

World War I Treaties: Joys and Tears*

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Prepared for Delivery at a Conference on "The Rebirth of Europe"

Embassy of the Slovak Republic,
Washington, DC

June 1-2, 2018

Most Americans today know that an armistice ended fighting between the Allied Powers and Germany on November 11, 1918. Few know it as the *Armistice of Compiègne*, named after its place of signing. Also, few people realize that earlier armistices had already ended fighting with German's Central Power allies—Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary. The *Armistice of Salonica* (September 29) ended war with Bulgaria, the *Armistice of Mudros* (October 30) with Turkey, and the *Armistice of Villa Giusti* (November 3) with Austria-Hungary. We celebrate only the armistice with Germany, because it was the most central of the Central Powers.

Armistices only stop fighting. Peace treaties end wars. Most Americans know that the state of war with Germany ended with the June 28, 1919 *Treaty of Versailles*, signed in Versailles' Hall of Mirrors but negotiated in Paris. Led by President Woodrow Wilson, the American negotiators saw their role as "honest brokers."¹ They tried to apply the high-minded principles in Wilson's famous "fourteen points" and the concept of "self-determination in framing peace with Germany and with the remaining Central Powers. The Europeans were less idealistic. Dictated by the winners and signed by the losers, those peace treaties were also known by their signing locations in the French countryside: *Saint-Germain*, *Neuilly*, *Trianon*, and *Sèvres*. Not included in the Paris negotiations was the *Treaty of Rapallo* between Italy and the South Slavs that shaped the western border of Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia, like Czechoslovakia, was conceived before the war ended. The Corfu Declaration of July 20, 1917, issued by Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian leaders meeting on the island of Corfu off the Greek coast, proposed a new "State of Yugoslavia" as a constitutional monarchy under the Serbian Karageorgevich dynasty.² Then in Zagreb on October 29, 1918, a National Council of Croats, Serbs, and Slovenes declared themselves independent from Austria-Hungary.³ The day before, a Czech National Council in Prague signed a declaration proclaiming the nation of Czechoslovakia. Independently, a Slovak National Council in Martin took the same action on October 29.

So even before war ended with Germany, two entirely new nations appeared on the scene in Central Europe. Indeed, representatives of "the Serb-Croat-Slovene State" and of "Czechoslovakia" were not only seated at the Paris peace conference, they were formally designated in the Treaty of Versailles as "Principal Allied and Associated Powers."⁴

The 1919 Treaty of Versailles

From January to June 1919, the Allied Powers engaged in lengthy, complex, and contentious negotiations among themselves on the Versailles Treaty.⁵ In effect, the winners of war spent six months arguing how to impose peace. The losing power, Germany, had no part in the treaty deliberations, was not invited until its signing, and was denied opportunity to object to its terms. Indeed, none of the Central Powers were among some thirty countries seated at the Paris conference.

The Treaty of Versailles had 80,000 words spread over 440 Articles⁶ The first thirty articles established the Covenant of the League of Nations. The League, which was President Woodrow Wilson's idea and his obsession, was not widely welcomed by other Allied leaders. Wilson insisted not only that its Covenant be included in the peace treaty, but that it be the first order of business. One historian listed the greatest difficulties in negotiating the treaty as:

1. the wording of a league of nations' covenant;
2. the question of French security and the fate of the left bank of the Rhine;
3. the Italian and Polish claims;
4. the disposition of the erstwhile German colonies and the former possessions of the Turkish Empire; and
5. the reparation for damages that soon was to be exacted from Germany.⁷

This list included thorny topics independent of peace with Germany. Indeed, the Italian claims to territory in Austria-Hungary were said to occupy more attention than any single item at the conference.⁸ The fate of former possessions of the Turkish Empire were also unrelated to the German situation. Most negotiations were done initially by a Supreme Council of ten members, two each from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. This Council of Ten was soon superseded by the Council of Four: President Wilson, and the prime ministers of Britain (Lloyd George), France (Georges Clemenceau), and Italy (Vittorio Orlando).⁹

On June 28, 1919, six months after the peace conference opened on January 18, the Germans were summoned at 3:00 pm to sign the lengthy treaty, which they had first seen on June 16. Its terms were harsh. According to League of Nations statistics, Germany lost 11 percent of its population and 13 percent of its territory, including the losses of Alsace-Lorraine to France and the port city of Danzig to Poland, along with a corridor to the sea that divided Germany into two parts.¹⁰ Figure 1 maps Germany's territorial losses.

Figure 1: Germany's Territorial Losses (on following page)

Germany was also targeted in Article 231, called the "war guilt" clause, which blamed her and her allies for "all the loss and damage" to the winning countries. After much discussion, the Allies fixed Germany's reparations bill at 132 billion marks (about \$34 billion in 1921), even though few thought that the defeated county could pay that huge indemnity.¹¹ Uninvolved in the treaty negotiations and denied the chance to protest its terms, Germany nonetheless signed.

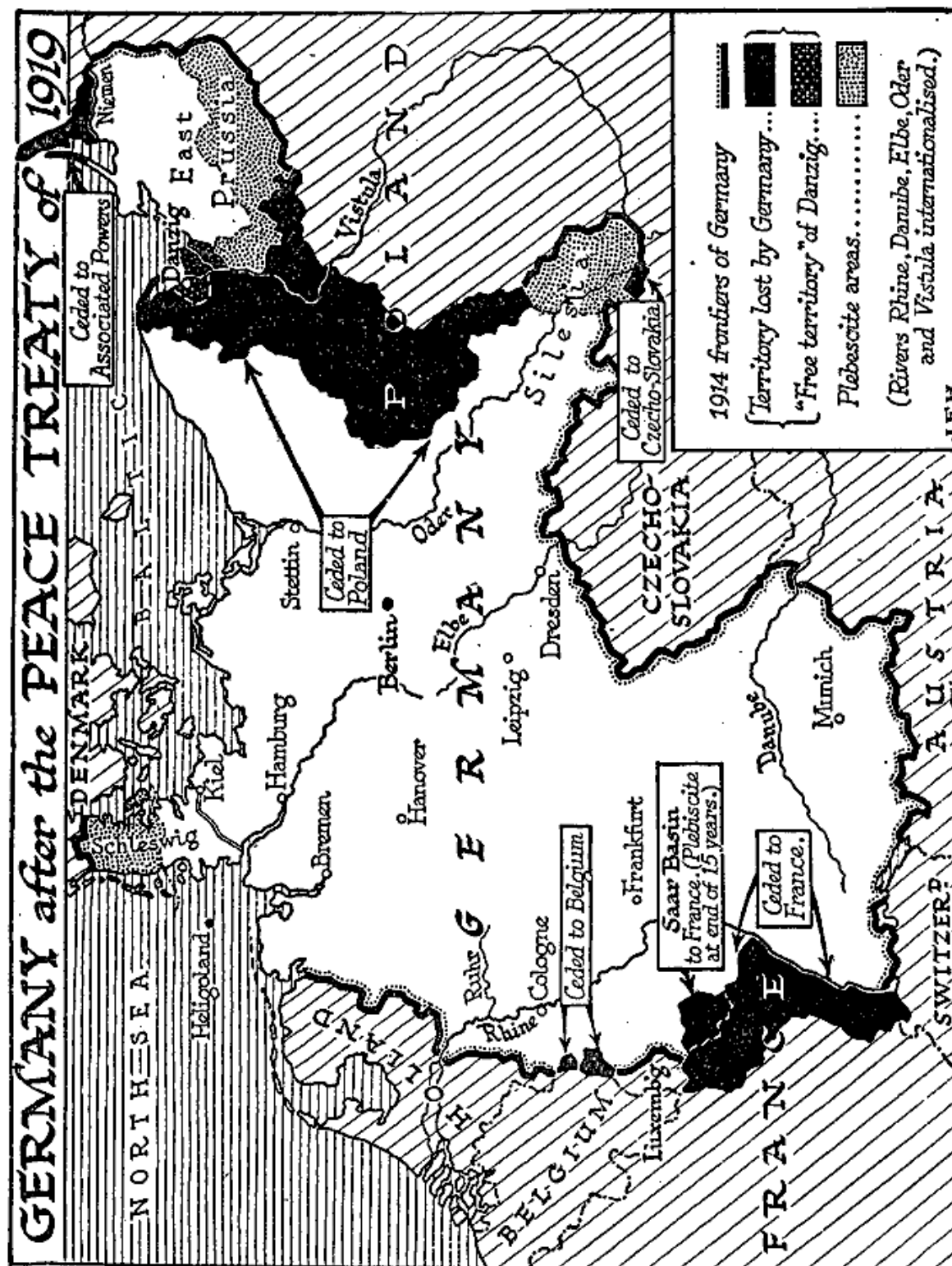


Figure 1: Germany's Territorial Losses from the 1919 Treaty of Versailles
 edmaps.com at <http://www.edmaps.com/html/germany.html>

The evening of the signing, Wilson left by train for the harbor at Le Havre to return to the United States.¹² Lloyd George, Britain's prime minister, left the same night. During their deliberations on the Versailles Treaty, the Council of Ten had sketched out draft treaties concerning Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Wilson strived to incorporate his "fourteen points" and its implied principle of self-determination in these documents, but those values often collided with the self-interests of the other countries, particularly Italy, but also with France and Britain—especially concerning disposition of the Ottoman Empire. The final form of the other peace treaties was largely done by a Council of Five consisting of Chairman Clemenceau and representatives from the United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy.¹³

In effect, the Versailles Treaty also recreated the country of Poland, which over centuries had been partitioned away by Russians, Prussians, and Habsburgs.¹⁴ League of Nations statistics said that postwar Poland consisted of 30.7 million people spread over 388 square kilometers. The treaty recreated Poland to its recognizable form today. The Versailles Treaty also recognized the existence of Czecho-Slovakia [sic] by defining Germany's borders with the new state and specifying that German nationals living there will "obtain Czecho-Slovak nationality *ipso facto*."¹⁵

Given that the United States Senate did not ratify the Treaty of Versailles, Wilson failed to realize his cherished idea, the United States joining the League of Nations. Because the other Paris treaties—Saint Germain, Neuilly, Trianon, and Sèvres—also invoked the Covenant of the League of Nations, the U.S. had no peace treaty with any of the Central Powers, despite being a signatory to all but Sèvres. (Never having declared war against the Ottoman Empire, the United States was not signatory to that treaty.) Later, it negotiated separate treaties with Austria (August 24), Germany (August 25), and Hungary (August 29).¹⁶ Although the U.S. had not been at war with Bulgaria, it signed the Neuilly Treaty "on the theory that article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations would obligate the United States to guarantee the settlements."¹⁷ The cluster of postwar peace treaties shaped Europe's rebirth after the disastrous Great War.

The 1919 Treaty of Saint-Germain

The *Treaty of Saint-Germain* between the Allied Powers and Austria was signed in a royal [palace](#) in the commune of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, about 19 km west of Paris, on September 10, 1919. It declared that the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy ceased to exist, recognized Hungary as a separate country, and foiled Austria's attempt to preserve its pre-war dimensions. The Austrian half of Austria-Hungary had tried to reinvent itself as German Austria (*Deutsch-Oesterreich*) the day after the 1918 armistice, by declaring itself a republic and part of the Germany.¹⁸ The Treaty of Saint-Germain rescinded both acts: renaming "German Austria" the "Republic of Austria" and forbidding union with Germany. It also acknowledged a new Czecho-Slovak State and a Kingdom of Serbia "under the name of the Serb-Croat-Slovene State."¹⁹ As shown in Figure 2, Austria's Territorial Losses, the treaty transferred sizable portions of Austrian territory to these new states, and to Poland and Italy, reducing the "former great Dual Monarchy to a mere postage-stamp spot on the map of Europe."²⁰

Figure 2: Austria's Territorial Losses (on following page)

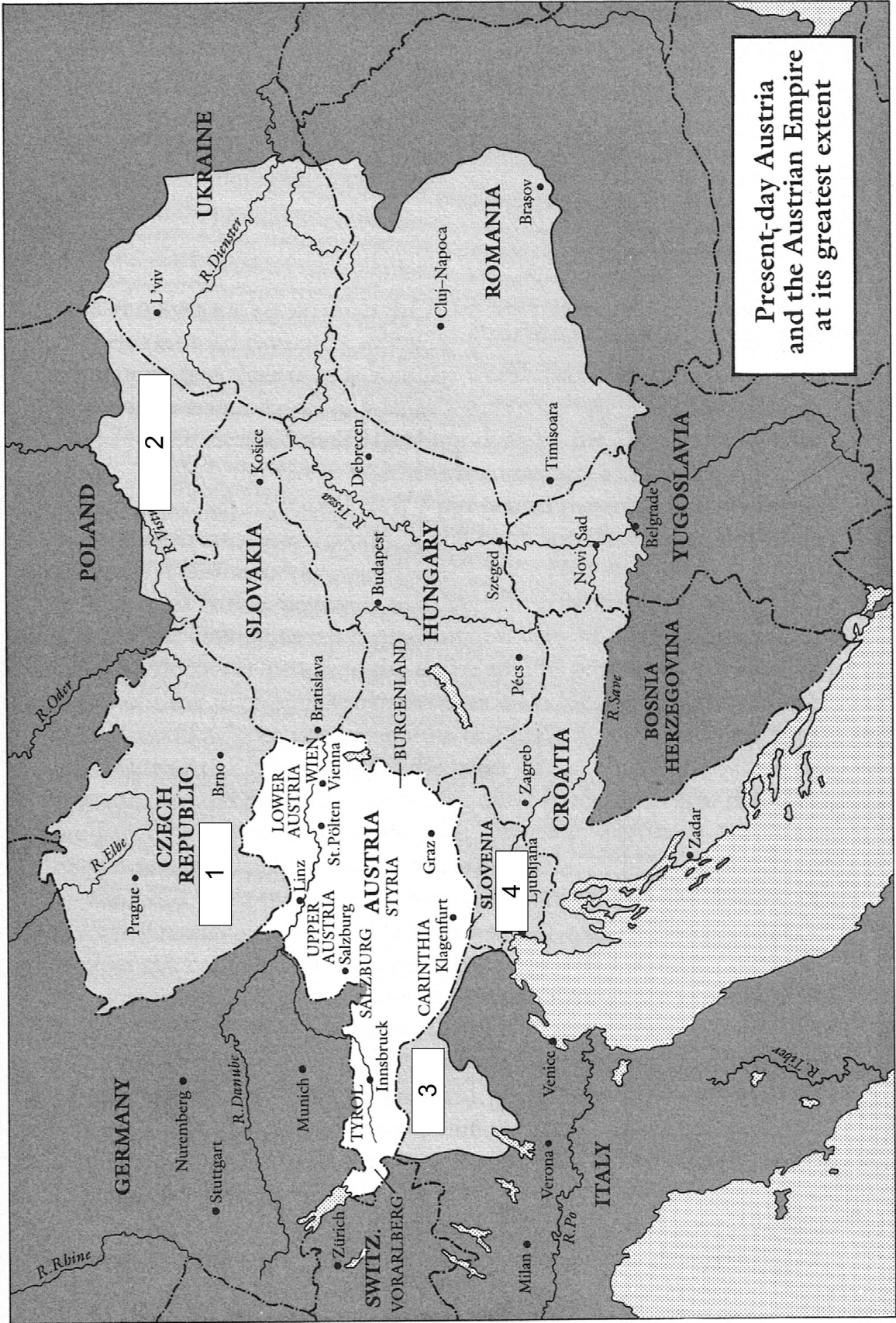


Figure 2: Austria's Territorial Losses

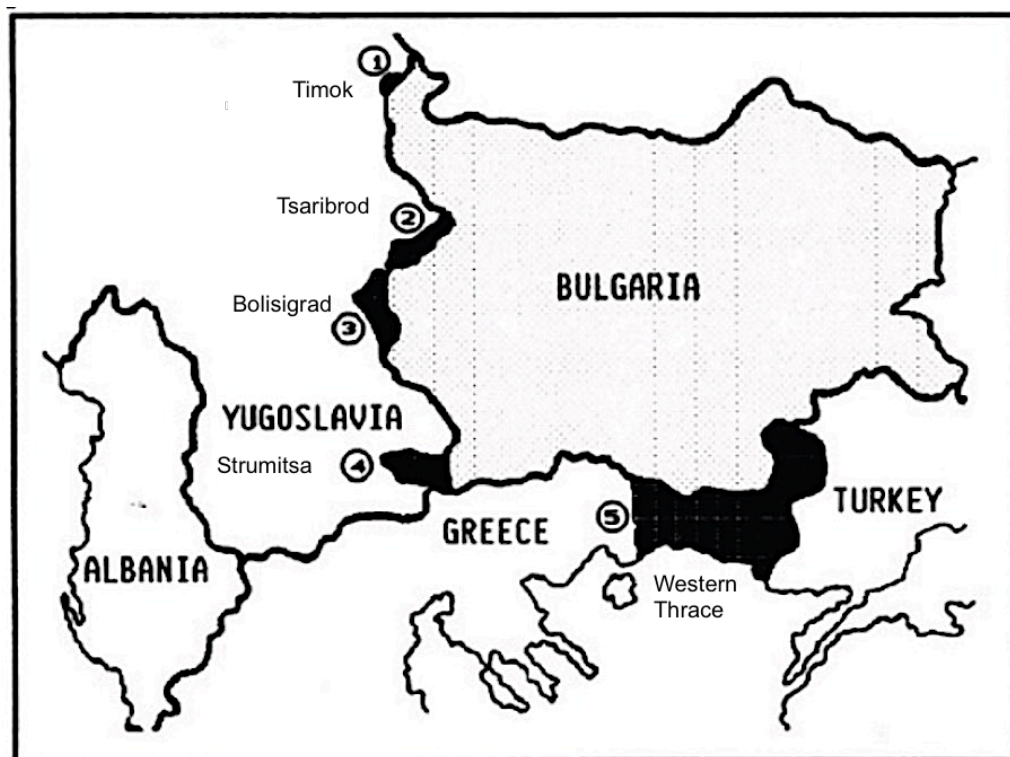
1 Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia to Czechoslovakia; 2 Galicia to Poland; 3 South Tyrol to Italy; 4 Slovenia to Yugoslavia

The Treaty of Saint-Germain cost Austria 77 percent of its pre-war population and 72 percent of its pre-war territory. The Austrian crownlands of Bohemian, Moravian, and Silesian became the Czech part of Czechoslovakia. Galicia went to Poland; Slovenia to the Serb-Croat-Slovene State; and South Tyrol to Italy. Not only did Austrians deplore their country's reduced boundaries and its forbidden unification, they doubted its ability to survive as a small state in a reconfigured Central Europe.

The 1919 Treaty of Neuilly

The *Treaty of Neuilly* between Bulgaria and the Allied Powers, was signed in the commune of Neuilly-sur-Seine, 6.8 km from the center of Paris, on November 27, 1919. Bulgaria, which agreed to an armistice before any of the other Central Powers, fought mainly against Serbia and Romania in the Balkans, little against British or French forces, and not at all against the United States. To outsiders, the Treaty of Neuilly imposed relatively light costs on Bulgaria, which lost only 8 percent of its territory and 9 percent of its population. Bulgaria's territorial losses are displayed in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Bulgaria's Territorial Losses



Map in Ivan Alexandrov, *Macedonia and Bulgarian National Nihilism* (Macedonian Patriotic Organization "TA" Australia Inc. 1993) <http://macedonia.kroraina.com/en/gphillip/ia/index.html>

The four sections (#1 to #4) on Bulgaria's western border lost to Serbia caused less concern than the transfer of Western Thrace (#5) to Greece, which cost Bulgaria access to the Aegean Sea. Despite these relatively mild losses, the treaty was deemed Bulgaria's "second national catastrophe"—the first being its 1913 defeat in the Second Balkan War.²¹

The 1920 *Treaty of Trianon*

The *Treaty of Trianon* between Hungary and the Allied Powers was signed in the Grand Trianon Palace on the grounds of the Palace of Versailles on June 4, 1920. To Hungarians, the Treaty of Trianon—like the Neuilly Treaty to Bulgarians—was their "second national catastrophe," the greatest being their 1526 defeat by the Turks at the Battle of Mohacs.²² Today, almost a century later, the American Hungarian Federation website calls the 1920 Treaty "A Hungarian Tragedy." Hungarians have good reason to do so. The treaty dismembered their country, stripping away 71 percent of its territory and 64 percent of its population. The portion going to the new Czech-Slovakia was formed from Slovak and Rusyn (Ruthene) lands formerly in Hungary. The dismantling of Hungary is graphically portrayed in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Hungary's Territorial Losses



American Hungarian Federation at http://www.americanhungarianfederation.org/news_trianon.htm

Austria and Hungary each lost comparable amounts in the postwar treaties—Austria a slightly larger percentage of its territory but Hungary a significantly greater portion of its population. Excluding Russia, which had withdrawn from the war in 1917, Austria and Hungary suffered the greatest losses among the Central Powers in both territory and population.

In 1900, about half of Hungary's population of 19 million were Magyar. In 1920, despite normal population increases, Hungary's population shrunk to under 8 million as a result of the Treaty of Trianon. Now 90 percent Magyar, Hungary was no longer a multi-national empire.²³ Ironically, millions of Magyars found themselves living outside of Hungary. In round numbers, over 600,000 Magyars found themselves in Czechoslovakia. Over 1,600,000 were lost to Romania, 300,000 to Serbia, and 200,00 to Ukraine.²⁴

In one sense, Hungary's new boundaries conformed to the vaunted "nationality principle"—country borders should embrace one nationality. That concept differed from "self-determination"—nationalities have the right to govern themselves. The 600,000 Magyars outside of Hungary and clustered in the southern portions of Slovakia were certainly denied self-determination.

The 1920 Treaty of Sèvres

The *Treaty of Sèvres* between the Ottoman Empire and Britain, France, and Italy was signed in the commune of Sèvres, 9.9 km from the center of Paris, on August 10, 1920. It reflected several "secret treaties" promising divisions of spoils after the war. For example, the 1915 Treaty of London lured Italy into the war on the Allies' side by promising her territory in Austria-Hungary on Italy's north and across the Adriatic Sea. The Treaty of London also promised Italy its "just share" if Turkey were divided up after the war.²⁵ Although not a treaty, the secret 1916 Sykes-Picot agreement between Sir Mark Sykes, representing Britain, and Georges Picot, representing France, proposed that their two countries divide the Arab-speaking areas after the war.²⁶ After the war, Britain and France cut Italy into the deal.

The Treaty of Sèvres unveiled the partition of the former Ottoman Empire, ceding all the empire's lands outside of Turkey to the Allied signatories. A historian summarized the planned division of spoils: "Great Britain indicated Mesopotamia with southern Syria (Palestine) as the territory of her choice; France marked a French sphere in northern Syria and southeastern Anatolia; and Italy reserved southwestern Anatolia (Adalia) to her uses."²⁷

As it turned out, the Treaty of Sèvres was never implemented. The Turkish nationalist leader Mustafa Kemal led a rebellion that rejected the treaty. It was superseded by the Treaty of Lausanne, signed on June 24, 1923, which preserved Turkey's sovereignty but allowed the partitioning of the rest of the Ottoman empire. Outside of Turkey the land morsels were assigned as Class A Mandates under the League of Nations to France (Syria and Lebanon) and Britain (Iraq, Palestine, and Jordan). Italy obtained a number of islands off Turkey's coast.

1920 Treaty of Rapallo

The external boundaries of post war nation of Czechoslovakia were determined in the treaties of Versailles, Saint-Germain, and Trianon. Not so for the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Only its border on the north, east, and south were covered by those treaties. Its western border with Italy remained undefined, as Italy vigorously pressed its unfulfilled claims. Thus political observers were "astonished" to learn that the boundaries between Italy and Yugoslavia were fixed by the Treaty of Rapallo, signed on November 12, 1920 in the

municipality of Rapallo outside Genoa, Italy.²⁸ Italy annexed most of the contested territories, turning large numbers of Slovenes and Croats into Italians.²⁹

On October 3, 1929, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was officially renamed Yugoslavia ("yugo" meaning "south" in Slavic languages). Serbs had such a large plurality of Yugoslavia's population that the U.S. State Department said: "As Serbia was the dominant partner in this state, the U.S. Government has considered the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and then later, Yugoslavia, as the successor government to the original Government of Serbia."³⁰

By creating Yugoslavia as a nation for the southern Slavs, the Allied leaders at the Paris peace conference thought that they were fulfilling the principle of self-determination: a Slav is a Slav, no? Instead of unifying common people in a nation, the leaders joined together ethnic groups that had fought one another for decades, if not centuries. Yugoslavia endured a turbulent history from 1920 through World War II until the death of Communist leader Josip Broz Tito in 1980. After much political tension and maneuvering, Slovenia, Croatia, and Macedonia declared their independence in 1991. Vicious civil wars broke out as Serbs sought to retain control. Bosnia and Herzegovina declared independence in 1992. By 2003, Yugoslavia was reduced to the Union of Serbia and Montenegro, and Montenegro split away in 2006. Today, seven nations—Serbia, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Kosovo—stand in place of the former Yugoslavia.

Even before the Allied Powers gathered in Paris in 1919 to sign the peace treaties ending the war, they planned to create a very different Europe in the future. The future Europe would emerge from a wholesale restructuring of national borders. Most anticipated border changes were inspired by the lofty principle of self-determination of peoples, but many others were motivated by the baser principle of national self-interest. That the Allied leaders raced far ahead in thinking about reshaping Europe is demonstrated in Figure 5, *The Peace Map of Europe*.

Figure 5: The July 4, 1918 Peace Map of Europe (on following page)

The remarkable 3' by 4' full color map "Peace Map of Europe: July 4, 1918," was published by the celebrated mapmaker Rand-McNally. France is item #1 on the map. Items #2-#5 pertained to battle lines on the Western Front. Items #6-#21 matched fairly well the final borders of 17 countries after the war—except for Austria, which does not even appear. The map shows Austria joining Germany soon after the 1918 armistice, but the victorious Allies would not approve the union, thus preserving a small, independent Austria. Although it bears the date, July 4, 1918, in its title, that date must be merely symbolic, for the map depicts the "final battle line, Nov. 11, 1918." It cites 1919 as the year of publication but appears to have been months before the peace treaties finalized new borders for the former Austria-Hungary.

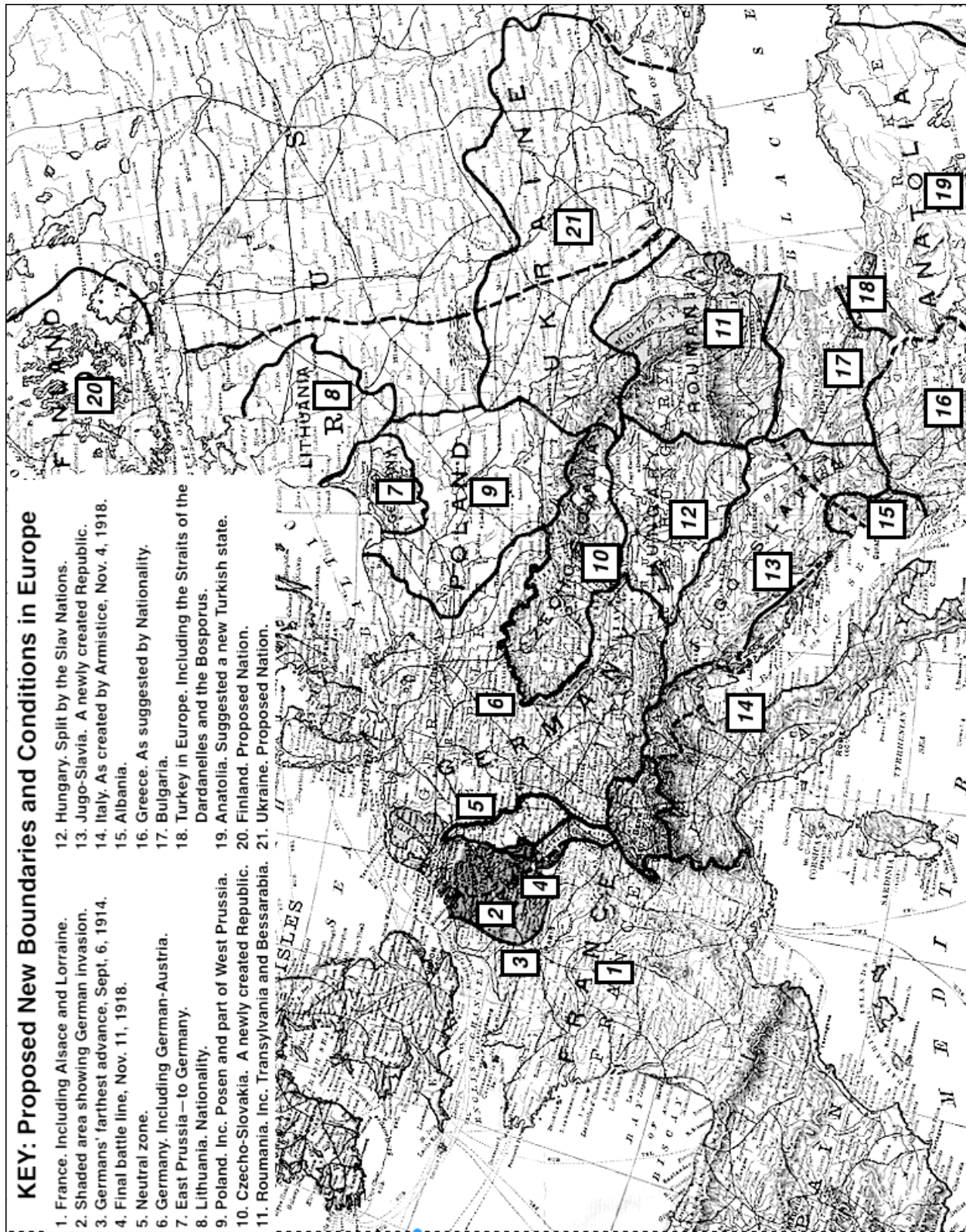


Figure 5: *Peace Map of Europe: July 4, 1918* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1919). In public domain.

Joy and Tears

Which countries won and lost from these treaties. The statistics are presented in Figure 6, Territory and Population Changes, Pre-War and Post-War.³¹ By square kilometers of territory, the new country Poland was the big winner and Russia (the USSR) the big loser. Russia, however, lost only 2 percent of its huge landmass, whereas Austria and Hungary each lost over 70 percent of its former territory. Germany, Turkey, and Bulgaria surrendered relatively little land. Little Montenegro and bigger Bosnia were incorporated into the new nation, Yugoslavia, which was dominated by the former Serbia—itsself augmented by Hungary's former Croatian territory. Romania was enlarged by Transylvania, taken from Hungary. Czechoslovakia was formed from Hungary's former Slovak counties and Austria's Czech and Moravian lands and a portion of Silesia northeast of Moravia.

Figure 6: Territory and Population Changes, Pre-War and Post-War (next page)

On the population change metric, Poland gained the most and Russia lost the most once again. This time, however, Russia's loss amounted to 15 percent of its pre-war population, primarily those living in territory restored to historic Poland. The former Austro-Hungarian empire's decreases in population were comparable to those in territory. The peace treaties took away nearly two-thirds of Hungary's 1914 population and nearly 80 percent of Austria's. All the autocratic imperial governments—Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey, and Bulgaria—lost territory and population because of World War I.

Self-Determination

Self-determination of peoples was not among President Woodrow Wilson's original Fourteen Points for ending the war, but he attempted to embrace the concept in making the peace.³² Defined as the "the right of peoples or nations to choose how they live their collective lives and structure their communities based on their own norms, laws, and cultures,"³³ that principle was invoked after the war to create Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia from the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Yet, neither nation exists today. The lesson from these stories is that the noble principle of self-determination—like peace among nations—is difficult to implement yet is essential to pursue.

Alexander Watson contended that President Wilson "made a fatal mistake in placing the 'self-determination of peoples' at the centre of his post-war vision."

The slogan made effective wartime propaganda and contributed to his popularity and moral authority, but it also ensured that his post-war order would be immediately discredited in many eyes. The reason for this was simple: so mixed were the peoples of east-central Europe that not everyone could be permitted to exercise this new right. There would be winners and there would be losers, and *Realpolitik* dictated that the latter would be the two ethnic groups cowed by defeat, the Germans and the Magyars. Both peoples had just reason to feel deeply aggrieved with Wilson.³⁴

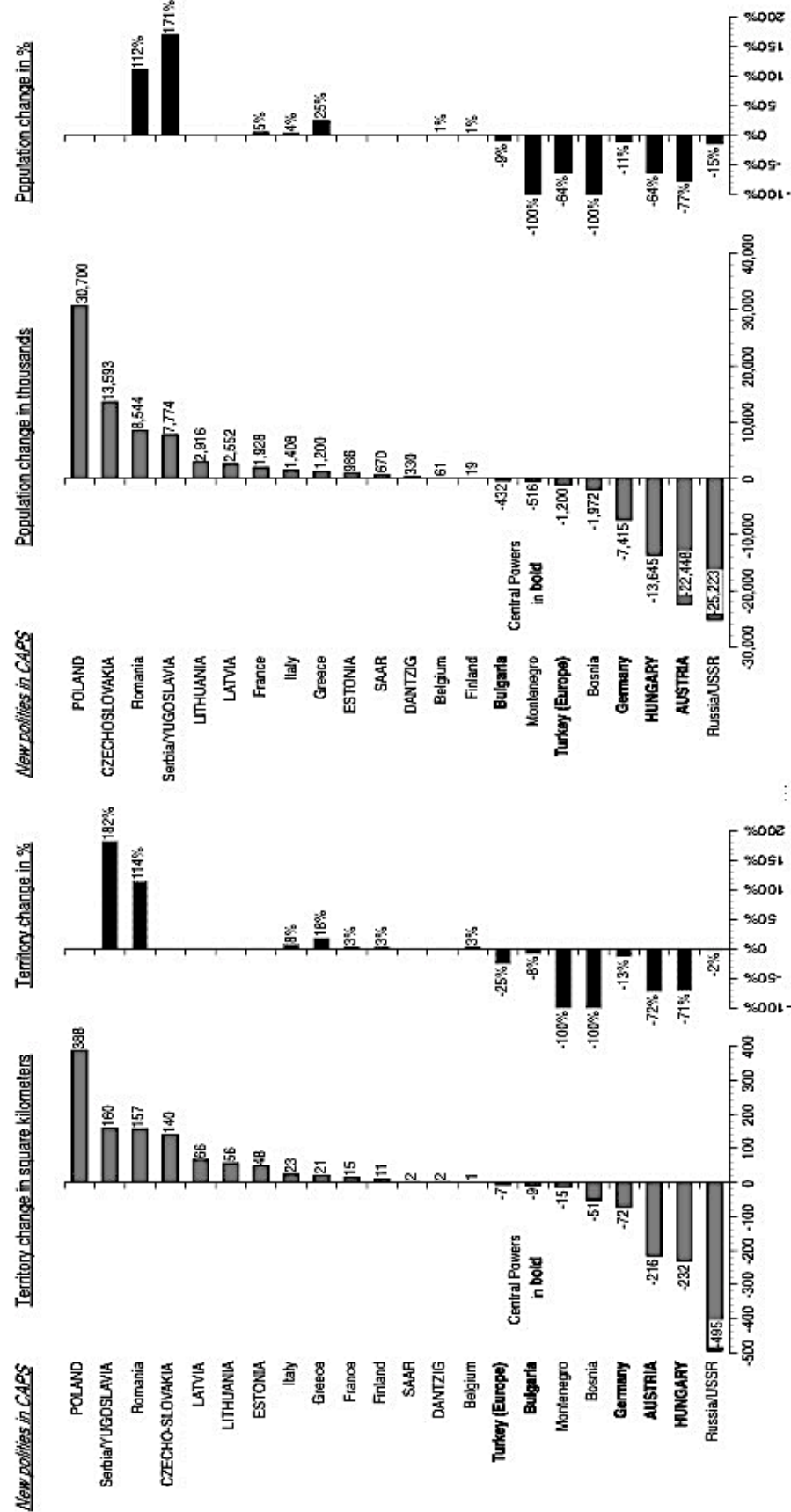


Figure 6: Territorial and Population Changes, Pre-War and Post-War

From the standpoint of territory, no country gained more square kilometers of land than Poland, which had ceased to be a viable nation prior to the war. Other new nations included Czechoslovakia and the three Baltic states. Although Russia surrendered the most territory, its loss was a small percentage of its total land. The new states of Austria and Hungary replaced Austria-Hungary, and each was greatly reduced in size. From the standpoint of population, no country gained more people than Poland. Czechoslovakia was the other big winner, while Hungary and Austria were the big losers. Russia again lost the most people, but its loss was a small percentage of its pre-war population.

Owing to self-interest and ignorance, "self-determination" was selectively applied for political purposes. As Zara Steiner wrote, "Few in 1919, or at any time after, fully appreciated the racial complexity of eastern Europe."³⁵ It was impossible to draw boundaries to conform to national lines." For starters, the Treaty of Saint-Germain prohibited Austria—composed of 90 percent German-speakers—from joining Germany, which most Austrians favored. The principle also stopped at Europe's eastern edge. Wilson himself could not imagine applying it to Middle Eastern territories, which were yanked from the Ottoman Empire and divided like cake among the French, British, and Italians. Wilson also failed to view the Irish seeking independence from Britain through the lens of self-determination. And the Paris peace treaties themselves winked at the principle by awarding German-speaking Alsace-Lorraine to victorious France and Austria's ethnically German South Tyrol to victorious Italy.

Margaret MacMillan incisively questioned what Wilson meant by "autonomous development" and later, "self-determination." "Did Wilson merely mean, as sometimes appeared, an extension of democratic self-government? Did he really intend that any people who called themselves a nation should have their own state?"³⁶ MacMillan said that Wilson's Secretary of State, Robert Lansing (who was present at the peace conference but not a key figure) raised questions of his own:

What, as Lansing asked, made a nation? Was it a shared citizenship, as in the United States, or a shared ethnicity, as in Ireland? If a nation was not self-governing, ought it to be? And in that case, how much self-government was enough? Could a nation, however defined, exist happily within a larger multinational state?³⁷

Although Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia were formed under the guise of self-determination of people, "the people" did not create these nations; international leaders did. Leaders created Czechoslovakia first. Backed by the Allied powers, separate leadership groups in separate cities on separate dates declared the existence of Czechoslovakia. The Czech National Council issued its proclamation in Prague on October 28, 1918, and the Slovak National Council issued its own on October 30 in Martin. Neither group asked the Czech and Slovak people to consent to their actions.

Neither did international leaders ask the Serbians, Croats, Slovenes, and several other mostly Slavic peoples whether they wished to be bundled together in a "south Slav" nation called Yugoslavia. After World War II, Yugoslavia officially honored Archduke Franz Ferdinand's assassin, Gavrilo Princip, "for having struck a blow that led to the breakup of the empire and Bosnia's reincarnation as part of Yugoslavia."³⁸ In 2014, on the 100th anniversary of the assassination, visitors to Sarajevo, Bosnia, found mixed messages about the assassin whose act launched World War I. They were "left to decide whether he was a liberator, an anarchist killer or a terrorist motivated by sectarian and ethnic hatreds."³⁹ Ethnic Serbs in East Sarajevo expressed their own opinion by unveiling a monument to Gavrilo Princip, their national hero.⁴⁰

*This paper uses substantial extracts from Chapter 13, "Imperial Losses," in Kenneth Janda, *The Emperor and the Peasant: Two Men at the Start of the Great War and the End of the Habsburg Empire* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2018).

FOOTNOTES

¹ Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2002), p. 123.

² Firstworldwar.com at http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/greaterserbia_corfudeclaration.htm.

³ MacMillan, p. 116.

⁴ Three new nations—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—were also recognized in the Treaty of Versailles, but they were not seated at the conferences and were not treaty signatories.

⁵ For a comprehensive account of the Versailles deliberations, see Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2002). Also useful is Alan Sharp, *The Versailles Settlement: Peacemaking in Paris, 1919* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991). Introductory chapters in Walter Consuelo Langsam and Otis C. Mitchell, *The World Since 1919, Eighth Edition* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), provide useful summaries.

⁶ The treaty's full text is available at <http://net.lib.byu.edu/~rdh7/wwi/versailles.html>.

⁷ Langsam and Mitchell, p. 9.

⁸ Langsam and Mitchell, p. 10.

⁹ Orlando, who did not speak English, was the least involved and left Paris in April after Wilson appealed to the Italian people against Orlando's position.

¹⁰ League of Nations, Economic and Financial Section, *International Statistical Year-Book, 1926* (Geneva: Publications of the League of Nations, II. 42, 1927), Table 1, p. 14.

¹¹ Herbert Hoover said after seeing the entire treaty for the first time and discussing it with South African delegate Jan Smuts and British adviser John Maynard Keynes, "We agreed that the consequences of the proposed Treaty would ultimately bring destruction." Quoted in MacMillan, p. 467.

¹² MacMillan, pp. 476-477.

¹³ Langsam and Mitchell, p. 19.

¹⁴ Another treaty, the Polish Minority Treaty—called the Little Treaty of Versailles—formally established Poland as a sovereign and independent state and sought to guarantee rights of non-Polish minorities in the new state. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Little_Treaty_of_Versailles.

¹⁵ Treaty of Versailles, Article 84.

¹⁶ BYU Library, WW I Document Archive, http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Conventions_and_Treaties.

¹⁷ Library of Congress, "United States Treaties" at <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/us-treaties/bevans/m-ust000002-0042.pdf>.

¹⁸ Walter R. Roberts, "Years of Self-inflicted Disasters – Austria before Annexation in 1938," *American Diplomacy* (May, 2012), at http://www.unc.edu/depts/diplomat/item/2012/0106/ca/roberts_austria2.html.

¹⁹ Treaty of Saint-Germain, Preamble.

²⁰ Charles A. Selden, "Austrian Treaty Signed in Amity," *New York Times* (September 11, 1919), p. 12.

²¹ International Encyclopedia of the First World War, at https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/historiography_1918-today_bulgaria_south_east_europe.

²² American Hungarian Federation website, at http://www.americanhungarianfederation.org/news_trianon.htm.

²³ "Demographics of Hungary," at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Hungary#Post-Trianon_Hungary.

²⁴ See http://www.americanhungarianfederation.org/news_trianon.htm.

²⁵ MacMillan, p. 427.

²⁶ MacMillan, p. 374.

²⁷ Ferdinand Schevill, *A History of Europe from the Reformation to the Present Day* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1954), p. 738.

²⁸ MacMillan, p. 304.

²⁹ Treaty of Rapallo at [http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Treaty_of_Rapallo_\(1920\)](http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Treaty_of_Rapallo_(1920)).

³⁰ Office of the U.S. State Department Historian, at <https://history.state.gov/countries/kingdom-of-yugoslavia>.

³¹ League of Nations, Economic and Financial Section, *International Statistical Year-Book, 1927* (Geneva: Publications of the League of Nations, 1928), Table 1, page 14. These data are available online from Northwestern

University Library's digital collection, "League of Nations Statistical and Disarmament Documents," which contains the full text of 260 League of Nations documents. See <http://digital.library.northwestern.edu/league/le0262ad.pdf>.

³² Wilson had declared as early as May 27, 1916, that "every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they should live," but he did not use the phrase "self-determination" in presenting his Fourteen Points to Congress on January 8, 1918. Three days before Wilson's address, British Prime Minister Lloyd George had mentioned "the general principle of national self-determination" in a speech to the British Trades Union. David Lloyd George, "British War Aims," Statement of January 5, 1918 to the British Trades Union League, Authorized Version as published by the British Government (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1918), at http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/Prime_Minister_Lloyd_George_on_the_British_War_Aims.

³³ Jennifer E. Dalton, "Self Determination," in George Thomas Kurian (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Political Science, Volume 5* (Washington, DC: CQ Press, 2011), p. 1530.

³⁴ Alexander Watson, *Ring of Steel* (New York: Basic Books, 2014), p. 561.

³⁵ Zara Steiner, "The Peace Settlement" in Hew Strachan, (ed.) *World War I: A History*. Oxford (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 291-304 at 301.

³⁶ MacMillan, p. 11.

³⁷ MacMillan, pp. 11-12.

³⁸ John F. Burns, "Revelry in Sarajevo, Where Shots Started a World War," *New York Times* (June 20, 2014), p. A4.

³⁹ Burns, *ibid*.

⁴⁰ "Sarajevo Serbs Unveil Monument to Gavrilo Princip, The Assassin Who Triggered WWI," at <http://www.breitbart.com/national-security/2014/06/28/29-jun-14-world-view-sarajevo-serbs-unveil-monument-to-gavrilo-princip-who-triggered-world-war-i/>.