



IDEOLOGY AND CONFLICT

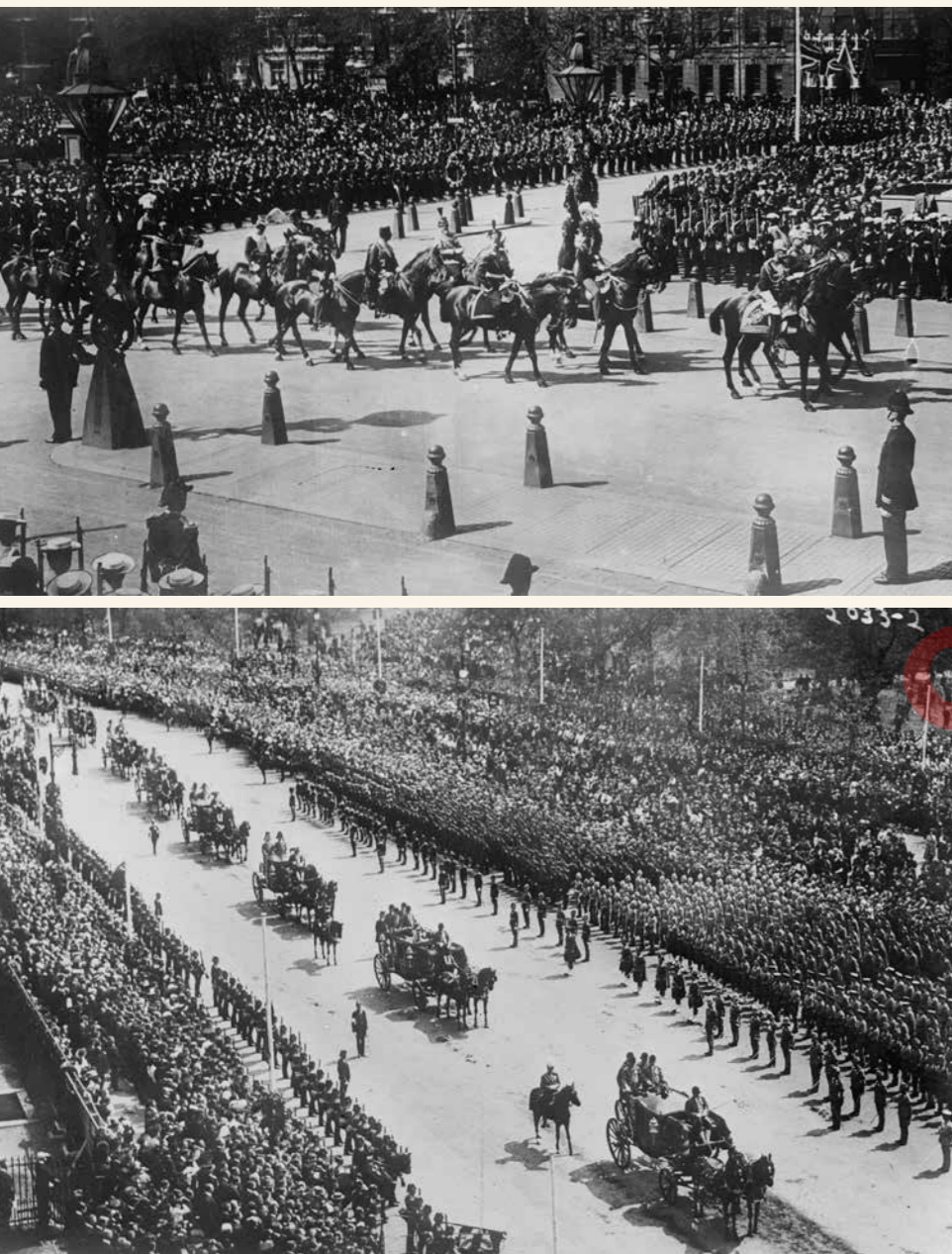
What impact did the treaties which concluded World War I have on nations and people?

What were the dominant ideologies of the period?

What impact did the post-war treaties, the development of ideologies and the economic crisis have on the events leading to World War II?

THE WORLD BEFORE 1914

Barbara Tuchman: ‘The muffled tongue of Big Ben tolled nine by the clock as the cortege left the palace, but on history’s clock it was sunset, and the sun of the old world was setting in a dying blaze of splendor never to be seen again.’¹



KEY POINTS

- At the start of the twentieth century, vast areas of the world were part of European empires.
- In 1914, Britain had 55 colonial territories; France 29; the Netherlands 21; and Germany 10.
- Germany was a relative latecomer to European power, only unified in 1871.

KEY TERMS

Empire

A group of states or countries ruled over and ‘owned’ by another country.

Colony

Foreign territory ruled by another country.

Imperialism

The practice of building an empire.

Old World

The countries of Europe, which were considered to have old customs and traditions.

New World

Countries such as Australia and the United States of America, which were not bound by old customs and traditions.

SOURCE 1

Photographs from the funeral of King Edward VII, 20 May 1910.



INTRODUCTION

On 20 May 1910, the gun carriage bearing the coffin of King Edward VII of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was taken from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Hall. The funeral procession marked a significant moment in history, one of the largest gatherings of European royalty. Nine European monarchs rode with the casket, along with numerous princes and dukes, ‘forty more imperial or royal highnesses.’² It was the last time that so many royal families met before their world was shattered by World War I and its aftermath.

Although it was 1910 rather than 1900, the funeral of Edward VII in some ways marked the end of the nineteenth century. For Europe, the last century seemed one of peace and certainty. The new century promised hope, but change and uncertainty. Within eight years of Edward VII’s funeral procession, many of the kings, emperors, princes and dukes who attended no longer ruled empires; some of those empires had disappeared, and several of the men themselves were dead.



The Congress of Vienna, 1819.

SOURCE 2

HISTORIAN BARBARA TUCHMAN REFLECTS ON THE DEATH OF KING EDWARD VII

There was a general sense as of an anchor slipping away and of a recognized order of things gone. People somehow felt that the familiar royal bulk had stood between England and change, between England and outside menaces ... When he died people expected times would now get worse. ‘I always felt,’ said one Edwardian, ‘that he kept things together somehow.’

Barbara Tuchman, The Proud Tower: A portrait of the world before the war 1890–1914, (Papermac, 1966), 391.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What does Tuchman mean when she described the death of King Edward VII as ‘an anchor slipping away’?
2. According to Tuchman, what security had King Edward VII provided during his reign?

EUROPE AFTER NAPOLEON

The Napoleonic Wars ended in 1815 with Napoleon’s defeat at Waterloo, and the Congress of Vienna sought to rebuild peace and order in Europe. The dominant powers at Vienna were Austria-Hungary, Russia and Prussia, which were determined to re-establish the rule of monarchs across Europe. They were united in their ambition to suppress any attempts to question their rule. The Congress saw France as the main threat to ‘peace and order,’ so the map of Europe was redrawn to ensure France’s power was limited while the powerful empires retained a balance of power.

However, the Congress of Vienna failed to halt two strong sentiments that were developing during the nineteenth century: nationalism and liberalism. Nationalism—or pride in belonging to one’s country—was demonstrated in the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires, where ethnic groups wanted freedom from their foreign

rulers and the right to form their own nations. Nationalism also motivated people who identified as ‘Italian’ or ‘German’ and wanted to form one united ‘Italy’ or ‘Germany.’

Liberalism—the belief that people should be equal under the law and have individual liberties—encouraged demands for a share in government. These forces helped make 1848 ‘the year of revolutions,’ with revolutions in almost every country in Europe. In every case, the ‘middle class’ played a prominent part, as they felt particularly frustrated by the lack of liberty.

The attempted revolutions of 1848 were quickly suppressed. By 1849 all of the revolutions had been defeated and European monarchies reasserted their dominance over the political systems in their empires. Nevertheless, nationalism did not die, and continued as a dominating influence throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and up to and including World War I.

GERMANY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

At the end of the eighteenth century, the area of Germany was divided into more than 300 independent states, which often had differences in religion and language, as well as in culture and social structure. But the Napoleonic Wars had helped develop a sense of German unity, and this was strengthened during the nineteenth century. There was a series of agreements and special relationships between the German states, such as the *Zollverein*, a type of customs union that reduced barriers to commerce and trade within the union. The Prussian Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, is particularly identified as the leader of the ideal of German unification. German nationalism was stimulated by the unification of Italy, and encouraged by improved transport—especially railway development.

In the earlier part of the nineteenth century, Austria dominated central Europe, but Prussia challenged this dominance. Growing German unity, especially under Prussian leadership, increasingly challenged Austria's position. German states were united when Prussian troops defeated the French in 1871, and Wilhelm was proclaimed Kaiser—German Emperor—in Versailles Palace.

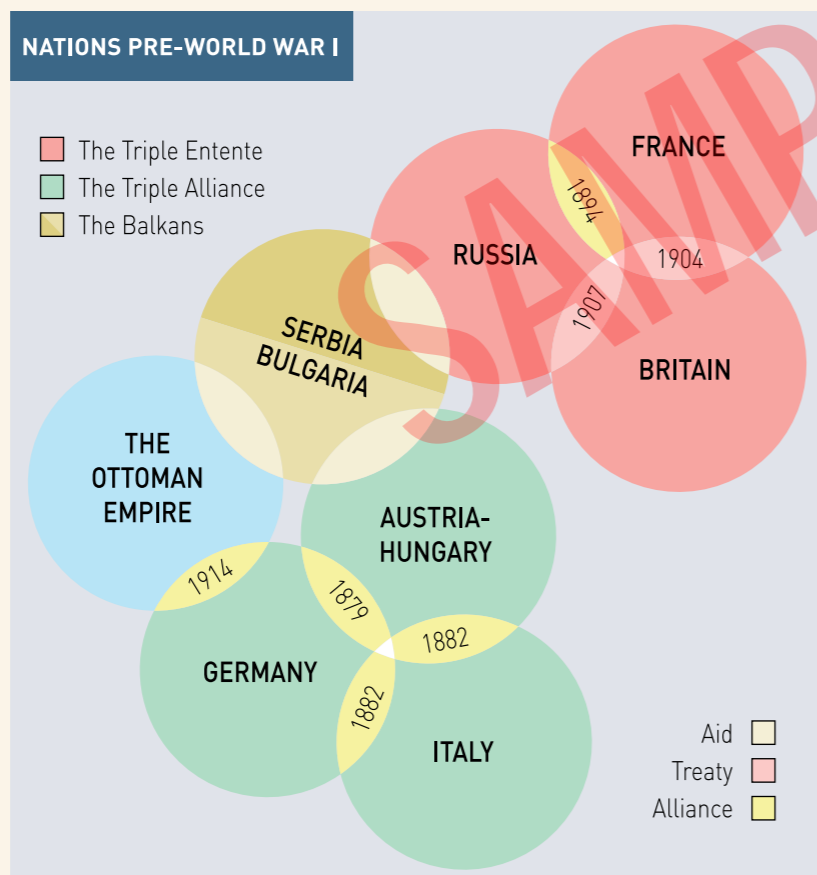
Between 1859 and 1870, the various Italian kingdoms and states united to form the new Kingdom of Italy. In 1871, Germany was also unified with the capture of Alsace-Lorraine from France and the proclamation of German emperor Kaiser Wilhelm.

Although Western Europe was relatively peaceful in the forty years prior to the outbreak of World War I, underlying tensions persisted, with much antagonism and rivalry between European powers. After 1815, parts of the former Poland had been incorporated into Prussia, Austria and Russia, and Polish nationals naturally maintained their nationalism; Russia, in particular, tried to suppress any Polish nationalist rebellions.

France was sympathetic to Polish independence, which led to increasing tension between Russia and France.

Nationalism and rivalry between powerful empires also marked the Balkans, the area where the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire intersected. People of Slavic ethnicity resented being subject to one or other of these empires and became increasingly determined to have their own nation. At the same time, other empires, especially the Russian Empire, saw this as an opportunity to reduce the power of Austria-Hungary.

These dreams of nationalism and the rivalries between once-powerful empires intensified in the years prior to World War I.



THE AGE OF EMPIRES

The first European colonies were established along the coastlines of Africa, Asia and the Americas from the sixteenth century, initially to provide ports for trade and replenishing food supplies. Over the next three centuries, these colonies were extended and the colonial powers moved inland. During the nineteenth century, this expansion concentrated on further parts of Africa and Asia (including

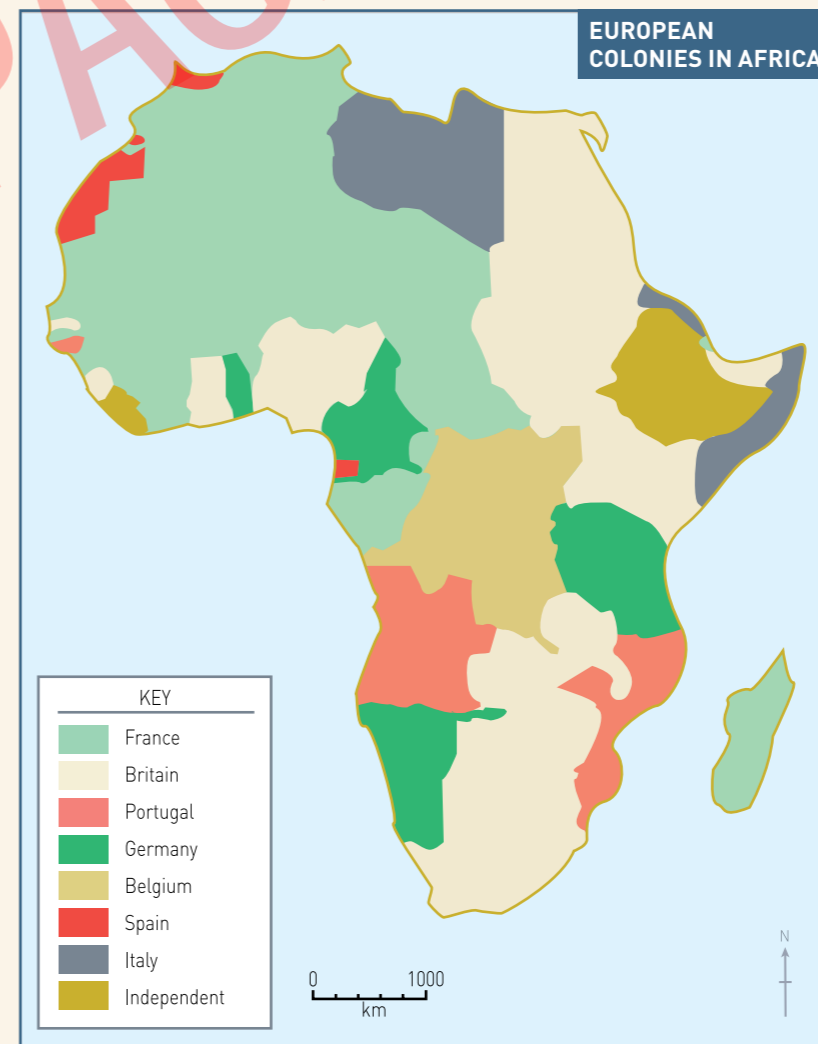
China), and the Pacific. By the end of the nineteenth century, European powers controlled large areas on all inhabited continents and on numerous islands.

From 1880, Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy and Portugal made a 'scramble for Africa', and in fifteen years they 'took' over 90 per cent of that continent. They were motivated by several beliefs: that Africa's raw materials and subsequent

markets would greatly improve their trading power; that they had a moral or religious obligation to bring 'civilisation' and Christianity to Africans; and that colonial expansion brought national power and prestige.

At the end of the nineteenth century, this colonial expansion created tensions. Each colonial power was anxious to improve—or at least maintain—its area of dominance and felt threatened by other European powers eyeing their areas of influence. For example, Britain and France wanted to maintain their colonies in Africa, and resented German attempts to establish its own 'place in the sun.' In the South Pacific region, Australia was concerned by German expansion into countries such as New Guinea.

SOURCE 3
EUROPEAN COLONIES IN AFRICA



SOURCE 4
GERMAN HISTORIAN, HANS DELBRÜCK, 1896
In the next decades vast tracts of land in very different parts of the world will be distributed. The nation which goes away empty-handed will lose its place in the next generation from the ranks of those Great Powers which will coin the human spirit. Did we find the German Empire to see it disappear under our grandchildren?
Harry Mills, The Road to Sarajevo, (Macmillan, 1983), 15.

ACTIVITY

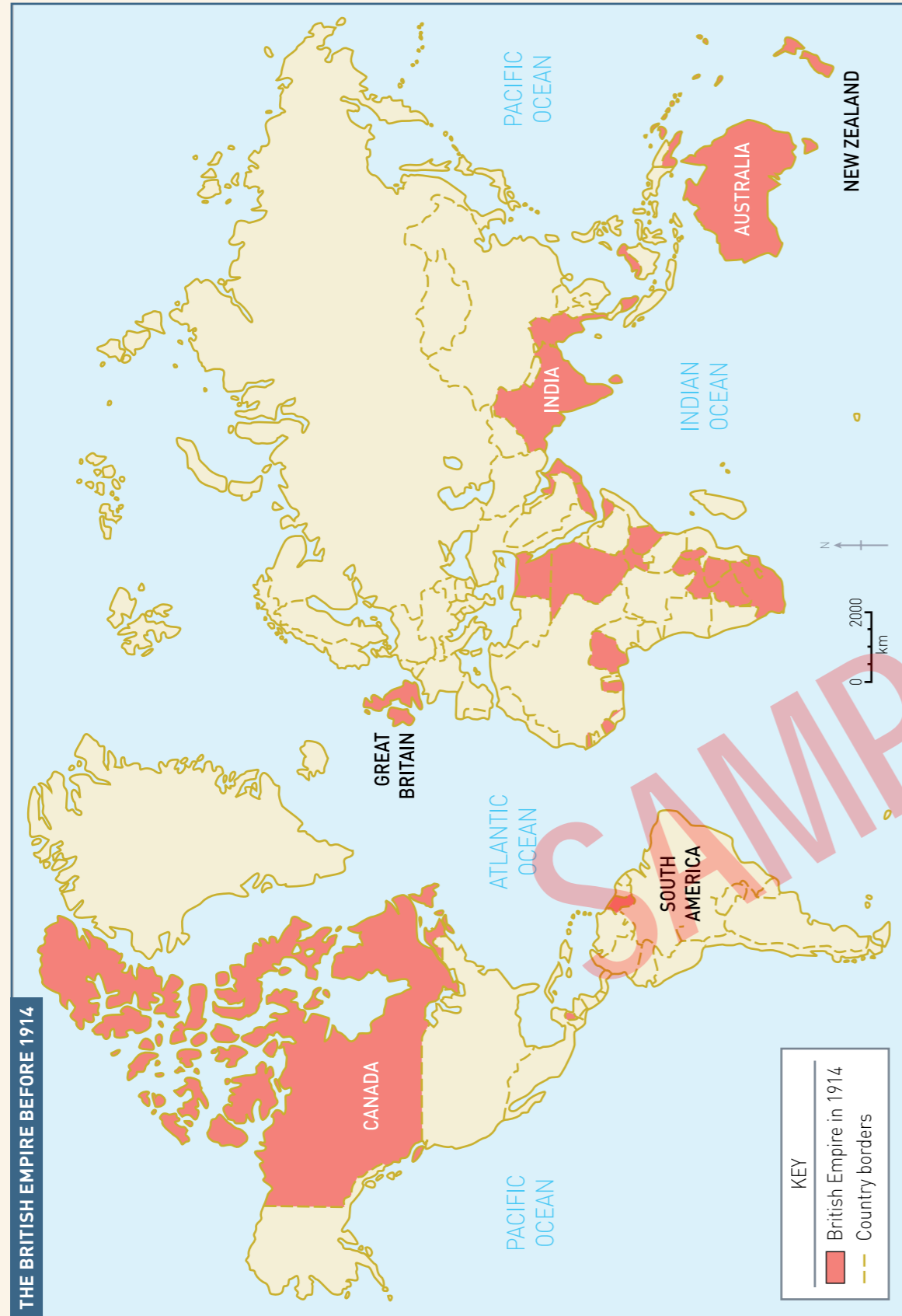
SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. What value does Hans Delbrück see in a nation controlling vast tracts of land?
2. What would have been Hans Delbrück's attitude towards the map depicted in Source 5?

SOURCE 5

BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1914

THE BRITISH EMPIRE BEFORE 1914



PEACE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY?

From 1871, most of Europe was at peace, and improvements in agriculture and industrialisation brought improved living standards to many people in Western Europe. Half the population of Western Europe now lived in towns and cities, and Britain was even more urbanised. Although migration to cities often brings enormous social problems, the movement from rural to urban living in the latter part of the nineteenth century was accompanied by significant improvements in science, medicine and engineering. Cities such as London and Berlin had low death rates in the 1900s, and many of their inhabitants enjoyed a high standard of living. It is estimated that an Englishman in 1914 was about four times better off than his great-grandfather in a similar social position had been in 1801.

There were no wars fought in Western Europe between 1871 and 1914, and there was a sense that this was 'normal.' There were many wars fought in that period, including in the Balkans region of Europe, as well as wars between European powers in and between their colonies. But Western Europe itself was free of warfare.



SOURCE 6
Life in London, 1914.

ACTIVITIES

MAP EXERCISE

1. School students in the late 1800s to early 1900s were often taught that the 'sun never sets upon the British Empire.' Classrooms typically displayed a map similar to that depicted in Source 5. How does the map help explain that 'the sun never sets upon the British Empire'?
2. In 1914, approximately what fraction of Africa was British colonial territory?
3. To which empires did the rest of Africa belong?

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What was the key difference in feelings of security between the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century?
2. What motivated European powers to undertake a 'scramble for Africa' after 1880?
3. Complete the following statement, using evidence from this Snapshot: 'In the 40 years from 1871, Western Europe enjoyed ...'

TURNING POINTS

Explain why the funeral of King Edward VII in 1910 marked a watershed or historical turning point, separating two distinct eras. Support your response with reference to primary sources or historical interpretations.

WORLD WAR I

H.G. Wells / Woodrow Wilson: 'This is a war to end all wars.'

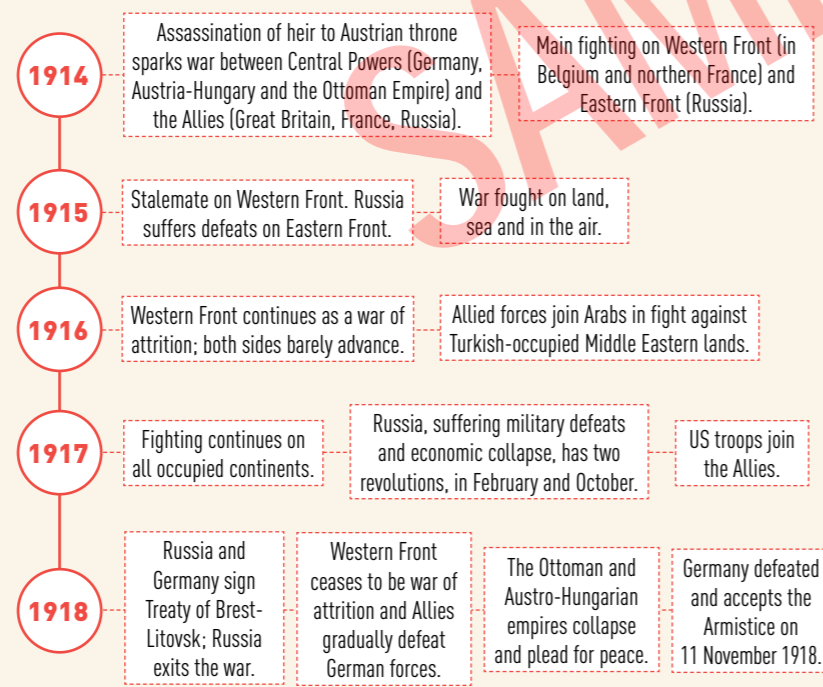


SOURCE 1
The Gallipoli campaign in 1915.

KEY POINTS

- World War I officially commenced with Britain's declaration of war against Germany on 4 August 1914.
- World War I was fought between the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary and the Ottoman Empire) and the Allies (formed by France, Britain and Russia).
- Over fifty countries were directly involved in World War I, over 65 million troops were mobilised, over 7 million troops were killed. It is estimated that total casualties number 35 to 37 million people.
- Fighting ceased on 11 November 1918, with the signing of the Armistice.

KEY EVENTS



INTRODUCTION

On 12 August 1914, *Punch* magazine published the cartoon 'Bravo, Belgium!' showing a small Belgian farmer standing up to an aggressive German 'brute.' The British cartoon left the reader in no doubt that Belgium deserved support to resist Germany's attempt to apply its plan (the Schlieffen Plan) to invade France via Belgium. But this event, which ushered in World War I, was the final playing out of long-term tensions and disputes between European powers.

These tensions had intensified during the last decades of the nineteenth century, and by mid-1914 had led to two armed camps: the Central Powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy) and the Allies (formed by France, Britain and Russia). When the heir to the Austrian throne was assassinated in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914, each European nation started to manoeuvre towards war. World War I officially commenced with Britain's declaration of war against Germany on 4 August 1914.

Few imagined that this war would last four years and involve every inhabited continent, be fought on the seas and in the air, and result in millions of deaths.

The war was fought mostly in Europe. The Western Front was characterised by long lines of trenches; the Eastern Front was longer but less defined. The major European powers were supported by their allies across the world; for example, Australia immediately supported the 'mother country'—Great Britain—and sent troops to German New Guinea and to other



SOURCE 2

'Bravo, Belgium!' Cartoon printed in the British magazine, *Punch*, 12 August 1914.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

- Describe the physical appearance in the cartoon of:
 - Germany
 - Belgium.
- What features of the cartoon suggest German aggression or brutality?
- What features suggest Belgium bravery?
- In the context of August 1914, what does the gate with the sign 'no thoroughfare' mean?
- Describe the buildings in the distance. What do they represent, and why has the cartoonist drawn them in this way?
- What emotions does the cartoonist want the reader to have towards:
 - Germany?
 - Belgium?

ACTIVITY

↓ SOURCE 3

QUEEN MARY, IN A LETTER TO HER AUNT

God grant we may not have a European War thrust upon us, & for such a stupid reason too, no I don't mean stupid, but to have to go to war on account of tiresome Servia [Serbia] beggars belief.

25 July 1914

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. What did Queen Mary see as the cause of World War I?
2. What was Queen Mary's view of Serbia?
3. Consider the date of Queen Mary's letter. Using the timeline in this book, explain why the Queen could still have hope that a European War would not be 'thrust upon us.'

THE LANGUAGE OF WORLD WAR I

- Words and phrases such as 'no man's land', 'going over the top,' 'balkanisation,' 'dogfight,' 'shell shock,' and 'stab in the back' entered the language or gained greater currency during World War I. Many are still used today.
- The first use of the word 'Anzac' was probably made by a clerk working with the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps in Egypt in late 1914, when he asked for someone to 'throw me the ANZAC stamp.'

German colonies in the Pacific. In October 1914, Ottoman Turkey entered the war on the side of Germany and Austria-Hungary. British, French, Australian and New Zealand troops fought the Ottomans at Gallipoli in 1915 and later in the Turkish-occupied Middle East. At sea, Germany and Britain, with their respective allies, tried to disrupt each other's trade routes to prevent supplies and reinforcements reaching the enemy. Submarines, which had previously been small and generally limited to coastal defence, were modified to improve their military value. In the air, planes expanded their role from reconnaissance to playing a vital role in land battles.

The once-great European powers Russia and Austria-Hungary collapsed under the stress of years of warfare. Germany was defeated in 1918; the Allied naval blockade successfully cut food and supplies to Germany, while the entry of the United States into the war in 1917 strengthened the Allied side. The effective use of new technology, especially the tank, enabled the Allies to break through the German lines on the Western Front.

Fighting ceased on 11 November 1918, with the signing of the Armistice. During 1919 and 1920, peace treaties were negotiated for all combatant nations. The war marked the end of empire for Russia, Austria-Hungary and the Ottomans, the end of monarchy in Germany, and the formation of new nations such as Yugoslavia and Poland.

CAUSES OF WORLD WAR I

LONG-TERM CAUSES

Most historians see the long-term causes of World War I as being nationalism, imperialism, militarism and the system of alliances between European powers in the years before 1914.

Nationalism

Nationalism explained why newly-formed Germany wanted to assert its power at the end of the nineteenth century; nationalism also helped explain France's resentment of increasing German power. Nationalism lay behind the various ethnic groups within the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires who wanted independence.

Imperialism

In the nineteenth century, European powers extended their empires into Africa. This resulted in wars, initially fought on African soil, but inevitably causing friction between the European powers in Europe itself.

Militarism

From the first years of the twentieth century, European powers, especially Britain and Germany, entered an 'arms race', with each country vying for more weapons of greater power. The Melbourne Age newspaper described this militarism as a 'mad competition' with disastrous consequences, 'the day of Armageddon.'¹

Alliances

The system of alliances that developed from 1880 meant that, by mid-1914, Europe had fallen into two 'camps': France, Britain

and Russia formed the Triple Entente, and Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy formed the Triple Alliance.

SHORT-TERM CAUSE ('SPARK')

Long term tensions often need a 'spark' to set off a conflagration.

The spark came on 28 June 1914, when the heir to the Austrian throne, Franz Ferdinand, was

assassinated in Sarajevo. Austria-Hungary blamed Serbia. One by one, the European powers aligned themselves either with Austria-Hungary, seeking revenge, or with Russia, supporting Serbia.

On 28 July, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, which then asked for Russia's help.

After Russia mobilised its troops on 30 July, Germany honoured

its alliance with Austria-Hungary and declared war on Russia on 1 August. France, allied to Russia, also mobilised.

On 2 August, Germany presented an ultimatum to Belgium: grant safe passage through Belgium so German troops could attack the French, or be considered an enemy of Germany. Belgium rejected the ultimatum and, when German troops crossed the Belgian border on 3 August, Britain used the terms of the 1839 Treaty of London to support Belgium against invasion.

On 4 August, Britain declared war against Germany, and World War I officially began. Most of Europe was at war and, within days, European colonies and former colonies, including Australia, declared their support for either the Allies or the Central Powers.



WWI PROPAGANDA POSTERS

← SOURCE 4

World War I recruitment poster. Recruitment posters were produced by all combatant nations to encourage young men to enlist.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. To which nationality is this poster directed? How do you know?
2. What aspects of the country are identified as 'worth fighting for'?
3. What does the poster imply will happen if young men, such as the one in the poster, do not enlist to fight?

ACTIVITY

THE COST OF WORLD WAR I

SOURCE 5

HISTORIAN TONY HOWARTH DESCRIBES THE COST OF WORLD WAR I

If you want to know how many died, you will have to put up with guesses. We know that Britain and her Empire suffered nearly 950 000 deaths, France 1 400 000, Germany, 1 800 000. We estimate that Turkey lost 300 000 people—though it may have been twice as many as that, or three times. Maybe two million Russians died, or maybe it was four or even six million. In Petrograd they didn't count deaths as carefully as in London or Paris—and for the Russians the Great War was followed by the Civil War. Who's to say for certain whether Ivan [typical Russian soldier] was killed by the Germans, the Austrians, the Bulgars, the Turks, the Reds or the Whites? ... the exact figures, even if we had them, could not tell us any more than this—that in the Great War, Europe was sick, and that recovery would take a long, long time.

From Tony Howarth, *Twentieth Century History: The World Since 1900* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1985), 43

SOURCE 6

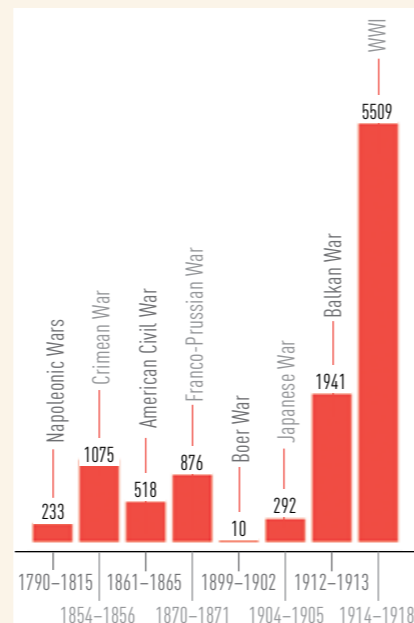
TROOPS MOBILISED AND CASUALTIES IN THE WAR OF 1914–18

NATION	POPULATION	TROOPS MOBILISED	TROOPS TOOK THE FIELD	KILLED AND DIED	WOUNDED LESS DIED OF WOUNDS	MISSING AND 'PRISONERS'	TOTAL BATTLE CASUALTIES	RATIO % OF TOTAL BATTLE CASUALTIES TO TROOPS MOBILISED
British Empire	391 844 691	8 485 926	7 756 791	897 780	2 085 377	266 700	3 249 857	37:31
French Republic	39 700 000	8 194 150	-	1 457 000	2 300 000	47 800	4 235 000	51:68
Russia	182 182 600	15 123 000	-	664 890	3 813 827	3 950 000	8 428 717	55:73
Italy	36 546 437	5 615 000	-	650 000	947 000	600 000	2 197 000	39:13
United States	102 017 312	4 355 000	2 040 000	51 606	234 300	4 500	290 406	6:44
Japan	78 152 244	800 000	-	300	907	3	1 210	0:15
Belgium	7 571 387	267 000	-	13 716	44 686	34 659	93 061	34:85
Serbia	4 615 567	707 343	-	45 000	133 148	152 958	331 106	46:81
Montenegro	436 789	50 000	-	3 000	10 000	7 000	20 000	40:00
Romania	7 508 009	750 000	-	335 706	120 000	80 000	535 706	71:43
Greece	4 821 300	261 890	-	5 000	21 000	1 000	27 000	10:31
Portugal	5 957 566	191 362	109 229	7 222	13 751	12 318	33 291	17:40
Totals	861 353 902	44 800 671	-	4 131 220	9 723 996	5 587 138	19 442 354	43:39
Germany	68 000 000	13 387 000	4 183 000	1 061 740	5 397 884	771 659	7 231 283	54:02
Austria	52 290 556	7 800 000	-	1 200 000	3 620 000	2 200 000	7 020 000	90:00
Turkey	21 273 900	2 850 000	-	325 000	400 000	250 000	975 000	34:21
Bulgaria	5 517 000	1 200 000	-	87 500	152 390	27 029	266 919	22:24
Totals	147 081 466	25 237 000	-	2 674 240	9 570 274	3 248 688	15 493 202	

A.G. Butler, *The Official History of the Australian Army Medical Services in the War of 1914–18, Vol. III* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1943), 868.

SOURCE 7

LOSSES PER DAY COMPARATIVE



Figures from Harry Mills, *Twentieth Century World History in Focus* (London: Macmillan, 1984), 25. Mills references it to Purnell's *History of the Twentieth Century*, 1968.

SOURCE 8

THE FINANCIAL COST

A ruined medieval church in Montfaucon, France.



THE COST OF WORLD WAR I



The direct economic losses of World War I amounted to over 180 billion dollars.



In France, where much of the fighting occurred on the Western Front, 21 000 square kilometres of agricultural land was destroyed.



In France, 1500 schools, 1200 churches, 377 public buildings and 1000 industrial plants were destroyed.



As a result of the costs of war, Britain was forced to increase taxation from six pence in one pound (in 1914) to thirty pence in one pound (in 1922).



All the defeated countries were financially ruined, while most of the victors were half-bankrupt.

Sources: figures taken from Harry Mills, *Twentieth Century World History in Focus* (London: Macmillan, 1984), 25, 27.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

- Why are casualty figures for Russia so hard to calculate?
- Why does Howarth believe casualty figures, even accurate ones, are of little use in understanding the cost of World War I?
- Which country mobilised the most troops in World War I?
- What percentage of troops mobilised became battle casualties for:
 - the British Empire?
 - Russia?
 - United States?
 - Germany?
 - Austria?
- Which country suffered the greatest percentage of battle casualties?
- Using the information provided in Source 6, which country do you think suffered most during World War I? Explain why you selected that country.
- Outline why Source 7 helps to explain the phrase that was used to describe World War I at the time, 'the war to end all wars.'
- Sources 5 to 8 contain various statistics on war casualties, financial costs and material costs of World War I. Which statistics do you find most useful in helping you understand the cost of the war? Write a short paragraph that sums up the usefulness of each type of statistic and explains why you think one type of statistic is more helpful than others.

MAKING THE PEACE

'As the peacemakers met in Paris, new nations emerged and great empires died. Excessively ambitious, the Big Four set out to do nothing less than fix the world, from Europe to the far Pacific. But facing domestic pressures, events they could not control, and conflicting claims they could not reconcile, the negotiators were, in the end, simply overwhelmed—and made deals and compromises that would echo down through history.'

RICHARD HOLBROOKE

INTRODUCTION

Following World War I, with civilian populations close to starvation, with millions of soldiers in prisoner-of-war camps and national governments close to collapsing, the world turned its attention to negotiating a post-war settlement at the Paris Peace Conference. In an unprecedented situation, the transition from a world at war to a world that would attempt to prevent future conflicts would prove to be extremely difficult.

Following the armistice with the Central Powers, the leaders of thirty-nine nations met in Paris in order to work out appropriate punishments for the defeated countries. They

were to decide upon such issues as the redrawing of national boundaries, the limitation of arms and the fixing of appropriate reparations. They also examined US President Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points. The centrepiece of Wilson's Fourteen Points was an organisation designed to prevent future wars: the League of Nations.

After months of discussion, argument and compromise, the Treaty of Versailles was signed with Germany in June 1919. This treaty was despised by many, and this affected the commitment of many nations to the League of Nations.



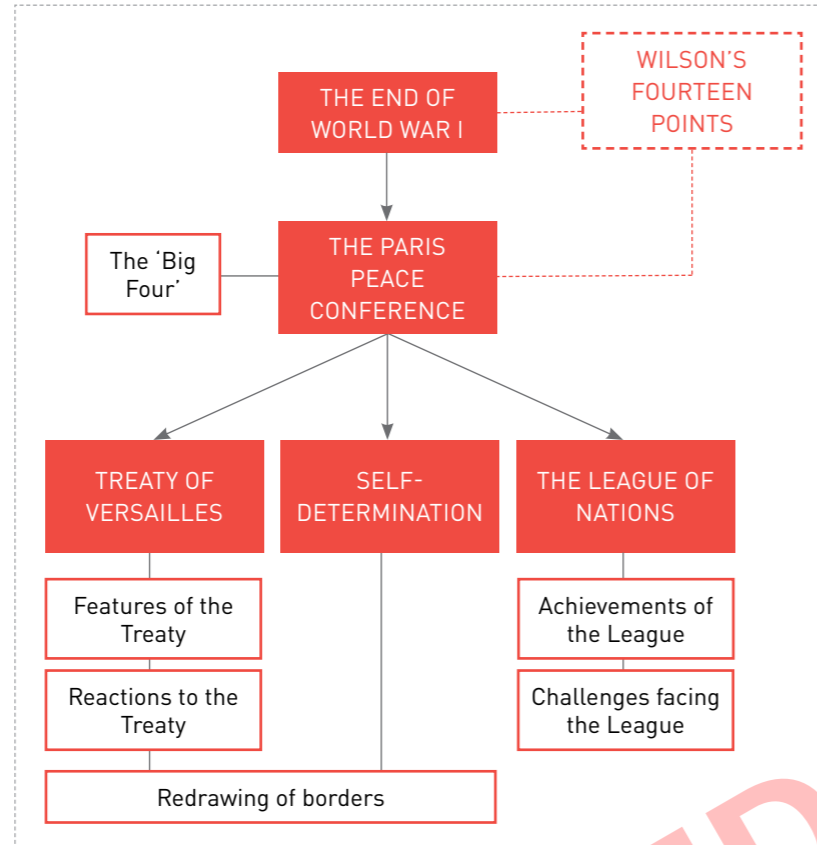
A German prisoner and British soldier share a cigarette.

OVERVIEW

KEY QUESTIONS

- Why did thirty-nine nations meet in Paris in January 1919?
- What were the aspirations of the Big Four as they began meeting in Paris?
- What were the main features of the Treaty of Versailles and the other peace treaties?
- How were old empires broken up as a result of war and the peace treaties?
- How was the map of the world redrawn?
- What was the League of Nations? How important was it in planning for future peace?
- How did the peace treaties affect the victorious and the defeated countries?

IN THIS CHAPTER



KEY EVENTS



KEY PLAYERS

WOODROW WILSON (1856–1924)



- In 1916 was re-elected president of the United States with the slogan 'He kept us out of the war.'
- Following the sinking of the *Lusitania*, Wilson argued that the United States could not remain neutral and asked Congress to declare war on Germany.
- Wilson used his influence early in 1918 to plan for peace, proposing his Fourteen Points, which he believed would create a new world order.
- After Germany signed the armistice based on his Fourteen Points, Wilson spent six months in Paris. His time away from the US cost him dearly and in the end both Congress and the Senate rejected both the Versailles Treaty and joining the League of Nations.

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE (1863–1945)



- At the outbreak of World War I was the minister for munitions and the secretary for war in Britain's Asquith Government.
- He questioned Asquith's handling of the war, and became prime minister on 7 December 1916.
- Lloyd George was a strong Prime Minister and at the Paris Peace Conference he moderated Wilson's idealism and Clémenceau's determination to make Germany pay—and to a large extent shaped the final agreements.

GEORGES CLÉMENTEAU (1841–1929)



- Was nicknamed 'The Tiger' for his fierceness.
- From 1909, in opposition to then prime minister of France Aristide Briand, he vigorously attacked Germany and argued for greater military defence in the event of war.
- Was appointed prime minister for the second time in 1917.
- At the Paris Peace Conference, he insisted that Germany was punished. Despite the Paris Peace Treaty, Clémenceau was widely criticised in France and Belgium for being too lenient.
- In 1929 he published his autobiography, *In the Evening of my Thought*, in which he correctly predicted a renewed war with Germany in 1940.

KEY TERMS

ARMISTICE

A truce; an agreement from opposing sides to stop fighting.

REPARATIONS

Making amends for a wrong one has done by providing compensation by payment (or other assistance) to those who have been wronged.

REPATRIATIONS

The process of returning a person to their place of origin. This includes the process of returning refugees or military personnel to their place of origin.

TREATY

A formal agreement between one or more nations related to peace, alliance, commerce or other international matters.

SELF-DETERMINATION

The process by which a country determines its own statehood and forms its own government. The concept originated in ancient Mesopotamia and ancient Greece, but it was particularly important at the end of the 'war to end all wars.'

HISTORICAL INQUIRY: CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

Some historians have argued that Wilson's ideals of a better future were flawed from the start. Others argue that the national priorities affected the ability of leaders to bring the ideals of the League of Nations to fruition. As you work through this chapter consider these questions:

1. Was the League of Nations a naïve idea that had no chance of success in 1919?
2. How would Europe and the Middle East have been different if there had been greater agreement and less compromise between the participants at the Paris Peace Conference?

SKILLS FOCUS

THE END OF THE WAR

WOODROW WILSON, 22 JANUARY 1917: ‘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, a 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.’

World War I came to an end with the signing of the armistice (or ceasefire) on 11 November 1918. However, planning for the end of the war had been in the minds of the leaders of the key nations for several years. Although the USA did not enter the war until April 1917, US President Woodrow Wilson had set out his agenda for peace as early as January 1917 with his ‘Peace Without Victory’ address to the US Senate. It was evident at this stage that Wilson’s main focus was not victory or punishment, but on making sure that such a terrible war could not occur again.

SOURCE 1.01

Signing the armistice in the Forest of Compiègne, France, 11 November 1918.



Wilson further refined his principles in the Fourteen Points that he outlined for the US Congress in January 1918, about nine months after the USA became involved in World War I. Wilson’s Fourteen Points, with the League of Nations at their core, were to influence Germany’s decision to agree to the armistice and to play a role in shaping the peace treaty: the Treaty of Versailles.

The end to World War I, just like its start, was swift and dramatic—as the events of October 1918 clearly illustrate (see timeline on the next page). The Western Front was far from quiet and the Allies began to push the Germans back towards German territory, not just by trenches and metres, but by kilometres each day. Looming defeat on the Western Front, combined with internal strife, made a German victory impossible—and this was obvious to German military command long before it was grudgingly accepted by the German kaiser, Wilhelm II. General Ludendorff and his supervisor, Paul von Hindenburg, convinced the kaiser that the army was ‘becoming weaker by the day,’ with ‘irreversible troop

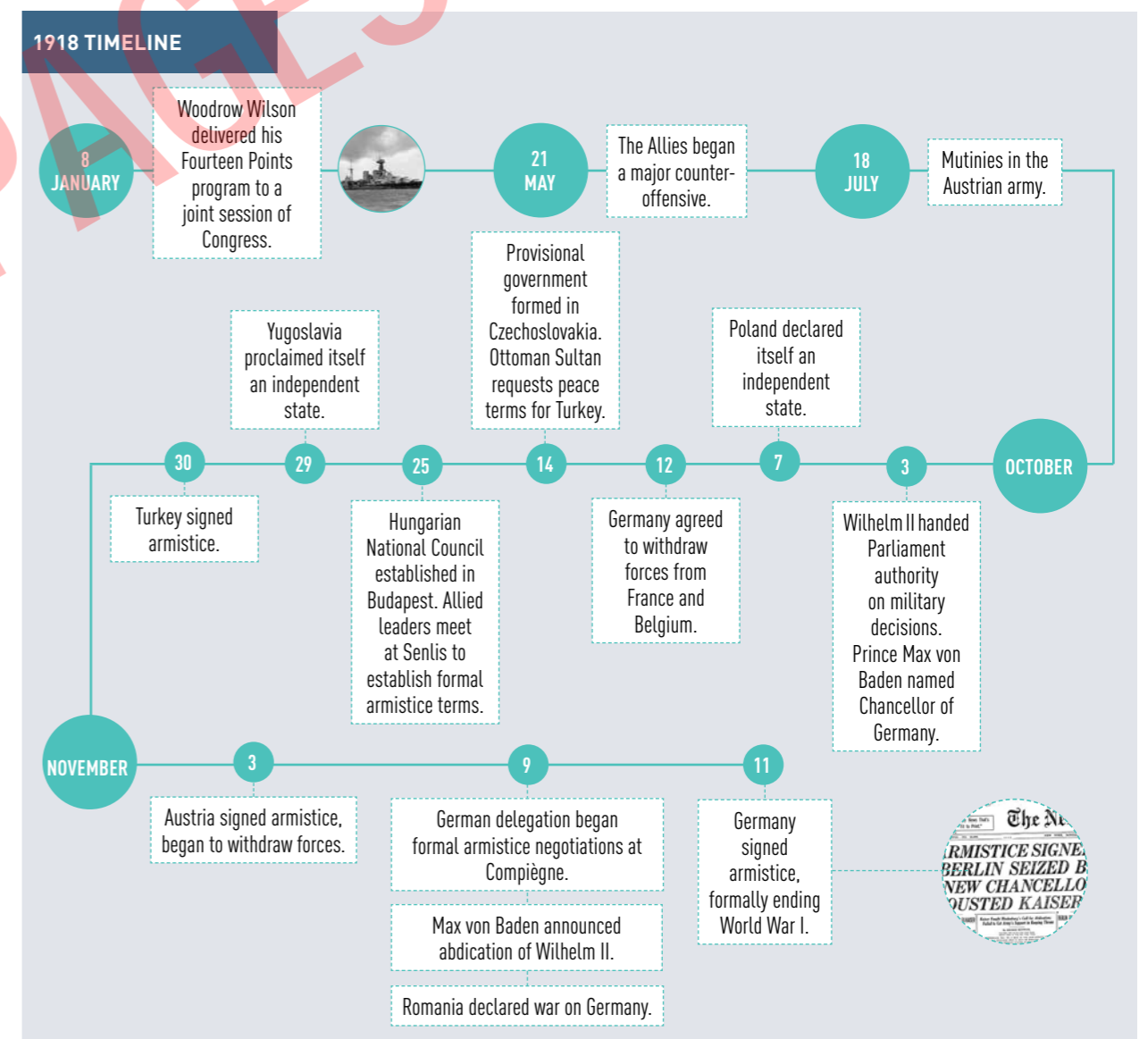
losses, declining discipline and battle readiness due to exhaustion, illnesses, food shortages, desertions and drunkenness.² On 2 October 1918, General Ludendorff sent a military representative to Berlin with the message for the kaiser that ‘the war is lost and that the Armistice discussions should begin immediately.’³

Many historians argue that Germans—and particularly civilians—never saw the armistice as surrender, but merely an agreement to bring the horrendous war to an end: the ‘peace without victory’ that Wilson had idealistically spoken of in January 1917. The main argument for this was that German civilians never fully experienced the horrors of war because no battles occurred within German territory. This is reflected in Erich Maria Remarque’s poignant 1923 novel *All Quiet on the Western Front*. Remarque captures the reality of the gulf between exhausted German soldiers and the unrealistic German civilians. When a young German soldier named Paul Bäumer reunites with his former teacher Kantorek, a civilian, Kantorek argues that ‘you boys need to just hurry up over there.’⁴ There is more than just literature, however, as evidence of the German command’s desire to get out of the seemingly never-ending war.



SOURCE 1.02

Remarque’s novel, *All Quiet on the Western Front*.



DID YOU KNOW?

The British confectionary company Bassett created a sweet called Victory Babies; they were so popular that they are still produced and we now know them as Jelly Babies. Production halted during World War II (1939–1945) because of a lack of sugar.



SOURCE 1.03

Paul von Hindenburg,
Kaiser Wilhelm II and
General Erich Ludendorff.

THE COMPLICATED PATH TO ARMISTICE

When the Germans initiated contact with Wilson to push for an armistice based upon Wilson's Fourteen Points, Wilson understood that his European allies would not accept this until a democratic state was created in Germany. Wilson had his own problems now: 'In London and Paris, he discovered that both Allies anticipating an immediate German collapse had no interest in an armistice based on the fourteen points.'⁵ France and Britain could invade a dispirited Germany alone but what would be the point? Would more war dead be needed to prove the point? Wilson even threatened to withdraw US troops and leave the war if France and Britain insisted on this pointless turn.⁶ Wilson's gamble worked. The Supreme War Council accepted a pre-armistice agreement on 4 November 1918, and a week later German officials signed the Armistice Agreement based on the Fourteen Points. Wilson had clearly reinstated his influence and power. These differing values foreshadowed the complications that would be faced at the Paris Peace Conference.

The armistice was merely a truce, a halt in fighting until the terms of a peace treaty could be determined. A month later in Berlin, Germany's new chancellor, the socialist Friedrich Ebert, announced to soldiers returning: 'I salute you who return unvanquished from the field of battle.'⁷ From a German perspective, it is easy to understand that the armistice was not seen as a surrender, because at the time of signing, their armies 'still stood deep in enemy territory in all fronts.'⁸ Germany had certainly lost the other Central Powers, who had already signed armistices with the Allies. However, Wilson's slogan of 'Peace without Victory' was certainly taken as a reality by many of the German people, and this would complicate matters when it came to drawing up terms at the Paris Peace Conference.

WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS

- | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|----|--|--|
| 1 | | No secret agreements. | 8 | | France should be fully liberated and allowed to recover Alsace-Lorraine. |
| 2 | | Free navigation of all the seas. | 9 | | The borders of Italy should be redrawn along clearly recognisable lines of nationality. |
| 3 | | An end to all economic barriers between countries. | 10 | | Self-determination should be allowed for all those living in Austria-Hungary. |
| 4 | | Commitment to reduce weapons. | 11 | | Self-determination and guarantees of independence should be allowed for the Balkan states. |
| 5 | | All decisions regarding the colonies should be impartial. | 12 | | The Turkish people should be governed by the Turkish government. Non-Turks in the old Ottoman Empire should govern themselves. |
| 6 | | The German Army is to be removed from Russia. Russia should be left to develop her own political set-up. | 13 | | An independent Poland should be created, which should have access to the sea. |
| 7 | | Belgium should be independent, as it was before the war. | 14 | | A League of Nations should be set up to guarantee the political and territorial independence of all states. |

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- Point 14 attempts to address the problem of secret agreements suggested in Point 1. Why do you think Wilson ordered his points the way he did?
- Which points specifically address the self-determination of nations? Do you see any glaring omissions from the points?
- The point that caused the most controversy in Britain was Point 2. Why do you think it was controversial?

ACTIVITY

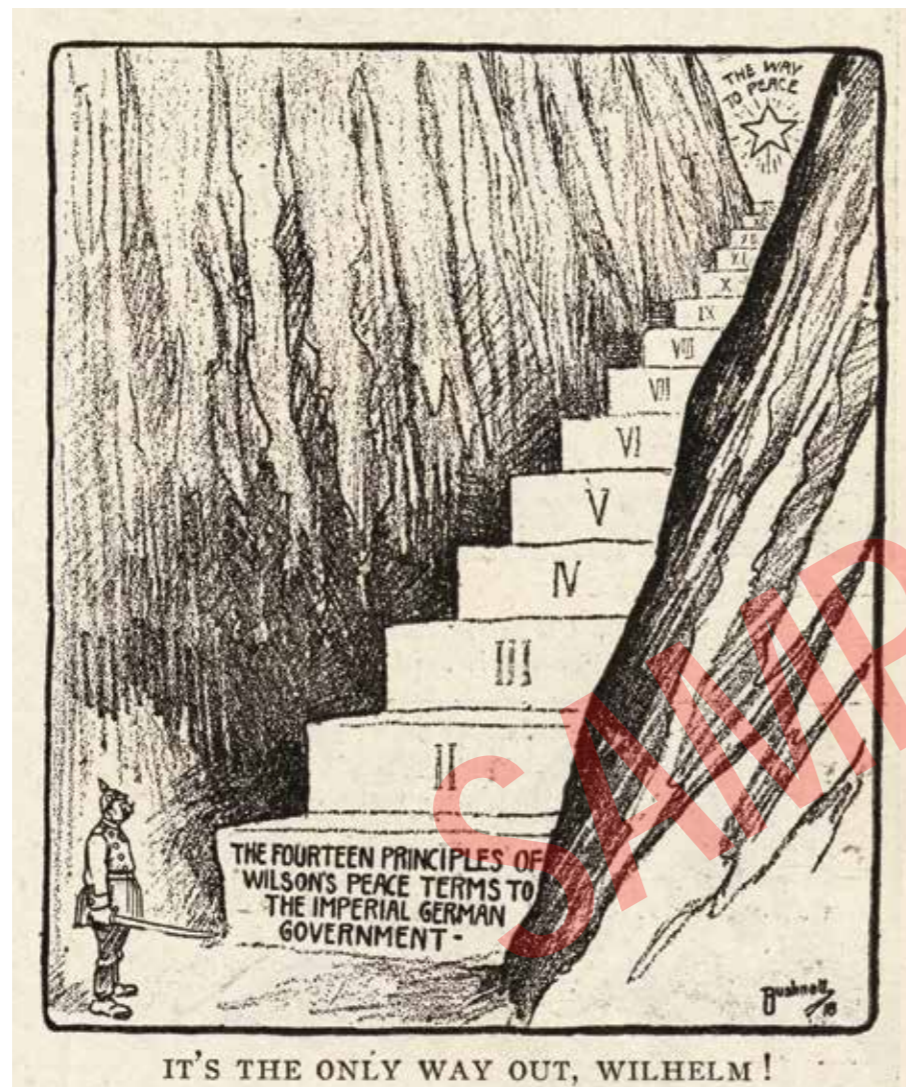
- WILSON GIVING HIS 'FOURTEEN POINTS' SPEECH
- FULL TEXT OF WILSON'S SPEECH
- FOURTEEN POINTS SPEECH - SOURCE ANALYSIS

TOWARDS A PEACEFUL FUTURE

Wilson's Fourteen Points struck a chord with political leaders, even those determined for revenge, such as Georges Clémenceau. However, their greatest resonance was with the people of Europe, who were exhausted by war, death and destruction. British historian Hew Strachan argues that Wilson's most significant audience was people, rather than governments. Equally, as a political scientist, Wilson knew that a peaceful Europe was only possible if Germany and the other Central Powers were not left humiliated. Wilson warned his colleagues as early as March 1918 that treating Germany severely could result in a vengeful response.

SOURCE 1.04

'It's the only way out, Wilhelm!' Cartoon by EA Bushnell, 1918.



ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. What is significant about the caption?
2. With whom does the cartoonist's sympathy appear to lie?
3. Who do you believe was the primary target of the Fourteen Points: the Imperial German Government or everyday people? Give evidence to support your answer.

THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE

The leaders of the victorious countries met at the Palace of Versailles near Paris on 18 January 1919. Thirty-nine nations were present and initially 'the Supreme Council' was a council of ten: two representatives each from the USA, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. For practical reasons, the council was scaled back to 'the Big Four': Lloyd George (Britain), Georges Clémenceau (France), Woodrow Wilson (USA) and Vittorio Orlando (Italy). The media demanded to be present, citing Wilson's first point of no secret agreements, but such an arrangement would have been ineffective and was rejected.

The armistice had been in effect for two months but there were still many problems facing Europe. Much of Europe was starving and small revolutions in Hungary, Greece and Turkey were bubbling beneath the surface. Initially there was a desire to fix these issues as quickly as possible, but the conference got bogged down with disagreements. As historian Margaret MacMillan pointed out, 'The peacemakers soon discovered that they had taken on the administration of much of Europe and large parts of the Middle East ... There was little choice: if they did not do it, no one would—or worse, revolutionaries might.'⁹ Across most of the world, economies were in tatters from World War I. There was excess food—particularly from Australia, New Zealand and Canada—and ships to transport this food. But who should meet the costs? The whole idea of an international government was a new concept and nations continued to put their own economic and political interests first.

BACKGROUND TO THE PEACE

To fully understand the implications for the peacemakers in Paris, we should first look at historical precedents. The leaders who met in Paris in 1919 were not the first leaders to attempt to plan for peace. In 1648, the Peace of Westphalia treaties ended the Thirty Years War. More importantly, it created the principle that still prevails: that all states are sovereign. The Thirty Years war was largely fought on German territory and the agreements for peace took almost a year to negotiate.

Equally, the Paris Treaty of 1815 after the Napoleonic Wars not only attempted to re-establish the power of kings, but was the first peace treaty that put forward agreements for reparations. Under the Paris Treaty, France was required to pay reparations to Prussia, Austria and Britain. A third treaty, the 1871 Treaty of Versailles reunified Germany under one emperor

after the Franco-Prussian War. It also stipulated that France pay five billion francs to Germany in reparations. The German army occupied areas of France until France paid in full, and the French were left humiliated by this defeat and by the treaty. The 1871 Treaty of Versailles occurred during Georges Clémenceau's lifetime, which perhaps helps explain why France was so determined never to let Germany invade again.

The 1919 Paris Peace Conference was dominated by Woodrow Wilson, a political scientist and former president of Princeton University. He sought to transform 'the war to end all wars' into a platform of international cooperation and lasting peace. As this chapter explores, the outcomes were complicated because different countries had different agendas and conflicting ideas about self-determination, reparations and territorial claims.

THE BIG FOUR

At the heart of the disagreements among the Big Four was that they had experienced different levels of loss and suffering as a result of the war. Consequently, they also differed about the degree to which Germany should be punished.

USA

Unlike the other nations making up the Big Four, the USA had not been severely impacted by the war. On 7 May 1915, a German submarine commander sunk *RMS Lusitania* off the Irish coast. Although the *Lusitania* was a British civilian cruiser, the sinking resulted in the deaths of up to 120 Americans—and this created strong anti-German feeling in the USA. However, it was not until April 1917 that the USA entered the war, following German resumption of the use of submarines to sink civilian ships, and the revelation of a German plan to invade the USA via Mexico. The USA lost between 115 000 and 130 000 people during the war, but endured no fighting on home soil. This experience, coupled with President Wilson's idealistic belief that future wars could be prevented, led the USA to take a conciliatory approach to the peace negotiations. Wilson argued strongly, through his Fourteen Points program and his proposal for a League of Nations, that the treaty should encourage democracy and should not aim to cripple Germany.

➔ SOURCE 1.05

A newspaper drawing from 1915, showing *RMS Lusitania* hit by torpedoes off Kinsale Head, Ireland.



FRANCE

France had suffered enormously during the war. Nearly two million French lives were lost in the conflict; this was over 4 per cent of the population. Moreover, much of the fighting took place on French soil, destroying buildings in hundreds of towns and cities and rendering millions of hectares of farmland useless. The French also still harboured resentment over their loss to Germany in the 1870 Franco-Prussian war. The majority of French people wanted a treaty that would make Germany pay, in terms of land, money and humiliation. They also wanted to make sure that Germany could not wage war against France again.

BRITAIN

Britain had a slightly less vengeful attitude towards Germany. The British Isles and their colonies had lost over one million citizens in the war, but there was little war destruction on British soil. Many people wanted a peace that would punish Germany, but others worried that a harsh treaty would make Germany more likely to start another war. There was also the issue of trade. Many British businesses and farmers were keen to re-establish trading links with Germany. British Prime Minister Lloyd George charted a course between Wilson's idealism and Clémenceau's determination to make Germany pay.

ITALY

Italy had been a member of the Triple Alliance before the war but did not join on Germany's side in 1914. Instead, Italy entered the war on the side of the Allies in April 1915. Over the next three and a half years, Italian forces fought on a southern front, causing Germany and Austria to divide their troops and resources three ways and weakening their fighting power. Italy also lost between one million and 1.2 million citizens in the conflict. Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando attended the Paris Peace Conference confident that Italy would be suitably rewarded for its effort; however, very few of Italy's territorial demands were met.

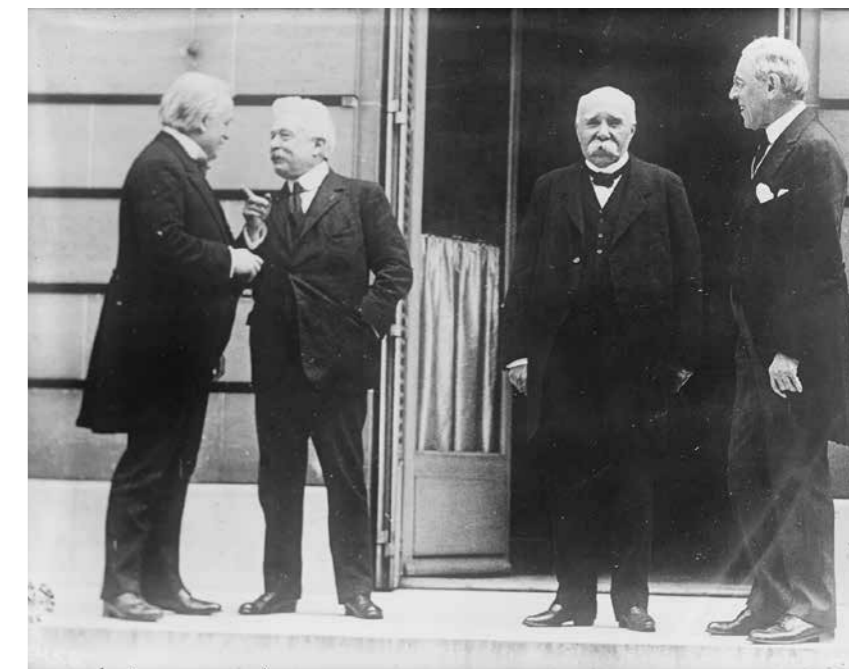
The Big Four met daily, and sometimes two or three times a day. The other nations' delegates were put to work on subcommittees to work out reparations and other arrangements.

One notable absentee was Russia. It could be argued that Russia had saved France during the war when, as an ally, it had attacked Germany and created two fronts. However, following the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917, Russia had withdrawn from the war and signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany. This treaty was very harsh on Russia, but in the eyes of the Allies, Russia had broken the terms of the Triple Entente, and had no place at the conference table. Some historians have argued that had Russia been invited, the outcomes may have been very different.

The last of Wilson's Fourteen Points was the creation of a League of Nations. Australian representative Prime Minister Billy Hughes joked that 'it was Wilson's toy, he would not be happy until he got it.' Wilson saw the League of Nations as the centrepiece of the peace treaty and the path to preventing future wars. Yet Clémenceau was more interested in discussing reparations and a treaty with the Germans. Lloyd George was stuck between Wilson's idealism and Clémenceau's push for making Germany pay. Orlando, as the conference continued, wanted only advances for the territory of Italy. With these conflicting agendas, the four argued, debated and, at times, ironically, came close to blows.

📌 SOURCE 1.06

Leaders of the Big Four at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919. From left: British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, Italian Premier Vittorio Orlando, French Premier Georges Clémenceau, and US President Woodrow Wilson.



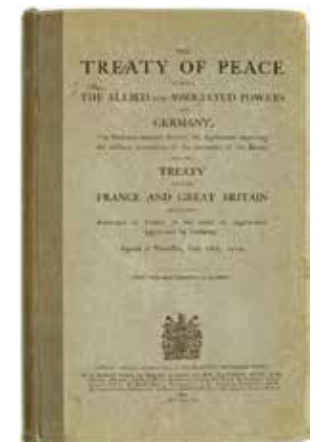
SOURCE 1.07

The headlines of this New York evening newspaper from 28 June 1919, after the Treaty of Versailles was signed, reveal Wilson's thoughts on the outcome.



LOSS OF COLONIES: MANDATES

Following Italy's withdrawal from the Paris Peace Conference on 24 April 1919, the chief negotiating team became the 'Big Three': Wilson, Clémenceau and Lloyd George. They turned their attention to their major enemy: Germany. They agreed that Germany should hand over all of its colonies around the world to Allied Powers in the form of mandates. Under the mandate system, former German colonies were the responsibility of the League of Nations, but were to be administered by victorious allies. The French wanted Cameroon and Togoland and German rights in Morocco. The Italians had their eyes on Somalia. In the British Empire, South Africa wanted German South-west Africa (Namibia), Australia wanted New Guinea and some nearby islands, and New Zealand wanted German Samoa.¹⁰ Cynics referred this to the great land grab, as Allied leaders presented arguments for their own control of former German colonies.



SOURCE 1.08

The cover of the Treaty of Versailles (in English). The text reads:

THE TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN THE ALLIED AND ASSOCIATED POWERS AND GERMANY,

The protocol annexed thereto, the Agreement respecting the military occupation of the territories of the Rhine, AND THE TREATY BETWEEN FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN RESPECTING

Assistance to France in the event of unprovoked aggression by Germany. Signed at Versailles, June 28th, 1919.

In the end, France, England, Belgium, Italy and the Union of South Africa took mandates with 999-year leases over former German territories in Africa. Australia, New Zealand and Japan divided former German territories in the Pacific: Japan north of the equator; Australia and New Zealand to the south. To resolve an ongoing dispute between Australia and New Zealand over Nauru, England took over the mandate but divided profits from phosphate mining between the three nations, until Nauru achieved independence. All former mandates have since become independent.

TERRITORIAL AND POPULATION LOSSES

One of the most significant and crippling features of the treaty was the stripping of up to 13 per cent of Germany's territory in Europe. The land handed over to Denmark, France, Belgium, Lithuania, Poland and Czechoslovakia was home to approximately 10 per cent of Germany's population, and they were areas rich in agricultural land and mineral deposits. All of these losses were damaging to Germany, but the most humiliating was the loss of Alsace-Lorraine to France. These territories had been won from France in the settlement at the end of the 1871 Franco-Prussian War. Germany was not only embarrassed by the loss of these states but was also strongly economically disadvantaged by the arrangement.

Germany also lost territory to the new Polish nation. In the final redrawing of boundaries, a corridor of land was transferred to Poland to give the new nation access to the sea. It could be argued this was not such a surprise, as it was accepted in the Fourteen Points that had been agreed on at Armistice Day. But the decision left East Prussia surrounded by Poland. More German territory was lost when the Sudetenland was incorporated into Czechoslovakia. The Sudetenland included a large number of Germans who actively protested in 1918 and 1919 that they did not wish to join Czechoslovakia. Germany was also forbidden to join with Austria.

REPARATIONS

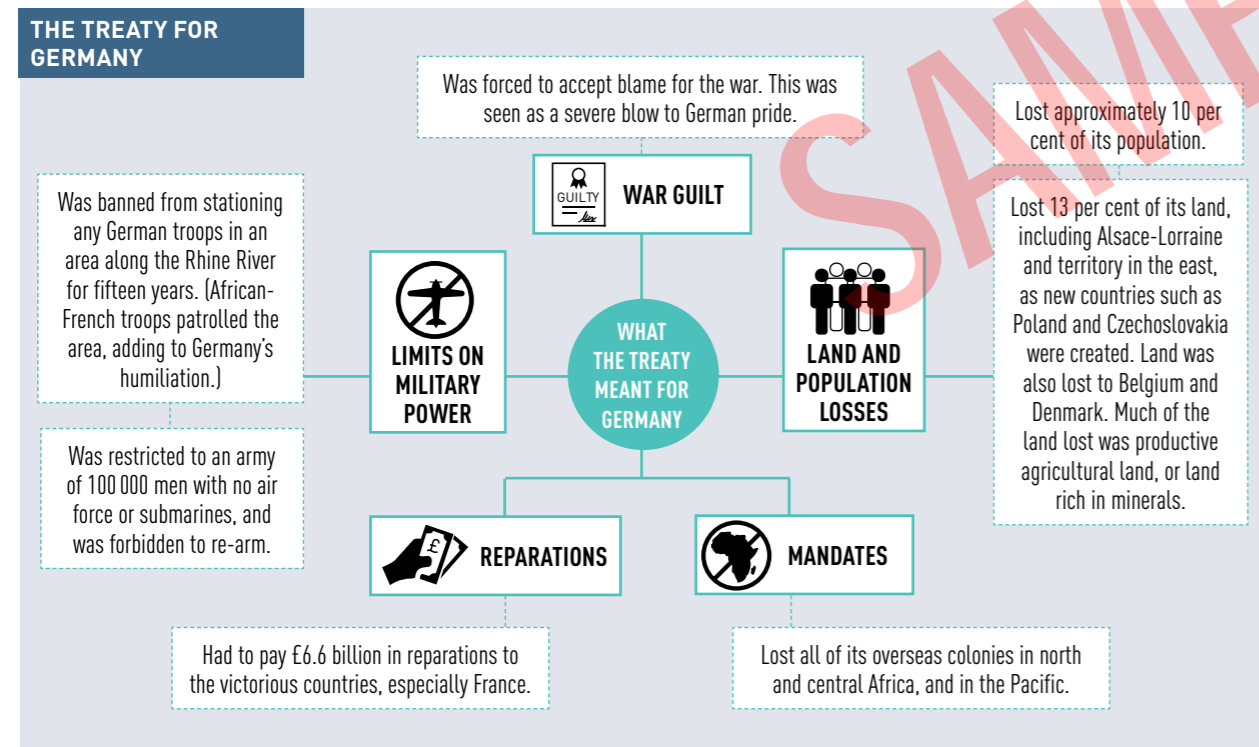
With hindsight, it is easy to say that the victors should have been less concerned with making Germany pay and should have concentrated on getting Europe going again. But after a war that had brought destruction on such a scale and shaken European society so deeply, how could political leaders speak of forgetting? In any case, public opinion would simply not allow them to do so. 'Make the Hun Pay,' said the British. 'Let Germany Pay First,' said the posters covering Parisian walls.¹¹



TREATY OF VERSAILLES

THE SETTLEMENT WITH GERMANY: THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES 1919

On 28 June 1919, exactly five years after the assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, two German representatives, Dr Herman Muller and Dr Johannes Bell, were ushered into the Hall of Mirrors to sign the Treaty of Versailles.



DID YOU KNOW?

The Paris Peace Conference also set up the International Labour Organization to establish international working conditions. German representatives were invited and the organisation continues today, meeting once a year in Geneva.

All the Big Three leaders at the Paris Peace Conference agreed that Germany should lose territory, but could not agree about the extent of financial reparations. A smaller Germany and a poorer Germany would be less of a threat to its neighbours. But if Germany were losing a lot of land, was it also fair to expect it to pay out huge sums in reparations? Striking a balance between the different expectations was not easy, especially as Wilson, Clémenceau and Lloyd George did not agree among themselves or, frequently, with their own colleagues. Putting a price tag on farms, factories, mines and ships sunk was easy, but what price could be put on a human life? What about women who were left widows after the war? Children who became orphans? Who should be punished? Should any Germans be tried as war criminals? Was it fair for a new German government to pay the price for the kaiser's decisions when the kaiser had fled Germany? These were all issues that the Paris Peace Conference attempted to deal with.

Clémenceau was determined to extract large financial payments from Germany; he ultimately won his case over Lloyd George and Wilson, who argued that Germany should not be crippled by reparations. The figure for reparations was set at £6.6 billion, an amount that was daunting to a German population now struggling with poverty and a bankrupt economy.

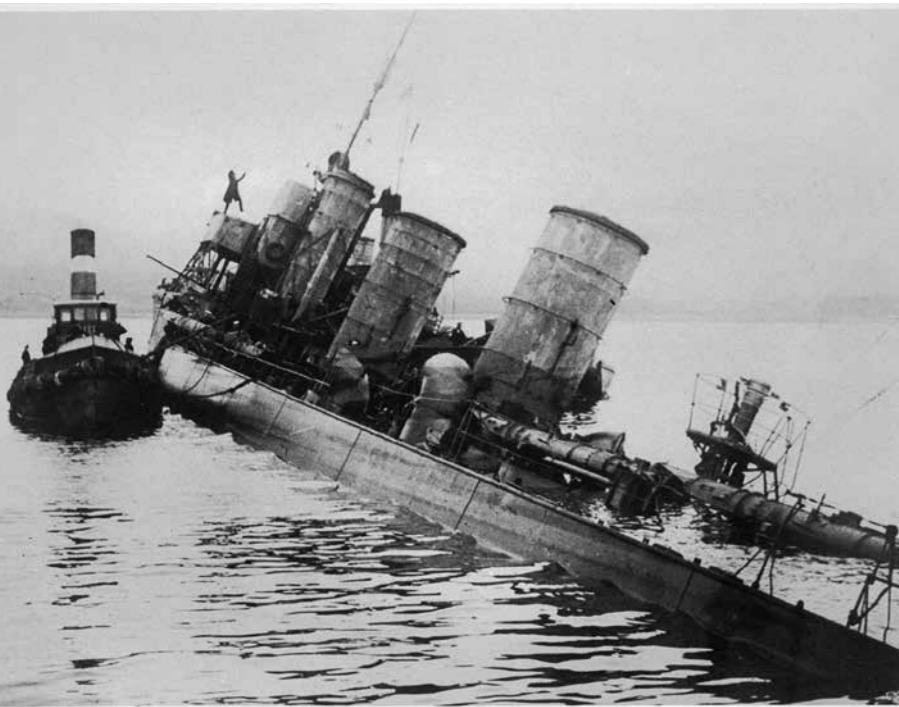
LIMITING GERMANY'S MILITARY POWER

The arms race—especially between Britain and Germany—had been a major factor in the lead-up to World War I. It was clear to those at the Paris Peace Conference that disarmament—or a limitation of arms—was essential if future wars were to be prevented. Ultimately, the victorious leaders agreed that Germany's armed forces would be capped at an army of 100 000 men, which was large enough to prevent any revolutions. Conscription was forbidden, as was the development or manufacture of armaments. Most humiliating of all, the Rhineland along the border between Germany and France was to be a demilitarised zone, where no German troops were permitted.

Germany was forbidden to have an air force, tanks or to manufacture heavy guns, and its navy was limited to six battleships and no submarines. At the time of the armistice, the German fleet of seventy-four battleships had been forced to sail to Scapa Flow in the Orkney Islands, off the west coast of Scotland. They were to remain there, under allied control, until a decision was made about their future. In June 1919, the German Naval Command scuttled the fleet because they couldn't stand the idea of handing their battleships over to the Allies. The scuttling of the ships did not help Germany's cause, and was actually seen by Clémenceau as an act of treachery. However, the British navy secretly saw it as a blessing. They had no interest in converting the German ships.

SOURCE 1.09

Scuttling the German fleet at Scapa Flow.



WAR GUILT

The Treaty of Versailles contained four hundred clauses. Article 231, known as the War Guilt Clause, was the most controversial. It required the German delegates to agree that Germany was principally responsible for beginning World War I.

Article 231 was added in order to get the French and Belgians to reduce the sum of money that Germany would have to pay to compensate for war damage. The article was seen as a concession to the Germans by the negotiators; however, it was bitterly resented by virtually all Germans, who did not believe they were responsible for the outbreak of the war. Article 231 was a constant thorn in the side of the Weimar Republic, whose leaders tried to meet the requirements of the Treaty of Versailles as well as build a new democratic nation.



left SOURCE 1.10

Cartoon published in the British magazine *Punch* on 19 February 1919. The caption reads: *German Criminal to Allied Police: 'Here, I say, stop! You're hurting me!' Aside: 'If I whine enough I may be able to wriggle out of this yet.'*

right SOURCE 1.11

'And this is no scrap of paper.' French military officer shows a German military officer the terms the 'German people must pay for all damage to civilians on land or sea or from the air.' *New York Herald*, 7 November 1918.

ACTIVITIES

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify the three nations represented in Source 1.10.
2. Why do you think US police are not shown in Source 1.10?
3. Explain why the Germans in both Source 1.10 and 1.11 are presented unfavourably.
4. Evaluate each cartoonists' attitude towards a German treaty.
5. These cartoons were published before the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. What do the captions suggest about British and French fears about how Germany should be treated?

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

To what extent do these cartoons capture the values of ordinary people at the time?

SOURCE 1.12

ARTICLE 231 OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

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.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Why did Clémenceau, Wilson and Lloyd George have such different attitudes at the Paris Peace Conference?
2. Why did the victors not get exactly what they wanted from the Paris Peace Conference?
3. What was the greatest oversight of the Paris Peace Treaty?

GERMAN REACTIONS TO ARTICLE 231

SOURCE 1.13

Spoken by von Brockdorff-Rantzau on June 1919, in response to Article 231.

COUNT VON BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU, LEADER OF GERMAN DELEGATION, SPEAKING TO THE ALLIES

The deeper we penetrated into the spirit of this Treaty, the more we became convinced of its impracticability. The demands raised go beyond the power of the German Nation ... We know the impact of the hate we are encountering here, and we have heard the passionate demand of the victors, who require us, the defeated, to pay the bill and plan to punish us as the guilty party. We are asked to confess ourselves the sole culprits; in my view, such a confession would be a lie ... We emphatically deny that the people of Germany, who were convinced that they were waging a war of defence, should be burdened with the sole guilt of that war.

SOURCE 1.14

Adolph Hitler, 1923

ADOLF HITLER IN *MEIN KAMPF*

It should scarcely seem questionable to anyone that the restoration of the frontiers of 1914 could be achieved only by blood. Only childish and naive minds can lull themselves in the idea that they can bring about a correction of Versailles by wheedling and begging ... No nation can remove this hand from its throat except by the sword. Only the assembled and concentrated might of a national passion rearing up in its strength can defy the international enslavement of peoples ...

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify von Brockdorff-Rantzau's main criticism of Article 231.
2. What was Adolf Hitler's criticism, four years later? What consequences did his criticism have for Germany?
3. Explain what both Germans—who were political opposites—have in common in their criticism.
4. Contrast the differences between the responses of von Brockdorff-Rantzau and Hitler.



SOURCE 1.15

'The Terms of the Versailles Treaty are Equivalent to Sending Germany to the Guillotine.' Cartoon by Thomas Theodor Heine, published in the German satirical magazine *Simplicissimus*, 3 June 1919.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify the Big Three and suggest why France is controlling the guillotine.
2. Explain why the German figure is half-naked and has his hands tied.
3. Explain how and why the cartoonist has shown Wilson as a more reasonable figure.
4. Identify the intended effect of the cartoon on the German public.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

At the heart of the Treaty of Versailles was the establishment of the League of Nations. This was to be a worldwide organisation whose main purpose would be to avert future wars and provide a forum for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Germany had to agree to the establishment of the league as part of its acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles. However, Germany was not allowed to join the league.

On 25 January 1919, the Paris Peace Conference formally approved setting up a commission on the League of Nations. Wilson's vision was ambitious: to establish an international commitment to disarmament and an avenue for nations to resolve future conflicts. The commission was to be made up of

representatives from the Big Five. The USA, France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan would get two members each and, after some grumbling from smaller nations, five more members were accepted from other nations. Wilson hoped that, in future, wars could be prevented by nations approaching the League of Nations to resolve conflicts. 'If a state refused to accept a league decision, then the next step would be sanctions, economic or even military.'¹² Despite his enormous workload, Wilson insisted on chairing the commission himself.

A fortnight later the first draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations was presented to the Paris Peace Conference. France wanted the league to have 'more teeth' and to have its own military force. This proved to be the largest stumbling block, not from representatives at the Paris Peace Conference, but from the US Government headed by Wilson. Wilson met strong opposition from the US Congress. Staunch Republican Senator Henry Cabot Lodge expressed the views of many Americans when he said, 'I am as moved by tributes to eternal peace as the next man, but are you ready to put soldiers and your sailors at the disposition of other Nations?' Despite enormous efforts by Wilson, who was loved more by Europeans than Americans, it was the US doubters who ultimately won the battle—and the USA did not join the League of Nations.

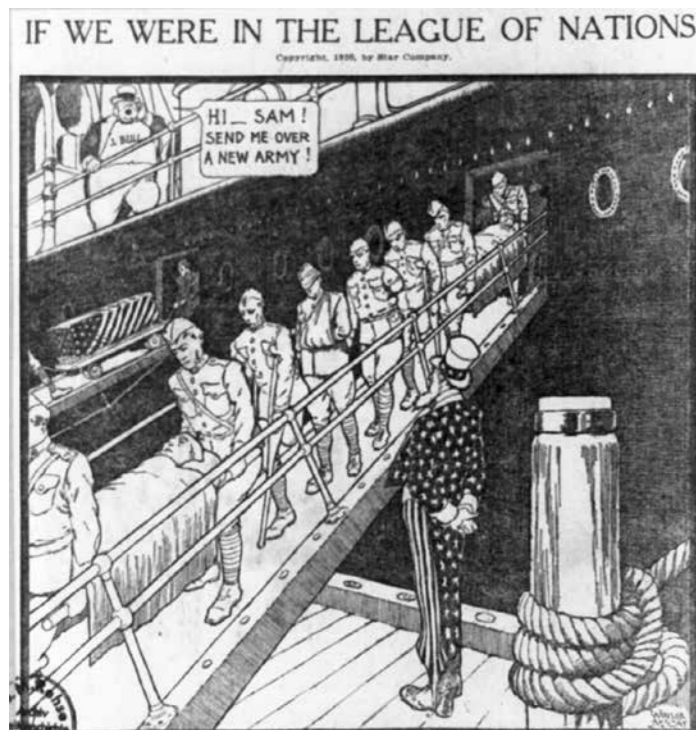
On 28 April 1919, a plenary session of the Paris Peace Conference approved the Covenant of the League of Nations. Under the Covenant, member states would have

to protect minorities; to improve working and health conditions and to oversee mandates—management of colonies of the defeated powers. The Covenant of the League of Nations was also included as part of all other treaties drafted with defeated powers. Historian Margaret MacMillan has argued that to get this 'toy' aboard, Wilson was forced to make compromises he himself would not have liked, such as awarding the German-speaking Tyrol to Italy, or placing millions of Germans under Czechoslovak or Polish rule, but '[in] time Wilson believed the League would grow and change over the years. In time it would embrace the enemy nations [as it did: Germany joined in 1926] and help them to stay on the paths to peace and democracy.'¹³

The Japanese wanted a Racial Equality Bill and this was passively rejected by Billy Hughes, Australia's prime minister, who argued that nations should control their own affairs with immigration. Wilson, in an attempt to appease Hughes—who was the most cantankerous representative at the conference—argued that the Racial Equality Bill could only be approved if supported unanimously. Despite a vote of 11–6, the Racial Equality Bill proposed by Japan was rejected. The political handling of this alone put the relationship between Japan and Australia at risk.

SOURCE 1.16

'If We Were in the League of Nations.' Uncle Sam (US) watching wounded, crippled and dead soldiers come off ship. John Bull (UK) on the ship says, 'Hi Sam! Send me over a new army!'



ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. What criticism is captured in the cartoon and the caption?
2. Identify the figures in the cartoon.
3. Where do the sympathies of the cartoonist lie?

SELF-DETERMINATION

US Secretary of State Robert Lansing: 'When the President talks of self-determination, what does he have in mind? Does he mean a race, a territorial area or a community? It will raise hopes which can never be realised, it will I fear cost thousands of lives. In the end it is bound to be discredited to be called the dream of an idealist who failed to realize the danger until it was too late.'¹⁴

Self-determination was clearly one of the most inspiring and contentious issues to be discussed. Seven of Wilson's Fourteen Points related to the idea that nations should be able to rule themselves and determine their own futures. These items addressed the self-determination of Italians (point 9), Austrians (point 10), Hungarians (point 10), The Balkan states (point 11), the Turkish (point 12) and the Poles (point 13). But what of the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Czechs, Slovaks, Finns, Armenians, Greeks, Palestinians and Egyptians? The list grew larger every day at the Paris Peace Conference.

There was general agreement that one of the reasons behind World War I was that smaller nations, such as Serbia, wanted self-determination from larger empires. Indeed, the Allied Powers of France, Great Britain and Russia had been able to rally support from their peoples by declaring that this was a 'just' war that was to give the oppressed nationalists what was rightfully theirs.¹⁵ But Wilson may not have been prepared for the consequences of this idea, as shown by the comment of his own secretary of state Robert Lansing (see the quote above). According to academic Guntram Herb, 'Russia [not invited to Paris] also advocated national self-determination; however it wanted the principle applied universally, that is, not only in Eastern Europe, but also in the rest of the world'.¹⁶

The ideal of self-determination raised issues from nations or aspiring nations all over the world. However, the more the conference delved into self-determination, the more problems were faced. Two attempts to be heard at the conference highlighted the complications: the questions of self-determination for the Irish nationalists and for the Vietnamese. Wilson insisted that the issue of Irish nationalism was purely a domestic matter for the British, while Ho Chi Minh's petition asking for Vietnamese independence from France 'never even received an answer'.¹⁷

It was clear that Wilson's proposal about national self-determination had created as many problems as it solved. As if he understood that he had opened a can of worms, Wilson later told Congress, 'When I gave utterance to the words that all nations had a right to self-determination, I said them without the knowledge that nationalities existed which are coming to us day after day.'¹⁸ The issue of self-determination proved to be the greatest cause of contention at the conference and later the League of Nations. For the Estonians, Latvians, Armenians, Lithuanians, Kurds, Ukrainians and numerous other nationalities, the Paris Peace Conference was a disappointment. It promised so much but, in their eyes, delivered so little.

DID YOU KNOW?

During World War I, prisoners of war from Ireland were approached by the Germans and presented with the option of starting a brigade to fight the British. The Germans proposed landing the prisoners of war on Irish soil and supporting them with arms. The hope was to create a third front and get the upper hand on the British.

SOURCE 1.17

Mapmakers waiting on a final decision from the Paris Peace Conference before redrawing the map of Europe.



THE HALL OF MIRRORS

George Clémenceau: 'In the end, it is what it is: above all else it is the work of human beings and as a result, it is not perfect. We all did what we could to work fast and well.'

On 4 May 1919, the Treaty of Versailles was sent to the printers and the German representatives were summonsed to Paris. When the 180-strong German delegation arrived, they were surprised at their treatment. A heavy military escort collected them from the train station and took them to their hotel, where their luggage was unceremoniously dumped in the courtyard and they were told to carry it to their rooms themselves. The delegation led by Count Brockdorff-Rantzau arrived in good faith, believing that Wilson and his Fourteen Points would present them with a mild peace treaty. They even believed that Germany, along with the United States, France and England, would work together to block Bolshevism in the East.

The symbolism of signing the treaty in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles was deliberate. The French were forced to sign the 1871 Treaty of Versailles in this location, and the choice of venue reinforced the German belief that France was after revenge. Indeed, even Lloyd George snapped an ivory paper knife in two after hearing Clémenceau's opening speech in which he stated 'You asked us for peace. We are disposed to grant it to you.' Brockdorff-Rantzau had prepared two speeches and was unsure which to deliver. He delivered his address sitting down and then the delegation retired to their hotel to contemplate the signing of the treaty. The initial German response was, as Wilson later stated, 'the most tactless speech I have ever heard.'



BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU'S SPEECH

SOURCE 1.18

Versailles, 7 May 1919

BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU'S SPEECH IN RESPONSE TO THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

Gentlemen, we are deeply impressed with the great mission that has brought us here to give to the world forthwith a lasting peace. We are under no illusion as to the extent of our defeat and the degree of our powerlessness. We know that the strength of the German arms is broken. We know the intensity of the hatred which meets us, and we have heard the victor's passionate demand that as the vanquished we shall be made to pay, and as the guilty we shall be punished.

The demand is made that we shall acknowledge that we alone are guilty of having caused the war ... but we emphatically deny that the people of Germany, who were convinced that they were waging a war of defence, should be burdened with the sole guilt of that war. [...] In the past fifty years the imperialism of all European states has

constantly poisoned the international situation. The policy of retaliation, the policy of expansion, and a disregard of the right of national self-determination have played their part in that illness of Europe which came to its crisis in the world war.

[...]

Gentlemen, the sublime idea of deriving from the most terrible catastrophe in history the greatest of forward movements in the development of mankind, by means of the League of Nations, has been put forth and will make its way. But only by opening the gates of the League of Nations to all who are of good will can the goal be attained, and only by doing so will it be that those who have died in this war shall not have died in vain.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Does Germany accept responsibility for its part in World War I? Identify words and phrases that support your answer.
2. What is Germany's main criticism of this treaty?
3. What evidence is there that Germany is committed to a League of Nations and a lasting peace?

Brockdorff-Rantzau and the German delegation were shocked at the terms of the treaty. The shock was echoed in Germany. Why should Germany lose 13 per cent of its territory and 10 per cent of its population? After all, had Germany lost the war? Why should Germany alone be made to disarm? Why—and this question became the focus of German hatred of the treaty—should Germany be the only country to take responsibility for the Great War? Most Germans still viewed the outbreak of hostilities in 1914 as a necessary defence against the threat of barbaric Slavs to the East. From the German perspective, the treaty was a dictated peace. If they refused to sign, the naval blockade would continue and Germans would die of starvation or, worse, the war would start again, this time with Germany in a far weaker position.

The scuttling of 74 German naval ships, days before Germany was to sign the treaty or face a military invasion, did not assist Germany's rejection of the Treaty. Brockdorff-Rantzau told the German assembly that he believed the Allies were bluffing, but equally his untimely resignation on 20 June 1919, just three days before the deadline, complicated matters. Following rigorous debate, the German National Assembly voted in favour of signing with the exception of the 'war guilt' clause.

The day of the signing was 28 June 1919; ironically, this was the anniversary of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand at Sarajevo in 1914. The two German delegates, Foreign Minister Herman Muller and Minister for the Colonies Johannes Bell, were unknown to most of the other delegates. They signed along with 21 other countries in the Hall of Mirrors. The world's media and film crews were present to witness the occasion. At the end of 'six months that changed the world,' the absences often spoke louder than the signatories. General Foch of France chose to inspect arrangements in the Rhineland. He declared on that day, 'Wilhelm II lost the war ... Clémenceau lost the peace.'¹⁹ He also described the Treaty of Versailles as 'no more than a twenty year truce.' Sadly, Foch's prediction was true, almost to the date. In addition the Chinese seats in the Hall of Mirrors were empty because China was refusing to sign the treaty, in protest against the decision to award Shantung to Japan.



ACTIVITY

EXTENSION

Write a paragraph arguing whether you agree or disagree with Wilson that Brockdorff-Rantzau's speech was tactless.



SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

SOURCE 1.19

The signing of the Treaty of Peace at Versailles, June 28th, 1919, by J Finnermore.

REDRAWING MAPS

The maps of Europe and the Middle East were drawn and redrawn repeatedly at the conference. New nations emerged from the empires of the nineteenth century. Older nations, including Poland and Czechoslovakia, were restored to their ancient borders. But the pleas of neighbouring peoples—Lithuanians, Latvians, Ukrainians and Estonians—for self-determination were ignored. Romania had entered the war to gain territory, but had withdrawn from the war and signed the Treaty of Bucharest with Germany in May 1918. Romania subsequently

PERSPECTIVES:
TREATY OF
VERSAILLES

**FEATURES OF POST-
WWI TREATIES**

re-entered the war on the allied side, declaring war on Germany on November 10, the day before Armistice Day. Many historians argue that this was to bolster their claims for territory in the post-war treaties. Clémenceau considered these actions treacherous. However, geography proved to be Romania's greatest attribute. The Allies were fearful of Bolshevik revolution spreading and were prepared to

TREATIES WITH OTHER DEFEATED NATIONS

For a variety of reasons, the treaties signed with other defeated nations were nowhere near as harsh as that with Germany. All of the Central Powers had abandoned Germany before Armistice Day and signed armistices with the Allies. Unlike Germany, the other defeated powers saw the signing of the armistice as

a surrender. Turkish, Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian troops all were defeated and signed the armistice on their own territory. The catchphrase 'Payment, punishment and prevention' was replaced with an attempt on the part of these nations to distance themselves from Germany.

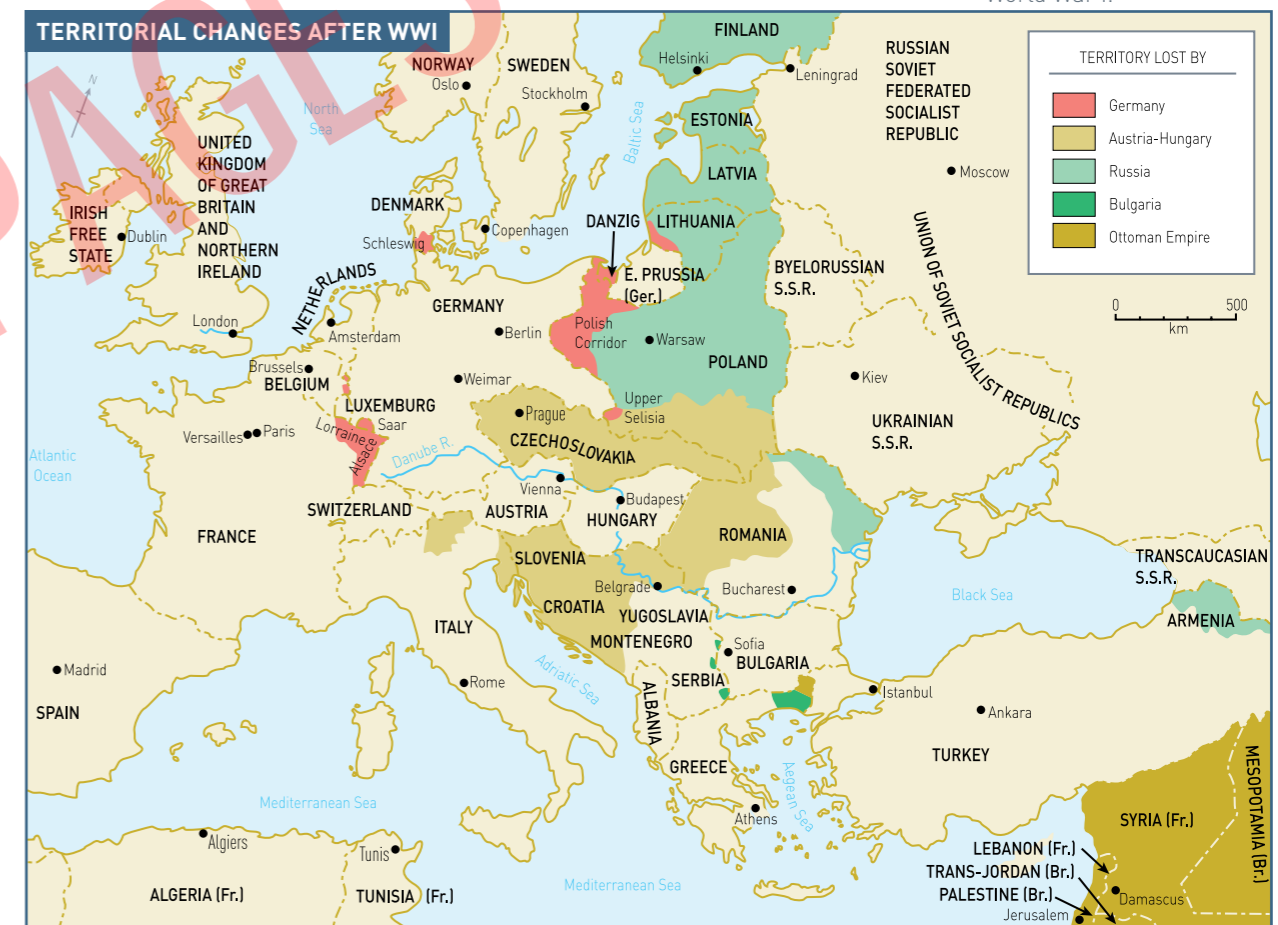
NATION	TREATY	OUTCOME/ISSUES
Austria	Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye (10 September 1919)	Austria was forbidden to unite with Hungary and Germany. Its independence struck a sympathetic nerve with Wilson. Land lost to Romania, Poland, Italy and Czechoslovakia.
	US-Austrian Peace Treaty (25 August 1921) (This was a separate treaty, as the USA never ratified the Paris treaties)	Reparations to be paid for two years. Austria received considerable help in the form of loans and aid. Was the first Central Power to join the League of Nations. Army reduced to 35 000.
Hungary	Treaty of Trianon (4 June 1920)	Hungary was complicated by a diversity of ethnic minorities and languages. Hungary appealed to Wilson to keep its historic boundaries. Yet it lost land to Romania, Italy and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Fear of spreading Bolshevik revolutions complicated matters and the fear of harsh reparations worked in Hungary's favour. Hungary was scheduled to make annual payments in gold and materials. Economic situations changed and the Allies suspended reparations in the 1930s, to begin again in 1944. Army reduced to 30 000.
Bulgaria	Treaty of Neuilly (27 November 1919)	Lost land to Greece (thus losing access to the Mediterranean Sea), Romania, Kingdom of Serbs Croats and Slovenes (present-day Macedonia and Serbia). Ordered to pay £100 million. Army reduced to 20 000.
Ottoman Empire	Treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920)	The philosophy of 'The sick man of Europe has come to his own end'. Land lost to Armenia (although this was ignored after signing), Greece, France (Syria and Lebanon) and Great Britain (Palestine, Mesopotamia and Yemen). A possible Kurdish state was never finalised. Army reduced to 50 700. Navy reduced. Turkish War of Independence followed, with wins over Armenian, Greek and French armies, forming present-day Turkey and forcing a new treaty.
	Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923)	Formalised boundaries of Turkey: Turkey agreed to no further claims on Cyprus (Article 20), Egypt and Sudan (Article 17), Syria and Iraq (Article 3). (Armenian and Kurdish homelands ignored.)

strengthen Romania by transferring territory from Hungary. The Balkans were temporarily winners by gaining territory for Yugoslavia (a name that emerged from 'Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes'), but the ethnic minorities and the drawing of borders created problems that would last for the rest of the century.

The Middle East was more complicated. A Jewish homeland was carved out of Palestine. This was based upon the 1917 Balfour Declaration, which offered British support for a Jewish homeland. The decision sent a signal to the people of the Middle East that showed inconsistent promises to Arabs and Jews. This has created ongoing hostilities to this day, particularly in Syria and Iraq. Arabia was created as an Arab state, but despite these attempts, the situation in the Middle East remained unstable, and did not build upon the Fourteen Points. Secret agreements by the British and French seemed to have greater power than self-determination. Equally, China was annoyed that Japan was granted Shantung, although this was eventually given back to China in 1922. Britain and France, despite making compromises, emerged with considerable land and a larger share of reparations.

SOURCE 1.20

Territorial changes after World War I.



ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Looking at Source 1.20, identify land lost by Germany.
2. Describe the changes made to the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a result of the treaty.
3. What gains did France and Britain make at the expense of the Ottoman Empire?

DID YOU KNOW?

Germany made its final payment of £59 million on 3 October 2010. Repayments were interrupted when Hitler was in power. However, a clause in the agreement said that Germany would have to pay interest on the bill if Germany were ever to reunite, which it did in 1990.

AFTER THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

The Paris Peace Conference continued until January 1920, when foreign ministers and diplomats took over, but it was like 'a theatrical production whose stars are gone'. For Orlando, Clémenceau, George and Wilson, their days as global leaders were numbered. Orlando was replaced by Mussolini; Clémenceau had expected France would accept him as France's prime minister until he chose to resign; however, the French public believed that Germany was let off lightly and they voted against Clémenceau. Lloyd George was the leader of the Liberal Party, but lost control of the coalition and resigned as prime minister in 1922. Woodrow Wilson returned to the United States and found a hostile Senate who opposed both the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations. Wilson toured the nation to rally support. Believing that the United States was the sole power to bring the idealism of internationalism to fruition, he pushed himself to exhaustion and eventually suffered a stroke, finishing his presidency as a recluse. The USA—despite holding a permanent membership of the League Council under the Covenant of the League of Nations—never ratified the Treaty of Versailles or joined the League of Nations. Indeed, prominent congressmen and senators wanted the USA to engage in a period of isolationism, far from European concerns. It is one of the sad tales of the post-war years that Wilson was unable to convince his own nation that the League of Nations was a step towards a better future.

SOURCE 1.21

'Going to Talk to the Boss,' from the *Chicago News*, 1919.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify the figure in black.
2. Explain what criticism the cartoonist is making of the president.
3. Identify the likely impact of a cartoon such as this on the senators and the American people.
4. Where do the cartoonist's sympathies lie?



THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AT WORK

If the issues of the Paris Peace Conference convince us of anything, it is that internationalism takes time to both nurture and to be effective. The League of Nations met first in Paris, and then in London before Geneva was chosen as the permanent home for the League because of its neutrality in World War I. In the end, sixty-three countries became members of the League of Nations; it lasted from 1919 until 1946, when it was replaced by the United Nations. Ultimately, the Paris Peace Conference instituted an international order that gave the new

international organisation no explicit political or military power. As the League could not intervene in matters of national sovereignty, essentially the only easily identifiable pre-war internationalist element instituted in the League was a new international court: The Permanent Court of International Justice.²⁰



SOURCE 1.22

Palais Wilson, the original League of Nations building in Geneva, Switzerland.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE LEAGUE

At first, the League of Nations gained respect and authority, with forty-two member nations by the end of 1919. This authority was reinforced by a number of successful interventions during the 1920s. A dispute between Sweden and Finland over the Åland Islands was successfully resolved in favour of Finland in 1921. The League of Nations was also responsible for diffusing tensions between Greece and Bulgaria in 1925. Moreover, the Treaty of Locarno, signed in 1925, fixed the issue of Germany's Western border under the Treaty of Versailles and put an end to the demilitarised area of Rhineland.

The 1928 Kellogg–Briand Pact is also seen by some historians as a successful outcome achieved by the League of Nations. The pact, which was signed by sixty-four nations, including Germany, the US and the Soviet Union, outlawed war as an instrument of national policy. However, other historians argue that the Kellogg–Briand Pact cannot be attributed to the League of Nations as it was largely engineered by the USA.

In addition to its successes in addressing international disputes, the League of Nations played an important role in humanitarian concerns. 'The League oversaw the repatriation of nearly half a million prisoners of war from twenty-six countries and initiated the process of establishing general codes for railways, ports and waterways.²¹ The League also sent doctors from the Health Organization and spent over £10 million on building homes and farms; money was used to invest in seeds and by 1926 had created employment for over 600 000 people in Turkey. Campaigns against typhus were initiated by the League and the banning of asphyxiating, poisonous gases or other bacterial weapons, commonly known as the Geneva Protocol (1925), were ratified by sixty-five nations. These achievements gave the League of Nations credibility.

SOURCE 1.23

Calvin Coolidge, US President Herbert Hoover, and Frank Kellogg in the White House, with representatives of the governments that ratified the Kellogg–Briand Pact.



CHALLENGES FACING THE LEAGUE

However, the League of Nations also struggled because it had few powers of enforcement. If a country wanted to ignore a direction from the League there was little it could do. This was the case in 1931 when Japan annexed Manchuria. The League reprimanded Japan but there was little else that could be done because Japan withdrew from the League. Likewise, Nazi Germany opted out of the League in 1933 over a disagreement about rearmament. In 1935, when Italy invaded Abyssinia, Britain appealed to the League to impose sanctions on Italy. Limited sanctions were applied, but they did not stop Mussolini, as they did not include petrol. These setbacks severely undermined the status and credibility of the League of Nations. In the end, as nation after nation withdrew from the League, it was left as nothing more than a society. Hitler referred to the League as a congregation of dead people.

CONCLUSION



*Sad peace
Laughable interlude
Between the massacres of peoples.*

(FRENCH POET ROMAIN ROLLAND, 23 JUNE 1919)

French poet Romain Rolland's words seem incredibly prophetic now. The statement 'Germany lost the War but Clémenceau lost the peace' has become a common criticism of the Treaty of Versailles. Indeed, the Big Three all made mistakes at Paris, but if the 'war guilt' clause had been omitted, Germany might have accepted the full terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and the League of Nations might have been more popular and productive. There was no doubt that Germany accepted to pay reparations—they demanded the same from treaties they signed with Russia and Romania—but Article 231 enraged them as a nation and gave them the ability to criticise the 400 other articles. Modern economists believe that had Germany just begun working again, the reparations would have been manageable. But the Weimar Republic failed to provide leadership and its lack of economic management led to hyperinflation.

The League of Nations proved to be ineffective in preventing another major war. Equally, as a result of redrawing national boundaries in Europe and the Middle East, conflicts and wars have continued to this day. The absence of the USA played a major part in the League's eventual downfall; no doubt Wilson died a disheartened man, aware that his vision of a better future did not come to fruition. Internationalism was a new concept and, sadly, the League never had someone like Wilson who appealed to all nations to move it forward.

Only twenty years later, the world was again at war. Many historians have argued that the seeds of World War II were planted at Versailles. The severity with which Germany and the other defeated powers were treated created financial hardship and fostered humiliation and resentment. It was these emotions that dictators such as Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini were able to tap into as they developed their right-wing governments during the 1930s.

CHAPTER REVIEW

1. Create a table that summarises the positions, desires and outcomes of Wilson, Clémenceau and Lloyd George at the Paris Peace Conference.
2. Create a table that divides Wilson's Fourteen Points into short- and long-term goals.

SKILLS: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

For many German-speaking people, the decision to redraw boundaries at the Paris Peace Conference led to enormous changes in their citizenship and identity. Only the German-speaking people in Denmark/Northern Germany were given their say in this change (the majority voted to become part of Denmark). However, even today there is a German-speaking minority in Southern Jutland (complete with German-speaking schools) and a Danish-speaking minority (complete with Danish-speaking schools) in North Schleswig. Consider the consequences for people in these or other regions. Select one region and research people's perspectives on the effects of the new borders. Address the following questions:

1. What were the effects of this change of boundaries on one or more groups?
2. What were the options for the people who lived in those regions?
3. How were German-speaking people treated initially, and then over time?
4. To what extent did people prosper under the new arrangements? Give one or more examples.

EXAM PRACTICE

In 300–450 words, answer the questions below.

1. What was Australia's role in the Paris Peace Conference?
2. Describe the influence of Wilson, Clémenceau or Lloyd George on the outcome of the peace treaties.

ESSAY

1. Using three or four points, explain how the ideals of the peacemakers were shattered by conflicting interpretations of reparations and self-determination.
2. 'The Paris Peace Conference created nations for some but ignored self-determination for others'. Discuss this statement, using evidence to support your position.
3. 'The League of Nations was totally ineffective'. To what extent do you agree with this statement? Use evidence to support your answer.
4. 'The Treaty of Versailles created more problems than it solved'. Discuss.

EXTENSION

Using Trove at the National Library of Australia website, research how the Australian media reported on the events of the Paris Peace Conference. (Note: Victoria's main newspaper during this period was *The Argus*).

TEST



QUIZ – MAKING THE PEACE

TEST YOUR
LEARNING

FURTHER READING

Norman Graebner & Edward Bennet. *The Versailles Treaty and its Legacy—the Failure of the Wilsonian Vision*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Although a challenging read, this well-researched history study explores why and how the United States rejected Wilson's vision of a 'new world order'.

Margaret MacMillan. *Paris 1916: Six Months that Changed the World*. New York: Random House, 2003.

This engaging study is a narrative of the struggles and successes of the first six months of the Paris Peace Conference.

Jon Silkin (ed.). *The Penguin Book of First World War Poetry*. (London: Penguin, 1996).

This edition of poetry charts the path of soldiers in World War I from enthusiasm

to disillusionment. Remarkable in all the poems is a lack of anger against the enemy; instead, anger is directed at politicians who send men into war.

Hew Strachan. *The First World War: A New Illustrated History*. (London: Simon and Schuster, 2003).

A series of poignant essays by historians, which cover the social, political and ideological aspects of World War I and its aftermath.