

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE—Versailles Treaty Reshaped Europe

Real Treaty Has Disappeared From Popular Mind While Men of Three Schools of Thought Battle Over Imaginary Versions.

By DAVID LLOYD GEORGE.

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Special Cable to The Advertiser.
London, June 30.—I have recently had special opportunities for appreciating the extent to which the treaty of Versailles has not been read by those who have formed very definite opinions concerning its qualities.

There is no justification for failure to peruse this great international instrument. It is the most important document of modern times. It has reshaped for better or for worse much of the geography of Europe. It has resurrected dead and buried nationalities. It constitutes the deed of manumission of tens of millions of Europeans who up to the year of victory, 1918, were pawns in the hands of other races. It affects profoundly the economics, the finance, the industrial and trade conditions of the world, and it contains clauses upon the efficacy of which may depend the very existence of our civilization.

Nevertheless, there are few men who can tell you what is in the treaty of Versailles. You might have thought that although men differed widely as to its merits there would have been no difficulty in securing some measure of agreement as to its actual contents. Every endeavor was made to give full publicity to its draft when it was first presented to the Germans, and to the final document when signed. Even before the form of draft was ever settled actual decisions were reported from day to day.

Never was a treaty so reported and so discussed in every article and every particle of its constitution, and now you can find an official copy from any bookseller for the moderate price of fifty cents.

No Two Men Agree.

In spite of that, no two men who happen to profess diverse opinions as to its justice or injustice can agree as to what is contained in it.

A visitor to England in the year 1713 probably experienced the same perplexity in seeking information from a Whig and a Tory respectively as to the treaty of Utrecht. So this treaty has become one of those fiercely debated subjects as to which the contestants firmly refuse to regard any testimony or recognize the existence of any fact which is in the least inconsistent with their particular point of view. Thus it has come to pass that the real treaty of Versailles has already disappeared, and several imaginary versions have emerged, and conflict rages around these.

In France there are at least two or three schools of thought concerning the Versailles Treaty. There is one powerful section which has always regarded it as a treasonable pact in which M. Clemenceau gave away solid French rights and interests in a moment of weakness under pressure from President Wilson and myself. That is the Poincaré, Barthou, Per-

nax school. That is why they are now, whilst in form engaged in enforcing the treaty in fact carrying out a gigantic operation for amending it without consulting the other signatories. This has come out very clearly in the remarkable report from the high commissioner of the Rhineland, which was recently disclosed. It is obvious from this official paper, that whilst the French Government have worked their public into a state of indignation over the failure of Germany to carry out the Treaty of Versailles, they were the whole time deliberately organizing a plot to overthrow that treaty themselves. Their representative on the Rhine was spending French money with the consent of the French Government in promoting a conspiracy to set up an independent republic on the Rhine under the protection of France.

Militarist Demands.

It was a deliberate attempt by those who disapproved of the moderation of the Treaty of Versailles to re-write its clauses in terms of the militarist demands put forward by Marshal Foch at the peace conference. Marshal Foch, being the soul of honor, wanted to see this done openly and straightforwardly. What he would have done, like the gentleman he is, these conspirators would have accomplished by deceit—by deceiving their allies and by being faithless to the treaty to which their country had appended its signature. That is the French school of thought on the Treaty of Versailles. It is the one which has brought Europe to its present state of perturbation.

There is a second school which reads into the treaty powers and provisions which it does not contain and never contemplated. These critics maintain stoutly that M. Briand and all other French prime ministers except M. Poincaré betrayed their trust by failing to enforce these imaginary stipulations. They still honestly believe that M. Poincaré is the first French prime minister to have made a genuine attempt to enforce French rights under the treaty.

There is in the background a third school which knows exactly what the treaty means but dare not say so in the present state of French opinion. But perhaps they think it is better to bide their time. That time is coming. When it does arrive, let us hope it will not be too late to save Europe from the welter.

America Also Confused.

In America there are also two or three divergent trends of opinion about this treaty. One which regards it as an insidious attempt to trap America into the European cockpit so as to pluck its feathers in order to line French and English bolsters. If anything could justify this insular estimate it would be the entirely selfish interpretation which is put upon the treaty by one or two of the allied governments. The other American party, I understand, demands it with a sigh as a great human instrument second only in importance to the Declaration of Independence. There may be a third who think that on the whole it is not a

bad settlement, and that it is a pity a little more tact was not displayed in getting it through the various stages of approval and ratification. These are not as vocal as the rest.

In England there are at least three schools. There are critics who denounce it as a brutal outrage upon international justice. It is to them a device for extorting incalculable sums out of an impoverished Germany as reparation for damages artificially worked up. Then there is the other extreme. The "diehard" section—more influential since it became less numerous. They think the treaty let Germany off much too lightly. In fact, they are in complete agreement with the French Chauvinists as to the reprehensible moderation of its terms. In Britain also there is a third party which regards its provisions as constituting the best settlement when you take into account the conflicting aims, interests and traditions of the parties who had to negotiate and agree.

But take all these variegated schools together or separately and you will not find one in a thousand of their pupils could give you an intelligent and comprehensive summary of the main principles of the treaty. I doubt whether I should be far wrong in saying there would not be one in 10,000. Controversialists generally are satisfied to concentrate on articles in the treaty which are objectionable or pleasing to them, as the case may be, and ignore the rest completely, however essential they may be to true judgment of the whole.

Free Explanations.

Most of the disputants are content to take their views from press comments and denunciatory speeches. Unhappily the explanatory speeches have been few. Some there are who have in their possession the full text—nominally for reference—but you will find parts of it in a (narrow) of their pupils could give you an intelligent and comprehensive summary of the main principles of the treaty. I doubt whether I should be far wrong in saying there would not be one in 10,000. Controversialists generally are satisfied to concentrate on articles in the treaty which are objectionable or pleasing to them, as the case may be, and ignore the rest completely, however essential they may be to true judgment of the whole.

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ATTACKS FRENCH LEADERS.

Upper left, Premier Barthou, French representative on the reparations commission, whom Lloyd George charges is one of the French leaders who would alter the peace treaty without consulting the Allies. Center, M. Briand, who, with Clemenceau (right), helped frame the treaty of Versailles, and (below) Marshal Foch, who represents the militarist element.

nations, by the first establishment of understandings of international law as actual rule of conduct among governments, by the maintenance of justice and scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this covenant of the League of Nations.

Then follow the articles of the debated covenant. A speaker who took part recently in a university debate on the subject told me that the undergraduates exhibited the greatest surprise when he informed them that the League of Nations was founded by the Versailles Treaty. A few days ago I had a similar experience at the Oxford Union. I was speaking against a motion framed to condemn the principles of the treaty as unwise and unjust. In its defence I recalled some of its outstanding features. But as most of my narrative had no bearing on reparations, it was greeted with impatience and cries of "Question" from a group of anti-Versallians.

They honestly thought I was traveling outside the motion in giving a short summary of other sections of the treaty. To them it is all con-

cerned in Mr. Keynes' book and other hostile commentaries. Anything which is inconsistent with these, or supplements the scanty or misleading statements they make, is deemed to be tainted and biased. To refer to the text itself they regard as unfair and as playing into the hands of the defenders of a wicked and oppressive pact. The actual treaty has been already put by them out of bounds, and you wander into its forbidden clauses on pain of being put into the guard room by one or other of the intolerant factions who patrol the highways and byways of international politics.

In all debates on the subject in the House of Commons I have only once heard the treaty itself quoted by a critic, and strangely enough, that was by way of approval.

I have indicated one important section of the treaty to which is accorded something of reverence due to a holy writ by an influential section of the public. This section would be shocked if they were reminded that their devotion is given to a chapter in the hateful treaty.

Liberated Poland. Take another large and important section which is completely ignored by the critics—that which reconstructs Central Europe on a basis of nationality and free choice of people instead of on a basis of strategy and military convenience. This is the section that liberated Poland from the claws of three carnivorous empires that were preying on its vitals and restored it to life, liberty and independence. It is a section that frees the Danes of Schleswig and the Frenchman of Alsace-Lorraine. For these oppressed provinces the treaty of Versailles is the title deed of freedom. Why are these clauses all suppressed in controversial literature?

Here is another of the ignored provisions—that which sets up permanent machinery for dealing with labor problems throughout the world and for raising the standard of life amongst the industrial workers by means of a great international effort. No more beneficent or more fruitful provision was ever made in any treaty. It is so momentous and so completely overlooked in general discussion that I think it worth while quoting at length the general principles laid down by a provision which will one day be claimed as the first great international charter of the worker.

Labor Conditions. "The high contracting parties rec-

ognize that differences of climate, habits and customs of economic opportunity and industrial tradition make strict uniformity in conditions of labor difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do, that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity, or article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for regulating labor conditions which all industrial communities should endeavor to apply, so far as their special circumstances will permit. Among these methods and principles the following seem to be of special and urgent importance: First, the guiding principle above enunciated, that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity, or article of commerce. Second, the right of association for all lawful purposes by employed as well as by employers. Third, payment to employed of wages adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life, day, whenever practicable. Sixth, abolition of child labor and imposition of such limitations on labor of young persons as shall permit continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development. Seventh, the principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value. Eighth, a standard, set by law in each country, with respect to condition of labor should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein. Ninth, each state should make provision for a system of inspection, in

Few Men Can Tell You What Is In That Famous Document Although Every Man Interested In World Affairs Should Read It.

which women should take part, in order to insure enforcement of laws and regulations for the protection of the employed."

It will take long before the principles propounded in the covenant of the League under labor articles are fully and faithfully carried out, but in both a good deal of quiet and steady progress has already been attained. M. Albert Thomas is an admirable chief for the labor bureau. He has zeal, sympathy, tact, energy, and great organizing talent. He is pressing along with patience as well as persistence. But that is another question. It raises grave issues as to the execution of the treaty.

People Are Misted. What I have to deal with today is the misunderstanding which exist as to the character of the treaty itself. The British public are certainly being deliberately misled on this point. Why are these sections which emanate from oppressed races, which seek to lift the worker to a condition above destitution and degradation, and which build up a breakwater against the raging passions which

make for war, never placed to the credit of the treaty of Versailles? That type of controversialist who is always advertising his idealism to suit his point of withholding these salient facts from the public, which he professes to enlighten and instruct.

There is no more unscrupulous debater in the ring than one affects to be specially high-minded. I do not mean the man who is sessed of a really high mind, but sort which is always posing as has been exalted by grace above his lows. He is the Pharisee of controversy. Beware of him, for garbles and misquotes and suppresses to suit his arguments, or prejudice in a way that would make a ch of this world bluish.

That is why I venture to put in humble, although, I fear, belated plea for a reading of the text, the whole text, and nothing but the text of the treaty of Versailles. It is the only fair way of arriving at a just conclusion of the merits of the treaty which holds in its hands the destinies of Europe for many generations.

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Interesting Ceremonies At Bethesda Graduation

Seven Nurses Receive Diplomas and Take Florence Nightingale Oath At Exercises In Salvation Army Citadel.

At the graduation exercises of the 1923 class of the Salvation Army Bethesda Hospital in the citadel, Clarence street, last night, seven nurses received their diplomas from Mrs. Charles Sowton.

At the rear of a raised platform, beautifully decorated with many baskets of floral offerings, the graduating nurses listened to the addresses of congratulation and expressions of goodwill and blessing that were offered them by the speakers of the evening. In the rear again was the silver band of the Salvation Army.

With Commissioner Charles Sowton in the chair, the program opened with a hymn, sung by all present. This was followed by a prayer, offered by Captain Penfold. Commissioner Sowton then made a few introductory remarks, expressing the pleasure he felt at being called upon to preside at the exercises, and welcoming all to the celebration. A vocal solo by Col. Embury, Toronto, followed.

and that there had been 368 admissions and 233 births. Of this number 569 were from the city, 36 from the county of Middlesex, 79 from other cities and towns in Ontario, and 3 from outside the province. There had been in 1921-22 fourteen applicants for training, of which eight had been accepted. This year twelve had applied with five acceptances. There were at present nine nurses in training at Bethesda. He mentioned some of the many improvements that had been made to the buildings and equipment, stating that the hospital now equaled any other in the city.

The results of the examinations had been highly satisfactory and creditable. He also stated that the nurses were in general demand, as was evidenced by the fact that one of the nurses was leaving today for the United States.

Commissioner Sowton pointed out the fact that Christian character and influence are most important factors in the success of a nurse. "It is necessary for them to put their whole trust in God," he said, "delighting in doing His work by committing themselves to His service, and resting in His love at all times. God has a pur-

pose for all living things and true happiness and contentment in life can only be obtained by doing His work and following His will. His love should not be spent for the mere gratification to their owners, but in service to God and man.

"Great joy comes from feeling that your life is of some use." Few professions are of greater benefit to humanity than that of nursing. Try to be as proficient as possible in your chosen calling," he said turning to the graduates. "Realize that you are not living for yourselves but for others. All lives are dedicated to God first and then to humanity and this should be your idea throughout your career."

The Florence Nightingale pledge was then administered by Brigadier L. DesBrisay, who also heartily congratulated the nurses.

Present Diplomas.

Following this the diplomas were presented by Mrs. Sowton, assisted by Dr. Arnott. As the graduates received their parchments from Mrs. Sowton they passed on to Miss Thompson, superintendent of nurses, who gave them the badge of their profession. Round after round of applause greeted the new nurses as they descended the steps in answer to their names.

The program concluded with a piano solo by Major F. Easton, Toronto, who also rendered a selection earlier in the evening.

After leaving the citadel, the gathering adjourned to the grounds of the hospital where a reception was held by the nurses.

Those receiving diplomas were: Miss Gertrude Young, Eva M. B. Haworth, Esther I. Petal James, L. Moore, Charlotte Jelous, Florence Mitchell and Jean Fraser. Miss Moore secured the highest marks in the examinations, with Miss Jelous and Miss Mitchell, second and third respectively.

PIKERS CANCEL TOUR.

C. E. Bernard, secretary of the London Motor Club, announces that the club has been notified that the tour of the Michigan Pikers party through Michigan and Ontario, which was to have left Detroit on July 8th and pass through London on Sunday, July 2nd, has been indefinitely postponed for this year. The explanation given is that owing to lack of sufficient entries it was thought advisable to cancel the tour for 1923.



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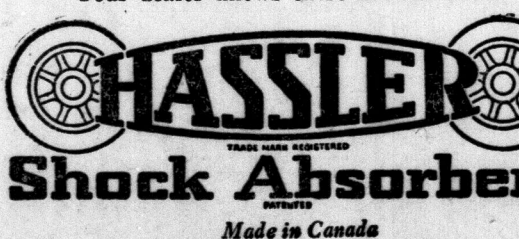
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