



- [The Treaty Of Versailles](#)
1919
- [Muhammad Najm Akbar](#)
 - [Gent 14](#)
 - makbar@mpc.edu

Intro: Versailles and the Outcome of the Great War

In the last unit, we looked at the Great War and the objectives that led major European powers to this disastrous calamity.

In this unit, we will study the outcome of the war for the combatants and affected areas of the world, and the way the peace conference ended with the Treaty of Versailles, which translated it for them on the ground.

We will devote two sessions to the Treaty directly and the third, indirectly. Today, we will focus on the organizational and the European components of it. Next week, we will do **the Birth of the Modern Middle East and Africa.**

It will also inform our discussion on **the Tensions after WWI and the Great Depression.**

References

- A. Scott Berg, *Wilson* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 2013).
- Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875–1914* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989).
- Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York: Random House, 1987).
- Walter LaFeber, *The American Age: United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad, 1750 to the Present*, 2nd ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994).
- For further in-depth study: Negotiated and signed as part of the peace conference, the [Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye](#) and the [Treaty of Trianon](#) dismembered the old Austro-Hungarian and German Empires.

How Much Can One Treaty Do?

- The War and its outcome drastically changed the world map and, as such, impacted the history of the newly created world order for years to come. We will try to understand this vast expanse of history by concentrating on the following points:
 - Why was the Peace Conference necessary?
 - Who attended it?
 - What was the US role in it? How did it differ from the European powers?
 - How did the US enunciate its peace objectives?
 - How successful was the US?
 - Why did the US create a new international organization as an integral part of the peace treaty?
 - How did the Treaty change the European map?

Why was the Peace Conference necessary?

- Peace Treaties have often provided clarity after wars. They allow belligerents, either directly or through a third-party mediator, to assess their gains and losses and set expectations for the future. They tend to be a better alternative to decades-long stalemates, where neither side reconciles with the outcome, and the war situation continues to define the state profiles of the hostile neighbors.
- The nineteenth century had seen several peace treaties. We have learned how, post-Napoleonic Wars, the Congress of Vienna, 1815, settled conflicts between the Monarchies. The Berlin Conference of 1876 went a step ahead of the Vienna Conference and specified rules for the scramble for Africa to avoid potential conflicts.

Why was the Peace Conference necessary?

- The Great War had several firsts to challenge the antagonists. For a century between the Congress of Vienna and the Great War, the European powers had never experienced such a lethal and prolonged war with as many antagonists.
- Also unprecedented was for a War to have so drastically impacted the governance structure as the four empires, the German, the Austro-Hungarian (Habsburg), the Ottomans, and the Romanovs (the Russians), collapsed and thus required massive changes to the European map.
- Never had a transformative event like the Russian Revolution occurred during a war.



Who attended it?

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, around 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, Czecho-Slovakia, 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 US: Enunciated Peace Objectives?

The United States had been the last power to join the war in 1917.

Unlike others, it had most emphatically enunciated its war aims.



Wilson' War

- President Wilson asked Congress for a Declaration of War on April 2, 1917.
- The President had finally decided to join the Great War. Peace, however, always dominated his thoughts.
- In his speech, President Wilson 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 human rights. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them...”

Wilson' War

- President Wilson's biographer Scott Berg affirms that his faith deeply impacted his peace mission because he was a deeply religious person.
- Berg titled each chapter of Wilson's biography based on Scripture. His election is ascension. His life sketch is Providence. Spelling out his peacemaking mission is Isaiah, and the difficulties he encounters dealing with the European Imperial powers are Gethsemane. At the domestic front, nonetheless, the President confronted several contradictions. In brief, Berg says that based on his experience of civil war, "He comprehended the feelings of guilt, even shame, the lingering anger, and the contrition;... His administration instituted segregation, Jim Crow laws, in Washington DC" (p. 11-12).

Wilson's Fourteen Points January 8, 1918

- A year after the declaration of war, the President enunciated his peace plan in his speech to Congress on January 8, 1918. The world remembered it as Wilson's Fourteen Points:

“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 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 are 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 an 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.”

Wilson's Fourteen Points January 8, 1918

- “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

- The fourteen points made the President exceptionally popular. Millions of people greeted him when he arrived in Europe in December 1918.
- Berg cites the first lady Edith Wilson describing their arrival in Paris, “Every inch was covered with cheering, shouting humanity. The sidewalks, the buildings, even the horse-chestnut trees were peopled with men and boys per se in their very tops. Roofs were filled, windows overflowed until one grew giddy of trying to greet the bursts of welcome that came like the surge of untamed waters. Flowers rained upon us until we were nearly buried” (p.18).





The US vs. the European Powers

- Another distinction of the Great War was that no power from the Western Hemisphere had ever played a decisive role in ending a European stalemate and resolved to dominate them.
- Europe and the Old World were thus unwilling to share Wilsonian idealism. The President, therefore, had a tough fight at hand as he confronted the centuries-old, anchored, and yet badly shaken Imperialism.
- Before 1918, no US President had left the US territory. Woodrow Wilson spent some six months in Europe and changed the course of history, although not as much as he desired.

Imperialism, Though Shaken: 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.**
- The Guardian and the US President knew that imperialism was not ready to change.

Allies and the Fourteen Points

- The two victors of the war, Lloyd George and George Clemenceau were not very enthusiastic about the fourteen points.
- European Powers knew that the Republican-majority Senate was only partially supportive of the President. The victorious Allied leaders, on the other hand, enjoyed strong domestic support. Like the US Senate, they had several non-negotiable positions:
- 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, we learned in the last unit that Wilson wavered and supported the failed White Armies.

Allies and the Fourteen Points

- Clemenceau was determined to ensure French security by crippling Germany, territorially and financially, 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.”
- Twenty-seven participants deliberated the issues, but the Big Four made the major decisions, i.e., mainly the US, France, and Britain. Italy as well, although to a lesser extent.

Allies and the Fourteen Points

- On the point about the colonized people, while the Conference mandate excluded the pre-war possessions, the President succeeded in eliminating the classical colonialism for the victors' gains during the Great War.
- Lenin had indirectly helped the President by publishing the secret Treaty of London 1915, in which the Allies had planned to take direct control of the territories conquered from the losers. Russia was not invited but benefited from the abrogation of German gains, which rendered the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk 1918 irrelevant.
- We will study the League of Nations' Article 22, on mandates, next week. While the colonizers retained the upper hand because of a compromise, the Covenant fundamentally changed the notion of colonialism.
- We discussed forms of imperialism and a surge of US imperialism in 1898. In 1919, the US reluctantly agreed to accept a mandate over Armenia and Constantinople, but the Senate rejected the League and the territories assigned to America.

Creating A New
International
Organization:
The Covenant of the
League of Nations

- Wilson prevailed when it came to the organization of work. Instead of beginning with the treaty on Germany, the conference started by considering the covenant for the League. According to LaFeber, Wilson wrote the Covenant in ten days.
- The Senate conveyed to the President that they would accept the peace treaty but not the Covenant.
- 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 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 council.
- Article 12 requires members to seek arbitration if they cannot 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—A US 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 an 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 next week about it in detail when we discuss the Middle East and Africa, as well as the areas to which it applied. The text of this long article reads as follows:

- [Article 22 of the Covenant](#)

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant. The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and **who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.**

- Article 22

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. **The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.**

- Article 22

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

- Article 22

There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilisation, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population. In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge. The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council. A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

Article 22

Briefly, for the first time in history, the potential colonies became the responsibility of an international organization, in this case, the League. The League delegated this responsibility to major European as well as international and regional powers (coincidentally, the victors).

For the first time in history, an international organization interposed between potentially colonized people and the victors of the war.

The role it assigned to the victors was in no terms absolute, a departure from classical colonialism. They had to follow the A 22 rules and submit a compliance report to a League commission.

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 trafficking of women and children and the trafficking 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.

EUROPE 1914



How did the Treaty change the European map?

The old empires...

EUROPE 1923



...became new countries



Former Russian Empire

Defeated former empires:

- Germany
- Austria-Hungary
- Ottoman Empire

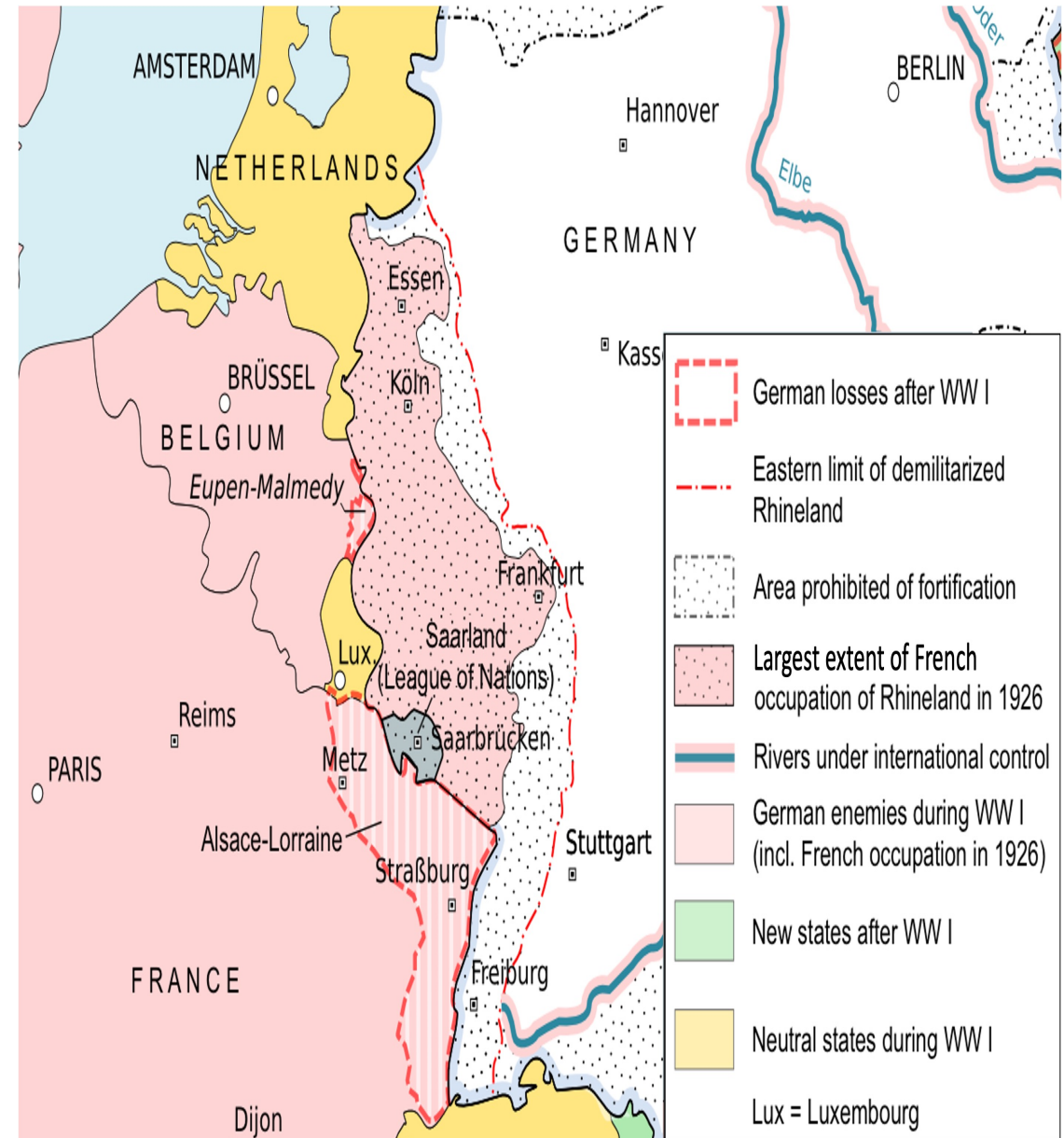
Free cities

Areas subject to referendum

Contested areas

How did the Treaty change the European map?

- In addition to the creation of the League, in its other parts, the treaty restored the sovereignty that had been lost and created the nation-states of Poland and Czechoslovakia.
- 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 the Rhineland, and Article 45 ceded the Saar Basin to them. Section V restored Alsace-Lorraine to France, reversing the German annexation of 1871.
- Article 80 guaranteed Austrian independence.



How did the Treaty change the European map?

- 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. A Commission calculated at \$33 billion, far more than Germany was able to pay.

How did the Treaty change the European map?

- 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.

How did the Treaty change the European map?

- 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.

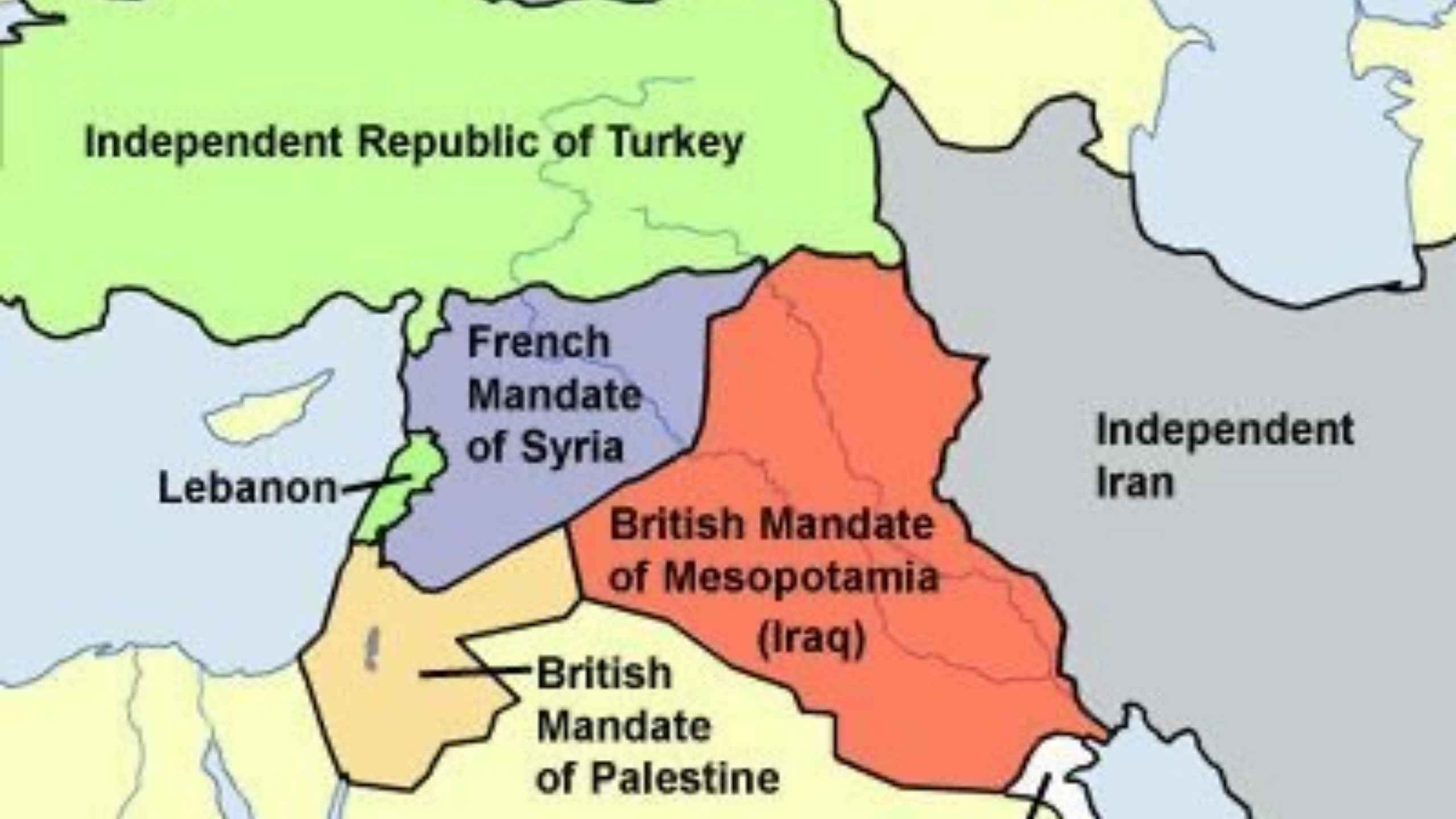
How did the Treaty change the European map?

- 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 (white and green stripes indicate the farthest the Russians were able to advance and the farthest the Poles were able to attack into Russia during the Polish–Soviet War).
- Several million Germans of the 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.](#)



Independent Republic of Turkey

Lebanon

**French
Mandate
of Syria**

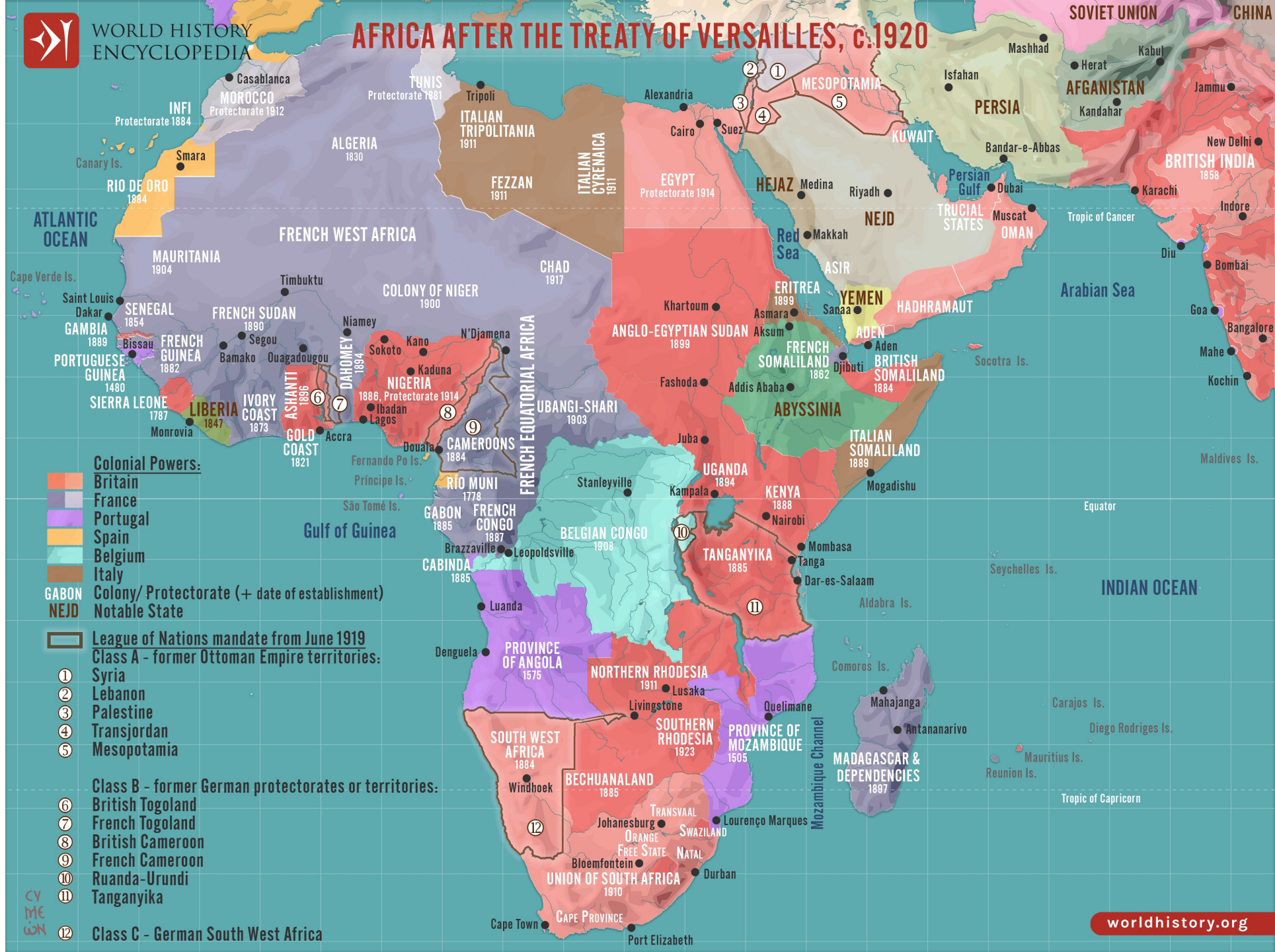
**Independent
Iran**

**British Mandate
of Mesopotamia
(Iraq)**

**British
Mandate
of Palestine**



AFRICA AFTER THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES, c.1920



- Colonial Powers:**
- Britain
 - France
 - Portugal
 - Spain
 - Belgium
 - Italy
- GABON** Colony/ Protectorate (+ date of establishment)
NEJD Notable State
- League of Nations mandate from June 1919**
- Class A - former Ottoman Empire territories:**
- ① Syria
 - ② Lebanon
 - ③ Palestine
 - ④ Transjordan
 - ⑤ Mesopotamia
- Class B - former German protectorates or territories:**
- ⑥ British Togoland
 - ⑦ French Togoland
 - ⑧ British Cameroon
 - ⑨ French Cameroon
 - ⑩ Ruanda-Urundi
 - ⑪ Tanganyika
- Class C - German South West Africa**

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, but the absence of the US had a seriously negative impact on its ability to deal with interstate crises. 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.

Germany's representative at Versailles, Johannes Bell, signs the document (Sir William Orpen, oil on canvas, *The Signing of the Peace Treaty in the Hall of Mirrors, Versailles, 28th June 1919*) (Corbis)



Conclusion

- 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 the Covenant.