



The Treaty Of Versailles 1919

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Interwar Period

During the last unit, I had lumped the Great War and the Treaty of Versailles in one session which is a huge historical injustice to both. In this unit, we will not return to the Great War directly but refer to it in all four lectures beginning today with the **Treaty of Versailles and going on to the Birth of the Modern Middle East, Tensions after WWI and the Great Depression, and finally the Road to WWII.**

Wilson' War

- The President had asked the Congress for a Declaration of War on April 2, 1917, following growing German submarine attacks on American shipping including on *Lusitania* (1915) which took 128 American lives, and the deciphered Zimmerman telegram to the Mexican government (January 1917) offering collaboration to regain the territories lost in the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
- Peace, however, always dominated Wilson's thought. In his speech, he said, "The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them..."

Wilson's Fourteen Points January 8, 1918

The President enunciated his peace plan in his speech to Congress on January 8, 1918.

“The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

- I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.
- II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.
- III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.
- IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

Wilson's Fourteen Points January 8, 1918

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their goodwill, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

Wilson's Fourteen Points January 8, 1918

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

Wilson's Fourteen Points January 8, 1918

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right, we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end. For such arrangements and covenants, we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove. ”

Wilson's Fourteen Points January 8, 1918

- Historian Walter LaFeber says that an American journalist based in Paris by the name of Walter Lippmann had helped the President draft these points. The President had ordered a group of advisors called The Inquiry to elaborate his peace plan. When it did produce specific proposals, the President often ignored them and made his own choices. The Allies and the U.S. Senate had reservations about them from the beginning.
- The fourteen points, however, made the President exceptionally popular. Millions of people greeted him when he arrived in Europe in December 1918.





The Paris Peace Conference January 19, 1919

- This is how the [Daily Guardian](#) described the participants seated around the horseshoe table at Quai d'Orsay:

The great conference was formally opened at the Quai d'Orsay, yesterday on the 48th anniversary of that scene, so calamitous to Europe, when the German Empire was proclaimed at Versailles on the eve of the capitulation of Paris....

On the right hand of M. Poincaré sat the United States delegates, on the left the British. Next to the United States representatives, round the corner of the table on the outside, came in order the French, Italian, and Belgian representatives. On either side of that end of the horseshoe were seated the Brazilian delegates, and on the inside, from the end up to the center, came the delegates from Cuba, Greece, Haiti, Peru, Portugal, Serbia, Czechoslovakia, and Uruguay. On the other side of the horseshoe, to the left of M. Poincaré, next to the British delegation, sat the delegates from Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India; and lastly the Japanese representatives. On the inner side of the table facing them, starting from the bottom, sat the delegates from Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, the King of the Hedjaz, Liberia, Panama, Poland, Rumania and Siam.





The Petitioners

- The Peace Conference invoked high hopes in the disadvantaged communities who hoped to seek justice. They included petitioners for a restored Poland, a free Belgium, a Jewish state; an Arab republic free from British and French control; a free Ukraine, a Kurdish state, and a free Armenia. Petitions arrived in favor of rights for women and blacks; a Japanese proposal for a racial equality clause; and a state for the south Slavs (or “Yugoslavs”). Queen Marie of Romania came in person to argue for Romanian land claims and a Parisian immigrant worker lodged a proposal for the freedom of his people, the Vietnamese, from French imperial rule. History would later know him as Ho Chi Minh.

The Guardian Editorial January 20, 1919

- M. Poincaré tells us that justice must rule the deliberations of the peace conference. It is fine saying, and the Allied statesmen must be true to it in spirit and in word. They are under every sort of temptation to be false to it. They are the heirs of a bad tradition – the tradition of secrecy, the tradition of power, the tradition of barter. Again, there is nobody to resist them. The whole world is spread before them; they have but to stretch out their hands and take. To fortify them in resisting these temptations they have the moral spectacle of the destruction of three empires which acted as though force were the highest law. If the passionate desire of the peoples of the world for peace and justice should fail to convert the Allied statesmen, there is the powerful argument of Germany, Austria, and Russia that the way of violence and rapacious appetite does not prosper.

Allies and the Fourteen Points

- The two victors of the war, Lord George and George Clemenceau were not very enthusiastic about the fourteen points. They also knew that the Republicans were in control of the Senate and Wilson's archenemy, Henry Cabot Lodge chaired the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In LaFeber's view, the President failed to placate the Senate leaders. He named a Peace Commission which he headed but it included not a single senator or the republican leader. The allied leaders had strong domestic support.
- The British refused to accept the second point on freedom of the Seas.
- About number 6, the evacuation of Russia and the self-determination of its future, Wilson intervened and maintained U.S. forces in Russia.

Allies and the Fourteen Points

- Clemenceau was determined to ensure French security by crippling Germany. The European leaders focused more on the losses of the war that had taken the lives of eight million soldiers and sailors. Over one million French soldiers perished. Approximately 20 million civilians died during the war and its immediate aftermath. The French had seen 4000 towns wiped off their map. Great Britain had suffered 900,000 troops killed and two million wounded.
- While Wilson sought agreement with his principles for an open, democratic world, Clemenceau was driven by centuries of French history. Walter LaFeber quoted the President as saying, "If I didn't feel that I was the personal instrument of God, I couldn't carry on." Lloyd George, again according to LaFeber remarked, "I think I did as well as it might be expected, seated as I was between Jesus Christ and Napoleon Bonaparte."

Allies and the Fourteen Points

- The Allies also perceived the Bolshevik revolution as another threat on the European horizon. Walter LaFeber writes that Wilson and Lloyd George rejected Clemenceau's proposal to take decisive military action against Lenin. They agreed instead that a Western delegation would meet Lenin at the island of Prinkipo (Büyükada, in the Sea of Marmara, near Istanbul), but the Russian White Russian army succeeded in killing the Prinkipo talks. Finally, in April 1919, Wilson sent one of his advisors William Bullitt to meet Lenin in Moscow but never considered his report. In 1920, the President decided that the United States would not officially recognize the Soviet government.
- When the participants met in Paris, Wilson defined himself as an associated nation with the Allies. Twenty-seven of them deliberated the issues but the major decisions were made by the Big Four. Finally, the Big Three because Italy left the group over a dispute with Wilson.

Allies and the Fourteen Points

- On the point about the colonized people, the mandate of principle was a compromise against the secret Treaty of London 1915 where the allies had planned to take direct control of the territories conquered from the losers, especially the German colonies. They insisted that the US must share the mandates. Wilson was not ready for it but accepted a mandate over Armenia and Constantinople, but the Senate rejected the responsibility.
- Wilson prevailed when it came to the organization of work. Instead of beginning with the treaty on Germany, the conference started with considering the covenant for the league. According to LaFeber, Wilson wrote the Covenant in ten days. After writing it, the President left Paris on February 14, 1919, for a month of business in Washington. That's where the Monroe Doctrine was included in the Covenant.

The Covenant of the League of Nations

- The Republicans, however, conveyed to the President that they would accept the peace treaty but not the Covenant. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge circulated to the Republicans a round robin which proved that 39 senators opposed the Covenant.
- On his return to Paris in March 1919, the President made more compromises. He allowed Japan to remain in Shantung despite 30 million Chinese living there. The Japanese, however, failed to convince the European leaders to include a clause in the Covenant that would uphold racial equality.
- Finally, the treaty begins with the Covenant. Here is what it says:

The Covenant of the League of Nations

Preamble:

- THE HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES, In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.
- The last major peace conference was the Congress of Vienna 1815, which we discussed in an earlier unit. Wilson showed how the state and human thinking about interstate relations in the twentieth century had evolved. The Congress of Vienna Final Document, however, had a longer life than the League.

The Covenant of the League of Nations

- Article 1 stipulates the conditions for members who could join it later provided two-thirds of the membership agreed.
- Article 2 established its two organs, an assembly, and a Council.
- Article 3 details the membership of the Assembly and grants each of them one vote.
- Article 4 names the Principal Allied and Associated Powers as five permanent members of the Council (The United States, the British Empire, France Italy, and Japan). The composition of the council included four additional members that the Assembly was to elect. For the first session, the conference named them. They were Belgium, Brazil, Greece, and Spain.

The Covenant of the League of Nations

- Article 5 stipulates the decision-making in the Assembly and the Council which is in an idealistic vein because the decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the league represented at the meeting. On procedural matters, the requirement was less rigorous. The United States had the privilege under Article 5.3 to summon the first meetings of the Assembly and the Council.
- Article 6 dealt with the Permanent Secretariat, the staff that they would need, and how the members would fund it.
- Article 7 headquartered it in Geneva and declared its buildings in the host country or wherever it would decide to meet as an inviolable.
- Article 8 focuses on disarmament. Here is what it says:

Disarmament

- **ARTICLE 8.**
- The Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations. The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments. Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years. After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, the limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council. The Members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those Members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety. The Members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval, and air programmes and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to war-like purposes.

The Covenant of the League of Nations

- Article 9 established a Commission to ensure the execution of the provisions of Articles One and Eight.
- Article 10 deliberates on the security issues. It forbids external aggression against the territorial integrity and political independence of the member states and mandates the Council to offer advice about how the respect for these principles being an obligation shall be fulfilled. (Senate objected to it).
- Article 11 declares that any war or threat of war should be of concern to the whole League. If there is any such issue, it had to be considered by an emergency session of the of the council.
- Article 12 requires members to seek arbitration if they couldn't resolve a dispute or request the Council to investigate it and agree “in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.”

The Covenant of the League of Nations

- Article 13 concerns the details of arbitration particularly if they're about the interpretation of a treaty or any question of international law and to respect the award of the Court of Arbitration. It emphasizes that War should not be an option and that the members “will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies with the award.”
- Article 14 established the Permanent Court of International Justice which has outlived the League and is now part of the United Nations system.
- Article 15 outlines the steps the Council takes to investigate a dispute and if the statement of facts that it approves is disregarded by a member, other members will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendation of the report. If there is no consensus, then the members of the League reserved the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

Common Defense—Another Senate Redline!

- **ARTICLE 16.**
- Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under [Articles 12, 13, or 15](#), it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nations and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval, or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League. The Members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this Article, in order to minimise the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State, and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the Members of the League which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League. Any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the Representatives of all the other Members of the League represented thereon.

The Covenant of the League of Nations

- Article 16 constitutes the common defense. It means a delinquent state would be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the league. They will then take various steps including sanctions on trade, finances, commerce, and people-to-people contacts against the violator. The Council could recommend effective military or naval force that members of the League shall contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenants of the League.
- Article 17 defines what happens when a member has a disagreement or dispute with a non-member of the League. Essentially, the non-member will have to respect the Covenant articles that might apply.

The Covenant of the League of Nations

- Article 18 creates a central registry for all treaties and agreements signed between the members. They will have to submit a copy to the Permanent Secretariat. This is another tradition that has survived as part of the UN system.
- Article 19 talks about the management of those treaties that might no longer be valid.
- Article 20 upholds the supremacy of the Covenant and abrogates all obligations or understandings which would be inconsistent with its terms.
- Article 21 excludes the Monroe Doctrine from the ambit of the Covenant. It was a concession to the U.S. Senate.
- Article 22 laid down the mandate system. We'll talk about it in detail when we will discuss the Middle East.

The Covenant of the League of Nations

- Article 23 is about the rights of Labor including men, women, and children, in their home countries or as immigrants. It requires member states to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control. It acts against the traffic of women and children and the traffic of opium and other dangerous drugs. It puts the League in charge of traffic in arms and ammunition with the countries that the Council might name. It also deals with international commerce which should enjoy the freedom of communications and transit and equal treatment for all members of the League. It also endeavors to prevent and control diseases.
- Article 24 makes the League a supreme organization over and above and responsible for all the existing international bureaus and commissions or the ones that might be created and determines how additional expenses will be shared.
- Article 25 protects the work of the Red Cross.

The Covenant of the League of Nations

- Article 26 is about the amendments that members might like to introduce which must be ratified by the the Council and then a majority of the League.
- It includes a list of the original members, and appoints Sir James Eric Drummond, a British diplomat, as the secretary general of the League.

Beyond the Covenant

- The other parts of the treaty are about the restoration of sovereignty where it had been lost and the creation of Poland and Czechoslovak states. The bulk of it is codified hostility toward Germany.
- Part II opens with the boundaries of Germany.
- Part III, Articles 3 and 32 restore guaranteed, full sovereignty to Belgium.
- Article 40 does the same for Luxembourg.
- Article 42 defines the French role in Rhineland and Article 45 ceded Saar Basin to them. Section V restored Alsace-Lorraine to France reversing the German annexation of 1871.
- Article 80 guaranteed Austrian independence.

Poland

- Congress of Vienna Article I
- ARTICLE I. The duchy of Warsaw is united to the Russian empire, to which it shall be irrevocably attached by its constitution, and be possessed by his majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, his heirs and successors in perpetuity. His Imperial Majesty reserves to himself to give to this State, enjoying a distinct Administration, the interior improvement which he shall judge proper...
- The Poles, who are respective subjects of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, shall obtain a representation, and national institutions, regulated according to the degree of political consideration, that each of the governments to which they belong shall judge expedient and proper to grant them.
- Section VIII of the Paris Treaty created Poland.

Beyond the Covenant

- Article 118 disposed of the German colonies, some of which became mandates under the victors.
- Article 156 grants German Shantung to Japan.
- Part V limits German armed forces. Article 163 permits them only 100,000 soldiers.
- Article 199 arraigned the Kaiser as a war criminal.
- Article 231, Part VIII, Germany recognizes its war guilt.

Beyond the Covenant

- Article 232 imposes compensation for all damages and in the subsequent sections, the Treaty goes into minute details about them, including the establishment of a Reparation Commission to calculate the sums due.
- Article 292 abrogates all German intrusions into Russia.
- On June 28, 1919, the participants signed the treaty at Versailles.

The Give and Take

- ART. XXVI. His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having substituted to his ancient title of Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, that of King of Hanover, and this title having seen acknowledged by all the Powers of Europe, and by the Princes and free towns of Germany, the countries which have till now composed the Electorate of Brunswick Lunenburg, according as their limits have been recognized and fixed for the future, by the following Articles, shall henceforth form the kingdom of Hanover.
- ART. XXVII. His Majesty the King of Prussia cedes to his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover, to be possessed by his Majesty and his successors, in full property and sovereignty;...

The Treaty

- President Wilson opposed the French extreme positions on Germany to the extent that according to LaFeber, Clemenceau accused him of being a pro-German. At one point, he says, Wilson threatened to board the George Washington and return home. Clemenceau gave up his demand for French annexation of much of the German Rhineland and control of the remainder. In return, Wilson and Lloyd George agreed that French armies could occupy the Rhineland for 15 years.
- Wilson also signed a security treaty with France that guaranteed its border with Germany. He thought that this would enable Germany to stay in German hands.

The Treaty

- The French won the war guilt clause (Article 231 of the Treaty) and reparations that a Commission calculated at \$33 billion, far more than Germany was able to pay.
- The Allies also discovered that if the Eastern European nations exercised the right to self-determination, the results could be unmanageable, so they reached a compromise.
- Section VIII created the Polish state. Poland also received special access to the Baltic Sea through Danzig, which was declared a freeport although it was fully German.
- Several million Germans of Sudetenland were included in the Czechoslovak borders.

Congress of Vienna to the [League of Nations](#)

- This link offers details of all the changes made to the European map.

EUROPE 1914



The old empires...

EUROPE 1923



...became new countries



Former Russian Empire

Defeated former empires:

Germany

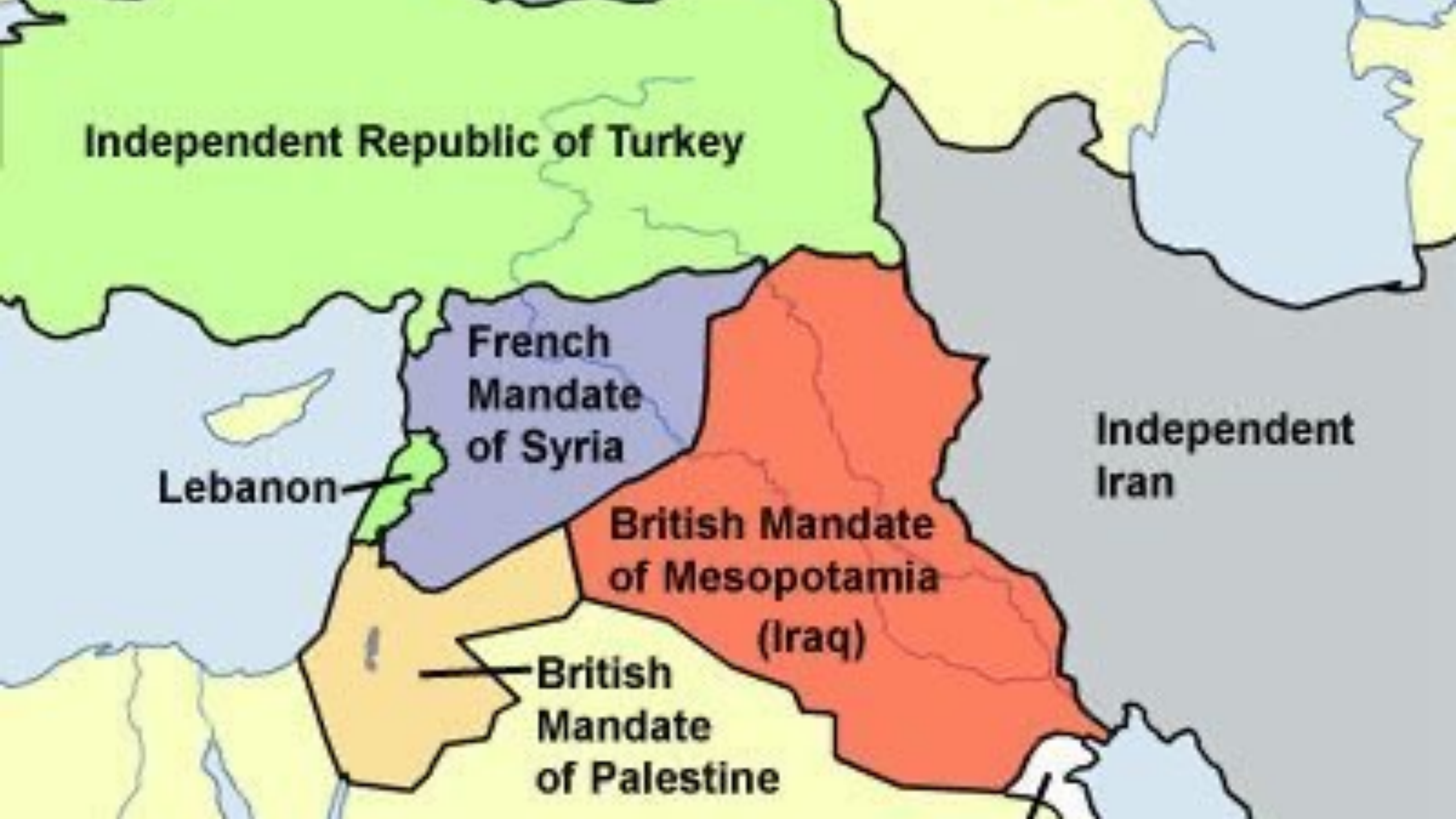
Austria-Hungary

Ottoman Empire

Free cities

Areas subject to referendum

Contested areas



Independent Republic of Turkey

Lebanon

**French
Mandate
of Syria**

**Independent
Iran**

**British Mandate
of Mesopotamia
(Iraq)**

**British
Mandate
of Palestine**



AFRICA

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000

REFERENCE

Back Home

- Back home the Senate did not budge from its position. Two groups of opponents to the Treaty emerged.
- Known as Irreconcilables, Republican Senators Hiram Johnson and William Borah rejected the Covenant, especially Article 10.
- The second group was led by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. It was known as the reservationists who essentially opposed the League and proposed several unacceptable amendments to it. Senator Lodge substituted China everywhere Wilson had put Japan in dealing with former German colonies in China. And then of course the reservationists also apprehended that Article 10 locked the United States into having to act with the weakening European colonial powers. It also threatened Congress's power to declare war. Senator Lodge invented his fourteen points to modify Wilson's Covenant to remove any automatic commitment to the League's principles.

Back Home

- On September 19, 1919, the President began a cross-country speaking tour to whip up support for the League. His health had frail since his stay in Paris, but he delivered 36 speeches in 23 days. During this ordeal, on September 26 in Pueblo, Colorado, he suffered a paralytic stroke which forced him to end his tour and return to Washington. His health issues failed to move the Senate. On November 19, 1919, the Senate defeated the treaty containing the Lodge's reservations, 39 to 55. Wilson's loyal Democrats joined the Irreconcilables to vote down the measure.

Back Home

Raymond Blaine Fosdick, an American official to be seconded to the League apprehended the outcome in a personal letter on Jan 19, 1920, "I confess, however, that I have not much hope about the result because the proceedings in the Senate are dragging unconscionably, and if any result is achieved, I am very, very fearful that it will be one which will not be acceptable to the president.... Altogether, it is a sorry, agonizing mess, and as an American, I hang my head in shame. My only satisfaction in resigning is that it releases me from the burden of silence. I can now speak my faith before the world. I shall do it in as loud and eloquent tones as I can."

Back Home

- On March 19, 1920, the Senate voted again with Lodge's reservations, but the number fell short of necessary to two-thirds, with 49 to 35.
- In 1920 republican Warren G. Harding of Ohio won the Presidential election by 7 million votes.
- In 1921, the United States officially ended its role in the war by signing separate treaties with Germany and Austria.

Conclusion

- The United States did not join but Wilson's League began to grapple with the complexities of the international system with a reduced and yet considerable incorporation of his idealism. The question was if the inter-state system, after the experience of a devastating Great War, was ready for idealism. The League survived until 1946. Its successor organization, the United Nations since 1945, has confronted similar challenges in eight decades of its existence.
- For the international system, however, the League marked a giant step forward from the Final Document of Congress of Vienna 1815 which distributed Europe and its people between royal houses, and the Congress of Berlin 1884-85 which fixed the rules for the scramble for Africa.
- National interests drive the behavior of states. They defend and advance them in terms of their understanding of existing realities. In the process, they collide with others or any bits of idealism if they determine that their crucial interests are at stake.
- Beginning next week, we will see how far the members of the League respected or not Wilson's idealism beyond the Hall of Mirrors of Chateau de Versailles where they signed his Covenant.