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Prescribed Subject 1: Peacemaking, Peacekeeping – International Relations 1918–36

TREATIES AND MANDATES 1918–32

Introduction

World War I (1914–18) was the first war of its kind. Billions were spent on fighting a war that no one had anticipated in its scale and length, as countries from all continents became involved in the conflict. It produced unparalleled levels of casualties and displaced people, both among the military forces and the civilian populations. The post-war world was faced with many crises. European economies were confronted with having to pay the cost of war and of reconstruction. National economies, which had been organized around wartime production, had to return to peacetime production; international trade needed to be re-established. Roads and railway lines needed relaying, hospitals and houses had to be rebuilt and vast amounts of arable land returned to their former condition by the removal of unexploded shells. During the war, birth rates had dropped dramatically and agricultural productivity fallen. Famine, poverty and the consequent spread of diseases – aggravated by the devastating influenza epidemic of 1918–19 – led to many more casualties.

But it was not only World War I that had shaken the world. The **Russian Revolution** of October 1917 had brought the first communist government to power. The inter-war period (1918–39) was heavily influenced by events in Bolshevik Russia, as decision-making countries were torn between punishing those nations they considered responsible for the outbreak of war and, at the same time, keeping the world safe from communism.

This chapter analyzes the aims of the peacemakers attending the Paris Peace Conference as they drafted the treaties to end World War I, the extent to which such aims were reflected in the different peace treaties produced, and the impact of the treaties on Europe. It also explores different events that both contributed to and conspired against the enforcement of the treaties in the next 20 years.

Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution of October/November 1917 led to the establishment of a Bolshevik government led by Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), which meant the rise of the first government ruled by Marxist ideas.

Timeline – 1918–32

1918	World War I Armistice
1919	Paris Peace Conference Treaty of Versailles with Germany Treaty of St Germain with Austria Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria
1920	Treaty of Trianon with Hungary Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey
1921–22	Washington Naval Conference
1923	Treaty of Lausanne
1930	London Conference
1932	Geneva Disarmament Conference

Section 1:

Aims of the participants and peacemakers: Wilson and the Fourteen Points

Background information

World War I ended on 11 November 1918. The German agreement to an armistice was based on a proposal drafted by US President Woodrow Wilson known as the Fourteen Points. The end of confrontations, however, did not mean the end of conflict. The war had brought about many changes on both the defeated and victorious sides. New systems of government were installed, replacing traditional monarchic, autocratic rule. The 1917 Russian Revolution had transformed the political map of Europe; Germany was no longer an empire ruled by the Kaiser, but had adopted a Republican system; this was also the case with Austria and with – now separated – Hungary. The Turkish government concluded an armistice, which acknowledged the loss of much of its territory to British and French administrations. In time, this loss would also contribute to the collapse of the Turkish Sultanate (rule by a Sultan). There was fear that revolutions might spread across the European continent as a result of the collapse of traditional empires, unrest in Russia and the resurgence of demands for **self-determination**.

The end of World War I had brought new hope to different ethnic groups which, by the time the Paris Peace Conference started, had already begun to make moves towards forming nations. Such was the case – among others – of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia, who separated from the collapsing Austro-Hungarian Empire between October and December 1918 to form a South Slav state.

An additional factor that made the work of the peacemakers difficult was related to the expectations of the citizens in the victorious nations. The unparalleled scale of World War I had led many European governments to apply policies to encourage commitment to the war. Four years of nationalist propaganda in the participating nations had established firm roots. By the end of the war, the United Kingdom, France and the United States needed to respond to electorates demanding security, stability and compensation for the war efforts.

The political transformations, combined with the economic and social cost of war, all created a difficult context in which to draft a peace initially aimed at ending all wars and shaping a 'New Europe'. To this end, representatives of 32 nations met in Paris in January 1919, but there had been little time for anyone to become fully aware of the complexity of this new order.

The following section analyzes the aims of the main participants of the Paris Peace Conference and the extent to which they became a source of conflict during the negotiations leading to the Peace Treaties.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

RESEARCH ACTIVITY

Individually or in pairs, find additional information on the background against which the Paris Peace Conference took place. Include economic factors, the demands of minority groups, the relationship among the most influential participants, the reasons behind the decision to hold the Conference in Paris, etc. Discuss the ways in which these factors may have influenced the development and the agenda of the Conference.

In your view, why was the Conference held so soon after the end of the war?

Self-determination

The aspiration of racial groups sharing territory, language or religion to form their own national state.

Wilson and the Fourteen Points

The Paris Peace Conference started on 18 January 1919. It was closely watched by millions of citizens around the world, who hoped it would resolve their issues and who demanded that those responsible for the outbreak of war be made to pay.

● Examiner's hint

Paper 1 exams include at least one visual source, which may be a photograph, cartoon, map or statistics table. It is therefore useful for you to familiarize yourself with some of the most important characters of the period so that you can recognize them in exams.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

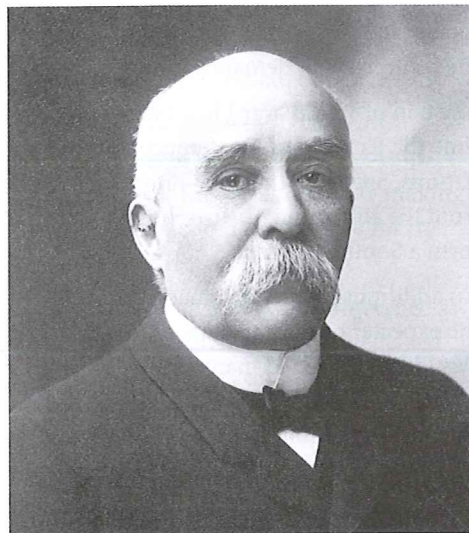
What do you think about the choice of location and opening date of the Paris Peace Conference? Discuss with your class the implications of such choices.

The leading statesmen attending the Versailles Conference were US President Woodrow Wilson, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George and French Premier Georges Clemenceau. Together they were known as the 'Big Three'. With Vittorio Orlando, the Italian Prime Minister, the group was known as the 'Big Four'.

US President Woodrow Wilson



French Premier Georges Clemenceau



British Prime Minister David Lloyd George



'The Big Three', Paris 1919



President Wilson's Fourteen Points aimed at eliminating the causes which, in his view, had led to the outbreak of war in 1914. They represented a proposal for a new political and international world order (New Diplomacy) in which open diplomacy, world disarmament, economic integration and – above all – a League of Nations were to guarantee that a tragedy such as World War I would not be repeated. They were based on territorial adjustments meant to solve the problems created by the collapse of the traditional empires of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey and on the recognition of the desire for self-determination. Although they had played a fundamental role in bringing about the end of the war in 1918, the treaty concluded in 1919 differed from the Fourteen Points in many aspects.

The following is a summary of Wilson's Fourteen Points:

SOURCE A

- I. *Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind.*
- II. *Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, in peace and in war.*
- III. *The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations.*
- IV. *Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.*
- V. *A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.*
- VI. *The evacuation of all Russian territory for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and for a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing.*
- VII. *Belgium must be evacuated and restored.*
- VIII. *All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine should be righted.*
- IX. *A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.*
- X. *The peoples of Austria-Hungary should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development.*
- XI. *Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.*
- XII. *The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.*
- XIII. *An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea.*
- XIV. *A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.*

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

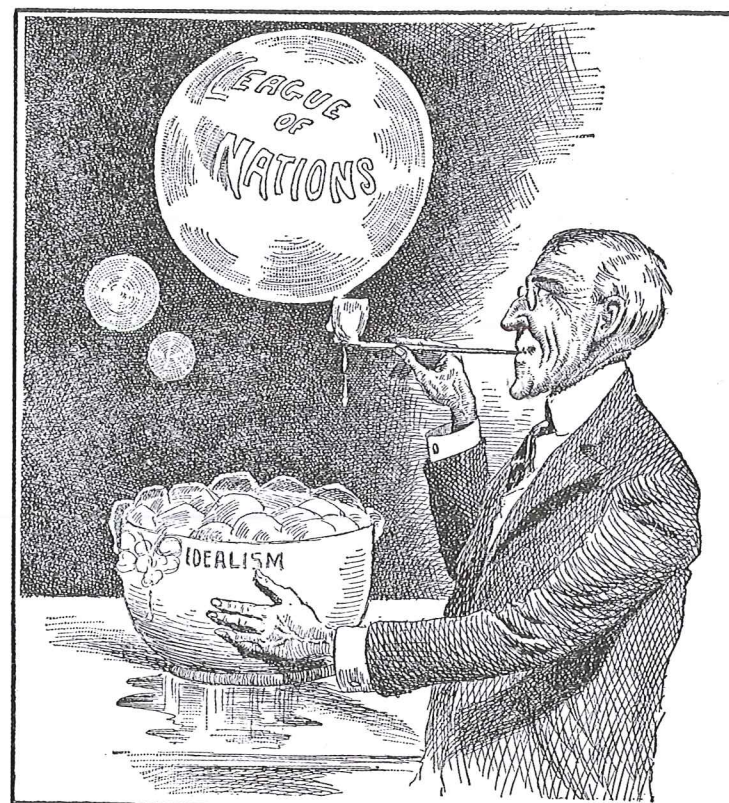
QUESTION

How was President Wilson hoping to ensure the causes of World War I would not cause a major international conflict?

Revise your knowledge of the causes of the outbreak of World War I and make a list of them. Then, analyze the Fourteen Points and explain how you think these addressed the different causes of the war. Note which of the Fourteen Points you think relate to each cause identified on your list. This way you should clearly see how Wilson was hoping his points would contribute to preventing another major war.

SOURCE B

Cartoon published in *Literary Digest*, September 1920.



BLOWING BUBBLES.

SOURCE C

It must be a peace without victory... Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last.

From a speech by President Wilson, January 1917

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTIONS

- What is the message conveyed by Source B?
- Compare and contrast the messages expressed by Sources B and C.

Student Answer (Question b) – Tom

Source B shows President Wilson blowing bubbles from a pot labelled 'Idealism'. The bubble before him is the 'League of Nations', which is therefore viewed by the cartoonist as an idealistic thought – bubbles do not last long. Source C agrees with the idea of idealism because it says that World War I must end without victory. It is hard to think that victorious countries would accept this proposal and treat defeated nations as 'equals'. Both sources relate to how Wilson viewed the world. B shows him as the maker of the League of Nations and C is an address in which he explains his views himself. Both sources focus on the idea of an integrated world by the reference to the League of Nations in B and the idea of a world of equals in C.

However, C focuses on how to ensure peace in the future whereas B focuses on the League of Nations as an element to preserve peace. Another difference, linked to the above statement is that Source C was produced at a time when the war was being fought and before the USA formally entered the conflict but Source B was published at the end of the war, after the Treaty of Versailles had been signed by the Germans.

Examiner's comments

The candidate shows understanding of both sources and presents both comparisons and contrasts. The answer refers to specific elements in each source, although some direct quotation of C would have been more effective. A very perceptive comment is that which says that Source B was published at the end of the war, whereas Source C was produced while World War I was still being fought. Make sure you look at the caption of the sources and pay attention to the context in which each of the sources was produced. Candidates very often do not consider this type of information and many would have missed the point. This information will help you understand the sources more fully.

Reactions to the Fourteen Points

The proposals for free trade, the end of imperialism, the adoption of open diplomacy and the creation of a League of Nations clashed with the realist approach of those who wanted to ensure their countries were well prepared for the possibility of another war. Putting the resolution of conflicts in the hands of the League of Nations, for example, was viewed as a mechanism that would not always be compatible with the protection of national interests. As a result, the Fourteen Points were met with reservations by the British and French.

SOURCE D

The Allied Governments have given careful consideration to the correspondence which has passed between the President of the United States and the German Government. Subject to the qualifications which follow they declare their willingness to make peace with the Government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses. In the conditions of peace laid down in his address to Congress of January 8, 1918, the President declared that invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated and freed, the Allies feel that no doubt ought to be allowed to exist as to what this provision implies. By it they understand that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea and from the air.

A statement issued by the Allied governments after the German government had indicated its willingness to consider signing an Armistice based on President Wilson's Fourteen Points, 1918.

Examiner's hint

(Question a) Cartoons often include political figures of the time. It is very helpful to start your interpretation by identifying them. This information is often, but not always, given to you. Therefore, throughout your study of the Prescribed Subject of your choice, you should become familiar with photographs and images of the main players. Question (b): here is a comparison/contrast question. Consider starting by explaining the message in Source B. Then discuss whether Source C supports or refutes the message in B. This type of question requires two important things: a) that you identify the points of comparison and contrast between the two sources, and b) that you include material from each source to illustrate your points.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

What, according to Source D, was the Allies' attitude to Germany in 1918?

French aims

Clemenceau, the French Premier, saw it as essential that the peace treaties protected France from any future German aggression. French territory had been one of the major battlefields of World War I and in 1919 France did not believe it could defend its frontiers against Germany again. France aimed at preventing German recovery by the use of reparations, redrawing frontiers in continental Europe, limiting the size of the German armed forces and excluding Germany from the League of Nations.

Among the territorial claims France presented in Paris were the immediate return of Alsace and Lorraine and the annexations of the region of the Saar (to provide coal for the French industries) and of the left bank of the Rhine. Regarding its relationship to the Rhineland, 'France had historically aspired to control this region, which it felt would complete its natural border. France saw control of the Rhineland as a necessary part of its security against Germany and therefore one of its fundamental objectives. The Rhineland, though, was thoroughly German and to annex it would violate Wilsonian principles. The solution ultimately arrived at was to leave the Rhineland as a part of Germany, but to make it a demilitarized zone in which Germany could not maintain or deploy its forces' (Erik Goldstein, *The First World War Peace Settlements 1919–1925*, 2002). In other words, annexation of the Rhineland was a separate French demand that was not granted, but the demilitarization of the Rhineland was offered instead.

To guarantee further protection against a possible German invasion, Clemenceau supported the restoration of an independent Belgium, which would not be tied to neutrality treaties. The French support for the independence of Poland and Czechoslovakia revealed the desire to set up strong nations to the east of Germany as additional protection, since Russia could no longer be relied on for that task.

● Examiner's hint

A good starting point to answering the last question is to show the examiner you have understood MacMillan's quotation by explaining it briefly in your own words. Next, you can structure your answer by looking at how the sources and your own knowledge show that France aimed at punishing Germany for having caused World War I, how France was expecting to make Germany pay and how it hoped to prevent further German aggression. Provide evidence from the sources and your knowledge for each of the three points, i.e. punishment, payment, prevention.

SOURCE E

America is very far from Germany, but France is very near and I have preoccupations which do not affect President Wilson as they do a man who has seen the Germans for four years in his country. There are wrongs to be righted.

Georges Clemenceau comments on Franco-German relations, January 1919

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTIONS

- What is the message conveyed by the following?:
'America is very far from Germany, but France is very near.'
'There are wrongs to be righted.'
- Explain the motivations behind the following French demands:
The return of Alsace and Lorraine
The occupation of the Rhineland
- Historian Margaret MacMillan describes the French aims at Versailles as 'punishment, payment, prevention'. Using the sources and your own knowledge, explain how France was hoping to achieve these aims.

British aims

It is debatable how much of the philosophy of the Fourteen Points was shared by the British representatives. Britain desired peace and understood it as a return to a balance of power in Europe, which would ensure that neither Germany nor France dominated the continent. It was in British economic interests to see a relatively rapid German economic recovery. Germany was an important market for British goods and, in the need to reactivate its own economy, one that Britain did not want to lose. Prime Minister Lloyd George also had to deal with the fact that expressions such as 'Hang the Kaiser' and 'we propose to demand the whole cost of the war from Germany' – which had been used in the last stages of the war – had contributed to his coming to power. Consequently, many sectors of British society expected their government to support hard punishment of Germany and considered that to be more important than fast European economic recovery.

Lloyd George's main concern was to avoid German feelings of revenge for an excessively hard treaty, thinking that could cause another war in the near future. He was also worried about events in Russia, where civil war against the Bolsheviks was being fought, and about how the expansion of **Bolshevism** could benefit from an unstable Germany. In March 1919, he produced the Fontainebleau Memorandum calling for reconciliation in Europe. The importance of this document is that it exposes the view that, unless the Germans perceived the treaty as fair, there was little hope it would succeed in preserving peace.

SOURCE F

To achieve redress our terms may be severe, they may be stern and even ruthless, but at the same time they can be so just that the country on which they are imposed will feel in its heart that it has no right to complain. But injustice, arrogance, displayed in the hour of triumph, will never be forgotten or forgiven.

From the Fontainebleau Memorandum by David Lloyd George, 25 March 1919

SOURCE G

M. Clemenceau: 'I said yesterday that I entirely agree with Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson on how Germany should be treated; we cannot take unfair advantage of our victory; we must deal tolerantly with peoples for fear of provoking a surge of national feeling. But permit me to make a fundamental objection... Every effort must be made to be just toward the Germans; but when it comes to persuading them that we are just to them, that is another matter... Do not believe that these principles of justice that satisfy us will also satisfy the Germans.'

From a conversation between Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George on the content of the Fontainebleau Memorandum, 27 March 1919

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTIONS

- On what grounds do you think Clemenceau made his objection?
- Compare and contrast Sources F and G on the treatment to be given to Germany.
- With reference to their origin and purpose, discuss the value and limitations of Source F and Source G for historians studying the aims of the participants of the Paris Peace Conference.

i Bolshevism

The Bolshevik Party, formed in 1903 and led by Vladimir Lenin, was responsible for the revolution of October 1917. The Bolsheviks promoted a form of communism based on the writings of Karl Marx aiming at a violent revolution to overthrow capitalism.

● Examiner's hint

For Question C, consider the context in which these two sources were produced. Do you think the fact that F is a written document and that G is an extract of a conversation has any influence on the value and limitations of the sources?

ToK Time

'When you want to believe in something you also have to believe in everything that's necessary for believing in it.'

Explain how this quotation relates to the ways Clemenceau and Lloyd George believed Germany would react to the treaty.

Examiner's hint

For Question C, when evaluating the value and limitations of Source H, you should consider the historical context in which it was produced: how does the fact that Source H was written at the time of the Paris Peace Conference influence its value and limitations?

Central Powers

Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, who fought World War I against the Entente Powers of Great Britain, France, Russia and the allies that joined them during the course of the war.

Treaty of London (1915)

Secret pact signed in April 1915 between Italy and the Triple Entente which brought Italy into World War I in exchange for the promise of extensive territorial gains.

It soon became clear that it would be difficult to reach a balance between the desire to achieve lasting peace while also punishing those held responsible for the outbreak of war. Finally, Clemenceau decided not to push all of the French views harder. The lack of support from the United States and Great Britain for France's extreme measures explains why the Versailles Treaty was not drafted on French terms; France needed both its allies in the aftermath of war. However, as will be discussed later, the French also became more flexible in their demands, as they were promised British and American support to guarantee French security.

SOURCE H

The whole existing order in its political, social, and economic aspects is questioned by the masses of the population from one end of Europe to the other... The greatest danger that I see in the present situation is that Germany may throw in her lot with Bolshevism and place her resources, her brains, her vast organizing power at the disposal of the revolutionary fanatics whose dream is to conquer the world for Bolshevism by force of arms. This danger is no mere chimera.

From the Fontainebleau Memorandum by David Lloyd George, 25 March 1919

STUDENT STUDY SECTION**QUESTIONS**

- What reasons does Source H give for a fair treatment of Germany at the Paris Peace Conference?
- What other reasons do you think Lloyd George may have had in mind to write the Fontainebleau Memorandum?
- With reference to its origin and purpose, discuss the value and limitations of Source H for an historian studying the course of negotiations at the Paris Peace Conference.

Italian aims

During the war, the Allies had made promises to different countries in order to obtain cooperation against the **Central Powers**. Italy, Romania and Greece, among other countries, had received territorial promises during the war that were now impossible to honour while, at the same time, respecting the Fourteen Points. The Italian demands for territory promised by the **Treaty of London** in 1915 – which included the northern part of the Dalmatian coast on the Adriatic Sea, Trieste and South Tyrol as well as a protectorate over Albania – clearly opposed the spirit of self-determination of the Fourteen Points. This situation was made more serious by the fact that in April 1919 the Italian representatives presented before the Council of Four additional demands, which included territory that had not been promised by the Treaty of London, such as the port of Fiume.

The Italian representatives were under intense pressure from home to produce a satisfactory treaty. The economic effort to fight the war had seriously affected the Italian economy. The country was suffering political problems and social unrest. Obtaining territory was considered essential to the recovery of the economy and to help strengthen the shaky political system.

The problem with the Italian demands was also that there was little sympathy for the nation – partly due to its association with Germany at the start of the war as well as too little consideration for their contribution to World War I. Italy was dissatisfied not only about the fact that the terms of the Treaty of London would not be honoured, but also with the treatment the Italian delegation received during the Conference as a 'lesser power'.

REVIEW SECTION**Review questions**

- Draw a chart comparing and contrasting the aims of the Big Three.
- Start by listing the issues in one column (e.g. headed 'territorial changes'). Then name the other columns after each of the Big Four and explain what the aims of each were in relation to each listed issue.
- Find points of conflict among the different issues.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION**QUESTIONS**

- How does creating this chart help you anticipate the problems in the making of the Treaty of Versailles?
- 'Talking to Wilson is something like talking to Jesus Christ.' What are the implications of Clemenceau's opinion of US President Woodrow Wilson? Which of Wilson's ideas do you think were more likely to produce this statement?

Section II:**The terms of the Paris Peace Treaties 1919–20: Versailles, St Germain, Trianon, Neuilly, Sèvres/Lausanne 1923****Background information**

Fundamental decisions at the Conference were taken mainly by US President Woodrow Wilson, French Premier Georges Clemenceau and British Prime Minister David Lloyd George. The defeated nations of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary and Turkey were not allowed to take part in the negotiations leading to the drafting of the treaty. Russia did not attend the conference and Italy, which had fought alongside the Allies, soon felt it had been relegated to a secondary role.

Most discussions did not take place in sessions with the full attendance of the 32 participating countries. Instead, special commissions on different matters were established to speed up the decision-making process. France, Britain, the USA, Japan and Italy formed a Supreme Council represented by the leaders and foreign ministers of these nations. This was later replaced by a smaller version, the Council of Four (France, Britain, the USA and Italy). When the conference officially ended with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles with Germany, a Conference of Ambassadors was left to supervise the peace treaties with the other defeated nations.

Four separate treaties were signed:

- Treaty of St Germain with Austria (1919)
- Treaty of Trianon with Hungary (1920)
- Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria (1919)
- Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey (1920), later revised by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923)

These treaties were produced using the Treaty of Versailles with Germany as a template: all four defeated countries were to disarm, pay reparations and lose territory. Following the principle of self-determination, new nation states were set up.