

INDEX

- Acheson, Dean
 and learning processes and creation
 of Atlantic order after 1945,
 1001–5
 and containment of the Soviet
 Union, 1001–3
 and western integration of Western
 Germany, 1001–3
 Adams, John, 206–7
 Adams, John Quincy
 and Monroe Doctrine and US
 “Empire of Liberty”, 94–5
 Adamson, William, 626, 849
 Addams, Jane
 and activities of the Woman’s Peace
 Party, 118, 234, 630
 and progressive social reforms and
 world peace, 118
 Adenauer, Konrad
 and learning processes and creation
 of Atlantic order after 1945,
 1001–5
 and western integration of Western
 Germany, 1001–3
 Age of Capital. *see* Era of Imperialism
 Age of Weltpolitik
 and balance of power politics, 72
 European concert in, 74
 Great Britain in, 75
 imperialist competition in, 75–8
 Otto von Bismarck and, 72–4
 Ährenthal, Alois von
 and Austrian Balkan policy before
 1914, 154
 Albania
 Balkan Wars and independence
 (1912–13), 154–5
 Alexander I
 and Congress of Vienna, 45–7
 Alexander III, 145
 Algeciras Conference (1906), 149–52
 alliances
 significance of, in modern
 international politics, 6–7
 Quadruple Alliance (1815), 46
 Holy Alliance, 27, 50–4, 62–3
 alliance blocs before First World
 War, 43, 138–62
 German-Austrian Dual Alliance
 (1879), 72–4, 144–9, 155–6, 164–7
 Three Emperors’ Alliance (1881), 72
 Franco-Russian Alliance (1894),
 144–8, 514
 Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902), 146
 Anglo-French *Entente Cordiale*
 (1904), 6–7, 142–53, 166–8
 Anglo-Russian Convention (1907),
 141–2, 166
 Triple *Entente*, 141–6
 Allied and Associated Powers during
 First World War, 171–86, 189–93,
 271–98
 Central Powers during First World
 War, 171–9, 270–98
 French aspirations for an Atlantic
 alliance, 507, 810–19
 Anglo-American security treaty with
 France (1919), 18, 695–716, 896–8
 North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
 (NATO), 7, 658–9, 1002–5
 American Civil War (1861–65), 64, 68,
 81–2, 94–6
 American Committee on Public
 Information, 194, 216–17

- American Federation of Labour, 585
 American Jewish Committee, 398, 754
 American Jewish Congress, 398, 474, 586, 754
 American peace policies,
 British reaction to, 975–6
 French reaction to, 973–5
 German reaction to, 974–5
 Hoover on, 971–3
 American Peace Society, 116, 121
 American Relief Administration, 358
 American Society of International Law, 125–6
 American Union Against Militarism, 234, 584, 630
 Angell, Norman
 and *The Great Illusion* of pacific interdependence, 68–9
 Anglo-American naval battle of Paris, 638–40
 Anglo-Americanist creed, 221
Anschluß, 310–11, 468, 748–50
 anti-imperial and -colonial
 nationalism, 3, 88, 99–100, 171–2, 182, 301–3, 317–20, 517, 580–1, 587, 878–9
 arbitration, international
 history of, 119–20
 conflicts between different approaches, 120
 Anglo-American efforts, 121
 European modes of, 121–2
 Bourgeois on, 603–4
 as key provision of Covenant of 1919, 611–12
 limited reach of, 140
 Armenia, 103
 idea of American mandate, 370, 461, 574, 618
 Armistice of 1918,
 Colonel House and, 293–5
 finalisation of, 288–98
 Lansing note and, 296–7
 process that led to, 277–87
 arms race, before First World War, 144
 Arnaud, Émile.
 and pacifism and arbitration before 1914, 115, 121–2
 Article X, of the League Covenant, 366, 601–2, 608–10, 627–40, 898, 909–16
 Ashurst, Henry, 285–6
 Asquith, Herbert
 and July crisis of 1914, 152–68
 and British war aims, 192–3, 271–2, 433
Association de la paix par le droit (APD), 247
Association française pour la Société des nations (AFSDN), 491–2, 584
 Atatürk, Kemal
 and struggle to found modern Turkey, 17, 519, 574
 and war against Britain, France and Greece, 574
 Athenian Empire, 59
 Atlantic Charter (1941), 774, 1004
 Atlantic community, 235–7, 243–5, 935, 1000–5
 Atlantic concert
 conceptions of, 16–24, 127, 221–3, 425, 459, 597–8, 602
 need for, after First World War, 331–3
 and Paris peace settlement, 648–9, 715–16, 884–5, 895–6
 and Locarno process of the 1920s, 961–9
 Atlantic order, in the long twentieth century, 4–8, 999–1005
 Atlantic order of empires, era of imperialism
 American visions of, 108–11
 ascent of, 90–3
 British visions of, 105–7
 Theodore Roosevelt and, 101–4
 United States emergence as world power, 93–7
 United States progressive imperialism, 97–101
 Atlantic order after First World War.
 see also Paris peace settlement of 1919
 conditions of, 578–88
 controversies, 625–9
 incomplete nature of, 573–8
 key elements of, 608–12

- mandates system creation, 614–18
- peace of the victors, 588–95
- Atlantic order, after Second World War
 - creation and key elements of the, 571
 - Atlantic order after 1945, 999–1003
- Atlantic system of self-governing states, 200–1
- Atlantic Union (French), 519–22
- Atlanticist peace strategy (Brockdorff-Rantzau), 547–59
- Australia
 - interests as Dominion in 1919, 454, 615–16, 627, 711, 800, 851–2
- Austrian Republic, 748–50
- Austro-Hungarian Empire
 - importance for European equilibrium, 155–6
 - tensions before First World War, 153–6
 - disintegration of, 176–7
- Baden, Max von
 - and German constitutional reforms, 277–87
 - and hopes for a Wilsonian armistice and peace, 277–87
- Bainville, Jacques
 - and French war aims, 492
 - assessment of Peace of Versailles, 881, 906
- balance-of-power politics
 - and Age of Weltpolitik, 72
 - and Bolshevik challenge, 767–8
 - British postwar strategy, 426–31
 - Crowe and, 452–3
 - delegitimisation of European, 180–2
 - and League of Nations, 211–12
 - Lloyd George and, 220–1
- Baldwin, Stanley, 942, 945, 975–6, 982–6
- Balfour, Arthur
 - and British prewar alliance politics and Balkan crisis, 148–9, 153
 - Atlanticist postwar policy of, 451–2, 461
 - concept of just and desirable peace, 475
 - French Rhineland aspirations, 666–7
 - and stakes of US “treaty fight”, 917
- Ballin, Albert, 68, 159, 258
- Baltic states
 - independence after First World War, 771–2
- Bank for International Settlements, 988–96
- Barrès, Maurice
 - and French Rhineland plans, 492, 906
- Baruch, Bernard
 - and financial settlement after First World War, 358, 373, 415, 423, 796–7
- Basel Manifesto (1912), 133
- Bauer, Gustav, 893
- Bauer, Otto
 - and self-determination and “national-cultural autonomy”, 133
 - and Austro-German union, 569–70, 748–9
 - and Treaty of Saint-Germain, 749–50
- Bebel, August
 - and Second International efforts to prevent Great War, 132
- Beer, George Louis
 - and Anglo-American “democratic alliance” for world peace, 369
- Belgium
 - Belgian revolution of 1830, 27
- Belgian neutrality, 7, 47, 167–8, 192–3, 235–8, 416, 581, 790–1, 799
 - impact of First World War, 175
 - German war aims and, 252–4, 273–4
 - peace aims in 1919, 508–9, 581
 - French postwar designs and, 508
- Bell, Johannes, 877
- Benedict XV, 268
- Beneš, Edvard
 - and creation of independent Czechoslovakia, 471
 - and claims to Sudetenland, 245, 582
 - and Locarno Pact, 958
- Benson, William
 - and military control of Germany, 655
 - and Wilson’s threat to leave peace conference, 701–2
- Berchtold, Leopold
 - and Austrian policies during July crisis of 1914, 164

- Bernstorff, Johann Heinrich Count
 and Germany's Atlanticist peace
 strategy, 543–7
- Berthelot, Philippe, 291
 and Wilson's peace programme, 291
 and French peace strategies in 1919,
 495–6, 506, 513–18
- Bethmann Hollweg, Theobald von
 “ideas of 1914” ideology, 193–4
 limited options for détente, 156–7,
 159–60
 and July crisis, 166–8
 postwar imperialist aims, 251–7
 September Programme of 1914, 274
- Big Three (in 1919), 25–8
- Bismarck, Otto von
 rise after Crimean War, 63
 Age of *Weltpolitik*, 72–4
 and polarisation of European
 international politics, 144–5
 and rise of European power politics,
 141–8
Realpolitik, 61–2
- Bliss, Tasker
 and military control of Germany,
 655
 German settlement critiques, 693–4,
 856–8
 and US security guarantees to
 France, 702–4
- Bloomsbury Group, 229
- Bluntschli, Johann Kaspar
 and international order of law before
 1914, 121–2
 and idea of a European
 confederation, 128
- Boer War (1899–1902), 77, 105, 145–6
- Bolshevik challenge. *see also* Russia
 challenge to New Atlantic order,
 314–15
 conflicting Allied strategic
 imperatives, 767–74
 failure of Prinkipo initiative,
 781–7
 postwar rise of, 262–6
 Russian civil war and uncertainties,
 771–6
 and the Versailles Peace Conference,
 770–1
- Western states' response to, 765–7
 Wilson and, 399–400, 692
- Bonar Law, Andrew, 227
- Borah, William
 Americanist opposition to Wilson's,
 242
 League aspirations, 242, 632–3
- Borden, Robert
 and Canadian interests as Dominion
 in 1919, 455, 627, 711
- Bosch, Robert, 561
- Botha, Louis, 615–16, 711
- Bourderon, Albert, 250
- Bourgeois, Léon
 arbitration, 503–4, 121–2, 603–4
 collective security, 503–5, 603
 and League of Nations, 503–6, 598
 on limits of state sovereignty, 504–5,
 604
 and Germany's postwar integration,
 533
 aims at Paris Peace conference,
 596–7, 601–5
- Bourgeois commission, 503–5
- Bourne, Randolph, 237–8
- Bowman, Isaiah
 and German question, 685–6, 686
 and Polish–German border,
 729
- Boxer Rebellion (1900), 88, 99–100
- Brandegge, Frank, 632, 915
- Brătianu, Ion, 718
- Brazil
 interests during Great War and in
 1919, 182–3, 580, 613–14
- Breitscheid, Rudolf, 543
- Brest-Litvosk Treaty of 1918
 German–Soviet negotiations,
 255–6
 Lenin and, 256
 Social Democrats and, 265–6
- Bretton Woods System, 7–8, 439,
 989–90, 1004–5
- Briand, Aristide
 resistance to negotiated peace in
 1917, 271
 and French Locarno peace policy,
 951–4, 980–3
- British Navy League, 79

- Brockdorff-Rantzau, Ulrich von
 Atlanticist strategy, 547–59
 German security policy, 565–6
 and peace with western powers,
 814–16, 821, 828–30
 and League of Nations, 559–65
 and war guilt question, 826
- Brüning, Heinrich
 austerity policy during World
 Economic Crisis, 1004–5
- Bryan, William Jennings
 and cooling-off treaties, 140–1, 563–5
- Bryce, James
 and the League of Nations, 232–3,
 909
- Bryce Group, 232
- Bülow, Bernhard von
 and German *Weltpolitik* before 1914,
 76–7, 142–4, 150–7
- Buisson, Ferdinand
 and the League of Nations, 247–9,
 490–1, 628–9
- Bulgaria, 73–5, 148–55;
- Bullitt, William, 782
 assessment of Bolshevik threat, 408
 mission to Russia in 1919, 782
- Burgfrieden*, 273
- Burián, Stephan Freiherr von, 268
- Burke, Edmund
 and idea of an Anglo-American
 federation 107
- Burritt, Elihu
 and international arbitration, 119–20
- Butler, Nicholas Murray, 91, 115–16,
 121
- Cachin, Marcel, 490, 493
- Cadmeian Peace*, Plato's concept of,
 1–5
- Caillaux, Joseph, 151
- Cambon, Jules
 and French Rhineland strategies,
 245
 and Polish border settlement, 728–30
 and Czechoslovak border settlement,
 744
- Cambon, Paul
 and Britain's attitude during July
 crisis, 165
- scenario of postwar struggle against
 Germany and US, 454
 and French Rhineland strategies, 245
- Canada
 interests as Dominion in 1919, 455,
 627, 711
- Carnegie, Andrew, 116
- Carnegie Endowment for International
 Peace, 116, 121
- Castle, William, 976
- Castlereagh, Robert
 and European concert and policies at
 Congress of Vienna, 45–50
 influence on British policies after
 1914, 682, 950
- Catt, Carrie C.
 and Woman's Peace Party, 234
- Cecil, Robert
 and League of Nations, 292–3,
 224–6, 430
 concept of new Atlantic concert, 430,
 444
 Cecil Plan, 444–6
 efforts to found League in 1919,
 596–7
 and postwar accommodation of
 Germany, 847–8
- Central Powers
 policies during First World War,
 171–7, 189–204, 269–87
 peace movements within, 268–9
 Wilson's aspirations to weaken,
 219–20
- Chamberlain, Austen
 and US loans to Britain during Great
 War, 421
 and League plans in 1918, 455
 and British Locarno peace policy,
 949–51, 975–6
- Chamberlain, Joseph
 and idea of Anglo-US-German
 “Triple Alliance”, 105–6
- Chamberlain, Neville
 and appeasement of Hitler, 844
- Charles X, 46
- Chartist movement, 53
- Chicherin, Georgi
 and Bolshevik peace and League
 policies, 265–6, 777–82

- Chicherin, Georgi (cont.)
 and Rapallo Treaty with Germany, 929–30
 and Berlin Treaty with Germany, 967
- China
 decline under Qing Dynasty, 88, 93
 western and Japanese imperial policies in, 65, 67–8, 87–8, 93–100
 aims and interests in 1919, 317–18, 322
 American postwar policy and, 936
 advances towards sovereignty at Washington Conference (1921–22), 935–6
- Church Peace Union, 121, 234, 935–6
- Churchill, Winston
 and Bolshevik challenge, 768–9
 and peace with Germany, 848–9, 852
- civilisation
 hierarchical conceptions of, 42, 54–5, 69, 78–89, 180–90, 196–7, 614–23
 American ideas about, 86–7, 92–114, 194–7, 363
 British ideas about, 74–5, 85–6, 105–7, 191–3, 442
 French ideas about, 191–3, 483–4, 500–2, 530–1
 German ideas about culture and, 84–5, 193–4, 559–60
- civilisational Darwinism
 conceptions of, 42, 68–9, 82–9
- Clemenceau, Georges
 Armistice of 1918, 289–91
 postwar priorities of, 480–9, 904–6, 911–12
 domestic standing of, 489
 centrality of Euro-Atlantic concerns, 515–18
 exclusive Atlantic order concept after First World War, 245
 focus on security, 506
 and League of Nations, 243–5, 600, 640–1
 French Rhineland aspirations, 657–77
 French cordon sanitaire policy, 510–15
 dictated peace imperative vis-à-vis Germany, 527–9
- French reparations policy, 791
 final German settlement negotiations, 865–6
 prospects for settlement with Germany, 834–7, 855–6
- Clémentel, Étienne
 exclusive Atlantic economic order after 1918, 245–6
 financial and economic section of League, 485, 519–24
- Cobb-Lippmann memorandum (1918), 394–5, 397, 550
- Cobden, Richard
 free trade conception and ideology, 55, 75
- Cold War
 and the post-1945 Atlantic order, 5–6, 89, 999–1005
 and the long twentieth century, 5–7, 967–8, 999–1005
- collective security
 conceptions of, 7, 19–23, 200, 209–15, 328–30, 365, 452, 496–505, 557–65
 Vienna system and, 45–6
 Paris peace settlement and, 608–11
 Locarno Pact and, 933–4, 945–60
 North Atlantic Alliance and, 7–8, 1002–5
- Comité de l'Afrique française*, 80
Comité d'Études, 502, 512, 592, 727
Comité des forges, 229, 244
Comité de la rive gauche du Rhin, 244, 492, 586, 628, 700
- Communist International
 and Bolshevik challenge, 785
 political instrumentation of, 785–6
 and World Revolution, 778–80
- Communist Manifesto (1848)
 principles of, 55
 class struggles and historical change, 55–6
 First International and, 57
 revolution of the proletariat, 56–7
- competition. *see also* political rivalry
 competition, Era of Imperialism
 Age of Weltpolitik, 75–8
 anti-imperialist forces, 88
 domestic factors, 79

- effect of pressure groups on, 80
- impact on mental and ideological
 - war preparedness, 78–9, 87–8
- impact on international politics, 961–2
- and end of High Imperialism, 89
- ethnicisation and racist ideologies, 83–4
- France in, 81
- Germany in, 81
- Great Britain in, 80–1
- nationalism and, 82–3
- United States in, 81–2
- world power agenda, 79–80
- competition, global
 - as cause of First World War, 156–60
- German strategies and, 81
- concert
 - Atlantic concert, 16–24, 127, 220–2, 425, 460, 596–8, 602
 - as key instrument of international politics, 16–24
 - need for, after First World War, 331–3, 715–16
 - European nineteenth-century concert, 45–8, 73–4
 - new European concert of the 1920s, 955–64
- Confédération Générale du Travail*, 585
- Conger, Arthur
 - and peace with Germany, 736–8, 828, 860
- Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), 46
- Congress of Berlin (1878), 73–4
- Congress of Vienna (1814–15), 45–8
- Conrad, Joseph
 - and Polish independence, 472
- Coolidge, Archibald, 391
- Coolidge, Calvin, 982
- cooling-off treaties, 140–1
- cordon sanitaire*, 510–15, 768
- Coudenhove-Kalergi, Richard von
 - and Pan-European Union, 962
- Council of Four (1919), 579, 590, 650–7
- Council of the League, 364, 603–14
- Covenant of the League (1919), *see also* League of Nations and Paris Peace Conference
 - conditions of, 578–88
 - controversies, 625–9
 - incomplete nature of, 573–8
 - key provisions of, 608–12
 - League as institution of the victors, 588–95
 - mandates system, 614–18
 - Covenant amendments, 635–45
 - potentials and limits of, 645–9
- Cox, James, 920
- Creel, George
 - and global publicisation of Wilson's peace agenda, 195, 215–17, 381
- Cremer, William Randal
 - arbitration, 121
 - International Workingmen's Association, 57
- Crimean War
 - origins and course of, 61–3
 - and demise of Holy Alliance, 62
 - consequences of, 63
- Croly, Herbert
 - and progressive US war intervention to reorder the world, 234–7
- Crowe, Eyre
 - and the German threat before 1914, 143, 147–8
 - and balance-of-power approaches to peace, 452
- Cummins, Albert, 632
- Cunliffe, Walter
 - and British reparations policy, 791, 800–2, 848–9, 864
- Cuno, Wilhelm, 561, 947
- Curzon, George,
 - expansionist imperialist war aims of, 222, 321, 461
 - and Anglo-American strategic partnership, 451
 - and Wilson's role in 1919, 455
 - and Britain's postwar security policies, 924–6
- Czechoslovakia
 - British postwar approach to, 468–9
 - creation of new, 395–6
 - French *cordon sanitaire*, 512–13
 - border settlement, 742–5
- Czernin, Count Ottokar, 255

- Darwin, Charles, 107
 Darwinism
 civilisational Darwinism and
 imperialist competition, 42, 70–1,
 83–7
 David, Eduard, 828
 Davis, Norman
 and financial settlement of 1919, 358,
 413, 421, 794
 Dawes Plan (1924)
 Poincaré's Ruhr policy and, 940
 Germany and, 937–9
 Hughes and, 937
 and constructive learning processes
 after 1919, 937–40
 and transformation of postwar
 transatlantic politics, 937–40
 Debs, Eugene, 234
 De Gasperi, Alcide
 and learning processes after 1945,
 1001–3
 Degoutte, Jean, 932
 Delahaye, Jules, 492
 Delcassé, Théophile
 and *Entente Cordiale* against
 Germany, 82, 150–1
 war aims in 1914, 273
 democracy and democratisation
 in the long twentieth century, 14–23,
 34–7
 before 1914, 51–7, 79, 91, 108,
 113–18, 130–7
 during First World War, 176–7,
 194–207, 215–20, 249–83
 after First World War, 34–7, 537–49,
 576–7
 democratic peace
 conceptions and challenges of, 15,
 23, 116–18, 217, 221–4, 264,
 575–7, 584, 595, 618–24
 Denikin, Anton, 583, 767, 770, 776
 Dewey, John
 progressive interventionism and
 rational global reorganisation, 237
 De Witt-Schlumberger, Marguerite,
 586
 Diagne, Blaise
 and African self-determination at
 Pan-African Congress (1919), 581
 Dickinson, Goldsworthy Lowes
 and proposal for a “League of
 Nations”, 230
 disarmament
 demands for, before First World
 War, 112–23
 and peacemaking in 1919, 625–7,
 646, 653–7
 American approaches to, 402, 653–7
 British approaches to, 434, 459,
 653–7
 French approaches to, 483, 500,
 653–7
 German approaches to, 536–7,
 548–9, 563
 Germany's disarmament after 1918,
 309, 603–22, 653–7
 League Disarmament Conference,
 957, 992, 997–8
 Disraeli, Benjamin
 and British policies in era of
 “splendid isolation”, 74–5
 Dmowski, Roman
 and struggle for Greater Poland
 during and after First World War,
 312–13, 392, 473, 511–12, 582,
 722–7, 757
 Doumergue, Gaston, 516–18
 Dresel, Ellis
 and stabilisation of Weimar
 Republic, 694, 737–8, 827–9,
 857
 Dreyfus affair, 82
 Du Bois, William E.B.
 and African self-determination at
 Pan-African Congress (1919), 581
 Dubost, Antonin, 793
 Dulles, John Foster
 and reparations settlement of 1919,
 744–5
 Eastern European postwar challenges
 complexity of, 719–21
 western powers' conflicting strategic
 imperatives, 719
 French *cordon sanitaire* conceptions,
 510–15
 political instability after 1918,
 717–18

- Ebert, Friedrich
 Atlanticist peace conceptions and
 aims, 27, 350, 910–16
 support for League of Nations, 261
 struggle to establish Weimar
 Republic, 296–7, 476, 535–40
 and appeal for a “Wilsonian peace”,
 408, 540–3
 and Germany’s defeat in Great War,
 542–3
 and German priorities in 1919,
 540–3, 554–5
 and “war of notes” and Treaty of
 Versailles, 819–28, 875–7
 economic challenges of peacemaking
 after 1918, 301–3, 325, 333–6,
 788–98, 806–8
Economic Consequences of the Peace (J.
 M. Keynes), 333–4
 economic imperialism
 American, 88, 97–101, 973–4
 British, 66–8, 74–5
 German, 252–4
 economic order of the world
 before 1914, 64–8, 87–9
 transformation after 1918, 2–11,
 17–19, 301–3, 333–6, 788–98,
 806–8, 991–8
 transformation after 1945,
 999–1005
 Egypt
 aspirations for self-determination
 and independence, 202, 317–18,
 368, 580–1, 712
 Eisner Kurt
 and Bavarian Soviet Republic, 786
 Empire First Strategy (British),
 450–1
 empires
 as key actors in the long nineteenth
 century, 75–8
 empires and “super-empires” after
 1918, 163–4
 imperial competition, 156–60
 demise of eastern empires during
 First World War, 1, 38, 72–4,
 180–2, 316, 717–18
 American “Empire of Liberty”, 50,
 65, 93–7
 American “super-empire” after 1945,
 89, 575–6, 999–1002
 Austro-Hungarian Empire, 84, 89,
 128, 133, 148–56, 164, 176–7
 British Empire, 68, 75, 143–8, 271–3,
 320–2, 448, 614–18
 Chinese Empire, 88, 93–100
 French Empire, 46, 77, 80, 141–5,
 148–52, 320–1, 515–19, 614–18
 German Empire, 68–83, 142–52,
 156–60, 251–7
 aspirations for German “super-
 empire” during Great War, 204,
 251–7, 273–5
 Italian Empire, 154
 Japanese Empire, 17, 64–5, 75–6,
 87–8, 178, 182–4, 320–2, 574–5,
 579–80, 637, 641–4, 936
 Russian Empire, 45–8, 62–3, 72–4,
 79–89, 141–56, 161–7, 172–7
 Soviet “super-empire” after 1945, 89,
 575–6, 999
 Engels, Friedrich, 55–7
Entente Cordiale
 as key element of European “order”
 before 1914, 144–5
 assertiveness of leaders in, 149–50
 and July crisis, 166–8
Entente Cordiale, during and after First
 World War
 resilience during the war, 176,
 182–8
 and defence of liberty and
 civilisation, 192–3
 as element of postwar Atlantic and
 world order, 203
 postwar aims of, 204–5
 Woodrow Wilson and, 220
 and League of Nations, 271–4
 finalisation of Armistice of 1918,
 288–98
 and American aspirations for new
 world order, 361–8
 prospects for revitalisation after the
 war, 421–3
 equilibrium
 and peace, 6–7, 35–6, 45–9, 60
 in the Vienna system of 1815, 6–7,
 45–51

- equilibrium (cont.)
 in the international system after First World War, 34–6, 307–9, 464, 838–9, 883, 934–8
 and legitimacy, 6–7, 35–6, 883, 934–58
- Era of Imperialism, Atlantic order of empires
 American vision of, 93–101, 108–11
 emergence of modern empires, 90–3
 British visions of, 105–7
 Theodore Roosevelt and, 101–4
- Era of Imperialism, global competition
 imperialist policing, 88
 domestic factors, 79
 effect of pressure groups on, 80
 and mental and ideological preconditions for war, 78–9
 and ideological conceptions of global hierarchy of states, 87–8
 Darwinist world power struggle, 79–80
 end of high imperialism, 89
 ethnification and racist ideas in, 83–4
 France in, 81
 Germany in, 81
 Great Britain in, 80–1
 nationalism and, 82–3
 United States in, 81–2
- Era of Imperialism, globalisation
 processes
 competitive modern state creation, 67–8
 hierarchical and uneven nature of, 67
 inconceivability of war, 68–9
 increasing economic politics, 69
 and increasing hierarchical political system, 70–1
 Industrial Revolution and, 67
 interconnectedness and interdependencies, 68
 and survival of the fittest mentality, 69–70
- Era of Imperialism, transatlantic
 political transformation
 empire-building, 65
 expanding intense rivalry, 66
 new-style state formation, 64–5
- Erzberger, Matthias
 Atlanticist peace conceptions and aims, 27, 278–9, 283–4
 struggle for German democratisation and “peace of understanding”, 258–60
 scheme for universal League of Nations, 260–1
 and conclusion of the armistice in 1918, 296–7
 and search for compromise peace in 1919, 554–67, 623–4, 737–8, 814–29
 and German acceptance of Versailles treaty, 876
- Eupen and Malmédy question, 509, 581
- Euro-Atlantic peace movement. *see also* peacemaking
 background of, 112
 between civilised and non-civilised countries, 114
 fight for new system of arbitration, 113
 and international law, 113–14
 pacifism of, 115–17
 progressivism of, 117–18
 as transnational lobby, 113
- European concert
 Vienna concert as key mechanism of European and world order, 45–8
 and Age of Weltpolitik, 74
 American ideas about, 388–92
 brinkmanship and imperialist competition, 142–4
 creation of two power blocs, 141–8
 fluidity of alliances, 148
 importance of Austro-Hungarian Empire, 155–6
 interdependence with United States, 37–40, 172–3, 186–7, 336–7
 and peace movements, before 1914, 116–17
- European concert, political equilibrium politics
 and League of Nations, 211–12
 Lloyd George and, 220–1
 European concert, postwar, *see also* Atlantic concert

- reorganisation, 311–13
- as key security mechanism after 1918, 326–33
- and European and global stability after 1918, 964–9
- European concert, postwar descent into crisis after 1925, 964–9
- British involvement in, 924–6
- collapse of old European order, 316
- dissolution of, 74–5, 172, 995
- financial difficulties, 186
- French constraints, 923–4
- pressure on European political systems, 176
- reparations war, 921–2, 926–9
- war debt conflicts, 922
- European Defence Community, 1002
- European Recovery Program (ERP), 1005
- European Revolutions of 1848
 - origins of, 51–2
 - political causes of, 52
 - transnational revolution processes, 52–3
 - frustration of, 53
- exceptionalism
 - American ideas about, 81–3, 90–5, 213, 334–6
- exemplarism
 - American ideas about, 83, 94–5, 182–4, 213, 215–17, 364, 773–4, 909–11
- expectations
 - of peace, order and international politics in the long twentieth century, 338–43
 - excessive and conflicting
 - expectations of peacemaking after 1918, 343–8
 - raised by Wilson's peace agenda, 191, 212, 229, 302, 338
- Fashoda crisis (1898), 516
- Fatherland Party, German, 194, 229, 253
- Fawcett, Millicent, 586
- Federal Reserve Bank of New York (FRBNY), 96, 185–6, 954, 989
- Federalist Papers*, 99
- Fehrenbach, Constantin, 927
- Ferry, Jules, 518
- financial challenges of peacemaking after 1918, 301–3, 333–6, 788–9
- Financial League of Nations (French conceptions of), 522–4
- financial order of the world
 - before 1914, 64–8, 87–9
 - transformation after 1918, 1–11, 17–19, 301–3, 333–6, 788–98, 806–8, 991–8
 - transformation after 1945, 999–1005
- First International, 57
- First World War, prehistory
 - Age of Weltpolitik, 71–8
 - Atlantic order of empires, 90–111
 - attempts to overcome imperialist power politics, 112–37
 - disintegration of the Vienna system, 45–63
 - globalisation processes, 66–71
 - impact of global competition and domestic politics, 78–84, 87–9
 - “survival of the fittest world power” ideologies, 84–7
 - transformation of international politics towards power politics, 64–6
- First World War, causes
 - Austro-Hungarian Empire and, 153–5
 - Balkan crises, 148–9, 153
 - European political rivalries, 140–1
 - German escalatory policies, 160
 - limited options for détente, 139–40, 156–7
 - limited reach of arbitration, 140
 - militarisation of international politics, 155–6
 - Moroccan crises, 150–2
 - systemic causes, war-prone system of the imperialist era, 138–9
 - world political competition, 156–60
 - July crisis escalation, 161–8
- First World War, consequences
 - daunting tasks facing peacemakers, 2–4, 14–15

- First World War, consequences (cont.)
 unprecedented costs and casualties, 173–6
 delegitimisation of balance-of-power politics, 180–2
 divergent victors' outlooks, 904–12
 European decline, 172
 global struggle between imperial and anti-imperial actors, 3–4
 globalisation of the war, 177–9
 ideological struggles and “war within the war”, 189–97
 impossibility of a final peace settlement, 983–91
 different interpretations, 8–12
 lessons from, 1–5
 massive repercussions for European political systems, 176
 new transatlantic political configuration, 1–2, 4–8, 12–14, 37–40, 55–6, 171–3, 186–7
 growth of non-governmental organisations, 227–9
 revolutions in Central Powers and Russia, 176–7
 transatlantic competition over terms of postwar order, 189–266
 transatlantic political transformation, 182–8
 Wilson's political defeat, 912–21
- First World War consequences,
 European
 armistice of 1918, 277–87
 costs and mobilisation efforts, 275
 and European stabilisation, 3
 escalation of European crisis, 921–32
 Franco-German relations, 984–5
 German revolution, 406–12
- Fiume question, 579, 590, 718, 736, 805
- Foch, Marshal
 dispute with Clemenceau over security, 699–700
 French Rhineland aspirations, 659–60
- Fontainebleau programme (David Lloyd George), 679–83
- Fordism, 974
- Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act (1922), 972, 990
- Forster, E.M., 229
- Four Policemen conception (Franklin D. Roosevelt), 104
- Fourteen Points address (Woodrow Wilson), 217–19, 281, 395–9, 406–12, 540–7
- Four Principles address (Woodrow Wilson), 389–90
- France, before First World War
 effect of *Entente* bloc, 144–5
 Moroccan crises, 150–2
 political brinkmanship, 150
- France, postwar economic and financial order
 aspirations for Atlantic Union, 519–22
 descent into World Economic crisis, 923–4
 Financial League of Nations, 522–4
- France, postwar reparations
 Klotz's harsh demands, 525–6
 rationales for, 524
 reparations war, 929
 transatlantic dimensions, 524–5
 war debts, 525
- France, postwar security
 and Bolshevik challenge, 768
 vis-à-vis Germany, 506–7
 preoccupation with, 485–7
 Rhineland policy, 507–10
 security aims, 494
- France, postwar self-determination in
 Central and Eastern Europe
 and Russia's future role, 514–15
 new Polish state and *cordon sanitaire*, 510–15
 Czechoslovakia border settlement, 743–4
- France, postwar strategies assumptions
 and aims
 Bourgeois commission, 482
 postwar priorities and peace conceptions, 246–51, 475–6, 904–6
 structural re-balancing, 481, 485
 core elements and systemic assumptions, 479–80, 487–8
 and German question, 483–4
 problems and risks, 488–9

- France, postwar strategies, mandate system
 political resistance to, 489–92
 popularity of, 489
 socialists and, 492–3
- France, postwar strategies for New Atlantic order
 allied solidarity with Wilson, 494–7
 attempts to refashion League of Nations, 497–9, 598, 600
 centrality of Euro-Atlantic concerns, 518–19
 continuities of imperial policy, 515–18
 core agenda, 493–4
 and League of Nations, 627–9
 postwar vision of exclusive Atlantic Alliance, 243–6
 priority of New Atlantic Alliance, 480–1, 485–7
 push for more robust security guarantees, 640–1
 reaction to American peace policies, 973–5
 scheme for community of western democracies, 482–3
- France, Rhineland aspirations
 core aims of, 658–9
 British and American resistance to, 665–9
 buffer-state solution, 663–4
 perpetuating wartime divisions, 664
 self-determination and, 661–3
 tangible security guarantees, 659
 uncompromising pursuit of, 660–1
- France, Rhineland compromises
 dangerous expectations, 701–5
 security, 695–9, 706–7
 security agreement with Anglo-American powers, 705–11
 and Wilson, 704–5
- France postwar relations with Germany
 dictated peace imperative, 527–9
 accommodation with Germany, 529–33
 and Dawes Plan, 940
 and Locarno Security Pact (1925), 955–60
 failure to reach “final settlement”, 984–5
- and Young process, 986–8
 and Hague Conference (1929), 985–6
- Francis-Joseph I, 154
- Franco-German question
 before 1914, 63, 71–85, 149–53
 after 1918, 307–11
 in the 1920s, 955–60
- Franco-German War of 1870, 74, 955–60
- Franklin-Bouillon, Henry, 491–3, 499
- Frederick William IV, 499
- free trade
 British approaches to, 68, 147, 226–7, 797–8
 Cobden’s ideological conception and of, 55, 75
 and demise of European concert, 74–5
 American approaches to, 100, 360, 422, 715–16, 795–8
 French approaches to, 485, 519–24, 794–6
 German approaches to, 545–7, 562–4, 825
- French Revolution, 45–6
- French Revolution of 1848, 58
- Fried, Alfred H., 115
- Fröbel, Julius, 128
- Gagern, Heinrich von, 57
- Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand, 464, 581
- Garvin, J.L., 849
- Gaus, Friedrich, 947
- Genoa Conference (1922), 929–31
- Gentz, Friedrich von
 and nature of Vienna system and European political equilibrium, 49
 Realpolitik conception of, 60
- Georges-Picot, François
 and Sykes-Picot agreement (1916), 320–1
- German Colonial Association, 79
- German Confederation (1815), 18, 48–59
- German Empire
 founding of, in 1871, 63–4, 72
 role in European and global “order” of imperialism, 71–8, 81, 141–68
 dissolution in 1918, 296–7, 537–8

- German Navy League, 79–80
 German Peace Society, 115, 122
 German peace settlement
 escalation of War of Notes, 823–34
 challenge of integrating a weakened
 but powerful Germany, 887
 American plan for settlement
 negotiation, 863
 United States and, 837–44, 856–62
 Great Britain and, 827, 844–56,
 871–2
 France and, 818–19, 834–7
 German demands, 819–20, 833–4, 871
 Social Democrats and, 822–3
 Melchior and Warburg and, 830–2
 and Germany's League of Nations
 entry, 873–4
 Anschluss of Austria, 748–50
 Polish–German border, 817–18,
 870–1
 prospects for negotiated peace of
 justice, 807, 813–23, 862–74
 core terms and significance of, 807
 war guilt clause, 826
 Germany forced to sign, 874–7
 German Society for International Law,
 561–2
 German question
 of the nineteenth century, 48, 57–8,
 308–10
 as core problem of peacemaking in
 1919, 18, 305–11
 after 1919, 881–6, 955–8
 German Revolution (1918), 534–40
 Germany, prewar and wartime
 strategies
 conceptions of *Weltpolitik*, 71–8, 142
 global competition, 81
 and *Entente Cordiale*, 144–5
 Moroccan crises, 150–2
 preoccupation with Russian
 expansion, 157–60
 policies and actions during July crisis
 of 1914, 166
 “ideas of 1914” ideologies, 193–4
 Hindenburg Programme, 174
 Germany, postwar strategies
 aims and methods of, 534–7
 Atlanticist peace strategies, 547–59
 postwar reorientation to League of
 Nations and United States, 257–62
 conceptions of postwar world order,
 203–4
 Revolution of 1918 and American
 reaction, 406–12
 transformation process of 1918–19,
 537–40
 Wilson's peace policies and, 219
 reaction to Wilson's policies, 974–5
 claim for Wilsonian peace of justice,
 540–7
 challenge of postwar accommodation
 with western powers, 307–11
 admission to League of Nations,
 618–25, 644–5
 integration of German republic into
 new comity of civilised nations,
 559–65, 893–4
 place in New Atlantic order, 400–6
 approaches to self-determination,
 565–6, 569
 Austro-German union, 569–70
 and independent Polish state, 566–8
 Sudeten question, 747–8
 and postwar British expectations,
 469–74
 postwar relations with France,
 483–4, 527–33
 wartime ideas of postwar
 imperialism, 251–7
 Stresemann's Westpolitik and Dawes
 Plan, 937–9
 Stresemann's Locarno policy,
 966–7
 shift in policy before World
 Economic Crisis, 993
 withdrawal from League
 Disarmament Conference (1932),
 998
 Gilbert, Parker, 944
 Gilded Age, 90–7, 116–18, 210
 Ginn, Edward
 and World Peace Foundation, 116
 Gladstone, William
 and arbitration accords with United
 States, 121
 and British policies before 1914,
 74–5

- and “neutrality” during Franco-Prussian War, 74
- and Concert of Europe, 75
- and America’s ascent, 107
- Glass, Carter, 420
- global order
 - in the long twentieth century, 200–1, 573–95, 608–12
 - in the era of globalising imperialism, 70–1
 - transformed after First World War, 317–22
- globalisation, Era of Imperialism
 - competitive modern state creation, 67–8
 - hierarchical and uneven nature of, 67
 - inconceivability of war, 68–9
 - increasing economic politics, 69
 - and increasingly hierarchical global “order”, 70–1
 - industrial revolution and, 67
 - interconnectedness and interdependencies, 68
 - rise of survival of the fittest mentality, 69–70
- globalisation and power
 - and persistent power hierarchies, 317–22
 - predicted in Communist Manifesto, 56–7
- Gompers, Samuel, 585
- Gramsci, Antonio
 - and “Americanist” capitalist rationalisation after 1918, 974
- Grant, Ulysses, 96
- Great Britain, Era of Imperialism
 - policies in Age of *Weltpolitik*, 75
 - brinkmanship and imperialist competition, 68, 142–4
 - defensive alliances before 1914, 145–8
 - Moroccan crises, 150–2
 - visions of Atlantic order of empires, 105–7
- Great Britain, peace strategies
 - approaches to peace and world order, 220–7, 431–6, 441–54, 464–9
 - Atlanticist strategies, 454–60
 - core priorities and approaches, 425–6, 906–9
 - efforts to go beyond old balance-of-power paradigms, 426–31
 - and Bolshevik challenge, 768–70
 - League of Nations, 597–8
 - minority rights, 755
 - economic interests and Europe’s economic revitalisation, 227, 439–41
 - reparations aims, 436–8, 803–7, 927–9
 - war debts, 438–9
 - hierarchical assumptions, 320–2
 - priority of imperial consolidation, 461
 - imperial expansion aims, 461–3
 - imperial legitimisation concerns, 463–4
 - Locarno policies, 949–51, 975–6
 - and World Economic Crisis, 924–6
- Great Britain, postwar German question
 - key strategic concerns, 470, 844–56
 - equilibrium paradigm, 474
 - conceptions of just and desirable peace, 475
 - medium-and longer-term strategies, 474–5
 - and French peace aims, 475–6
 - Rhineland compromise, 711–12
 - approaches to self-determination, 470–2
 - Polish independence and border settlement, 472–3
 - Czechoslovakian border settlement, 745–6
 - compromises, 476–8
- Great War. *see* First World War
- Greater German solution, of question of German unification, 54–5, 57–8
- Greece, 59, 205, 420, 574, 581–2, 613
- Grey, Edward
 - brinkmanship and imperialist competition, 143
 - assertive policies towards Germany, 145–8
 - ambiguous pursuits of, 142–53
 - actions during July crisis, 166–8

- Grey, Edward (cont.)
 mission to influence the US “treaty fight”, 917
- Grotius, Hugo
 and international arbitration, 119
- Haase, Hugo
 socialist peace aspirations during and after First World War, 261
 and first republican German government, 538–9
- Hague Conference (1929), 985–6
- Hague Conferences and Conventions (1899 and 1907), Era of Imperialism
 First Hague Conference and Conventions (1899), 122–3
 limitations of, 130
 Second Hague Conference and Conventions (1907), 124–5
 William Howard Taft and, 125
 American Society of International Law and, 125–6
- Hamburg, 68, 159, 258–60, 472
- Hamilton, Alexander, 99
- Harding, Warren
 postwar priorities of, 921
 reparations and war debt policies, 922–3
- Hardinge, Charles, 468
- Haskins, Charles, 672, 685–6, 405–6
- Hauser, Henri
 and conception of an Atlantic “economic union”, 245–6, 485, 519–22
- Hausmann, Conrad, 268
- Hay, John
 and US Open Door policies, 108–9
- Hays, Will, 633
- Headlam-Morley, James
 and British postwar planning, 453
 and reorganisation of Eastern Europe after 1918, 470–1, 719–20, 732–4, 739, 745, 755
 and Saar question in 1919, 708
 and Treaty of Versailles, 846
- Hecker, Friedrich, 57
- hegemony
 in the international system of the long twentieth century, 1–8, 999–1005
 British, in the nineteenth century’s international system, 47–9, 67–9, 74–6
 shared Anglo-American, British and American ideas about, 25–6, 104–11, 145–6, 220–1, 224–6, 365, 426
 American hegemonic aspirations before 1914, 90–7, 101–4
 American hegemonic aspirations after 1914, 210–16
 United States’, in western hemisphere, 90–7
 United States’, limited, after 1918, 171–3, 183–8, 322–6, 413, 975–6, 991–8
 United States’, after 1945, 1–8, 999–1005
 French pursuits of European, after 1919, 924–6
 German aspirations for European, 129, 146–8, 203–4, 251–8
 Germany’s limited, in Europe, 128–9, 142–4, 251–8
 Japanese aspirations for, in East Asia, 574–5, 579–80, 637
- Heidelberg Association for a Policy of Law, 561
- Helfferich, Karl, 624
- Henderson, Arthur
 on peace premised on defeat of German “tyranny”, 230–1
 and conciliatory peace with Germany, 477
 and Labour demands for integrative League, 625–6
 critique of Paris peace settlement, 849–50
- Hennessy, Jean, 248
- Herriot, Édouard
 and Franco-German accommodation in the 1920s, 940–1
- Hertling, Georg von, 849–50

- hierarchy
 - as core characteristic and problem of modern international order, 317–22
 - as core characteristic and problem of the New Atlantic Order, 317–22
- hierarchical systems of international order
 - in Era of Imperialism, 67, 70–1, 87–8
 - the Paris peace system of 1919 as, 614–18
 - the Vienna system as, 47–8
- Hindenburg, Paul von
 - and German aims during First World War, 253–9, 274–6, 534
 - and peace of Brest Litovsk, 255–7
 - and German defeat and “stab-in-the-back” myth, 267, 276, 283, 289
 - as *Reichspräsident*, in opposition to Stresemann, 966–7
- Hindenburg Programme, 174
- Hintze, Paul von
 - and German peace strategy in 1918, 259–60
- Hitchcock, Gilbert
 - and Democratic support for Wilson’s peace agenda, 286, 631, 635
 - in the “Senate fight” of 1919–20, 916
- Hitler, Adolf
 - instrumentalisation of self-determination claims after First World War, 747–8, 751
 - campaign against the Young Plan (1929), 944, 987–8
 - and destruction of the post-First World War Atlantic order, 885–6, 956, 962–3, 969–70, 991–2
 - and the German-Polish problem, 751
 - and the Sudeten question, 747–8
- Hitler-Stalin Pact (1939), 930
- Hobson, John
 - and “New Holy Alliance” critique of League Covenant, 626–7
- Hötzendorf, Franz Conrad von, 164, 930
- Hoetzsch, Otto, 568
- Holstein, Friedrich von
 - and German *Weltpolitik*, 144–5
- Holy Alliance
 - effect of Crimean War on, 62
- equilibrium between Austria, Prussia and Russia, 47
- Metternich system and, 50–1
- Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, 48
- Hoover, Herbert
 - conceptions of American Peace and aloofness, 971–3
 - and French security concerns, 702–3
 - German settlement critiques of, 694, 856–9
 - and informal US foreign policy, 693
 - and *Pax America* ideas, 988–90
 - and World Economic Crisis, 992–3, 996–8
- Hoover Moratorium (1931), 922–3
- Houghton, Alanson
 - and American “peace ultimatum”, 954–5
- House, Edward M.
 - efforts to advise Wilson in peacemaking process of 1919, 293–5, 404, 686–7, 859
 - and French Rhineland aspirations, 674–5
- Howard, Esme
 - and creation of a new Polish state in 1919, 472, 729–30, 760
- Hudson, Manley
 - and minority treaties after 1918, 755–6
- Hugenberg, Alfred, 943–4, 987
- Hughes, Charles Evans
 - targeted *Pax Americana* and Atlantic community policies after 1919, 934–6
- Hughes Plan (1922), 936–7
- and making of the Dawes Plan (1924), 937
- Hughes, William
 - support for harsh peace, 454
 - and reparations, 437, 791, 800, 851
 - and Australian Dominion interests in 1919, 615–16
 - and League of Nations, 627
- humiliation
 - of defeat in First World War, 197, 210, 342–3, 446

- humiliation (cont.)
 of the vanquished in peace process
 and settlement of 1919, 28, 678–9,
 752, 810–11, 841–2, 890–1
 of France in 1871, 81–2, 815
 of Russia in Russo-Japanese War, 77
- Hungary
 as vanquished independent state
 after 1918, 583, 644
 territorial and self-determination
 claims after 1918, 313, 718–21
 Hungarian Soviet Republic (1919),
 681, 684, 692, 736–7
- Hurst, Cecil
 and League Covenant of 1919, 601
- Hurst-Miller Draft, of League
 Covenant, 600–13
- Hymans, Paul
 and Belgian aims and interests in
 1919, 581
 ideas of compulsory arbitration and
 postwar order, 603–4, 608–13
 and League of Nations, 613–14
- “ideas of 1914”, 193–4
- Ideologies
 impact on international politics, 4–5,
 22, 34–43, 61–6, 138–9, 581–2
 imperialist, 78–87
 nationalist, 81–4
 civilisational Darwinist, 69–70, 83–7
 American, Americanist and
 Wilsonian, 97–104, 194–7, 212–14
 British war ideologies, 192–3, 220–4
 French war ideologies, 192–3, 244–6
 German “ideas of 1914” and war
 ideologies, 193–4, 251–3
 Bolshevik-communist, 114, 262–6
 radicalisation of, during First World
 War, 189–200
 impact on peacemaking after 1918,
 301–5, 575, 587
- Imperial Federation League, British,
 79–80
- Imperial Maritime League, British,
 79–80
- imperialism
 imperial competition, 75–9, 87–9,
 961–2
 informal, 68–71, 97–101, 181–4,
 517–18, 973–6
 American, before and after First
 World War, 97–101, 123, 171–5,
 953–4, 973–6
 American, after Second World War,
 89, 575–6, 999–1002
 Austro-Hungarian, 148–56, 164,
 176–7
 British, 68, 75, 142–4, 271–3, 319–22,
 448, 614–18
 economic, 68–71, 97–101, 180–4,
 973–4
 French, 46, 77, 145, 148–52, 320–2,
 515–19, 614–18
 German, 68–83, 142–4, 156–60,
 251–7, 274–5
 Italian, 154
 Japanese, 64–5, 75–6, 87–9, 178,
 182–4, 320–2, 579–80, 637, 641–4
 Russian, 45–8, 62–3, 72–4, 79–89,
 141–56, 162–7, 171–7
 Soviet, 89, 575–6, 999
- Independent Labour Party, 230–2
- Independent Social Democratic Party
 (USPD), 257, 261–2, 296–7, 538–40
- India
 struggle for self-determination and
 independence, 182, 202, 317–20,
 463, 580–1
- Indian National Congress, 368, 464
- Industrial Revolution, 67
- inflation, in Weimar Germany, 925–8
- Inquiry, The
 and American peace plans, 236–7,
 358, 369, 376, 391
- institutions, of the international order
 significance of, for Atlantic and
 global order in the long twentieth
 century, 7–8, 18–20, 205–7, 597–8,
 999–1005
- European concert. *see* European
 concert
- League of Nations. *see* League of
 Nations
- North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
 (NATO). *see* North Atlantic
 Treaty Organisation
- United Nations. *see* United Nations

- integration, European and transatlantic, 8, 1–5
- integrative international history, conception of, 32–3
- integrative order, characteristics of, 1–8, 17–26, 1–5
- integrative peacemaking and ordering processes, characteristics of, 1–8, 17–26, 1–5
- interdependence
 - in modern international politics, 37–40, 68, 186–7
 - between the United States and Europe, 37–40, 172–3, 186–7, 336–7
 - asymmetrical, 336–7
 - global, 68
- Inter-Allied Military Commission of Control (IMCC), 656, 897
- Inter-Allied Women's Conference (1919), 586
- International Labour Organisation, 585
- International Monetary Fund, 1004
- international security. *see* security
- international system
 - evolution of, 12–14
 - and international equilibrium, 12–14
 - need for Atlantic international system, 303
 - Vienna system, 49–50
- International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 586
- International Workingmen's Association, 57
- internationalism
 - impact and expansion of, in the long twentieth century, 4–7, 12, 24–6
 - characteristics of, before 1914, 42–3, 69–71, 90–1, 112–37
 - and aspirations for new world order, from 1914, 227–42, 246–51, 260–6, 344–5, 447, 583–6
 - in the 1920s, 961–2
 - liberal, 12–14, 24–6, 112–22
 - juridical, 90–1, 118–26, 161–2, 246–50, 386, 490, 563–4, 603–6, 628–9, 646–9
 - socialist and communist, 13–14, 71, 260–6, 765–7, 776–81
- international law
 - and international politics before 1914, 90–1, 118–26, 161–2
 - and international politics from 1914, 246–50, 386, 490–1, 603–5, 646–9
- arbitration, 119–22, 603–4, 611–12
- Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907, 122–6
- League Covenant. *see* League of Nations
- Paris peacemaking process and, 573–4, 603–12, 618–19, 646–9, 789, 807, 814–17, 825–8, 1004
- transnational peace movement and, 112–26
- international politics
 - characteristics of, in the long twentieth century, 33–40, 338–43
 - transformation of, in the long twentieth century, 1–8, 24–9, 33–40, 315–26
- interdependence with transnational and domestic politics, 37–40, 573–82
- and peacemaking after First World War, 24–9, 315–26, 338–43, 878–99
- incipient transformation in the 1920s, 933–98
- transformation after Second World War, 999–1005
- international security. *see* security
- Inter-Parliamentary Union, 124
- Iraq, 461
- Ireland
 - Irish nationalism and independence movement, 582–3, 711–12
- “Irreconcilables”
 - and opposition to League and Treaty of Versailles, 242, 915
- irredentism
 - as core problem after First World War, 312–14, 394, 467, 680–1, 721–36, 751–7, 868–71
- Italy
 - Young Italy Movement and unification process, 53–4, 117

- Italy (cont.)
 unification of, 64
 imperialism, 154
 war aims and interests at Paris Peace Conference, 579, 590, 749–50
- Izvol'sky, Aleksandr
 and Russia's role in pre-history of First World War, 154
- Jäckh, Ernst
 and German conceptions for League of Nations, 260–1, 561–2
- Jagow, Gottlieb von
 and German strategies during First World War, 254–5, 274
- James, William, 115–16
- Japan
 forcible “opening” by US
 Commodore Perry (1854), 93–4, 98
 imperialism before 1914, 64–5, 75–6, 87–9, 178, 182–4, 320–2
 “Twenty-one Demands” and imperialist war policies vis-à-vis China, 178, 642–3
 policies and interests at Paris Peace Conference, 579–80, 637–8, 641–4
 demand for “racial equality” clause in League Covenant, 579–80, 641–3
- Jaurès, Jean
 and socialist efforts to prevent a Great War, 132–6
- Jefferson, Thomas
 conception of American order of “sister republics”, 54
 conception of a republican peace, 206–7
- Jewish minority rights, 754
- July crisis of 1914
 complexity of, 161–2
 German political leadership
 weakness, 166
 Great Britain's meandering policies, 166–8
 limits of crisis management in the absence of European concert, 162–3
 spiral of mobilisation schedules, 164–5
 war preparedness ideologies, 162
- juridical internationalism, 90–1, 118–26, 161–2, 246–50, 386, 490, 563–4, 603–5, 628–9, 646–9
- Jusserand, Jean Jules, 361, 494–6, 836–7
- justice
 and legitimacy of international order, 1–8, 36–7
 and Paris peace process and settlement, 35–7, 684–97, 731–6, 811–62
 social justice and international peace, 116–18
- just peace
 Wilson's conceptions of, 219–20, 540–7, 683–91, 735–6, 837–44, 858–62
 British conceptions of, 445, 679–81, 844–56
 French conceptions of, 527–31, 614, 730–2, 834–7
 German conceptions of, 534–55, 814–17
 conceptions of, in processes of 1919, 35–7, 683–97, 730–6, 811–62
 the Paris settlement as falling short of, 1–8, 879–86
- just war
 different attempts to define Great War as, 191–7, 216–17, 323–4
- Kai-shek, Chiang
 and Chinese nationalist movement, 936
- Kant, Immanuel
 conception of perpetual peace, 54, 60, 206–8
 idea of a peace order of republican states, 206–8
- Kapp Putsch (1920), 892
- Kardorff, Siegfried von, 624
- Kato, Takaaki
 and Japan's “Twenty-one Demands” vis-à-vis China, 178
- Kautsky, Karl
 and call for “United States of Europe”, 134
 and peace without victory, 264–5

- Kellogg, Frank
and US pacification policies in the
1920s, 946, 960, 973–83
- Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928), 980–3
- Kennan, George F.
and learning processes and creation of
Atlantic order after 1945, 1001–5
and containment of the Soviet
Union, 1001–3
and European integration and
western integration of Western
Germany, 1001–3
- Kenworthy, Joseph, 849
- Kerensky, Alexander, 177, 263
- Kerr, Philip
and British peace policies, 450–1,
668, 678
- Kessler, Harry Count
and German conceptions for League
of Nations, 624–5
- Keynes, John Maynard
Economic Consequences of the
Peace, 333–4
German settlement problems, 846
ideas for postwar Atlantic order and
economic revitalisation policies,
439–40
reparations and war debt proposals,
438–9, 806
and Bretton Woods system and
lessons of Great Depression,
989–90
- Kiaochow, 580, 642
- Kiderlen-Wächter, Alfred von
and German *Weltpolitik* before 1914,
142, 151–2
- Kijuro, Shidehara
and Japanese cooperation with
Western Powers in the 1920s,
936
- Kimmochi, Saionji
and Japanese aims and interests at
the Paris Peace Conference,
579–80
- Klotz, Louis-Lucien
and French reparation demands,
525–6
- Knox, Philander, 632–4, 913
- Kokovtsov, Vladimir, 156–7
- Kolchak, Alexander, 176–7, 583,
765–70, 783–4
- Koo, Wellington
and Chinese aims and self-
determination demands in 1919,
579–80, 637, 642
- Korea
struggle for self-determination, 182,
202, 317–18
South Korea as US ally after 1945, 1001
- Kramář, Karel, 743
- Kriege, Johannes, 624
- Kühlmann, Richard von
and ideas of a new European order
in, 225
the context of Brest-Litovsk, 254–5
- Kun, Béla
and Hungarian Soviet Republic
(1919), 681, 684, 720–1, 766–7
- Labour Party, 849–50
- La Follette, Robert, 241
- Lamartine, Alphonse de
and self-determination, 52
- Lamont, Thomas W.
and League to Enforce Peace, 239
and the financial settlement in 1919,
358, 373, 413, 794–5
and reparations settlement, 690, 799,
863
- Lansdowne, Lord Henry
and negotiated peace to end First
World War, 271–2
- Lansing, Robert,
and American peace policies, 367–8,
404–5, 856–7
- Lansing note (1918), 296–7
- Lausanne Conference (1923)
and the making of modern Turkey,
573–4, 878–9
- Lausanne Conference (1932), 992
- League of Free Nations Association
(LFNA), 233
- League of Nations. *see also*
peacemaking
architecture of 1919, 612–14
Bourgeois commission and,
503–5
British Labour Party and, 231–2

- League of Nations. (cont.)
 British Liberal Internationalists and, 232
 British visions of, 441–60
 Cecil's ideas for, 224–6
 centrality in postwar international order, 359–61
 Entente reactions to, 271–4
 French ideas on, 243–6, 485, 497–9, 501–3
 and future of Eastern Europe, 397–8
 German admission to, 618–25, 644–5, 893–4
 German reactions to, 257–62, 274–5, 559–65
 German visions of, 893–4
 global significance and limits of, 359–61
 and creation of mandates system, 614–18
 League of Nations ideas before 1914, 201
 minority protection and minority rights, 754
 need for reforms after 1919, 16–17
 pacification of Europe, 758–62
 self-determination, 359–61
 Wilson's aspirations for, 209–20
 Wilson's post-Versailles priorities and, 909–11
 Wilson's support of German entry, 871–2
 Wilson and US controversies over, 629–35
 League of Nations, disagreements
 arbitration requirements, 603–4
 collective security, 603–7
 controversies over German League policies, 873–4
 protagonists' diverging approaches to, 596–602
 sovereignty, national and supranational 604
 League of Nations Society (LNS), 232–3
 League of Nations Union (LNU), 233
 League to Enforce Peace (LEP), 914–15, 238–40, 386–7
 learning processes
 characteristics of, 34–8
 in international politics and peacemaking, 24–9, 116–17, 173, 198–200, 303–5, 349, 576–8, 879–83
 American, 212, 352
 British, 425
 French, 506
 German, 534–70
 in the 1920s, 933–43, 964–73
 after Second World War, 999–1005
 Lebanon, 320, 449, 517, 519, 618
 Ledebour, Georg, 134
 Legien, Carl, 539, 624
 legitimacy
 and modern international order, 1–8, 35–7
 requirements of, after First World War, 1–8, 16–29, 34–6, 330–3, 337–43
 shortcomings of Paris peace process and settlement, 1–8, 16–20, 575, 595, 880–92
 of the Atlantic order after 1945, 7–8, 999–1005
 Lenin, Vladimir
 assumptions about international politics, 775–83
 Brest-Litovsk treaty, 256
 conception of post-war world order, 201–2
 Second International, 134–6
 self-determination conceptions, 201–2
 temporary truce tactics, 776–8
 Wilson as antagonist of, 264
 and world revolution, 777–81
 Levinson, Salmon
 and US outlawry of war movement, 962, 981
 Liberal Party (UK), 433, 625
 Lichnowsky, Karl Max von, 160
 Liebknecht, Karl
 and struggle for socialist revolution and 'socialist republic of Germany', 263, 296, 538–9, 766–7, 779
Ligue française, 492, 586, 628, 700

- Ligue Internationale de la Paix et de la Liberté*, 115, 121–2
- Lincoln, Abraham
 significance for preserving the United States and shaping the modern world order, 96
- Lippmann, Walter
 and progressive American intervention in Great War, 195–6
 conceptions of Atlantic order and “Atlantic community”, 234–7
 call for an inclusive progressive peace, 376, 408, 584–5
 and Inquiry peace plans, 394
 criticism of League Covenant and Article X, 629–30
 criticism of Paris peace treaty draft, 842–3
 call for general postwar solution in 1929, 990
- Litvinov, Maksim, 774–5
- Lloyd George, David
 “knock-out blow” policy, 222–4
 and Armistice of 1918, 289, 291–2
 attempts to reform postwar order after 1919, 906–9
 and final German settlement negotiations, 864–6
 and efforts to transcend balance-of-power politics, 220–1
 peace policies and ideas about a *Pax Anglo-Americana*, 475–6, 924–6
 vision of shared Anglo-American hegemony, 221
 ideas about a just and desirable peace, 464–9, 475
 and integration of Germany in the postwar order, 221–2
 and League of Nations, 454–60, 599
 and imperial expansion, legitimisation and postwar consolidation, 461–4
 and mandates system, 616
 peace settlement concerns in 1919, 711–12
 and French Rhineland aspirations, 665–6
 Fontainebleau programme, 679–83
 and Bolshevik challenge, 769–70
 and Anglo-American naval battle of Paris, 638–40
 reparations policies, 436–8, 790–1, 804–5
 economic revitalisation policies, 439–41
 and German settlement revisionist agenda, 677, 849–55
 and final German settlement negotiations, 864–6
 attempts to reform postwar order after 1919, 906–9
- Locarno politics, 945–55, 955–60 *see also* Locarno Security Pact (1925), Locarno Security Pact (1925)
 developments leading up to, 945–55
 and Franco–German postwar relations, 955–60
 and new European Concert, 955–60
 and postwar peace and Atlantic order, 933–4
 significance of, 961–2
 Stresemann and, 966–7
 Chamberlain and, 949–51, 975–6
 Briand and, 951–4, 980–3
- Lodge, Henry Cabot
 critique of Wilson and demand to impose harsh peace on Germany, 286–7, 383–5
 and French security and Rhineland aspirations, 676–7
 as Wilson’s key opponent in the “treaty fight” of 1919–20, 912–19
- Loeb, Walter, 737
- London Peace Society, 119–20
- London reparations conference and accords (1924), 933–4, 940–4, 961–2
- long twentieth century, Era of Imperialism
 Age of Weltpolitik, 71–8
 globalisation processes, 66–71
 impact of global competition and domestic politics, 78–84, 87–9
 “survival of the fittest world power” politics, 84–7
 transformation of international politics towards power politics, 64–6

- long twentieth century, transformation
 of order, during and after First
 World War
 British Liberal and Labour
 internationalists and, 229–33
 British visions of, 220–7
 and conception of international
 politics, 199–200
 and conceptions of peace, 198
 and conceptions of world order, 198
 emerging global visions, 208–9
 First World War as germination
 period of, 205–8
 French visions of, 243–51
 German imperialist visions of,
 251–7
 ideological struggles and “war within
 the war”, 189–97
 key actors and, 208
 need for New Atlantic Order after
 1918, 299–348
 non-governmental organisations
 and, 227–9
 progressive American aspirations
 and, 233–42
 Wilson’s aspirations for a New
 Atlantic Order, 209–20
- long twentieth century, transformation
 of order, after Second World War,
 999–1003
- Longuet, Jean, 250
- Lord, Robert
 German question, 686
 Polish–German border, 728–9
- Loucheur, Louis,
 and French reparations policy,
 525–6, 802
 and Franco-German reparations deal
 in 1922, 927
- Lowell, Abbott Lawrence,
 and League to Enforce Peace, 238–9,
 629, 632
- Ludendorff, Erich
 and German aims during First
 World War, 253–9, 274–5, 534
 and peace of Brest Litovsk, 255–7
 and German defeat and “stab-in-the-
 back” myth, 267, 276, 283, 289
- Luther, Hans, 948, 955, 966–7
- Luxemburg, Rosa
 and future communist world order,
 134–6
 struggle for socialist revolution and
 German ‘socialist republic’, 262–3,
 296, 538, 766–7, 779
- MacDonald, Ramsay
 pursuits of reforms and a negotiated
 peace, 116, 229–32, 251, 477, 584,
 625–6
 Atlantic conception of reformed
 postwar order, 941–3
- MacDonald, William, 843
- Majority Social Democratic Party
 (MSPD), 257, 261–2, 534–43, 562
- Makino, Nobuaki
 and Japanese interests at the Paris
 Peace Conference, 579–80, 642–3
- mandate system, of the League of
 Nations, 614–18
- Mann Thomas
 Observations of a Nonpolitical Man
 (1918), 194
- Mao Tse Tung
 and Chinese communist movement,
 in civil war, 936
- Marshall Plan
 lack of Wilsonian Marshall Plan after
 1918, 415, 790, 794–5, 977–8
 impact of, after 1945, 1002–5
- Marx, Karl
 interpretations of globalising
 capitalism, imperialism and future
 international order, 55–7
- Marx, Wilhelm, 982
- Massey, Robert, 615–16
- Masaryk, Tómas
 and struggle for independent
 Czechoslovakia, 312, 395, 469,
 512–13, 582, 742
- Maurras, Charles, 82
- Mayrisch, Emile
 and Franco-German “Information and
 Documentation Committee”, 962
- Mazzini, Giuseppe
 idea of a European order of, 54
 democratic nation-states, 53–4
 and Young Europe Association, 53–4

- McAdoo, William
 and American financial policies and interests, 187, 412, 419, 796
 and war debts, 418–19, 792–4
- McGarrah, Gates, 989
- McKenna, Reginald, 271–2
- Meinecke, Friedrich
 critique of Wilson's peace agenda, 219–20
 and dawn of "pax americana" after 1918, 300, 323
- Melchior, Carl
 Atlanticist "economic peace" strategy of, 546–7
 and reparations and peace settlement of 1919, 830–2
 and struggle to negotiate reparations and peace compromise, 830–2
- Mellon, Andrew, 922, 931
- Mellon-Bérenger agreement (1926), 944, 987
- Merrheim, Alphonse, 250
- Mesopotamia, 222, 320, 449, 461, 618
- Metternich, Klemens von
 and European revolutions, 51–2
 and Holy Alliance, 50–1
 policies at Congress of Vienna, 50–1
- Metternich system
 and Holy Alliance, 50–1
 and European revolutions, 51
- Mexico
 war with United States (1846–48), 95–6
 revolution and US intervention, 183–4
 and German project of wartime alliance, 179
- Mezes, Sidney
 and the Rhineland question, 672
 and the Polish and East European settlements in 1919, 738–9
- Middle East
 reorganisation of, after First World War, 16–17, 178, 204–5, 319–22, 443, 460, 507–8, 515–19, 573–4, 614–18, 878–9
- militarism and expanding military competition before 1914, 144
- Mill, John Stuart, 107
 and example of the US political federation, 107
- Miller, David H.
 and American peace planning, 358, 363
 and League Covenant, 363, 600–3, 608–13, 635
- Millerand, Alexandre
 and French policies vis-à-vis Germany after 1919, 906, 923–7
- Milner, Alfred
 and imperial consolidation and, 462–3
 peace settlement after 1918, 450–1, 684
- Mitteleuropa* conceptions, 252–3
- Moltke, Helmuth von
 war strategies and concerns before 1914, 160
 limited options for détente, 158–60
- Monnet, Jean
 and French plans for Atlantic economic union after 1918, 245–6, 485, 521–4
 and the making of the Atlantic order after 1945, 1–3
- Monroe Doctrine
 as core doctrine of US foreign policy before 1914, 52, 94–5
 Seward's aspiration to expand, 98–9
 Theodore Roosevelt's "corollary" to, 101–4, 183
 Wilson's aspiration to globalise, 183–4, 636–7
 British assertions of, for British Empire, 462, 981–2
 Japan's claims for Japanese, 637
 controversies over, at Paris Peace Conference, 635–45
 US controversies before and during "treaty fight", 914–20
 Hughes' and Republican conceptions of, in the 1920s, 934–6, 946
- Monroe, James
 and Monroe Doctrine (1823), 94–5
- Montagu, Edwin, 463–4, 802, 848–9, 852
- Moraczewski, Jędrzej, 725

- Morel, Edmund, 264–5
- Morgan, John P. Jr.
and financing of *Entente* war effort,
185–6, 412
and loans to Weimar Germany
under Dawes Plan, 807, 944
- Moroccan crises (1905–06 and 1911),
150–2
- Müller, Hermann
and German peace and
reconciliation policies after 1919,
893–4
Atlanticist outlook, 893–4
determination to accelerate Locarno
politics, 966–7
- Müller, Karl von, 893–4
- Namier, Lewis, 468, 472
- Nansen, Fridtjof, 785
- Napoleon Bonaparte
aspirations to “unite” Europe under
French imperial hegemony, 45, 48
Napoleonic Wars, 45–7
- Napoleon III
rise after Crimean War, 63
aims to revise Vienna system, 58
Realpolitik of, 61–2
- nationalism
characteristics of, in the nineteenth
century, 47–53
radicalisation of, before, during and
after First World War, 13, 42, 66,
79–84, 197, 228–9
as core problem of peacemaking after
1918, 24–6, 35–6, 303–4, 310–11,
316–17
anti-imperialist, 88–9, 202, 301–2,
317–20
- Naumann, Friedrich
Mitteleuropa conceptions and war
aims, 252
- naval expansion
before First World War, especially, 79
Anglo-German naval competition,
143–4, 146–7
tensions between American and
British visions, 457–8
Anglo-American naval battle of
Paris, 638–40
- neutrality
British, during Franco-German War
of 1870–71, 74
British, in 1914, 147–8, 159, 166
and mediation, 122–3
Belgian neutrality, German violation
of, 167–8, 192–3, 790–1, 798–9
during First World War; 190–1
US neutrality and neutral rights
during First World War, 171–2,
178–9, 185–6, 194–5, 233–5
Wilson’s concept of America as
“neutral arbiter”, 140, 210–11, 269
- New Atlantic Order
conceptual blueprints for, 20
core elements of, 322–6
and Paris Peace settlement of 1919,
573–95
fragile underpinnings of 1919, 712–16
key actors, questions, and
requirements, 301–5
reform, consolidation and
disintegration (1925–33), 976–83
Wilson’s aspirations for, 209–20
- New Atlantic Order, after 1945
creation of, 999–1003
and League of Nations lessons, 1–5
and Second World War, 1004
- New Atlantic Order, challenges
wider struggle over shape of, in the,
22–4
in the long twentieth century, 22–4
and novel American imperialism, 21
asymmetrical transatlantic
interdependence, 336–7
collapse of old European order, 316
complex peacemaking and
reordering processes of 1919,
371–4, 379–81
core challenges of “order-making”
and reordering in 1919, 16–22
dangerously inflated expectations for
a new order after 1918, 381
European fears of American
dominance, 299–301
German question as core problem of,
307–11
need for transatlantic security system
after 1918, 326–33

- new financial and economic order, 333–6
- and Bolshevik threat, 314–15
- persistent power hierarchies after 1918, 317–22
- Polish–German border problem as a key challenge within, 313–14
- postwar peacemaking and, 976–83
- postwar security asymmetry, 978–80
- reorganisation of Eastern Europe after 1918, 311–13
- self-government and self-determination within, 316–17
- disintegration processes (1932), 998
- New Atlantic Order, constructive learning processes
 - US learning processes after Wilson's defeat, 934–6
 - London reparations settlement processes (1923–24), 933–4, 940–4
 - Locarno Security Pact processes (1925), 933–4, 945–60
- New Atlantic Order, eastern frontiers of
 - Eastern Europe's pacification after 1918, 762–4
 - overwhelming challenges, 717–21
 - victors' differing objectives for, 758–62
 - and German Revolution and founding of Weimar Germany, 406–12
 - Germany's place in, 400–6
 - reorganisation of Eastern Europe's political-territorial status quo, 737–42
 - and self-determination, 722
 - self-governing nation states, 388–92
 - minority problems, 754–8
 - creation of a new Polish state, 392–5
 - Polish–German border settlement, 717, 721–42, 751–4
 - Danzig question, 739
 - Upper Silesia, 741–2
 - Anschluss* question, 748–50
 - Czechoslovakian border settlement, 742–5
 - Sudeten question, 747–8
- New Atlantic Order, exaggerated expectations
 - changing parameters of international politics, 338–43
 - excessive and conflicting expectations, 343–8
- New Atlantic Order, American approaches to
 - Wilson's conception of “peace without victory” and new transatlantic order, 351–5
 - idea of Atlantic nucleus of world order, 356–7
 - Wilson's conception of transnational progressive coalition, 374–9
 - Wilson's postwar programme and priorities, 358, 909–11
 - “partnership of right” and justice, 370–1
 - peace of the victors, 357, 361–8
 - centrality of League of Nations, 359–61
 - western nucleus of New Atlantic Order, 361–8
 - European reconstruction, 421–3
 - future of Eastern Europe, 395–9
 - and the Bolshevik challenge, 399–400
 - international and domestic legitimacy, 381–7
 - limits of, 368–70, 412–15
 - postwar world economic order, 423–4
 - reparations, 415–18
 - war debts, 418–21
- New Atlantic Order, British approaches to
 - Atlanticist peacemaking strategies, 431–6, 454–60
 - conceptions of a new Atlantic equilibrium beyond the old “balance of power”, 426–31
 - core elements of British Atlanticism, 425–6
 - efforts to coordinate strategies with the United States, 441–54
 - and imperial consolidation, 461
 - and imperial expansion, 461–3
 - and legitimation of the British Empire, 463–4

- New Atlantic Order, British approaches to (cont.)
 and economic revitalisation, 439–41
 and reparations, 436–8
 and war debts, 438–9
 reorientated British approaches in the 1920s, 940–1
 MacDonald's Atlantic conception of a reformed postwar order, 941–3
- New Atlantic Order, French
 approaches to
 Clemenceau's postwar priorities, 911–12
 French ideas of, 524–33
 French conceptions of exclusive transatlantic alliance, 500–3, 658–9, 245
- New Atlantic Order, German
 approaches to
 Brockdorff-Rantzau's Atlanticist strategy, 547–59, 565–6
 postwar reorientation to League and United States, 257–62
 attempts to negotiate Atlantic peace with western powers, 814–16
 Stresemann's Atlanticist strategies in the 1920s, 937–9, 966–7
- New Deal
 significance of, for transformation of the Atlantic order, 773–4, 996–8, 1004–5
- New Diplomacy, 229–30
- Nicholas II
 and Hague Conventions, 122
 and Russia's role as protector of Balkan Slavs, 153–4
- Nietzsche, Friedrich
 idea of trans-European federation, 128–9
- non-governmental organisations
 concepts and aspirations of, before 1914, 228
 influence on postwar
 peacemaking and reordering processes, 303–4
 political and propaganda activities of, 228–9
 progressivism of, 228
- transnational and domestic impact of, 229
- norms
 in international politics, in the long twentieth century, 22–4, 33–7, 201–42, 352
 of the Vienna system, and their contestation, 42–63
 impact of First World War on, 189–266
 and international order after 1918, 4–8, 16, 42–3, 299–305, 317–20, 878–9, 889–99
 of Locarno politics in the 1920s, 933–69
 of the Atlantic order after 1945, 999–1005
- Norris, George, 241
- North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)
 as key element of Atlantic order after 1945, 7–8, 1000–5
- October Revolution (1917), 176–7
- Odger, George, 57
- Oman, Charles, 472
- “One World” conception of global order (F.D. Roosevelt), 1004–5
- Open Door policy
 as core doctrine of US international policies before 1914, 68, 86–93, 97–101
 US aspirations to globalise Open Door from 1917, 187, 195, 217–18, 334, 412–15, 796–8, 973–4, 990–1
- Opium War, First (1839–42), 93–4, 98
- order
 integrative, characteristics of, 1–8, 16–26, 1000–5
 legitimate, characteristics of, 1–8, 16–26, 1000–5
 more comprehensive conceptions of, political and international, after 1914, 197–205
 Atlantic and global, in the long twentieth century, 4–8, 199–201, 573–95, 608–12, 999–1005
 global, in the era of globalising imperialism, 69–71

- Atlantic and global, transformed after First World War, 317–22
- Atlantic and global, transformed after Second World War, 4–8, 999–1005
- Orlando, Vittorio
 - strategies and aims at Paris Peace Conference, 579, 589–90, 736
- Osachi, Hamaguchi
 - and Japanese cooperation with Western Powers in the 1920s, 936
- Ottoman Empire
 - in the international order before 1914, 52–3, 62–3, 73–5, 87, 138–57
 - alliance with German Empire during First World War, 177–8
 - disintegration of, and reordering of modern Middle East, 16–17, 181–2, 204–5, 316–26, 368, 460, 516–19, 614–18, 879
- outlawry of war movement, 962, 981
- Outlawry of War Organization, 962
- pacifist and peace movements
 - activities before 1914, 115–17
 - efforts to contain and civilise imperialism, 115–17
 - overpowered by brinkmanship and imperialist competition, 142–4
 - limited impact during July crisis, 162–3
 - Woman's Peace Party, 234
- Paderewski, Ignacy Jan
 - and efforts to create independent Polish state, 393, 582, 725, 738–9, 757, 869
- Painlevé, Paul, 951
- Palestine
 - trajectory from Ottoman province to British mandate, 222, 321, 461, 519, 618
- Palmerston, Viscount Henry
 - and guarantee of Belgian neutrality, 48
 - and Revolutions of 1848, 53
 - and Crimean War, 62–3
- Pan-African Congress (1919), 581
- Pan-American Pact (failed, 1916), 183–4, 580, 637
- Pan-European Union (1922), 962
- Pan-German League, 253
- Pan-Slavism, 73–4, 80, 154
- Papen, Franz von, 991–3, 998
- Paris Peace Conference of 1919
 - daunting task of peacemakers, 14–15
 - limits of, 16
- Paris Peace Conference, compromises
 - British proposals, 711–12
 - Wilson and, 704–5
 - and fragile beginnings of transatlantic security system, 712–16
 - limits of, 711–12, 716
 - potential of, 715–16
 - French Rhineland strategies versus Allied cooperation, 697–8, 707–11
 - security agreement of the victors, 705–7
- Paris Peace Conference, German settlement
 - core terms, 650–3
 - disarmament agreement, 653–7
 - French Rhineland aspirations, 657–77
 - and German admission to League of Nations, 618–25
- Paris Peace Conference, outcomes
 - victors and hierarchical modes of modern peacemaking, 888–9
 - unrealistic expectations around, 880–1
 - double standards, 891
 - frail underpinnings of sustainable postwar order, 895–9
 - prospects for stable and legitimate transatlantic order, 885
 - limited basis for postwar transatlantic concert system, 884
 - limited groundwork for European stabilisation, 898–9
 - hybrid security system of 1919, 896
 - role and effectiveness of League of Nations, 897–8
 - and integration of Germany, 887
 - punitive nature of, 886–94
 - lack of German acceptance, 892–3
 - limited legitimacy of, 888–90

- Paris Peace Conference, outcomes (cont.)
 significance of non-integration of Bolshevik Russia, 885
 effect on other conflict zones in the world, 878–9
 “treaty fight” consequences, for Wilson and the world, 912–21
- Pasha, Enver
 and Ottoman alliance with German Empire in 1914, 177–8
- Pašić, Nikola
 and Serbian expansionism before 1914, 154–6
 and July crisis of 1914, 164
 and claims on behalf of new Yugoslav state, 718
- Pax Americana*, 98–9, 934–6, 999–1003
- Pax Anglo-Americana*
 British conceptions of, 441, 475
- Pax Atlantica*, 999–1003
- Pax Britannica*, 74–5
- Pax Germanica*, 199, 251–7
- peace
 more comprehensive conceptions of, in the long twentieth century, 197–205
 peace of accommodation, 28–9
 and international security, 326–33
 Wilson’s and American approaches to, 351–5, 358, 909–11
 British approaches to, 431–6, 454–60
 French approaches to, 245, 524–33
 German approaches to, 547–59, 565–6
 “peace without victory” approach. *see also* Wilson’s aspirations for a New Atlantic Order
 Wilson’s progressive “peace without victory” aspirations, 351–5
 elusiveness of, 267–76
 Theodore Roosevelt on, 238
 French rejection of, 485–7
 Bolsheviks and, 256
- peace of the victors
 British amendments to, 844–56
 compromise agreement, 881
 peace settlement of 1919, 588–95
 divergent victors’ outlooks, 904–12
- Scheidemann and Social Democratic approaches to, 258, 268, 274
 final German settlement negotiations among victors, 862–74
 France and, 834–7
 Germany forced to sign settlement treaty, 874–7
 prospects and limits of, 645–9
 Woodrow Wilson’s reorientation towards, 357, 361–8
- Peace of Paris (1856), 62–3
- peacemaking. *see also* Euro-Atlantic peace movement; Paris Peace Conference; League of Nations
 Atlanticist peace strategies, 547–59
 Woodrow Wilson’s aspirations for, 211, 351–5, 357
 British approaches to, 431–6, 441–54, 464–9
 French approaches to, 524–33
 Central Powers and, 268–9
 German approaches to, 257–62
 conflicting expectations of, 302
 peace negotiations of 1919, 573–95, 888–9
 lack of consensus among victors, 304–5
 and need for a New Atlantic Concert, 16–22
 after Paris Peace Conference, 14–15
 in the era of London and Locarno, 976–83
- Peace Resolution, of German *Reichstag* (1917), 196, 219–20, 257–60, 535–6
- Peel, Robert
 and Britain’s turn to “free trade” in 1846, 68
- Peloponnesian War* (Thucydides), 34, 37, 59, 119, 207
- Penn, William
 peace conception centred on European Parliament, 119
- Perry, Matthew
 and forcible “opening” of Japan, 93–4, 98
- Petliura, Symon
 and aspirations for “free Ukraine”, 582

- Pichon, Stephen
 and French peace aims, 513–14
- Piłsudski, Józef
 and struggle for independent Polish state, 311–12, 582
 conception of new Polish state as multinational federation, 393, 724–6
 and victory in Polish-Bolshevik War (1920), 720–1
- Plato
 conception of *Cadmeian Peace*, 1005
 and learning in politics and human affairs, 1005
- Plenge, Johann
 and “the ideas of 1914”, 193
- Poincaré, Raymond
 role in pre-history of First World War, 82, 149–56, 164–5
 and French *union sacrée* during First World War, 273
 dispute with Clemenceau over security in 1919, 700–1
 and harsh German policies ad Ruhr invasion in 1923, 940
- Poland
 creation of new state after First World War, 511–12, 582, 392–5
 Polish aims and interests at Paris Peace Conference, 392, 511–12, 582, 721–7
 American visions of, after First World War, 392
 British visions of, after First World War, 472–3
 French visions of, after First World War, 511–14
 collision between Polish and German self-determination claims, 565–6
- Polish Association, 472
- Polish Corridor, 738–42
- Polish–German border settlement
 complex dimensions of, 313
 ethnic factors, 728
 ethnic minorities, 313–14
 international significance of, 717, 722–30
 long-term challenges of, 751–4
 American visions of, 734–8
 British visions of, 732–4
 French visions, 511–12, 727, 730–2
 complex battle between victors, 722–3
 unrealistic German expectations, 724
 lack of German participation in settlement of, 740–1
 and German settlement of 1919, 817–18, 870–1
 long-term stabilisation of, 724–5
- Polish Minority Treaty, 757
- Polish-Bolshevik War (1920), 720–1
- Political Intelligence Department (British), 444, 453, 470, 592, 745
- political rivalry. *see also* competition
 as cause of First World War, 141–8
 impact of *Entente* bloc, 144–5
 impact of Triple Alliance bloc, 145
 lack of trust in international politics before and after 1914, 342–3
- Potsdam Conference (1945)
 and the reorganisation of Europe and the world after Second World War, 999–1000
- Prinkipo initiative, 781–7
- propaganda
 during First World War, 190–7
 the Paris peacemaking process and, 586–8, 813, 841
- Prudhommeaux, Jules
 efforts to bolster international law and “human rights”, 491, 628
- Prussianism
 British wartime propaganda against, 221–4, 428, 467
- public opinion
 and international politics before 1914, 79–80
 and international politics during First World War, 209, 286, 345
 and peacemaking in 1919, 340–3, 805–7, 885
- Pufendorf, Samuel von, 119
- Qing Dynasty
 and China’s decline, 88, 93–4, 98, 178
- Quadruple Alliance (1815), 46
- Quidde, Ludwig, 561

- racism and racist ideologies
 - before 1914 and in era of First World War, 83–4
- Radical Party (French), 490–3, 629
- radicalism
 - in nationalism after First World War, 342
 - in socialism, 264–5
- Rapallo agreement (1922), between Weimar Germany and Soviet Russia, 930
- Rappard, William, 360, 582, 627
- Rathenau, Walther
 - scheme for European ‘economic customs union’ (1913), 129
 - and German war effort, 174
 - Mitteleuropa* conception, 203–4, 252–3
 - and Rapallo agreement (1922), 930
- Realpolitik*
 - origins of, 59
 - Friedrich von Gentz and, 60
 - conservative and radicalised philosophies of, 59
 - August Ludwig von Rochau and, 61
 - Otto von Bismarck and, 61–2
 - Georges Clemenceau and, 499–500
- Rechtsfrieden* (peace governed by law), 561
- recognition, in international politics, 2–3, 16–17, 24–6, 303, 316–17, 368, 463, 534–7, 547–51, 579–83, 742, 771–2, 819–20
- Red Army, 776–7, 783–4, 930, 967
- Renaudel, Pierre, 250
- reparations
 - British aims and policies, 436–8
 - French aims and policies, 524–6
 - American plan for, 415–18, 690
 - German approaches to, 830–2
 - reparations settlement, political and moral stakes of, 788
 - transatlantic parameters of, 790–8
 - and Allied debts to United States, 791–3
 - impossible separation of reparations and war debts, 788–90
 - question of Germany’s responsibility, 801–2
 - and war guilt clause, 800–1
 - tenuous nature of victors’ agreement, 806–7
 - consequences for the victors, 807
 - reparations war after 1919, 927
 - France’s attempts to resolve, 929
 - Genoa conference (1922), 929–31
 - German unwillingness to pay, 926–7
 - Great Britain’s attempts to resolve, 927–9
 - Dawes Plan and London reparations accords (1924), 933–4, 940–4, 961–2
 - Young Plan and Hague settlement (1929), 986–8, 994–6
 - and European descent into World Economic crisis, 921–3
- Reichswehr*, 538–9, 930
- Reinsurance Treaty, German-Russian (1887), 72–3, 144
- Renner, Karl
 - and self-determination and “national-cultural autonomy”, 133
 - and Austro-German union, 569–70, 748
- Republican Party (US)
 - opposition to Wilson’s peace agenda, 241–2, 286–7
 - demands for harsh peace to be imposed on Germany, 286–7, 384
 - aims and arguments in “treaty fight” with Wilson, 912–21
- revolutions
 - American Revolution, 95, 206–7
 - French Revolution, 45–6
 - French Revolution of 1848, 58
 - Belgian Revolution (1830), 47–8
 - Revolutions of 1848–49, 51–8
 - October Revolution (1917), 176–7
 - German Revolution (1918), 534–40
- Rhineland question
 - at the Paris Peace Conference, 650–1, 657–77, 685–9
 - compromise settlement of 1919, 695–712, 886–7
 - occupation, after First World War, 904–7, 927–30, 948–53, 963–9

- compromise settlement at Hague Conference (1929), 983–8
- Ribot, Alexandre, 248–9
- Richard, Henry
 and international arbitration, 119–20
- Riezler, Kurt
 and German “September Programme” of 1914, 252
- Rochau, August Ludwig von
 conception of *Realpolitik*, 61
- Romania
 as ally of *Entente* during First World War, 271
 expansionist aims at Paris Peace Conference, 313, 471, 718
 territorial and population gains in 1919, 720–1
- Roosevelt, Franklin D.
 and New Deal, 773–4, 996–8, 1004–5
 and learning processes and creation of Atlantic order after 1945, 1001–5
 “One World” conception of order Second World War, 1004–5
 hegemonic “Four Policemen” conception, 104
- Roosevelt, Theodor
 Anglo-Americanist creed, 109
 asserting United States hegemony, 101–2
 critic of “peace without victory” philosophy, 238
 duty to fight wars for peace and justice, 102–3
 imperialist vision of global order, 103–4
 and limited reach of arbitration, 140
 Moroccan crises, 150–1
 and naval expansion, 103
 conception of league of policing powers, 102
 terms of postwar peace, 385–6
- Root, Elihu
 and arbitration, 110–11, 124–5
 and the League Covenant, 633–4, 913–14
- Rosenberg, Arthur, 943–4
- Round Table (British), 450–2
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques
 conception of perpetual peace, 60, 206–7
 idea of peace order of republican states, 206–7
- Royal Navy, 75, 79–80, 94, 143
- Ruhr crisis (1923)
 as pivotal crisis of the Atlantic order of the 1920s, 807, 921–32
- Russia. *see also* Bolshevik challenge
 Russian Empire’s role in the Vienna system, 46–8
 imperial aims and policies before 1914, 73–4, 142–6, 150
 and formation of *Entente* bloc, 144–5
 interests and aims in the Balkans, 148–51, 153–6
 Russo-Japanese War (1904–5), 103, 141–2
 role in July crisis, 156–67
 October Revolution (1917), 176–7
 significance as great power after 1919, 885
- Russo-Japanese War (1904–5), 103, 141–2
- Russo-Turkish War (1877), 73
- Ruyssen, Théodore, 247–8
- Saint-Pierre, Abbé de
Projet pour rendre la Paix perpétuelle en Europe (1712), 207
- Salisbury, Robert
 and British policies during era of *Pax Britannica*, 74–6
 and the rise and fall of powers and civilisations, 85–6
 and relations with the United States, 104–8
- Sazonov, Sergej
 and Russia’s role in pre-history of First World War, 149–50, 154–5, 164–5
- Schacht, Hjalmar, 561
- Scheidemann, Philipp
 proposal for European League of Nations, 133–4, 261
 support for League during and after First World War, 260–2, 561–2
 struggle for a “Scheidemann peace” to end Great War, 219, 258, 273–4

- Scheidemann, Philipp (cont.)
 struggle for German democratisation
 and Weimar Republic, 219–20,
 282–3, 296–7, 537–40
 claim for Wilsonian “peace of
 justice”, 540–3, 548–54
 and Brockdorff-Rantzau’s peace
 strategy in 1919, 814, 821
 and Weimar Germany’s integration
 in postwar order, 819–20
 rejection of “peace dictate” of Paris,
 822–3, 875–7
- Schleicher, Kurt von, 993
- Schlieffen, Alfred von, 158
- Schlieffen Plan (1905), 158–9, 162,
 166–8
- Schubert, Carl von
 Atlantic outlook and aims of, 939
 and Locarno policy of, 947–50
 and Germany’s integration into new
 Atlantic concert, 558, 565, 939–40,
 947–9, 968–83
- Schücking, Walther
 and German designs for an
 integrationist League, 259–61,
 561–4, 624–5, 824–5, 833–4
- Schuman, Robert
 and learning processes and creation of
 Atlantic order after 1945, 1000–4
 and western integration of Western
 Germany, 1000–2
- Schwerin, Friedrich Wilhelm von, 568
- Scott, C.P., 587–8, 849
- Scott, James, 361
- Second International
 background of, 130–1
 directional struggles, 131–2
 core principles of, 136–7
 aspirations for league of nations,
 133–4
 Lenin and Luxemburg and, 134–6
 manifesto of 1900, 132–3
 and self-determination, 133
- Second World War
 origins and pre-history of, 5–12,
 16–18, 171–2
 impact of 5–6, 967–8
 consequences of, compared with
 First World War, 17–19, 301–2
 and transformation of the long 20th
 century’s Atlantic order, 5–12,
 1004–5
- security
 changing conceptions of, in the long
 twentieth century, 18–23,
 199–200, 209–15, 326–33, 365,
 451–9, 496–505, 556–65, 945–60,
 1002–5
 and peace, 326–33
 Vienna system and, 45–6
 salient security problems after First
 World War, 1–4, 326–33
 Paris peace settlement and, 608–11
 Locarno Pact and, 933–4, 945–60
 international security and the North
 Atlantic Alliance after 1945, 7–8,
 1002–5
 security system, postwar need for
 and peace settlement of 1919, 884,
 896
 European concert, 326–33
 transatlantic, 326–33
- security system, Locarno Security Pact
 developments leading up to, 945–55
 and Franco-German postwar
 relations, 955–60
 and new European Concert, 955–60
 and postwar pacification, 933–4
 Stresemann and, 966–7
- Seeckt, Hans von, 967
- Seeley, J.R.
 and conception of a Greater British
 Federation, 107
- self-determination
 Vienna system and, 54
 British imperialism and, 461–3
 after First World War, 202
 growing pressures for, from 1914,
 318
 Wilson’s vision of self-governing
 nations, 211, 215–16, 388–92
 British visions of, in Eastern Europe,
 470–2
 French security aims and, 510–15
 French Rhineland aspirations and,
 661–3
 German, after 1918, 310–11, 565–6,
 569

- creation of new Polish state, 392–5
- creation of new Czechoslovakia, 396
- eastern frontiers and limits of, 722
- self-government
 - ideas of, in modern history, 206–8
 - in the long twentieth century's
 - Atlantic and global order, 22–3, 388, 1000–4
 - prospects for Atlantic system of self-governing states, 388
 - American aspirations to spread, 95–101, 116–18
 - Wilson's definition and promotion of, 202, 209–12, 215–16, 351
- Sembat, Marcel, 250
- September Programme of 1914 (Bethmann Hollweg), 274
- Serbia
 - policies and expansionism before 1914, 138, 149–56
 - and July crisis of 1914, 160–7
 - and claims on behalf of new Yugoslav state, 718
- Seton-Watson, Robert
 - and reorganisation of Eastern Europe after First World War, 719–20, 744–6
- Seward, William
 - conceptions of Pacific Frontier and a commercial *Pax Americana*, 98–9
- Seydoux, Charles, 941
- Seymour, Charles, 744–5
- Shandong province negotiations, 641–4
- Shikai, Yuan, 178
- Shotwell, James
 - and war-renunciation pact, 981–3
- Siegfriede*, German ideas of, 253
- Simon, Henry, 516
- Simons, Walter
 - and Germany's League and peacemaking strategy, 561–3, 824–5, 834, 875
- Skrzyński, Aleksander, 958
- Smoot-Hawley Act (1929), 990, 993–4
- Smuts, Jan Christiaan
 - Anglo-American peace conception, 446–9
- League of Nations proposal and Atlanticist orientation (1918), 430–1, 446
- scheme for mandate system, 449, 461–2
- and German question, 678–9
- and German peace settlement problems, 846–7, 852
- Snowden, Philip, 943
- Social Democratic Party (German, SPD), 136, 200–2, 257–9, 261–3, 283–4, 296–7, 534–43, 787, 822–3, 875–7, 893–4, 966
- socialism
 - socialist internationalism and Second International, 131–2
 - socialist League conceptions, 133–4, 260–1, 561–2
 - and self-determination, 133
 - radicalisation of, 264–5
 - and rise of Bolshevik challenge, 262–6
 - and German League aspirations, 261–2
 - and French alternative peace conceptions, 492–3
 - and German transformation process of 1918–19, 537–40
- société des nations*. *see* League of Nations ERASE,
- Solf, Wilhelm Heinrich
 - and Germany's Atlanticist peacemaking strategy, 259–60, 278–9, 281–4, 543–4, 552
 - and armistice negotiations with Wilson, 281–4
- Sombart, Werner, 193–4
- Sonnino, Sidney
 - and armistice negotiations, 283–95
 - aims in 1919, 579
- South Tyrol question, 590, 749–50
- sovereignty
 - changing conceptions of, in the long twentieth century, 7–8, 12, 18–20, 60, 65–6, 78–9, 87–9, 110–11, 120–6
 - impact of First World War and Paris Peace Conference on, 18–20, 214–15, 316–22, 327–32, 650–1,

- 754–5, 757–8, 789–804, 817–25,
 880–2, 886–8
 national and supranational, and the
 League of Nations, 596–608,
 612–15, 647–8, 897–8
- Spain
 war with United States, 93, 97, 102–5
 and League of Nations, 613–14
- Spencer, Herbert, 127–8
- Stalin, Joseph
 criticism of Locarno Pact, 958
 US approaches towards, during and
 after Second World War, 1004
- states
 characteristics and conceptions of
 modern statehood, 4–7, 21–2,
 41–3, 71
 expansion and transformation of, as
 result of First World War, 171–6
 expansion of aspirations for
 statehood, before and after 1914,
 209–15, 311–14
- Stead, William
 and “Americanisation of the World”,
 107
 conception of “Englishspeaking
 United States of the World”, 107
- Stimson, Henry
 and US policies before and during
 World Economic Crisis, 973,
 976–9, 995–7
- Stinnes, Hugo, 539
- Stöcker, Helene, 561
- Stresemann, Gustav
 neo-imperial designs of, during First
 World War, 253–4
 aspirations to revise and reform
 peace of 1919, 937–9
 Atlanticist conception of *Westpolitik*,
 947–9
 Locarno security policy of, 966–7
 reaction to American peace policies,
 974–5
- Strong, Benjamin, 185–6, 954
- Struve, Gustav von, 57–8
- suffragette movement, 116–17, 234,
 585–6
- “survival of the fittest” mentality
 (imperialist)
- all powers subscribing to, before
 1914, 86–7
 Max Weber and, 84–5
 and peace-corroding structural
 changes, 69–70
 political rivalry and, 84
 Robert Salisbury and, 85–6
- Sutemi, Chinda, 579–80
- Suttner, Bertha von
 and pacifism before 1914, 115, 122
- Sykes, Mark
 and Sykes-Picot agreement (1916),
 320–1
- Sykes-Picot agreement (1916), 205,
 320–1, 461, 479, 507, 517–19, 618
- Taft, William Howard
 and Hague conventions, Era of
 Imperialism, 125
 support for League of Nations, 629
 and terms of postwar peace, 386–7
 and League Covenant, 914
- Taiwan
 as US ally after 1945, 1001
- Tardieu, André
 conception of exclusive Atlantic
 order after First World War, 245
 and French postwar agenda of
 structural rebalancing, 484
 aspirations for Atlantic alliance and
 “union of western democracies”,
 500–3, 658–9
 conception of a robust League,
 501–3
 reservations about League of
 Nations, 600
 and French Rhineland aspirations in
 1919, 657–77
 German settlement priorities, 834–7
- Taussig, Frank, 422
- Taylorism, 974
- Teschen question, 582, 718–21
- Third International, 784–5
- Thirty Years’ War, 60
- “Thirty Years’ War” of the twentieth
 century (1914–1945), 5–7, 11
- Thoiry, Franco-German project of
 (1926), 984–5
- Thomas, Albert, 490

- Thucydides
Peloponnesian War, 34, 37, 59, 119, 207
 on learning processes in international politics, 37
 on power and dominance in international politics, 59
 on arbitration and conflict resolution, 119, 207
- Tilak, Bal Gangadhar
 and Indian self-determination, 202, 318, 573–4, 580–1
- Tirpitz, Alfred von
 naval strategy and aims, 76–7, 146–7, 160
- “total war”
 characteristics of, 173–7
 First World War as, 24, 173–7, 190–1
- transformation of transatlantic politics and order, in the long twentieth century, postwar conceptions
 conceptions of international politics, 199–200
 conceptions of peace, 198
 conceptions of Atlantic and world order, 198, 200–1
- transformation of transatlantic politics and order, during and after First World War
 historical need for, 299–348
 emerging visions of Atlantic and world order, 208–9
 First World War as germination period, 205–8
 struggle between competing visions of, during First World War, 189–97
 Wilson’s vision of, 351–5
 British visions of, 220–7, 229–33
 French visions of, 243–51
 German imperialist visions, 251–7
 key actors, 208
- transformation of transatlantic politics and order, in the 1920s
 reordering processes, 937–40
 impact of, 961–2
 Hughes Plan and, 936–7
 targeted US foreign policy engagement, 209–20, 934–6
- progressive American input, 233–42
 European politics of reciprocity and peaceful accommodation, 962–4
 growth of internationalist and transnational organisations, 227–9, 962
- London reparations accords (1924), 943–4
- Locarno Security Pact (1925), 945–60
- Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928), 980–3
- European progress and US retrogression, 964–9
- advances of the 1920s not leading to lasting peace, 976–83
- security asymmetry between United States and Europe, 978–80
- transformation of transatlantic politics and order, after 1945,
 and the long twentieth century’s *Pax Atlantica*, 999–1003
- transnational politics
 characteristics of, 24–6, 32–4
 interdependence with international and domestic politics, 32–40
 before 1914, 42, 56–7, 67–8, 71–2, 112–37
 during First World War, 183–209, 229–43, 262–7
 and peacemaking after 1918, 301–5, 339–47, 588
- transnational women’s rights movement, 586
- “treaty fight” in US Senate (1919–20), and its consequences, 912–21
- Treaty of Berlin (1926), 967–8
- Treaty of Nanjing (1842), 93–4, 98
- Treaty of Saint-Germain (1919), 749–50
- Treaty of Sèvres (1920), 16–17, 519, 574
- Treaty of Trianon (1920), 721
- Treaty of Versailles (1919). *see* Paris peace settlement of 1919
- Treaty of Wanghia (1844), 93–4
- Trianon, Treaty of (1920), 720–1
- Treitschke, Heinrich von, 83
- Triple Alliance
 assertiveness of leaders in, 149–50

- Triple Alliance (cont.)
 and political rivalries in pre-history
 of First World War, 145
- Trotsky, Leon
 and Bolshevik “new diplomacy”, 190,
 201–2
 and First World War as
 “imperialistic war”, 201–2
 and Brest-Litovsk, 256
 aspirations for peace and postwar
 communist order, 262–6
 and self-determination, 262–5
 and world revolution, 262–6
 and Third International, 266,
 779–80, 783–5
 and Bolshevik road to victory, 776,
 799
- Trueblood, Benjamin
 and US pacifism before 1914, 91,
 115–16
- Truman, Harry S.
 and learning processes and creation
 of Atlantic order after 1945, 774,
 1001–5
 and containment of the Soviet
 Union, 1001–5
 and western integration of Western
 Germany, 1000–3
- trusteeship
 in the era of high imperialism,
 320–2
 under the League’s mandate system,
 320–2, 368, 573, 614–18
- Tyler, John
 and imposition of Treaty of Wanghia
 on China, 93
- Tyrrell, William
 and creation of a new Polish state in
 1919, 729, 759–60
- Ukraine
 aspirations for a “free Ukraine” after
 1914, 256, 303, 312–13, 582, 718,
 772, 776
- Union of Democratic Control
 and negotiated peace and League of
 Nations, 229–30, 232, 625–7
- union sacrée*, 192, 246, 273,
 490
- United Nations
 relevance for global order after 1945,
 compared with League of Nations,
 8, 1005
- United States’ rise to world power
 before First World War, 93–7
 in global imperialist competition
 before First World War, 81–2
- Open Door policy, 98
- role as hemispheric policeman,
 183–4
- progressive imperialism of, 97–101,
 233–42
- visions of Atlantic order of empires,
 90–7, 108–11
- progressive reform and peace
 movements, before 1914, 115–17
- United States’ ascent as a hegemonic
 power during and after First
 World War
- new international role after 1916,
 174–5
- ascent as financial hegemon, 185–7
- asymmetrical interdependence with
 Europe, 37–40, 172–3, 186–7,
 336–7
- aspirations for League of Nations
 and New Atlantic Order, 209–20,
 597, 763–4
- expectations of new US leadership,
 347
- German reactions to, 257–62
- and minority rights, 755–6
- and reparations, 794–5
- US priorities after Versailles, 909–11,
 934–6, 976–8
- visions of *Pax Americana* in the
 1920s, 999–1003
- policies towards East Asia,
 936
- overbearing international behaviour,
 991
- Wall Street crash of 1929, 994
- repercussions of World Economic
 Crisis, 996–8
- United States as superpower after
 Second World War
- and creation of the Atlantic order
 after 1945, 5–8, 999–1005

- and containment of the Soviet Union, 1000–5
- and western integration of Western Germany, 1000–5
- “United States of Europe”, conceptions of, 53–4, 126–9
- Upper Silesia question, in 1919, 741–2, 870–1
- US Navy League, 80
- Veblen, Thorstein
 - concept of Germany’s “special path”, 237
- Venzelos, Eleutherios
 - and aspirations for Greater Greece at Paris Peace Conference, 581–2
- Versailles system. *see also* Paris Peace Conference, outcomes
 - characteristics and limits of, 22, 895–9
- Versailles, Treaty of (1919). *see* Paris Peace Conference of 1919
- Vienna system
 - principles of, 45–6
 - and emergence of novel international politics of, 49–50
 - fortified by Holy Alliance, 47
 - Friedrich von Gentz and, 49
 - hallmarks of, 47
 - as hierarchical system, 47–8
 - inclusiveness of, 46
 - and liberal self-determination agendas, 54
 - and structure of the German state, 48
- Vienna system, challenges to
 - Communist Manifesto, 55–7
 - European Revolutions of 1848, 51–2
 - French Revolution of 1848, 58
 - Mazzini’s United States of Europe, 53–4
 - aspirations for Greater German solution, 54–5, 57–8
- Vienna system, disintegration of
 - impact of Crimean War, 62–3
 - rise of *Realpolitik* and, 59–62
- Vienna system, limitations of
 - backward-looking focus, 51
 - only temporary solution of German question, 308
- Vietnam, 580, 1000, 1003
- Vietnam War, 1003
- Villa, Pancho, 183
- Villard, Garrison, 234
- violence, escalation of, in era of First World War, 173–7, 209–12, 262–3, 326–8, 538, 753
- Wall Street crash (1929), 994
- Wanghia, Treaty of (1844), 93
- war
 - as legitimate and effective means of politics, 61
 - “total war”, First World War as, 23–4, 173–7, 190–1
 - Thirty Years’ War (1618–48), 60
 - twentieth century’s “Thirty Years’ War”, 5–7, 11
 - American Revolutionary War of Independence, 95
 - Napoleonic Wars, 45–6
 - Opium War, First (1839–42), 93–4, 98
 - Mexican-American War (1846–48), 95–6
 - Crimean War (1853–56), 41, 61–3, 73
 - American Civil War (1861–65), 64, 68, 81–2, 94–6
 - Franco-German War (1870–71), 63, 74
 - Russo-Turkish War (1877), 73
 - Spanish-American War (1898), 93, 97, 102–5
 - Boer War (1899–1902), 77, 104–5, 145
 - Russo-Japanese War (1904–5), 103, 141–2
 - Italy’s Libyan War (1912), 154
 - Balkan Wars (1912–13), 152–6
 - First World War. *see* First World War
 - Second World War, *see* First World War
 - Cold War, *see* Cold War
 - Vietnam War, 1003
- war debts
 - British, 438–9
 - French, 525
 - United States and, 418–21

- war debts (cont.)
 - impossible separation of war debts and reparations, 788–90
 - and World Economic Crisis, 922
- War of Notes, during Paris Peace Conference
 - escalation of, 823–34
 - German demands in, 829
- Warburg, Max
 - Atlanticist “economic peace” strategy of, 545–7
 - and struggle to negotiate reparations and peace compromise, 830–2
- Warburg, Paul
 - and creation of US Federal Reserve System (1913), 96–7
- Washington Conference (1921–22)
 - and Chinese sovereignty, 16–17, 935–6
 - and global naval regime after 1918, 635–6, 640
 - and post-First World War order in East Asia, 16–17, 934–6
- Weber, Max
 - and the modern economic and political power struggle, 70, 84–5
 - and Darwinist nature modern imperialism, 84–5
 - and German *Weltpolitik*, 76
 - call for modern German political system, 81
 - and nature of modern politics, 340–1
 - and America’s ascent as the new Rome, 300, 323
 - and stakes of peacemaking after First World War, 569
- Weimar Republic
 - difficult foundation of, 534–40
 - impact of the Paris peace settlement on, 875–6, 889–94
 - integration into Atlantic order after 1918, 307–11, 578, 933–4, 943
 - stabilisation of, 943–69
 - disintegration of, 991–8
- Weltpolitik*, during Era of Imperialism, 251–7
- Westphalian System (1648), 49, 60
- White, Harry
 - and Bretton Woods system and lessons of Great Depression, 989–90
- White, Henry,
 - and US peacemaking efforts in 1919, 358, 676, 702–3
- William II
 - and German imperial policies before Great War, 76–7, 142–4, 150, 156–60
 - and end of the German Empire, 283–4
 - and responsibility for outbreak of Great War, 836
- Wilson, Woodrow
 - and America’s role as hemispheric policeman, 183–4
 - and Bryan’s “cooling off” treaties, 140–1
 - Americanist vision of, 213
 - aspirations for New Atlantic Order after First World War, 209–20
 - vision of Atlantic nucleus of world order, 356–7
 - “Peace without Victory” address and progressive aspirations (1917), 351–5
 - “Fourteen Points” address (1918), 217–19
 - “Four Principles” address (1918), 389–90
 - quest for a peace to end all wars, 212
 - visions of League of Nations and New Atlantic Order, 201, 597
 - vision of “Monroe Doctrine for the World”, 183–4, 635–7
 - and postwar collective security, 607–8
- League of Nations as response to French security concerns, 674
- influence of Croly and Lippman on, 234–7
- crusading ideology of, 194–6
- and American Committee on Public Information, 216–17
- and *Entente* Powers, 220
- efforts to weaken Central Powers, 219–20

- Central Powers and, 219–20
- and Bolshevik challenge, 399–400, 692
- Lenin and, 264
- and Armistice of 1918, 277–98
- reorientation of Wilson's vision after Armistice, towards peace of the victors, 357–8
- and western nucleus and superstructure of postwar order, 361–8
- “partnership of right” conception, 370–1
- evolving League of Nations plans and postwar parameters of New Atlantic Order, 209–20
- approaches to European reconstruction, 421–3
- ideas about postwar world economic order, 423–4
- plans to create League mandate system for former colonies, 615
- inherent limits of Wilson's programme, 368–70, 412–15
- challenges of realising Wilson's progressive aspirations, 379–81
- and complexities of creating a new international order after First World War, 371–4
- concept of progressive transnational coalition, 374–9
- and international and domestic legitimacy, 381–7
- controversies over Wilson's peace aspirations, 629–35
- dangerous expectations raised by and projected on Wilson, 346–7, 381
- and solidarity with France, 494–7
- evolving approaches to German question, 219, 692–3
- and Germany's place in New Atlantic Order, 400–6
- reorientation in response to German Revolution, 406–12
- vision of system of European self-governing nation states, 388–92
- hierarchical approach to self-determination, 211, 215–16
- future of Eastern Europe, 395–9
- creation of new Polish state and Polish–German border, 392–5
- creation of new Czechoslovakia, 395–6
- Wilson's aims and actions at the Paris Peace Conference
 - German settlement prospects, 860–2
 - final German settlement negotiations, 863–4, 867–8
 - and German entry into League of Nations, 871–2
 - reparations policies, 690
 - war debts, 418–21
 - reparations controversies in 1919, 415–18
 - and Lloyd George's Fontainebleau programme, 684–6
 - stern interpretation of postwar justice, 687–91
 - stern but just peace policy, 837–44
 - opposition to French Rhineland aspirations, 670–6
 - compromises with Clemenceau, 704–5
 - shape of the new Polish state, 734–8
 - Czechoslovakian border settlement, 746–7
 - and minority rights, 754
 - and Bolshevik regime amidst Russian civil war and uncertainties, 771–3
 - Wilson's priorities and aspirations after Versailles, 909–11
 - critical rivalry with Henry Cabot Lodge, 286–7
 - defeat in “treaty fight” and its consequences, 912–21
- Wirth, Joseph, 926–7
- Wolf, Julius, 128
- Wolf, Lucien
 - and Jewish minority rights, 474, 586
- Woman's Peace Party, 118, 234, 630
- Women's International Conference for Permanent Peace (Zurich, 1919), 630, 880
- Wood, Hollingsworth, 234
- Woolf, Virginia, 229

- World Economic Crisis, causes of
 international settlements of the
 1920s and abiding European
 problems, 993–4
 lack of functioning transatlantic
 political system, 969–70
 limits of US efforts to make order of
 the 1920s crisis-proof, 970–1
 renewed US isolationism, 971–3
- World Economic Crisis, descent into
 Germany, 993
 France, 923–4
 Great Britain, 924–6
 United States, 996–8
 and reparations, 921–3
 and war debts, 922
- World Economic Crisis, disintegration
 of the emerging Atlantic order
 Wall Street crash, 994
 Young process failure, 994–6
 Hoover's role and attitudes, 992–3
 and limits of international
 cooperation and coordinated
 responses, 995
 repercussions in United States, 996–8
 and shift in German policy, 993
 appraisal of dynamics and
 consequences, 990–2
- world order
 in the long twentieth century, 200–1,
 573–95, 608–12
 in the era of globalising imperialism,
 70–1
 transformed after First World War,
 317–22
- World Peace Foundation, 116, 121
- World Revolution
 Lenin and Trotsky and, 777–81
- Communist International and,
 778–80
 Lenin's effort to cast Wilson as key
 opponent, 780–1
 western powers' limited attempts to
 contain, 784–5
- Yanushkevich, Nikolai, 164–5
- Yat-Sen, Sun
 and struggle for Chinese
 sovereignty and self-
 determination, 178, 202
- Young Europe Association, 54
- Young, Owen
 and the Dawes Plan (1924), 944
 and the Young Plan (1929), 972–3,
 985–6
- Young Plan (1929), 986–8, 994–6
- Young process (1928–29), 986–8, 994–6
- Yugoslavia
 creation of Yugoslavian state after
 First World War, 311–12, 449,
 471, 582, 720, 750
- Zaghlul, Sa'd
 and Egyptian independence and self-
 determination, 202, 317–18, 368,
 580–1
- Zhengxiang, Lu
 and Chinese aims at Paris Peace
 Conference, 579–80
- Zimmermann, Arthur
 and German strategies during
 First World War, 179, 254–5,
 274
- Zimmermann telegram (1917), 179
- Zimmerwald conference and resolution
 (1915), 263