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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.

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.

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.

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.



Self-determination

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

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?

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

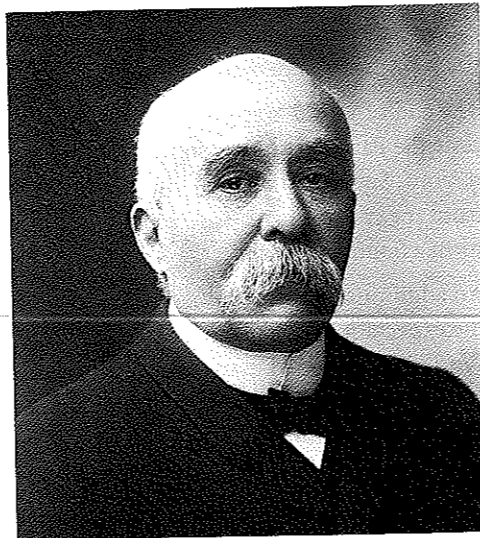
What do you think about the choice of location and opening date of the Paris Peace Conference? Discuss with your class the implications of such choices.

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'.

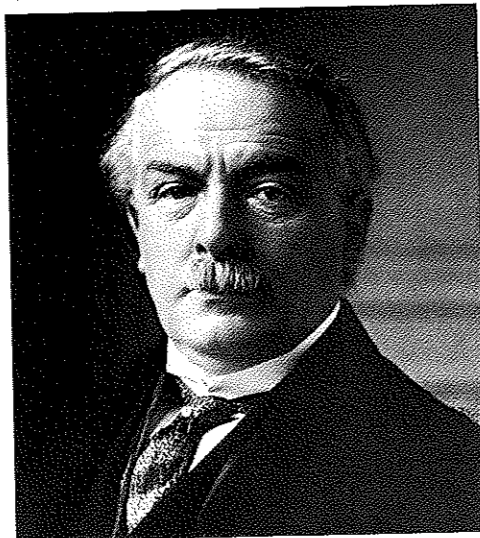
US President Woodrow Wilson



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

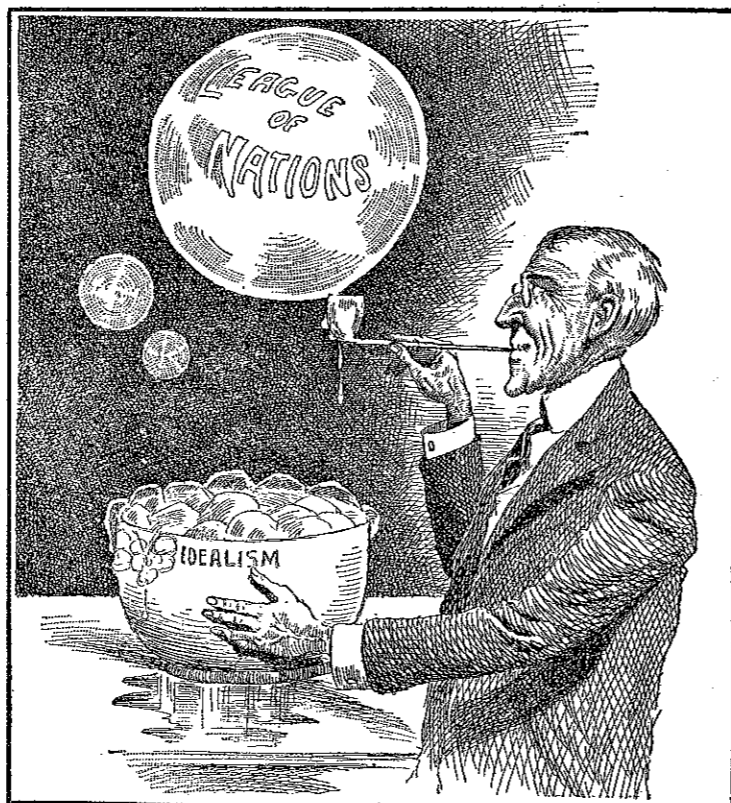
QUESTION

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.

● 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.

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.

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.

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.

● 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.

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.

1 **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.

This section analyzes the terms of the different peace treaties, the redistribution of territories in Europe and the problems that emerged as a result.

Treaty of Versailles

Wilson's Fourteen Points had been approved in 1918 as the basis for the peace treaty. However, as seen in the previous section, the conflicting aims of the three nations soon proved an obstacle to both the application of the Fourteen Points, as well as to the establishment of peace treaties that would ensure long-lasting peace.

The main areas of discussion at Paris were:

- Responsibility for the outbreak of war
- Reparations for the cost of and damage caused by the war
- The redistribution of territories in Europe and the colonies
- Disarmament
- The formation of an international organization with the aim of preventing conflicts such as World War I occurring again (the League of Nations will be treated separately in Chapter 3).

Responsibility for the outbreak of war

In 1918 few nations – apart from the Germans and their allies – believed that anyone other than Germany was responsible for starting the war. Not only was this the position of the leaders of the victorious nations at Versailles, but also the view of public opinion in many of these countries. Consequently, any representative of the victorious nations who might have even considered other views on responsibility for the outbreak of World War I would not have dared suggest them openly.

Establishing war responsibility was directly linked to determining who was to pay for the cost of war. The Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties was given the task of establishing and assigning responsibilities for the outbreak of war. The Commission was formed by representatives from Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Romania and Serbia.

SOURCE A

Responsibility [for the outbreak of World War I] rests first on Germany and Austria, secondly on Turkey and Bulgaria. The responsibility is made all the graver by reason of the violation by Germany and Austria of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg, which they themselves had guaranteed. It is increased, with regard to both France and Serbia, by the violation of their frontiers before the declaration of war.

From Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties report, 1919

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

According to Source A, why did the Commission consider Germany and Austria to bear more responsibility than Turkey and Bulgaria? To what extent do you agree with this view?

Reparations for the cost and damage of the war

SOURCE B

The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles (later to be known as 'War Guilt Clause')

The significance of this article at the time was that it provided the legal arguments to make Germany pay for World War I. Three important questions to be discussed at Versailles included:

- What type of damage and cost would compose reparations? This refers to what would be included in the final sum for reparations: what type of damage would Germany be accountable for? Would indemnities be included? Or just property damage?
- What final figure would Germany have to pay?
- In what ways was Germany to pay? In gold, goods, etc.?

Article 232 of the peace treaty demanded that Germany compensated the Allies for 'all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers.' This extended responsibility and implied Germany was accountable for the war pensions the Allied governments would have to pay, causing the total figure of reparations, still to be determined, to rise significantly. Compensation for the violation of the **Treaty of London (1839)**, leading to destruction in Belgium, was also included in the Treaty of Versailles.

It was still too early in 1919 to have an estimate of how much damage had been caused and how much reconstruction would cost. The issue led to heated debates in the Reparations Committee, mostly between France, Britain and the USA. Such disagreements were based on the fact that each country looked at reparations as instruments for different purposes:

- France prioritized security and worried about a quick German recovery and remilitarization. With that in mind, reparations were an economic burden to prevent Germany from threatening France in the future.
- Lloyd George hoped for a balance of power in continental Europe between the French and the Germans together with an economic recovery of Europe that would benefit the British **balance of trade**. Such recovery depended partly on the revival of Germany as a market for British goods. The challenge was to achieve this while satisfying the many in Britain who hoped reparations would reduce the financial burden on the country, which also owed money to the USA. This was not exclusive to Britain, but was also true of many countries that needed to find the means for reconstruction.
- US views on German reparations were more in line with those of the British and helped moderate French demands.

When trying to establish the figure for reparations, the dilemma arose about how much Germany theoretically owed and how much it could effectively pay. The disagreements over this explain why the final figure was not established until 1921. British economist **John Maynard Keynes** explained why this was so in *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*.

SOURCE C

If this round sum [reparations] had been named in the Treaty, the settlement would have been placed on a more business-like basis. But this was impossible for two reasons. Two different kinds of false statements had been widely promulgated, one as to Germany's capacity to pay,

Treaty of London (1839)

Treaty signed by European nations which, in Article 7, recognized the independence and neutrality of Belgium. In 1914, the Germans referred to it as a 'scrap of paper' and asked Britain to ignore it, which Britain refused to do. When Germany invaded Belgium, Britain considered itself at war with the aggressor.

Balance of trade

The difference in value between the total exports and total imports of a country during a specific period of time.

John M. Keynes

Keynes was the representative of the British Treasury at the Paris Peace Conference until 7 June 1919. He opposed reparations as discussed at Versailles on the grounds that they would bankrupt Germany and thereby compromise international stability and security.

the other as to the amount of the Allies' claims in respect of the devastated areas. The fixing of either of these figures presented a dilemma. A figure for Germany's prospective capacity to pay ... would have fallen hopelessly short of popular expectations both in England and in France. On the other hand, a definitive figure for damage done which would not disastrously disappoint the expectations which had been raised in France and Belgium might have been ... open to damaging criticism on the part of the Germans.

From John M. Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, 1919

Not establishing a definite figure for German reparations during the Peace Conference created problems about the legitimacy of reparations in the future. The fact that the Reparations Commission reached a final figure of 6,600 million British pounds only in 1921 implied that when Germany signed the Treaty of Versailles in June 1919, it signed a 'blank cheque' for reparations.

Blank cheque

A cheque bearing a signature but no stated amount.



In what ways was Germany to pay?

The third issue related to reparations was to determine how Germany was going to pay. The gold reserves in the Reichsbank (German Central Bank) were insufficient and it was determined that Germany would also pay in kind, with goods that included coal, cattle and even fishing boats.

Examiner's hint

Paper 1 asks that you evaluate two sources. You are expected to comment on their origins and purpose and explain how these contribute to their value and limitations for historians studying the issues to which the sources refer. An effective structure to this answer is to treat the sources separately, as opposed to what you are required to do for questions when sources are compared and contrasted. This way you can check that you have approached all four aspects of the evaluation for each source more easily.

The Reckoning – German: 'Monstrous, I call it. Why it's fully a quarter of what we should have made them pay, if we'd won.' Cartoon by Bernard Partridge, *Punch*, 1919.



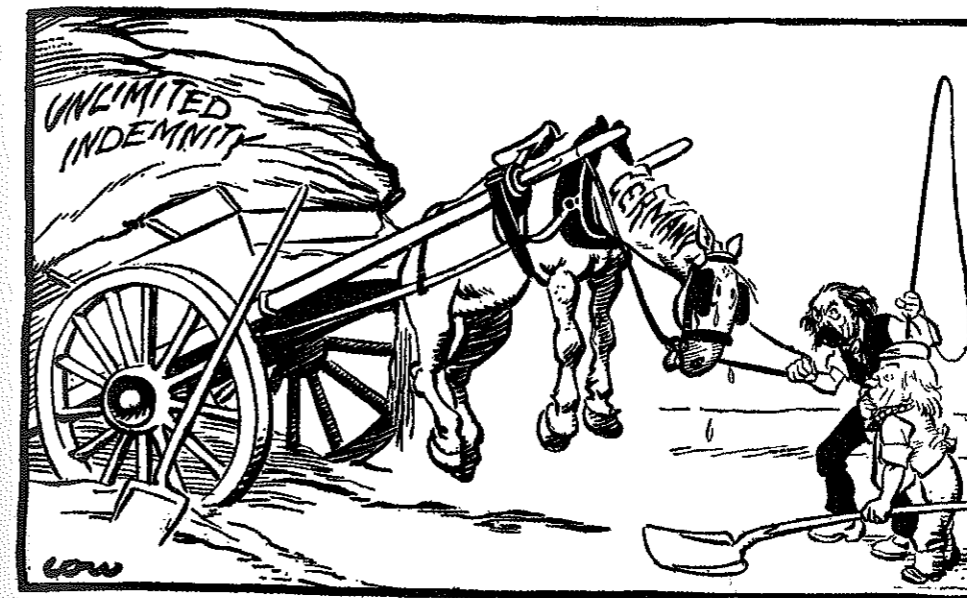
STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

With reference to their origins and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source B and Source C for an historian studying the discussions on reparations held at Versailles.

SOURCE D

SOURCE E



'Perhaps it would gee-up better if we let it touch earth.' Cartoon by David Low, drawn for a British newspaper, 1921.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTIONS

- What message is conveyed by Source D?
- What is the message conveyed by Source E? In what ways is the message different to that in Source D? Why do you think this is the case?

Examiner's hint

For Question (a), read the caption carefully. Make sure you consider the date and place where the source was originally published. Whose point of view is the cartoon representing?

For Question (b), ask yourself what situation the cartoon is representing. Look for elements to support your answer. Starting your answer by stating 'The message in this cartoon is...' will help you keep focused on the demands of the question. Then, you can proceed to explain how the elements in the cartoon help express the message; in other words, you will be supporting your explanation of the message with evidence from the source.

The redistribution of territories in Europe

Negotiations of the peace terms to be presented to Germany included territorial changes affecting most of continental Europe. The collapse of empires was seen as an opportunity to create, out of such multi-racial political units, a map of Europe that would allow each nationality to live within its own borders. Wilson's Fourteen Points proposed respect for the principle of self-determination. This became – as many other ideals of the Fourteen Points – desirable but not always possible. The desire to respect self-determination was limited in several ways. For example, it was necessary to ensure that the new nations emerging had the economic resources (arable land, minerals, outlet to the sea) to make their independence sustainable. The consideration of such factors led to some nationals being left in countries where they constituted (large or small) minorities, such as Germans and Magyars in Czechoslovakia.

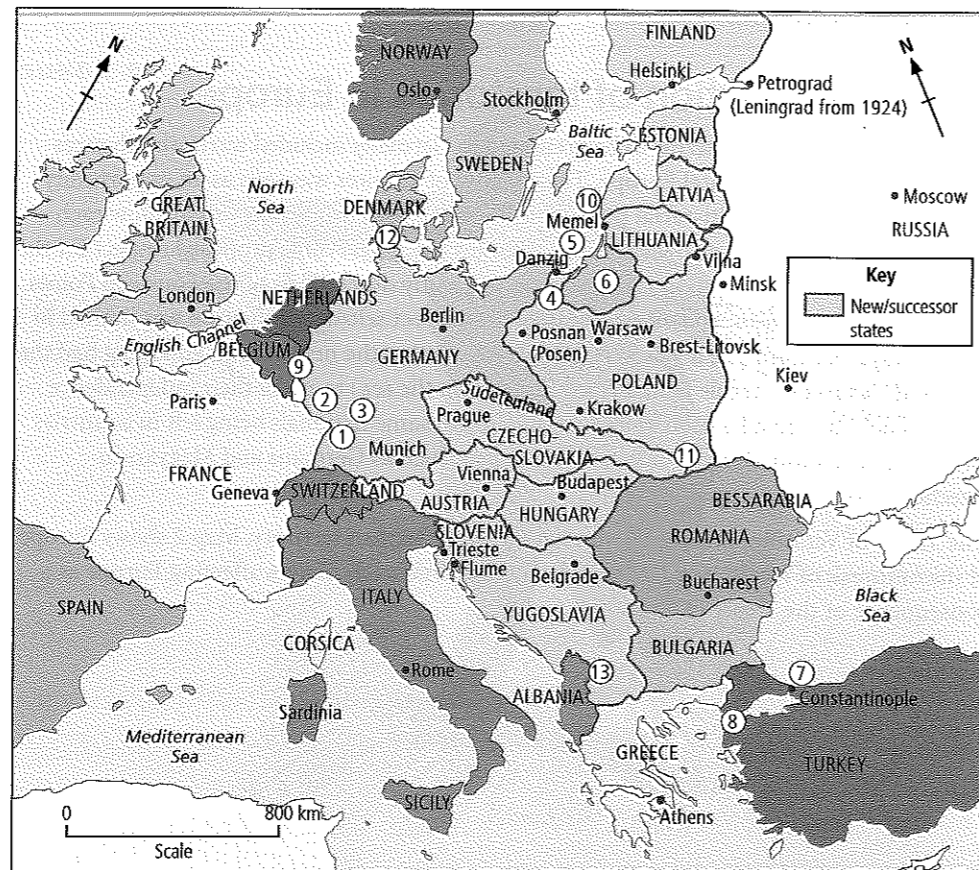
The Treaty of Versailles imposed several changes on German territory. Map 2 shows Europe at the outbreak of World War I. Map 3 details the territorial changes affecting Europe as a consequence of the Treaty of Versailles.

Map 2
Europe in 1914



Map 3
Europe 1919 – New States

- ① **Alsace and Lorraine**
▶ handed back to France
- ② **Rhineland**
▶ demilitarized zone
- ③ **Saar**
▶ under League of Nations for 15 years
- ④ **Polish Corridor**
▶ gave Poland an outlet to the sea
- ⑤ **Danzig**
▶ free city under League of Nations
- ⑥ **East Prussia**
▶ separated from the rest of Germany
- ⑦ **Bosporus Strait**
- ⑧ **Dardanelles Strait**
- ⑨ **Eupen-Malmedy**
▶ to Belgium
- ⑩ **Memel**
▶ to Lithuania
- ⑪ **Upper Silesia**
▶ to Poland
- ⑫ **Northern Schleswig**
▶ to Denmark
- ⑬ **Macedonia**



Alsace and Lorraine, which had been seized by Germany from France after the Franco-Prussian War (1871), were returned to France. Although France wanted the Rhineland, the treaty limited the French claim to making the area a demilitarized zone in which Germany would not be allowed to deploy military forces. An army of occupation was to be stationed west of the Rhine and in the bridgeheads at Cologne, Coblenz and Mainz.

The French demanded to be compensated for the coal mines destroyed by Germany in the war and claimed the coal-rich region of the Saarland as compensation. Rather than being given to France, the Saar was put under the administration of the League of Nations for 15 years, after which a **plebiscite** was to allow the inhabitants to decide whether they wished to return to Germany. In the meantime, the coal extracted was to go to France.

The creation of **Poland** to the east of Germany was a matter that Wilson had contemplated in his Fourteen Points, based on the principle of self-determination and which France related to its national security. The policy required providing Poland with the means to be economically independent to consolidate its position between Germany and the USSR. As a result, parts of Upper Silesia, Poznan and West Prussia formed part of the new Poland, which gained an outlet to the Baltic Sea. The major German port of Danzig (Gdansk) became a free city under the mandate of the League of Nations. The German province of East Prussia was separated from the rest of the country by a strip of land given to Poland to guarantee her access to the sea, creating what was known as the 'Polish Corridor'.

Other effects of the treaty included:

- The territories of Eupen and Malmedy were claimed by and given to Belgium.
- The German territory of North Schleswig, won by Germany from Denmark in 1864, became Danish.
- Memel was put under Allied control and later became Lithuanian.
- All territory received by Germany from Russia under the **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** was to be returned; Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were made independent states in line with the principle of self-determination.
- As another measure to limit her capacity for economic recovery, Germany was forbidden to unite with Austria (a move called *Anschluss* in German), now a separate nation from Hungary.
- Germany lost all her overseas colonies, which became mandates of the League of Nations, as well as trading rights in countries such as China and Egypt.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTIONS

- a) With your class, discuss how significant you consider the territorial changes were for Germany.
- b) If you were then told Germany lost 13 per cent of its territory in Europe and 7 million inhabitants but retained a population of 60 million (against, for example, 40 million inhabitants in France), would your answer to the question above be any different? If so, on what grounds?

Disarmament

It was believed that one of the causes leading to World War I had been the arms race prevailing in Europe from the 1870s. Consequently, the Treaty of Versailles addressed disarmament in an attempt to eradicate another of the causes of World War I. The treaty obliged Germany to disarm to the lowest point compatible with internal security, while making reference to the promotion of international disarmament in the future.

Plebiscite

A vote by which the people of an entire country or district express an opinion for or against a proposal.

Poland

The Congress of Vienna (1815) partitioned Poland between Russia, Austria, and Prussia and created the Kingdom of Poland with the Russian Tsar as King. Although Poles were forced to assimilate into the new countries, Polish nationalism continued to exist and encouraged revolts throughout the 19th century up to the eve of World War I. Drafted into the armies of Russia and the Central Powers, Poles fought against Poles during the war. The withdrawal of Russia and the defeat of Austria-Hungary and Germany contributed to the resurgence of the idea that a free, independent Poland was possible at the end of World War I.

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918)

Treaty signed in March 1918 between Germany and Bolshevik Russia, ending the latter's participation in the war and leading to its loss of the Baltic States, Poland, the Ukraine, Finland and territory in the Caucasus. The terms of the treaty have often been used to show how harshly Germany would have treated its enemies if it had won the war.

ToK Time

'The map is not the territory.' To what extent can maps help us understand the reasons for and results of conflict? Study the maps opposite and assess to what extent they can contribute to understand the problems arising from the need to redraw the map of Europe.

The following measures were taken to disarm Germany:

- German wartime weapons were to be destroyed.
- Germany was forbidden to have submarines, an air force, armoured cars or tanks. It was allowed to keep six battleships and an army of 100,000 men to provide internal security. An Allied army of occupation on the west bank of the Rhine was to be stationed in the area for 15 years.
- In the east of the Rhine, Germany had to respect a 50km exclusion zone (in which Germany was not allowed to send troops or keep military installations) and armies of occupation were stationed in bridgeheads (Cologne, Coblenz and Mainz).
- German **conscription** was banned.

Conscription

Compulsory enlistment in the armed forces.

Cartoon by David Low, published in *The Star* newspaper, July 1920.



DAVID THE SPOKESMAN: "Off with the spiked hat! What d'you think we fought for if not to abolish militarism?"

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

What is the message conveyed by Source F?

Student Answer – Katrina

The cartoon, published in 1920, refers to the disarmament of Germany. David Lloyd George is demanding that Germany disarms to the maximum level. This is shown by the fact that the man representing Germany, who is not carrying any weapons and is on his knees, is asked to remove his spiked hat, a symbol of the Army. The fact that there is a cannon beside Lloyd George and that he is escorted by armed soldiers shows that the Allies had not disarmed, and did not seem to be ready even to consider this. Therefore, the tone of the cartoon is critical of their policy towards Germany.

Examiner's comments

This answer shows a clear understanding of the message of the cartoon in several ways. In the first place, it identifies the topic of the cartoon – German disarmament – in the opening line. Then, it identifies Lloyd George as the central character in the cartoon and it discusses his role in the scene. The bag next to the man on his knees helps identify that he represents the German nation. All elements: the standing soldiers, their weapons, the cannon are commented on and explanations are linked to the message of the question, German disarmament. This answer would receive full marks.

German reaction to Versailles

A draft of the treaty was handed to the German delegation at Versailles on 7 May 1919. Having been unable to participate in the negotiations, the Germans were shocked by the terms and denounced the treaty as a betrayal of the Fourteen Points and as a **diktat** to the German nation. The main objections, as we have already seen, were that they were being asked to sign a 'blank cheque' for reparations on the grounds of Article 231 – which they soon named the 'war guilt clause'. They also opposed the new frontiers to the east of Germany, especially the territory lost to Poland, which divided Germany into two. German disarmament and the exclusion of the country from the new League of Nations were also matters of resentment.

The Germans demanded a revision of the treaty but, although some minor issues were taken up, the treaty remained in essence much the same. Finally, on 16 June, they were again presented with the treaty and given five days to sign it while the Allies revised military plans to attack Germany should it refuse to sign.

The problem for Germany was not restricted to the terms of the treaty, but also to the fact that no one in the country wanted to pay the political price of signing it. Many politicians associated with the regime, among them those responsible for signing the Armistice in November 1918, were soon renamed the 'November criminals'. Political turmoil ruled Germany. Finally, on 28 June 1919, under a new government that President Ebert had been able to form, the German delegation signed the Treaty of Versailles, which in the words of Marshal Ferdinand Foch (a leading French Army commander) was to be 'an armistice for twenty years'. The German newspaper *Deutsche Zeitung* wrote: 'THE TREATY IS ONLY A SCRAP OF PAPER! We will seek vengeance for the shame of 1919.'

But the Germans were not the only ones dissatisfied with the treaty. Many French argued that Germany had not been crippled to the extent of providing France with long-term security and Clemenceau was the object of bitter criticism for what was viewed as a compromise to French security. He lost the election in January 1920 and retired from political life.

The treaty was also met with opposition in the USA. The US Congress refused to ratify it and join the League of Nations for fear of being dragged into European conflicts in the future. In Britain, the view that the treaty had been too hard on Germany was shared by many, such as John M. Keynes (see above, pages 29–30). The Italians, for their part, argued that the nation had been betrayed as 'they had won the war but lost the peace.'

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

How different were the terms of the Treaty of Versailles to Wilson's Fourteen Points and how significant, if at all, was the difference?

Diktat

A harsh unilateral settlement imposed by the victors on the defeated.

Cartoon first published in the *Daily Express*, London, 10 May 1919.

SOURCE G



THEIR TURN NEXT.

ToK Time

Discuss the idea that 'Until the lion has an historian of his own, the tale of the hunt will always glorify the hunter' (African proverb). What do you understand by this view? Does this view help you understand the conflicts between victorious and defeated nations in World War I any better? Are there other historical events which you have studied to which this view could be applied?

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

What is the message conveyed by Source G?

Student's Answer – Alex

The cartoon shows Germany coming out of a dental treatment room, after having lost teeth (territory). The man representing Germany seems to be in pain. The dentists were the Big Four: USA, France, Britain and Italy who are imposing painful terms on Germany. The other defeated nations are waiting for their turn and look very scared at the sight of how Germany was treated.

Examiner's comments

The answer above identifies several elements of the cartoon. The student could have also commented on the gag over the mouth of the character representing Germany, which could be interpreted as a sign of the fact that it was not allowed to complain about the terms of the Treaty. Also, some of the men waiting for their turn are in military uniform; Germany is not. This can be taken an indication of German disarmament. During an examination, there may not be time to comment on all of these elements, but it is good practice to try to explain as many of them as you can when revising.

The Treaty of St Germain (1919)

Following World War I, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was split and Austria and Hungary became separate republics. This division led to the signing of separate treaties with Austria (St Germain, 1919) and Hungary (Trianon, 1920). The treaties aimed at the recognition of this new situation by the Austrian and Hungarian governments.

- The Treaty of St Germain implied formal Austrian recognition of the establishment of Czechoslovakia as an independent republic and of its annexation of Bohemia and Moravia. These territories included nearly three million German citizens, but they made Czechoslovakia a stronger country, a situation that France promoted.
- The creation of an independent state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (which would become known as Yugoslavia) was also contemplated by the Treaty of St Germain. This led to Austria's loss of Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

- Poland gained Galicia from former Austria-Hungary while Italy received the South Tyrol, Trentino and Istria. Romania obtained Transylvania.
- Austria was forbidden to unite with any other country without the approval of the League of Nations.
- As with Germany, Austria was made to accept certain responsibility for war damage and, consequently, was subjected to arms limitations. The Treaty of St Germain also ordered the payment of reparations in kind (payment with goods or services).

The Austrians had many complaints about how the treaty overruled the principle of self-determination. Not only did they make reference to the fact that the terms of the treaty forbade union with Germany – which was the strongest of the complaints – but also that Austrian nationals were put under Italian (South Tyrol) and Czech (Sudetenland) rule, ignoring the principle of self-determination. The loss of industrially rich regions to Czechoslovakia and Poland and of more than 15 million citizens weakened Austria, which soon came to face severe economic problems.

The Treaty of Neuilly (1919)

Bulgaria joined World War I in 1915 in support of the Central Powers. This choice led to its being treated as a defeated nation and to the loss of territory. The toughest clause in the Treaty of Neuilly in 1919 was the loss of Bulgarian access to the Aegean Sea. Greece benefited by the weakening of Bulgaria in the region.

- Macedonia was returned to Greece, which also received West Thrace, causing Bulgaria to lose its access to the Aegean Sea.
- Bulgaria recognized the independence of Yugoslavia and their boundaries were adjusted.
- The treaty included clauses on reparations and limitations on the armed forces of Bulgaria.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

Refer back to Maps 2 and 3. How significant do you consider the territorial losses for Austria to have been? Identify the countries that emerged in the former Austro-Hungarian territory as a result of the Treaty of St Germain. Identify the territory lost by Bulgaria and gained by Greece.

The Treaty of Trianon (1920)

The Treaty of Trianon signed with Hungary formally accepted the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as Austria had done in 1919 through the Treaty of St Germain. The treaty was signed only in 1920 because of political unrest in Hungary and the establishment of a communist state under the leader of the Hungarian Communist Party, Bela Kun, which collapsed in August 1919.

Bitter complaints by the Hungarians were based on the fact that the newly formed Hungary had lost much territory in comparison to the Kingdom of Hungary, which had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. More than three million Magyars (an ethnic group associated with Hungary) had been put under foreign rule, halving the size of the Hungarian population.

Other effects of the treaty were:

- Newly formed Czechoslovakia received Ruthenia and Slovakia.

- Croatia and Slovenia joined what would become known as Yugoslavia.
- Romania received Transylvania.

As in the Austrian case, the Treaty of Trianon contemplated the issue of relative Hungarian responsibility for the outbreak of the war and imposed reparations and limitations on its armed forces.

One of the beneficiaries of the treaty was Romania, who had joined the war on the Allied side in 1916. However, it could be said that the reason why Romania received territory was the Allied interest in its becoming a buffer state between Russia and the Dardanelles Straits, to prevent Russian access to the Mediterranean Sea.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

Before the outbreak of World War I, the Kingdom of Hungary was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Refer back to Maps 2 and 3 to understand the reasons why Hungary, now a separate country, objected to the territorial changes. Consider how other countries benefited at the expense of Hungary.

RESEARCH ACTIVITY

Individually or in pairs, find additional information on Bela Kun. How did he come to power in Hungary and why was he overthrown? How do you think these events impacted on the fear of expansion of Bolshevism in Europe?

The Treaty of Sèvres (1920)

The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire had long been expected and the fact that the empire had fought World War I on the side of the Central Powers accelerated events. The aims of the peacemakers were to set up new borders for Turkey in line with the principle of self-determination and to make certain that Turkey would be unable to cause fresh confrontations in the Balkans.

The decision to apply the principle of self-determination meant a serious revision of the territorial composition of Turkey. It was time to decide the fate of all the territories that did not have a Turkish ethnic majority. The weakening of Turkey meant the strengthening of other nations in the region such as Greece, which benefited from Sèvres.

The terms of the Treaty of Sèvres:

- The treaty ended Turkish control over North Africa and the Arab territories. Britain gained influence in the region by controlling mandates in Palestine and Iraq, with large oil resources (Mosul), while France received the Lebanon and Syria as mandates.
- Greece gained East Thrace, Smyrna and many Aegean islands. The treaty contemplated a plebiscite to take place in five years for Smyrna. The Turks were outraged at this clause, which ignored the principle of self-determination.
- Cyprus, under British occupation since 1878, became officially British.
- Germany's shares of the Turkish Petroleum Company were given to France.
- Italy acquired Adalia, Rhodes and the Dodecanese islands.
- Armenia and Kurdistan were to become independent states.
- Land was also lost to Bulgaria, leaving only the region around Constantinople (Istanbul) as Turkish territory in Europe.
- Under the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres, Britain, France and Italy kept troops in Turkey.
- Both the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus Straits were open to shipping and put under the supervision of an international commission formed by Britain, France, Italy and Japan.
- Turkey was forced to pay reparations and its army was limited to 50,000 men.

Mandated territories

Mandated territories formerly belonged to the German and Ottoman Empires and were placed under the administration of another country. The aim of this system was to help them reach the conditions that could guarantee they could operate as independent countries. The mandate system will be studied in detail in Chapter 4.

The Treaty of Sèvres soon proved to be difficult to implement. Nationalist opposition aimed to repudiate Sèvres and prevent the disintegration of the Turkish-speaking regions of the empire, led by Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk). War broke out between Greece and Turkey, and Greece was defeated. The political impact of the Greco-Turkish War brought the abdication of Greek King Constantine and the abolition of the Sultanate in Turkey, with Mustafa Kemal as the new leader of Turkey. By imposing such harsh terms on Turkey, the Allies had weakened the position of the Sultan, whose regime guaranteed observance of the treaty. The terms of Sèvres were revised and in 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne was drafted.

The Treaty of Lausanne (1923)

The Treaty of Sèvres had been too harsh on Turkey and had contributed to much of what had happened in the country since 1920. However, there was doubt among the Great Powers as to whether it was sensible to revise a treaty mostly as a result of its having been challenged by force.

The most significant changes in relation to Sèvres were:

- The return to Turkey of East Thrace (including Constantinople, Smyrna, some territory along the Syrian border and several Aegean islands).
- Turkish sovereignty over the Bosphorus and Dardanelles Straits was recognized, although the area was to remain demilitarized and subject to international conventions.
- The withdrawal of foreign troops from Turkish territory.
- Reparation and demilitarization clauses were removed.

In return, Turkey renounced all claims on territories outside its new boundaries and undertook to guarantee the rights of its minorities. A separate agreement between Greece and Turkey provided for the compulsory exchange of minorities.

Lausanne contributed little to reducing the tension between Greece and Turkey, as future clashes in Cyprus would prove, and was heavily criticized in Britain, France and the USA. The Arabs, who had hoped for support for their independence after their participation against Turkey in World War I, were disappointed and preoccupied by the proposal of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

Using the sources in this section (including the maps) and your own knowledge, examine the view that none of the peace treaties laid the basis for a stable peace in Europe.

The Straits

The Bosphorus and Dardanelles Straits connect the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Sèvres demilitarized them and put the area under the control of the International Straits Commission of the League of Nations. Lausanne returned the zone to Turkey, but kept it demilitarized and open to free navigation. In 1936 the Montreux Convention abolished the International Straits Commission and gave Turkey control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles Straits, allowing Turkey to remilitarize them. Fear of the aggressive policies of Germany and Italy led to the convention that authorized Turkey to close the Straits to warships of all countries when at war or threatened by aggression.

Examiner's hint

The multiple sources type of question is the final one on the exam paper and it is good practice to do it last. It requires that you carefully analyze all five sources included, and that you relate them to the specific question asked. Answering Questions 1, 2 and 3 first should have helped you gain insight into the meaning and significance of each source in relation to Question 4. Remember it is important that you include knowledge of your own, which can either be new arguments in response to the question or additional material that may help you expand points offered by the sources. No matter how good your answer is, if it is only based on the sources or on your own knowledge you will only be able to obtain a maximum of 5 out of the 8 available marks.

Section III:

The geopolitical and economic impact of the Treaty of Versailles on Europe; the establishment and impact of the mandate system

The new frontiers drawn by the treaties impacted on the social, political and economic structures of both new and existing countries. They transformed the composition of the populations, redistributed natural resources and changed diplomatic relations among nations. This section aims at explaining how these **geopolitical factors** – combined with economic ones – affected Europe and played a part in the need to revise decisions taken in 1919.

Geopolitical factors

The combination of geographic, demographic and political factors in any society or state.

Weimar Republic (1919–33)

The first federal parliamentary democratic government proclaimed in Germany, in November 1918. The Weimar Constitution made all men and women from the age of 20 eligible to vote. Faced with many internal and international crises, it came to an end in 1933 with the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor and the subsequent passing of the Enabling Act.

The Treaty of Versailles and Germany

Background information

World War I brought about the collapse of the German Empire in November 1918, when the Kaiser fled the country. In February 1919, the **Weimar Republic** was proclaimed, with Friedrich Ebert as its first President. One of the most challenging responsibilities ahead was the signing of the treaty to end the war. Despite having thought that negotiations would result in a treaty based on the Fourteen Points, the Germans had been presented with what they considered to be a dictated peace. This peace laid full responsibility for the war on Germany and her allies and demanded the handing over of German territory in Europe and overseas, as well as demilitarization and the payment of reparations. As we have seen, those responsible for signing the Armistice in November 1918 soon became known as the ‘November criminals’, and the association of the Weimar Republic with the Treaty of Versailles contributed to many of the political and economic problems faced by the new government.

What was the impact of the Treaty of Versailles on Germany?

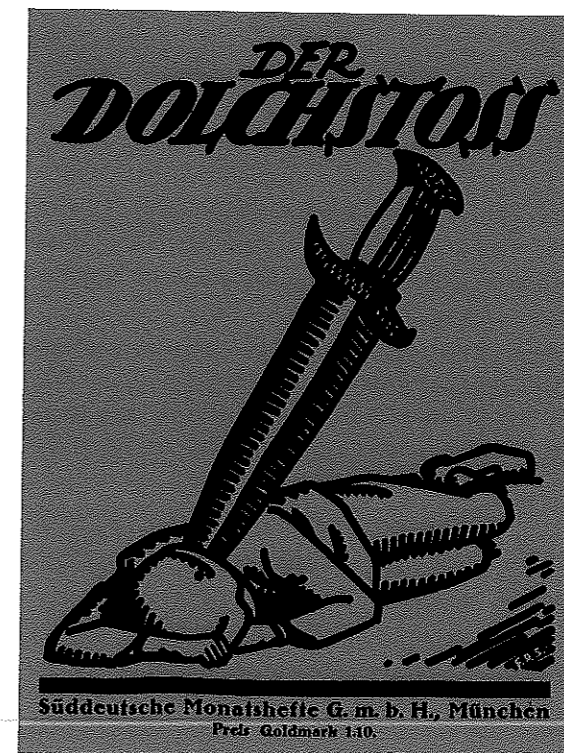
Germany lost approximately 12 per cent of its population and 13 per cent of its territory. This penalty included the loss of 48 per cent of its iron ore, 15 per cent of its agricultural production and 16 per cent of its coal. As shown in Map 3, Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France, the borders with Denmark and Belgium were adjusted, the Saarland was put under Allied military occupation and the Polish Corridor was carved out of German territory with one and a half million Germans living then under Poland. The *Anschluss* conditions prohibited the union with Austria and territory was lost to the formation of Czechoslovakia. These measures, combined with the war guilt clause, the loss of colonial territory overseas, reparations and demilitarization all created deep resentment of Versailles among the Germans. It also impacted negatively on the new Weimar Republic, which was held responsible for accepting such terms and played a part in the origin of the idea that the German Army had been ‘stabbed in the back’ by politicians.

The Weimar Republic inherited a heavy financial burden from World War I increased by the imposition of reparations by the Treaty of Versailles. Defeat forced Germany to pay rather than collect reparations. It was not long before Germany met financial difficulties in making the payments.

Although the Treaty of Versailles was harder on Germany than the Germans had expected, it could be argued that Germany was not totally weakened as a result of it. The collapse

of the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman Empires led to the establishment of new, smaller and weaker nations to the east of Germany. Geopolitically, Germany could be said to have gained from this.

SOURCE A



◀ The generic dagger, published on the cover of the magazine *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, Munich, May 1924.

SOURCE B

The chaotic conditions in Germany over the winter of 1918–19, and the demobilisation of the army left hundreds of thousands of young men disorientated and thirsting for some sort of action. They found it in fighting on the streets against political opponents, joining in national fraternities or enlisting in irregular units which continued to fight after 1919 in the Baltic area and onto the Polish borders. Successive governments faced great difficulties in trying to retract German military force to 100,000, and in giving assurance to the allies that Germany was disarming to the limits stipulated by the Versailles Treaty. Large sections of the population resented the military restrictions and needed little encouragement to flout [disobey] them.

From Ruth Henig, *The Weimar Republic 1919–33*, 1998

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

What is the message conveyed by Source A?

Student Answer – Raj

This cartoon represents the idea that Germany was betrayed during World War I. We can see a German person stabbed with a knife in the back. It represents the German myth that the country had been betrayed and lost World War I not due to military defeat but to sabotage by sectors of the German society. The size of the knife, in relation to that of the person, can be taken as an indicator of how big the betrayal was thought to be.

● **Examiner's hint**

Some sources can offer many relevant points to the question being asked. However, because you are working within a time limit, it is useful to look at the marks awarded for a particular question to decide how many points you will make. If a source does not appear to offer a number of points equivalent to the marks awarded to the question, then consider the possibility that the examiner may be expecting you to develop the points offered for full marks.

ToK Time

'In history, truth is not as important as what is believed to be true.'
To what extent does this quotation apply to the German situation in 1918–20?

QUESTION

According to Source B, what was the impact of the Treaty of Versailles on Germany?

QUESTION

With reference to their origins and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source A and Source B for an historian studying the impact of the Treaty of Versailles on Germany.

Student Answer – Angela

Source A is a cartoon published in Germany in 1924 showing a German citizen who has been stabbed in the back. Its value is that it shows the opinion of the German media at the time, one of disapproval of Versailles. The fact that the cartoon featured on the cover of the publication shows this was an important issue in Germany still in 1924. The limitation of Source A is that we do not know the political orientation of the publication.

Source B is an extract from a book written by a contemporary historian. Its value lies in the hindsight which the author has benefited from. Because it only seems to focus on the military, Source B may have limited usefulness to a historian who is researching the impact of Versailles in all aspects of German life.

Examiner's comments

This answer comments on the origins, purpose, value and limitations of both sources. However, most of the points made could be developed further. For example, the limitations of Source A can be expanded. We may not know the political orientation, but the fact that the cartoon featured on the cover of the magazine may be suggesting a high degree of approval of its message. Consequently, it may be viewed as propaganda against the Weimar government and, as such, it should not be taken at face value by an historian.

QUESTION

Compare and contrast Maps 2 and 3 (page 32). How did Germany's eastern frontiers change after World War I? Explain why it could be argued that Germany benefited from these new frontiers in 1919.

The readjustments of frontiers in Europe following the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires

Background information

The post-war settlements created or restored states such as Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Finland, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. Albania, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece emerged from World War I with changed borders. It could be argued that with the post-war treaties Eastern Europe did not gain political stability, as new sources of conflict emerged. These were based on ethnic and cultural differences within these countries and on the consequent rivalries between them. The treaties imposed an additional challenge on the European countries. The new geopolitical situation was not only about learning to live as new or different national units, but also about re-establishing diplomatic relations among them.

The following section will analyze:

- Minorities and the impact of the principle of self-determination
- The political challenges for successor states

- The economic impact of the treaties
- The impact of the treaties on the diplomatic relations of the nations in the region.

The impact of the principle of self-determination and the issue of minorities

Many factors came into play in the design of post-war Europe. In the first place, there was the question of minorities. It had not always been possible to draw territorial boundaries that fully respected the principle of self-determination and – as a result of this – the peace treaties left millions of people as ethnic minorities under foreign rule. The cases of the South Tyrol becoming part of Italy, the establishment of the Polish Corridor (former German territory), which divided Germany into two, and that of the Sudetenland becoming part of the new state of Czechoslovakia are some of the examples of this point.

One of the reasons for what some saw as a disregard for the principle of self-determination was the fact that nations needed to be provided with the economic means to guarantee their stability and independence. The Polish Corridor, for example, was created to provide Poland with an outlet to the sea, both to strengthen its economy as well as for defence purposes. A landlocked Poland, trapped between Germany and Russia – who both resented their new neighbour – would have had limited chances of survival. In the meantime, the Polish Corridor separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany and put more than two million Germans under Polish rule, which created its own problems.

In many cases, minorities resented their new condition and conflicts emerged. Some of these conflicts were handled by plebiscites after 1919, while others remained unresolved and led to crises in the inter-war years. The new states signed minority treaties by which they committed themselves to a fair treatment of the minorities in their territories. The minority treaties were in turn supervised by the League of Nations.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

RESEARCH ACTIVITY

Find out about one other region or territory in which the principle of self-determination was difficult to implement. Explain the nature and significance of that potential conflict.

Look for information about a plebiscite held after Versailles. What issues of self-determination did it address and how satisfactory was its outcome to the parties involved?

The political challenges for successor states

President Wilson had hoped the new successor states would adopt democratic forms of government, in the belief that democracy helped the preservation of peace. Although successor states often adopted democratic constitutions, the political systems emerging in many of these states could not really be considered democracies.

Why was it difficult for democracy to be enforced after World War I? As previous members of empires, the citizenship and their leaders lacked democratic tradition and experience. The racial tensions between ethnic groups were reflected in different political parties, contributing to political dissent and the destabilization of parliamentary governments. Underdeveloped industries, inefficient agricultural systems and trade barriers limited the development of the national economies, affecting standards of living and the expectations of the people.