

Wilson's Vision and the League of Nations Debate



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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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Europe 1914



Introduction: Wilson's Vision

The First World War was the costliest war the world had experienced both in human and economic terms. From 1914 to 1918, nine million people died fighting on battlefields that stretched all over Europe, parts of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and the world's oceans. The optimism that had greeted the dawn of the twentieth century was destroyed.

World War I was the first war which used the entire industrial capacity of modern states and sacrificed national economies for wartime goals. It was the conflict that ended some of Europe's oldest empires and introduced the idea of self-rule based on ethnic, racial, and religious identity, a concept that still causes wars today. It was the war which led to the rise of Nazi Germany and caused the Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia, sowing the seeds for the Cold War. It was also the first time that the United States participated in a global struggle and found itself center stage in determining world affairs.

The effects of World War I warrant a closer examination of the war itself and of the subsequent Paris Peace Conference that tried to create a peaceful world out of the carnage. U.S. President Woodrow Wilson, who designed a Fourteen Points Peace Plan that included the creation of a League of Nations, envisioned such a world. The concepts and ideas that emerged from the Paris Peace Conference influence much of our thinking about international issues today. At the time, however, Wilson's vision for the world was radical.

Why did Wilson develop his ideas for a peace plan?

Woodrow Wilson was an outsider to politics. He was, first and foremost, an educator. In 1902 he became president of Princeton University. Eight years later he became governor of New Jersey, and just two years into his first political post he was elected president. Wilson had little support from politicians in Washington and was not well-known to the public. As the son of a minister, however, he was an effective speaker and was familiar with the

value of galvanizing public opinion.

The destruction of World War I had a profound impact on Wilson. He was appalled by the secret deals governments made with each other, the arms build-up, the authoritarian empires which refused to negotiate, and the bitterness among the powers of Europe. His Fourteen Points plan, which many called overly idealistic, tried to prevent these problems in the future. Wilson hoped for an end to war and an increase in international cooperation.

Since Wilson's time the nations of the world have fought in a yet more deadly world war and in numerous regional conflicts, some of which have persisted for decades. At the same time, international organizations now work to regulate trade, resolve disputes among nations, and prevent governments from oppressing their people.

So where do Wilson's ideas stand today? What is his legacy? Why do some people cringe and others applaud when they hear a politician referred to as "Wilsonian?" This reading will help to answer those questions.

What will this reading entail?

Parts I and II of this unit explore World War I, Wilson's attempts to establish a just peace, and the Treaty of Versailles.

Following an investigation of World War I, you will be transported back to France in 1919 where you will take part in the conference to determine the future of Europe. You will be asked to define what constitutes a just settlement for your assigned country and to champion that cause.

You will also sit in the 1919 United States Senate to decide what role America should play in the postwar world. Many of the questions the Senators discussed then are still relevant today: What should America's relationship with its allies look like? How involved should the United States be in international affairs? What are our national interests? How should the U.S. military be employed for matters of world security?

Part I: The Scourge of War

In August 1914, the major European powers declared war against one another. The causes of the conflict were longstanding and had brought the continent to the brink of war numerous times in the past. Competition for resources, an arms race, and ethnic and political alliances were the primary causes.

Why did European countries start an arms race?

The Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century had led to enormous economic and cultural changes in Europe. The trend toward speedy, large-scale production spurred economic competition among Britain, France, Germany and Russia. As these countries sought raw materials needed for manufacturing and new markets to sell their goods, the competition led to struggles for overseas colonies. This pursuit of raw materials and markets led to clashes between Britain and France over Sudan in 1898 as well as between Germany and France in Morocco in 1905 and 1911. Although war was avoided in these colonial struggles, all of the powers saw the others' ventures into Asia, Africa, and the Middle East as cause for alarm. This alarm led to an increased sense of vulnerability and a desire for stronger militaries to protect their overseas holdings.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Germany held the continent's strongest land-based military force. Sensing their own vulnerability, both France and Russia saw the need to strengthen their armies to defend themselves. All three powers began an arms race that led to the design of some of the most lethal weapons that the world had ever seen. Long-range artillery, the machine gun, and the airplane were only a few of the new military

technologies introduced by the summer of 1914.

Britain, the world's greatest naval power, felt insecure when Germany began a major shipbuilding program. Both countries began building the largest and most destructive battleships the world had ever seen. In an attempt to improve its odds in fighting the British navy, Germany also began to produce destructive submarines. The more weapons and troops each country amassed, the more insecurity each felt. As a result, each country searched for and found allies on which it could depend if war started.

The lamps are going out all over Europe, we shall never see them lit again in our lifetime."

—British Foreign Minister Sir Edward Grey, August 1914

What defensive alliances did the European countries form?

In 1882, Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary formed the Triple Alliance, a pact which required each to come to one another's defense in the event of an attack. In response, Great Britain joined France and Russia in 1907 to form the Triple Entente. These alliance systems effectively divided Europe into two armed camps. War between any two countries would threaten war among them all. Although Europe's leaders thought the system would maintain the balance of power on the continent and keep the peace, the combination of the alliance system and heightened nationalism resulted in tragic consequences.

What were the origins of nationalism?

Nationalism arose in Europe as people began to see themselves as members of a common group rather than as individuals. The concept of a "nation" which shared language, heritage, and culture excited average citizens, especially members of ethnic minorities repressed by their governments.

Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East, and Russia all contained nationalist groups which sought independence and harbored festering resentments. Nationalist sentiments among the groups which lived in those empires, such as Serbs, Poles, Croats, Czechs, Slovaks, Arabs, Armenians, Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians, conflicted with the system that suppressed their desires for self-rule.



Photograph courtesy of the Imperial War Museum, London #Q5100.

Soldiers fought for years from trenches like these.

As nationalism grew, other new ideas contributed to Europe's volatile atmosphere. Some people became interested in what they thought was the primitive and irrational nature of humanity and viewed war as a purifying experience. Encouraged by popular press reports championing the courage of soldiers and the importance of duty, many young people were attracted to the idea of the "collective soul" of the nation. Soldiering became heroic, and duty to one's country became honorable.

“The most cultivated elite among them find in warfare an aesthetic ideal.... Above all, War, in their eyes is the occasion for the most noble of virtues...energy, mastery, and sacrifice for a cause which transcends ourselves.”

—French scholar, 1912

The rising tide of nationalism, combined with the alliance system and the massive arms build-up, would result in a total European war.

The War Begins

On June 28, 1914 a Serbian nationalist assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Austria-Hungary's heir to the throne, and his wife Sophie. The Serbs living in Austria-Hungary

wanted to join their Serbian brethren in Serbia proper, but Austria-Hungary was unwilling to give up the land. It seemed to the murderers that only a radical action would convince the leaders of their desires. The assassination set off a devastating chain of events in Europe. Austria-Hungary's political alliance with Germany and Serbia's ethnic ties to Russia meant that many would be drawn into what could have been a local, limited crisis.

Germany supported Austria-Hungary's excessive demands for justice from Serbia. Russia, in support of its ally Serbia, refused to give in to the threat of German intervention and mobilized its forces to demonstrate its steadfastness. Fulfilling its military alliance with Russia, France entered into the storm once Germany declared war on Russia. Germany, recognizing that having to fight a two-front war against both France and Russia could be disastrous, attacked France through neutral Belgium as a means to achieve quick victory. This action invoked a treaty that Britain had with Belgium guaranteeing Belgium's neutrality. Great Britain entered the war against Germany.

Russia, France, and Great Britain led the Allied countries, while Germany, Austria-Hungary, and the Ottoman Empire fought for what

became known as the Central Powers. National pride had led Europe into an all-out war that would burn a swath across the continent.

How did the war progress in the first months?

Young people signed up to fight in large numbers hoping to bring glory to their country. Vowing to “be home by Christmas,” both sides set off in August 1914 to fight a war which they thought would be over quickly. But after the initial success of their invasion of Belgium, the German offensive stalled. German troops established defensive trenches stretching from the North Sea to neutral Switzerland to protect their gains in the West. The system of trenches became known as the Western Front.

This Western Front moved little for the next four, bloody years. From either side of the trench line, British, French, and German soldiers endured endless frontal attacks. The new modern weapons of war brought never-before-seen casualties. Machine guns, poisonous gas, and powerful artillery led to the death of over one million men by the end of 1914. Both sides suffered terrible losses. This “total war” had begun to change the norms of warfare, including the rights of “neutrals.”

America's Neutrality

President Wilson firmly believed that the United States should act as a model to the rest of the world, and remain out of the conflict fueled by the “ancient hatreds” festering in Europe.

“Thank God we're not involved in this war, a war that represents everything evil in the world.”

—President Woodrow Wilson, August 1914

According to the London Declaration of 1909 negotiated by Britain, Germany, the United States, and other nations, a country was “neutral” as long as it did not shelter warships in ports, train troops, or sell weapons and munitions to either side. Private companies or banks, however, could still make loans

or sell weapons to the governments of combatant nations.

“The United States must be neutral in fact as well as in name [and]... Impartial in thought as well as in action.”

—President Woodrow Wilson, August 1914

Americans wanted to stay out of the war for a number of reasons. Many felt that European affairs were far removed—literally—from the United States. It was also not clear which side the United States should support. Large numbers of immigrants to the United States came from Germany, while many Americans felt a vague allegiance to Great Britain.

Wilson was adamant that the U.S. government abide by the terms of neutrality set by the London Declaration. He could not, however, prevent private companies from pursuing business transactions with both sides, a highly profitable enterprise during wartime. Between 1914 and 1916 American companies' trade in munitions increased from \$40 million to \$1.3 billion while private banks issued loans of \$27 million to the Central Powers and \$2.2 billion to the Allies. This trade helped the United States out of an economic slump. Wilson's desire for America to steer clear of the conflict and to remain neutral was ultimately unsuccessful.

How was America's neutrality threatened?

Because both the Allied and Central powers had envisioned a short, offensive war, neither was prepared for the stalemate that developed. As a result, both faced financial and economic collapse. From the early days of the war, the British navy had enforced a strict blockade of German ports using mine fields and patrols. Trade between Germany and neutral nations became nearly impossible. In response, the German navy came to depend more on its new submarine forces to fight the British blockade and to deter the Allies from trading with neutral nations as well.

The terms of the London Declaration al-

lowed both sides to stop neutral ships in order to search for “contraband,” which was defined as items used exclusively for military use. The declaration also allowed for contraband to be seized and for neutral ships to be forced to home ports for off-loading. The problem of recognizing neutral ships on the high seas was traditionally resolved by identifying the flag of the vessel. During the early days of the war, both the Central and Allied powers tried to abide by the rules so as not to lose U.S. favor.

“Britain should do nothing which will be a cause of complaint or dispute as regards the United States Government; such a dispute would indeed be a crowning calamity...and probably fatal to our chances of success.”

—British Foreign Minister Sir Edward Grey, December 1916

As the fighting nations became desperate, both sides began to violate the terms of neutrality and seized materials from neutral ships that they liberally classified as contraband. In response, Wilson sent notes of protest to both sides and reminded both of America’s rights as a neutral nation. Still, the dire economic straits that both sides faced led to extreme measures. Each wished to halt U.S. trade with the other.

The British navy began to fly American flags illegally from their merchant vessels in order to avoid attack. This tactic enabled the British to fire on German ships in surprise attacks. Depending solely on stealth as their main weapon, German submarines were vulnerable once they surfaced. After British ships flying U.S. flags sunk a series of submarines, German submarines started to sink merchant vessels regardless of what flags

they flew. Wilson vehemently condemned both sides for this development, and remained determined to maintain U.S. rights as a neutral. One such right, the right of citizens of neutral countries to sail on passenger vessels of belligerent countries, caused great debate within the Wilson administration.

What was the result of the sinking of the Lusitania?

U.S. Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan had pleaded with Wilson when war broke out to restrict the travel of Americans on the ships of belligerent countries as well as to end trade with both sides. Bryan believed that this could keep America out of the war. Wilson insisted that international law provided America these rights and refused Bryan’s request.

On May 7, 1915 a German submarine sank the RMS *Lusitania*, one of Britain’s most famous passenger liners, without allowing passengers to disembark. Although the Germans had posted a warning in New York newspapers to potential travelers on the *Lusitania*, the notice was not heeded. The ship, traveling from New York to Britain, went down with 1,196 passengers. Of these, 128 were Americans. The event outraged the American public. Many well-know public figures, including former President Theodore Roosevelt, pres-





Theodore Roosevelt urges Woodrow Wilson to join the war.

sured Wilson to ask Congress to declare war on Germany.

Wilson did not go to Congress. Instead he sent strong notes of protest to Germany that warned that any further attacks would result in the United States' entrance into the war. Wilson's actions led to the resignation of

Secretary of State Bryan who felt that Wilson's continued insistence on maintaining Americans' rights to travel in a war zone would lead inevitably to its entry into the war. A few critics, such as Theodore Roosevelt and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, attacked Wilson for not asking for a declaration of war against Germany immediately following the *Lusitania* disaster.

With attacks coming both from those who supported involvement in the war and those who did not,

Wilson's controversial decision made his 1916 re-election bid uncertain. But the American

public showed its support. Campaigning under the slogan "He Kept Us Out of War," while simultaneously declaring that "preparedness" was essential, Woodrow Wilson narrowly won re-election for the presidency in November 1916.

The Preacher's Son

Woodrow Wilson was a minister's son and a professor who studied American democracy. He believed he could take politics directly to the people, to muster their support by appealing to their emotions and, after molding and shaping their convictions, to let them loose on his opposition. Because Wilson seemed to respect the public more than elected officials, many Congressional representatives and foreign leaders viewed President Wilson as irritating and haughty. They often saw him as preaching to them. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, a Republican, found Wilson particularly insufferable. Lodge himself has been called austere and grating, but he was also intelligent and determined.

The antipathy between Wilson and Lodge stemmed from long-standing ideological and personal differences. As a Democrat, Wilson, during the early years of his presidency, enacted a number of social and economic reforms that ran counter to Lodge's fiscally conservative views. In addition, Wilson had criticized Theodore Roosevelt's actions as president in the controversial seizure of Colombian territory to construct the Panama Canal. Wilson's actions infuriated Lodge, a longtime friend and political ally of Roosevelt. Lodge was a committed imperialist, who sought to increase American power and eliminate conditions which could compromise it. He once called Democratic Party policies "grotesque and miserable." Both Wilson and Lodge used strong words when referring to each other.

As the war raged on, private companies in the United States continued to engage in trade with Great Britain. Wilson did not protest this practice, as he knew such trade was keeping the United States out of an economic slump. But the financial connections to the Allies were drawing the United States further away from a truly neutral position.

America Enters the War

Newly elected for a second term, President Wilson called for both sides to end hostilities in January 1917. He even offered to broker peace talks. Both sides refused. Events in the spring of 1917 would make Wilson's offers as a neutral peacemaker premature, as America found itself being pulled into the war.

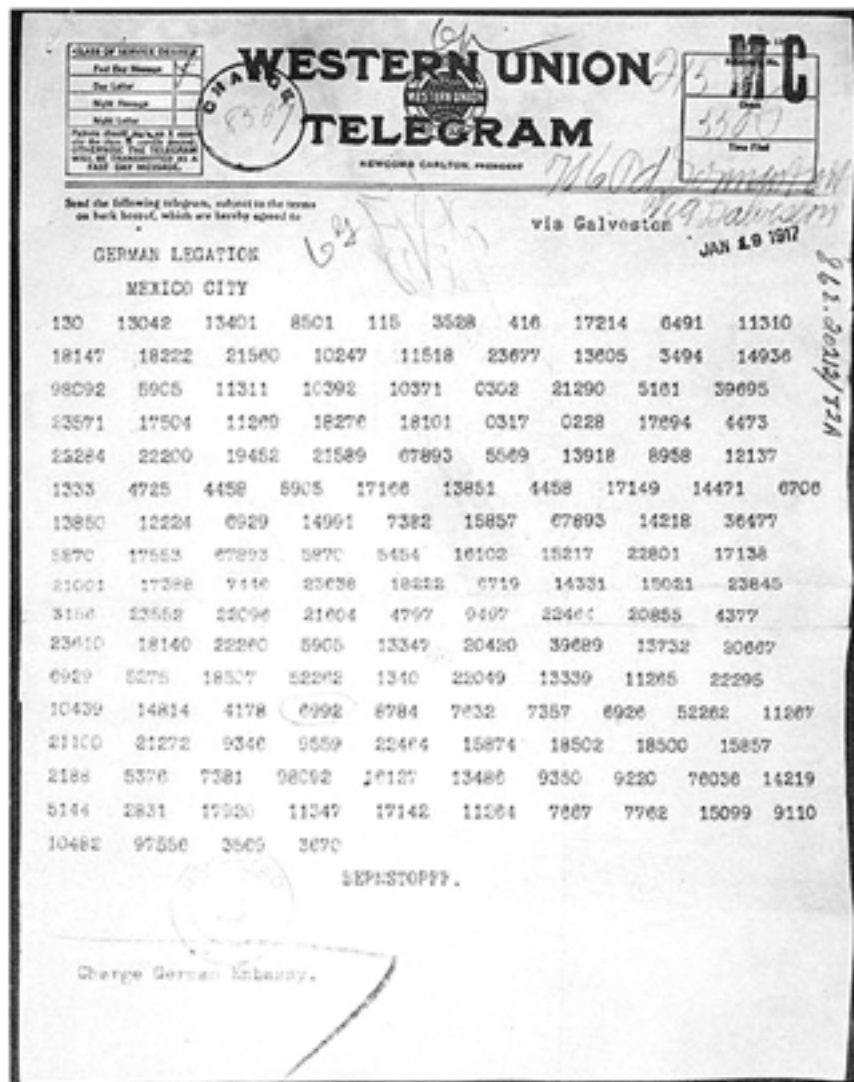
Anxious that defeat would come quickly if trade between Britain and America continued, the German government announced on February 1, 1917 that it was resuming unrestricted submarine warfare. Nearly a year earlier Germany had pledged to abide by restrictions Wilson demanded, including providing safety for non-combatants before sinking ships. When he learned of Germany's decision, Wilson cut off diplomatic relations with Germany and received permission from Congress to arm American merchant ships.

At the same time, the United States learned through British intelligence that Germany's Foreign Minister, Arthur Zimmermann, had made offers to the Mexican government to return Mexico's "lost provinces" of

Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas if it entered the war on Germany's side.

Why did President Wilson finally want to declare war?

The renewal of unrestricted submarine warfare by the German government coupled with the disclosure of the Zimmermann Telegram convinced Wilson of the futility of continued American neutrality. On April 2, 1917, he appeared in front of a joint session of Congress and asked for a declaration of war against Germany.



The Germans sent the Zimmermann telegram in code by Western Union, through Galveston, Texas.

In his speech President Wilson invoked the concepts of democracy and the rights of man as reasons to enter the war. Wilson's rationale for America's entry into the war included a proclamation that the war was "a challenge... to all mankind."

"We are now about to accept gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the Nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power.... 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."

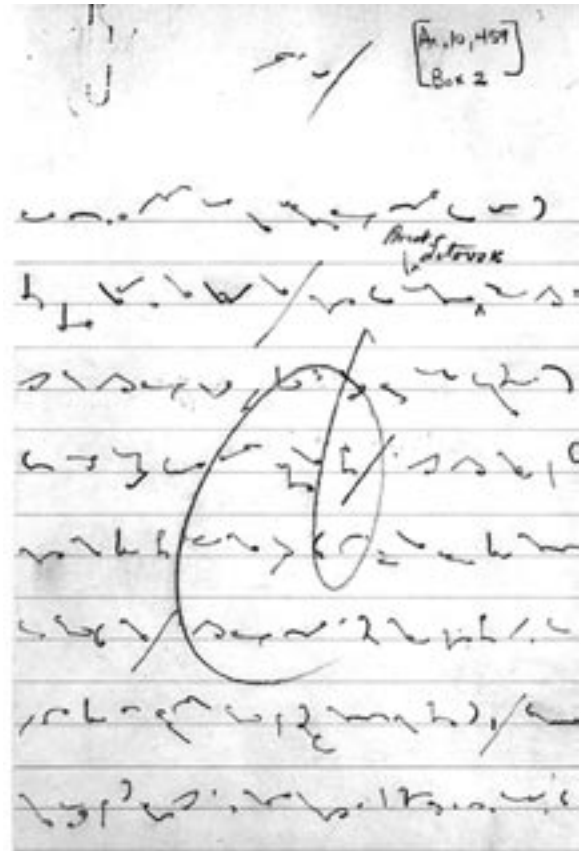
—Woodrow Wilson, April 1917

Congress approved the request, and the United States mobilized troops to send to Europe on the Allied side. The war that Wilson had avoided for two and a half years finally had arrived.

What were the Fourteen Points?

Nine months after the United States entered the war, the president presented his vision for peace, which he hoped would end the war and prevent future conflict. The president's plan, which he announced in a speech in January 1918, centered on a framework for what he saw as a just peace in the postwar era. The Fourteen Points, as Wilson's plan came to be known, was comprised of traditional U.S. diplomatic concerns like ensuring freedom of the seas, as well as a vision of a "new world order."

Wilson had not created the Fourteen Points in isolation; he had appointed a committee of experts known as The Inquiry to help him analyze U.S. foreign policy. The Inquiry



A section of the Fourteen Points, in Wilson's shorthand.

Image courtesy of Library of Congress, Manuscript Division.

drew on the ideas of other people, refined Wilson's plan for peace, and drew up specific recommendations to ensure a comprehensive peace settlement.

The principles in the Fourteen Points represented a radical departure from the old methods of diplomacy. The new principles aimed at eliminating secret treaties and the causes of war through open diplomacy, securing freedom of the seas, developing free trade, and encouraging disarmament. Wilson also spoke of the need for self-rule (often referred to as "self-determination") for people such as the Poles, Czechs, and Slavs. He hoped these groups would be granted independence and the right to govern themselves.

Wilson believed his most important point was the fourteenth, in which he called for a general association of nations. This association would guarantee territorial integrity and political independence to states both large and

small. The Fourteen Points were a clear deviation from the unilateral tradition that America had followed since its creation.

Both Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and former President Theodore Roosevelt voiced misgivings about the Fourteen Points and Wilson's call for a just peace.

“Wilson is a mean soul and the fact that he delivered a good message (the war declaration) does not alter his character. If that message was right, everything he has done for two years and a half is fundamentally wrong.”

—Senator Henry Cabot Lodge

Roosevelt was as critical of Wilson, claiming the peace must “be obtained by machine guns and not typewriters” and that Wilson's just peace was folly. These concerns highlighted the personality conflict between Wilson and his Republican opponents.

Fighting the War at Home

By the time America entered the war, Wilson had advocated neutrality to the American public for nearly three years. As a result, a large percentage of the public felt uninvolved in the events taking place across the sea. Even as U.S. soldiers began to be sent overseas many people still thought the events were remote and could not understand why the U.S. had joined the fighting.

How did the U.S. government address divisions among American immigrants?

There were other difficulties on the home front. It became clear that the United States was not a “melting pot.” Many recent immigrants felt an allegiance to their former homeland rather than to the United States.

Wilson was eager to keep the national differences that divided Europe from doing the same at home. The administration embarked on a program to encourage the “Americanization” of the immigrant population. Leaders launched a “War Americanization Plan,”

which sponsored English language and citizenship classes all over the country. In “Loyalty Leagues” foreign language pamphlets were distributed relaying in simple terms different aspects of the war message. As the pace of the war picked up, Wilson felt that a unifying patriotic sentiment was important. He viewed public support as essential to winning the war.

“There are citizens of the United States, I blush to admit, born under other flags but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life. ... Such creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy must be crushed out.”

—Wilson's proposal to Congress 1915

What measures were taken to advance the war effort at home?

The democratic principles that Wilson championed in his Fourteen Points took a back seat on America's home front. While Wilson spoke of the necessity of U.S. entry in the war in order to defeat German enemies of freedom, he simultaneously restricted certain freedoms of his citizens at home. Wilson advocated measures which had a major effect on the general public. States also took action. The New York state legislature passed laws which forced teachers to take a loyalty oath and required students and teachers to salute the American flag.

Soon after America entered the war, the Wilson administration enacted The Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918 which outlawed any obstruction of the war effort and greatly curtailed civil liberties. These acts specifically prohibited expression of anti-war sentiments or pro-German views, and journalists were threatened with imprisonment if found using “disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive language.” As a result, the postmaster general closed down ethnic German and left-wing newspapers and police

arrested anti-war activists.

Eugene V. Debs, the leader of the Socialist Party, was arrested and given a ten-year prison term for publicly speaking out against America's entry into the war and urging supporters to "resist militarism." Opponents of the wartime draft were also often arrested and imprisoned. The Supreme Court upheld this and other violations of free speech, justifying its decisions by saying that war required extreme measures.

How did anti-German propaganda turn into war hysteria?

Though anti-German propaganda was a large factor in generating support for the war, it soon spiraled out of control and contributed to intolerance at home. German institutions and organizations closed down. Local governments prevented some orchestras from playing music by Brahms or Beethoven. Fourteen states banned the teaching of the German language in public schools and many German language teachers were called "traitors." Some schools dismissed students who engaged in pro-German activities. In some states, education officials reviewed textbooks for "seditious material," and textbooks that were considered to have pro-German sections were revised.

There were also movements to eliminate German names on public buildings, parks and streets, and German lettering on many buildings was changed to English. Sauerkraut was referred to as "liberty cabbage," the hamburger

To the President and Directors
The German House
Dear Sirs:

The newspapers, forcing public opinion, are absolutely correct. - You ought to change your name! Everything German is now under suspicion, and rightly so. - Many do not question the sincere loyalty of your organization - But you can prove it by being willing to take a name that is not distasteful to earnest loyal Americans - I hope you will do so at once.

Sincerely yours
For a Democratic America
A citizen

"A citizen" writes to the German House suggesting a name change.

became the "liberty sandwich," Dachshunds were renamed "liberty pups" and German measles were called "liberty measles." In addition, many German-Americans changed their own names to avoid harassment. All across the country Muellers became Millers and Schmidts became Smiths.

In the Midwest, a German-American who had been rejected from the navy for medical reasons was lynched. A mob chased him down, bound him with an American flag and hanged him from a tree while five hundred onlookers cheered. The mob claimed that the

victim had made socialist comments. While the perpetrators were arrested, a jury acquitted them in twenty minutes, calling the event a “patriotic murder.”

What was the objective of the Committee on Public Information?

In April 1917, Wilson created the Committee on Public Information (C.P.I.) to promote the war domestically. The C.P.I. shaped the information Americans received about the war and encouraged support for the war. Through use of advertisements, newspapers, films, novels, and other media, the C.P.I. was able to reach much of the American public. The message spread quickly. Roughly seventy-five thousand volunteers, otherwise known as the Four Minute Men, went around the country giving short speeches in theaters, churches, labor unions, synagogues, and anywhere else they could find an audience.

The government hoped that these appeals to patriotism would lead to increased enlistment, increased purchase of war bonds, increased production of goods integral to the war effort, and other actions considered helpful to bringing about a victorious conclusion to the war. The Committee on Public Information's efforts were so effective that during the war it was nearly impossible to look through a magazine, to pick up a newspaper, or even to walk down the street without seeing a poster, an advertisement, or an article promoting the war efforts.

How did the Division of Civic and Educational Cooperation advance the war effort?

The Division of Civic and Educational Cooperation was a section of the C.P.I. Though the messages it produced were sent to students, in many ways, the students were not the target audience. Rather, the students were used to communicate wartime messages to the hearts, minds, and purses of the adults.

Among the publications produced by the organization were the “war study courses”

which were distributed to schools throughout the nation. These lesson plans communicated a “student-appropriate” version of the government's view of the war dealing with patriotism, heroism, and sacrifice. The lesson plans provided teachers with specific instructions on how to explain the war to their students. The teachers were told to explain that the Americans were fighting to protect the French and the Belgians from the Germans and “to keep the German soldiers from coming to our country and treating us the same way.”

“It now appears beyond the possibility of doubt that this war was made by Germany pursuing a long and settled purpose. For many years she had been preparing to do exactly what she has done, with a thoroughness, a perfection of plans, and a vastness of provision in men, munitions and supplies never before equaled or approached in human history. She brought the war on when she chose, because she chose, in the belief that she could conquer the earth nation by nation.”

—Excerpt from pamphlet for students

How did Americans at home view the war?

As the nation turned its efforts to rallying support for the war effort at home, U.S. soldiers began to arrive in Europe. The United States provided much needed military and economic aid to the Allied cause. The U.S. navy began work on hundreds of new boats, and munitions factories began producing armaments for not only French and British soldiers, as they had been doing throughout the war, but for the new American troops as well. The public followed the course of the war closely, cheering the news of its fighter pilots and successful aerial combat. As a result of the national propaganda as well as patriotism, Americans overwhelmingly supported the war effort. The country's entire outlook focused on bringing honor to America and then bringing “its boys back home.”

Part II: Securing the Peace

As American troops headed to Europe, Germany became increasingly concerned with having to fight on two fronts—one in the east and one in the west—because of dwindling resources. To prevent further losses in the east, Germany reached a peace agreement with the new Bolshevik government in Russia in March 1918. The war had devastated Russia and led to the overthrow of the Tsar and the birth of what would become the Soviet Union. Through the peace agreement Russia got out of a war that was destroying it; and Germany acquired Poland, Ukraine, Finland, the Caucasus, and the Baltics from Russia. From a military point of view, the treaty with Russia allowed Germany to concentrate all of its troops in the west against the French, the British, and the newly arriving Americans.

How did the war end?

The German army realized that it had to defeat the Allied forces before too many American soldiers could arrive in Europe

and tip the military balance. The last major German offensive of the war began in March 1918 when German divisions moved from the Eastern Front into battle on the Western Front. Although only 300,000 American troops were in France at the start of the offensive, by July over a million had arrived to thwart the German advance. The German army suffered more than 600,000 casualties. German military leaders realized that their attempt to break through the Western Front and capture Paris would not succeed. Allied counterattacks made sizeable gains, and by mid-October the Germans withdrew from France and back across Belgium. They asked Wilson to bring about an armistice based on the Fourteen Points.

A war-exhausted Germany was also in the midst of a full-scale revolution. Hunger, economic shortages, and frustration with the policies of the German Kaiser led to riots in the streets and mutinies within the military. Facing social and political upheaval as well as imminent military defeat, German officials

The Russian Revolution

At the beginning of the twentieth century a movement was afoot in Russia to eliminate the absolute power of the monarchy and establish a representative democracy. For several years the country experienced violent uprisings and suppressions, and leaders of the radical wing of the government, called Bolsheviks, were sent into exile. Eventually, the unrest led Czar Nicholas II to relinquish his throne.

When Czar Nicholas II left power in March 1917, the leaders of France and Britain were hopeful that a new democratic system would gain control over their important ally's government. Political turmoil gripped Russia after the Czar was deposed, but the British and French hoped that Russia would stay in the war in order to tie up Germany and the Austro-Hungarian forces on the Eastern Front. Because the British and French feared that Russia would sign a separate peace treaty with the Central Powers, they contacted the new government, led by Alexander Kerensky, and promised it abundant economic assistance in exchange for staying in the war. Kerensky, a lawyer who advocated a socialist democracy for Russia, recognized the growing anti-war sentiment in Russia, which had suffered millions of casualties in the war as well as economic deprivation on the home front. However, the promised economic aid from the Allies outweighed Kerensky's misgivings about continuing the war, and he eventually decided to keep Russia in the fight. His decisions proved fatal as the Germans also recognized the opportunity presented in Russia's political chaos. Germany contacted the man who they thought would end Russia's involvement in the war, Vladimir Lenin

agreed to surrender, believing that Wilson's Fourteen Points would be the blueprint for the peace negotiations to be held in Paris.

At 11:00 AM, on November 11, 1918 the guns fell silent after the armistice on the Western Front was signed. Joyous celebrations broke out in Allied cities after the news was announced.

What were the results of the war?

The number of casualties for both sides was staggering. Nine million soldiers and ten million civilians died. Seven million soldiers were permanently disabled. Additionally, a worldwide influenza epidemic in 1918, worsened by the economic conditions of wartime, killed more than twenty million people.

In addition to the human costs, the war had devastated the economies of the major world powers. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace estimated in 1920 that the cost of the war totalled nearly \$337 billion (more than \$4.5 trillion today). By the end of hostilities America had \$3.7 billion more in overseas investments than foreign countries

possessed in the United States, due to loans made during the war.

“England and France have not the same views with regard to peace that we have by any means. When the war is over we can force them to our views of thinking, because by that time they will, among other things, be financially in our hands.”

—Woodrow Wilson, July 1917

By late 1918, the United States had become the center of international finance, while many other belligerent countries faced bankruptcy. Still, economic advantage would not be the only factor determining the outcome of the scheduled peace conference in Paris in 1919. Wilson would soon learn that national pride, vengeance, and personal intrigue would all play a role in the reshaping of Europe and the world.

Wilson Heads to Europe

Days before Germany surrendered, the

As the leader of the radical Russian Bolshevik party, Lenin adhered to a belief in a classless utopia based on the writings of Karl Marx. Lenin's Marxist ideology led to his condemnation of the war from its start. Declaring the war to be a “capitalist war” in which the working classes were being sacrificed for capitalists' gain, Lenin was well known to German officials. They arranged for his return from exile to Russia. Lenin immediately attacked the Kerensky government's decision to keep Russia in the war and demanded an end to Russian participation. By October 1917, Russia's continued losses in the war, constant political unrest, and severe economic deprivations forced the Kerensky government to flee. Lenin's Bolsheviks seized control. Maintaining his pledge to end Russia's involvement in the war, the Bolsheviks signed the Brest-Litovsk Treaty with Germany in March 1918 and withdrew from the war. The Allies were outraged over this perceived betrayal and sought to overthrow the Bolsheviks.

British, French, Japanese, and eventually American forces arrived in Russia to support counter-revolutionary efforts against the Bolsheviks. The communist Bolshevik forces clashed frequently with those from the capitalist countries. After suffering over two hundred deaths the American forces withdrew from Russia in early 1920. The Communist Party succeeded in establishing the Soviet Union after a bloody civil war.

Wilson's decision to intervene in Russia, although halfhearted in scale and scope, convinced Lenin and the Bolsheviks that capitalist countries were intent on destroying their government. The ideological conflict between the new Soviet government and the nations to its west had begun and the seeds of the Cold War had been planted.

United States held midterm elections. Campaigning for fellow Democrats, President Wilson asked the American public to elect a Democratic Congress in order to strengthen his hand in the postwar peace negotiations. Wilson also knew that any peace treaty he signed would need two-thirds of the Senate's approval for ratification.

Unfortunately for Wilson, the election results gave the Republicans a majority in both the House and the Senate. Wilson's old political rival, Republican Senator Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, became chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—a position from which he could wield great influence over any treaty vote.

Why did domestic politics make Wilson's participation in the Paris Peace Conference difficult?

Wilson knew he would need Lodge's help to ratify any treaty, but his personal hatred of Lodge, their political differences, and his wounded pride over the midterm election losses prevented him from seeking Lodge's cooperation. Wilson refused to name Lodge, or any other prominent Republican, to the

American delegation to the upcoming peace conference in Paris. (Wilson did bring one less powerful Republican with him.)

Other factors contributed to Wilson's political difficulties. When Wilson asked George Creel, the head of the Committee on Public Information, to accompany him to Paris, members of the press and the Senate accused the president of conspiring to censor and shape the information that would be coming from Paris.

Some members of the government and the press questioned the legality of Wilson's trip. They wondered if a sitting president could be out of the country for several months, as the Constitution only allowed the vice-president to assume the reins of power following a president's death, not in his absence. Wilson insisted that his presence at the conference was necessary to ensure that his Fourteen Points Peace Plan would be enacted as he had envisioned it.

When Wilson and his handpicked delegation set sail for Europe and the peace conference in December 1918, the political relationship between Wilson and the Republican Congress was very strained. Ratifying an

ambitious treaty like the one Wilson hoped to create and bring home would be a struggle. However, Wilson would soon learn how difficult even the drafting of such a treaty might be.

Wilson in Paris

"Honor to Wilson the Just," read the banner that stretched across one Parisian street as Woodrow Wilson and the American peace delegation arrived in France. Wilson was extremely popular among the war-weary European people. They had read his Fourteen Points Peace Plan before his arrival and had



Photograph courtesy of Princeton University Library.

A display reading "Long Live Wilson" stretches across a Paris street. Millions turned out to greet Wilson—some even knelt in front of his picture—in cities across Europe.

found hope in its terms and the new ideas.

“When President Wilson left Washington [for the peace conference] he enjoyed a prestige and moral influence throughout the world unequalled in history.”

—British economist and conference delegate John Maynard Keynes, 1919

Tens of thousands of people journeyed to Paris from around the world to witness the start of the peace conference. Many traveled to Paris hoping to represent their country's desires in the postwar era. Nationalists from Asia, Africa and the Middle East arrived hoping to secure their groups' independence. They were emboldened by Wilson's calls for “self-rule” in his Fourteen Points.

While ordinary citizens held Wilson in high standing, European leaders at the conference on the whole did not. The four years of war on European soil led European leaders to envision a postwar Europe much differently than Woodrow Wilson. These different views were soon to clash when the leaders of the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy met behind closed doors to negotiate the treaty.

Paris in January 1919 was filled with reminders of the war at every turn. Piles of rubble remained where German artillery shells had fallen. The famous stained glass windows of the Cathedral of Notre Dame remained in storage, replaced with unremarkable yellow panes of glass. Refugees and limbless soldiers filled the streets while victory flags flew in the breeze. Neither the British nor the Americans had wanted the peace conference to be in Paris (they would have preferred a location in a neutral country with a less charged atmosphere), but from January to June 1919 the delegates met there and hashed out the treaty.



The Big Four: Lloyd George, Orlando, Clemenceau, and Wilson.

Photo courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration.

“It will be difficult enough at best to make a just peace, and it will be almost impossible to do so while sitting in the atmosphere of a belligerent capital.”

—Wilson's Personal Advisor Colonel Edward House

Who participated in the peace conference?

In December the French foreign minister sent invitations to every country that could be considered on the Allied side to participate in the conference. Representatives from over thirty nations came to Paris in January with the expectation that they would play a role in the proceedings. For the most part, however, matters were decided by the Big Four: President Wilson; Premier Georges Clemenceau of France, Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Great Britain, and Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando of Italy. Neither Germany nor Russia was allowed to participate in discussions. French anger and resentment over its war losses kept Germany out while all of the Big Four feared and distrusted Lenin's new Russian Bolshevik government and kept it away from Paris.

How was the treaty written?

Wilson came to Paris with the hope that his Fourteen Points would be turned into reality. So did the Germans who, in large part, had based their decision to surrender on their belief that Wilson's Fourteen Points would form the basis of any peace settlement. The other three members of the Big Four did not share Wilson's vision for a "peace without victory" in which the settlement would neither give nor take anything from the winners or losers. In fact, Clemenceau reportedly referred to the Fourteen Points as "the Fourteen Commandments" and sarcastically remarked that "even the Almighty only had Ten." Wilson soon realized that he would have to compromise in order for the conference to produce a peace agreement.

Although the representatives from other nations met frequently, their role in the proceedings was limited. A preliminary meeting of the Big Four, their foreign ministers, and their Japanese counterparts took place on January 12th, one day after Wilson arrived in Paris. They decided that they would be in charge of the majority of the decision-making; smaller nations were not invited to take part in the major decisions. They appointed specialized commissions, however, to investigate specific problems such as the organization of a gen-

eral association of nations and the drafting of its covenant; reparations; the determination of responsibility for the war and methods of preventing a renewal of fighting; financial and economic questions; naval and military issues; and territorial questions, as well as others.

In late January one of these commissions, made up of both big and small nations, met to address the formation of a League of Nations, one of Wilson's Fourteen Points. The group worked steadily, and within two weeks had drafted a covenant for the League of Nations. At the same time other commissions worked on other parts of what came to be known as the Treaty of Versailles. While not everything was settled after these first meetings, a basic outline emerged.

The Treaty of Versailles included provisions to end the war officially as well as a covenant for the future League of Nations. All of the delegations sent home copies of the draft covenant in mid-February so that their governments might make comments.

How did Senators react to the covenant?

Wilson knew the specifics of the League of Nations Covenant would face resistance at home in the Senate. He left Paris on February 15, 1919 during the conference's mid-winter

The Scene of Initial Deliberations

The Americans, French, British, Japanese, and Italians met at the French foreign ministry building in a room filled with carved-wood paneling and tapestries from the seventeenth century. The representatives were very deliberately seated. Clemenceau, the host, sat in front of a large fireplace in an armchair. The British and the Americans sat side by side, and the Japanese (who were later relegated to a lesser role) and the Italians were seated in the corner. Even the chairs themselves were based on political status. Lesser advisors were seated in small chairs while the prime ministers and foreign ministers sat in more comfortable, high-backed chairs. Wilson, the only head of state, sat in a chair that was a few inches higher than the rest of the group.

The group often met three times a day, dealing with various issues and listening to petitioners sometimes into the evening. As the sky grew dark in the evening, aides turned on the electric lights and drew the green silk curtains. Although the already hot room grew even hotter, the French were horrified by the suggestion of opening the windows. Observers noted that the Big Four were frequently distracted. Wilson often stood to stretch his legs, Clemenceau gazed distractedly at the ceiling, and Lloyd George chatted and told jokes to those sitting near him. Almost every one fell asleep during the deliberations at one time or another, except apparently Wilson.

break. When he arrived in Boston on February 24, 1919, Wilson gave a speech promoting the League of Nations and the progress being made at the Paris Peace Conference. He provided the audience with copies of the draft covenant for the League of Nations. The Senators, who were the ultimate decision-makers, noted this move with annoyance. They had expected to see the draft covenant before the public.

Wilson invited members of the Senate and House committees on foreign affairs to dine with him at the White House two nights later, where he provided them a draft of the entire proposed covenant of the League. Some Republican Senators thought that the League of Nations would threaten the Monroe Doctrine (designed to limit European involvement in North America) as well as diminish the freedom of the United States to choose how it wanted to act overseas. The United States, Wilson replied, should relinquish some of its sovereignty to benefit the world community. Many of his guests did not agree.

What was Article X of the League of Nations Covenant?

At the heart of the covenant was Article X which spelled out the new “collective security” arrangements. Many felt that Article X would obligate the United States to intervene overseas. Article X stipulated that the territorial integrity of the borders drawn at Versailles would be respected by all and that the League of Nations would act to maintain them against aggression. The League would safeguard these new postwar borders through economic sanctions as well as through the use of military force. Wilson saw this approach as a moral and responsible move away from the traditional power politics that had led to the catastrophic destruction of the Great War.

“The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any

threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.”

—Article X of the Covenant of the League of Nations

On the day before Wilson returned to Paris, Senator Lodge circulated a document to his colleagues stating that he rejected the draft covenant. He asked that the peace conference set aside the question of the League of Nations until the completion of a peace agreement with Germany. Thirty-nine Senators signed the document indicating their agreement with Lodge's statements. This was more than enough signatures to deny Wilson the two-third's majority needed to ratify the treaty.

What did Wilson find when he returned to Paris?

Wilson would also find opposition back in Europe. Wilson returned to Paris after the break to find that Canadian Prime Minister Borden also had concerns about Article X. The prime minister argued that Article X would violate a state's sovereignty and “national aspirations” and that it could draw a country into distant conflicts. In spite of the opposition at home and abroad, Wilson preserved Article X, although he did make some changes to the covenant to appease his political opponents at home. Among these changes was an amendment that ensured that the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations Covenant would not render the Monroe Doctrine invalid.

Why did the rest of the Big Four resist Wilson's calls for self-rule?

Often forced to compromise, President Wilson watched his ideas about “open diplomacy” and a just peace evaporate as the other members of the Big Four insisted on terms that guaranteed their countries' security and economic concerns first.

Wilson's desire to promote self-rule was overwhelmed by France, Italy, Japan, and Britain's determination to maintain their colonial holdings and acquire new ones from

the conquered Central Powers. The Italians were particularly determined to leave Paris with the acquisition of two cities: Fiume and Trieste on the Dalmatian coast. A disagreement erupted, culminating in Orlando's departure from the peace conference. Though ultimately Orlando returned to the conference and Wilson was not forced to compromise on these issues, this incident was one example of the challenging struggles Wilson faced throughout the negotiations.

Wilson did reach a compromise involving self-rule when the concept of "mandates" was established. Seen as an intermediate step for groups on the way towards eventual self-rule, the mandate system called for the Allied Powers to secure control over some of the former territories of the Central Powers in an effort to "prepare" the native inhabitants for eventual independence. Millions of colonized people came away frustrated by the lack of independence written in the treaty but still inspired by the promise of eventual self-rule.

Wilson was more successful in promoting

self-rule in Eastern Europe where a multitude of new states were created out of the defeated monarchies. Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic states, Yugoslavia, and others gained independence. Still, many ethnic groups felt the new borders created by the treaty were unjust, especially those who became a minority in the new states.

This resentment was particularly acute among ethnic Germans who now found themselves in the new states of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Wilson's proposals, once set forth, could not be recalled."

—Chinese leader Sun Yat-sen, 1924

What was the German reaction to the terms of the treaty?

The treaty also forced Germany to accept the blame for the war and to pay extensive reparations for Allied losses. In addition, the treaty reduced Germany's European territory by 10 percent, confiscated all of German colonial territories, and reduced the German military to one hundred thousand men who could only maintain order within Germany's territory. The French-German border region of Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France and a demilitarized zone was established along their border to placate French concerns over a revitalized Germany.

When the Big Four summoned German officials to read the surrender terms in late May, the Germans balked when they saw that the terms contained few of Wilson's original Fourteen Points. Feeling betrayed, they hesitated before agreeing to the terms, but signed after the Allies threatened to resume the war if they failed to comply.



Wilson tries to get many nations to sing along.

When was the Versailles Treaty finally signed?

On June 28, 1919, thirty-two nations, including France, Great Britain, Italy, Germany, and the United States signed the Treaty of Versailles. The signing took place in the Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Versailles, five years to the day after the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand. More than one hundred nations' representatives looked on. The Great War was officially over. Four other treaties dealing with the defeated powers emerged from the Paris Peace Conference: the Treaties of St. Germain (Austria), St. Germain (Austria), St. Germain (Austria), Neuilly (Bulgaria), and Sevres (Turkey). The other treaties were written by officials who followed the principles of the Treaty of Versailles. The four other countries lost land, had to disarm, and were forced to pay reparations.

What were Wilson's views on the League of Nations?

The terms of the Treaty of Versailles were harsher than Wilson had hoped. Nevertheless he felt that the most important outcome of the treaty was that it established the League of Nations. To achieve that goal he had been forced to compromise on some of his fourteen points. But he believed his compromises had paid off when the conference participants unanimously agreed on the Covenant of the League of Nations. The covenant reflected Wilson's ideas about security, the arbitration of international disputes, the reduction of armaments, and open diplomacy. The covenant also established a Council, of which Wilson hoped the United States would be a permanent member. The signatories pledged to seek peaceful resolutions to disputes and to assist each other in the case of aggression—an idea referred to



Photograph courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration.

Hundreds of people watched as the Treaty of Versailles was signed in the Hall of Mirrors.

as “collective security.” Most importantly, Wilson believed the League would dramatically reduce the likelihood of another great war.

Wilson's faith in the power of the new League of Nations was total. He believed the League would serve as a safety valve that would examine and adjust any disputed terms of the treaty settlements. If the new borders agreed on at Versailles were not perfect, the League would adjust them. If the peace terms had flaws, the League would correct them.

What did the other members of the Big Four think about the League?

Lloyd George, who had been recently re-elected under the slogan “Make Germany Pay,” knew that the British public supported the idea of the League. He knew that returning to Britain without a League of Nations would be disastrous politically.

“They [the British people] regard with absolute horror the continuance of a state of affairs which might again degenerate into such a tragedy.”

—David Lloyd George

The French were pessimistic about the possibility that international cooperation could prevent the outbreak of war, although they were generally willing to try. Ambivalent as he might have been, Clemenceau refused to allow anyone to say that France had impeded the League's creation.

“I like the League, but I do not believe in it.”

—Premier Georges Clemenceau

Orlando was supportive of the idea of the League and of Wilson's ideas in general, as long as they coincided with what he thought Italy deserved. He was suspicious of the other members of the Big Four, however, and resented his less powerful position. He was also aware that if the demands of the Italian public were not met, he might lose his position.

“I must have a solution. Otherwise I will have a crisis in Parliament or in the street in Italy.”

—Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando

The Treaty at Home

Despite Wilson's resounding faith in the creation of the League of Nations and other agreements that came out of the Paris Conference, Americans had numerous questions about the decisions made there. Though there were many, particularly Democrats, who unhesitatingly advocated American membership in the League—among them teachers, members of the clergy, and others who favored a rapid restoration of peace—others had their doubts.

Some doubters wondered if the League of Nations would have the power to implement its decisions and to put a stop to aggressors. Others felt the League of Nations's Covenant

was too liberal and too internationalist. They argued that it would compromise the sovereignty of the United States and entangle U.S. soldiers in the conflicts of far away places.

How did some American ethnic groups react to the treaty?

Some American ethnic groups still felt a strong attachment to their homelands and were incensed by what they considered Wilson's betrayal. Irish-Americans, for example, were upset that their homeland was not freed from English occupation. Wilson felt that the Irish lived in a democratic country where democratic means were at their disposal for solving their own problems. He viewed the problem there as one for the British and not a problem of international consequence.

Irish-Americans were not the only ethnic group upset with the decisions made in Paris. Italian-Americans were indignant that Wilson had refused to allow Italy to take an important port from Yugoslav territory. German-Americans complained of the treatment of Germany under the terms of the treaty.

How was the treaty received in Congress?

Though the outcome of the Paris Peace Conference was a topic of great discussion and disagreement throughout the United States, nowhere was it as hotly debated as it was in the Senate. When Wilson set sail back to America after signing the Versailles Treaty, he did not realize that the struggles he experienced with the Big Four would pale in comparison to the fight he was about to have with members of the United States Senate. Storm clouds had been gathering for months over what the treaty meant for America's foreign policy.

Fall, 1919: The Moment of Decision

Wilson submitted the Versailles Treaty to the Senate in July 1919. The election results in 1918 had brought a Republican majority to Congress, which meant that Republicans could control the pace of debates. Many Republican Senators, Lodge foremost among them, hoped to drag out the proceedings so that the public would become disengaged and withdraw its support of the treaty. Senator Lodge began deliberations on the treaty by reading it out loud, which consumed two weeks. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee also held public hearings for six weeks in another attempt to slow the process. During these hearings American citizens were permitted to appear before the committee to voice their opinion of the treaty. Some spoke about the effect of the provisions of the treaty on their ethnic homeland while others spoke about other segments of the treaty with which they were dissatisfied. Some believed these hearings represented an attempt to stir up opposition to the treaty from “hyphenated Americans”—recent immigrants or people who felt attachment to their ethnic homelands.

At ten o'clock in the morning on August 19, 1919, members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee gathered with President Wilson in the East Room of the White House. Wilson perceived that enough opposition to the treaty existed in the Senate to prevent it from being ratified by the required two-thirds majority. During the meeting he attempted to explain the covenant and the obligations of the United States under the League, hoping that he could persuade them to vote in favor of its ratification. The meeting lasted over three hours but did nothing to sway the Senators. Unable to convince the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of his views, Wilson opted to go on a nationwide trip where he hoped to explain the League of Nations to the American people and put pressure on doubting Senators.

On September 3, 1919, President Wilson set off on a whirlwind tour, giving forty speeches in the space of twenty-two days. The

itinerary of the trip had him traveling throughout the Midwest and to California and then returning to Washington, D.C. via a southern route. As his train traveled through the country, the audiences grew to large numbers. They heard the constant speech about the value of Article X and joining the League of Nations.

“I can predict with absolute certainty that, within another generation, there will be another world war if the nations of the world...if the League of Nations...does not prevent it by concerted action.”

—Woodrow Wilson, September 1919

Twenty-one journalists traveled with Wilson on the train and ran daily stories of the trip. However, the pace of the trip, coupled with his preexisting medical problems, proved to be too much for Wilson physically. On September 25, 1919, Wilson gave his last speech, in Pueblo, Colorado, before collapsing from physical exhaustion. His physician ordered the train back to Washington. Two days later, on October 2, Wilson suffered a stroke. Incapacitated and partially paralyzed, Wilson was unable to continue his campaign to engage the American public on the Senate ratification debate. From his bed, Wilson sent notes to members of the Senate, urging them to support the League.

In November, the Senate met to debate and vote on the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and its controversial League of Nations, which made up the first 26 of 440 articles. The Senate had fallen into three distinct groups. One group supported the treaty as it stood, one group sought to make changes to it in order to maintain the power to act unilaterally in foreign affairs, and one group hoped to reject it altogether, preferring to isolate the United States from European issues. In the coming days, you will have the opportunity to consider the range of options the Senate debated in 1919.

Options in Brief

Option 1 — Progressive Internationalists: Support the Treaty as it Stands

The Great War has taught us that reliance on isolationism and a unilateral foreign policy is no longer feasible. Because of these changes and the fact that our old buffers of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans can no longer shield us from the rest of the world, we must accept the mantle of leadership that has been thrust upon us. The League of Nations will insure the peace by providing economic, legal, and security organizations to address global problems. This “general assembly of states” will offer a place for nations to come together and discuss issues and complaints with other members in order to solve problems before conflict occurs. The League is essential to the peace of the world, and we must support it.

Option 2 — Reservationists: Make Changes to the Treaty

The Great War demonstrated that the world is a dangerous place where nations base their actions solely on their own interests. The terms of the Versailles Treaty do not guarantee that international relations have changed. Accusations that we are isolationist are completely false. We support America playing an active role in the new world order, however, long-held traditions governing American foreign policy such as “avoiding foreign entanglements,” are just as true today as they were before 1914. Article X, with its declaration that all members would be obligated to enforce postwar borders, violates this principle. The Versailles Treaty also provides for too many instances in which a body other than Congress makes laws concerning the citizens of the United States, we suggest making changes to the treaty to resolve these flaws.

Option 3 — Irreconcilables: Reject the Treaty

Because of Europe's incessant wars over ancient hatreds and power politics, it has always been in our interest to separate ourselves as far as possible from that volatile continent. President Wilson's attempt to make “the world safe for democracy” was doomed from the start. Those who put any faith in “collective security” through the proposed League of Nations are deluding themselves. Membership in any such organization would risk our security and embroil us in constant wars. Have we not learned from our mistakes? The time has come to cut off our relationship with the troubled continent of Europe. We should not ratify the Versailles Treaty.

Option 1

Progressive Internationalists: Support the Treaty

The Great War has changed the nature of international relations, and we Americans need to be at the forefront. The Great War has taught us that our old reliance on isolationism and a unilateral foreign policy is no longer feasible. The world has become smaller with the advent of modern transportation and communication. The United States needs to embrace this change. The old methods of rule, centered on the balance of power and wartime alliances, can no longer hold sway. International trade and overseas markets are more and more important to our economic well being. Because of these changes and the fact that our old buffers of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans can no longer shield us from the rest of the world, we must accept the mantle of leadership that has been thrust upon us. We did not seek this role, but we have an obligation to future generations to fulfill it.

The League of Nations will insure the peace by providing economic, legal, and security organizations to address global problems. This “general assembly of states” will offer a place for nations to come together with issues and complaints to be discussed with other members in order to solve problems before conflict occurs. The League’s International Labor Organization would provide a forum for labor disputes to be resolved between workers and business and provide global workers’ rights—a need demonstrated by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. The League’s International Court of Justice would provide legal norms by which all countries would abide and to which they would be held accountable. The confusion surrounding the “freedom of the seas” provisions during the War demonstrated the need for international laws to be codified and enforced by an international court.

The provisions in Article X do not require the United States to send forces to every situation. As President Wilson said, “when you have a fire in Omaha, you don’t send to Oklahoma for the fire department.” Furthermore, military force is not the only means to protect the

territorial integrity of the borders drawn at Versailles. Economic sanctions will also be a powerfully persuasive force to coerce belligerents to abide by the treaty. League members, led by its Council, of which the United States would be a permanent member, would assess every situation on its own merit and decide on the appropriate action. In addition, the United States will not assume any control over mandates that have been established by the Versailles Treaty. The United States’ Monroe Doctrine, and its declaration of hegemony over the Western Hemisphere, is maintained under the League as is the right of Congress to declare war before U.S. forces would be introduced. The League is essential to the peace of the world, and we must support it.



Beliefs and Assumptions Underlying Option 1

1. The United States should accept the role of leader of nations. The twentieth-century world requires that the United States consider other nations' views and work with other nations when executing foreign policy.

2. The League of Nations will not

demand undue military participation on the part of the United States.

3. The League of Nations and its Council will prevent conflicts such as the Great War in the future.

Supporting Arguments for Option 1

1. Joining the League will put the United States in a leadership position with which it can influence world events to meet our national interests.

2. Without support from the United States the League as a whole will fail

and the world will have learned nothing from its experiences in the Great War.

3. The League of Nations will allow the United States to work for peace throughout the world.

From the Historical Record

Woodrow Wilson, September 1919

“For the first time in history the counsels of mankind are to be drawn together and concerted for the purpose of defending the rights and improving the conditions of working people—men, women, and children—all over the world. Such a thing as that was never dreamed of before, and what you are asked to discuss in discussing the League of Nations is the matter of seeing that this thing is not interfered with. There is no other way to do it than by a universal League of Nations, and what is proposed is a universal League of Nations.”

Woodrow Wilson, September 1919

“All that you are told about this covenant [the League of Nations Covenant], so far as I can learn, is that there is an Article X. I will repeat Article X to you; I think I can repeat it verbatim, the heart of it at any rate. Every member of the League promises to respect and preserve as against external aggression—not as against internal revolution—the territorial integrity and existing political independence of every other member of the League, and if it is necessary to enforce this promise—I mean, for the nations to act in concert with arms in their hands to enforce it, then the council of

the League shall advise what action is necessary.... The point is this: The council can not give that advice without the vote of the United States, unless it is a party to the dispute; but, my fellow citizens, if you are a party to the dispute you are in the scrap anyhow. If you are a party, then the question is not whether you are going to war or not, but merely whether you are going to war against the rest of the world or with the rest of the world, and the object of war in that case will be to defend that central thing that I began by speaking about. That is the guaranty of the land titles of the world which have been established by this treaty.”

Woodrow Wilson, September 1919

“Instead of wishing to ask to stand aside, get the benefits of the League, but share none [of] its burdens or responsibilities, I for my part want to go in and accept what is offered to us, the leadership of the world. A leadership of what sort, my fellow citizens? Not a leadership that leads men along the lines by which great nations can profit out of weak nations, not an exploiting power, but a liberating power, a power to show the world that when America was born it was indeed a

finger pointed toward those lands into which men could deploy some of these days and live happy in freedom, look each other in the eyes as equals, see that no man was put upon, that no people were forced to accept authority which was not their own choice, and that out of the general generous impulses of the human genius and the human spirit we were lifted along the levels of civilization to days when there should be wars no more, but men should govern themselves in peace and amity and quiet. That is the leadership we said we wanted, and now the world offers it to us. It is inconceivable that we should reject it.”

United States Secretary of War Newton D. Baker, 1919

“...It is necessary to remember the lack of such a league in 1914 threw the world into the chaos of this war. Terrified statesmen endeavored to sustain the delicately poised balance of power. They ran here and there, uttering their old-time cautions and speaking with pathetic diligence for what they called a formula that would compose the mad impulses which were threatening to engulf the world. They failed because the means were not adapted to the ends—because in the modern world, things move too fast for the stagecoach diplomacy of the Middle Ages. Had there been a League of Nations then, could Sir Edward Grey have summoned into conference the authoritative representatives of the great civilized powers, and through them have focused the intelligence and the conscience of mankind on the Austro-Serbian quarrel? There would have been gained the priceless moment of mediation which would have enabled the heady currents of racial and national passion to be allayed. Today there would be in all the devastated countries of the world that calm progress which a continuation of peaceful civilization ensures. Billions of wealth, now utterly lost and destroyed, would still be in existence to comfort and enrich the life of nations, and millions of men, women, and children, gunned to death in battle, or carried away by famine and pestilence, would still be alive to enjoy the normal portion of human happiness and to contribute by their labor and their love to the making of a better world.”

Senator Robert L. Owen, November 19, 1919

“This great covenant of the league presents the hope, and aspiration of good men of all nations of the world.... There is one great difference, I think, between those who favor this league and those who are opposed to it. Those who favor the league believe in the common honesty and common sense of mankind.”

Senator Joseph T. Robinson, November 19, 1919

“Membership in the League of Nations is treated, in the reservations, with so little dignity and as such slight importance as to authorize its termination by the passage of a mere concurrent resolution of Congress. This attempt to deny to the president participation in withdrawal by this government from the league and to vest that authority solely in the two Houses of Congress [is] in disregard of the plain provision of the constitution.”

Senator Gilbert M. Hitchcock, November 19, 1919

“How can Senators view this great attempt to organize the world as a joke? Who made these reservations? Did we have any voice in them, we who expected to furnish the bulk of the votes for the ratification of the treaty? No... [Senators who have] declared that [they] will never vote for the treaty in any form [were] influential in making the reservations.... Yes, I believe the time has come, and I urge Senators upon the other side of the aisle who believe in the League of Nations, as I know many of them do, to do something to make it possible for the two sides of the Senate to get together in a final settlement of ratification of the treaty by some feasible means.”

Senator Joseph T. Robinson, November 19, 1919

“Make no mistake about it. The Senate should either ratify this treaty unqualifiedly or upon such terms and conditions as will...enable [the president] speedily to conclude peace by an exchange of ratifications.... It is plain that our self-respecting allies will not accept the terms and conditions which we seek [in the reservations].”

Option 2

Reservationists: Make Changes to the Treaty

The Great War demonstrated that the world is a very dangerous place when nations base their actions solely on their own interests. The idea that the slaughter of the Western Front has somehow changed that basic rule is folly. The terms of the Versailles Treaty do not guarantee that international relations have changed. One of our greatest concerns is the redrawing of the map of the world by Allied leaders at Versailles. The concept of self-rule, although noble in scope, is based upon idealistic rhetoric that does not represent the world as it exists. We have great concerns that an outbreak of war between the hastily formed new states of Europe and elsewhere could result in Americans having to fight and die in areas completely alien to our national interests in order to fulfill President Wilson's "obligation" as found in Article X of the League's Covenant.

Accusations that we are isolationist are completely false. We support America playing an active role in the new world order, and we have no problems accepting membership into a league of nations. However, long-held traditions governing American foreign policy such as "avoiding foreign entanglements," are just as true today as they were before 1914. Article X, with its declaration that all members would be obligated to enforce postwar borders, violates this principle. President Wilson's insistence that Article X does not require that American forces be sent every time a conflict occurs sets a bad precedent. What would the world think about the United States if it is asked to fulfill this obligation in a particular crisis, and it decides not to? The dishonor the United States would bring upon itself would cause it to lose international standing. If Europe wants security, we have no problem entering into a security alliance with Britain or France to keep Germany from threatening them again. The "collective security" proposed by Article X is too vague.

Another major concern lies with the protection of American sovereignty. The Versailles Treaty provides for too many instances in which a body other than Congress makes laws concerning the citizens of the United States. For instance, the Treaty requires member nations to submit to arbitration, permanently reduce armaments, contribute to expenses of the League, and it regulates future U.S. relations with Germany. All domestic and political questions relating to internal affairs of the United States should be left to the elected officials of American government to decide, not members of any multinational Council. The United States should also be free to enter into any relations with other nations in manners it sees fit. Discussions with the British and French authorities have shown that they will accept our reservations without reopening the entire treaty to discussion as the Wilsonians have charged. It is time to permit America to assume its proper role on the world stage.



Beliefs and Assumptions Underlying Option 2

1. International relations have not changed so drastically as a result of the Great War that nations will act differently from before. The Versailles Treaty is based on idealism rather than reality.
2. Article X of the Covenant of the League

of Nations will compel the United States to fulfill obligations it does not wish to.

3. The United States should not enter into international agreements which infringe upon American sovereignty.

Supporting Arguments for Option 2

1. The treaty is unlikely to pass with a two-thirds vote without the reservations.
2. The reservations will be supported by the American people.

3. The reservations will allow us to choose which of Europe's battles to join: we will retain our own decision-making power.

From the Historical Record

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, August 1919

"Taken altogether, these provisions for war present what to my mind is the gravest objection to this League in its present form. We are told that of course nothing will be done in the way of warlike acts without the assent of the Congress. If that is true, let us say so in the covenant. But as it stands there is no doubt whatever in my mind that American troops and American ships may be ordered to any part of the world by nations other than the United States, and that is a proposition to which I for one can never assent.... I believe that we do not require to be told by foreign nations when we shall do work which freedom and civilization require.... Let us unite with the world to promote the peaceable settlement of all international disputes. Let us try to develop international law. Let us associate ourselves with the other nations for these purposes. But, let us retain in our own hands and in our own control the lives of the youth of the land. Let no American be sent into battle except by the constituted authorities of his own country and by the will of the people of the United States."

Senator Warren G. Harding, November 19, 1919

"If this ratification is made with reserva-

tions which have been adopted, there remains the skeleton of a league on which the United States can, if it deems it prudent, proceed in deliberation and calm reflection toward the building of an international relationship which shall be effective in the future."

Senator Irvine L. Lenroot, November 19, 1919

"These reservations do nothing more nor less than to preserve the liberty and the independence of the United States of America.... This treaty has not been read generally by the people of this country; but I say to you that every one of these reservations...when they are read and when they are understood...will be approved of."

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, November 19, 1919

"They say that if we demand the exclusion of the Monroe Doctrine from the operation of the League, they will demand compensation. Very well. Let them exclude us from meddling in Europe. That is not a burden that we are seeking to bear. We are ready to go there at any time to save the world from barbarism and tyranny, but we are not thirsting to interfere in every obscure quarrel that may spring up in the Balkans."

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, November 19, 1919

"I cannot personally accede to the proposition that other nations, that a body of men in executive council where we as a nation have but one vote, shall have any power, unanimous or otherwise, to say who shall come into the United States. It must not be within the jurisdiction of the League at all. It lies at the foundation of national character and national well-being. There should be no possible jurisdiction over the power which defends this country from a flood of Japanese, Chinese, and Hindu labor."

Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, November 19, 1919

"Then comes Article X. That is the most important article in the whole treaty.... This article pledges us to guarantee the political independence and the territorial integrity against external aggression of every nation of the earth. We ask no guarantees; we have no endangered frontiers; but we are asked to guarantee the territorial integrity of every nation practically in the world—it will be when the League is complete. As it is today, we guarantee the territorial integrity and political independence of every part of the far-flung British Empire.... Under that clause of the treaty we have got to take our army and our navy and go to war with any country which attempts aggression upon the territorial integrity of another member of the League.... Now, guarantees must be fulfilled. They are sacred promises—it has been said only morally binding. Why, that is all there is to a treaty between great nations. If they are not morally binding they are nothing but 'scraps of paper.' If the United States agrees to Article 10 we must carry it out in letter and in spirit; and if it is agreed to I should insist that we do so, because the honor and good faith of our country would be at stake. Now, that is a tremendous promise to make."

Senator Irvine L. Lenroot, November 19, 1919

"Can it be possible that there is a Democrat so partisan that he does not see the necessity of a reservation as to Article 10 relieving us of the obligation of declaring war in an unjust

cause? I am profoundly convinced that if partisanship be forgotten and only Americanism remembered we can agree upon a reservation to this article, now so dangerous to the cause of true liberty, so destructive of American ideals and principles. I care not in what form the reservation is made so long as it does not obligate us to engage in war irrespective of the justice of the cause.... If Senators across the aisle would only forget that President Wilson is the leader of the Democratic party, and remember that this is an American question so crucial, so important to our country, so fateful to its future that consideration of political advantage should not have the weight of a feather in our deliberations—if this could be done, Mr. President, I am confident that we would come to an almost unanimous agreement as to reservations for the protection of the United States."

Senator Key Pittman, November 19, 1919

"When you unmask all of the hypocrisy surrounding this whole transaction, when you see the leaders of the great Republican Party, representing the people of this country, pretending that they are doing everything in God's world to ratify a treaty,...their interest and sincerity and consistency at least are open to suspicion on the part of the people of the country... [I]f those of you there who are honest and sincere, if those of you there who hold your country above your party, are willing to join us on this side, I feel assured we can get you enough votes to ratify this treaty with reservations that you yourselves would have accepted two months ago.... [I]f you do not cut out of the resolution of ratification those reservations that you know will destroy the treaty, if you persist in that fraud upon the American people and that fraud upon the world, then I tell you there are enough fearless Democrats on this side of the Chamber to prevent its ratification until the American people understand. We may adopt the policy of isolation, and profit; we may decide to remain in an existence of selfishness, greed, and war, but we will not stand for national cowardice, pretense, and dishonesty."

Option 3 Irreconcilables: Reject the Treaty

Because of Europe's incessant wars of ancient hatreds and power politics, it has always been in our interest to separate ourselves as far as possible from that volatile continent. President Wilson's attempt to make "the world safe for democracy" was doomed from the start as it presupposed that the Europeans and others were actually interested in democracy. Even the British and French with their supposed democratic heritage were not interested in allowing their vast colonial subjects to obtain self-rule. It is obvious from their insistence in maintaining their colonies and adding new ones from the spoils of the defunct German and Ottoman Empires that self-rule was a sham from the start. In addition, we now have the contagion of international Bolshevism that threatens the very existence of democracy throughout the world. The Russian Czars were tyrannical enough, but now Lenin and his gang imperil Europe. Why would the United States want to risk infection from the Bolshevik virus by maintaining a presence in Europe? We've already witnessed labor unrest in this country, and the risk of the "Red Menace" will only increase unless we cut ourselves off from its home base: Europe.

Those who put any faith in "collective security" through the proposed League of Nations are deluding themselves. Membership in any such organization would risk our security and embroil us in constant wars. The same holds true for those who advocate our entering into a security alliance with Britain and France to check Germany's recovery. President Washington's warning about "entangling alliances" holds true more today than ever before. Any loss of American sovereignty and self-reliance is unacceptable. Both the original and the revised versions of this treaty would threaten our sovereignty and send us into war.

The argument that our economic ties to Europe force us to maintain relations with that region also lacks substance. The ever growing Asian trade with the United States seems to be the most logical pursuit if we think that international trade is vital to our continued

growth. There are those that point out that our own domestic markets and those in Latin America are more than sufficient to meet those demands. Why should we risk more infringements on our freedom of the seas by European powers that are always warring against one another? They have never respected our rights as a neutral. Our insistence on such brought us the War of 1812 and the most recent Great War. We saw the end result: 100,000 Americans died to fulfill Wilson's fuzzy, idealistic view of international relations. Have we not learned from our mistakes? The time has come to cut off our relationship with the troubled continent of Europe. We should not ratify the Versailles Treaty.



Beliefs and Assumptions Underlying Option 3

1. Europe is a volatile region which does not share our interests or values. We should not become entangled in its troubles.

2. Asia is a more economically promising trading partner than Europe.

3. American institutions and perhaps even our Constitution would be threatened by membership in the League.

Supporting Arguments for Option 3

1. The treaty does not rectify the wrongs present in the world before the Great War. It perpetuates those wrongs and sets the groundwork for another war.

2. Rejecting membership in the League will allow the U.S. government to continue

to function and govern in the way it sees fit, unhampered by outside nations.

3. Removing ourselves from European affairs will allow us to focus on issues in the Americas.

From the Historical Record

Walter Lippmann, editorial in The New Republic, May 1919

“The future of liberal Americanism depends upon a moral union between democracy and nationalism. Such a union is compromised so long as nationalism remains competitive in policy, exclusive in spirit and complacently capitalist in organization. Liberals all over the world have hoped that a war, which was so clearly the fruit of competition and imperialist and class-bound nationalism, would end in a peace which would moralize nationalism by releasing it from class bondage and exclusive ambitions. The Treaty of Versailles does not even try to satisfy these aspirations. Instead of expressing a great recuperative effort of the conscience of civilization, which for its own sins has sweated so much blood, it does much to intensify and nothing to heal the old and ugly dissensions between political nationalism and social democracy. In so far as its terms are actually carried out, it is bound to provoke the ultimate explosion of irreconcilable warfare. It weaves international animosities and class conflict into the very fabric of the proposed new system of public law.

Senator William E. Borah, November 1919

“If it is conceivable that a treaty can be

formed and a league of nations written which will respect the Constitution in its letter and its spirit, and which will safeguard and preserve the Nation-old traditions of our country, then the matter would pass without any further debate. But, if we join the League, how can we protect and safeguard our own institutions and our own policies, as established by our systems? We can not be entangled in European affairs and not be entangled at the same time. This is not only a plunge into the unknown but also a course absolutely contrary to our previous foreign policy.... There may be some egotism in Congress which makes it believe it knows more than the American people. But this is not true. The American people do not want to protect the other nations.”

Senator James A. Reed, November 1919

“There is a quarrel between Italy and Yugoslavia over Fiume, a small Italian town with fifty thousand population. Italy and Yugoslavia cannot settle it. Thereupon the League of Nations undertakes to intervene, and then render a decision, and thereupon it is ordered that the United States shall apply economic pressure, that she shall cease to ship goods to either country. Then war drums begin to roll, and our troops leave their jobs, their farms, their fami-

lies. And suddenly Americans are dying for a fight that they have no interest in.”

Senator William E. Borah, November 19, 1919

“My friends of reservations, tell me where is the reservation in these articles which protects us against entangling alliances with Europe? Those who are differing over reservations, tell me what one of them protects the doctrine laid down by the Father of his Country. That fundamental proposition is surrendered, and we are a part of the European turmoils and conflicts from the time we enter this league.... Lloyd George is reported to have said just a few days before the conference met at Versailles that Great Britain could give up much, and would be willing to sacrifice much, to have American withdraw from that policy. That was one of the great objects of the entire conference at Versailles, so far as the foreign representatives were concerned. Clemenceau and Lloyd George and others like them were willing to make any reasonable sacrifice which would draw America away from her isolation and into the internal affairs and concerns of Europe. This league of nations, with or without reservations, whatever else it does or does not do, does surrender and sacrifice that policy; and once having surrendered and become a part of European concerns, where, my friends, are you going to stop?”

Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman, November 19, 1919

“This league and treaty, whether reserved or otherwise, are a charter of an international homicide club.”

Senator Frank B. Brandegee, November 19, 1919

“We would have had peace long ago if the president had not practically told the other powers that he would not participate in the making of a peace treaty unless they let him put his covenant in as a part.”

Senator Frank B. Brandegee, November 19, 1919

“I would not vote for a league of nations based on the principles that this league is

based upon, with all the reservations the wit of man could devise, because it would not be safe for my country.... I would consider myself a candidate for the madhouse if I were to vote for any such thing.”

Senator Frank B. Brandegee, November 19, 1919

“As soon as people recover from this pipe dream they will see good, old human nature and cause and effect continue to operate.... I am absolutely convinced if we can survive the present condition of hysteria for a year and keep out of this thing that nobody will admit that he ever favored it.”

Senator Frank B. Brandegee, November 19, 1919

“Now I know where I stand; I am on American soil.... I am looking at the stars and stripes [on the] back of your chair, sir, with pride, and I am offered a bridge to cross an unknown sea and invited to take my stand under the sickly flag of international socialism; and I decline to do it!”

Senator Frank B. Kellogg, November 19, 1919

“There is another and even more commanding reason why I shall record my vote against the treaty. It imperils what I conceive to be the underlying, the very first principles of this Republic. It is in conflict with the right of our people to govern themselves.... If we have erred we have erred out of too much love for those things which from childhood you and we together have been taught to revere—yes, to defend even at the cost of limb and life. If we have erred it is because we have placed too high an estimate upon the wisdom of Washington and Jefferson, too exalted an opinion upon the patriotism of the sainted Lincoln. And blame us not therefore if we have, in our limited vision, seemed sometimes bitter and at all times uncompromising, for the things for which we have spoken, feebly spoken, the things which we have endeavored to defend, have been the things for which your fathers and our fathers were willing to die.”

The Proposed Changes to the Treaty: The Lodge Reservations

1. The United States so understands and construes Article I that in case of notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations, as provided in said article, the United States shall be the sole judge as to whether all its international obligations and all its obligations under the said Covenant have been fulfilled, and notice of withdrawal by the United States may be given by a concurrent resolution of the Congress of the United States.

2. The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country or to interfere in controversies between nations—whether members of the League or not—under the provisions of Article 10, or to employ the military or naval forces of the United States under any article of the treaty for any purpose, unless in any particular case the Congress, which, under the Constitution, has the sole power to declare war or authorize the employment of the military or naval forces of the United States, shall by act or joint resolution so provide.

3. No mandate shall be accepted by the United States under Article 22, Part 1, or any other provision of the treaty of peace with Germany, except by action of the Congress of the United States.

4. The United States reserves to itself exclusively the right to decide what questions are within its domestic jurisdiction and declares that all domestic and political questions relating wholly or in part to its internal affairs, including immigration, labor, coastwise traffic, the tariff, commerce, the suppression of traffic in women and children, and in opium and other dangerous drugs, and all other domestic questions, are solely within the jurisdiction of the United States and are not under this treaty to be submitted in any way either to arbitration or to the consideration of the Council or of the Assembly of the League of Nations,

or any agency thereof, or to the decision or recommendation of any other power.

5. The United States will not submit to arbitration or to inquiry by the Assembly or by the Council of the League of Nations provided for in said treaty of peace any questions which in the judgment of the United States depend upon or relate to its long-established policy, commonly known as the Monroe Doctrine; said doctrine is to be interpreted by the United States alone and is hereby declared to be wholly outside the jurisdiction of said League of Nations and entirely unaffected by any provision contained in the said treaty of peace with Germany.

6. The United States withholds its assent to Articles 156, 157, and 158, and reserves full liberty of action with respect to any controversy which may arise under said articles between the Republic of China and the Empire of Japan.

7. The Congress of the United States will provide by law for the appointment of the representatives of the United States in the Assembly and the Council of the League of Nations, and may in its discretion provide for the participation of the United States in any commission, committee, tribunal, court, council, or conference, or in the selection of any members thereof, and for the appointment of members of said commissions, committees, tribunals, courts, councils, or conferences, or any other representatives under the treaty of peace, or in carrying out its provisions; and until such participation and appointment have been so provided for and the powers and duties of such representatives have been defined by law, no person shall represent the United States under either said League of Nations or the treaty of peace with Germany or be authorized to perform any act for or on behalf of the United States thereunder; and no citizen of the United States shall be selected or appointed as a member of said

commissions, committees, tribunals, courts, councils, or conferences except with the approval of the Senate of the United States.

8. The United States understands that the Reparation Commission will regulate or interfere with exports from the United States to Germany, or from Germany to the United States, only when the United States by act or joint resolution of Congress approves such regulation or interference.

9. The United States shall not be obligated to contribute to any expenses of the League of Nations, or of the Secretariat, or of any commission, or committee, or conference, or other agency organized under the League of Nations or under the treaty or for the purpose of carrying out the treaty provisions, unless and until an appropriation of funds available for such expenses shall have been made by the Congress of the United States.

10. If the United States shall at any time adopt any plan for the limitation of armaments proposed by the Council of the League of Nations under the provisions of Article 8, it reserves the right to increase such armaments without the consent of the Council whenever the United States is threatened with invasion or engaged in war.

11. The United States reserves the right to permit, in its discretion, the nationals of a Covenant-breaking state, as defined in Article 16 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, residing within the United States or in countries other than that violating said

Article 16, to continue their commercial, financial, and personal relations with the nationals of the United States.

12. Nothing in Articles 296, 297, or in any of the annexes thereto or in any other article, section, or annex of the treaty of peace with Germany shall, as against citizens of the United States, be taken to mean any confirmation, ratification, or approval of any act otherwise illegal or in contravention of the rights of citizens of the United States.

13. The United States withholds its assent to Part XIII (Articles 387 to 427, inclusive) unless Congress by act or joint resolution shall hereafter make provision for representation in the organization established by said Part XII, and in such event the participation of the United States will be governed and conditioned by the provisions of such act or joint resolution.

14. The United States assumes no obligation to be bound by any election, decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly in which any member of the League and its self-governing dominions, colonies, or parts of empire, in the aggregate, have cast more than one vote, and assumes no obligation to be bound by any decision, report, or finding of the Council or Assembly arising out of any dispute between the United States and any member of the League if such member, or any self-governing dominion, colony, empire, or part of empire united with it politically has voted.

Epilogue: The Legacy of the League

Whether it was a result of his stroke, feelings of moral and intellectual superiority, or an unwavering belief in his own convictions, President Wilson was uncompromising (some have said obstinate) after his return from Paris.

“As a friend of the President, as one who has loyally followed him, I solemnly declared to him this morning, ‘If you want to kill your own child because the Senate straightens out its crooked limbs, you must take the responsibility and accept the verdict of history.’”

—Senator Henry Ashurst

Wilson's foremost opponent, Senator Lodge, also refused to budge. The Senate voted on joining the League of Nations on three occasions. In the first vote the Senators rejected the treaty with the reservations Lodge had written. In the second, the Senate rejected the treaty altogether. When the final vote came up in March 1920, the Senate rejected it again. The Senate fight over the League of Nations and the Treaty of Versailles was over. The United States signed separate treaties later with Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Wilson's personality may have contributed to the rejection of the treaty. His refusal to include any significant Republicans in his delegation to Paris annoyed Senators. Many

found President Wilson arrogant, and some criticized his tone of voice, which they said was preaching and moralizing. Additionally, the longstanding bitterness and political differences with Lodge ensured that his ideas would be severely scrutinized even before they reached the table.

The Life of the League

From its conception, the League was to be a multilateral organization which worked toward a goal common to its members: the promotion of international peace and security. League members agreed to deal openly with one another, to abide by international law, to attempt to settle disputes through arbitration, and to reduce armaments in order to prevent war. According to the League Covenant, the League could use verbal, economic, or physical sanctions to prevent a dispute from escalating into war.

Many have speculated about how the rest of the twentieth century would have turned out if the United States had joined the League of Nations. Because Germany and Russia were not initially permitted to join, the early League years lacked the participation of three of the most powerful nations of the world. Despite the fact that ultimately more than sixty nations joined, the League lacked some credibility without U.S. participation. There were, however, some successes.

What were some of the League's successes?

The League was able to resolve several disputes peacefully, just as Wilson had hoped. For instance, the League settled a dispute between Sweden and Finland over a group of contested islands, responded to a humanitarian crisis in Turkey, and prevented a war from erupting over a border conflict between Greece and Bulgaria.

The League was also responsible for some social and economic successes. It brought several social issues to the world's attention,

Definitions

unilateral: describes a type of action in which a nation makes decisions on its own and executes those decisions without consulting other nations.

multilateral: describes a type of action in which a nation considers other nations' views and works with other nations when executing policy.

such as child slave labor, drug addiction, smuggling, and the status of women. It also provided aid to refugees, extended financial aid to states that were in need, and provided a model for dealing with these and other social issues. Many of the organizations that are part of the UN today, such as the International Labor Organization, the International Court of Justice, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees, and the World Health Organization, stem from organizations once affiliated with the League of Nations. The League of Nations was the first organization to bring these types of social issues to the forefront of world consciousness.

What were some of the League's failures?

The League was unable to deal with many other issues and conflicts. Though the League's covenant allowed the use of military force, the League lacked troops of its own, and member nations were not compelled to commit their troops.

As a result, the League lacked a credible military backbone and often lacked the power to enforce its decisions. When the League was called on to intervene in a conflict between Poland and Lithuania over the seizure of a Lithuanian town, the League proved unable to force Poland to leave. The League's powerlessness was apparent on many other occasions as well. For instance, during the League's tenure, Italy seized Fiume, the port that had gone to Yugoslavia, war broke out between Russia and Poland, France and Belgium invaded Germany, and Japan invaded Manchuria.

These incidents exposed the League's weaknesses. Perhaps its greatest problem was that the most powerful nation in the world, whose own president was its greatest champion, never joined the League. As a result of these weaknesses, the members often felt they could violate the terms of the covenant in favor of their own interests. The League members ultimately failed to abandon their unilateral ambitions in favor of multilateralism.

Why did the League fail to prevent World War II?

The Versailles Treaty had been especially harsh on Germany, and many Germans, humiliated by the Treaty's terms, were eager to reassert themselves in world affairs and regain lands they had lost following World War I. Though some of the terms were softened in the 1920s, the treaty fostered deep resentment and bitterness in Germany toward the victors. The financial compensation the Allies demanded further weakened Germany's war-devastated economy, and caused hunger, hardship, and massive unemployment. German Chancellor Adolf Hitler came to power on a platform which acknowledged German resentment, called for "German" lands to be returned to Germany, and promised economic recovery.

In 1935 the League failed to stop Hitler's public remilitarization of Germany, which had been prohibited in the terms of the Versailles Treaty. In violation of the treaty, Hitler ordered the construction of war planes and military buildings as well as the institution of mandatory military conscription, increasing the German army to 550,000.

On March 7, 1936 Germany again violated the Treaty of Versailles by marching German troops into the Rhineland, a western section of Germany. The militarization of the Rhineland was specifically prohibited in the Treaty of Versailles in order to establish a demilitarized buffer zone between Germany and France. France, alarmed by Germany's actions, took the matter to the League of Nations.

The League responded by issuing a formal condemnation of the action but doing nothing more. Undeterred, Germany annexed Austria and occupied parts of Czechoslovakia. With the onset of the Spanish Civil War, the resumption of war between Japan and China, and Italy's seizure of Abyssinia (now Ethiopia), conflict pulled at the world's fabric from every corner.

It was Germany's invasion of Poland in 1939 that led finally to the collapse of the League of Nations and the outbreak of World

War II. The League, designed to prevent war, had failed in its most basic mission.

The remapping of Europe and the Middle East did not solve the problems that had plagued the continents. Instead, the divisions persisted. Conflicts about borders and nationalities exist to this day. Additionally, the colonized nations of Africa and Asia did not gain independence as a result of the Versailles Treaty. The decolonization movement, begun in the 1950s, brought decades more bloodshed and violence before these areas gained self-rule.

The United States After WWI

After the war Americans hoped for a long period of peace and prosperity, but they disagreed about the best means to achieve those ends. Like their representatives in Congress, some Americans wanted to return to a policy of isolationism while others felt that detachment was no longer possible. While some Americans were fearful of embroiling themselves in European conflicts and wanted to focus on domestic issues, others felt that the United States was a global power that could not escape involvement in an increasingly interconnected world.

Although the United States did not join the League after World War I, the U.S. Senate as a whole was not isolationist. While some senators were staunchly opposed to involving the United States in “entangling alliances,” many others advocated involvement in international affairs. Their objection to the League was not that it drew the United States into world affairs, but that it impeded the right of the United States to act unilaterally.

What characterized U.S. policies between the world wars?

Between World War I and World War II, U.S. leaders sought an independent foreign policy which was unconstrained by permanent alliances. The United States was involved in international affairs only in ways that were beneficial or necessary to the United States.

The United States' handling of British



and French war debts is an example of this approach. At the conclusion of World War I Britain and France believed that the United States would forgive some of their over \$10 billion dollars of war debts. The United States, however, demanded that the debts be paid back in full and did not attempt to come to a compromise with the Europeans. The United States also raised the import tax on some European goods. This action hampered the ability of the Allied powers to repay their debts, and as a result tension and bitterness grew.

The United States also enacted legislation to limit immigration into the country. The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 and the Immigration Act of 1924 set limits on the number of Europeans who were eligible to immigrate and declared that Japanese immigrants were “aliens ineligible for citizenship.”

In some cases the United States worked with other nations in a multilateral approach to resolve problems. In 1921 and 1922, the U.S. government held an international conference on Asia in Washington D.C. At the Washington Conference, as it was called, the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and France signed several treaties on international issues. Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Belgium, and China also participated in several agreements.

Some of the most notable accomplishments of the conference included an agreement to curb naval build-up, to settle disputes over possessions in the Pacific peacefully, and to regulate the use of submarines and outlaw the use of poison gas during warfare. All nine nations also signed an agreement affirming China's sovereignty and establishing a policy of open trade with China.

Between the wars the United States acted in ways that supported its interests. While it often was involved in international issues, it participated in ways that preserved its right to manage its own affairs.

The Cold War

Woodrow Wilson's idea of collective security embodied in the League of Nations Covenant represented the first presidential attempt to adopt a multilateral approach for America's foreign policy. During the twenties and thirties, Wilson's attempts were often mocked as "idealist" and some saw the rise of totalitarian states in Italy, Japan, the Soviet Union, and Nazi Germany as clear examples of his naiveté. However, with the outbreak of the World War II and the horrific loss of life and destruction that followed, Wilson's ideas once again found a receptive audience.

What is the United Nations?

Like the League of Nations, the seeds for the creation of the United Nations were

planted in the midst of a world war. The League, having no military force of its own, had not been able to enforce its decisions. The devastation of World War II caused world leaders to look for new answers. Many, including President Franklin Roosevelt, recognized the League's flaws and felt that the establishment of a new global organization was necessary. Roosevelt worked with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill to create the Atlantic Charter, a document which called for the establishment of a United Nations (UN) which would help to maintain peace and security through international collaboration.

While the UN was hailed as a success when it convened its first meeting, the bitter divisions of the Cold War soon overwhelmed the carefully laid plans of the UN's creators. Cold War politics coupled with the structure of the UN veto system often prevented the UN Security Council from making decisions.

How did the Cold War affect multilateral international relations?

During the Cold War, the strategy of containing Soviet communism guided U.S. involvement abroad. American leaders feared that the Soviets would fan the flames of conflict to gain influence in regions that were identified as vital to U.S. interests. U.S. foreign aid was viewed as a tool for containing the spread of communism. It was for this reason that the United States allocated some \$400 million (\$3.5 billion in 2003 dollars) of aid to

The UN Security Council

The United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France, and China are the permanent members of the UN's Security Council, the UN's executive body. The Security Council has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Each of the five permanent members of the Security Council has the right to veto UN decisions. The veto system was conceived as a safety valve that would allow the great powers to disagree without threatening the UN's existence.

The framers of the UN recognized the division between Soviet communism and the free-market democracies of the West (led by the United States, Britain, and France). Nonetheless, they hoped that the permanent members of the Security Council would share a common interest in maintaining global peace. The founders of the UN also understood that the support of every important country was essential to the organization's success.

Greece and Turkey in 1947 and then some \$13 billion (\$100 billion in 2003) of aid to western European countries in the European Recovery Program, commonly known as the Marshall Plan.

The containment of the Soviet Union provided the impetus for the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), an organization of states pledging to protect the freedom and security of member nations. Through participation in NATO the United States consented, in Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, to the principle of collective security. The wording was similar to that of Article X of the League of Nations Covenant, which the United States had rejected thirty years before.

“The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all....”

—Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty

Through the successful congressional appropriation of aid to defend Greece and Turkey in the implementation of the Marshall Plan for the reconstruction of Europe, and U.S. participation in NATO, America's commitment to peace and security throughout the world became unmistakably clear. While the UN was sometimes hampered in its efforts, the U.S. maintained an engaged foreign policy throughout the Cold War. Sometimes that approach involved other nations in a multilateral effort, as during the Korean War, and sometimes the United States acted unilaterally, such as during the Cuban missile crisis.

Wilson's Legacy

Though Wilson may have failed in the League fight, he ultimately succeeded in bringing the concepts of multilateralism and collective security to the forefront of politi-

cal consciousness. In the early twenty-first century the United States remains involved in foreign affairs and in organizations that embody the ideals found in Wilson's Fourteen Points. The United States participates in regional and world organizations promoting free trade, and supports nations and ethnic groups seeking statehood and protection from injustice. The United States often assists in reducing conflict around the world.

Some within the United States advocate a more isolationist approach. They say that Wilson's ideas have continued to fail throughout the century because humans are predisposed toward power politics rather than peaceful diplomacy, and that the United States should focus on its mounting domestic problems. Others comment that ideas such as multilateralism threaten U.S. security by preventing the United States from acting on its own to protect its citizens. They point to the UN's failure to prevent terrorism or to act quickly in emergencies. While “Wilsonian” thought is praised in some circles, others call it naive and unrealistic.

In many cases presidents and administrations have engaged in both Wilsonian and non-Wilsonian actions simultaneously. President Carter, for instance, called for international efforts to increase human rights while also announcing that the United States would use force if necessary to access Middle Eastern oil. President George W. Bush's foreign policies are driven by moral arguments as Wilson's were, but he has reserved the right to act unilaterally to promote his ideals.

The involvement of the United States in global events and organizations remains a source of tension in the United States and around the world, and questions abound about the role of multilateral institutions and the U.S. role in the world. These debates will continue as long as Americans vacillate between pursuing a unilateral or multilateral foreign policy—or whether to be involved at all.

Supplementary Documents

Woodrow Wilson's Speech to Congress, 8 January, 1918

Gentlemen of the Congress:

Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible basis of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between Russian representatives and representatives of the Central Powers to which the attention of all the belligerents have been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement.

The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace but also an equally definite program of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of practical terms was added. That program proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied -- every province, every city, every point of vantage -- as a permanent addition to their territories and their power.

It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own people's thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representa-

tives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significances. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war?

The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open not closed, doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the resolutions of the German Reichstag of the 9th of July last, the spirit and intention of the Liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

But, whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world,

not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definite terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain.

There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of Society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but hopeless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe.

They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me

to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow nor or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secure once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

[The Fourteen Points]

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.

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 good will, 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.

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 to 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.

XII. The Turkish portion 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. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the new world in which we now live—instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak.

Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

The Covenant of the League of Nations

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.

ARTICLE 1.

The original Members of the League of Nations shall be those of the Signatories which are named in the Annex to this Covenant and also such of those other States named in the Annex as shall accede without reservation to this Covenant. Such accession shall be effected by a Declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the Covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other Members of the League.

Any fully self-governing State, Dominion or Colony not named in the Annex may become a Member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military, naval and air forces and armaments.

Any Member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations

under this Covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

ARTICLE 2.

The action of the League under this Covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

ARTICLE 3.

The Assembly shall consist of Representatives of the Members of the League.

The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time as occasion may require at the Seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world. At meetings of the Assembly each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three Representatives.

ARTICLE 4.

The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, together with Representatives of four other Members of the League. These four Members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the Representatives of the four Members of the League first selected by the Assembly, Representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece shall be members of the Council.

With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional Members of the League whose Representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council, with like approval may increase the number of Members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation on the Council.

The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the Seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any Member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a Representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that Member of the League.

At meetings of the Council, each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one Representative.

ARTICLE 5.

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this Covenant or by the terms of the present Treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, including the appointment of Committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE 6.

The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the Seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary General shall be the person named in the Annex; thereafter the Secretary General shall be appointed by the Council with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

The secretaries and staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General with the approval of the Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that

capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

The expenses of the League shall be borne by the Members of the League in the proportion decided by the Assembly.

ARTICLE 7.

The Seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The Council may at any time decide that the Seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women. Representatives of the Members of the League and officials of the League when engaged on the business of the League shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials or by Representatives attending its meetings shall be inviolable.

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.

ARTICLE 9.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles 1 and 8 and on military, naval and air questions generally.

ARTICLE 10.

The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

ARTICLE 11.

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise the Secretary General shall on the request of any Member of the League forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the friendly right of each Member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

ARTICLE 12.

The Members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to enquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the judicial decision, or the report by the Council. In any case under this Article the award of the arbitrators or the judicial decision shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

ARTICLE 13.

The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration or judicial settlement.

Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which if established would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement.

For the consideration of any such dispute, the court to which the case is referred shall be the Permanent Court of International Justice, established in accordance with Article 14, or any tribunal agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The Members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered, and that they will not resort to war against a Member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

ARTICLE 14.

The Council shall formulate and submit to the Members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a Permanent Court of International Justice. The Court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

ARTICLE 15.

If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration or judicial settlement in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof.

For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case with all the relevant facts and papers, and the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any Member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of its conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the Council is unanimously

agreed to by the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the Members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council, to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this Article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly, all the provisions of this Article and of Article 12 relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the Representatives of those Members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other Members of the League, exclusive in each case of the Representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the Representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

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 nationals 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.

ARTICLE 17.

In the event of a dispute between a Member of the League and a State which is not a Member of the League, or between States not Members of the League, the State or States not Members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles 12 to 16 inclusive shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed

necessary by the Council.

Upon such invitation being given the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a Member of the League, the provisions of Article 16 shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute when so invited refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

ARTICLE 18.

Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any Member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

ARTICLE 19.

The Assembly may from time to time advise the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

ARTICLE 20.

The Members of the League severally agree that this Covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case any Member of the League shall, before becoming a Member of the League, have

undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this Covenant, it shall be the duty of such Member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

ARTICLE 21.

Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace.

ARTICLE 22.

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.

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 recognized 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.

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.

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 23.

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the Members of the League:

(a) will endeavour to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organisations;

(b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control;

(c) will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs;

(d) will entrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest;

(e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communications and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all Members of the League. In this connection, the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918 shall be borne in mind;

(f) will endeavour to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.

ARTICLE 24.

There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaux already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaux and all commissions for the

regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general convention but which are not placed under the control of international bureaux or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

ARTICLE 25.

The Members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorised voluntary national Red Cross organisations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

ARTICLE 26.

Amendments to this Covenant will take effect when ratified by the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the Members of the League whose Representatives compose the Assembly.

No such amendments shall bind any Member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a Member of the League.

Supplementary Resources

Books

Cooper, John Milton. *Breaking the Heart of the World: Woodrow Wilson and the Fight for the League of Nations*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). 433 pages.

Kennedy, David M. *Over Here: The First World War and American Society*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980). 369 pages.

Knock, Thomas. *To End All Wars*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). 276 pages.

MacMillan, Margaret. *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World*. (New York: Random House, 2001). 494 pages.

McNamara, Robert S. and James G. Blight. *Wilson's Ghost: Reducing the Risk of Conflict, Killing, and Catastrophe in the 21st Century*. (New York: Public Affairs, 2003). 276 pages.

World Wide Web

<www.firstworldwar.com/audio/>

A collection of songs, speeches, and skits from World War I

<www.oucs.ox.ac.uk/ltg/projects/jtap/>

Oxford University site for literature from World War I

<www.pbs.org/greatwar/>

PBS website associated with its program on World War I

<www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/wilson/>

PBS website associated with its *American Experience* program on President Wilson

<www.library.northwestern.edu/govpub/collections/league/>

Northwestern University's complete collection of the League of Nations documents

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Choices Education Program
Watson Institute for International Studies
Box 1948, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912

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Wilson's Vision and the League of Nations Debate

Wilson's Vision and the League of Nations Debate offers students background on the effects of World War I before providing students the opportunity to role-play events at the Paris Peace Conference and the U.S. Senate debate on the creation of the League of Nations.

Wilson's Vision and the League of Nations Debate is part of a continuing series on current and historical international issues published by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program at Brown University. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

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Wilson's Vision and the League of Nations Debate



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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program develops curricula on current and historical international issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Program is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University.

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Wilson's Vision and the League of Nations Debate is part of a continuing series on public policy issues. New units are published each academic year and all units are updated regularly.

Visit us on the World Wide Web — www.choices.edu

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THE CHOICES FOR THE 21ST CENTURY EDUCATION PROGRAM is a program of the Watson Institute for International Studies at Brown University. CHOICES was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgement on policy issues.



The Watson Institute for International Studies was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners who are committed to analyzing contemporary global problems and developing initiatives to address them.

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About the Choices Approach

Choices for the 21st Century curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using an innovative approach to student-centered instruction, Choices units develop critical thinking and civic judgment—essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Understanding the Significance of History: Each Choices unit provides students with a thorough introduction to the topic under consideration. Students gain an understanding of the historical background and the status of current issues. In this way, they see how history has shaped our world. With this foundation, students are prepared to thoughtfully consider a variety of perspectives on public policy.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: Each Choices unit is built around a framework of alternative policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives and to think critically about the issue at hand. Students are best able to understand and analyze the options through a cooperative learning/role-play activity. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. The setting of the role-play may be a Congressional hearing, meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. Student groups defend their policy options and, in turn, are challenged with questions from their classmates. The ensuing debate demands analysis and evaluation of the many conflicting values, interests, and priorities reflected in the options.

Exercising Civic Judgment: Armed with fresh insights from the role-play and debate, students are challenged to articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values, priorities, and goals as individuals and citizens. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Why Use the Choices Approach? Choices curricula are informed by current educational research about how students learn best. Studies have consistently demonstrated that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material rather

than listening passively to a lecture. Student-centered instructional activities motivate students and develop higher-order thinking skills. However, some high school educators find the transition from lecture format to student-centered instruction difficult. Lecture is often viewed as the most efficient way to cover the required material. Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies. Each Choices unit includes student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role-plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- engage in informed debate
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- reflect upon personal values and priorities surrounding an issue
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Teachers who use Choices units say the collaboration and interaction that take place are highly motivating for students. Opportunities abound for students to contribute their individual talents to the group presentations in the form of political cartoons, slogans, posters, or characterizations. These cooperative learning lessons invite students to take pride in their own contributions and the group product, enhancing students' self-esteem and confidence as learners. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Note To Teachers

Wilson’s vision for a new world order following World War I was far-reaching and radical at the time. While few of his ideals were carried out by the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, the concepts he promoted left a legacy over the course of the twentieth century and changed the nature of international relations. While his League of Nations did not prevent World War II, the concepts of self-determination, open diplomacy, and freedom of trade outlined in the Fourteen Points Peace Plan are now common principles for many nations around the world.

This unit addresses the causes and effects of World War I both domestically and abroad, the Paris Peace Conference at which the Treaty of Versailles was written and signed, and the debate in the U.S. Senate about whether to join the League of Nations and ratify the treaty. The unit introduces students to concepts such as isolationism and multilateralism, contrasting underpinnings of foreign policy which have had lasting effects on America’s role in the world.

Wilson’s Vision and the League of Nations Debate places students in the same rooms in which two of the most defining decisions for the twentieth century were made: the French Foreign Ministry in Paris and the U.S. Senate Chamber in the Capitol building. Students first take on the role of the Big Four in Paris—Great Britain, Italy, France, and the United States—to redraw the map of postwar Europe. Later students debate the merits of the League of Nations as Senators in the United States Congress. Background readings prepare students for these activities. Part I examines World War I and domestic policies of the time, while Part II explores Wilson’s trip to Paris following the armistice. The Epilogue addresses the outcome of the League of Nations debate and explains the effect the debate had on U.S. and world affairs for the remainder of the century.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher Resource Book accompanying this unit contains a day-by-day lesson plan and

student activities. The lesson plan opens with a study of songs which emerged from World War I. An alternative lesson introduces students to some of the poetry written during the time period. On the second day students work in groups as members of the Big Four at Versailles. A second alternative lesson invites students to take on the roles of individuals, many of whom attended the Peace Conference but were barred from the most important decisions. The third and fourth days feature a simulation in which students assume the role of advocates for the three options or of undecided members of the Senate. Finally, on the fifth day, students consider the legacy of Wilson’s vision.

- **Alternative Study Guides:** Each section of background reading is accompanied by two distinct study guides. The standard study guide is designed to help students harvest the information provided in the background readings in preparation for tackling analysis and synthesis within classroom activities. The advanced study guide requires the student to tackle analysis and synthesis prior to class activities.

- **Vocabulary and Concepts:** The background reading addresses subjects that are complex and challenging. To help your students get the most out of the text, you may want to review with them the “Key Terms” found in the Teacher Resource Book (TRB) on page TRB-49 before they begin their assignment. An “Issues Toolbox” is also included on page TRB-50. This provides additional information on key concepts of particular importance.

The lesson plans offered in *Wilson’s Vision and the League of Nations Debate* are provided as a guide. They are designed for traditional class periods of approximately fifty minutes. Those on block schedules will need to make adaptations. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating the Unit into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Program are designed to be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about where *Wilson's Vision and The League of Nations Debate* might fit into your curriculum.

United States History: World War I and the period immediately following shaped America's role in the world for decades afterwards. The Senate debate concerning the League of Nations introduced a paradigm of conflicting approaches to foreign policy which still resonate today. Many scholars agree that America's decision not to join the League doomed the organization to failure and rendered it ineffective in response to German aggression in the 1930s. The readings and role-plays in the unit allow students to consider the competing values present in American society and the impact of this turning point in the history of American foreign policy.

European History: World War I decimated Europe and is widely referred to as the cause of Europe's loss of innocence, not to mention the loss of a generation of men. The Paris Peace Conference which followed highlighted many of the issues which had brought the world to war in the first place: colonial holdings and access to raw materials, the perceived need for increased security, and nationalist tendencies. Students will understand the persistent nature of these issues in Euro-

pean history, the impact of such problems on nations of the developing world, and the individuals who attempted to reconcile competing interests as well as those who were shut out from the process. The influence of the United States on European affairs, even early in the twentieth century, is also a component of the unit.

Political Science and Government: How do nations make decisions? Who calls the shots? Wilson's Fourteen Points Peace Plan may have been written largely by a small group of men, but the implementation of his plan was hampered by the motives and desires of other governments with other national interests. Similarly, while Wilson advocated the ratification of the Versailles Treaty and campaigned extensively for it, ultimately the measure was struck down by the Senate. This was partially a result of personal and political differences between Wilson and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. As a result of the role-play students will gain a better understanding of how the decisions of individuals can affect the course of nations.

The unit will also provide students a grounding in unilateral and multilateral foreign policy decisions. Following the unit, students should be able to make substantial and meaningful connections to decisions and events that occurred throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Songs of World War I

Objectives:

Students will:

Gain historical perspective of participants and their experiences.

Understand the changing nature of the war and public opinion.

Assess the place of political themes in popular music today.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the unit, students should have read the Introduction and Part I of the background reading (student text pages 1-11) and completed the “Study Guide—Part I” in the Teacher Resource Book (TRB 4-5) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part I” (TRB-6).

Handouts:

“Songs of the Great War” (TRB 7-10)

In the Classroom:

1. Essential Question—Write the following question on the board: How are world events recounted in song? Ask students to consider how songwriters choose their lyrics and the type of music to portray their message. What politically-oriented songs can they think of from U.S. history? Songs from the Vietnam era or following September 11 might come to mind. Ask students to describe the tone of those songs.

2. Group Responses—Form seven groups of students (or fewer, if you have a smaller

class) and assign each group one of the songs from the handout. Ask students to consider the questions in relation to their assigned song.

3. Considering Tone—If possible, play some of the songs so students can understand how musical style and tempo influence meaning.

4. Drawing Connections—Have students come together in the large group setting to share their observations. Which songs are more pro-war? Which ones are anti-war? What values are expressed in the songs? Does the nationality of the writer influence the tone? What about when the song was written? How do the World War I songs compare to the more contemporary songs the students cited earlier?

Extra Challenge:

Have students compose their own songs about World War I, keeping in mind the perspective of the narrator of the song.

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the background reading in the student text (pages 12-20) and complete “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 17-18) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-19).

Note:

Many of the songs from this lesson can be heard at <http://www.firstworldwar.com/audio/>

Study Guide—Part I

1. What were the three main causes of World War I?
 - a.
 - b.
 - c.
2. Why did the concept of nationalism threaten the large empires and big states of Europe?
3. What event led immediately to the start of World War I?
4. List the members of the Allies and Central Powers:
Allies: _____ Central Powers: _____
5. President Wilson invoked the _____ of 1909, which explained the rights of _____ during wartime. Both the _____ and _____ governments broke the rules of that treaty.

Advanced Study Guide—Part I

1. “Politics is perception” is a term often used in both domestic and international affairs. How does this saying reflect the rise of military alliances by the European powers at the start of the twentieth century?
2. How did nationalism influence the beginning of World War I?
3. Why did Wilson wish to remain neutral in the first years of the war?
4. Why do you think the American public reelected Wilson in 1916?
5. Why do historians often say that Wilson's Fourteen Points were not upheld on the homefront? Provide examples of policies to support your argument.
6. What is propaganda? Give three examples of propaganda used in the United States during the war.

Songs of The Great War

Introduction: Certain songs and pieces of music can immediately transport us back to an event that we associate with it. For example, you might hear a song on the radio and be reminded of a Homecoming Dance or a Prom that you attended. The same holds true of larger historical events such as wars and other conflicts. Songs that emerged from World War I were very popular at the time. As you read the lyrics and listen to the music about the war, try to transport yourself back to the events that they describe.

As you read your assigned song consider the following questions:

1. What is the tone of your song? Does it support or oppose the war?
2. From what perspective is your song written (soldier, parent, worker on the home-front, etc.)? Does this perspective influence the tone?
3. Who do you think might be the intended audience for your song—troops, or people on the home front? How can you tell?
4. How might the composer's nationality influence the content and tone of the song?
5. What does your song's copyright date tell you about its perspective on the war?

Selection 1

Stony Broke in No Man's Land

Anonymous (British, recorded 1921)

In 1914 a hundred years ago it seems
When first the world was awakened from its
peaceful dream

The bugle called I went away
They said I was a man then
But ah what can I do today

Chorus:

I can't get the old job can't get the new
Can't carry on as I used to do
I look around me and daily I see
Thousands and thousands of fellows
A lot worse off than me

When the fighting was at its fiercest
And everything looked black
This is the promise that cheered us up:
"You'll get the old job back!"

When we crossed shell-swept No Man's Land
Through poison gas attacks
This promise heard:

"If you are scared you'll get the old job back!"
We were not professional soldiers
Fighting was not our game
We were only peaceful citizens
But we fought just the same

We sacrificed our wives and kids and homes
To do our bit
And now the door is closed to us
It seems hard to admit:

(Chorus)

In Piccadilly friends pass me by
I'm absolutely stranded in the Strand
But I confess I was contented more or less
When I was stony broke in No Man's Land

Selection 2

Keep the Trench Fires Going

Harry von Tilzer and Eddie Moran (American, 1918)

Uncle Sammy's boys are somewhere over there
in France
Someone's going to know they're in a fight.
Uncle Sammy's boys are not afraid to take a
chance
When they're fighting for a cause that's right.
But while Uncle Sammy's boys are fighting brave
and true,
There's something too that we have got to do.

Chorus (sung twice after each verse):

Keep the trench fires going for the boys out there.
Let's play fair, and do our share.
Our boys are fighting for you and me, can't you see?
For you and me and Liberty.
Let's make a showing while they're o'er the foam,
Do your bit and bring them home.
Keep the trench fires going for the boys out there.
Let every son of Uncle Sammy do his share.

Uncle Sammy's boys are going over there to win
Someone will be wiser when they're through.
Uncle Sammy's boys are going right into Berlin,
Then they'll tell the Kaiser what to do.
But if we want Uncle Sammy's boys to finish strong,
It's up to us to help the boys along.

Selection 3

Your King and Country Want You

Paul Rubens (British, 1914)

We've watched you playing cricket and every kind of game,
At football, golf and polo you men have made your name.
But now your country calls you to play your part in war.
And no matter what befalls you
We shall love you all the more.
So come and join the forces
As your fathers did before.
Oh, we don't want to lose you but we think you ought to go.
For your King and your country both need you so.
We shall want you and miss you
But with all your might and main
We shall cheer you, thank you, bless you
When you come home again.

Selection 4

Keep the Home Fires Burning

Ivor Novello (British, 1914)

They were summoned from the hillside
They were called in from the glen,
And the country found them ready
At the stirring call for men.
Let no tears add to their hardships
As the soldiers pass along,
And although your heart is breaking
Make it sing this cheery song:

Chorus:

Keep the Home Fires Burning,
While your hearts are yearning,
Though your lads are far away
They dream of home.
There's a silver lining
Through the dark clouds shining,
Turn the dark cloud inside out
'Til the boys come home.

Overseas there came a pleading,
"Help a nation in distress."
And we gave our glorious ladies
Honor bade us do no less,
For no gallant son of freedom
To a tyrant's yoke should bend,
And a noble heart must answer
To the sacred call of "Friend."

(Chorus)

Name: _____

*Selection 5***Over There**

George M. Cohan (American, 1917)

Johnnie, get your gun,
 Get your gun, get your gun,
 Take it on the run,
 On the run, on the run.
 Hear them calling, you and me,
 Every son of liberty.
 Hurry right away,
 No delay, no delay,
 Make your daddy glad
 To have had such a lad.
 Tell your sweetheart not to pine,
 To be proud her boy's in line.

Chorus:

Over there, over there,
 Send the word, send the word over there—
 That the Yanks are coming,
 The Yanks are coming,
 The drums rum-tumming everywhere
 So prepare, say a prayer,
 Send the word, send the word to beware.
 We'll be over, we're coming over,
 And we won't come back till it's over
 Over There.

Johnnie, get your gun,
 Get your gun, get your gun,
 Johnnie show the Hun
 Who's a son of a gun.
 Hoist the flag and let her fly,
 Yankee Doodle do or die.
 Pack your little kit,
 Show your grit, do your bit.
 Yankee Doodle fill the ranks,
 From the towns and the tanks.
 Make your mother proud of you,
 And the old Red, White and Blue.

(Chorus sung twice)*Selection 6***He Will Always Remember the Little Things You Do**

Gitz Rice (Canadian, 1918)

Don't know what I'm goin' to say
 Just to cheer you 'long each day,
 Seems the world has turn'd around
 Lonesome girls are always found;
 But there's something now to do,
 Means as much to me as you.

Chorus:

Every little thing you do
 Has a meaning after all,
 It doesn't matter how much the other girl is
 shirking,
 All you've to do is keep on working,
 For the boy who's "Over there,"
 I don't have to tell you where,
 But he will always remember the little things
 you do.
 Every little thing you do.

Saw a girl with tear-dimm'd eyes,
 Looking blankly to the skies,
 Felt so sorry since that day,
 When her laddie sailed away;
 But she's happy now I guess
 Working hard just like the res'.

(Chorus)

Selection 7

Sister Susie's Sewing Shirts

R.P. Weston (unknown origin, 1914)

Sister Susie's Sewing Shirts For Soldiers

Sister Susie's sewing in the kitchen on a "Singer,"

There's miles and miles of flannel on the floor and up the stairs,

And father says it's rotten getting mixed up with the cotton,

And sitting on the needles that she leaves upon the chairs.

And should you knock at our street door

Ma whispers, "Come inside."

Then when you ask where Susie is,

She says with loving pride:

Chorus (sung increasingly faster throughout the song):

"Sister Susie's sewing shirts for soldiers

Such skill at sewing shirts

Our shy young sister Susie shows!

Some soldiers send epistles

Say they'd sooner sleep in thistles

Than the saucy, soft, short shirts for soldiers sister Susie sews."

Piles and piles and piles of shirts she sends out to the soldiers,

And sailors won't be jealous when they see them, not at all.

And when we say her stitching will set all the soldiers itching,

She says our soldiers fight best when their back's against the wall.

And little brother Gussie, he who lisps when he says "yes",

Says "Where's the cotton gone from off my kite?

Oh, I can gueth!"

(Chorus)

I forgot to tell you that our sister Susie's married,

And when she isn't sewing shirts

She's sewing other things.

Then little sister Molly says,

"Oh, sister's bought a dolly.

She's making all the clothes for it

With pretty bows and strings."

Says Susie:

"Don't be silly"

As she blushes and she sighs.

Then mother smiles and whispers with a twinkle in her eyes:

(Chorus)

Poetry of World War I

Objectives:

Students will:

Examine wartime poems written from a variety of perspectives.

Better comprehend the disillusionment of the survivors of the war.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the Introduction and Part I of the background reading (student text pages 1-11) and completed “Study Guide—Part I” (TRB 4-5) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part I” (TRB-6).

Handouts:

“Poetry of the Great War” (TRB 12-15)

In the Classroom:

1. Essential Question—Write the following question on the board: How does literature reflect world events? Ask students to consider how novelists and poets choose their topics and tone to convey their ideas. What politically-oriented literature can they think of from U.S. history? Poetry from the Civil War or novels about the Civil Rights Movement might come to mind. Ask students to describe the tone of those poems or novels.

2. Group Responses—Form eight groups of students (or fewer, if you have a smaller class) and assign each group one of the poems from the handout. Ask students to consider the questions in relation to their assigned poem.

3. Drawing Connections—Have students come together in the large group setting to share their observations. Which poems are more pro-war? Which ones are anti-war? What values are expressed in the poems? Does the nationality of the writer influence the tone? Does it matter when the poem was written? How do the World War I poems compare to literature written during other wars or times of struggle?

Extra Challenge:

Have students write their own poem about the war. Explain that it can be any length and address any topic, either about the home front or the war front. They should be willing to share it with the class at the next meeting.

Homework:

Students should read Part II (student text pages 12-20) and complete “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 17-18) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-19).

Poetry of the Great War

Introduction: The First World War produced some of the most acclaimed poetry ever recorded. Men from both sides of the conflict recorded their experiences in poetry and prose that still resonates today. Many were highly educated and had literary careers before the war while others came from less educated backgrounds. Additionally, women on the home front and in the war wrote about their experiences. As you read your assigned selection, try to assess the narrator's views of the war or the home front through his or her words and attempt to understand his or her experiences through the verse. Although poetry is not as popular today as it was in the past as a form of entertainment, it still provides an insight into the soul of the time period and those who lived then.

As you read your selection, consider the following questions:

1. What experiences are described in the poem?
2. When was the poem written? Does the year in which it was written affect the tone of the poem?
3. Is the poem pro- or anti-war? How can you tell?
4. The people who fought and survived the First World War are often referred to as "the lost generation" as a result of their postwar disillusionment. Do you find evidence of such disillusionment in your assigned poem?
5. What values are expressed in the poem?

Selection 1

Munition Wages

Madeline Ida Bedford (British, date unknown)

Earning high wages?
 Yus, Five quid a week.
 A woman, too, mind you,
 I calls it dim sweet.

Ye'are asking some questions—
 But bless yer, here goes:
 I spends the whole racket
 On good times and clothes.

Me saving? Elijah!
 Yer do think I'm mad.
 I'm acting the lady,
 But—I ain't living bad.

I'm having life's good times.
 See 'ere, it's like this:
 The 'oof come o' danger,
 A touch-and-go bizz.

We're all here today, mate,
 Tomorrow—perhaps dead,
 If Fate tumbles on us
 And blows up our shed.

Afraid! Are yer kidding?
 With money to spend!
 Years back I wore tatters,
 Now—silk stockings, mi friend!

I've bracelets and jewellery,
 Rings envied by friends;
 A sergeant to swank with,
 And something to lend.

I drive out in taxis,
 Do theatres in style.
 And this is mi verdict—
 It is jolly worth while.

Worth while, for tomorrow
 If I'm blown to the sky,
 I'll have repaid mi wages
 In death—and pass by.

Name: _____

Selection 2

Dulce et Decorum Est

Wilfred Owen (British, 1918)

Bent double, like old beggars under sacks,
Knock kneed, coughing like hags, we cursed
 through sludge
Till on the haunting flares we turned our backs
And towards our distant rest began to trudge.
Men marched asleep. Many had lost their boots
But limped on, blood-shod. All went lame;
 all blind;
Drunk with fatigue: deaf even to the hoots
Of tired, outstripped Five-Nines that dropped
 behind.

Gas! Gas! Quick, boys!—An ecstasy of fumbling,
Fitting the clumsy helmets just in time,
But someone still was yelling out and stumbling
And flound'ring like a man in fire or lime...
Dim through the misty panes and thick green light,
As under a green sea, I saw him drowning.

In all my dreams, before my helpless sight,
He plunges at me, guttering, choking, drowning.
If in some smothering dreams you too could pace
Behind the wagon that we flung him in,
And watch the white eyes writhing in his face,
His hanging face, like a devil's sick of sin;
If you could hear, at every jolt, the blood
Come gargling from the froth-corrupted lungs
Obscene as cancer, bitter as the cud
Of vile, incurable sores on innocent tongues—,
My friend, you would not tell with such high zest
To children ardent for some desperate glory,
The old lie: Dulce et decorum est
Pro patria mori.*

*It is sweet and dignified to die for one's country.

Selection 3

In Flanders Fields

John McCrae (Canadian, 1915)

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row.
That mark our place: and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow.
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; by yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields

Selection 4

Does It Matter

Siegfried Sassoon (British, 1917)

Does it matter?—losing your legs?...
For people will always be kind,
And you need not show that you mind
When the others come in after hunting
To gobble their muffins and eggs.

Does it matter?—losing your sight?...
There's such splendid work for the blind;
And people will always be kind,
As you sit on the terrace remembering
And turning your face to the light.

Do they matter?—those dreams from the pit?...
You can drink and forget and be glad,
And people won't say that you're mad;
For they'll know you've fought for your country
And no one will worry a bit.

Selection 6

Requiem for the Dead of Europe

Recitative (I)

Yvan Goll (German, 1915)

Let me lament the exodus of so many men from their time;
Let me lament the women whose warbling hearts now scream;
Every lament let me note and add to the list,
When young widows sit by lamplight mourning for
Husbands lost;
I hear the blonde-voiced children crying for God their father at bedtime;
On every mantelpiece stand photographs wreathed with ivy, smiling, true to the past;
At every window stand lonely girls whose burning eyes are bright with tears;
In every garden lilies are growing, as though there's a grave to prepare;
In every street the cars are moving more slowly, as though to a funeral;
In every city of every land you can hear the passing-bell;
In every heart there's a single plaint,
I hear it more clearly every day.

Selection 5

Leaving for the Front

Alfred Lichtenstein (German, 1914)

Before I die I must find this rhyme.
Be quiet, my friends, and do not waste my time.

We're marching off in company with death.
I only wish my girl would hold her breath.

There's nothing wrong with me. I'm glad to leave.
Now mother's crying too. There's no reprieve.

And now look how the sun's begun to set.
A nice mass-grave is all that I shall get.

Once more the good old sunset's glowing red.
In thirteen days I'll probably be dead.

Name: _____

*Selection 7***Pro Patria**

Owen Seaman (British, 1914)

England, in this great fight to which you go
Because, where Honor calls you, go you must,
Be glad, whatever comes, at least to know
You have your quarrel just.

Peace was your care; before the nation's bar
Her cause you pleaded and her ends you
sought;
But not for her sake, being what you are,
Could you be bribed and bought.

Others may spurn the pledge of land to land,
May with the brute sword stain a gallant past;
But by the seal to which you set your hand,
Thank God, you still stand fast!

Forth, then, to front that peril of the deep
With smiling lips and in your eyes the light,
Steadfast and confident, of those who keep
Their storied scutcheon bright.

And we, whose burden is to watch and wait—
High-hearted ever, strong in faith and prayer,
We ask what offering we may consecrate,
What humble service share.
To steel our souls against the lust of ease;
To find our welfare in the common good;
To hold together, merging all degrees
In one wide brotherhood; —

To teach that he who saves himself is lost;
To bear in silence though our hearts may
bleed;
To spend ourselves, and never count the cost,
For others' greater need; —

To go our quiet ways, subdued and sane;
To hush all vulgar clamor of the street;
With level calm to face alike the strain
Of triumph or defeat; —

This be our part, for so we serve you best,
So best confirm their prowess and their pride,
Your warrior sons, to whom in this high test
Our fortunes we confide.

*Selection 8***Argonne Forest, at Midnight**

Otto Dix (German, 1915)

Argonne Forest, at midnight,
A sapper stands on guard.
A star shines high up in the sky,
bringing greetings from a distant homeland.

And with a spade in his hand,
He waits forward in the sap-trench.
He thinks with longing of his love,
Wondering if he will ever see her again.

The artillery roars like thunder,
While we wait in front of the infantry,
With shells crashing all around.
The Frenchies want to take our position.

Should the enemy threaten us even more,
We Germans fear him no more.
And should he be so strong,
He will not take our position.
The storm breaks! The mortar crashes!
The sapper begins his advance.

Forward to the enemy trenches,
There he pulls the pin on a grenade.

The infantry stand in wait,
Until the hand grenade explodes.
Then forward with the assault against the enemy,
And with a shout, break into their position.

Argonne Forest, Argonne Forest,
Soon thou wilt be a quiet cemetery.
In thy cool earth rests
Much gallant soldiers' blood.

The Big Four

Objectives:

Students will:

Understand the difficulty and complexity of the issues facing the Big Four.

Identify the values and viewpoints of their country.

Work cooperatively in groups to organize an effective presentation.

Required Reading:

Before beginning Day Two, students should have read Part II of the background reading in the student text (pages 12-20) and completed the “Study Guide—Part II” (TRB 17-18) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Part II” (TRB-19).

Handouts:

“Versailles Mapping Activity” (TRB-20)

“Wilson’s Fourteen Points” (TRB-21)

“Maps of Europe” (TRB 22-24)

“Country Briefings” to appropriate groups (TRB 25-28)

In the Classroom:

1. Getting Started—Divide the class into four groups and assign a country to each group, distributing appropriate “Country Briefings” to members of each group. Distribute “Versailles Mapping Activity” to each member of the class. Explain to the groups that they represent one of the Big Four, who met at the Paris Peace Conference which convened from January to June 1919. Ask each group to read the handouts and answer the questions from the perspective of their assigned country.

2. Identifying Key Values and Interests—

Distribute the maps and the Fourteen Points to each group, and instruct them to follow the handout. Using the handouts, groups must decide upon their national interests and draw, on the blank map of Europe, the national borders they wish to see after World War I.

3. Presenting—Ask each group to present its findings and explain its rendition of the postwar European map.

4. Debriefing—Ask students to consider the experience of drawing lines on a map. Do they feel such a process is fair to the inhabitants of the areas? If not, what reasonable methods can they suggest to accomplish the same end? Remind students that in Paris leaders of the Big Four actually spread maps out on the floor as they discussed postwar borders. Students should also consider how different their own maps are from those of the other groups. Should those differences be reconciled? If so, how? Finally, ask students to consider the consequences of the lines they have just drawn: what outcomes can they predict for the people living there?

Suggestion:

Increase the size of the blank maps on a copy machine so that students working in groups can more easily access the workspace. You may wish to put the maps on overhead transparencies so you can overlay them and/or add color.

Homework:

Students should read the “Moment of Decision” in the student text (page 21) and “Options in Brief” (page 22).

Name: _____

7. What was a mandate?

8. Why were many Germans angered at the terms of the treaty?

9. List two problems some Americans saw with the League of Nations.

a.

b.

Versailles Mapping Activity

The Setting: You are representing a country at the Paris Peace Conference held by France, Britain, Italy, and the United States from January to June 1919. Your task is to secure your country's interests while trying to create a peaceful postwar world.

Your Assignment: Employing your country's Background Briefing, a copy of Wilson's Fourteen Points, and the maps of Europe, decide upon the postwar boundaries of Europe. Your group should try to balance your country's interests with the terms stipulated in the Fourteen Points and mesh them where possible. Consider the questions below as a group before beginning. Then, using your answers to those questions, draw the borders of the postwar world that you desire. Each group will present its map to the remaining Big Four members. Your group will need to justify its claims to the other members and point to earlier treaties or to the clauses of the Fourteen Points that substantiate your claims and the borders you draw.

Questions to Consider:

1. What historical precedents and events does your country believe justify your current views about postwar Europe?
2. What role does security play in your country's position? Give specific examples.
3. What territorial acquisitions or changes does your country advocate in the postwar world?
4. What are the biggest economic issues that your country faces in the postwar world?
5. What position does your group favor concerning the new Bolshevik government in Russia and its involvement in the conference?
6. The concept of self-rule has been put forth in President Wilson's Fourteen Points Peace Plan as a main goal of the postwar world. What is your country's perception of this idea and what are the strongest reasons for it? What are the strongest arguments against it?
7. What cultural, nationalist, or linguistic concerns does your group have about the future of Europe?
8. What are your country's strongest values?

Wilson's Fourteen Points January 8, 1918

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas.

III. 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.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims.

VI. The evacuation [by foreign troops] of all Russian territory and freedom and independence for Russia.

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.

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 should be righted.

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 to 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.

XII. The Turkish portion 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. 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.

The full text of the Fourteen Points speech is in the student text, pages 39-42.

1914 Political Map of Europe



1914 Ethnolinguistic Map of Europe



Name: _____

Blank Map of Europe



Background Briefing—France

Our country has been invaded twice by Germany within the last forty years. Each time Germany has caused terrible destruction and severely crippled us financially. As a result of the 1871 Franco-Prussian War, we suffered the loss of the Alsace-Lorraine region. French speaking peoples were forced to live in the new boundaries drawn to create the new unified state of Germany, and we demand that they be allowed to return to France. The most recent attack by Germany has resulted in our northern region's horrific destruction. Rich farmland has been ruined, and it will take years before it is suitable for cultivation of crops. Many of our ancient cities lie in absolute ruin and are in need of reconstruction. Twenty-three thousand factories have been destroyed, and 750,000 homes are in tatters. We demand that Germany, responsible for this destruction, pay us reparations so that we may rebuild our cities and repair damage to our farmlands.

Following the Napoleonic Wars and the Franco-Prussian War, we were forced to give up French territory to the victors. As we are the victors in this instance, we demand a return of confiscated territory from these earlier wars and in addition we desire a buffer zone between us and Germany to protect us from future attack. We propose a new state along our border with Germany in the Rhineland where a pro-French government will be put in place to safeguard our security.

Although the German army surrendered, its population is much greater than ours, and it can rebuild in a short time. We insist that the German army be reduced to under one hundred-thousand troops and its armaments

industry no longer be allowed to produce artillery, planes, and tanks which could be used against us in the future. As we have suffered more than any other Allied country at the conference with over two million deaths, we feel we deserve this security guarantee.

In addition to our military security, we feel strongly that our economic vitality will only be preserved if we are allowed to maintain our overseas colonies. The idea of self-rule found in President Wilson's Fourteen Points has caused many of our colonial subjects to demand independence. This is not a possibility as we are dependent on them for raw materials vital to our industries. French Indochina has been a steady supplier of rubber and tungsten while our colonial holdings in Africa have supplied us with precious metals that we cannot do without. Additionally, these groups are not ready for independence.

Our agreement with the British government concerning areas in the former Ottoman Empire, the 1916 Sykes-Picot Treaty, should be maintained and the conquered lands should be made French protectorates. The states of Syria and Lebanon are rightfully ours and the oil-rich Mosul region in Mesopotamia should also be handed over to us. The British may have Basra and Baghdad in Mesopotamia, but we demand Mosul as a future oil source. The natives in these areas are not developed enough for self-rule, and they will benefit from having structured French rule. Colonial competition among Europeans was one cause of the war, and we would hate for it to occur again. If our reasonable demands are met in this regard, there should be stability and peace.

Background Briefing—Great Britain

The British Empire suffered terrible losses in the war. Even though our country was spared physical destruction, we suffered one million casualties which consumed an entire generation of our youth. Had it not been for our strong navy, the German submarines would have won the war for the Central Powers by strangling any trade with the United States. Because of this, we think it folly for any treaty to require “freedom of the seas” as a main provision. The war demonstrated how important a strong naval presence is in preserving our nation’s vital interests. “The sun never sets on the British Empire,” is more than just a common saying; it is a reality. Because of our vast colonies in Asia, Africa, and newly acquired territories in the Middle East, we need to maintain our naval advantage. This point is not negotiable.

British troops from around the Empire died defending France on the Western Front. Australian, New Zealander, South African, Canadian, and Indian subjects died fighting under the British flag. With a million casualties, our country has been placed under severe hardship as we must now look out for the widows and orphans left behind. They deserve some type of financial compensation as a means of social security, and we believe that the German government—the aggressor—should be made to pay for it. This is especially true due to the large war debts that we incurred to fight the war. This is not an act of financial vengeance but a stark reality.

Unlike France, however, we do not want to destroy Germany entirely. We do not want France to become the most powerful nation in Europe, which it might if all its demands are met. If France gained such power then the

balance required to maintain peace in Central Europe could be thrown off. We want an economically viable Germany—not an aggressive one—to counter French power in the region.

A rebuilt Germany would benefit Europe as a trading partner and act as a buffer against the spread of the new virus that plagues Europe: Russian Bolshevism. It is in all of the victors’ interests to keep the contagion of communism from spreading past Russia’s borders.

The financial losses we endured can only be offset by maintaining our colonial holdings and adding new territories from the defeated Central Powers. We will keep our Egyptian colony and its vital Suez Canal that connects the Mediterranean to our colony in India. Any discussion of allowing self-rule for colonial peoples is a dead issue, and we will oppose it. Our Indian colony is vital for our textile industry with its plentiful cotton crop. If other Allied countries choose to give independence to their colonial subjects, that is their business. In addition, former German colonies in Africa, Asia and elsewhere should be divided up between the victors as compensation for the monetary and human costs of the war.

Finally, we would be willing to discuss the establishment of “mandates” through the new League of Nations where we would temporarily govern colonial areas that were under Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, or German control before the war. As British troops fought most of the battles against the Ottoman Turks in the Middle Eastern theater during the war, we feel it only right that we receive the newly liberated areas of Mesopotamia and spheres of influence in Persia.

Background Briefing—Italy

In 1915 we were approached by British representatives who persuaded us to join them in their war against the Central Powers. Although originally allied with Germany and the other Central Powers, it proved in our interests to switch to the Allies. This decision was predicated on the 1915 Treaty of London signed with Britain, France, and Russia.

The Treaty of London promised us sections of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire which included a chunk of Slovenia and the northern part of the Dalmatian coast as well as colonial rights in Africa and the Middle East. We kept our end of the agreement by fighting the Austro-Hungarian forces all along the Alpine front where we suffered half a million dead and as many seriously wounded. In addition to these sacrifices, our economy was devastated by the war. We have debts of \$3.5 billion and we endured wartime inflation higher than any other country besides Russia. Therefore, it is vital that any peace settlement result in our receiving some type of financial compensation.

Italians did not all support the war, and now that it is over these divisions within our country are coming to the surface. We have a lot to concern with in our own country, so we do not wish to be hampered by delays in the fulfillment of our previous agreements. We want what we are due, now.

Had it not been for our entry into the war and the sacrifices we made, British and French forces would have been greatly outnumbered

at the start of the conflict when they were in dire straits.

The discussions of forming a new “southern Slav” state called Yugoslavia in order to placate the Serbs is not justified if it means denying us areas that we were promised. This is especially the case if Croats and Slovenes, who fought for Austria-Hungary, are given territory in the new Yugoslavia that was paid for in Italian blood. The port of Fiume, although not originally a part of the Treaty of London, has become vital to a strong Italy and should not be given to Yugoslavia. Fiume, the “jewel of the Adriatic,” has an Italian majority within the city proper and was captured by Italian forces by war’s end. In addition, all of the territory was at one time under Roman rule with Italian culture found throughout. Rumors of our having to abandon Fiume have already circulated around Italy, causing great unrest among our people. This unrest could pave the way for extremist groups like the Bolsheviks or nationalists to seize control of our government which could result in revolution. Already there’s talk of the “mutilated victory” which would be underscored if we don’t receive all that we were promised in the Treaty of London as well as Fiume.

The political and ethnic realities of the Balkans make any discussion of self-determination a moot point. We are entitled to the demands for which we fought and are determined to achieve them.

Background Briefing—United States

The Great War was the worst tragedy the world has ever experienced. The deaths of millions, the destruction of cities and the creation of new weapons of destruction make the postwar settlements we reach the most important in history. Because of this, we have to approach the peace settlement in a new and more enlightened fashion. We no longer can accept the traditional “balance of power” as the means to achieve and maintain the peace. That approach was destroyed in the slaughter of the Western Front where its inherent flaws resulted in death and destruction. The United States’ entry into the war was based upon making this the last war we ever fight, and the Fourteen Points that acted as the blueprint for peace were developed to achieve that goal.

Our economic support of the British and French during the dark days of the war allowed them to exist even though it meant the destruction of American merchant vessels at the hands of the German submarines. Our loans to both the British and the French allowed them to stave off economic collapse, and we intend to help in their economic reconstruction now that the war has ended. However, our wartime and postwar investments are predicated on their realization that the old ways of international relations are over. The world’s economic stability has to be based upon free trade between nation-states. Because of this, the move towards multilateral means to maintain the peace has to be adopted.

Any attempt to force the Central Powers to pay punitive reparations is bound to lead to more bitterness and should not be attempted. There should be a just peace as we set upon

reconstructing the world to insure that another tragic war will not occur. Germany must be allowed to maintain its economic vitality, just as France, Britain, Italy, and others must be allowed to rebuild.

One main cause of the last war was the resentment that ethnic and national groups felt towards the old monarchical system. The concept of self-rule has to be the driving force in the redrawing of the world’s borders. Where there are ethnic, racial, or national majorities in a geographic region, that group should have the opportunity to rule itself. An example of this would be the “southern Slavic” people of the Balkans where Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, and others were forced to live under the Austro-Hungarian Empire for far too long. Any attempt to thwart national aspirations or to add new colonial holdings from the conquered countries should be defeated.

There has to be absolute “freedom of the seas” to allow the free flow of goods and services. We have seen the importance of this firsthand both in the most recent violation of America’s neutrality during the Great War and the earlier War of 1812. The world has become more connected with the advent of modern transportation and communication and a global economy is a reality. At the same time, the world has become more complicated and deadly, and we have to move away from the archaic concept of “national self-interests” and see the world as a united community. We do not seek territorial gains, colonial holdings, or reparations, nor do we think the new world order should be based upon these relics of the past.

Madame Claire's Salon

Objectives:

Students will:

Be introduced to a number of less prominent figures at the time of the Paris Peace Conference.

Understand the effect on the twentieth century of those individuals' absence from major decision-making at the Paris Peace Conference.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II in the background readings (pages 12-20) and completed the "Study Guide—Part II" (TRB 17-18) or the "Advanced Study Guide—Part II" (TRB-19).

Handouts:

"Wilson's Fourteen Points" (TRB-21)

"An Evening at Madame Claire's Salon: June 1919" (TRB 30-34)

"Preparing for the Salon" (TRB-35)

"Press Release" (TRB-36) for press members

In the Classroom:

1. Getting Started—Assign each student a character or a role as a member of the press and inform them that they will need to create a short presentation that they will make to the group about their character's views. Many of the characters described actually went to Paris in 1919, though not all were admitted to the Peace Conference. Note that four of the characters are VIPs: Lippmann, Nicolson, di Cellere, and Tardieu. These characters should also consider their roles as mediators with and

representatives of the Big Four. Each character should complete the preparation worksheet before the gathering, using the Fourteen Points as a resource if necessary. You may wish to assign students to familiarize themselves with their character as homework before the simulation.

2. Sharing Viewpoints—Remind students that these individuals would not all have met together in Paris. Although the discussion is fictional, the themes and ideas presented help students to understand the issues many national groups faced at the time. Ask students to quickly present their character and his or her demands, noting whether he/she was actually in Paris in 1919. After each character has spoken, Madame Claire has the responsibility to facilitate the discussion and to allow the four VIPs the opportunity to respond to the views expressed. Students who are not assigned a character are to act as members of the press. It is their job at the conclusion of the discussion to craft a short article about the evening's event and to submit it to their editors for print. Press members should pose clarifying questions once all the guests have interacted with one another. Press members will need to complete the "Press Release" worksheet in preparation for their articles.

Suggestion:

As a complementary assignment, this role-play can take place before the Big Four Mapping Activity. The four VIPs (Lippmann, Nicolson, di Cellere, and Tardieu) should report their findings to the Big Four beforehand. This could facilitate a more in-depth analysis of the issues facing the Big Four when they start their deliberations.

An Evening at Madame Claire's Salon: June 1919

Introduction: Madame Claire's Salon is a well-known Parisian gathering place for politicians, philosophers, inventors, artists, musicians and noted celebrities. Originally founded by Madame Marie de Stael in 1786, the salon has hosted lectures by Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Marx among others, and it has witnessed some of the most dramatic events in European history, including the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Age, and the Industrial Revolution.

The new proprietor, Madame Claire, has continued the salon's tradition. In the spring of 1919 she invited you and other public figures to present your views of the Paris Conference to the gathering. VIP guests include representatives of the American, British, French, and Italian delegations to the Peace Conference. These representatives have agreed to hear the views of the guests and to communicate them to their respective leaders. Tonight's invitation list includes the following:

Madame Claire, Salon Owner (fictional character): As the proprietor of the salon, you have always welcomed artists, politicians, philosophers, statesmen, and other notable people to come share their views. You are a supporter of Wilson's Fourteen Points and have been alarmed that the negotiations have not allowed certain groups to participate. Because of this concern, tonight's guest list contains a number of these people, and it is your hope their discussion with the four VIPs will lead to possible changes. You firmly believe in the old French philosopher Voltaire's view: "I disagree with what you say completely, but I will defend to the death your right to say it." So, it is your job to see that tonight's guests will be able to discuss important global issues that surround the Paris Peace Conference in a civilized manner. You do not want to see one of your guests leave feeling as if his or her views were not heard. You have the important

role of facilitating the discussion and keeping it centered on the issues, not personal attacks.

Vera Brittain from Great Britain (not present): As a young woman you studied at Oxford University and became a poet. You lost your brother, his best friend and your fiancé on the Western Front fighting for Britain during the war. Having volunteered during the war as a military nurse, you traveled widely and saw the carnage the war wrought up close. You occasionally nursed German soldiers, which you saw as ironic as your fellow countrymen were trying to kill them. After your experience, you decided to join others in promoting pacifism in the hope to end modern warfare and keep the slaughter from occurring again. You have great faith in the League of Nations concept and its call for arms reduction and for collective security in the postwar world. The memories of your loved ones and the other millions killed demand that policy-makers alter international relations to avoid future wars.

Ulrich von Brockdorff-Rantzau (present): You are the Foreign Minister of Germany, appointed to lead the German delegation to Paris. You are proud of your country but were critical of its policies during the war, and had urged a peace settlement. You have faith in the Americans and expect that they will see Germany's recent transformation to a republic as evidence of its good-faith efforts to change and improve. You want to work together with Britain, and possibly France, against the threat of Russian Bolshevism to the east. The Big Four's refusal to allow you and other members of the German delegation to participate in the peace negotiations, however, has angered you and has violated Wilson's promise of "open diplomacy." This anger is magnified by the continuing Allied naval blockade of Germany, even though the armistice was signed in November, which has led to the starvation

Name: _____

of thousands of Germans and more resentment. You have heard rumors that the Big Four are diverging from the Fourteen Points more and more and are contemplating monetary demands as a part of the treaty. You hope by conversing with Madame Claire's guests that your country's concerns might gain attention.

Michael Collins from Ireland (not present): As one of the Irish Republican participants in the 1916 Easter Rebellion against British rule, you were imprisoned for your actions and only spared from capital punishment because of the public outcry over the execution of the nine leaders of the Rebellion. Now released from prison, you have come to demand that the Irish people receive their independence from British rule. The hypocrisy of Wilson's call for self-rule while Britain continues to suppress Irish independence is too obvious to be missed. Although there is a significant Protestant population in Ireland which wishes to remain under British rule, the vast majority of the population is Catholic and wants to be independent. There was talk before the war about limited home rule but those efforts were always thwarted by the Irish Protestant loyalists who desire to remain part of the British Empire. Although your organization has used violence in the past to achieve its goals, it would welcome a peaceful settlement as long as it results in what the Irish people deserve and demand: complete independence from Britain!

W.E.B. DuBois from the United States (present): You are the American representative to the Pan-African Congress meeting in Paris which is attempting to influence the Big Four's decisions on self-rule for people under colonial rule. As a founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), racial equality has always been a main concern to you both in the United States and around the world. Wilson's call for a free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims as found in his Fourteen Points has inspired you and other members of the Pan-African

Congress to press for justice in the postwar settlement. America's Negroes fought and died for the United States during the war as did African colonial troops for both Britain and France. Africans proved their mettle during the war, and they deserve to be treated as equals as a result. When President Wilson declared "the world must be made safe for democracy," you thought that meant for all people and for all races!

Prince Feisal of Arabia (present): Representing your father, King Hussein, you fought with the British against the Ottoman Empire during the war with the promise that at war's end, you would gain your people an independent state free of the Ottoman Turks. Working with British Colonel T.E. Lawrence, your forces fought and defeated the Ottoman Turks at Aqaba which allowed British naval forces to transport Arab troops to fight against the Turks in Palestine. This important victory, as well as your troops' raids against Turkish forces in the region, greatly assisted Britain in its defeat of Ottoman forces in the Near East, including the decisive victory at Damascus. Now that the war has ended, you demand the lands promised to your father in the 1915 Hussein-McMahon (British Senior Government Official for Near East) Letters which include all of the Arabian peninsula, Palestine, the interior of Syria, and Mosul in northern Mesopotamia. A recent report that British leaders made similar promises to Jewish leaders during the war has alarmed you, and you do not see those promises as legitimate.

Baron Macchi di Cellere, VIP from Italy (present): You are the Italian ambassador to Washington, and you have been called over from the United States to offer your assistance to the Italian delegation. You have become distraught over what you and the other Italian delegates see as deceit from the other Big Four, especially the United States. You feel slighted and attacked by the other powers and think you have been treated like children. Your Prime Minister, Vittorio Orlando, has pushed for the terms of the 1915 Treaty of London

signed with Britain and France which promised your country sizeable territorial gains at the war's conclusion. These gains include colonies in Africa as well as significant chunks of the defeated Austro-Hungarian Empire along the Adriatic Coast, including the port city of Fiume. You know there is disenchantment with the Paris proceedings coming from nationalists and a growing communist party within Italy. Your country is on the verge of civil war over the treaty's terms, and you hope that your discussions with Madame Claire's guests can convince people of the dire results if Italy is denied its just claims.

Mohandas K. Gandhi from India (not present): As a citizen of the British Empire and practicing lawyer, you have consistently challenged social injustice wherever you have lived. Your earlier success in British South Africa challenging the mistreatment of Asians has earned you international recognition. You and other members of the Indian National Congress supported Britain during the war and thousands of Indian colonial troops fought and died for the Empire. This support was predicated on the belief that at war's end, India would gain its independence. Your faith in Wilson's self-rule clause in his Fourteen Points has heightened this expectation. Because the war has ended, you seek the end of British colonial rule over India and complete self-rule. Indian frustration over continued British rule has led to the rise of militant groups which espouse violence. You hope that such groups can be controlled, as you are a firm believer in non-violent resistance, but a lot depends upon the decisions made at Versailles.

Ho Chi Minh from French Indochina (present): Inspired by President Wilson's Fourteen Points Peace Plan which stresses the concept of self-rule, you have brought together a group in hopes of presenting your case to the Big Four. You have already sent a letter to the Allied Supreme Council explaining how your country has been under French colonial rule since the mid-nineteenth century but have had no response in return. As a believer in

Wilson's peace plan, you think your nation's colonial domination by France exemplifies what Wilson has argued against. Your faith in the democratic process and the "open diplomacy" championed in Wilson's Fourteen Points seems to be the last avenue for peaceful change. Already there are radical elements in Vietnam which espouse violence as the only means possible to gain your country's independence. These forces have been inspired by the recent revolutionary changes witnessed in Russia where Lenin and his Bolsheviks have seized control. Your country's desire for self-rule has been curtailed historically by neighboring China and most recently by French colonial rule. Peaceful change is still possible, but time, and Vietnamese patience, is running out.

Prince Fumimaro Konoe of Japan (present): You have witnessed how the Big Four dismissed your country's desire to be seen as an equal at the peace table. Your country fought on the side of the Allies from the very start of the war. Italy, a member of the Big Four, did not join the Allied cause until 1915. Your delegates were relegated to the Council of Ten with less chance to influence the settlement. One piece of legislation that you wanted to see passed by the Big Four was the declaration of racial equality among all people and nationalities. Although Wilson earlier declared that the peace settlement would represent a just peace and "peace among equals," his and the other Allied leaders' refusal to sign the racial equality clause seems hypocritical. It seems like an earlier statement by a Japanese statesman to a Western friend is true: "What is really wrong with us is that we have yellow skins. If our skins were as white as yours, the whole world would rejoice at our calling a halt to Russia's aggression [the 1904 Russo-Japanese War]." Your country might gain the Shantung peninsula in China and some Pacific islands from Germany as a part of the peace treaty, yet those seem to be only appropriate payment for your involvement in the war. You want recognition as equals.

Harold Nicolson, VIP from Great Britain

(present): You are a member of the British delegation sent to Versailles to help negotiate the Treaty. You arrived with great optimism about Wilson's Fourteen Points Peace Plan which contained the origins of a "just" and long lasting peace. You have been somewhat disillusioned by Wilson's constant need to compromise major points during negotiations with the other Allied leaders. You have witnessed first hand the redrawing of the map of Europe and the conquered territories of the German, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires which appears to negate the idea of self-rule. The secret Sykes-Picot Agreement, signed in 1915 between Britain and France, has especially troubled you as it divides up most of the Ottoman Empire between the two. You hope that your visit to Madame Claire's and your interaction with the other guests will allow you to learn about their concerns and to share them with the Big Four. You and Walter Lippmann, who is an American delegate to the peace conference, have communicated that you cannot promise that major changes will take place as a result of the discussions, but you will try.

Walter Lippmann, VIP from the United States

(present): You are an assistant editor to the liberal New Republic magazine and a member of Wilson's Inquiry staff which he brought to Paris to help him with negotiations. Like Harold Nicolson of Britain, you too had great optimism in Wilson's Fourteen Points when you first arrived but have lost some of it through the subsequent negotiations. Wilson's compromising on self-rule, the dividing up of conquered territories by the victors, and the harsh monetary demands that the other Allied leaders are demanding from Germany have alarmed you. You hope that listening to the other guests and noting their concerns will allow you the chance to persuade Wilson about the Treaty's flaws.

André Tardieu, VIP from France (present):

One of the official French delegates, you have come to Madame Claire's in the sincere hope

that you can persuade the guests that France's security is still at risk if Germany is allowed to keep the Rhineland. Your presentation concerning this issue to the Big Four was not well received by the British and Americans who seem blind to the threat of a rebuilt Germany. You are a firm believer in the old French Revolution mantra, "Liberty, Fraternity, Equality," and are convinced that Germany will never abide by those ideals. Your skepticism of Wilson's Fourteen Points has only been enhanced after sitting through the Big Four discussions, watching him sketch out a postwar settlement that is not based on reality. Madame Claire's guests have to be made aware of the foolishness that Wilson and Lloyd George are espousing in the name of a "just peace." France has rightful demands to retain its colonial holdings. These holdings were solidified in the Sykes-Picot agreement of 1915 which promised your country sizeable gains from the defeated Ottoman Empire in the Middle East. After all, Germany seized territory from France in the 1870 Franco-Prussian War. Why should things be different when France is the victor?

Leon Trotsky from Russia (not present):

Appointed by the new Bolshevik government in Russia to head its delegation at peace talks with Germany in 1918, you were forced to surrender almost one third of Russian territory in order to end the war against Germany. In addition, you have been at the forefront leading Bolshevik armies against counter-revolutionary forces in the Russian Civil War which have included foreign troops from the United States, Britain, France, and Japan. Although there were some indirect communications between your Bolshevik government and the Allied leaders at Paris, your government has not been officially invited to participate in the formal negotiations due to the Allies' disdain for your communist beliefs. You demand that foreign troops leave your country immediately and allow the Russian people to determine their own fate. Wilson's Fourteen Points has been shown fraudulent with its calls for self-rule and open diplomacy while American and other Allied troops try to oust your govern-

Name: _____

ment and consistently plotted with the old Czarist government. The worker revolution that started in your country is bound to spread throughout the rest of the world once the working class understands how they are being exploited by the ruling powers.

Chaim Weizmann from Great Britain

(present): You're a well known Jewish political Zionist who has consistently pushed for an independent Jewish state in Palestine at the war's conclusion. Your hopes have been elevated through the 1917 Balfour Declaration signed by British Lord Arthur Balfour which promised Jews an independent state in Palestine once the Ottoman Empire was defeated. The historic, religious home of Judaism, Palestine was the site of the Jewish kingdoms going

back to ancient times including the all-important city of Jerusalem with its sacred Wailing Wall. Now that the war, overwhelmingly supported by Jews within the Allied countries, is over, you desire to have your demands met and terms of the Balfour Declaration followed. You have learned that similar promises were made to Arab leaders during the war, but you are determined that the promise to you is kept. Historically, Jews have suffered terrible discrimination and anti-Semitic acts carried out against them by different European governments, and the time has come for Jews to have their homeland where they can live free and practice their faith as they desire. You look forward to discussing matters with Prince Feisal, who has authority in the region.

Name: _____

Preparing for the Salon Madame Claire and Her Guests

Instructions: Answer the questions below from the perspective of your assigned role.

1. According to your role, what are your main demands concerning the decisions to be made at the Paris Peace Conference?
 - a.

 - b.

 - c.

2. What are the strongest justifications you have for those demands?
 - a.

 - b.

 - c.

3. What are the possible outcomes if your demands are met by the Big Four in Paris?
 - a.

 - b.

 - c.

4. What are the possible outcomes if your demands are not met by the Big Four in Paris?
 - a.

 - b.

 - c.

5. Complete the following sentence based on what you know about your assigned role.
The huge loss of life and destruction caused by the Great War will not have been in vain if:

Press Release Members of the Press

Instructions: You have an important job in reporting what is discussed by tonight's guests to your respective papers. Although the official meetings at Versailles among the Big Four have gained the most press attention, you know that there are people whose voices have not been heard, and you are determined to report their side. During the evening's discussion, Madame Claire will act as the facilitator and allow questions to be put to the four VIPs. You will have an opportunity at the end of the evening to pose your questions to all the participants. Your questions should seek clarification of each person's demands, their justification, their background, and most importantly what the possible effect will be if their demands are or are not met. Once the evening is over you are expected to write a small article (five hundred words or fewer) about the evening and to present it to your editor for publication. Use your answers to the following questions to help you write your article.

1. Why did these people come to the salon? Who was there?
2. What kinds of hopes did they have for the future of the world?
3. What demands do guests have for the postwar era?
4. Who were the most outspoken guests?
5. What was the atmosphere of the salon? Did people get along? Was the conversation lively?
6. What do you think will be the outcome of this meeting? Will any of the demands be met?

Role-Playing the Three Options: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will:

Analyze the issues that framed the League of Nations debate in the U.S. Senate.

Identify the core assumptions underlying the options.

Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the options into a persuasive, coherent presentation.

Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read “The Moment of Decision” in the student text (page 21) and “Options in Brief” (page 22).

Handouts:

“Presenting Your Option” (TRB-38) for options groups

“Undecided Members of the Senate” (TRB-39) for remaining students

“Proposed Changes to the Treaty” (student text 32-33) for all students

In the Classroom:

1. Planning for Group Work—In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. During the class period, students will be preparing

for the Day Four simulation. Remind them to incorporate the background reading into their presentations and questions.

2a. Option Groups—Form three groups of four to five students each. Assign an option to each group. Inform students that each option group will be called upon on Day Four to present the case for its assigned option to the Senate. Explain that the option groups should follow the instructions in “Presenting Your Option.” Note that the option groups should begin by assigning each member a role (students may double up). Point students to the “Proposed Changes” section of the options (student text page 32-33); these are the changes advocated by supporters of Option 2.

2b. Undecided Senators—Distribute “Undecided Members of the Senate” to the remaining students. While the options groups are preparing their presentations, these students should develop cross-examination questions for Day Four. Remind these students that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation.

Suggestion:

Ask the option groups to design a poster illustrating the best case for their options.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Presenting Your Option

The Setting: It is November 1919, and as a member of the U.S. Senate you will vote on the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles that President Wilson has negotiated with our allies over a six month period. Other nations already signed the treaty in June and await the decision of the United States. The Constitution stipulates that any treaty have a two-thirds Senate approval, so your presentation to the undecided members of the Senate will help determine whether or not America becomes a signatory to the treaty. At the heart of the debate is the question whether to join the newly formed League of Nations. Strong emotions have especially been expressed towards Article X of the League's covenant:

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

Your Assignment: Your group represents one of three factions that has evolved during the past several months concerning the ratification of the treaty. Your assignment is to persuade the undecided senators that your option should become the basis for action taken by the Senate. On Day Four, your group will be called upon to present a persuasive three-to-five minute summary of your option to the senators. You will be judged on how well you present your option. This worksheet will help you prepare.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibility of each role. Before preparing your sections of the presentation, work together to address the questions below. The **group director** is responsible for organizing the presentation of your group's option to the senators. The **domestic political expert** is responsible for explaining why your option is most appropriate in light of the current domestic climate. The **international political expert** is responsible for explaining why your option takes the United States in the most appropriate foreign policy direction. The **military expert** is responsible for explaining why your group's option offers the best route in terms of security and military preparedness.

Consider the following questions as you prepare your presentation:

1. What will be the impact of your option on the citizens of the United States?
2. What will be the impact of your option on U.S. foreign policy?
3. How will your option secure and preserve world peace in the years to come?
4. What future U.S. role in the world does your option envision?
5. On what values does your option believe the United States was founded? How are those values expressed in your option?
6. What is your opinion on the reservations suggested by Senator Lodge?

Undecided Members of the Senate

Your Role: As an undecided member of the Senate your vote is crucial to the outcome of the League of Nations debate. President Wilson has already signed the Versailles Treaty (of which the League of Nations is a part), but the U.S. Constitution stipulates that any treaty have a two-thirds Senate approval, so your vote counts. Strong emotions have been expressed towards Article X of the League's covenant:

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

The presentations by the options groups will introduce you to three distinct approaches for the future of U.S. foreign policy. You are expected to evaluate each of the options and complete an evaluation form at the conclusion of the debate.

Your Assignment: While the three option groups are organizing their presentations, each of you should prepare two questions regarding each of the options. The questions should reflect the values, concerns, and interests of the citizens of the United States. Your teacher will collect these questions at the end of Day Four.

Your questions should be challenging and critical. For example, a good question for Option 1 might be:

Wouldn't membership in the League of Nations infringe on U.S. sovereignty?

On Day Four, the three option groups will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and the other senators to ask questions. The "Evaluation Form" you will receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the options. After this activity is concluded, you and your classmates may be called upon to vote on the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles.

Role-Playing the Three Options: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will:

Analyze the issues that framed the Senate debate on the League of Nations.

Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.

Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

“Undecided Members of the Senate” (TRB-41)

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage—Organize the room so that the three option groups face a row of desks reserved for the undecided Senators.

2. Managing the Simulation—Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five

minute presentations by each option group. Encourage all to speak clearly and convincingly.

3. Guiding Discussion—Following the presentations, invite undecided Senators to ask cross-examination questions. Make sure that each member of this group has an opportunity to ask at least one question. If time permits, encourage members of the option groups to challenge the positions of the other groups. During cross-examination, allow any member of the option group to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit cross-examination following the presentation of each option.)

Homework:

Students should read the Epilogue in the student text (pages 34-38) and complete the “Study Guide—Epilogue” (TRB 43-44) or the “Advanced Study Guide—Epilogue” (TRB-45).

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Undecided Members of the Senate

Instructions: Answer the questions below following the simulation.

1. According to each option, what should the U.S. Senate do?

Option 1:

Option 2:

Option 3:

2. According to each option, what should be the role of the United States in world affairs?

Option 1:

Option 2:

Option 3:

3. According to each option, what effect would the ratification of the treaty have on U.S. citizens?

Option 1:

Option 2:

Option 3:

4. Which of the three options would you support most strongly? Explain your reasoning.

Wilson's Legacy

Objectives:

Students will:

Examine excerpts of foreign policy speeches made by different U.S. presidents.

Compare the speeches to Wilson's ideals.

Assess the impact of Wilson's multilateral approach to foreign policy on successive presidents' policies.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the "Epilogue" in the student text (pages 34-38) and completed "Study Guide—Epilogue" (TRB 43-44) or "Advanced Study Guide—Epilogue" (TRB-45).

Handouts:

"Wilson's Legacy" (TRB 46-48)

"Wilson's Fourteen Points" (TRB-21)

In the Classroom:

1. Assessing Wilson's Approach—Ask students to reflect on Wilson's multilateral approach to foreign policy and list three strengths and three weaknesses of it. Place those ideas on the board. Ask students to offer time periods from U.S. history in which presidents and policy-makers followed Wilson's views, and time periods in which they did not. Were there moments when Wilson's ideals came through strongly? Were there times when a different course of action would have been more effective?

2. Group Responses—Divide the class into groups of three or four. Distribute "Wilson's Legacy" to each student and provide a copy of Wilson's Fourteen Points to each group. Instruct students to read the excerpts from

presidential speeches and complete the question section for each selection. Emphasize that groups don't have to reach consensus in their answers but should be prepared to explain their reasoning to the whole class when asked to report.

3. Large Group Discussion—Ask groups to share their responses with the class. What similarities and differences did students notice in the selections? How were Wilson's ideals interpreted in later years? Did events at the time affect how presidents viewed the purpose of American foreign policy? Students may note that each speech has elements of Wilsonian and non-Wilsonian ideas in it. Why might the speeches have such a combination? Are there other presidential speeches students can think of that are reminiscent of Wilson?

Suggestion:

If possible, play recordings of the speeches so that students can hear the presidents' voices.

Extra Challenge:

Have students find other presidents' speeches on foreign policy, both before and after Wilson. What similarities and differences do they notice?

Students could also be challenged to consider this period (World War I and Wilson's presidency) and its relevance to today. Can students identify similarities in foreign and domestic policies in the two eras? What differences do they notice? How are war and its effects different now from one hundred years ago? What about the role of international institutions, or of the United States in international affairs?

Name: _____

7. Give two examples of America's unilateralist foreign policy in the 1920s.
 - a.

 - b.

8. Wilson's idea of _____ in the League of Nations was the first presidential attempt to adopt a _____ approach for America's foreign policy.

9. In what way is Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty similar to Article X of the League of Nations Covenant?

10. Give two examples of current U.S. foreign policy that are multilateral.
 - a.

 - b.

11. Why do some people think Wilson was naive and unrealistic?

Wilson's Legacy

The ideas and policies that Woodrow Wilson put forth in his Fourteen Points Peace Plan were considered ground-breaking in international relations when they first appeared. Over the years his ideas have been in and out of fashion with presidents and policy makers alike. Below are three foreign policy statements made by different presidents who followed Wilson—Roosevelt, Nixon, and Clinton. Using Wilson's Fourteen Points, answer the following questions for each selection:

1. In what ways is this speech like the Fourteen Points? In other words, how is this speech Wilsonian? Provide specific examples from the text.

2. In what ways is this speech unlike the Fourteen Points? Provide specific examples from the text.

Selection 1

Franklin Delano Roosevelt State of the Union Address, 1941

"I suppose that every realist knows that the democratic way of life is at this moment being directly assailed in every part of the world—assailed either by arms or by secret spreading of poisonous propaganda by those who seek to destroy unity and promote discord in nations that are still at peace.

"Therefore, as your President, performing my constitutional duty to 'give to the Congress information of the state of the union,' I find it unhappily necessary to report that the future and the safety of our country and of our democracy are overwhelmingly involved in events far beyond our borders....

"No realistic American can expect from a dictator's peace international generosity, or return to true independence, or world disarmament, or freedom, or even good business.

Such a peace would bring no security for us or for our neighbors. Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety....

"The need of the moment is that our action and our policy should be devoted primarily—almost exclusively—to meeting this foreign peril. For all our domestic problems are now a part of the great emergency. Just as our national policy in internal affairs has been based upon a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all of our fellow men within our gates, so our national policy in foreign affairs has been based on a decent respect for the rights and the dignity of all nations, large and small. And the justice of morality must and will win in the end.

"...the immediate need is a swift and driving increase in our armament production...

"I also ask this Congress for authority and for funds sufficient to manufacture additional munitions and war supplies of many kinds, to be turned over to those nations which are now in actual war with aggressor nations. Our most useful and immediate role is to act as an arsenal for them as well as for ourselves....

"In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want—which means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear—which means a worldwide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere in the world."

Name: _____

*Selection 2***Richard M. Nixon**
Second Inaugural Address, 1973

"The peace we seek in the world is not the flimsy peace which is merely an interlude between wars, but a peace which can endure for generations to come.

"It is important that we understand both the necessity and the limitations of America's role in maintaining that peace.

"Unless we in America work to preserve the peace, there will be no peace.

"Unless we in America work to preserve freedom, there will be no freedom. But let us clearly understand the new nature of America's role, as a result of the new policies we have adopted over these past four years.

"We shall respect our treaty commitments.

"We shall support vigorously the principle that no country has the right to impose its will or rule on another by force.

"We shall continue, in this era of negotiation, to work for the limitation of nuclear arms, and to reduce the danger of confrontation between the great powers.

"We shall do our share in defending peace and freedom in the world. But, we also expect others to do their share.

"The time has passed when America will make every other nation's conflict our own or make every other nation's future our responsibility, or presume to tell the leaders of other nations how to manage their own affairs.

"Just as we respect the right of each nation to determine its own future, we also recognize the responsibility of each nation to secure its own future. Just as America's role is indispensable in preserving the world's peace, so is our nation's role in preserving its own peace....

"A person can be expected to act responsibly only if he has responsibility. This is human nature. So let us encourage individuals at home and nations abroad to do more for themselves, to decide more for themselves. Let us locate responsibility in more places. Let us measure what we will do for others by what they will do for themselves."

Selection 3

William J. Clinton
State of the Union Address, 1996

“Our sixth challenge is to maintain America’s leadership in the fight for freedom and peace throughout the world. Because of American leadership, more people than ever before live free and at peace. And Americans have known fifty years of prosperity and security...”

“All over the world, even after the Cold War, people still look to us and trust us to help them seek the blessings of peace and freedom. But as the Cold War fades into memory, voices of isolation say America should retreat from its responsibilities. I say they are wrong.

“The threats we face today as Americans respect no nation’s borders. Think of them: terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, organized crime, drug traffick-

ing, ethnic and religious hatred, aggression by rogue states, environmental degradation. If we fail to address these threats today, we will suffer consequences in all our tomorrows. Of course, we can’t be everywhere. Of course, we can’t do everything. But where our interests and our values are stake, and where we can make a difference America must take the lead. We must not be isolationist.

“We must not be the world’s policeman. But we can and should be the world’s best peacemaker. By keeping our military strong, by using diplomacy where we can and force where we must, by working with others to share the risk and the cost of our efforts, America is making a difference for people here and around the world.”

Key Terms

Introduction and Part I

industrial capacity
empire
authoritarian
negotiate
economic competition
arms race
defensive alliance
balance of power
ethnic minority
combatant nation
belligerent country
unilateral
civil liberties
propaganda

Part II

kaiser
international finance
representative democracy
abdicate
economic deprivation
classless utopia
Marxist ideology
counterrevolutionary
head of state
covenant
collective security
territorial integrity
open diplomacy
sovereignty

Epilogue

arbitration
sanctions
remilitarization
totalitarian
containment

Issues Toolbox

Nationalism:

A strong devotion and loyalty to the interest of one's country and people. Nationalist sentiments helped to fuel World War I and were central to the arguments of several nations at the Peace Conference. Many representatives invoked concerns about land, ethnicity, and security—all elements of nationalism.

Sovereignty:

The freedom of a state to govern itself without outside interference. Opponents to the League of Nations in the Senate believed that the League would require members to act in ways that would infringe on the sovereignty of other nations, and that the covenant overstepped the bounds of sovereignty, potentially challenging the U.S. Constitution.

Accords, Treaties, Conventions, Protocols:

Accords, treaties, conventions, and protocols are all types of international agreements.

The U.S. president may sign any international agreement, but it does not become law of the land until it is ratified by two-thirds of the Senate.

Self-Determination:

The right of a people to govern their own affairs. Wilson's promotion of self-determination in his Fourteen Points Peace plan was welcomed by many in the international community who felt that their rights were denied; however, the European states which owned colonies abroad did not feel their subjects were ready for independence.

Imperialism:

The policy of extending the rule of a nation over foreign countries as well as acquiring colonies and dependencies. Some of the visitors to Paris during the Peace Conference were citizens of colonized nations who wished to gain independence.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

This section of the Teacher Resource Book offers suggestions for teachers as they adapt Choices curricula to their classrooms. They are drawn from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms and from educational research on student-centered instruction.

Managing the Choices Simulation

Recognize Time Limitations: At the heart of the Choices approach is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options, question each other, and debate. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations and debate can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations and debate. Hence, if only one class period is available, student groups must be ready as soon as class begins. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts the momentum of the debate. The best strategy for managing the role-play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up the debate. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Highlight the Importance of Values: During the debate and debriefing, it is important to highlight the role of values in the options. Students should be instructed to identify the core values and priorities underlying the different options. The “Presenting Your Option” worksheet is designed to help students incorporate the values into their group presentations. You may also find the supplemental activity, *Considering the Role of Values in Public Policy*,

available from the “Faculty Room” on the Choices web site <www.choices.edu> helpful.

Moving Beyond the Options

As a culminating activity of a Choices unit, students can be expected to articulate their own views of the issue under consideration. An effective way to move beyond the options debate to creating individual options is to have students consider which values in the options framework they hold most dear. Typically, students will hold several of these values simultaneously and will need to prioritize them to reach a considered judgment about the issue at hand. These values should be reflected in their own options and should shape the goals and policies they advocate.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another option is to combine two small classes.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Research suggests that it is counterproductive to give students individual grades on cooperative group assignments. A significant part of the assignment given to the group is to cooperate in achieving a common goal, as opposed to looking out for individual interests. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to

hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It may be useful to note that in addition to the cooperative group assignments, students complete individual assignments as well in every Choices unit. The “Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations” on the following page is designed to help teachers evaluate group presentations.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an extremely effective way to make them think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Student Options: One important outcome of a Choices unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints. These options cannot be graded as right or wrong, but should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the

student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: In a formal evaluation of the Choices approach, it was demonstrated that students using Choices learned the factual information presented as well as or better than students who were taught in a more traditional lecture-discussion format. However, the larger benefits of the Choices approach were evident when students using Choices demonstrated significantly higher ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints, compared to students who did not use this approach. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. However, a simple multiple-choice examination will not allow students to demonstrate the critical thinking and communication skills developed through the Choices unit. If teachers choose to test students, they may wish to explore new models of test design that require students to do more than recognize correct answers. Tests should not replace the development of student options.

For Further Reading: Cohen, Elizabeth G. *Designing Groupwork: Strategies for the Heterogeneous Classroom* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986).

Assessment Guide for Oral Presentations

Group assignment: _____

Group members: _____

Group Assessment	<i>Excellent</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Average</i>	<i>Needs Improvement</i>	<i>Unsatisfactory</i>
1. The group made good use of its preparation time	5	4	3	2	1
2. The presentation reflected analysis of the issues under consideration	5	4	3	2	1
3. The presentation was coherent and persuasive	5	4	3	2	1
4. The group incorporated relevant sections of the background reading into its presentation	5	4	3	2	1
5. The group's presenters spoke clearly, maintained eye contact, and made an effort to hold the attention of their audience	5	4	3	2	1
6. The presentation incorporated contributions from all the members of the group	5	4	3	2	1
 Individual Assessment					
1. The student cooperated with other group members	5	4	3	2	1
2. The student was well-prepared to meet his or her responsibilities	5	4	3	2	1
3. The student made a significant contribution to the group's presentation	5	4	3	2	1

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

Day 1:

See Day Two of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

Homework (before the lesson): Students should read “Part II: Securing the Peace.”

Homework: Students should read “Fall, 1919: The Moment of Decision.”

Day 2:

Assign each student one of the three options, and allow students a few minutes to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the options. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned options. How do the options differ? What are their assumptions about the role of the U.S. in the twentieth century?

Homework: Students should read the “Epilogue.”

Day 3:

See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.



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War of 1812 ■ Spanish American War ■ Hiroshima
League of Nations ■ Cuban Missile Crisis
Origins of the Cold War ■ Vietnam War

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Wilson's Vision and the League of Nations Debate

Wilson's Vision and the League of Nations Debate offers students background on the effects of World War I before providing students the opportunity to role-play events at the Paris Peace Conference and the U.S. Senate debate on the creation of the League of Nations.

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