

UNITED STATES URGES SCRAPPING OF 66 BIG SHIPS BY 3 POWERS; TEN YEAR NAVAL HOLIDAY IS INCLUDED IN AMERICAN PROPOSALS; JAPANESE SEE BASIS TO WORK ON; BRITISH ARE IMPRESSED

NEW PLAN TO END WAR PROVES A BIG SURPRISE

Harding and Hughes Impressive in Setting Forth Objects as Ending Talk and Acting Soon in Reducing Size and Cost of World's Navies.

By LOUIS SEIBOLD.

With simplicity of method and honesty of purpose the United States Government to-day presented a plan for the limitation of armament that provoked as great a sensation among statesmen of the world as anything it ever has done.

Before the representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, China, the Netherlands and Portugal the President of the American Republic and his Foreign Secretary revealed the determination of the American people to demand decisive action to correct the hardships from which all peoples suffer due to unnecessary and expensive armaments.

The proposal briefly outlined by the President and supplemented with a clear cut, concrete and definite statement of principles for accomplishing the reforms startled the representatives of the foreign governments assembled with almost as much force as an unexpected declaration of war.

It is probable the representatives of the Powers who listened to the bold, business-like statement of Mr. Hughes in Memorial Continental Hall this morning were prepared for some new departure from prevailing forms of diplomacy, but their very faces, as they heard the words that fell from the lips of Mr. Hughes in bewildering rapidity, reflected the confusion of their minds and, in some instances, almost consternation, adept as most of them are in concealing their real emotional reactions.

Business Methods at Start. With no attempt at oratory, but with business-like directness, Mr. Hughes told the representatives of the foreign Governments, gathered around the international council table, what the United States expects to accomplish in the great enterprises initiated by it and clearly proposed the method by which he hoped to accomplish them.

Supported by a convincing array of facts and figures regarding the naval armaments of Great Britain, Japan and the United States, which he named specifically, Mr. Hughes notified the representatives of the nations participating in the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments and the discussion of Far East affairs, just what the United States will propose in order to relieve humanity from the staggering burdens and injustices that now fall upon its shoulders.

Setting aside for the moment consideration of problems relating to Asia and the Pacific Ocean, the American President and his Secretary of State centered their entire attention on the wells of excessive armament. The former politely informed the representatives of the foreign Governments that the United States would not resort to or contemplate intrigues in seeking solutions for the vast problems to which he had directed attention of the world.

Archaised Diplomacy Discarded. The Secretary of State went even further in discarding archaic and elusive processes of diplomacy by placing before the conference and the world as well every thought, ambition and proposal that the United States would urge to the sword of the power and justice.

In doing so he clearly revealed the purpose of the American Government to take counsel with the people of the United States regarding measures that will be made by its representatives in the international conference.

Statesmen and diplomats doily expressed in settled processes of diplomacy and national critics of the Administration as well, were startled therefore beyond expression by the cold, calm, common sense and direct appeal which the Secretary informed the conference that the United States will advocate the following reforms:

That all of the nations participating in the conference immediately abandon all naval programmes and take a naval holiday for a period of at least ten years.

That further reduction of expense for navies be made by the scrapping of the older ships in the navies of Great Britain, Japan and the United States.

That the United States abandon fifteen capital ships, which have already cost \$275,000,000; that Great Britain immediately stop construction on four new battleships and scrap her pre-dreadnought, second line battleships and first line battleships up to the King George V. class; that Japan abandon her programme of ships not yet laid down, scrap three capital ships, four pre-dreadnoughts and all pre-dreadnoughts of the second class.

The Secretary, with the unemotional logic of the great lawyer, and paying no heed to the sensation that his statements were creating, pointed out with mathematical exactness the method by which disarmament can actually be accomplished without jeopardizing the interests of any Government, but carrying great benefits to the people throughout the world.

The effect of the startling proposals made by him on behalf of the United States provoked a great deal of mental turmoil among the foreign delegates to the conference, from which they had not recovered to-night.

BRITISH DELEGATES GLAD HUGHES LAID U.S. CARDS ON TABLE

'Forceful, Statesmanlike,' They Say of Speech at Arms Conference.

UNEMPLOYMENT FEARED

Deep Cut in Armaments May Aggravate Present Problem. Is General View.

British Experts Favor Washington Proposals

LONDON, Nov. 13.—The Weekly Dispatch quotes four British experts as favoring the Washington proposals. They are Vice-Admiral Mark Kerr, retired; Viscount Sydenham, Commander Joseph Kenworthy, Independent Labor Member of Parliament for Hull, and John Robert Clynes, former Food Controller and Labor Member of Parliament.

Mr. Clynes is quoted as saying: "The proposals are good, but limitations upon such a basis would be purely arithmetical; they do not rise to the height of the spirit which should dominate the conference."

The French delegates, while approving of the principle of disarmament set forth by Mr. Hughes, appear to be influenced by a confusion of ideas as to the effect of the American formula on French naval requirements.

The representatives of China, Belgium, Holland and Portugal, which are not directly affected by the American plan for the limitation of naval armaments, expressed complete satisfaction with it.

So sudden, unexpected and drastic in scope was the plan frankly revealed by Mr. Hughes that definite reactions are difficult to determine. The delegates are now ever, analyzing and digesting the sensational speech made by the Secretary at the first meeting of the conference. They have turned over to their technical advisers a supplementary plan which accompanied the speech of Mr. Hughes.

On his opening address was made to the conference by the President and Secretary Hughes in their addresses at the initial session of the conference to-day. It is manifest to delegates and observers that the importance of the observations of the importance of the international undertaking is approached.

The preliminary consideration of Far Eastern affairs will be turned over to a committee for investigation and report before the final phase of the conference will be available as soon as the armament project has been debated and settled.

Plan Wins Great Applause

The plan proposed by Mr. Hughes in his speech to-day for the curbing of naval armaments was most carefully guarded. Only the President and the four American delegates—Secretary Hughes, Ethel Ross, Henry Cabot Lodge and Oswald W. Underwood—knew of it in advance. No advance copies of it were given out to any one and the delegates of foreign Governments who heard it first from the lips of Mr. Hughes were not more startled than the best informed men in the executive and legislative branches of the American Government.

Conclusive evidence that the American formula for limitation of armaments will make a stirring appeal to the people of the country, was provided by the dramatic incidents that characterized the statement of it by Mr. Hughes to the conference.

The Secretary was compelled to pause at times by the applause from the galleries of the conference hall, set aside for members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and from officials and representative citizens admitted to the session.

Some of the critics of the Administration who have been protesting in advance against "excesses and intrigues" were compelled to admit after the speech of Secretary Hughes that they had no ground for complaint.

Persons who heard the speech will remember it as a long time. Mr. Hughes was never so thoroughly master of himself. With polite manner, though grimed, he set aside soft words and stated his case in pretty much the same manner.

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White Sulphur Springs, The Greenbrier and other resorts in West Virginia are now open for the winter season.

Text of American Proposals

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12 (Associated Press).—Following is the full official text of the American proposals for limitation of world armaments as laid before the conference:

The proposal of the United States for a limitation of naval armaments.

The United States proposes the following plan for a limitation of the naval armaments of the conferring nations. The United States believes that this plan safely guards the interests of all concerned.

In working out this proposal the United States has been guided by four general principles:

- (a) The elimination of all capital ship building programmes, either actual or projected.
(b) Further reduction through the scrapping of certain of the older ships.
(c) That regard should be had to the existing naval strength of the conferring Powers.
(d) The use of capital ship tonnage as the measurement of strength for navies and a proportionate allowance of auxiliary combatant craft prescribed.

PROPOSAL.

"For a limitation of naval armament." Capital ships.

UNITED STATES.

1. The United States to scrap all new capital ships now under construction and on their way to completion. This includes six battle cruisers and seven battleships on the ways and building and two battleships launched.

Note—Paragraph one involves a reduction of fifteen new capital ships under construction, with a total tonnage when completed of 618,000 tons. Total amount of money already spent on fifteen capital ships \$332,000,000.

2. The United States to scrap all battleships up to, but not including, the Delaware and North Dakota.

Note—The number of old battleships scrapped under paragraph two is fifteen. Their total tonnage is 227,740 tons.

The grand total of capital ships to be scrapped is thirty, aggregating 845,740 tons.

GREAT BRITAIN.

3. Great Britain to stop further construction on the four new Hood's. Note—Paragraph three involves a reduction of four new capital ships not yet laid down, but upon which money has been spent, with a total tonnage when completed of 172,000 tons.

4. In addition to the four Hood's, Great Britain to scrap her pre-dreadnoughts, second line battleships and first line battleships up to, but not including, the King George V. class.

Note—Paragraph four involves the disposal of nineteen capital ships, certain of which have already been scrapped, with a tonnage reduction of 411,375 tons. The grand total tonnage of ships scrapped under this agreement will be 583,375 tons.

JAPAN.

5. Japan to abandon her programme of ships not yet laid down, viz: The Kii, Owar, No. 7, No. 8 battleships, and Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8 battle cruisers.

Note—Paragraph five does not involve the stopping of construction on any ship upon which construction was begun.

6. Japan to scrap three battleships—the Mutsu, launched; the Tosa and Kaga, building, and the Atago and Takao, not yet laid down but for which certain material has been assembled.

Note—Paragraph 6 involves a reduction of seven new capital ships under construction, with a total tonnage when completed of 288,160 tons.

7. Japan to scrap all pre-dreadnoughts and capital ships of the second line. This to include the scrapping of all ships up to but not including the Settsu.

Note—Paragraph 7 involves the scrapping of ten older ships, with a total tonnage of 159,228 tons.

The grand total reduction of tonnage on vessels existing, laid down or for which material has been assembled is 448,928 tons.

FRANCE AND ITALY.

8. In view of certain extraordinary conditions due to the world war affecting the existing strengths of the navies of France and Italy the United States does not consider necessary the discussion at this stage of the proceedings of the tonnage allowance of these nations, but proposes it be reserved for the later consideration of the conference.

OTHER NEW CONSTRUCTION.

9. No other new capital ships shall be constructed during the period of this agreement except replacement tonnage as provided hereinafter.

10. If the terms of this proposal are agreed to, then the United States, Great Britain and Japan agree that their navies, three months after the making of this agreement, shall consist of the following capital ships:

UNITED STATES.

Maryland, California, Tennessee, Idaho, Mississippi, New Mexico, Arizona, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, Nevada, Texas, New York, Arkansas, Wyoming, Utah, Florida, North Dakota and Delaware. Total, 18. Total tonnage, 500,000.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Royal Sovereign, Royal Oak, Resolution, Ramilies, Revenge, Queen Elizabeth, Warspite, Valiant, Barham, Malaya, Benbow, Emperor of India, Iron Duke, Marlborough, Erin, King George V., Centurion, Ajax, Hood, Renown, Repulse and Tiger. Total, 22. Total tonnage, 694,150.

JAPAN.

Nagato, Hanga, Ise, Yamashiro, Fu-so, Settsu, Kirishima, Haruna, Hiei and Kongou. Total, 10. Total tonnage, 299,700.

HUGHES PROPOSALS THE MOST LOGICAL, SAYS ADMIRAL KATO

Japanese Naval Minister Says Policy Will Not Be Announced Before Study.

DELEGATES SURPRISED

Had Not Expected So Concrete a Basis for Discussion to Be Offered.

Special Dispatch to THE NEW YORK HERALD.

New York Herald Bureau, Washington, D. C., Nov. 12.

The Japanese delegation was too much surprised by the sweeping American proposal for a reduction of naval armament to do more than say it was acceptable as a basis for discussion.

Admiral Baron Kato, the Japanese Naval Minister, acted as spokesman for the Japanese delegation in complimenting the proposal as the "most concrete" and "most logical" he had heard, but he was careful to explain that the statement was one of preliminary impression and was not to be accepted as indicating the Government policy.

The suggestions by Secretary Hughes, in detail, had not been anticipated by the Japanese. They had expected a proposal in generalities. It was for this reason that the delegation was unable, even in the late afternoon, to give more than perfunctory comment.

One Japanese Objection.

There was one note of discord, and one that brought forth attention to the division among the political parties in Japan. It was sounded by Kotaro Mochizuki, a member of the Japanese Diet, and one of the leaders of the Keiseikai or opposition party. He declared that Japan could not accept the proposal of Secretary Hughes unless it provided also for the abandonment of fortifications in the Pacific.

Mr. Mochizuki, of course, was in no sense presenting the views as those of the Japanese delegation to the conference. He is in Washington as an observer for his party, and he seized the opportunity to express to the newspaper the Japanese position. He pointed out to the Japanese headquarters to call attention to the Pacific fortifications. It has been the view of many American naval officers that for the United States to abandon the Pacific fortifications would mean eventually the loss of the Pacific possessions. Secretary Hughes did not make the subject one for discussion so far as the reduction of naval armaments is concerned.

Admiral Kato was questioned on the point of whether the Japanese would seek the raising of the Pacific fortifications in connection with the reduction of naval armament, but he did not answer directly, insisting that the Japanese position could not be established until the Hughes suggestions had been considered by the naval experts.

"All I can say is that there is a tremendous sentiment among the people of Japan for a reduction of armaments," Admiral Kato explained. "Upon that point there is little division of opinion and none between the parties."

Satisfied With Japan's Position.

"Mr. Hughes's proposals are the most concrete and the most logical that I have heard. We will, however, have to study them. They have been turned over to the naval staff for study. I do not know when they will complete the study of the proposals."

"You might understand that these impressions are my own and there cannot be any official statement until a study has been made of the suggestions. I am in favor of the general principles contained in the suggestions and am prepared to carry out the desire of the proposition."

In response to questions it was developed that Admiral Kato was satisfied with the relative ratio in the navies of the world as set out in the suggestion. This eventually would give Japan a navy three-fifths the size of the navies of the United States and of Great Britain. The proposal was referred to among the Japanese as the "five-five-three" plan, the phrase drawn from the replacement figures set down by Secretary Hughes on a basis of 500,000 tons for the United States, 500,000 tons for Great Britain and 300,000 tons for Japan.

It is a matter of fact, of course, that this position would be an advancement from that now held by the navies of the world. The Japanese have at the end of the time when the present naval building programmes are complete, in 1925, it has been figured that if navies building kept up at the present rate, with all the vessels now laid down completed and added, Great Britain would have 1,700,000 tons of "twenty year" ships, that is, warships built within the last twenty years; the United States would have 1,000,000 tons and Japan 500,000 tons. It would mean that Japan would have about half as many first class fighting ships as either the United States or Great Britain, or, using common factors, the ratio of 5 to 10, whereas the Hughes proposal puts Japan on a plane of 6 to 10.

There seemed to be a sentiment among the Japanese newspaper correspondents who are here with the Japanese mission, that the delegation might seize the opportunity of making acceptance of the Hughes proposals contingent upon an agreement by the United States to dismantle the Pacific fortifications. If this

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MORE WARS ARE SEEN UNLESS NATIONS ACT

Arms Parley Opens With Proposal to Cut First Line Navies to 22 Ships for Britain, 18 for United States and 10 for Japan.

WOULD HALT ALL CONSTRUCTION; LIMIT IS PUT ON REPLACEMENT

Interests of Smaller Countries Recognized in Effort to Reach a Worldwide Understanding on Far East Policies—Secretary Hughes's Appeal for Action Meets Approval.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12 (Associated Press).—The address of Secretary Hughes to the Conference on Limitation of Armament, in which he included a definite plan for a naval holiday, published in another despatch, was as follows:

It is with a deep sense of privilege and responsibility that I accept the honor you have conferred.

Permit me to express the most cordial appreciation of the assurances of friendly cooperation which have been generously expressed by the representatives of all the invited governments. The earnest desire and purpose manifested in every step in the approach to this meeting that we should meet the reasonable expectation of a watching world by effective action suited to the opportunity is the best augury for the success of the conference.

The President invited the Governments of the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan to participate in a conference on the subject of limitation of armament, in connection with which Pacific and Far Eastern questions also would be discussed. It would have been most agreeable to the President to have invited all the Powers to take part in this conference, but it was thought to be a time when other considerations should yield to the practical requirements of the existing exigency, and in this view the invitation was extended to the group known as the principal allied and associated Powers, which by reason of the conditions produced by the war control in the main the armament of the world. The opportunity to limit armament lies within their grasp.

It was recognized, however, that the interests of other Powers in the Far East made it appropriate that they should be invited to participate in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern problems, and with the approval of the five Powers an invitation to take part in the discussion of those questions has been extended to Belgium, China, the Netherlands and Portugal.

The inclusion of the proposal for the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions was not for the purpose of embarrassing or delaying an agreement for limitation of armament but rather to support that undertaking by availing ourselves of this meeting to endeavor to reach a common understanding as to the principles and policies to be followed in the Far East and thus greatly to diminish and, if possible, wholly to remove discernible sources of controversy. It is believed that by interchanges of views at this opportune time the Governments represented here may find a basis of accord and thus give expression to their desire to secure enduring friendship.

Two Competing Views Are Noted.

In the public discussions which have preceded the conference there have been apparently two competing views. One, that the consideration of armament should await the result of the discussion of Far Eastern questions, and another, that the latter discussion should be postponed until an agreement for limitation of armament had been reached. I am unable to find sufficient reason for adopting either of these extreme views. I think that it would be most unfortunate if we should disappoint the hopes which have attached to this meeting by a postponement of the consideration of the first subject.

The world looks to this conference to relieve humanity of the crushing burden created by competition in armament, and it is the view of the American Government that we should meet that expectation without any unnecessary delay. It is, therefore, proposed that the conference should proceed at once to consider the question of the limitation of armament.

This, however, does not mean that we must postpone the examination of the Far Eastern questions. These questions are of vast importance and press for solution. It is hoped that immediate provision may be made to deal with them adequately, and it is suggested that it may be found to be entirely practicable through the distribution of the work among designated committees to make progress to the ends sought to be achieved without either subject being treated as a hindrance to the proper consideration and disposition of the other.

The proposal to limit armament by agreement of the Powers is not a new one, and we are admonished by the futility of earlier effort. It may be well to recall the noble aspirations which were voiced twenty-three years ago in the Imperial rescript of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia. It was then pointed out with clarity and emphasis that the intellectual and physical strength of the nations, labor and capital, are for the major part diverted from their natural application and unproductively consumed.

Hundreds of millions are devoted to acquiring terrible engines of destruction, which, though to-day regarded as the last word of science, are destined to-morrow to lose all value in consequence of some fresh discovery in the same field. National culture, economic progress and the production of wealth are either paralyzed or checked in their development. Moreover, in proportion as the armaments of each Power increase so do they less and less fulfill the object which the Governments have set before themselves. The economic crises, due in great part to the system of armaments a "outrance and the continual danger which lies in this massing of war material, are transforming the armed peace of our days to a crushing burden, which the peoples have more and more difficulty in bearing.

Inaction Would Lead to Calamity.

It appears evident, then, that if this state of things were prolonged it would inevitably lead to the calamity which it is desired to avert, and the horrors of which make every thinking man shudder in advance to put an end to these incessant armaments and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which are threatening the whole world—such is the supreme duty which is to-day imposed on all States.

It was with this sense of obligation that his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, proposed the conference, which was "to occupy itself with this grave problem" and which met at The Hague in the year 1899. Important as were the deliberations and conclusions of that con-

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