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.

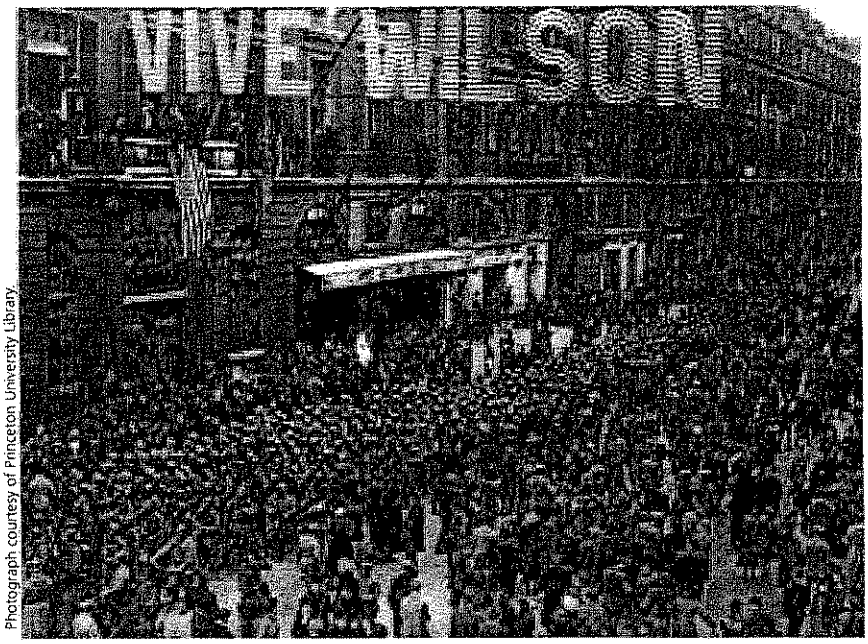
Why did domestic politics make Wilson's participation in the Paris Peace Conference difficult?

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.



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.

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

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

Photo courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration.

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

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.

"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 general 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 convenant 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's proposals, once set forth, could not be recalled."
—Chinese leader Sun Yat-sen, 1924

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.

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

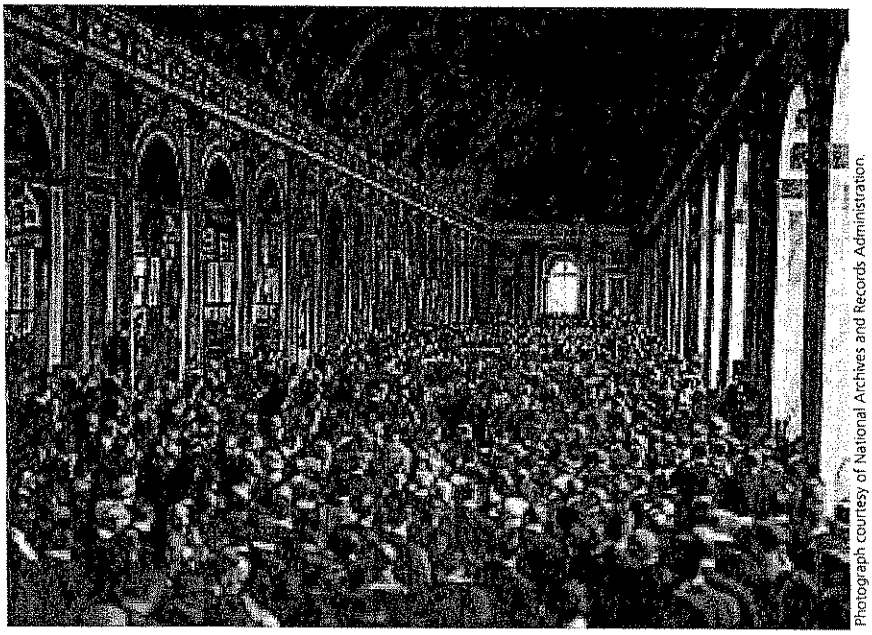
The treaty also forced Germany to accept the blame for the war and to pay extensive reparations for Allied losses. In addition, the treaty reduced Germany's European territory by 10 percent, confiscated all of German colonial territories, and reduced the German military to one hundred thousand men who 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 St. Germain (Austria), St. Trianon (Hungary), 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.



Photograph courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration.

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

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 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 od 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 Nation'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.