

Bad Faith Cause of Ruhr Invasion, Sullivan Asserts

French Refusal to Accept 14 Points Fixed Penalty at Point Germany Could Not Pay.

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points) and the principles of settlement enunciated in the subsequent addresses" (including the address from which the limitation quoted above is taken).

This correspondence between Germany and Wilson had, as soon as both sides assented to it, clearly the nature of a contract. And in this contract the limitation on the amount of reparations quoted above was an integral and essential part.

Up to this point President Wilson had been acting for the United States only. He now turned the correspondence over to the allies and their military advisers. These made two, and only two, changes. One, which is not relevant here, was a reservation about the one of the 14 points which referred to freedom of the seas and the other which is merely relevant, but is the very heart of the whole question of reparations, read as follows:

"In the conditions of peace laid down in his address to congress on the 8th of January, 1918, the president declared that invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated and made free. The allied governments feel that no doubt ought to be allowed to exist as to what this provision implies. By it they understand that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the allies and to their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea and from the air."

Let me repeat again, and emphasize, these last 26 words, and emphasize, these last 26 words, from the formal statement made by the allies of what they would demand from Germany, which statement the Germans accepted and on the basis of which they laid down their arms. . . . all damage done to the civilian population of the allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land by sea and from the air."

These words are given the emphasis of repetition because, in the judgment of the writer, it is incontrovertible that these words constituted a contract of the most sacred kind between the allies and Germany, and that once Germany had accepted this condition and in reliance upon it had laid down her arms the allies could not thereafter change the condition without clear violation of their honor.

Lloyd George immediately after the armistice called an election in Great Britain and, being elected, set out to win it for himself. While the campaign was on there arose throughout Great Britain two demands on the part of the people, then exulting in their recent victory. One was that the kaiser should be hung. (This was the popular way of expressing it. Sometimes it was put in the words, "shall he be put on trial for his life before an impartial court?") The other demand was that Germany should be required to "pay the entire cost of the war, including the pensions for British soldiers."

Now, as to both of these demands, Lloyd George well knew they were impossible. He knew that the kaiser could not be hung, nor put on trial for his life, for the sufficient reason that the kaiser, as it was stated facetiously by one English writer, "was in the position of the justly celebrated hare." The kaiser had first to be caught. The kaiser had taken sanctuary. Holland and Lloyd George knew, as well as every other person with knowledge of international law and of all the circumstances knew, that Holland could not surrender him to the allies and could not be made to surrender him, except by military force involving a violation of international law such as the allies would not commit.

Demand Would Exhaust Wealth of Germany

As to the second of these demands requiring Germany to pay the whole cost of the war, including pensions for soldiers, Lloyd George knew that this also was impossible. He knew it was impossible because the aggregate would be very much more than all the wealth of Germany. He knew it to be impossible—or certainly he ought to have known it to be impossible—for another reason. He knew that this demand could not be made on Germany with honor on the part of the allies. He knew the terms of the armistice, and knew that those terms, as already quoted here, defined what Germany was to pay, and that this definition excluded anything like pensions for British soldiers.

Lloyd George was conscious of all this and was uneasy about it. Knowing this, he held off from assenting to these demands on the part of the British public until two weeks before the election was held. But the two demands, put into the form of popular slogans, kept resounding all through England. The exploiting of them was augmented by the newspapers belonging to Lord Northcliffe, because Lord Northcliffe was at that time a political enemy of Lloyd George and was not unwilling to embarrass him. While Lloyd George personally was hedging and avoiding yielding to these demands, the less important members of his party, who were candidates for the house of commons, did not have his restraint. They made freely the promises which the British public demanded.

Finally, just two weeks before the election took place, Lloyd George himself yielded to the pressure and made the promises on his own behalf.

Here, then, was the first step in all that tangle of bad faith and equivocation which has bedeviled the world for the past four years. The root of

Santrey Band to Play at Benefit Dance



Henry Santrey and his symphonic orchestra, headliners at the Orpheum theater this week, who will play for the benefit dance and entertainment for the National Vaudeville Artists' sick and health fund, in the gold room at Hotel Fontenelle, Thursday night from 10 to 2. Other performers who are appearing at various playhouses in Omaha will assist at this entertainment.

it all lies in the fact that Lloyd George came to the peace conference committed to two inconsistent promises. On the one hand he was committed by formal promise to the support of Wilson's 14 points and to the statement embodied in the armistice that the measure of what Germany should pay would be merely actual "damage done to the civilian population of the allies and their property."

On the other hand, he was bound by a subsequent promise to the British people to make Germany pay the entire cost of the war, including the pensions for soldiers, and including particularly the pensions to be paid to soldiers.

Lloyd George Brings Up Reparations

When finally the peace conference got under way this subject of reparations came up. (It happens, by a somber coincidence, that it is exactly four years ago on Monday, January 22, that the subject of reparations was first brought up in the peace conference.) It was Lloyd George—made uneasy either by his conscience or by his sense of impending embarrassment to himself—who brought it up. He said it was time to speak of "reparations and indemnity."

At this instant President Wilson replied, according to the notes, in a way which shows that he understood Mr. Lloyd George's embarrassment. The notes at this point read: "President Wilson suggested it might be well to omit the word 'indemnity.'"

There, at that minute, was the birth of the word "reparations," as the term describing the amount Germany should be required to pay. They avoided the word "indemnity" because that word implies punitive damages and they knew that Germany had been promised by the allies that there should be "no punitive damages." And the truth was that Lloyd George, if he were going to live up to the second of his promises by breaking the first, was going to make Germany pay more than "reparations." Wilson understood the distinction and limited the phrase "reparations," which describes merely the repair of actual damage done. However, while the others assented to the word, they did not give up the substance.

One is reminded of a phrase from Tallyrand: "The chief business of statesmen is to invent new terms for institutions which under the old names have become odious to the public."

Wilson Holds Out for Reparations Only

The subsequent debate within the peace conference is too long to repeat here in any detail. It is sufficient to say that Wilson, as well as all his American advisers, including Norman Davis, Bernard M. Baruch and Vance McCormick, took the ground that the phrase in the armistice contract, "all damage done to the civilian population of the allies and their property," could not be interpreted to include a demand on the Germans to pay the whole cost of the war, nor the soldiers' pensions.

Lloyd George, with one watchful eye shifted toward the English people, insisted that pensions should be included. The controversy came to a head at a moment when Wilson personally was on the ocean and the Americans sent him by wireless a long message setting forth the entire situation. Wilson responded immediately, directing the American delegation to stand its ground and, if necessary, to dissent publicly from a course which was, as Wilson said, "clearly inconsistent with what we deliberately led the enemy to expect and cannot now honorably alter simply because we have the power."

At this point some portion of the blame—a very minor portion and a wholly different kind of blame, and yet something within the field of responsibility—shifts to the shoulders of President Wilson. If Mr. Wilson had stood firmly on the position taken by him in the words quoted just above all the subsequent trouble might have been avoided. In saying this it should be made clear that Wilson's responsibility is limited wholly to his failure to stand firm. The real responsibility lies on the shoulders of Lloyd George and, as will be explained in a moment, on the shoulders of the French.

President Wilson Yields to Pressure

Lloyd George and the others kept up the fight. In the end President Wilson yielded. The reason for his yielding lay in what was, in the judgment of the writer, one of the most disquieting incidents of the peace conference.

It hung around an action taken by one of the British delegates, Gen. Smuts of South Africa. Gen. Smuts was commonly held to be one of the most high-minded, as well as one of the most able, men at Paris. He was believed to share a good deal of the idealism of President Wilson—certainly to share it to a greater degree than any of the other European delegates. President Wilson personally had this view of Smuts and trusted him.

Maybe it was because it was known that Wilson trusted Smuts. Whatever the motive or the reason, the fact is that Smuts was asked to write a brief on the question whether, under the phrase "all damage done to the civilian population of the allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea and from the air," Germany could honorably be required to pay the pensions of soldiers. Smuts wrote the brief, and

wrote it to the effect that pensions should be included. On this basis of this brief of Smuts' Wilson yielded the point—yielded it over the energetic protests of the other Americans and of the international lawyers, headed by one of the Americans, John Foster Dulles, who objected strenuously that Smuts' logic was false and that the demand was unjustifiable under the terms of the armistice contract.

French Delegates Had Similar Motive

Throughout all this the French stood with Lloyd George and shared equally with him the responsibility for the subsequent chaos. The French delegates to the peace conference took their stand partly from a motive

similar to Lloyd George's. They also had led the French people to expect that Germany could pay and would be made to pay the entire cost of the war. In addition to this, the French had a second motive. They wanted to make the sum assessed against Germany as large as possible. It did not matter to them that the sum was very much greater than Germany could possibly pay. From their point of view the larger the sum charged against Germany, regardless of whether Germany could pay it, the better would France be served. For the French wanted to put Germany in a position which would be a kind of bondage to the French. They wanted the reparations to be fixed at so large a sum that Germany would be

unable to pay for many decades. The French hope was that during all these decades they could, by means of this claim against Germany, keep her politically and economically impotent. This wish weighed greater with the French than the wish for actual cash.

American Plan Better for France

On the attitude of the French it is a convincing and striking fact that France would have been better off, financially and economically, to stand with the Americans on the letter of the armistice contract and keep the reparations down to "actual damage." For the most of the actual damage was on French and Belgian soil, and on this basis the great bulk of the reparations would have gone to France and Belgium. The inclusion of pensions, on the other hand, would permit Great Britain to come in for a considerable share of the reparations and would to that extent lower the sum that France would get. But the thing that France wanted more than she wanted reparations was the opportunity to keep Germany down for many years to come.

President Wilson and his advisers passed days and weeks vainly endeavoring to convince the British and French that it was to the interest of the allies—even from the business point of view, to say nothing of the point of honor raised by Wilson—to fix a reasonable, definite amount that Germany could pay and that they could afford to have her pay—some such sum as \$10,000,000,000 to \$20,000,000,000. In this they were unsuccessful, and in the end the reparations were left in the shape which has caused all the trouble.

A skin suture that leaves no unsightly scars in surgical operations has been invented. The new suture is called "equistene" and is made by treating silk with chemicals so that the tissue cells cannot penetrate the meshes of the silk.

C. J. Dolan Joins Union Outfitting Co.

C. J. Dolan, formerly connected with the Dolan and Shields Furniture company and a recognized authority on furniture, has joined the staff of the Union Outfitting company of Omaha. It was announced yesterday by officials of the company.

Mr. Dolan has had a wide experience in the furniture game, and is familiar not only with problems of merchandising, but also of manufacture. He has made a special study of furniture designs, representative of all the major periods, and is considered a competent authority in this branch of the trade. He will begin his new duties immediately.

Railroad Brotherhood Officer Finds Work Plentiful

Frederick, Neb., Jan. 20.—(Special)—A. E. Whitney, vice president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen of America, declared today that conditions in railroad employment are far better this year than they were last. "For the past year we have had thousands of men out of employment," said Mr. Whitney, "but a big increase in business has made work for all of them at the present time."

Whitney arrived in Fremont to inspect local conditions. At some places in the union the demand for trainmen is greater than the supply, the union leader stated.

American Legion Notes

Membership campaign of Douglas county post will open January 31. A dinner will be held for campaign workers Tuesday evening.

The post executive committee will meet Tuesday evening, February 6.

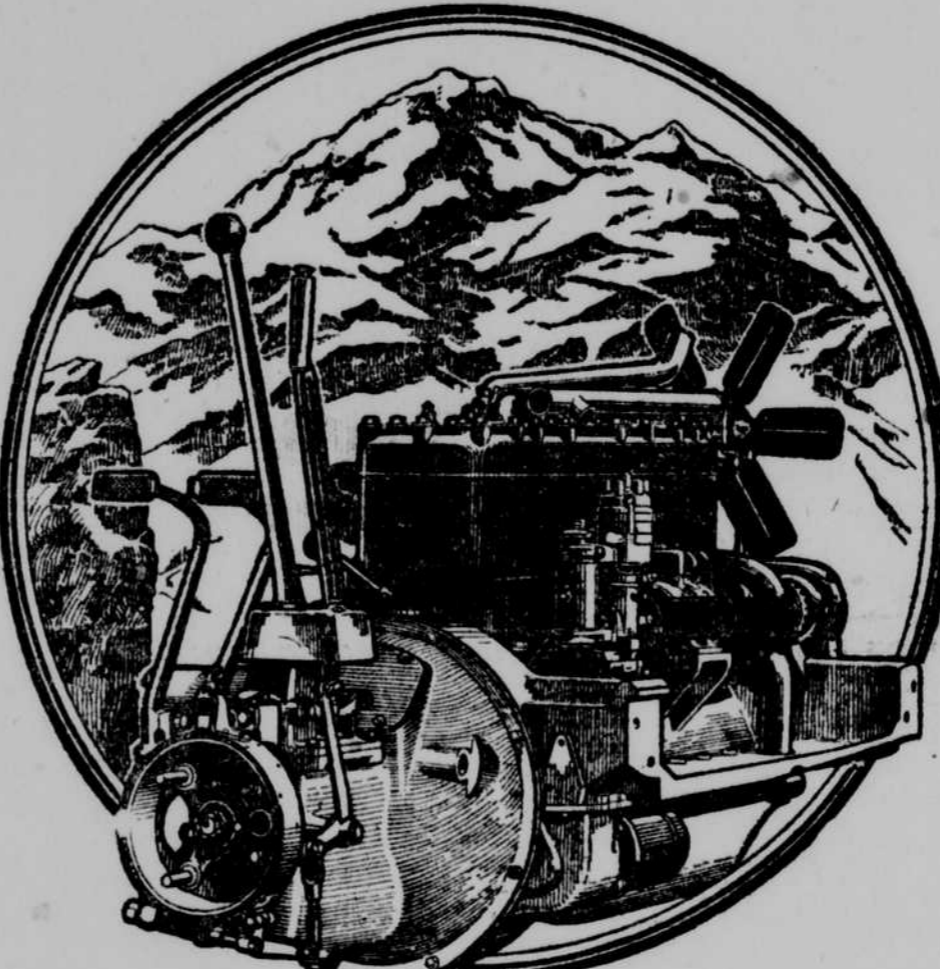
Disabled veterans of the world war will be guests of the post at a smoker and buffet luncheon next Tuesday evening.



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