

syrian fugitives, and those in Syria were Armenians who had been treated brutally by the Turks. Others, less welcome, were the Russian Armenians and the Assyrians of Urumia.

## FEEDING GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

A disagreement arose at Spa on March 6 between the allied commissions and Germans over the shipment of food to Germany provided 300,000 tons of German shipping were placed at the disposal of the Allies, and the conference was broken up. According to the German version of this rupture, given in a wireless message received in London on March 7, the Allies demanded that all the remaining German merchant ships should be handed over unconditionally, without being willing to undertake the obligation of supplying Germany with foodstuffs. The German delegates, it was added, received instructions from their

Government that the question of shipping, finance, and food supply must be dealt with only as a whole. The German message continued:

The question of handing over the mercantile fleet can only arise if adequate food supplies, say 2,500,000 tons of foodstuffs, are assured Germany until the new harvest. The Entente could not agree to this.

As the instructions of both sides did not go beyond this, a French delegate proposed that negotiations be broken off, whereupon the two special delegations left Spa.

The negotiations were reopened at Brussels and a full accord reached, details of which are given in the armistice proceedings on Page 23 of this issue of CURRENT HISTORY. It was estimated that Germany's total food requirements abroad during the year would reach 1,000,000 tons of meat and 1,000,000 tons of fats, costing at least \$600,000,000, with the mark figured at 11½ cents.

# Boundary Disputes in Europe

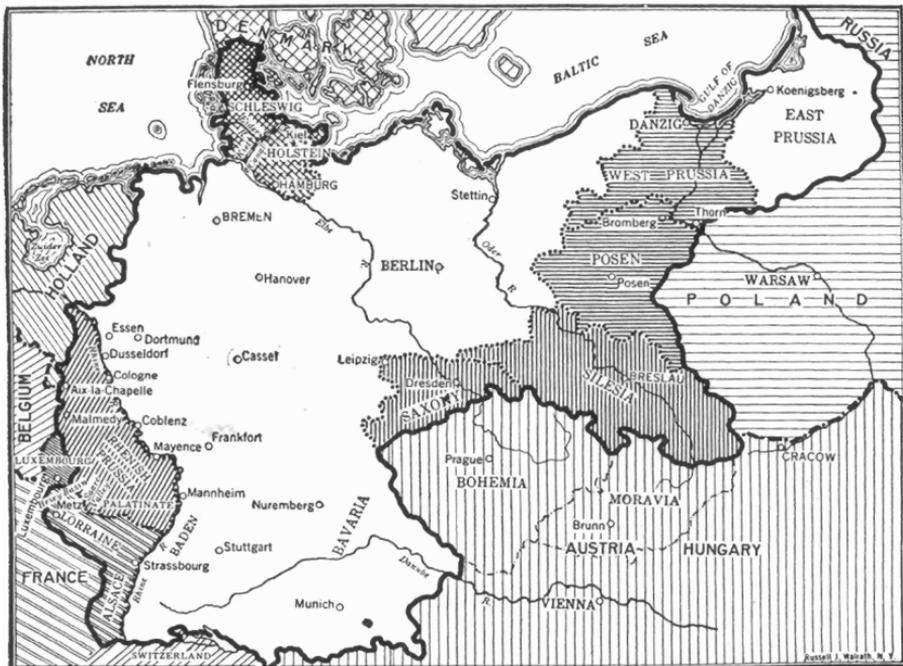
## Maze of Difficult and Delicate Problems Confronting the Peace Conference

THE attempt to apply the principles of nationality and self-determination to the solution of boundary problems in the new Europe has brought the Peace Conference face to face with many puzzling tasks of delimitation. Disputes over boundaries, especially in the case of several newly created nations, sprang up immediately after the signing of the armistice, and continued to grow more multifarious and bitter during the first months of the Peace Conference. In a number of cases they have led to armed conflict. The whole question, bewilderingly entangled with racial, historical, and geographical considerations, is one of the most delicate and difficult presented to that body for solution.

### BELGIUM

Premier Delacroix announced in the Chamber of Deputies at Brussels on

March 12 that the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference had decided that the treaty of April 19, 1839, between Belgium and Holland must be revised. The announcement was received with enthusiasm. Such a revision meant a rectification of the Belgian-Dutch frontier. In 1914 Belgium was the victim of the treaty of 1839. The Belgian Minister of the Interior, Baron de Borchgrave, pointed out to a correspondent how important it was that Belgium be made immune to further invasions. The Supreme Council recognized the validity of Belgium's claims. The old treaty had been ratified by France, Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia, the powers recognizing the independence of Belgium as "a neutral State." It was this convention which on Aug. 1, 1914, was called "a scrap of paper" by Germany when she massed her troops for the invasion of Belgium. The Peace Conference has



GERMANY BEFORE AND AFTER THE WAR. THE HEAVY BLACK LINE SHOWS OLD BOUNDARIES, AND SHADED PORTIONS SHOW AREAS CLAIMED BY OTHER NATIONALITIES

greed in principle to the giving of the [almedy district to Belgium, which will dd one more bit of territory to the her regions to be taken from Germany. he claims and aspirations of Belgium ere fully analyzed in the February sue of CURRENT HISTORY.

### ALSACE AND LORRAINE

Alsace and Lorraine were practically turned to France by the terms of Mr. Wilson's "fourteen points," which were accepted by both sides before the signing of the armistice; the present German government, however, continues to keep alive the old claim to these provinces by casual references to a plebiscite. When the elections were held for the German National Assembly a certain proportion of the delegates were assigned to be elected from Alsace-Lorraine, but these provinces ignored the plan. The Superior Council of Alsace and Lorraine held its first meeting in the French War office adopted a resolution declaring

against the German proposals for a plebiscite. The council was created to adjust various matters connected with the provisional administration of the two provinces. The resolution says:

We refuse to stand for any foreign interference in our national affairs such as those attempted recently at Weimar and elsewhere with the object of making the future of Alsace and Lorraine depend on a plebiscite. We most energetically deny to all Germans the right of manifesting solicitude for us which comes forty-eight years too late. We are and will remain French without any plebiscite, through the restoration of the rights violated in 1871.

### DENMARK AND SCHLESWIG

The claims of Denmark in connection with Schleswig-Holstein, which Germany seized in 1866, have not been seriously contested. A delegation of Danes arrived in Paris early in March and presented these claims to the Peace Conference. The delegates were Dr. P. Munch, former Premier Neergaard, Senator Alex Fess,

and Senator Bramsen. They were accompanied by four prominent residents of Schleswig. The delegation represented the four largest parties in the Danish Parliament, two of the members belonging to the majority bloc and two to the Opposition. They said that all the people of Denmark were desirous that the part of Schleswig inhabited by Danes be returned to Denmark, and that they looked with confidence to the decision of the Peace Conference on this question.

According to the Paris Temps, March 4, the procedure contemplated for the solution of the Danish claims on Schleswig was as follows:

The Duchy of Schleswig will be divided into four zones. In the first zone, adjoining the Danish frontier and comprising Northern Schleswig, the inhabitants will soon be asked to manifest by means of a plebiscite their wishes regarding their reunion with Denmark. In the next zone, including Central Schleswig, with the town of Flensburg, a plebiscite will take place within six months. In the third zone the Allies will carry on a military occupation. The fourth zone, the limit between which and the third has not yet been fixed, will extend as far as the Kiel Canal and remain German territory, unoccupied by the Allies.

### LUXEMBURG

Luxemburg also has national aspirations. In a dispatch of March 9 Maurice Pescatore, leader of the Left in the Luxemburg Chamber, gave the reasons why Luxemburg leaned toward union with Belgium rather than with France. Union with France, he stated, meant absorption in the French Republic, with the entailment of heavy taxes. The Economic Commission of Luxemburg, which reported in favor of union with France, was appointed by the Prime Minister and had no powers to decide a policy. As to the dynasty, because of its German sympathies, it would ultimately prove unacceptable to the people. Marie Adelaide had been compelled to abdicate because of the popular prejudice against her, and the same thing undoubtedly would happen to her sister, whose accession to the throne was still unacknowledged by the nations of the Entente. The advantages of union with Belgium were largely economic. Antwerp is Luxemburg's favorite port. Belgian industry needs Luxemburg's iron

ore. Labor is available from Belgium. Belgium is free trade in policy and her cost of living low; France is highly protectionist. For all these reasons the preference for union with Belgium rather than with France was quite explainable.

### ITALO-JUGOSLAV DISPUTES

Of all boundary disputes that have arisen since the war, none is more embittered than that between Italy and the Yugoslavs. In an eloquent speech made by Signor Bissolati at Milan on Jan. 11, after his resignation from the Orlando Cabinet, in large part conditioned by his views of Italy's proper claims, the former Minister warned his country solemnly against pressing her claims to territory in the Austrian Tyrol, in Dalmatia, and in the Greek settled islands of the Dodecanese, all ceded to Italy by the Decree of London of 1915. Such a settlement, he declared, would inevitably pave the way for future troubles. Of Italy's right to annex Istria and Fiume permanently, however, he entertained no doubt. The Yugoslav party claims Istria, Fiume, and Dalmatia.

Guglielmo Ferrero, in an article published in Rome on Feb. 19, insisted that history supports Italy in her claim to Istria, and cited the following population figures from the last Austrian census:

	Italians.	Slavs.
Gorizia and Gradisca....	90,000	154,000
Trieste and district.....	149,000	59,000
Western Istria.....	145,000	155,000
Total.....	384,000	368,000

As to Fiume, the whole crux of the dispute centred about the question whether Fiume should be considered separately or in conjunction with the near-lying suburb of Sushak. Without Sushak, Fiume shows a population of 24,000 Italians, as against 15,000 Croats or Southern Slavs. With Sushak there would be 27,000 Slavs, as against approximately the same number of Italians as before.

In a dispatch of March 1 the Italian claim was authoritatively set forth by Signor Giuseppe Canepa, Deputy for Genoa in the Italian Parliament. Asked whether he regarded it as right and nec-



MAP OF JUGOSLAVIA SHOWING REUNITED SLAVIC UNITS. THE BLACK AND SHADED AREAS ALONG THE ADRIATIC ARE IN DISPUTE

sary that Fiume should be annexed to Italy, Canepa replied:

Without doubt Italians of all classes and politicians of all parties, including Bissolati, are convinced that Fiume should be assigned to Italy. Fiume's undeniable Italian character is proved by its population, its secular culture, its customs, and its traditions, which are all Italian. Besides, Fiume is an integral part of Istria, and Istria belongs to Italy for reasons long since expounded by Mazzini.

The Yugoslav delegate was even longer in expressing determination to have Fiume for Yugoslavia at any cost, locating the extreme difficulty and intricacy of this problem confronting the Peace Conference.

### DALMATIA

Dalmatia is strongly claimed by the Serbs on racial grounds. It is the area in which has sprung most of the ancient Serbian culture. It includes within the area the little Serbian Republic of Zeta, which has a culture extending back to the sixteenth century. Mestrovic,

the famous Serbian sculptor, is a Dalmatian.

As opposed to the Italian claims to Dalmatia, Guglielmo Ferrero in one of his articles on the Italian annexation proposals holds that it would be unwise for Italy to push this claim. He writes:

If the annexation of Dalmatia is to be justified in accordance with the principle of nationality, it must be proved, argue the anti-annexationists, that these Slav parties and the population they represent desire the union of Dalmatia and Italy. These parties, however, turn rather toward their racial brothers living beyond the Dinaric Alps.

As for the military argument, the opponents of annexation recognize that undoubtedly Italy would be mistress of the Adriatic and perfectly safe, if she possessed not only Istria and Pola but also the Dalmatian coast. Against this, they urge that Italy, if she annexed Dalmatia, would, while insuring an invulnerable coast line, weaken her land frontier. She would then have a frontier on the Dinaric Alps, which would be extremely difficult to defend owing to the lack of sufficient hinterland in which to collect, feed, and manoeuvre troops.

About the middle of February the Yugoslav delegates to the Peace Conference asked President Wilson to act as arbitrator in the differences with Italy regarding the eastern coast of the Adriatic. President Wilson suggested that the Italians and the Yugoslavs discuss their differences. The Italians declined the proposal; a similar proposal was, it is said, rejected by Premier Clemenceau. On Feb. 18 the Italian delegates to the Conference, through Foreign Minister Sonnino, formally declined the arbitration of Italian and Yugoslav claims in Dalmatia as urged by the Yugoslavs—on the ground that all territorial claims were being submitted to the Conference, and that no exceptional procedure was necessary. In view of this declination the Yugoslav delegates, according to a dispatch of Feb. 27, presented to the Conference their territorial claims, asking that the Isonzo River be made the boundary between them and Italy, and involving the annexation by the Yugoslavs of the whole of Styria, with Trieste and Fiume, and the whole of the Dalmatian islands, with the exception of Pelagosa, which was left to Italy.

### THE LAIBACH INCIDENT

The tenseness of feeling between Italy and the Yugoslavs over these rival claims reached a crisis in the Laibach incident on Feb. 20, when the Yugoslav commander forced an Italian member of the Food Commission to leave Laibach. This city, just outside the armistice frontier, is a railroad centre on the line from Trieste to Vienna. American food passed through Laibach on its way to feed the starving Austrians. Twenty-four thousand tons had been transported along this route. After this incident the Italians began to use the longer route through Tarvis. This act of the Yugoslavs, the dispatch stated, was looked upon in Paris as in complete contravention of the warning of the great powers against all violence to obtain territory in dispute. In view of this situation, the Italians decided to close the frontier, though taking measures to provision Czechoslovakia by routes not passing through Laibach.

A Washington dispatch of March 6

stated that Italy had been warned by the American Government that unless she put an end to delays in the movement of relief supplies to the newly established Yugoslav and Czechoslovak States steps would be taken to cut off the flow of American foodstuffs to Italy. The Italian Government, it was stated, had caused intolerable conditions by the blockade imposed against the Yugoslav countries, which had operated also against the Czechoslovaks. The blockade had not been wholly effective, because the United States had been able to deliver much food where it was needed, but many delays had been caused, resulting often in holding up supplies the need of which was desperate.

On March 7 it was announced that the Yugoslav frontier would be reopened, on the expectation that the Serbian Government would disclaim official responsibility for the Laibach incident. This practically closed the episode.

That Serbia had adopted a policy of repression in Croatia, and was punishing Croats who desired to see their country an autonomous State in a Yugoslav republic, was the substance of a message received by the Italian Information Bureau of New York. The cable was from Agram, and declared that 50,000 Croats in mass meeting had declared their purpose of entering a confederation based on the model of the United States, with an autonomous Croatia. Centralization in Belgrade, they declared, would be nothing else than a copy of the absolutism of the war.

### CLAIMS OF ALBANIA

A memorandum on the claims of Albania was presented to the Conference on Feb. 18. The Albanians asked it to acknowledge their rights, which, it is said, were sacrificed in Berlin in 1878 and in London in 1913.

The Albanians claim all territory given to Montenegro, Serbia, and Greece after the London Conference of 1913, and assert that most of the people inhabiting those territories are Albanians. Reparation for damage done in Albania by the Greeks and by the armies of the Central Powers also is asked by the Albanian Government.



THE CZECHOSLOVAK REPUBLIC: SHADED AREA MARKED "RUTHENIANS" IS IN DISPUTE BETWEEN POLAND AND THE UKRAINE. BLACK AREA IS IN DISPUTE BETWEEN POLAND AND THE CZECHOSLOVAKS

The Albanian representatives were induced to the Peace Conference on Feb. 11, and Turkhan Pasha stated the Albanian claims. The narrative of what followed is given elsewhere in an article on Albania.

A protest was made in Albanian circles against the naming of Turkhan Pasha and Mehmed Bey as Albania's representatives at the Peace Conference, the ground of the protest being that they had maintained suspicious relations with the Turks and Germans.

The claims set forth by the Albanians include Tchamara to the south as well as the Albanian territories annexed to Montenegro and Serbia.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The Council of Ten on Feb. 5 discussed the difficult question of defining the boundaries of the new Czechoslovak State. The Czechoslovaks demanded the formation of a State with a population of about 13,000,000 within, speaking generally, the boundaries of the ancient Kingdom of Bohemia. They claim, consequently, the whole of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovak-Silesia. They ask, moreover, a rectification of the frontier in the region of Ratibor on the Oder, in the regions of Glatz in Prussian Silesia at

Troppau, and in the regions of Gmünd and Thomenan in lower Austria. Lastly, the Czechoslovaks are also ready to adopt the Ruthenes who dwell on the left bank of the upper Tisza if they so desire, and propose to join their territory to that of the Yugoslavs. The Germans would thus be definitely cut off from the Orient and the new Slav States would have more solidarity, as they would have points of contact with routes leading to the sea and to Italy.

The Czechoslovak delegates further propose the internationalization of the means of communication, so as to assure communications for the nonmaritime Central European States, to consolidate the political ties which unite them, and to enable them to resist German influence. The Czechoslovak Republic in particular demands the internationalization of the Danube, the Elbe, and the Vistula. Similarly, the internationalization of the railway line between Pressburg, Trieste, and Fiume is essential if any connection is to be established between the territories of the Czechoslovaks and the Yugoslavs.

This complex problem of carving a new nation out of the old political group was laid before a special committee on March 3. The committee had been named by

the council and held special sessions under the Presidency of Jules Cambon, a former Minister of France to Germany. Many of the details of the new boundaries had been fairly well established by March 15, but were not yet announced.

A dispatch of March 5 reported that sanguinary engagements had occurred between Czech soldiers and citizens in numerous towns in German Bohemia. The trouble started when the Germans attempted to hold elections in German Bohemia for the Austrian National Assembly, which the Czech Government prohibited because Bohemia is Czech territory. The Germans organized manifestations against Czech rule and the Czechs used rifles and bayonets in suppressing the demonstration.

Three persons were reported to have been killed at Karlsbad and ten at Sternberg. A number of others were reported killed or wounded in clashes at Reichenberg, Aussig, Bruex, Eger, and Mies.

#### CLAIMS OF RUMANIA

Most of one sitting of the Council of the Five Powers was occupied with the claims of Rumania. These include, on the west, nearly all the territories between the Carpathians and the River Theiss, in particular Transylvania; on the north, the Bukovina, which is also claimed by the Ukrainians; on the east, Bessarabia, and on the southeast the Dobrudja.

The portion of the Banat of Temesvar to the north of Belgrade, which is claimed by the Serbians, is small in extent compared with the Rumanian claims against Hungary, Russia, and Bulgaria, but the question is of considerable interest.

This is one of the cases in which the races are so intermingled that a division by nationality is impossible. Rumania bases her claims largely on the secret treaty of Aug. 18, 1916, by which, of course, the South Slavs are not committed.

As a justification for their claim that the Serbs should not insist on the annexation of the 240,000 Serbs who live in the Banat, the Rumanians point out the large numbers of Rumanians settled

in Bulgaria and Serbia. This subject was thoroughly discussed in a pamphlet written by a professor of the University of Jassy in 1913. The most recent Bulgarian statistics show the number of Rumanians living in Bulgarian territory as over 75,000. In Serbia the number of Rumanians has been estimated by non-Rumanian investigators as 260,000. These 260,000 Rumanians are not claimed by Rumania, which wishes to maintain the natural frontier of the Danube and to remain in friendly relations with Serbia; but she asks Serbia, on her part, not to claim the 240,000 Serbs living in the contested portion of the Banat.

#### CLAIMS OF GREECE

The claims of Greece were heard before the Conference on Feb. 3. M. Venizelos expounded these claims at this and a subsequent session. The Greek Government issued a special memoir setting forth in detail the Greek point of view. The exposition of M. Venizelos bore on the following claims: 1, Northern Epirus, which has a population of 150,000 Greeks; 2, Thrace and the region of Constantinople, (731,000,) and the shores of the Aegean Sea, given to Bulgaria after the war of 1913, (43,000;) 3, the Vilayets of Balikeser and Aidin in Asia Minor, (1,694,000;) 4, the islands of the Dodecanese, (102,000;) 5, the Island of Cyprus, (235,000.) These populations, said M. Venizelos, all together comprise 3,256,000 souls of pure Greek origin. The present Greek Kingdom has but slightly more, specifically 4,300,000.

In North Epirus the Greek population had been in the majority since 1913. After the adventure of the Prince of Wied England had occupied this territory, Valona only remaining under Italian domination. Cyprus, which had been offered to Greece by the Government of London in 1915, and which the Government of Constantine had refused, is now reclaimed. The Dodecanese Islands had been ceded provisionally to Italy after the Italo-Turkish war of 1912; the treaty of April, 1916, when Italy entered the war, had confirmed them to Italy. Thrace was given to Bulgaria after the war of 1912. All the territory claimed is almost exclusively inhabited by Greeks,



MAP OF GREECE, INCLUDING EPIRUS—AT THE NORTHWEST CORNER. THE BLACK AREA INDICATES THE TERRITORY CLAIMED BY M. VENIZELOS AT PARIS, AND THE SHADED AREA THE REGION WHERE THE GREEK AND FRENCH CLAIMS CONFLICT

o have never ceased to protest since 1913 against their annexation to Bulgaria—(84,652 Greeks, as against 31,875 Bulgarians.)

On Feb. 4 M. Venizelos ended his expedition of the Greek claims with a treaty of the questions of Constantinople and Asia Minor. The Greek Premier recited all the injury done Europe by the Turkish possession of the straits. Based herself upon her historical past, Greece claims the city on the ground that in numbers and in quality it is dominated by Greeks, (200,000.) The Turkish element equals the Greek only in the number of its functionaries of all degrees, and of its garrison. Nevertheless, in view of the great interests at stake, it was understood that Greece would yield and should be decided to give Constantinople to the League of Nations.

In Asia Minor, M. Venizelos stated, there lived 1,700,000 Greeks, who had suffered every form of persecution. The Kingdom of Thrace and Asia Minor to a central power like Greece instead of to Bulgaria and Turkey, whose past policies were ill of the future, would be ad-

vantageous to the powers of the West. The freedom of the straits, he said, would be maintained.

The Conference Commission on Greek Claims submitted a report on March 13, but it was not unanimous. Most of the Commissioners favored giving Smyrna to Greece, but the American members held a different view, on the ground that Smyrna was essential as a port of exit and entrance for the vast commercial enterprises of the hinterland of Asia Minor. Thus divided, the report went before the council of the great powers for final decision.

Concerning the Dodecanese Islands, the commission was unanimous in recognizing the Greek civilization of the islands and the American delegates favored their incorporation in Greece, but the French, British, and Italian delegates, in view of the secret treaty of London, withheld their approval until the subject can be diplomatically adjusted with Italy.

The Commission on Greek Affairs, on March 2, debated at length the new situation to be created in Asia Minor.

## ELIMINATION OF TURKEY

The general plan adopted for the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire is the total elimination of that empire, the internationalization of Constantinople, and the straits, the creation of a Turkish State in the centre of Asia Minor, and the liberation of all nationalities from the rule of Turkey.

As regards Asia Minor, the commission agreed in principle that the strip of the coast between Avali and Kos, including Smyrna and Ephesus, should be assigned to Greece as full owner or as international mandatary.

## FINLAND AND ALAND ISLANDS

Toward the beginning of February the population of the Aland Islands sent to Paris a deputation to plead the cause of the islands, which wish to be reunited to Sweden, the mother country. This deputation consisted of two members of the Council of the archipelago and of M. Sunblom, an Aland Deputy in the Diet of Finland.

As soon as Finland separated from Russia, the Aland population, which is pure Swedish in origin, language, and

aspirations, sent an appeal to the King of Sweden for annexation. Sweden then proposed to Finland a plebiscite in the islands. Finland, however, opposed the aspirations of the population of the islands, supported in this opposition by all the press of the former Grand Duchy, to which the Aland Islands have been administratively attached. The Aland deputation spoke bitterly of the régime of oppression introduced by the various Finnish Governments and of the Prussian methods of repression used by the Military Governor von Bonsdorff, supported by Finnish-speaking troops. The Finns, they said, admit the principle of free choice for themselves, but not for the people of the islands. Finnish, a language which the Aland population do not understand at all, has been declared the official language of the new republic. General Mannerheim, they added, had characterized the Paris deputation as "traitors to the fatherland." In satisfying the national aspirations of the islands, the deputies declared, the Peace Conference would guarantee the security of Sweden and the peaceful development of the Scandinavian peoples.

## Poland's Triple Warfare Over Boundaries

### Other Events of the Month

[PERIOD ENDED MARCH 15, 1919]

**T**HE Paderewski Government, organized Jan. 19, 1919, issued a call for elections to choose delegates to a National Assembly to be held on Feb. 9. The elections were held in orderly fashion, and some of the figures are summarized below. They refer to the large centres where the "National Group" (formed by the National Democrats, the Progressives, the Realists, and the Populists) obtained a large majority:

In Warsaw, out of 287,000 votes the National Group received 150,000—as against 42,000 given to the Polish Socialists and 74,000 to the Jews—and out through ten Deputies, among them M. Paderewski and Roman Dmowski, the head of the Polish National Committee in

Paris. The Socialist and Jewish Parties each obtained three Deputies. In Lodz, out of 150,000 votes the National Group received 56,000, as against Socialists, 33,000; Germans, 18,000, and Jews, 28,000. In Cracow the National Group received 29,000 votes, as against 20,000 given to the Polish Socialists and 10,000 to the Jews. Among those elected from the National Group was Professor Stanislas Grabski, the well-known factional leader. Ignace Daszynski was one of those elected by the Socialists.

### CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Constituent Assembly, so impatiently looked forward to by the whole Polish Nation, was opened in Warsaw