. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 181.227/9b : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to Colonel E. M. House

PARIS, September 9, 1919

2241. Confidential for House from Polk. Information in regard to your return to Paris is leaking out through British and French. Think the newspapermen have it, but not sure. Suggest it would be better to have a statement made rather than for the matter to leak out. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 181.227/9½: Telegram

Colonel E. M. House to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

LONDON, September 9, 1919—3:25 p. m.

[Received 7:10 p. m.]

2634. For Polk from House.

“In answer to your number 2241 about a week ago I received the following from Lansing.

‘By direction of the President the Department has today announced to the press that the report of your return to the United States is not true. But that when you complete your conferences in England in regard to the organization and work of the League of Nations, you will go to Paris to resume your duties as Peace Commissioner.’

In view of this do you think it necessary to give out any further statement? Before leaving here I thought I might say,

‘The President has asked me to return to Paris as soon as I have finished sitting on the Commission for mandates. I do not know how long it will be necessary for me to remain in Paris but I shall probably not return to England.’

Will you not give me your opinion? I expect to leave here Saturday morning but will not reach Paris before Sunday evening. Are you coming here this week?”

[HOUSE]

Paris Peace Conf. 180.035/4a: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, September 9, 1919—7 p. m.

4126. Confidential for the Secretary of State from Polk.

Last week Balfour announced that as soon as the Austrian Treaty was signed and the Bulgarian Treaty delivered he would leave and as he saw no necessity for the Council continuing to sit no one would come to take his place. Clemenceau objected strenuously. I told Balfour and Philip Kerr, Lloyd George's Secretary, that while I thought the Council was mixing up with a good many things that really belonged to the foreign offices, yet an adjournment at this time would be entirely misconstrued, as the Roumanian question is unsettled and the Silesian question and a number of other matters that could not be left up in the air. I pointed out the impression on Roumania and Hungary would be extremely bad. Balfour was firm as he is thoroughly tired out. He leaves Thursday but Philip Kerr has persuaded Lloyd George to come here the end of this week and

he will sit through next week. If these matters are not cleared up then I think he will send Bonar Law or Curzon.

I feel, however, that it is a mistake to continue to sit in the Quai D'Orsay, as we are surrounded by a number of the permanent French Foreign Office officials and they are able to create an impression in the minds of the small powers frequently not in line with the views expressed by the delegates. If we continue to sit I will take this up. Will cable you again on this subject after I see Lloyd George on Friday. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 181.227/9½ : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to Colonel E. M. House

PARIS, September 10, 1919.

2249. Confidential for House from Polk:

"In answer to your 2634, September 9, as I found the matter was leaking out I gave the Associated Press correspondents exact paraphrase of the statement given out by Lansing in Washington. Unfortunately cannot get over to London. Look forward to seeing you Monday. Am going to Verdun and Metz Saturday and Sunday." Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Robert Lansing Papers : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Acting Secretary of State

[HENDERSON HARBOR, N. Y. ?]

September 15, 1919—8 p. m.

Personal and Confidential for Phillips: No Distribution in Department. You may advise Senator Hitchcock of the following: That I have refused to make any comment upon Bullitt's statements⁹⁴ but that I believe that the important question at issue is the ratification or nonratification of the treaty, that I am strongly in favor of immediate ratification of the treaty without modifications as the whole world demands the restoration of peace.

[File copy not signed]

⁹⁴ William C. Bullitt had testified, on September 12, before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. See *Treaty of Peace with Germany: Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate . . .* Senate Document No. 106, 66th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1919). p. 1161.

Edward M. House Papers

Colonel E. M. House to President Wilson

PARIS, September 15, 1919.

DEAR GOVERNOR: I arrived here yesterday. The Peace Conference is practically a thing of the past. We have four Commissioners now here and the British have none other than Milner who will remain for only a short while. My judgment is that the sooner the Conference is wound up the better it will be for the situation at home. I notice that the republican senators say that the Conference will be in session for another six months and that the Treaty can easily be amended.

If the Conference adjourns leaving someone to sign the Bulgarian and Hungarian Treaties it would be the best solution. The Turkish Treaty will have to be taken up separately and at some more distant date.

Lloyd George wanted the Conference to adjourn immediately but Clemenceau and Polk disagreed with him. Polk thinks that within ten days it ought to adjourn temporarily until the Bulgarian and Hungarian Treaties are ready for signature. I strongly advise, therefore, that you give direction to bring matters to as speedy a conclusion as the situation admits.

There is nothing in life I would dislike more than being called before the Senate Committee. I have never had any experience in such matters. However, I am convinced that it would serve the cause well if I could be there and tell a different story from any that I have read as having been told. I could certainly put your position and your attitude while in Paris in a better light. I feel somehow that you have been crucified by your friends, perhaps not consciously but nevertheless it is a fact.

I am counting now on sailing October 8th unless you indicate a wish that I come sooner. I follow you from day to day and my heart was never so responsive to your efforts in behalf of mankind.

Affectionately yours,

[File copy not signed]

763.72119/8742 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, September 15, 1919—3 p. m.

[Received 8:28 p. m.]

4216. Confidential for the President and Secretary of State [from Polk]. Lloyd George told me Friday night in the course of general discussion that he wanted to clear up everything immediately that could be cleared up and adjourn the Conference. He said he

was leaving town Monday night, that no cabinet officer was willing to stay here and therefore he expected to do what could be done on Monday and then adjourn. He said that the Italian question should be settled and he was in favor of letting the Italians have Fiume. As to Fiume I told him that as he knew a compromise had been submitted to President Wilson and pending an answer from him I did not see that any discussion could be of any use but that as he was aware the United States Government could not consent to any such arrangement named in connection with the adjournment of the Conference. I saw him on Saturday afternoon and told him that while I agreed with him that the Conference should be hurried up he must remember the delay was not our fault and that there were many matters pending which must be settled, in my opinion, before an adjournment could be taken. I specified particularly the Roumanian, Galician and other pending matters. I told him that it was necessary to deliver the Bulgarian treaty and to complete the Hungarian treaty and that some organization should be kept here for the purpose of watching the Hungarian and Roumanian situation, that these might be cleaned up this week but that in any event I did not think the British Government had the right to issue an ultimatum and close the Conference when we were ready and willing to dispose [of] the subjects still pending. He finally said that he agreed with me and promised to have someone stay here after he left and suggested Sir Eyre Crowe. I told him that in my opinion he should have one of the regular plenipotentiaries or a cabinet officer, that the appearance of the British withdrawing at this time would be extremely bad. He said he would try to see what he could do to persuade Milner or Bonar Law to stay here for this week.

I will report further after our conference this morning. Polk.

AMERICAN MISSION

*The Secretary of State to President Wilson*⁹⁵

[Extract]

WASHINGTON, September 16, 1919.

On May 17th Bullitt resigned by letter⁹⁶ giving his reasons, with which you are familiar. I replied by letter on the 18th⁹⁷ without any comment on his reasons. Bullitt on the 19th asked to see me to say good-bye and I saw him. He elaborated on the reasons for his resignation and said that he could not conscientiously give countenance to a treaty which was based on injustice. I told him that I

⁹⁵ Reprinted from Lansing, *The Peace Negotiations*, p. 270.

⁹⁶ *Ante*, p. 572.

⁹⁷ Not found in Department files.

would say nothing against his resigning since he put it on conscientious grounds, and that I recognized that certain features of the Treaty were bad, as I presumed most every one did, but that was probably unavoidable in view of conflicting claims and that nothing ought to be done to prevent the speedy restoration of peace by signing the Treaty. Bullitt then discussed the numerous European commissions provided for by the Treaty on which the United States was to be represented. I told him that I was disturbed by this fact because I was afraid the Senate and possibly the people, if they understood this, would refuse ratification, and that anything which was an obstacle to ratification was unfortunate because we ought to have peace as soon as possible.

Paris Peace Conf. 180.035/4b : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, September 17, 1919—7 p. m.

4244. Confidential. For the President and Secretary of State [from Polk]. As stated in my 4216, September 15, 3 p. m., Lloyd George told me at dinner Friday night that he thought the Conference should be dissolved. I pointed out to him then and also in our interview on Saturday that it is out of the question to dissolve until the Bulgarian and Hungarian treaties are disposed of. I also mentioned Galicia, the Adriatic, Greek and Roumanian minority treaties, eastern frontier of Poland, Dobruja, Silesia and the Roumanian question as matters that would have to receive attention before we could talk of adjourning. I pointed out that the dissolution of the Council would be thoroughly misunderstood by the smaller European powers and that just because he did not have a cabinet officer available there was no reason, in our minds, why the British Government should undertake, on such short notice, to announce the dissolution. I told him that I knew the official British press representatives had given out a report that Lloyd George was here to close up the Conference. This he denied.

At our meeting on Monday⁹⁸ all the other powers insisted that we should wind up pending matters before discussing dissolution and Lloyd George agreed to appoint Eyre Crowe Plenipotentiary to represent Great Britain. I told Lloyd George on Tuesday morning just before he left that we rather resented this attempt on his part to create the impression that the Council was all through, not only because it was not a fact, but also because it was discourteous to the United States representatives to have the matter handled the way it

⁹⁸ See HD-53, minutes 4 and 7, vol. VIII, pp. 203 and 209.

had been. He tried to assure me that we misunderstood his position, but again spoke of our dissolving in ten days after pending matters are cleared up. I told him it was absolutely out of the question to dissolve until the Bulgarian and Hungarian treaties had been concluded. British Press representatives tell me that Lloyd George gave this impression in order to protect himself from attack in the House of Commons as the expenses of the Peace Conference have been criticized. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119/6830 : Telegram

The Ambassador in France (Wallace) to the Secretary of State

PARIS, September 19, 1919—10 p. m.

[Received September 20—3:33 a. m.]

1410. Strictly confidential for the President from Colonel House. I have been going over the situation here with Polk and find that, aside from pending business with which I have not been in touch, there are five principal problems:

1st. Italy, which depends so entirely upon your decision that it needs virtually no negotiation at this end.

2d. Roumania, which is being handled by the Supreme Council in conjunction with the Allied mission at Budapest.

3rd. The Hungarian treaty and recognition of a Hungarian Government. The treaty is ready and the only question is therefore one of when a responsible government is formed to receive the document.

4th. The Russian situation, which, in the opinions of all of us, is a matter which should be handled through the Foreign Offices since no decision is possible here with the Heads of Governments no longer sitting.

5th. The Turkish treaty. I have talked with George, who feels that nothing can be done with this until it is known whether the United States will take mandates. The others are of the same opinion; even after that is determined, a different and more technical delegation will be required. In our opinion it will not be necessary to keep more than one commissioner here to carry on negotiations, particularly since you have certain definite policies which can be laid down and there are few difficult boundary questions.

With regard to mandates types B and C, our good offices for the French reservations concerning black armies in Togoland and the Cameroons are quite finished. The French, as you know, though never opposing the principle of mandates over ex-Turkish territorial waters [*territories?*], think it inexpedient to draft any general type A mandate at this time, believing that each mandate of the A class will be radically different from the others and must depend upon the size and character of the territories as they shall be arranged by the Supreme Council. There is a certain logic in this and at all events the French will not yield the point. Therefore Lord Milner believes that no further action should be taken on mandates until the time of the Turkish treaty, which may not be until the turn of the year.

The British have let their plenipotentiaries go and have only Eyre Crowe here with the rank of an ambassador. The Italians, now that Tittoni is away, have Scialoja, a man of no particular distinction. The Japanese are represented by their Ambassador, so that, under the circumstances, the presence of four American Commissioners seems not only unnecessary but may lead to criticism in the United States.

Polk will report to the Department in a few days certain plans he has in mind for winding up the work of the Commission as soon as the Hungarian and the Bulgarian treaties are completed. Inasmuch as I shall doubtless be called eventually to testify before the Senate committee it seems advisable that I should give my testimony when it will be helpful. I am sailing between the 1st and 10th of October.

I have shown this to Polk, who agrees. Edward House.

WALLACE

763.72119/6823 : Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, September 20, 1919—3 p. m.

3180. For Polk from Phillips. Your 4126, September 9, 7 p. m. and 4216, September 15, 3 p. m. were forwarded to the President and I have today received the following reply:

"Polk is taking exactly the right position with regard to the continuation of the Conference and I hope you will give him our strong support in the matter. It would be very nearly fatal to the whole state of mind of the world, if the British were to withdraw and break up the Conference."

I have not considered it necessary to forward your 4244, September 17, 7 p. m., as the matter seemed sufficiently clear without the information contained in that telegram.

PHILLIPS

Edward M. House Papers

Colonel E. M. House to the Secretary of State

PARIS, September 26, 1919.

DEAR MR. LANSING: I came over here about ten days ago hoping to be able to finish up Mandate A. Lord Milner also came for the same purpose. After consultation we found that it would be impossible to [do] anything further with the mandates until the Turkish Treaty is formulated. The French contend that there will necessarily be several forms of mandate A, depending largely upon the character of the territory involved.

I wanted to return home on the *Mauretania* with Lord Grey but the President was insistent that I remain for the present. It is perfectly useless my being in Paris at this time. It is practically deserted as far as the directing powers of the governments are concerned. It will be necessary for Frank Polk or someone to remain until the Bulgarian and Hungarian Treaties are ready, but in my opinion, the Hotel Crillon and the entire staff, excepting what Polk needs, should be discontinued. If this is not done, we will be under the charge, and justly so, of undue extravagance. They will also charge that I and the other Commissioners are being kept here until the Treaty is ratified.

I have written and cabled to the President about this and I hope he will be convinced that I have summed up the situation as it is.

I have never seen such glorious weather as we are having. It is a perfect joy to be back in Paris after two months in England.

Sincerely yours,

[File copy not signed]

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/356b : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, September 29, 1919—3 p. m.

4427. Confidential for Phillips from Polk. Please cable me to be deciphered by me exact situation in regard to President's health. Also, whether he is able to attend to business. Absolutely necessary to have the most accurate information possible for my guidance. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/357 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

[Paraphrase]

WASHINGTON, September 30, 1919—7 p. m.

3291. From Phillips for Polk. To be deciphered personally by Mr. Polk. Your number 4427 of September 29. Admiral Grayson tells me that the President is troubled by nervous exhaustion which has given rise to a number of complications, including completely upset digestion. He also is suffering from an attack of asthma and has a great deal of difficulty in sleeping. He will not be able to take up any work whatsoever this week. Grayson believes that by next week he will be able to do a little work. He is much better today than he has been and Grayson is encouraged.

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/359 : Telegram

The Chargé in Italy (Jay) to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

ROME, October 2, 1919—10 a. m.

[Received 11:20 p. m.]

509. Am sending following to Department. Can you in meantime give me any information or instructions.

"Personal for Secretary of State or Phillips. Please telegraph me for my personal information true condition of the President's health. I sincerely trust newspaper reports are exaggerated.

Also instruct me regarding above for official use with Italian Government stating specially whether President is unable personally to attend to current matters. I have been repeatedly explaining in view of President's recent personal instructions to me that further appeals to him about Fiume are useless and this should clinch matter."

JAY

Paris Peace Conf. 180.035/5 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, October 3, 1919—3 p. m.

[Received October 4—9 a. m.]

3328. Confidential for Polk from the Secretary. I am disposed to think that the time has almost come when the work of the Supreme Council should practically cease and permit the various negotiations growing out of the treaties to take their normal course through the respective Foreign Offices. Before reaching a conclusion I should be glad to have a report from you as to whether in your opinion the American representation could not now be withdrawn. In this event Ambassador Wallace could be authorized to sign on behalf of the United States. Please telegraph your views and at same time advise me of status of Hungarian Treaty.

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/360 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, October 3, 1919—5 p. m.

[Received October 4—9 a. m.]

3327. Very [confidential for?] Polk. The President is very seriously ill and unable to attend to any business. You should not therefore for the present forward to him personal communications since they cannot be answered.

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/359 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Chargé in Italy (Jay)

PARIS, October 4, 1919—11 p. m.

115. Your 509, October 2, 10 a. m. Following received by Commission on October 4th regarding President's condition and is repeated for your information. This, however, is a news summary and therefore is not official.

"All papers carry as leading features today the President's illness. A consultation of physicians including Doctor Grayson, Rear Admiral Stitt, head of the Naval Hospital, and Dr. Ruffin agreed the President is suffering from nervous exhaustion brought on by the strain of his work at the Peace Conference and his recent tour of this country. Doctor Grayson said 'The President is a very sick man'. The bulletin issued by Doctor Grayson is as follows 'At 12:15 p. m., the President's condition is unchanged'. Previous bulletins last night stated 'The President is a sick man. His condition is less favorable today and he has remained in bed throughout the day'."

Confidentially, the Commission's information is that the President is very ill. For instructions requested by you, Commission suggests that you await a reply from Washington. Fortunately, prior to the President's illness his emphatic decision conveyed to you regarding Fiume removes all doubt relative to this question.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119P43/715 : Telegram

Colonel E. M. House to the Secretary of State

PARIS, October 5, 1919—11 a. m.

[Received October 5—9:35 a. m.]

4532. For the President and Secretary of State. I am leaving Paris today for Brest and am sailing for home tomorrow morning on the *Northern Pacific*.

EDWARD HOUSE

Paris Peace Conf. 811.001/364 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

[Paraphrase]

WASHINGTON, October 7, 1919—4 p. m.

3366. From Phillips to be deciphered by Polk. Admiral Grayson told Assistant Secretary Long today that the President is in a state of highly nervous exhaustion and that it is necessary that he be kept from any contact with the outside world, even from newspapers. He is still very sick and the process of recovery will be long, with six weeks of complete rest as a minimum.

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 180.035/5 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, October 9, 1919—2 p. m.

4589. Strictly confidential for the Secretary of State from Polk. Your 3328.⁹⁹ I have for some time been trying to wind up the work of the Commission and turn over to the Embassy and Department as many questions as possible. As you know, we are most anxious to get home, but, in our opinion, the Roumanian situation must be straightened out by the delegates. It is a hard and sometimes a personal fight and we believe it would embarrass the Ambassador to have to carry on those negotiations. It would also be our view that the Italian question is one that could not be handled by the Ambassador for the same reason.

1. Please let us know what your views are as to the Dutch-Belgian discussions. In my opinion this should be handled directly by the Department.

2. Reparation questions pending ratification of the Treaty. Can these be turned over to Rathbone¹ as soon as he has a grasp of the situation and handled by him directly with the Department?

3. Who will handle the question of the modification of the Treaty, if any, when the Senate ratifies?

4. The Bulgarians will undoubtedly come back with a request for modifications. This will require a certain amount of technical knowledge and could not be handled by the Embassy. Would it not be well for the Commission to complete that?

5. The Hungarian treaty is dependent primarily on Roumania. Until we come to an understanding with them, terms cannot be agreed on. As I said above, negotiations on this question would seem to require presence of the Commission with experts. Have discussed plan with Doctor Scott and others of first coming to an agreement with the Roumanians. When that is done we could then sign a treaty or protocol with the various governments that take territory from Hungary, covering the cession and occupation of this territory, complete all details except the actual signing by the Hungarian Government and leave the treaty for execution by Ambassador when a Government is formed. Treaty is entirely ready. Sir Eyre Crowe, speaking for the British, thinks that my plan is feasible. It may be that when the Roumanians withdraw, as we hope they will do in the next ten days, a government with which we can treat will be created.

This telegram has been shown to my colleagues and they agree with all I have said. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

⁹⁹ Of October 3, 1919, p. 650.

¹ Albert Rathbone, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury and financial adviser of the Commission to Negotiate Peace.

Paris Peace Conf. 180.035/6 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, October 10, 1919—4 p. m.
[Received October 11—10:57 a. m.]

3396. Strictly confidential. For Polk from the Secretary. Your 4589, Oct. 9th, 2 p. m. I am inclined to agree with you, that the Roumanian situation and the Italian question are matters to be handled by the Commission rather than by the Ambassador.

1st: I agree with you that the Dutch-Belgian discussions should be handled by the Department.

2d: I agree that the reparations question should be handled by Rathbone directly with the Department.

3d: The question of any modification to the Treaty when the Senate ratifies it, should be handled by the Department.

4th: I feel that the Mission should handle any modifications requested by the Bulgarians with respect to the Bulgarian treaty, keeping in touch of course with the Department.

5th: I think the plan outlined in your paragraph "Five" relating to the signing of the Hungarian Treaty is workable. If the details of the Hungarian Treaty could be decided on I see no reason why the Ambassador could not be authorized to execute the Treaty when an effectively responsible Government is formed.

LANSING

763.72119/7278 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, October 16, 1919—7 p. m.
[Received 8:35 p. m.]

4692. [From Polk.] On July 28 the Council of Heads of Delegations approved the appointment of a committee to coordinate the interpretation and execution of the clauses of the treaty with Germany to be set up in Paris (see point 1, Mission's telegram 3412, July 21, 4 p. m.²). The Committee will start to function as soon as the treaty of peace goes into force. The nomination of members is on the agenda for the next meeting of the Council. Please let me know as soon as possible who is to be the American representative. Great Britain has designated its Ambassador, Lord Derby. I understand that France will name Monsieur Berthelot and Japan its Ambassador, Monsieur Matsui. Polk.

AMERICAN MISSION

² Not printed; for the discussion and text of the resolution as approved, see HD-17, minute 1 and appendix A, vol. VII, pp. 356 and 362. The text of the resolution also appears in telegram No. 5187 from the Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State, November 14, 1919, *post*, p. 662.

763.72119/7278 : Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, October 18, 1919—6 p. m.

3482. For Polk. Your 4692, October 16, 7 p. m. Dulles informs Department that understanding with regard to Committee to Coordinate the interpretation and execution of the clauses of the Treaty with Germany was that it should be composed of the diplomatic representatives in Paris and should have its headquarters there. Is this your understanding? If this was the agreement, of course we will act accordingly. What will be required in the way of assistants and clerical force?

PHILLIPS

763.72119/7435 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, October 25, 1919—11 p. m.

[Received October 26—6:05 a. m.]

4826. [From Polk.] Your confidential 3482, October 18, 6 p. m. Your understanding in regard to committee on coordination of interpretation and execution of the treaty clauses with Germany is entirely correct. The origin of [*original*] proposal of having the different Ambassadors as heads of the various delegations on this committee was made by the British [, undoubtedly] with the idea that the committee would merely serve as a clearing house between the commission[s] functioning in Germany and the Allied and Associated Governments. Lately it has been proposed with the support of the French and Italian delegates to extend the scope of the committee so as to constitute a consultative body to consider matters of importance arising out of the treaty. In the interim reparation committee, where the matter was discussed yesterday, the British delegate stated emphatically that he was against resurrecting the ghost of the Supreme Council after it had departed. The subject will undoubtedly shortly be further discussed in the Supreme Council.

France has named Monsieur Pichon with Monsieur Berthelot as alternate; and Great Britain, Japan and Italy their respective Ambassadors. Should the American Ambassador be designated as the American delegate on this committee it might be well to make the appointment run to him "[or his] representative".

AMERICAN MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 184.6/68e: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, October 25, 1919—11 p. m.

4823. [From Polk.] Commission has under consideration what disposition shall be made of its files when the Commission is finally dissolved and is inclined to believe that it would be very desirable to have all files transferred to the Embassy for at least a certain period of time before they are finally sent to Washington. The reasons for this are:

(1) Many matters will still be pending which will require reference to files;

(2) Pending matters cannot be separated from matters which have been concluded without disarranging whole filing system;

(3) Department already has great bulk of material on Commission's files, as this is included in telegrams and despatches to and from Department;

(4) Commission could send to Embassy someone who is familiar with filing system;

(5) It is believed that the Department has copies of all S. H. Bulletins, minutes and other mimeographed matter which are on Commission's files. Department also has all printed reports, et cetera;

(6) Work in Paris could be handled with more expedition if files were here. Necessity of cabling to Washington for information on many points would also be eliminated.

The above is of course based on the supposition that the Peace Commission as a separate unit will be dissolved before the work of the Conference is concluded and that the Embassy will handle questions left unsettled. Under these circumstances it is believed that the Department will appreciate the desirability of having these files remain until a date can be determined when their presence in Paris will not be so essential as to warrant retention. Your views are requested. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 184.6/69: Telegram

The Acting Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, November 1, 1919—5 p. m.

[Received November 2—8:59 a. m.]

3637. Your 4823, October 25th, 1 [11] p. m. Department approves arrangement therein set forth with the understanding that the records both past and future will be kept apart from the Embassy archives and forwarded to the Department as soon as possible. For use of the Department, please forward:

1. A complete catalogue of all SH bulletins and other documents or papers issued by American Mission.

2. Complete catalogue of the records of the Peace Conference including minutes of Supreme Council and all commissions and sub-commissions; include all minutes of Supreme Economic Council if possible.

In addition please forward at once complete set of documents referred to in both 1 and 2 above together with any indices of same which mission may have. The documents which have been sent to the Department are widely scattered and used in various offices of the Department and it is essential that Department should have a complete file set of the records above mentioned for reference as the Department cannot take consistent and considerate action without a complete and readily available set of the documents included in 1 and 2 above named.

PHILLIPS

Paris Peace Conf. 184/234a : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, November 3, 1919—10 p. m.

4958. Strictly confidential for Phillips from Polk. Your 3636, November 1, 4 p. m.³ Many thanks for your prompt response. Appreciate your thought and wish I could avail myself of opportunity, but assume Secretary wishes me to stay here to wind up Commission. Bulgarian treaty will be signed next week. British and ourselves are trying to force settlement of Hungarian question. Confidentially, do not think ratifications of German treaty will be deposited until about 25th. Assume these details in connection with ratification, even though we may have ratified, could be carried out by Ambassador. If Fiume is not settled, these negotiations can be carried on through State Department. Crowe and I announced this morning informally that we expected to leave without fail latter part of month. Of course all this is subject to Secretary's wishes. Please show him this telegram and cable me his impressions.

Attitude of French and Italians is so unsatisfactory in connection with Hungary that I stated this morning that it was my unofficial view that the United States should not take part in any further joint commission until this matter was straightened out.

Do you think it would be possible to persuade the proper authorities to send *George Washington* back for another trip to bring Peace Commission, assistants, and records home? Of course there would be Army people too. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

³Not printed; it referred to a suggestion from Mr. Phillips that Mr. Polk might wish to return on a sailing of the *George Washington* about November 10.

Paris Peace Conf. 184.6/69 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, November 5, 1919—11 a. m.

5006. [From Polk.] Your 3637, November 1, 5 p. m. Mission has in course of preparation much of the data requested and will forward same at the earliest possible moment.

It will be impossible to secure duplicate minutes of the Council of Four, of which Mission has had only three sets, one of which is on file here, one given to the President and one to Mr. Lansing.

With reference to the minutes of the Heads of Delegations, Mission has two sets of these which are constantly used here, but one of which could be forwarded the Department in case Department's file has been so scattered that it must be replaced by a new file. It is practically impossible to procure additional copies of the earlier numbers of H. D. Minutes, as they were furnished us by the British Delegation and only a very limited number was available. Please advise specifically whether Department desires Mission to forward one of its two sets of H. D. Minutes.

In other respects, Mission will endeavor to furnish Department with the fullest possible indexes and files and will cable later as to when these may be expected. Polk. AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119P43/773 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, November 5, 1919—3 p. m.

3675. Confidential for Polk from the Secretary. Phillips has shown me your 4958. I really think that it would be best for you to return on the *George Washington* if it is possible for you to do so. I appreciate that there are many important problems which you are handling in Paris but I think that many of these could now properly be transferred to the State Department. From here you will have even a stronger position in handling these problems. The *George Washington* is about to be transferred to the War Department which plans to keep her in the Trans-Atlantic service temporarily.

LANSING

763.72119P43/779 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, November 6, 1919—11 p. m.

[Received November 6—9:35 p. m.]

5040. Strictly confidential and urgent. For Secretary of State from Polk. Your 3675 November 5th, 3 p. m. Am most anxious to

get home for personal and business reasons, but after careful consideration and discussing matter with my colleagues, I feel it will be impossible for me to leave next Wednesday. They feel it would make an extremely bad impression to leave on such short notice when there are several matters that require a settlement. The Bulgarian treaty will be signed next week. That of course is merely formal. We are carrying on active negotiations in regard to Hungary and are not [*sic*] hopeful of getting a government with which we can treat. The Galician question is merely awaiting decision of Lloyd George before being disposed of. Tanker case still unsettled. The negotiations in connection with putting the treaty in effect could not be postponed and Harrison and others feel that our position would be jeopardized if I should leave.

In using two weeks more I can have the matters now pending, either settled or transferred to the Department. In other words, it is my idea that when we leave here the Department and Ambassador will already be handling the unfinished business. As it is now there are too many loose ends to leave without creating hopeless confusion.

Under the circumstances, unless there are other reasons which I do not appreciate, I feel I should stay on until the end of the month. General Bliss, Mr. White and myself are most anxious to leave here as near the 1st of December as possible. Could you let me know if the *George Washington* can come back at that time? We have some personnel and many records which should be kept together. The other transports would not be large enough to accommodate our party. If the *George Washington* cannot come back, I will arrange to sail about the 1st of December on some English ship but we would much prefer to leave on that boat. In view of the fact that this Commission does represent Government and in view of consideration other governments show their representatives, it would seem that War and Navy Departments would not hesitate to grant request of Department.

Please let me know immediately your views and wishes. Polk.

AMERICAN MISSION

763.72119P43/780 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

[Paraphrase]

PARIS, November 7, 1919—4 p. m.

[Received 7 : 56 p. m.]

5071. [From Polk.] Do you authorize me to give servants of Crillon Hotel 30 days' notice? Shall I proceed on the theory that on or about December 1 all of Mission and personnel will return home, thereby closing Crillon? I am planning to move the Reparation people to other quarters and also the members of the personnel which is to go

to Embassy out of hotel by November 20. Please give me your views regarding the return of Bliss and White. Polk.

AMERICAN MISSION

763.72119P43/779 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, November 8, 1919—11 a. m.

3704. Confidential and urgent for Polk from the Secretary. Your 5040, November 6, 11 p. m.

If the pending matters before the Peace Conference require your continued presence in Paris until on or about December 1, I am quite agreeable to that arrangement.

I have approached the War Department with reference to having the *George Washington* in Europe around the end of this month and will cable you further as soon as I have definite information.

LANSING

763.72119P43/780 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

[Paraphrase]

WASHINGTON, November 8, 1919—1 p. m.

3709. For Polk. Referring to your 5071 of November 7, 4 p. m. You are authorized to give Crillon servants 30 days' notice. You will proceed on theory that the whole Mission will return home on or about December 1, with the exception of those Embassy may need to carry on pending matters which remain. I see no reason why Bliss and White should not return with you.

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 184/236 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, November 6 [8], 1919—1 p. m.

[Received November 9—3:58 a. m.]

3706. For Polk. Your 4826 Oct. 25, 11 a. m. [*p. m.*] I feel that it is very important that the original idea of the functions of the committee on co-ordination be maintained. This government cannot agree to permitting the committee to become a continuation of the Supreme Council. Please make it clear to your associates that the committee can merely be used as a clearing house between commissions functioning in Germany and the Allied and Associated Governments.

Department intends to designate Ambassador Wallace as our delegate, but his official appointment cannot be made until we ratify the treaty, and until it becomes clear whether ratification of such appointments must be made by the Senate.

I agree with you as to the desirability of using Harrison as assistant to the Ambassador, in view of my 3613; ⁴ I see no difficulty in making this arrangement.

I do not feel that it is necessary or desirable that Doctor Scott remain in Paris for duties in connection with this committee. Department is not yet ready to make arrangements for the Turkish treaty. Therefore I prefer that Doctor Scott come home when the Peace Conference shall cease to need him.

Regarding clerical force please consult with Ambassador Wallace and Harrison. If the Embassy cannot supply sufficient force, can you furnish additional clerks from your personnel when the Peace Commission breaks up?

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 184.13/127a : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, November 11, 1919—9 p. m.

5123. [From Polk.] Planning to leave here about 1st of December. All agree impossible to leave before that.

If War Department is to take over *George Washington*, some time might be lost in securing new officers and crew. Would it not be possible to have Navy operate her for one more trip? Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119/7737 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

[Paraphrase]

PARIS, November 12, 1919—10 a. m.

[Received 12:36 p. m.]

5137. From Polk for the Secretary of State. I understand from telegrams that treaty may possibly be rejected. What position do you desire Peace Mission to take here in that event? If the treaty is defeated and the decision is final, it would seem possible for someone to raise a question in regard to our continuing to sit in the preparation of other treaties along the lines of the treaty with Germany. Should Commission withdraw or continue to participate in discussions of Bulgarian and other treaty questions? In the latter

⁴ Not printed.

case, the position of the Commission might seem to be inconsistent. I would appreciate receiving your views at the earliest moment possible. Polk.

AMERICAN MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 184.13/128 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, November 14, 1919—3 p. m.
[Received November 15—12:50 a. m.]

3762. For Polk. Your 5123, November 11, 9 p. m. It has been found impossible to have U. S. S. *George Washington* make another trip, but the U. S. S. *America* operated by the War Department will be at Brest on or about December 1st. Arrangements will be made with the War Department for shipping all Mission files, documents, etc., on the steamer *America* if you so desire.

LANSING

763.72119/7737 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, November 14, 1919—6 p. m.

3769. Confidential to Polk. Your 5137, November 12, 10 a. m. I have no opportunity to confer with President on this subject as he is still seriously ill and Grayson does not desire him to have questions submitted which require constructive thought. While your hypothesis is possible and a natural one judging by the votes taken as to the Lodge Reservations, the tactics adopted by Hitchcock contemplate the adoption of the reservations in Committee of the whole. He proposes then to defeat the ratification resolution with the reservations which will leave the way clear to taking up compromise reservations which he has already introduced. Of course he may be defeated in carrying through this plan and if so your inquiry becomes pertinent.

I cannot give you any idea as to the President's views but my own are that we would have to discontinue our connection with the work of drafting other treaties since the chief reason for our participation in them, particularly the Bulgarian and Turkish, is that under the Covenant we are bound to unite in the guaranty of their terms. With the Covenant rejected the reason for our being a party largely disappears. While the same state of affairs does not exist in regard to the Hungarian treaty, I think that it would probably be bad policy to attempt to negotiate a treaty embodying the Covenant or confiding any powers to the League of Nations.

Of course the President may hold another opinion.

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 185/8a : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, November 14, 1919—8 p. m.

5187. For the Secretary of State from Polk: Following is list of questions which, according to the Secretary-General of the Peace Conference, have not been disposed of. I will give them in the order presented with our comments after each subject:

1. Execution of treaty with Germany. Conditions governing the resumption of diplomatic relations.

A report will be made to the Conference. There is no real difference except that Italy is rather anxious to send an Ambassador.

2. Reorganization of the Superior War Council at Versailles to centralize the measures of execution concerning the military clauses of the Peace Treaty in Germany and in the different occupied territories.

I have your 3665, November 4, 3 p. m.⁵

3. Extradition and trial of the Kaiser.

No report has been made on that as yet. If this matter is not disposed of before Mission leaves, Ambassador could be charged with the duty of conveying the instructions of the Department.

4. Nomination of the members of the Commission entrusted with the comparison of the lists of culprits presented by the different Powers and to regulate a procedure for the mixed tribunals.

If this matter is not disposed of before December 1st the Ambassador could convey views of Department if we have any intention of mixing in this matter. Your views on this question and the question of the trial of the Kaiser would be appreciated.

5. Togo and Cameroun. Employment of native contingents for the defense of metropolitan and colonial territory.

This is a point that has to do with mandates and should go to the Council of the League of Nations, as mandates have not been completed and we believe it is not time to take any of these matters up now.

6. Signing of treaty with Austria by Serbs and Roumanians and signing of minority treaties by those powers.

We are reaching an agreement with the Serbs. The Roumanian question promises to remain open. This could be handled through the Ambassador, getting his instructions from the Department.

7. Execution of treaty with Bulgaria. Question of the attribution of Bulgarian Thrace.

This will probably be disposed of before we leave.

8. Treaty with Hungary. Question of total or partial payment of the Roumanian occupation expenses.

⁵ Not printed.

If not disposed of this should go to Reparation Committee.

(a) Furnishing of coal to Hungary by Poland and Czechs.

This should go to Reparation Committee.

(b) Exploitation of the Pecs Mines.

This is a question of getting the Serbs out of Hungarian territory.

If not disposed of by December 1st it can be left to the Ambassador.

It is a simple question.

9. Distribution of enemy ships.

(1) Battleships.

(a) German and Austro-Hungarian battleships.

(b) Reparations demanded by France and Italy for the interruption in their naval constructions during the war and for the employment of their shipyards and mills in the manufacture of war materials for themselves and the Allies.

If not disposed of before we leave, the Ambassador can convey the instructions of the Department.

(2) Commercial ships.

(a) General distribution of the merchant tonnage between those concerned.

Should be referred to Reparation Committee.

(b) German ships; question of tankers.

We hope this will be settled before we leave. If not, it could be handled by Rathbone on Reparation Committee.

(c) Austro-Hungarian ships. Distribution of the tonnage between Italy and the Serb State.

If not disposed of this should be referred to Reparation Committee.

10. Cost of upkeep of armies of occupation.

This should be referred to Reparation Committee in consultation with Ambassador.

11. Question of the Adriatic. Frontiers between Italy and Serbia. Fiume, Montenegro and Albania.

All these questions are considered by the Council as inter-dependent. If not disposed of by December 1st they should, in my opinion, be handled by the Department and either through the Ambassador here or the Ambassador in London.

12. Russian and Baltic questions. Recognition of Admiral Kolchak; Finland (Petchenga and Carelia); Åland Islands; Baltic States; Eastern frontiers of Poland; Ukrainia; Bessarabia; Caucasus State; Repatriation of the Allied contingents in Siberia; Repatriation of enemy prisoners in Russia.

All these questions, with the exception of those hereinafter noted, in my opinion, and I have always taken this position in the Council, should be handled through the various foreign offices as they are not questions for discussion in the Supreme Council. This view was approved November 11th with the exception of Bessarabia and the

repatriation of allied contingents and prisoners in Russia. As to Bessarabia the British and French showed a disposition to discuss matter and in some way to hand over this territory to Roumania. I made two objections to this plan, first, that I do not think now is the time to discuss the dismemberment of the Russian Empire and, second, that I think it would be a fatal mistake to consider giving Roumania any more territory in view of its defiant attitude. I think the European governments will agree with me on the first point, but if Roumania by any chance shows itself to be more reasonable, which I very much doubt, it may be that the question of their being given some sort of a mandate on Bessarabia will come up. I would be glad to get your views.

I would remind you that Roumania has refused to discuss the question of Dobrudja under any circumstances and the European Allies have taken the position that they cannot attempt to deprive a friendly power of territory.

13. Treaty with Turkey.

As to this there is no disposition to take up the question at this Conference on the part of the British or Italians.

14. Treaty with Belgium and the Netherlands for the revision of the Treaties of 1889 [1839].

This may be disposed of before we leave. If not it should go to the Department.

I have given you at length the subjects to be disposed of but have omitted topics which are actually in process of being settled such as the Bulgarian Treaty, Galicia, arrangements for the meeting of the League of Nations and other matters.

It is evident that the ratifications will not be delivered until after the 1st of December. It will, therefore, be necessary for the Ambassador, assuming the treaty has not actually been defeated, to be charged with the duty of attending to such details as have not been covered in connection with the ratification of the treaty and the first meeting of the League. It is true that we will not be represented, but it is necessary for us to see that nothing is done which would be prejudicial to our interests. There is no disposition, as far as I can see, on the part of any of the governments to proceed in the matter of the League without a full understanding with us.

In connection with your 3706, November 6 [8] in regard to the negotiations of the Coordinations Committee, I call your attention to the resolution creating the Committee adopted July 23rd [28th].⁶ The resolution reads as follows:

“The questions concerning the interpretation and execution of the treaty with Germany—with the exception of those confided either to

⁶ See HD-17, minute 1 and appendix A, vol. VII, pp. 356 and 362.

the Society of Nations, Reparation Commissions, Naval and Aerial and Military Control, the left Bank of the Rhine, or to other permanent organs of the same nature—should be studied and followed by a special committee whose seat will be in Paris but which can, should it be judged opportune by reason of the nature of certain questions, be transported to other capitals.”

According to this resolution you will notice that the Ambassadors' Committee or Committee on Coordination, has practically no powers as the important committees are clearly to be independent. There is no great objection to that in my mind except in the case of the Committees of Military, Naval and Air Control and those committees should be under the Ambassador. But quite apart from the duties contemplated in the resolution of July 23 [28], there will be certain questions, as you will observe from reading the list above, which will require our having some sort of representative in the proposed ambassadorial committee for the purpose at least of conveying the views of the Government to this Committee. As you can see, it would be difficult for us to leave here arbitrarily on or about the 1st of December unless it is the intention to charge someone with the duty of tying up the loose ends in a limited number of subjects. It would not be fair to our Allies or to the questions involved. The questions are simple and the understanding would be that the Ambassador would act only on instructions from his Government. Wallace would have the assistance of Grew and Harrison and I think such arrangement would be possible. Please consider this particular point and let me have your views.

As you will see, I am assuming that we will all leave here on or about December 1st. This I have told my colleagues and they are expecting us to leave at about that time, but, as I have already pointed out, we cannot leave the pending questions I have suggested entirely in the air.

As you will notice, Wallace would have two functions: (1) A member of the Coordinating Committee to carry out the terms of the treaty, this to depend upon our ratifying the treaty; (2) to sit in the Ambassadors' Committee for the purpose of completing such unfinished business as we are justified in leaving to them. If Wallace is not permitted to complete this work, we really should leave a Commissioner behind, but I think the best plan is to end the Peace Conference and have this Committee of Ambassadors clean up the more or less important unfinished business. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 184/239a : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, November 15, 1919—11 p. m.

5221. Most urgent for the Secretary of State from Polk. Disappointed about *George Washington*. Shall I arrange to close Mission and send Commissioners and all personnel of Commission home on *America* between 1st and 5th of December? As I understand *America* is not in very good condition I may return on regular liner via England, sailing some time in the first ten days of December. I would appreciate very much your instructions as to closing Mission, matter of communications service and work to be turned over to Ambassador. Please see my 5133, November 12, 3 p. m.,⁷ and 5187, November 14, 8 p. m. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119P43/804 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, November 18, 1919—11 a. m.

3801. [For Polk.] Your 5221, November 15, 11 p. m. Am informed by the War Department that the *America* is in good condition; that orders have been given to put the ship in especially good condition for the return of the American Peace Delegation. I am, of course, agreeable to any plans for your own return which you may care to make.

You are instructed to bring to a close the American Mission to the Conference to Negotiate Peace on or about December 1st, and to inform the Commissioners and all the personnel that they are expected to return home on the *America*, sailing between the 1st and the 5th of December.

The War Department has suggested that you get in direct communication with General Connor⁸ and make the necessary detailed arrangements with him in regard to space on the *America* for your personnel, files, documents and luggage.

Department has today cabled a reply to your 5133, November 12, 3 p. m.⁹ A reply to your 5187, November 14, 8 p. m. will be forwarded in the near future.

LANSING

⁷ Not printed.⁸ Brigadier General W. D. Connor, Commanding General, S. O. S., A. E. F.⁹ Neither printed.

763.72119/8167

*The Secretary General of the Commission to Negotiate Peace (Grew)
to the Secretary of State*

PARIS, November 18, 1919.

SIR: In response to the Department's telegram No. 3637 of November 1st, I have the honor to inform you that there are being forwarded today in care of the courier who bears this despatch, five boxes, labeled from 1 to 5 inclusive, containing the following documents:

No. 1: S-H Bulletins Nos. 1 to 680, inclusive, with the exception of Nos. 18, 21, 25, 28, 49, 60, 72, 83, 103, 109, 111, 180, and 578. These numbers are relatively unimportant and no copies are available.

No. 2: S-H Bulletins Nos. 681 to 1260 inclusive. A card index to S-H Bulletins. A chronological catalog of S-H Bulletins. Index to H-D Minutes Nos. 1 to 73, inclusive.

No. 3: Reports and Minutes of Commissions and Committees of the Conference as listed in Catalog A annexed hereto.¹⁰ Resolutions of the Supreme Council.

No. 4: Reports and Minutes of Commissions and Committees of the Conference as listed in Catalog B annexed hereto.¹⁰ B. C. Minutes Nos. A to 62 inclusive. F. M. Minutes Nos. 1 to 29 inclusive. Decisions of heads of Governments as listed in Catalog C annexed hereto.¹⁰

No. 5: Two sets of authenticated copies of Austrian Treaty and documents signed at St. Germain-en-Laye. Five sets of same especially edited for instrument of ratification.

In order to obviate confusion, the following information relative to the various minutes of the Conference may prove of value.

At the beginning of the Conference the minutes were designated as minutes of the "Council of Ten" or "Bureau Conference", more commonly referred to as B-C Minutes. These begin with B-C-a, January 12, 1919 and end at B-C 62, June 17, 1919.

On March 27 the Council of Foreign Ministers began to sit. The minutes of these meetings are commonly called "FM Minutes" and number from FM 1, March 27, 1919, to FM 27, June 25, 1919, inclusive. A complete file of these minutes is being forwarded in box number 4. The indexes of these two files are as yet incomplete but it is hoped that they will be completed at an early date when they will be immediately forwarded to the Department.

An element of confusion is encountered in this connection due to the fact that at the time the American Delegation was issuing the BC Minutes and the FM Minutes as described above, the same minutes were being issued by the British Delegation with different reference numbers. The British referred to them as minutes of the Interallied Conference and their reference numbers were preceded by the letters IC. Their series, corresponding to the American Delegation's BC and

¹⁰ Not printed.

FM Minutes, number from IC 103, January 12, 1919, to IC 199 [201A?], July 5, 1919. The minutes following the date July 5, 1919 constitute the beginning of the HD Minutes or minutes of the Heads of Delegations. Owing to the fact that the British Delegation furnished us with copies of many documents and that that delegation prepared parts of the index used by us, it is necessary to understand the British system of numbering as well as the American system.

On March 20 the Council of Heads of States, more commonly called the Council of Four, began to sit. These minutes were received from the British Delegation, and their numbers in this series have been used exclusively by the American Commission. From March 20 to May 7, they used an irregular system of numbering not understood by us, but which for purposes of convenience, has been used in our index references. Between these dates the following minutes were furnished us by the British Delegation and represent our complete file of minutes of the Council of Four during the period mentioned:

163-A	176-B	178-C
169-C	176-C	178-D
170-I	176-D	179-A
170-J	176-E	179-B
170-K	176-F	179-C
170-L	176-G	180-A
170-Q	176-H	180-B
171-D	176-I	180-C
174-A	176-J	180-D
175-A	177-A	181-A
175-B	177-B	181-B
175-C	177-D	181-C
175-D	177-E	181-D
175-E	177-F	181-E
175-F	178-A	181-F
176-A	178-B	181-G

With reference to these 48 meetings prior to May 8 the list given above represents all that were sent to us for this period by the British. It does not include any meetings at which no American was present or any meetings not attended by a Secretary.

From May 8 to June 28 inclusive, the minutes of the Council of Four are numbered consecutively from CF 1 to CF 99A.

As stated in our telegram Number 5006,¹² there have never at any time been more than three files of these minutes in the possession of the American Delegation; one is with the American Commission in Paris, one was given the President and one was given to Mr. Lansing.

Beginning with July 5, when the Heads of Delegations began to sit, the minutes are designated as HD Minutes. These begin with Number IC 201 [201A?] July 5. The next following is numbered

¹² Dated November 5, 11 a. m., p. 657.

HD 1, July 7, and they continue with the consecutive numbers to date. It will be difficult for the Mission to furnish a complete file of HD Minutes, and in the absence of specific instructions from the Department as requested in Mission's telegram Number 5006 these are not being forwarded, in the hope that the Department's file of HD Minutes is still intact.

An index of HD Minutes from number 1 to number 73 inclusive, is being forwarded. The index covering minutes from the beginning of the Conference until July 5 when the HD Minutes series was begun is in the course of preparation and will be furnished to the Department as soon as possible.

I have [etc.]

J. C. GREW

Paris Peace Conf. 184.13/130a : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, November 19, 1919—11 a. m.

5285. From Polk. Many thanks for your 3801. Notified French we were leaving Paris 4th or 5th of December. Will you be kind enough to arrange with War Department to have *America* sail December 6th? I will probably return on *America*. We are already in touch with General Connor arranging for shipping personnel and files. Am leaving for London tomorrow and will be back Tuesday. Looking forward to seeing you soon. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119/8126½a

The Secretary of State to the Secretary to the President (Tumulty)

WASHINGTON, November 21, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. TUMULTY: I am sending you a letter addressed to the President in an unsealed envelope.¹³ After reading, if you have no comment to make upon it, will you be good enough to seal it and deliver it?

Very cordially yours,

[File copy not signed]

763.72119/8126½a

The Secretary of State to President Wilson

WASHINGTON, November 21, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Mr. Tumulty, after seeing you yesterday, telephoned me that you opposed any statement being made at the present time in regard to the Senate's refusal to ratify the treaty

¹³ *Infra.*

but at the same time desired matters abroad to continue as they are, which I assume means that we should keep our unofficial representatives in Paris to act as advisers and observers in connection with the various commissions provided for in the treaty and also that our representative should sit on the Supreme Council and that our commissioners should sign the Bulgarian treaty.

As to the omission of any statement at this time I do not think there is any argument in favor of making one.

The continuance of our unofficial activities in Paris is more or less a question of expediency. The removal of our people would unquestionably affect adversely commercial and financial interests in this country. They would enter protests against this course and could be met by the justifiable statement that in view of the Senate's action we could not continue. The consequence would be, I believe, indignation toward the Senators and strong pressure upon them to reverse their action. Already I am beginning to receive evidences of the apprehension with which our business men and financiers view the situation in which the Senate has left American interests. It might be well to increase this resentment against the opponents of the treaty by not attempting to relieve the difficulties of commerce and trade by continuing to participate unofficially in the relations created by the provisions of the treaty. The blame is bound to fall, as it should, upon the Senate in insisting on nullifying reservations.

On the other hand, if we continue the activities in which we have been engaged, the Senate may raise some question as to the propriety of our doing so, and refuse to make the necessary appropriation to pay for the men employed. The Emergency Fund, already overtaxed by royal visits and the regular work of the Department, is quite inadequate to meet this expense, and its use for the proposed continuance is open to question. It will require an appropriation. I am doubtful if that can be obtained if the expenditures are predicated on a final ratification of the treaty. Before the action of the Senate on the treaty they could make no complaint, but now the conditions are different and they may and probably would refuse to reimburse the fund, which would seriously cripple the necessary work of the Department. Of course this does not apply to work under the terms of the armistice.

In view of this state of affairs I believe that careful consideration should be given as to whether it would not be politic to withdraw our men from Europe and let the people draw the conclusion, which would be the right one, that we had done so because of the Senate's action.

As to our representative on the Supreme Council I think that he should be continued—at least until ratifications are deposited by three

of the Principal Powers, when, naturally, the functions of the Supreme Council will be in large measure ended, although I anticipate that he will be less influential than he has been prior to the Senate's action, because foreign governments will undoubtedly assume that the American Government is divided as to questions of policy. Possibly this question of continuance requires no consideration as there is a general intention on the part of the Council to dissolve early in December, since the members feel, particularly the American and British, that their usefulness is at an end. They have made all their arrangements for departure and, as I felt that the work they are now doing, could be done as well, if not better, through regular diplomatic channels, I have not discouraged them.

In regard to the Bulgarian Treaty and our participation in it as a signatory there is a clear question of policy. We never were at war with Bulgaria and we never broke off diplomatic relations with her. We took part in the negotiations on the theory that under Article X we were bound to guarantee the settlements and therefore should have a voice in reaching them and should also be a party to the treaty. We did take part in the negotiations and were able, I believe, to obtain more just treatment for Bulgaria than she could have obtained if left to the rapacity and hatred of her neighbors. With the treaty ready for signature our chief service has been rendered. Ought we in view of the Senate's action to proceed further and sign the treaty? So far as the effect on Bulgaria is concerned I do not see that it makes the least difference whether we do or not, but it may have an effect on the situation here if we proceed on the assumption that the reason for continuing is as strong now as it was before the Senate refused to ratify the treaty with Article X in it. Personally I am uncertain which policy is the wiser and more expedient. There is of course no legal reason why we should not be a party to the treaty regardless of what has taken place, but it is for you to decide whether or not it is politic to do so in view of what has occurred.

I am sorry, Mr. President, to disturb you with so long a letter, but I feel that I should know your views in order that I may carry out your policy. I hope most sincerely that your recovery from now on will be speedy; and you may be sure that I will endeavor so far as I am able to avoid annoying you with the vexatious questions which seem to multiply rather than decrease because of the inexcusable delay in the ratification of the treaty⁸ and even more because of the disturbed political and economic state in so many countries.

Faithfully yours,

[File copy not signed]

763.72119/8127½

The Secretary to the President (Tumulty) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, 24 November, 1919.

DEAR MR. LANSING: Mrs. Wilson this morning sent me the following memorandum with regard to the matter contained in your letter of the 21st instant to the President:

"The President says he agrees with the Secretary as regards to withdrawing our representatives in Paris, and of retaining our member of the Supreme Council.

"About the signing of the Treaty with Bulgaria, he thinks if the American representatives are still in Paris, they could sign, but does not advise their remaining for that purpose."

Sincerely yours,

J. P. TUMULTY

763.72119/7808 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, November 27, 1919—2 p. m.

3906. In view of the failure of the Senate to ratify the Treaty the President feels that you should withdraw immediately the American representatives on all Commissions growing out of or dependent on either the Peace Conference or the Treaty except those dealing with Reparations Commission which are being further considered by the President. The Department feels that this Government has an interest apart from the Treaty in keeping in touch with economic and financial questions. Of course the foregoing does not apply to matters pertaining entirely to the armistice. After receiving the President's views a further telegram on this subject will be forwarded to you.

Pending your departure from Paris you should continue to represent the United States on the Supreme Council, with the understanding that any matters requiring a definite expression of opinion by this Government must be referred to the Department.

With reference to the withdrawal of American representatives on all Commissions the Department means

1. That an American representative should not be appointed to the Rhineland High Commission at the present time.
2. That no American arbitrator can be nominated to determine the disposition of river material on the Danube and other European rivers.
3. That no American should at the present time represent the United States on any of the various plebiscite or boundary commissions provided for by the Treaty.

4. That the United States should not at the present time be represented on any of the military commissions of control provided for by the Treaty.

5. That no American representative should participate in the Commission to hold a plebiscite in Teschen even though this Commission is not directly dependent upon provisions of the Treaty of Peace. A reconsideration of this decision might be possible should a request of the interested Powers (Czecho-Slovakia and Poland) be made to this Government in the premises.

Should the question arise as to the participation of this Government in the Commissions provided for by the Austrian, Hungarian or Bulgarian Treaties, you may inform your colleagues that the position of the United States with reference to these other treaties is the same as outlined above with reference to the German Treaty.

In view of this situation the Department would be glad if you could arrange to sail with personnel of the Commission at an earlier date than December 6th, provided that could be arranged by you with General Connor.

With reference to the questions outlined in your 5187, November 14, 8 p. m. I agree, that matters which have not been settled when the Supreme Council ceases to function, might possibly be referred to the Committee of Ambassadors or handled by the Reparations Committee or the Department respectively as you suggest. For the present, however, I feel that the United States should not be represented on the Committee of Ambassadors and I shall instruct Ambassador Wallace accordingly. After your departure from Paris matters which require the action of this Government should be presented to the Department through the usual diplomatic channels.

For your information and guidance I should add that until the Senate takes some action, the Department proposes to express no opinion concerning questions arising under the terms of the Treaty except those in which it may interest itself because of the necessity to protect American interests.

LANSING

763.72119/8216½

The French Ambassador (Jusserand) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, November 29, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: As agreed this morning, I am sending you herewith a brief summary of what I said, commending it to your most serious and friendly attention.

My Government who has every reason to count on American goodwill, considers that the departure at the present juncture of the American delegation in Paris would have a deplorable effect. The fact that

the treaty is held here in abeyance, its fate being doubtful, and no action having been taken with the French one, has awakened among the Germans the hope that our intimacy and therefore our force is on the wane. The ratifications which were to be exchanged by us with them on December first have been postponed by them and new and unexpected objections raised to our requests for a strict observance of the clauses of the armistice.

If now, when important questions remain to be solved, and will be in a short time, your delegates were to shake the dust of France off their feet the Germans would feel still more encouraged, and your allies the reverse.

There are more than one question the solving of which may be delayed and for which there would be no need for your delegates to stay: the Russian, the Turkish or even the Italo-Adriatic ones. But others, of the gravest import, will be settled in a few days, and no one would understand our being left before that moment. Of that number are, the exchange of ratifications with Germany which will mark the real beginning of the peace; the signing, which seems imminent, of the Austrian and Bulgarian treaties, by the Serbs and the Roumanians, the signing of the Hungarian treaty greatly desired by the American delegation: a new democratic Government has been established in Hungary; its delegates are soon expected in Paris and no difficulties are foreseen.

A brief delay would surely suffice for all this work, and the continued presence of your representatives would cause the enemy to understand that they vainly hoped that there was any friction between us and they could take advantage thereof. They would cease to refuse for instance, handing to us for judgment those men whose names we know, who captured some honorable French girls and sent them away to be used as white slaves. No worse crime can be imagined.

My Government cannot believe that, when you have done so much with such splendid effect, this little supplementary help will be denied us and it wants me to beseech you to grant it. "No one in France, my telegram reads, where the gratitude is profound towards the United States as well as the trust in them, would understand their failing at this juncture the cause which they have so nobly defended".

Hoping that you will see your way to grant us a favor which I solicit in the most earnest fashion, I beg you to believe me, my dear Mr. Secretary,

Most sincerely yours,

JUSSERAND

Paris Peace Conf. 861.00/1175a : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, November 29, 1919—3 a. m.

5468. For the Secretary of State from Polk. At Lloyd George's request, had a long and very interesting conversation with him on Monday.¹⁴ I repeated all of my conversation to Davis¹⁵ and will report here in general points touched on by the Prime Minister.

He first inquired anxiously about the President's health and expressed a keen interest in his recovery.

1. Russia. He said Great Britain would not give any more assistance to Denikin or Koltchak after the present supplies which had been set apart for them were exhausted. He seemed to think their situation was serious and did not see what more could be done to help them. In his opinion the time has come to see if it is not possible to come to an understanding with the Bolshevik Government. . . . He said that his information was that the Bolsheviks were gaining but were anxious to make peace and were willing to recognize their international obligations. He made no suggestion, however, for any Inter-Allied Conference but apparently it is on his mind that such a conference may be proposed.

2. Turkey. He and Curzon both told me that they are most anxious to have a settlement of the Turkish question at the earliest possible moment. They see a grave danger in letting the situation run any longer. He assumes that we will not take a mandate on any terms and expressed keen regret as he said that was the only real solution of the Turkish question. I rather gathered, although he would not admit it, that he is favorable to the Greeks staying in Smyrna and is apparently not unwilling that the Italians should have a sphere of influence in southern Anatolia, but as to this I am not certain. He realizes, as we here do, that the French are anxious to keep Constantinople and Asia Minor intact and rather hope for a mandate for themselves. He fears trouble between the French and the Arabs. It is apparent that the English have not made up their minds in regard to Mesopotamia. It is an expense to keep a large army there and they fear complications with the Kurds and ultimately with Russia. I think they would be willing, if there was any objection on the part of the other governments to their actually taking Mesopotamia, merely to take a mandate for that territory. They wish to hold the Turkish conference immediately, but, as you know, the French are apparently unwilling for some reason to proceed. It has been suggested that the French wished to wait until after the senatorial elections in January. He asked who would negotiate for us

¹⁴ Mr. Polk was in London on Monday, November 24.

¹⁵ John W. Davis, American Ambassador in Great Britain.

and I told him that of course it depended on the action of the Senate, but that I personally hoped we would have nothing to do with it. He said it would be a calamity if we did not participate. If we do take part and if meeting is held in London as they insist, George said Davis could represent us as he had great influence with the British. As to Armenia he does not see any necessity for a separate mandate.

3. Germany. He is afraid that by pin-pricks France will succeed in upsetting the present German Government. He feels that the German Government for France's own good should be protected as it is necessary to have Germany become a commercial power if she is to discharge her obligations. He spoke of the attitude of the military in the various occupied territories along the Rhine and feared the French would drive the Germans into doing something desperate. As for punishment of German officers he expressed great concern when I told him that I thought the French were going to demand something like six hundred officers. He spoke at length of the necessity for a good understanding between the United States and Great Britain as the peace of the world depended on our using our joint influence in Europe to restore order.

He mentioned the question of competitive and naval building and said it would be a tragedy if the United States and Great Britain should engage in any such competition. He expressed regret over the *Imperator* case¹⁶ and said he felt sure that if the President had been well it never would have happened. I told him that wherever oil was involved or the interest of the Dutch Shell or the Standard Oil Company there was always a suspicion of intrigue on both sides. I pointed out the fact that some of the activities of the French in the case of the tank ships had at least given rise to some suspicions as to the motives back of the allocation of those ships. I told him, however, I hoped to arrange a compromise.

4. Ireland. He said he hoped to be able to arrange some plan for Ireland as it was a source of irritation between the two countries; that a committee was then sitting and he hoped a plan would be ready shortly. He said that the Irish had been most disloyal as Admiral Sims could testify; but that he felt the good relations between the two countries required a compromise rather than harsh treatment.

He and all the other British officials I have seen were most gratified over the reception the Prince of Wales has received in the United States, as they feel it is an indication of the real feeling between the two countries.¹⁷

5. League of Nations. He expressed great regret at the action of the Senate. He did not intimate what would be done in case the United

¹⁶ See minutes of the Council of Heads of Delegations, November 17, 1919 (HD-94), vol. ix, pp. 187, 195.

¹⁷ See *Foreign Relations*, 1919, vol. ii, pp. 247 ff.

States did not ultimately ratify. Philip Kerr, his confidential secretary and adviser, told me that they did not see how they could accept any reservations and that the Foreign Office people had advised them that it could not be done. I do not think, however, this is final and think this was merely expressed to me for the purpose of getting my reaction. I told him I did not know what the situation was, but assuming mild reservations were inserted I did not see that it would hurt their interests in any way.

Had a long talk with Curzon on Saturday, Davis being present, but there was nothing said that was not included in my conversation with the Prime Minister. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 184/241d: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, November 30, 1919—2 a. m.

5491. For the Secretary of State from Polk. Have just seen copy of note signed by Mr. Clemenceau and sent through Jusserand to you urging that the Peace Mission be kept on after the 6th.¹⁸ Would suggest that the following answers might be made if you think well:

1. That the United States Government, not having ratified, has nothing to do with the signing of the protocol with Germany and that the Ambassador will be in a position to represent the United States Government at any conference that might be held where our views were needed. You might also state in strict confidence to Jusserand but for repetition to Clemenceau, that the United States Government feels that the reparations for Scapa Flow are an unnecessary hardship on the Germans and the United States regrets that the British and French insisted on making this decision at this time;

2. That the treaties with Austria and Bulgaria can be signed by the Roumanians and Serbs at any time and the presence of the Mission is not necessary in order to secure these signatures and that if a meeting of the Supreme Council is necessary the Ambassador could represent the Government.

3. Treaty with Hungary. That you are informed that the Treaty is all complete and all that is necessary is to secure the signature of Hungary; that the United States Government could be represented in signing by the Ambassador. You could also state with some emphasis that if the Supreme Council had only taken a firm stand with Roumania in August, as has been urged by the United States Government, the Hungarian and Roumanian questions would have been settled long ago; that the United States Government thoroughly approves the stand now taken by the Supreme Council, but that it is regretted that it was not taken sooner; that undoubtedly D'Annunzio had been encouraged to defy the Supreme Council on account of the consideration shown for the feelings of Roumania;

¹⁸ See note of November 29 from the French Ambassador, p. 673.

4. That the questions that remain are of not great importance and those unsettled at the time of our departure can be disposed of by the Council in conjunction with the Ambassador.

You might also point out that at the present moment Italy is represented on the Supreme Council by Martino, the future Ambassador to Berlin; that Great Britain is represented by Sir Eyre Crowe, permanent Under-Secretary of State; that Japan is represented by its Ambassador and that the United States has been the only country that has maintained a Commission in Paris.

I am convinced that if the publicity is properly handled here and in the United States there can be no misconception in the minds of the Germans. For that reason I think it is important that it should be stated that the Ambassador is empowered to handle the Roumanian and Hungarian questions and will whenever necessary consult with the Supreme Council with a view to coordinating our relations with Germany. It should be pointed out also that the French Government was told by me the 1st of November that we were going home the 1st of December. I have intimated to Clemenceau and other officials that it is a serious matter for the Commission to delay its departure owing to the fact that it is difficult to secure transportation for such a large party.

Please cable me immediately your views particularly as to Wallace taking over the little work indicated above. It is important both in order to have the work completed and for appearances. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119/8061 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, November 30, 1919—3 a. m.

[Received 10:20 a. m.]

5492. For Secretary of State from Polk: Your 3906 November 27th. Commission fears that it has failed to make clear position it has taken in the past in regard to the execution of the German treaty and which [*what?*] it has consistently stated to be its position in view of the treaty not being ratified. We have been most careful for over a month to impress upon the Supreme Council that we could take no part in any of the commissions created by the treaty and have so reported to the Department from time to time.

1. Department will probably recall that I have telegraphed many times on the subject of Rhineland Commission but it was never suggested that we should appoint a permanent representative until we had ratified the treaty. This Commission would call attention of the Department to the very unfortunate situation that would be created by the withdrawal of our temporary Commissioner, Mr. Noyes.

We have been charged with certain administrative functions in connection with the territory occupied by our troops and it would be impossible to withdraw now [*Noyes?*] unless we also withdraw our troops as it would not be proper to my mind to have French or British Commissioner functioning in the district with our military forces. I will assume therefore that it is not intended to withdraw Noyes.

2. I shall inform my colleagues of the decision that no American arbitrator can be nominated for the Danube or other European rivers by the United States. I assume there would be no objection to the Allies' appointing and paying an American for this [work?] if they so desired. I would call to your attention Department's 2962, August 27, 3 p. m.

3. As already indicated the Commission never assumed for one moment that the United States would be represented on any geographic or boundary commission and has so informed Council. The Department will probably recall that we pointed this out on several occasions.

4. The United States Government is not represented on any military or naval commission created by the treaty and the Department has apparently overlooked the fact that we have been holding officers in Paris for this duty pending the ratification of the treaty and have not let them go into Germany.

5. The Commission notes the Department's views in regard to a representative on the Teschen Commission and will communicate them to the Supreme Council and to the Czechs and Poles. The two latter powers undoubtedly will request the United States to act.

No question could possibly arise at this time in regard to our being represented on commissions provided for by the Austrian, Hungarian and Bulgarian treaty [*treaties*] in view of the position we have consistently taken in regard to the German treaty.

In regard to your recommendation that we should sail about December 6 we would respectfully call the Department's attention to the fact that we notified the Department over three weeks ago that we desired to sail the first week in December and many telegrams have been sent stating that we would sail on the 6th. All arrangements to that end have already been made.

When the Mission leaves there will be certain questions practically complete but needing some slight attention such as the final terms in the Hungarian treaty and our relations with Roumania. It would not be possible to my mind, particularly in connection with the Roumanian matter, for us to withdraw entirely. It will therefore be necessary for the Ambassador, in order to complete these matters, to sit in the Supreme Council for a short time. The matters are routine in character and have been practically settled but could not be handled by the Allies with Washington. This is particularly true in the case of Roumania; and, as we have been taking a firm and consistent stand from the first, our withdrawal would be a great embarrassment to the Allies, and would be great benefit [*sic*] to Roumania and would

hurt our prestige. In view of the fact that it has nothing whatever to do with the German treaty we most earnestly urge that the Ambassador be authorized to sit in the Council for the purpose of attending to these matters.

In this connection Clemenceau called my attention to the fact that the German Government is getting out of hand as they believe that we might make a separate peace. He has cabled Jusserand to represent to our Government [the necessity of the Mission's delaying its departure]. I have told him that for practical reasons it could not be done. It is therefore all the more necessary that Wallace should be empowered to sit in the Supreme Council until these pending matters are completed. Otherwise we will be seriously inconveniencing the Allies and will create a most unfavorable impression here as they will not see the logic of our withdrawing on the 6th rather than on the day the treaty was defeated. Wallace, of course, can take no part in questions of the carrying out of the German treaty and the French and British understand that thoroughly but [it is] only a question of appearance which is important for French and Germans. There are still two military missions in the field, namely General Bandholtz in Hungary and General Cheney in the Baltic states. As to General Bandholtz, I have proposed that the Supreme Council dissolve the Military Council in Budapest immediately, but I would suggest that Bandholtz be left there as our representative until Grant-Smith can arrive. As to Cheney, the work seems to be [complete] and he can probably be through in a week or ten days. It would create an extremely unfortunate impression to my mind to withdraw him just as his work is being brought to a successful conclusion. This work is connected with the Armistice and has no relation to the treaty.

As to direction that I continue to sit in the Council but refer all questions to the Department, of course the Department understands that it would probably be impossible to get answers to any questions I might now ask until after my departure. The Commission will receive [*carry out*] the wishes of the Department, but, at the same time, I am sure the Department would not object to the Commission completing such matters [not] relating to the execution of the German treaty as are still before us. Polk.

AMERICAN MISSION

763.72119/82164

The Secretary of State to President Wilson

WASHINGTON, December 1, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I feel it necessary to send you a note which I received Saturday evening¹⁹ from the French Ambassador

¹⁹ November 29.

and which contains an earnest appeal for the retention of our Commissioners in Paris and a continuance of the Supreme Council.

I have given the matter careful consideration and, while I appreciate the French desire to continue the Council and the validity from their standpoint of some of the arguments urged, I still think that our Commissioners should return as they have planned to do on December 6th.

It seems to me (and I have had the feeling for some time) that the Supreme Council has been growing less and less potent in directing affairs in Europe and the way its commands have recently been ignored by some of the smaller nations convinces me that its usefulness is nearing, if it has not reached, its end. I am sure that our Commissioners feel this, though they have not said so, because they are insistent that they can do no good by remaining longer.

Of course the French desire the Council to continue because, as it is now constituted, M. Clemenceau practically dominates it, and is using, as far as I can judge, such power as it still possesses to carry out French policies in Europe which, if pursued, will be likely to cause the overthrow of the present German Government, a fact which would be most unfortunate.

Everything of importance which may arise from now forward can be handled more efficiently through regular diplomatic channels. At least it seems to me that the close relation of the proceedings in the Senate to our activities in connection with such questions as have come before the Supreme Council require daily contact and knowledge of what is taking place here, and, therefore, can be better guided from Washington.

The British Government have made no appeal such as the French have made, and have not even intimated that they are anxious to continue the Council beyond the time planned for its dissolution. Of course they may do it yet, but I am sure that, if they do, it will be at the instigation of and out of consideration for the French. If those two Governments had been of the same mind in the matter they would certainly have addressed to us a joint appeal. My own impression is that the British feel very much as we do about the moribund character of the Council.

As to the effect here at home of continuing the Council I hardly need to speak. I am sure though that it would do no good and might do harm. To me the supreme aim is to secure a ratification of the Treaty. Anything which might even remotely divert a single vote from support of the Treaty ought to be avoided. Whether continuance of the Council would do that I am not sure, but the very fact that I am doubtful makes me feel that we ought not to take the chance of continuance, especially as there are what appear to me to be other strong reasons for not doing so.

It seems not improbable that Germany will delay signing the protocol until this country ratifies the Treaty. The thing to do, therefore, is to bend every energy to that end. When that is obtained the protocol will be signed and ratifications deposited, but I doubt very much if continuance of the Council would have the slightest effect on the Germans no matter how long it sat unless the United States ratifies.

From every American point of view I feel that it would be a serious mistake to keep our Commissioners longer in Paris. I hope that you will find that you can approve my views, so that I can answer the French Ambassador accordingly.

Faithfully yours,

ROBERT LANSING

763.72119/8217½

Mrs. Woodrow Wilson to the Secretary of State

[WASHINGTON, December 1, 1919.]

The President wishes me to say he adheres to his original decision in regard to the withdrawing of our American Commissioners.

E. B. W[ILSON]

763.72119/8217½

The Secretary of State to the French Ambassador (Jusserand)

WASHINGTON, December 1, 1919

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: I submitted to the President your personal note of November 29th, containing a statement of the earnest desire of your Government that our Commissioners should remain in Paris beyond December 6th; and I have just received a communication from him returning your letter and stating that he "adheres to his original decision in regard to the withdrawing of our American Commissioners."

I am telegraphing to Mr. Polk the President's decision and requesting him to advise M. Clemenceau of it.

As I told you on Saturday last, I realize the reasons for your Government's desire, and regret that other reasons, which are more imperative in my opinion, compel this Government to withdraw from Paris as originally planned. Anything which might affect the ratification of the Peace Treaty by the United States would be most unwise, and I am not alone in the belief that the continuance of our Commissioners at Paris after the Senate's action at its last session would injuriously affect the plan of campaign to secure ratification at an early date.

I am [etc.]

ROBERT LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 184/242 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, December 1, 1919—4 p. m.
[Received December 2—1:15 p. m.]

3934. For Polk from the Secretary of State. Your 5491 Nov. 30th 2 a. m.

Jusserand on the 29th submitted Clemenceau's request for the American Commissioners to remain in Paris after the 6th. Before your telegram arrived I sent the Ambassador's note to the President and he has just replied that he adheres to his original decision in regard to withdrawing of our Commissioners. I have advised Jusserand of this decision and you may inform Clemenceau of it. You will therefore follow out your original plan to leave on the 6th.

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 184/241e : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, December 1, 1919—10 p. m.

5517. Most urgent and confidential for the Secretary of State from Polk. In connection with the German refusal to deposit ratifications and sign protocol, Clemenceau made an earnest appeal to me today begging that we postpone our departure. He said not only would our departure encourage the Germans to stand out against the other powers, but it would be construed by the French as an abandonment of the French in their hour of need. He said that in his opinion it was one of the most serious crises that had confronted France and begged that we stay until Germany had deposited ratifications. I tried to reassure him and tried to point out that if the Ambassador were charged with the power he could act for the United States, but Clemenceau and the British both feel it would not be the same thing.

I have consulted my colleagues and we have come to the conclusion that there is a great deal of justice in the position the French have taken and that a delay of our departure of two or three days would impress the Germans with our intention to stand by our Allies and at the same time give us an opportunity for discussing and making up our minds what course should be pursued.

Clemenceau is most insistent that I should stay until ratifications deposited, but I believe that if General Bliss were charged with the duty of staying here until the Germans consented to sign the protocol the French people would be satisfied and the Germans would be impressed with our intention to support the Allies.

I can see that the Republicans might object to our remaining here to influence the Germans to accept a treaty which the Senate has refused

to ratify, but in my opinion it should be put on the ground that we should stand with our Allies in compelling the enemy to carry out the Armistice terms if they refuse to put treaty in effect.

In view of the situation we have agreed to delay our departure until the 9th unless you see serious objection. I beg, however, that in view of the strong feeling on the part of the French we be permitted to remain until the 9th and that you give careful consideration to the advisability of requesting General Bliss to remain to represent this Government. He would have a sufficient staff with the men assigned to the Embassy to do all that is necessary for him. I will report fully tomorrow after a further conversation with Clemenceau. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119/8074

The Secretary of State to President Wilson

WASHINGTON, December 2, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I feel that I must call your attention to this telegram from Mr. Polk which reached me late last night.²⁰

I do not think that it changes the matter in the least but in view of the last paragraph I feel a reply should be immediately sent to Mr. Polk saying that your decision of yesterday was final and that we expect the Commission to sail on the sixth as planned.

Will you please let me know at once if I am not correct in this so that I can telegraph Mr. Polk to that effect?

Faithfully yours,

ROBERT LANSING

763.72119/8218½

Mrs. Woodrow Wilson to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, December 2, 1919.

The President feels it will do no harm to delay the departure until the 9th but advises that all of the Commission leave at that date and that this be made final.

E B W[ILSON]

763.72119/8074: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, December 2, 1919—4 p. m.

3941. Confidential for Polk. Your 5517, December 1, 10 A. M. [P. M.]

²⁰ *Supra.*

The President sees no serious objection to delaying your departure until the 9th but desires that all the Commissioners leave Paris on that date without fail. I assume that Connor will be able to make all arrangements which may be necessary as a result of this slight alteration in schedule. This is final.

LANSING

763.72119P43/844 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, December 2, 1919—6 p. m.

[Received 7:09 p. m.]

5531. Most urgent for the Secretary of State from Polk. Your 3934, December 1, 4 p. m. The French felt so keenly the absolute importance of our not departing at this particular moment that we unanimously agreed, as I telegraphed you,²¹ that our departure should be delayed until the 9th so we could lay the case before you and the President and get your final instructions. A delay of three days will not be material as far as our movements are concerned but it seemed to be of vital importance to the French. Everyone here shared their opinion that our departure at this particular moment could not but have a most depressing effect on the French and also encourage the Germans to refuse to sign the protocol.

It was necessary to send personnel and files to the ship tonight if we were sailing Saturday and therefore as a decision had to be made we decided to take the responsibility of delaying our departure until Tuesday of next week. We regret sincerely that this is not in accord with the views of the President but as I have already told Clemenceau and the President that we would delay our departure until next week it will be impossible to return to our original sailing date. I would respectfully urge you again to give this matter your most careful attention as I am convinced that our departure, in the face of the earnest pleadings of the French, would have a most disastrous effect. It may be that they exaggerated the importance of our keeping a plenipotentiary here but their belief is sincere and if by chance the Germans should continue to refuse to sign, nothing we could do would convince the French people that they had not been abandoned in their hour of need.

Clemenceau time and time again urged me to delay our hour of departure and this morning when I told him that we would postpone our leaving until the 9th, and in the meantime take the matter up with the Department with a view to seeing what arrangements could be made, he was tremendously grateful.

²¹ No. 5517 of December 1, 10 p. m., p. 683.

The recommendation of the Commission is that we leave Paris on the 9th and that General Bliss be directed to remain here until the Germans sign the protocol. The French are most anxious that one of our Commissioners should be left here for the sake of appearances, and General Bliss, while not anxious to stay, feels that if the Department wishes it it is his duty to remain until the Germans reach a decision. The Crillon could be shut up and General and one or two officers could get quarters in some hotel and he would have the services of Grew, Harrison, and the staff we are leaving at the Embassy. It would be understood that he would have no duties other than to watch the German situation, complete the Hungarian treaty and communicate such instructions as the Department might desire to send.

I can understand there might be some embarrassment in view of the attitude of the Senate but we feel that the presence of a commissioner could be justified on the ground that if the Germans refuse to ratify the treaty the Armistice period still exists and we would then all be practically on the same footing, no treaty would exist.

I regret sincerely that we felt it necessary to delay our departure, but the situation was deemed critical by all those on the ground and we felt we were compelled to take that responsibility. Permit me again to urge that you look at this matter in view of the new circumstances that have developed and if possible arrange to have General Bliss remain unless the German attitude changes before day set for our sailing. Polk.

AMERICAN MISSION

763.72119P43/844 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

[Paraphrase]

WASHINGTON, December 3, 1919—2 p. m.

3948. Confidential for Polk. Your No. 5531 of December 2, 6 p. m. The President has stated that his decision which was communicated to you in my telegram No. 3941 of December 2, 4 p. m. was to be regarded as final.

LANSING

763.72119P43/847

The Secretary of State to the British Ambassador (Grey)

WASHINGTON, December 3, 1919.

EXCELLENCY: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication dated December 3rd,^{21a} in which you state that, accord-

^{21a} Not printed.

ing to a message which was received from your Government, it is felt that a good feeling might be created by postponing the departure from Paris of even a part of the American delegation and to inform you that the American delegation has been instructed to leave Paris on December 9th.

The proposal to postpone the departure of the American Commissioners has received the serious consideration of the President and, according to his final decision, they will all leave France on the above mentioned date.

Accept [etc.]

ROBERT LANSING

763.72119/8218½a

The Secretary of State to President Wilson

WASHINGTON, December 4, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: You may recall that in my letter to you dated December 1, regarding the withdrawal of the American Commissioners from Paris, I stated that up to the present time the British Government had not supported the urgent request of the French Government to postpone the departure of the Commissioners but that such support might be expected at any time. I now desire to inform you that a message from the British Ambassador has just been received urging that a part of the American delegation remain in Paris after December 6th, and I have replied to the British Ambassador stating that, according to your decision which is final, all the American Commissioners will leave for the United States on December 9th.

Faithfully yours,

ROBERT LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 184/243a : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, December 4, 1919—11 a. m.

5542. Personal and confidential for Phillips only from Polk. We have taken responsibility of postponing our departure for four days as the situation here is serious and the French are terribly upset at our leaving. You can have no idea what the situation is.

I wish I could understand the attitude of the Department. I have had telegrams but no explanations. It is difficult for me to discuss matters here intelligently. Any information you can give me will be most appreciated. I would also like to know what the situation is in regard to Mexico and any other political gossip. I realize you are frightfully busy and hate to bother you.

Hope it is understood that even if all the delegates go home there are some questions in connection with the Roumanian and Hungarian situation that require us to be represented.

We sail on the 10th on *America*, leaving Paris the 9th. Please ask my office to inform Polk and Potter families, also tell them I will stop at least one night in New York. Many thanks for your letter.²² Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 184/245a : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

[Paraphrase]

PARIS, December 4, 1919—midnight.

5554. Strictly confidential from Polk for the Secretary of State. Your telegram No. 3448 [3948] of December 3 has been received. I do not believe that one can realize how strongly people here feel about United States not leaving any representatives here at all after our departure. It would be appreciated very much if you could give me something to say to M. Clemenceau as an explanation of my taking all the Commissioners away with me, as he seems to feel that we are deserting him. There is a bare possibility that the Germans may be forced into line before Tuesday. However, if that is not done I am afraid that our prestige will suffer greatly.

No answer has been received to my telegram No. 5187 of November 14, 8 p. m. I would like to urge most earnestly that Ambassador Wallace be directed to represent the United States Government in Paris in the negotiations with Roumania and in connection with the Hungarian treaty. All along, as you know, we have taken the very strongest position regarding Roumania and the United States Government was responsible in the main for the minorities treaties. The principal objection on the part of the Roumanians to signing the Austrian treaty rises from a wish to avoid the minorities treaty. Under these circumstances I most earnestly beg that Ambassador Wallace be given the duty of carrying on this unfinished business on the Supreme Council. He could be limited absolutely to the work in hand and could be instructed not to take any action without explicit instructions from the Department, but we could say nothing which would justify our withdrawing from all of these negotiations at this time. In addition the Roumanians are already making use of the rumor of our withdrawal as an excuse for resisting the orders of the Supreme Council.

²² Not found in Department files.

I would also earnestly request that Wallace be permitted at least to sit in the Council in connection with the deposit of the ratifications of the treaty and the signing of the protocol by Germany. He could be instructed not to take any part in the proceedings and not to commit the Government, but his being there would have a strong moral effect both on the French people and on the Germans.

The papers have announced that I sent for Baron Lersner and gave him a strong talk on the necessity of his signing the treaty. Of course this is not true. Actually I sent Dresel to see him and to try to impress upon him the wisdom of Germany yielding to the inevitable and also to tell him that a German refusal to sign would injure them with the American people.

Marshal Foch appeared before the Supreme Council this morning to discuss the question of what should be done in a military way in the event of a German refusal to sign the protocol. I have the impression that economic pressure would be used rather than military. I believe also that the protocol can be modified slightly in a way which might meet the German objections, but it would have to be done, of course, in such a way as not to appear to be a concession to the Germans. I would appreciate deeply such information as possible regarding the procedure after our departure and I would like to have the information as soon as possible as our time is so short. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119P43/856 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

PARIS, December 5, 1919—noon.

[Received 6 p. m.]

5557. For the Secretary of State from Polk: Your 3942 [3941], December 2, 4 p. m. Arrangements have been made with General Connor for holding the *America*. Mission will leave Paris in accordance with your instructions on the evening of the 9th, and we hope to sail from Brest on the 10th. Polk.

AMERICAN MISSION

763.72119/8061 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

[Paraphrase]

WASHINGTON, December 5, 1919—1 p. m.

3975. For Polk. Your No. 5492 of November 30, 3 a. m. In my 3906 I did not mean to imply any doubt about your understanding of the Department's position and earlier instructions. It seemed im-

portant, however, in view of recent political events, that the entire matter be summed up in that message.

In regard to the Rhineland Commission, Noyes will continue to act on the Armistice Commission as long as it exists. A separate telegram will deal with the question of funds suggested in your 5534 of December 2, 9 p. m.²³ Please give me your opinion as to whether the Armistice Commission will cease, as far as the United States is concerned, at the time the treaty becomes effective or not until we ratify; also as to whether Noyes and his staff could be continued at Coblenz as a special commission from this Government in the occupied area, during the time between the coming into force of the treaty and our ratification. Pending further advice from me, please treat this latter suggestion as confidential.

See my 3929 of November 29, 6 p. m.,²³ in regard to the American member of the Rolling Stock Commission and arbitrators for the allocation of river material.

If Poland and Czecho-Slovakia ask us to suggest the name of an American citizen to act as chairman of the Teschen Plebiscite Commission, please give me your opinion as to the qualifications and availability of Arthur Wood Du Bois, who was associated with M. A. Coolidge on the Inter-Allied Teschen Commission and who is now in Vienna.

In regard to the work of the Supreme Council after your departure, as you already know, it does not seem advisable in the present circumstances for us to continue our official representation on that body.

In regard to matters which arise under the Armistice and are not connected with the carrying out of the terms of any of the treaties, our representatives may continue to take part in the work of whatever bodies are dealing with them. However, I suppose that in practically all instances such matters will cease to be an issue as soon as the treaty becomes effective.

I see no objection to carrying out your suggestion that General Bandholtz be left at Budapest as our representative until the arrival of Grant-Smith. What will this mean in the matter of expense and other arrangements?

I approve your suggestion that General Cheney continue to participate in the work of the Baltic Mission, in view of the short time required for it to finish, if his funds are sufficient.

It is not my intention to interfere with your discretion in regard to matters now before the Supreme Council. I appreciate fully the desirability of finishing as much of the pending business as is possible before you leave, feeling sure that you have in mind the change produced in the situation by the action of the Senate in regard to the treaty.

LANSING

²³ Not printed.

Paris Peace Conf. 184/245b : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

[Paraphrase]

PARIS, December 5, 1919—11 p. m.

5572. Personal and confidential from Polk to the Secretary of State only. I told M. Clemenceau that your decision was final and that we would all leave on Tuesday night. He was very anxious to learn what arrangements had been made to watch the situation in Germany and to continue unfinished business such as the Hungarian treaty and the question of minorities in Roumania.

He was greatly depressed when he found that I could give him no answer. He said that it appeared as if France were being abandoned.

It is now known generally that we are leaving on Tuesday and there is bitter criticism of the United States both here and in England. It is said that it is impossible to rely on the United States and some of our best friends here believe that even if the treaty is passed the withdrawal of the United States at this time will seriously affect our influence in the League of Nations. I still hope to hear that Ambassador Wallace can be given at least limited powers in connection with the unfinished work. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

Paris Peace Conf. 184/249 : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

[Paraphrase]

WASHINGTON, December 6, 1919—1 p. m.

3985. From the Secretary for Polk. Your telegram No. 5554 of December 4th, midnight.

(1) In case you consider it necessary that Clemenceau be given any explanation of the withdrawal of the American Peace Commissioners you might intimate discreetly that the political situation in the United States does not allow the continuation of what is looked upon as an unjustifiably prolonged dictatorship of European affairs by the Supreme Council, for whose activities the American representative thereon must assume a full share of responsibility. Public opinion in the United States at present is against further American participation in and responsibility for the settlement of political questions which are largely subjects of European concern. In addition the recent action of the Senate in regard to the treaty with Germany renders acts of the American representative on the Supreme Council open to repudiation at any time, and the Department does

not desire to have the American representative placed in such a position.

(2) Also see my telegram 3975 of December 5th, 1 p. m. Ambassador Wallace will be instructed by the Department to endeavor to keep in touch with the proceedings of coming meetings of the Supreme Council through his colleagues in an informal way in order that the Department may be kept informed of the nature of the questions being discussed. All political questions which would require an expression of opinion on the part of the United States Government, however, would have to be taken up through the ordinary diplomatic channels. Ambassador Wallace in case of absolute necessity could be designated as representative of the United States in the negotiation of treaties with Roumania and Hungary. Such a step should not, however, be construed as an admission by the United States that this Government continues to be represented on the Supreme Council.

(3) The United States Government cannot be a signatory to the protocol. Wallace, therefore, should not attend either the ratification of the treaty or the signing of the protocol.

[(4)] The following is for your confidential information. While I am entirely aware of the situation which is produced by the apparent unwillingness of the Germans to sign the protocol, I am confident that, if certain modifications could be made in some of the sections of the protocol, an agreement might be reached satisfactory to all concerned. As you were informed recently by the Department's telegram No. 3663 of November 4, 3 p. m., United States Government does not regard as good policy, in the circumstances, the demand for civilian material such as docks, cranes etc., as reparation for the destruction of enemy warships. Also the Department does not consider that sanctions as extensive as those provided for in the last paragraph of the protocol are essential since the sanctions already provided for in the treaty of Versailles (such as commissions of control, armies of occupation, etc.) are sufficient to cover all demands. This is only another of the numerous instances by which resentment has been aroused in Germany by the imposition of an unnecessary condition which through its general terms could be used as an excuse for any subsequent action against Germany.

(5) In case of further refusal on the part of Germany to sign the protocol you should not commit the United States Government to any coercive measures either of military or economic character. Refer all proposals to the Department.

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 184/246: Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

[Paraphrase]

PARIS, December 6, 1919—9 p. m.

5592. Strictly confidential and personal from Polk for the Secretary of State only. To be delivered to the Secretary's residence at once.

Your telegram No. 3975 of December 5. In a later telegram I will let you know about the Rhine Commission, the Teschen Committee, and the matter of funds for Bandholtz. I know how very busy you are and how many trying and irritating questions are now before you and I therefore hesitate to add another worry, but I hope at the same time that you will forgive me if I urge upon you again the necessity of having someone finish the work before the Supreme Council which will still be pending on the day of our departure. We will be in the position of carrying on our work up to an arbitrary day and then abruptly taking our departure, thus leaving the other four powers to continue with no representative of the United States on the work which we have been engaged in preparing.

You already have my views with regard to Germany and also in regard to the minorities treaty, the Austrian treaty, and the Hungarian treaty. But I must again ask you to consider the position we are placing ourselves in by not bringing to a conclusion our uncompleted task. Inasmuch as we have been largely instrumental in the framing of the Hungarian treaty and in making it possible for the Hungarians to form a Government, I am unable to see how the Senate or anyone could have an objection to our being present when the treaty is presented, provided the decision of the Senate is not to be considered as final. The same is true of the Roumanian minorities treaty. The powers have given Roumania an ultimatum and it appears to me that there could be no criticism of our standing by until the Roumanian minorities treaty is signed, particularly as minorities treaties were imposed on the Poles, Serbs, and Greeks. Neither the Roumanian treaty nor the Hungarian treaty would require Ambassador Wallace to exercise any discretion as all the details have been completed.

Regarding the German protocol, personally I think Germany will sign, but nothing can convince the French that we have not deserted them in an emergency if we leave while the negotiations are still going on. In this matter also it seems to me that the Senate could have no objection to our sitting in the conference, for, in the event that the Germans refuse to sign, it would be only fair that the other powers should know what position, if any, we intend to take under the terms of the Armistice. I believe it is thoroughly understood by the powers that it is only the Supreme Council as such that can function in con-

nection with these matters and that it would be quite easy to impress on them that the Ambassadors would have to refer to their governments for instructions.

We are leaving Tuesday evening at 8 o'clock and M. Clemenceau is still hoping that something can be done to avoid the appearance of our leaving arbitrarily. I believe that he is disturbed not only because of the possible effect of our departure on Germany, but he also sees that our withdrawal practically throws the European situation into the hands of Great Britain which would be the only power strong enough to assume leadership.

Permit me to apologize again for being so persistent, but from every side, from the French, British and Americans I get the impression that this is one of the critical moments in American diplomatic history and on your decision, to a great extent, rests the prestige of the United States. People like Grasty²⁴ are urging that I present this point of view to you for they cannot see what our position will be like on Wednesday when business will have to be done and no one will be here to represent us although we have been represented on the previous day. The question is why should we alter our position by leaving on Tuesday night, especially as the business we would have been discussing on Tuesday morning would still be unfinished.

I apologize again for bothering you, but we are in an embarrassing position. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119/82183b

The Secretary of State to President Wilson

WASHINGTON, December 7, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In view of the insistence of Mr. Polk in the enclosed message (No. 5592),²⁵ which was received in four sections, I feel that I should lay before you for immediate decision the question of dealing with the present critical situation in Paris as a result of the withdrawal of our Commissioners and the failure of the Germans to sign the protocol.

I have considered the subject with sympathetic appreciation of the French attitude toward our withdrawal and at the same time with a realization that to continue a representative on the Supreme Council in view of the Senate's action would be to relieve that body of a responsibility which they ought to bear and which will become all the more evident if we do not proceed as if they had not rejected ratification.

²⁴ C. H. Grasty, representative of the *New York Times*.

²⁵ *Supra*.

To me the latter course seems much the more important and the European press as well as the American press is beginning to blame the Senate, as it should do, for the present situation. To Mr. Polk, on the other hand, the importunity and arguments of the French seem of first importance, and he suggests a means of meeting their wishes. While we thus differ as to the essential factor in deciding the problem, I am in a measure willing, if it meets your views, to go part way in relieving French anxiety, provided it can be done without removing the blame which today rests upon the Republican Senators for the present situation.

I suggest two possible methods of handling the problem :

First: To direct Ambassador Wallace to sit in on the Supreme Council as an observer and not as a participant, and to instruct him to take no action and to express no opinion on any subject discussed; to report the proceedings to Washington and await instructions; and to issue to him full powers to sign the Hungarian and Roumanian (minority) treaties.

Second: For me to ask a hearing before the Foreign Relations Committee or interview with Senator Lodge, lay the whole situation before them, and say to them frankly that the Senate's action has placed us in this dilemma and that, therefore, they should decide whether or not we should continue to co-operate with the Allies in having even a silent representative on the Supreme Council.

Personally I do not favor either suggestion, but, if either is to be adopted, the first seems to be the better because I do not like the idea of even indirectly giving the impression that the Senate has the right to control in any way our foreign affairs except as to its constitutional power in relation to treaties. I think that the principle outweighs the expediency of forcing the Republican majority to express an opinion as to the wisdom of retaining an inactive member on the Supreme Council. It would of course seriously embarrass them; but, on the other hand, if they favor such representation, they would be relieved in part at least from the tide of public complaint and criticism which is constantly growing higher as the consequences of their failure to ratify the treaty become more apparent to everybody.

As our Commissioners leave Paris Tuesday night, I think this matter should be settled immediately; otherwise it will be too late to communicate with Mr. Polk before his departure, and he ought to be able, before leaving, to tell the French what we intend to do.

I would like also to have your decision as to whether our troops in the Rhineland should take part in the reported operations instituted by Foch to force Germany to sign the protocol. As the protocol has to do in fact with the deposit of ratifications, should we permit our men to participate in the present coercive measures? And yet, since it may be claimed that the sinking of the German ships at Scapa Flow was a violation of the armistice and the protocol was drawn

to recompense the Allies for the loss due to the violation, the failure to permit our troops to be used might be open to criticism. I never liked the terms of the protocol, but as it was agreed to by the Supreme Council I do not see how we can reopen the case on the merits. I confess that I do not blame the German Government for doing so. The only thing is how far ought we to go in allowing our armed forces to be used in compelling the Germans to submit.

Viewed strategically the longer the protocol remains unsigned by Germany so much the more blame will be put on the Senate and so much the more pressure will be put on that body to ratify the Treaty.

As the newspapers are announcing, on what authority or information I do not know, that our troops are participating in Foch's movement across the Rhine, I think that a decision in this matter ought to be reached without delay.

Faithfully yours,

ROBERT LANSING

763.72119/8219½

Mrs. Woodrow Wilson to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, Monday [December 8, 1919], 8:15 a. m.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Your note with enclosures I have just submitted to the President and he wishes me to say that he still agrees with you that the Mission should leave Paris as arranged but that the plan you suggest (no. one) of having Ambassador Wallace sit in etc. he is willing to adopt.

Then, in regard to the matter of our troops in the Rhineland, the President says he will leave that to Gen. Bliss—and make his judgment concerning it, his own.

I am returning your letter that you may have it for reference—also Mr. Polk's cable.

Thank you for your message to the President. He is gaining every day now. Please remember us both to Mrs. Lansing.

Faithfully,

EDITH BOLLING WILSON

763.72119/8219½

The Secretary of State to the French Ambassador (Jusserand)

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. AMBASSADOR: With reference to my note of December 2, 1919, and previous correspondence regarding the departure of the American Commissioners from Paris, I have the honor to inform you that, after the Commissioners leave for the United States on December 9th, the American Ambassador to France will be authorized on behalf of the Government of the United States to attend the

meetings of the Supreme Council as an observer but not as a participant in deliberations of the Council.

I am [etc.]

ROBERT LANSING

763.72119P43/847

The Secretary of State to the British Ambassador (Grey)

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1919.

EXCELLENCY: With reference to my communication of December 3, 1919, regarding the departure of the American Commissioners from Paris, I have the honor to inform you that, after the Commissioners leave for the United States on December 9th, the American Ambassador to France will be authorized on behalf of the Government of the United States to attend the meetings of the Supreme Council as an observer but not as a participant in deliberations of the Council.

Accept [etc.]

ROBERT LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 184/250: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

[Paraphrase]

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1919—noon.

[Received 10 p. m.]

3997. For Polk from the Secretary of State. Your telegram No. 5592 of December 6, 10 p. m. [9 p. m.]. The President has agreed that under the circumstances Ambassador Wallace may sit on the Supreme Council on behalf of the United States as an observer but not as a participant. The Ambassador is being instructed in this sense and he is also being instructed to take no action and to express no opinion on any subjects which may be discussed but to report the proceedings to Washington and to await instructions. The Department is likewise giving to Ambassador Wallace full powers to sign the Roumanian minorities treaty and the Hungarian treaty. Ambassadors Grey and Jusserand have been informed of the above.

LANSING

763.72119/8179a: Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Ambassador in France (Wallace)

[Paraphrase]

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1919—12 noon.

9279. Polk has been informed that the President agrees to your sitting on the Supreme Council on behalf of the United States as an

observer and not as a participant. I desire, in this connection, that you take no action and express no opinion on any subjects discussed by that body but that you report the proceedings to the Department and await instructions on any point on which an expression of the views of this Government is desired.

You are authorized to sign the Hungarian and the Roumanian minority treaties on behalf of United States. Plenipotentiary credentials will be immediately mailed to you.

LANSING

763.72119/8210c : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1919—4 p. m.

4002. For Polk. Before your departure will you present to Clemenceau the following message from me?

“My dear Mr. President: At the moment when after more than a year of continuous labor the American Mission to Negotiate Peace is taking its departure from Paris I desire to extend to you and through you to the people of France a personal message of thanks for the unfailing courtesy that has been shown the American representatives in your country. Throughout the many months of difficult and delicate negotiations in which our representatives participated your constant hospitality and generous spirit has been a source of profound gratification to me. It is my earnest hope that the peace for which we have worked together shall soon have been attained, and the world restored to the blessings of the normal state which it so sorely needs. Peace alone can mend the ravages of the past five years, and satisfy the yearnings of the men and women everywhere whose bodies and souls have been so heavily burdened. I am convinced that with the fruits of peace will come an even closer measure of cooperation between our peoples, and that our bond of friendship, sanctified by common sacrifice, will become still more closely united to meet the problems of the future. Faithfully yours, Robert Lansing.”

LANSING

763.72119/8209a : Telegram

The Secretary of State to the Commission to Negotiate Peace

WASHINGTON, December 8, 1919—4 p. m.

4003. From the Secretary. On the eve of your departure from Paris I desire to extend to you all an expression of my most sincere thanks for the excellent services that you have rendered in Paris as the representatives of your country. The manner in which you have conducted yourselves and the exceptional quality of your work has been the source of deepest gratification to me. Your unfailing tact,

loyalty and devotion in situations which have been both delicate and difficult have been exemplary and I desire to assure you that you may return to this country with the feeling that your task in Europe has been well done.

LANSING

Paris Peace Conf. 184/249 : Telegram

The Commission to Negotiate Peace to the Secretary of State

[Paraphrase]

PARIS, December 8, 1919—7 p. m.

5601. Strictly confidential from Polk for the Secretary of State only. Your telegram No. 3985 of December 6 has just been received. In order that I may make the situation entirely clear, I think I should let you know that I never had any idea that the Supreme Council should be continued for any other purposes than those which I indicated in my personal telegrams to you. All along I have been in favor of winding up the Supreme Council. It is my idea also that Ambassador Wallace should have no authority to act in any way except on direct instructions from the Department in each case and that all political questions of every nature should be taken up with the United States Government through the State Department. You agreed that in case of absolute necessity Ambassador Wallace might be designated to represent the United States in the negotiations of treaties with Roumania and Hungary. I thought it would be better if the powers could be given to understand before our departure that he was authorized to act for the United States. It was also entirely clear in my mind that his presence for this purpose should not be regarded as a continuation of American representation on the Supreme Council for any other purpose.

In regard to paragraph 3, I quite agree that the United States should not be signatory to the protocol although it would be within our right and it was never our intention that the United States delegation should be present at the signing of the protocol or at the first meeting of the League of Nations.

I think I have been successful in having the British modify the reparation clause on Scapa Flow by referring to the reparation committee for final decision the objection raised by Germany that the delivery of material would cripple it commercially. This ought to meet the German objections.

The last paragraph of the protocol has now been modified in such a way as to meet your views. The note in reply to the German note is also being further modified in a way of which I am sure you will approve.

In case the Germans refuse to sign the protocol it had already been understood that the United States could not be committed to any coercive measures of a military or economic character without specific orders from the President.

The point which I have been trying to make was that if Ambassador Wallace should receive some instructions before our departure, he would be in a position to represent the United States in connection with the Roumanian and Hungarian treaties without his having to wait in order to refer the matter to the Department which takes a long time. His power would amount to nothing, but the matter that has disturbed us is the question of appearances. Polk.

AM[ERICAN] MISSION

763.72119/8212: Telegram

The Ambassador in France (Wallace) to the Secretary of State

PARIS, December 9, 1919—12 p. m.

[Received December 10—2:47 p. m.]

1736. From Polk. Your 3997, December 8th. Most grateful for your decision. Wallace awaiting instructions. Clemenceau and French perfectly satisfied for the moment. Fortunately the Roumanians are signing the Austrian, Bulgarian and minorities treaties today. Hungarian treaty complete, German note presented and have reason to believe from what Lersner told Dresel today that they will sign. These extra four days have been of great value. Went over all subjects not disposed of and practically everything referred to State Department for decision. We leave Paris tonight. Looking forward to seeing you and apologizing for all the trouble I have given you the last three or four days.

Clemenceau going to London to discuss situation resulting from our failure to ratify and to arrange details in regard to ratification of treaties.

WALLACE

763.72119/8293

The French Ambassador (Jusserand) to the Secretary of State

WASHINGTON, December 12, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I beg to thank you most sincerely for the kindness you had of sending me the text of your message to Premier Clémenceau at the time when the Under Secretary at the Department of State was about to leave France.²⁶

²⁶ For this message, see telegram No. 4002, December 8, 1919, to the Commission to Negotiate Peace, p. 698.

I am sure that the expression of such friendly sentiments will have gone far to diminish the great regret caused by the departure of the American delegation from Paris. I am afraid it cannot have entirely suppressed it, so helpful was considered your official participation to the difficult task of building for so many countries a lasting peace.

Believe me [etc.]

JUSSERAND

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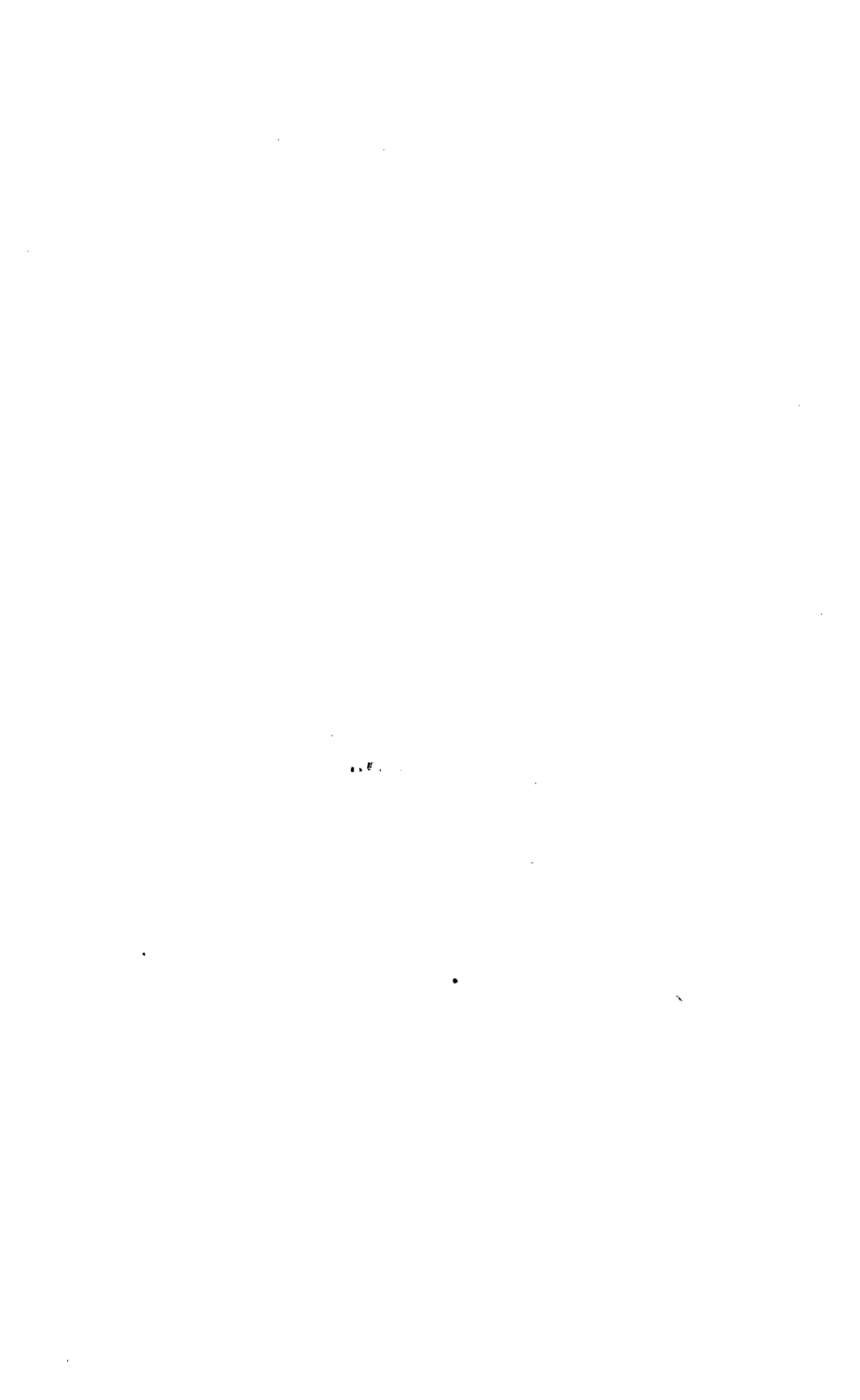
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