

EVENTS OF 1919 PASSED IN REVIEW

World Found Great Difficulty in Returning From War to Peace Conditions.

MAKING THE GERMAN TREATY

Europe in State of Ferment, While the United States Was Struggling With Grave Industrial and Economic Problems.

By DONALD F. BIGGS.

After nearly five years of frightful warfare, in which all of the great powers and many of the smaller nations had been involved, the world found it difficult to return to anything like normal conditions during the year 1919. While the armistice which was signed in the closing weeks of 1918 brought a cessation of hostilities between the two groups of nations that had been engaged in the great struggle, it did not bring peace to all the peoples involved. Technically the world still was at war throughout practically all of the year just closed as the peace treaty which was framed in Paris after months of negotiation could not be made fully effective until ratified by the great powers and formally promulgated by the peace conference. Failure of the United States senate to ratify the treaty, because of opposition to the covenant of the League of Nations, which was made a part of the peace treaty, prevented the formal declaration of peace until more than a year after the armistice was signed.

Internal disorders and territorial disputes arising from the establishment of many new nations kept a large part of Europe in turmoil. Such a complete remaking of the map of Europe as resulted from the great war naturally could not be accomplished without friction. The great empire of Austria-Hungary had fallen to pieces with the defeat of the central powers and out of the wreckage new states arose. These new nations—Austria, Hungary, Poland and the Czech and Yugoslav states—could not establish their new boundaries without friction among themselves and with their neighbors. The new government of Germany, which had been transformed into a republic, was striving to maintain itself against the attacks of radical elements. Russia was torn by civil strife, with half a dozen groups fighting for the mastery. At times world peace seemed still far off, but as the year passed conditions became more settled and it seemed probable that with the formal promulgation of the peace treaty the chaos into which Europe had been thrown would pass.

In the United States conditions were not so unsettled as in the nations that had been longer engaged in the war, but here, as in Europe, the transition from a war to a peace basis was not easy. New industrial problems had been created. The high cost of living caused labor to make insistent and repeated demands for higher wages and resulted in numerous strikes among all classes of workers. Radical leaders took advantage of the unrest that existed to recruit their forces and they became so active that the constituted authorities of the nation finally found it necessary to take determined steps to suppress disloyal propaganda.

The Making of Peace.

The first steps toward the organization of the peace congress were taken on January 12 when the supreme war council, members of which were President Wilson and Secretary Lansing of the United States, and the premiers and foreign ministers of Great Britain, France and Italy, together with Marshal Foch and military representatives of the several powers, began actual consideration of the terms of peace to be imposed upon the defeated powers or Russia, met in the ministry of foreign affairs at Paris on January 18. President Wilson proposed Premier Clemenceau for permanent chairman of the conference and the delegates elected him by unanimous vote. It was determined at the beginning that only the five great belligerent powers, the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, should take part in all meetings of the conference and commission to be appointed; that other belligerent and associated powers should participate only in meetings at which questions concerning them were to be discussed.

As the representatives of the many belligerent nations entered upon the task of bringing peace to the world Europe was in turmoil. Poland was being reconstituted and the fixing of her boundaries gave rise to many controversies between the Poles and surrounding peoples. The question of whether a League of Nations should be created as a means of preventing future wars was one of the first to be taken up by the peace conference. On January 25 the conference formally declared in favor of the establishment of a League of Nations, and a commission, of which President Wilson was chairman, was appointed to prepare a definite plan. The League of Nations commission held its first meeting on February 3 and on February 14 President Wilson read and explained

to the peace conference a draft of the constitution for the League of Nations. The plan provided for an executive council to be composed of representatives of nine nations and for an international secretariat. It was provided that decisions of the executive council should be enforced, if necessary, by "the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse" between the nation failing to abide by the decision and all other member states of the League of Nations.

On the same day that he presented this plan to the peace conference President Wilson sailed for the United States to attend the closing sessions of congress at Washington. Opposition to the incorporation of the League of Nations covenant in the peace treaty already had developed in this country, and President Wilson, upon his return, delivered an address at Boston in which he emphasized the necessity of the United States taking a leading part in the organization of the League of Nations.

Meantime the peace conference was endeavoring to reach a solution of several other vexing problems. A bitter dispute had arisen between Italy and the new Jugo-Slav state as to the possession of the eastern coast of the Adriatic. The Italians demanded possession of the city of Fiume on the ground that its population was largely Italian, while the Jugo-Slavs maintained that possession of this port was essential if their newly organized nation was to have access to the sea.

The Japanese delegates also gave an early indication of their attitude by insisting upon Japan's right to retain the Marshall and Caroline Islands, which she had taken from Germany.

President Wilson returned to Paris after spending little more than a week in the United States. With his arrival in France on March 14 the peace conference began consideration of recommendations by various committees, and the peace treaty began to take definite shape.

On March 24 the council of ten which had been considering the chief problems before the peace conference was replaced by a council of four, consisting of President Wilson and Premiers Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando. From that time up to the actual signing of the peace treaty all of the problems arising were disposed of by this council of four, in which, at times, the premier of Japan also participated.

The revised covenant of the League of Nations was presented at a plenary session of the peace conference on April 28. President Wilson, as chairman of the commission which framed the covenant, explained the changes that had been made, mostly as a result of criticism in the United States. One of the most important of the amendments made was that providing that the covenant should not affect existing understandings for maintaining peace. While it was not so stated specifically, this amendment was designed to prevent the League of Nations covenant from interfering with the Monroe doctrine. The revised covenant was adopted by the unanimous vote of the peace conference.

On April 30 the council of four, which by this time had been reduced to a council of three by the withdrawal of the Italians, agreed to transfer to Japan the German possession of Kian-Chau. The Chinese delegation objected strenuously to this settlement, although Japan agreed ultimately to restore the territory to China. On May 6 the council determined that Great Britain and her colonies and dominions should become mandatory for the islands north of the equator.

By May 8 the treaty had finally been completed and on that date it was presented to the German plenipotentiaries at Versailles. The pact, while it represented chiefly the deliberations of the council of four, had been adopted by a conference in which 27 allied and associated powers were represented. At the same time it was announced that President Wilson and Premier Lloyd George had negotiated treaties with France providing that the United States and Great Britain would come immediately to the assistance of France in case of any future unprovoked attack by Germany. When the peace treaty was submitted to the Germans the Italian delegates were present, having returned to Paris in response to an invitation extended by President Wilson and Premiers Lloyd George and Clemenceau.

The German delegates were not permitted to discuss the peace treaty with the conference but were given fifteen days in which to submit their reply in writing. Announcement of the terms of the treaty caused a storm in Germany. The terms were denounced by President Ebert of Germany as being the most severe ever "imposed upon a vanquished people." Several communications requesting changes in the treaty were submitted by the German delegates and these were given consideration by the council of five. As a result some parts of the treaty were made more lenient toward Germany. The revised terms were presented to Count Brockdorff-Rantzau head of the German delegation on June 10 and the Germans were given seven days in which to sign. The German national assembly on June 22, by a vote of 237 to 138, authorized the government to sign the treaty. On June 28 the treaty was signed at Versailles by representatives of Germany and of the allied and associated powers. The Chinese delegates alone refused to sign because of the Shantung settlement.

On June 29 President Wilson sailed from France and returned to the United States after an absence of more than six months. On July 10 he presented the treaty to the senate and there at once developed bitter opposition to its adoption without change or reservation.

On September 10 Senator Lodge submitted the majority report of the committee on foreign relations, proposing amendments and four reservations to the peace treaty. Senator Hitchcock presented a minority report, recommending the adoption of the treaty without reservation. There began then a determined fight between the opposing forces in the senate, which ended finally in a deadlock that prevented the ratification of the treaty either with or without reservations.

President Wilson had continued to combat every suggestion of a change in the treaty or the covenant of the League of Nations and in an effort to force its ratification had undertaken an extensive tour of the country, beginning on September 4. After delivering more than forty speeches throughout the West he broke down under the strain and was forced to return to the White House. His condition was regarded as very serious, and he was unable to take a leading part in the battle for the treaty when the contest reached its climax. The president still insisted, however, upon the adoption of the treaty without reservations, and when the question came to a final vote in the senate on November 19 the Democratic minority, aided by a number of Republicans opposed to the league in any form, defeated the majority resolution of the Republicans, which would have carried with it the reservations adopted by the senate.

Senator Hitchcock thereupon offered a resolution providing for ratification of the treaty without reservations, and this in turn, was defeated, a number of Democratic senators voting with the Republicans. With a compromise between the opposing groups apparently impossible, the senate adjourned.

In the meantime the peace treaty had been ratified by the other great allied nations and by many of the smaller nations that had been engaged in the war against Germany.

Foreign Affairs.

While the treaty was being negotiated conditions remained very unsettled not only in the territory which had been included in the four defeated nations but throughout Europe. Russia continued in a state of turmoil throughout the year. Although the bolshevik government under the direction of Lenin and Trotzky maintained its control over a large part of the former empire it was hemmed in on all sides by opposing groups which attacked it with varying success. The newly constituted nation of Poland was beset for a time on all sides, but it, too, succeeded in weathering the storm and had established a stable government before many months had passed.

Failure to reach a settlement of the Fiume question continually threatened an armed conflict between the Italians and the new Jugo-Slav state. Serious conditions existed in Hungary both because of internal disorders and because of clashes with Roumania and with the new Czech government.

In Germany a split among the German socialist leaders resulted on January 7 in serious street fighting. The government was seriously threatened, but on January 9 its troops in Berlin were re-enforced and regained control of the situation. On January 16 Dr. Carl Liebknecht, leader of the Spartacists, or antigovernment faction, was killed while attempting to escape after arrest in Berlin. His companion, Rosa Luxemburg, long known as a radical leader both in Germany and Russia, was killed by a mob. Disorders in Germany were suppressed and on January 19 the people elected a national assembly, the majority socialists led by Chancellor Ebert retaining control. The assembly met a Weimar on January 6 and on February 11 elected Chancellor Ebert as first president of the German republic, after adopting a provisional constitution. In Poland opposing factions reached an agreement on January 17 whereby Ignace Jan Paderewski became premier, with General Pilsudski as foreign minister and M. Demoski as president.

Opposition to Japanese control had been developing rapidly in Korea and on March 12 Korean nationalists issued a declaration of independence, declaring themselves ready to "fight to the last drop of blood." Serious disorders also were reported in Egypt in support of the nationalist demand for autonomy and on March 25 the British secretary for war, Mr. Churchill, admitted that the whole of Egypt was virtually in a state of insurrection.

On March 16 a new Germano-Austrian government was established at Vienna with Doctor Renner as chancellor, Count Karolyi had been made president of the new Hungarian republic on January 11, but on March 22 he was forced to resign and there was constituted a new government which proclaimed a dictatorship of the proletariat and an alliance with the Russian soviet government.

A ministerial crisis arose in Italy as a result of the government's policy in connection with the peace conference. As a result the ministry of Premier Orlando was unexpectedly overthrown on June 19 and two days later Francesco Nitti, former minister of finance, became premier of Italy. At the same time the German cabinet resigned because of the determination of

Chancellor Schulerger not to recognize the peace terms offered by the allies. Gustav Adolph Bauer, former minister of labor, was appointed chancellor by President Ebert and formed a new cabinet. A clash between the new German government and the allies was threatened on June 21 when the German fleet which had been interned in British waters under the armistice was scuttled by German crews, twenty battleships and cruisers being sunk.

On August 1 Bela Kun, who for four or five months had been dictator in Hungary, was compelled to retire when socialists seized control of the government.

The situation in Ireland where the Sinn Fein continued its efforts to establish a republic grew more serious as the year advanced. Repeated disorders occurred and on September 12 Viscount French, lieutenant governor of Ireland, prohibited further meetings of the so-called Irish parliament. Many arrests were made by the military.

The fighting in Russia had continued without decided advantage to any group until on October 25 the force commanded by General Yudenitch, advancing against the bolsheviks, reached a point within fifteen miles of Petrograd.

While other problems growing out of the war were being settled, the question of the disposal of Fiume continued to cause trouble. On September 13 Gabriele d'Annunzio, the Italian soldier-poet, entered Fiume at the head of several thousand soldiers and took control of the port in defiance of the Italian and allied military authorities. On September 19 the representatives of the great powers handed a peace treaty to Bulgaria. Under this treaty western Thrace was taken from Bulgaria, her army was reduced to 20,000, and she was required to pay \$45,000,000 as reparation for damages done by her armies.

Reverses for all of the forces opposing the bolsheviks were reported in November. On the 15th General Yudenitch was forced to retreat to the Estonian border and resigned command of the Russian northwest army. On the same day it was reported that the bolsheviks had captured Omsk, the seat of the Kolchak government. D'Annunzio created a still more serious situation for Italy when he seized Zara, Dalmatia, on November 14.

Domestic Affairs.

The return of the United States to a condition of peace was not accomplished easily. Unusual conditions existed and the people of the country were confronted with problems that had been unknown in the days before the war.

The adoption of nation-wide prohibition and the submission by congress of the constitutional amendment for complete woman's suffrage were important events of the year. Ratification of the national prohibition amendment came early in the year with a rapidity that surprised the nation. On January 29 the state department proclaimed the ratification of the amendment and set January 16, 1920, as the date when it would become effective.

On January 9 Attorney General Gregory tendered his resignation, to become effective March 4, and A. Mitchell Palmer was appointed to succeed him on February 27. On January 11 Walker D. Hines was appointed director general of railroads to succeed William G. McAdoo.

The government's first blow at the radicals during the year was delivered on January 8 when Congressman Victor L. Berger and four other Socialist leaders were found guilty by a federal jury in Chicago of conspiring to interfere with the successful conduct of the war. On February 18 they were sentenced to 20 years' imprisonment.

On March 2 Herbert Hoover was appointed by the president to be director general of American relief among the population of Europe.

Because of the necessity for legislation to meet the new after-war conditions, President Wilson on May 7, by cable from Paris, called a special session of congress to convene May 19. On May 16 the campaign for the Victory Liberty loan, the last popular war loan, closed with a heavy oversubscription of the \$4,500,000,000 bond issue.

The special session of the Sixty-sixth congress opened on May 19 with the Republicans in control of both house and senate for the first time since 1912. The house of representatives was organized by the election of Congressman Gillett of Massachusetts as speaker. In the senate Senator Cummins of Iowa was elected president pro tem.

One of the first acts of the new house was to pass the woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution by a vote of 294 to 89. The amendment was again brought up in the senate on June 4 and this time was adopted by a vote of 56 to 25.

The activities of anarchistic elements were manifested on June 2 when bombs were exploded simultaneously at the residences of ten men in eight Eastern cities.

On July 1 the war-time emergency prohibition act went into effect and for the first time in history the sale of liquor was illegal throughout the United States. On July 12 President Wilson vetoed the agricultural appropriation bill because of a "rider" repealing the daylight saving law. Congress promptly passed a separate bill repealing the daylight saving law and when President Wilson vetoed this measure, both houses passed the bill

over his veto on August 20.

The country was aroused during the summer by a series of race riots, the first of which occurred in Washington on July 21. Four persons were killed in the rioting at the capital. On July 27 the most serious race riots of the year began in Chicago. It was found necessary to call out state troops and before order had been restored 33 persons had been killed and hundreds injured.

In recognition of the services which he rendered as commander-in-chief of the American expeditionary forces, General Pershing was made a general for life by act of congress. His commission was handed to him as he landed on September 8 at New York with the First division.

The United States entertained a number of distinguished officials from abroad during the latter part of the year, including Cardinal Mercier of Belgium, King Albert and Queen Elizabeth of Belgium, and the prince of Wales.

During the closing weeks of the year a determined attack upon the war-time prohibition act held the attention of the country. On October 27 President Wilson vetoed the stringent prohibition enforcement bill passed by congress on the ground that the emergency for which the prohibitive law had been enacted, had passed. Congress immediately passed the bill over the president's veto and it became a law. Attacks were made upon the prohibition law in federal courts in all sections of the country and varying decisions were given. Appeal was taken to the United States Supreme court which on December 15 upheld the act.

Labor and Industrial.

Serious industrial disturbances were prevalent during the greater part of the year in all countries that had been engaged in war. The series of great strikes in the United States was inaugurated on January 9 by a walk-out of marine workers in New York. This strike was of short duration, however, as it ended on January 12, pending an arbitration of the dispute by the war labor board. South America apparently was affected also by new conditions as great strikes were in progress during January in Argentina and Peru.

On February 6 the country was startled by announcement of a general strike in Seattle called in support of striking shipbuilders. Authorities announced that this strike was forced by the radical labor element and prompt measures were taken by Mayor Ole Hanson to suppress it. As a result the strike ended on February 10. On February 16 a nation-wide strike of building trades workers was started and on March 4 the marine workers in New York again went out. On April 15 a strike of girl operators tied up the telephone service throughout the New England states, but this was ended on April 20 by a compromise wage increase.

On July 18 the Building Employers' association of Chicago, combating a strike of building workers, locked out 200,000 employees. On the same day Boston street car employees went on strike. Chicago surface and elevated car men struck on July 29 but the strike ended three days later with a compromise wage agreement. Railway shopmen throughout the country struck on August 1 for an increase from 68 cents to 85 cents an hour, but the strike was called off on August 14.

On August 7 there was inaugurated in New York one of the most unusual strikes on record—a walkout of actors. The strike spread to Chicago and was

not settled until September 6 when the actors won.

On September 9 the largest part of the Boston police force went on strike after the suspension of patrolmen active in forming a union. Rioting followed in which seven persons were killed. The striking policemen voted on September 12 to return to duty.

On September 22 steel workers throughout the country went on strike, demanding wage increases and shorter hours. Many plants were closed for a short time but the strikers soon weakened and within a few weeks peace

(Continued on page 3.)

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