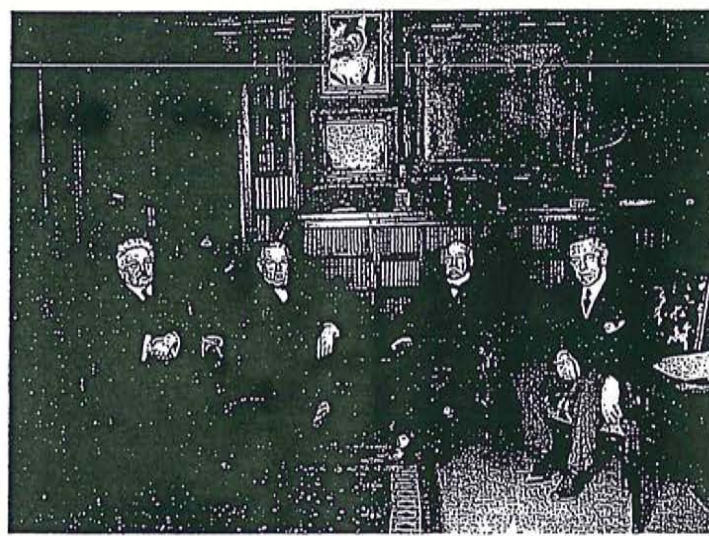


**HISTORY
REPLAY**

Versailles

The Peace and after



Bernard Barker

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Contents

Vittorio Orlando, Italian Prime Minister, to David Lloyd George, British Prime Minister, May 1919, commenting on colonial arrangements

“ I cannot look forward without grave apprehension to the future of continental Europe; the German longing for revenge must be considered in conjunction with the Russian position. We can thus see even now that the settlement to be arrived at will lack the assent of more than half the population of the European continent. If we detach from the block on which the new European system will have to rely for support forty million Italians, and force them into the ranks of the malcontents, do you think that the new order will rest on a firm basis? ”

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Armistice Day, 1918



Introduction

The peace with Russia signed at Brest-Litovsk in March 1918 meant that the Germans had a great chance to win the war. Ludendorff switched his armies from the Eastern to the Western Front and planned to smash through to the Channel

ports before the United States had time to send enough men to give Britain and France decisive help. The attack just failed, and when fresh American troops arrived in Europe in large numbers, Germany was already exhausted. On 11th November 1918 the Armistice was signed at Compiègne. Germany was beaten, ten million people were dead and the First World War was over.

The defeated powers, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey, had collapsed and their great pre-war empires lay in ruins. All over Europe factories came to a standstill and people starved. Revolution broke out in many cities, and in Russia the new Communist Government fought to survive.

The American President, Woodrow Wilson, promised that his own Fourteen Points, listed in a speech to Congress in January 1918, would be the basis for dealing with the defeated nations and redrawing the map of Europe. Wilson was convinced that his scheme for a League of Nations would bring lasting peace, settling arguments before wars began.

The reality was different. In all, there were five peace treaties, one for each defeated power, but the main debate on how the peace should be made took place during the conference at Versailles in France, which opened on 18th January 1919.

This booklet examines the German and Austro-Hungarian settlements in detail, explores their consequences for Russia and Germany, and asks whether the League of Nations could work.

Time-Line

- | | |
|-------------------|--|
| January 1918 | President Wilson's speech to Congress outlining the Fourteen Points. |
| March 1918 | Ludendorff's unsuccessful spring offensive. |
| 11 November 1918 | Armistice signed between Germany and the Allies at Compiègne. |
| 18 January 1919 | Peace Conference opened at Versailles with 25 Allied and Associate nations represented. |
| 14 February 1919 | Draft Covenant of the League of Nations laid before the Conference. |
| March 1919 | The clumsy Council of Ten replaced by a Council of Four comprising Georges Clemenceau (France), Woodrow Wilson (United States), David Lloyd George (Great Britain) and Vittorio Orlando (Italy). |
| 18 April 1919 | German representatives summoned to Versailles and shown the Draft Treaty for the first time. |
| 16 June 1919 | Germany threatened with military action unless she accepts the Treaty |
| 28 June 1919 | Treaty signed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. |
| 10 September 1919 | Treaty of St Germain-en-Laye signed with Austria |
| 27 November 1919 | Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria. |
| 10 January 1920 | Treaty of Versailles comes into force. |
| 19 March 1920 | United States Senate refuses to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. |
| 4 June 1920 | Treaty of Trianon with Hungary. |
| 10 August 1920 | Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey. |
| 27 April 1921 | Reparations Committee fixed Germany's total liability at £6 600 millions. |

Attitudes to Peace

The armistice ended the war on 11th November 1918, but the difficult task of making peace lay ahead.

Study the evidence below. You should then be able to answer the questions on p. 5.

Britain

Britain lost 761 213 soldiers in the fighting and spent £7 852 000 000. She had entered the war to defend Belgian neutrality against German invasion, but apart from preventing Germany from dominating Europe, had no war aims. The propaganda machine dwelt on German atrocities—e.g. enemy soldiers were alleged to have murdered women and children—to persuade people to support the war.

The Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, saw the need for a moderate peace, and told Parliament:

“ We must not allow any sense of revenge, any spirit of greed, any grasping desire to override the fundamental principles of righteousness. . . ”

He believed that a bitter Germany would help no one. As the British Empire Union poster shows, others wanted revenge, to ‘Hang the Kaiser’ and punish Germany.

United States

The United States suffered no damage at home as a result of the war. Her armies did not arrive in Europe in large numbers until the last six months, so that her losses and casualties were lower than anyone else’s. The American President, Woodrow Wilson, wanted a just peace that would make future wars impossible. He outlined Fourteen Points as the basis for peace-making, in a speech to Congress in January 1918.

The principle that people should decide the country to which they belong is called self-determination.

Summary of the Fourteen Points

- 1 No more secret agreements between states
- 2 Free navigation of the seas
- 3 An end to all economic barriers between countries
- 4 Countries should guarantee to reduce armaments
- 5 Impartial adjustments of colonial claims, also taking into account the interests of people living in colonies
- 6 Armies to be removed from Russian territory. Russia to be allowed independent political development
- 7 Belgium to be restored to independent sovereignty, as before the war
- 8 France to recover all her territory including Alsace-Lorraine
- 9 Italian frontiers to be readjusted along lines of nationality
- 10 Self-determination for subject-peoples of Austria-Hungary
- 11 Self-determination and international guarantees of political and economic independence for Balkan States
- 12 Self-determination for non-Turkish nationalities of Ottoman Empire; Turkish sovereignty assured in Turkish areas
- 13 An independent Poland to be created; it should include ‘indisputably Polish populations’ and have access to the sea as well as international guarantees
- 14 A League to be set up to guarantee the political and territorial independence of all states

France

France lost 1 358 000 men in the war, mostly on the Western Front, and spent £5 392 000 000. She had been invaded by Germans in 1870 and 1914; and about 10% of French territory was occupied by Germans until the closing days of the war. About 90% of her coal and iron industries were seized by Germany; at the end of the war these were run down or flooded. President Poincaré demanded compensation from the Germans, and Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau was determined to make it impossible for Germany to attack France ever again.

Germany

By November 1918 Germany was exhausted. The British blockade was starving her people, and the collapse of Austria-Hungary meant that she faced enemy thrusts across the Rhine and from the south. The Kaiser fled to Holland, and a provisional government took over, under Prince Max of Baden. Only a few months before, with Russia defeated, Germany had expected to win. It was a sharp change of fortune, but the new government signed the Armistice in the hope that Woodrow Wilson would see fair play. Germany expected a just peace based on the Fourteen Points, not punishment. Her early victories in 1914 had captured Belgium and northern France; she was reluctant to give these up, let alone to see German-speaking districts given to new states.

BRITISH EMPIRE UNION
ONCE A GERMAN - ALWAYS A GERMAN!

1914 TO 1918. NEVER AGAIN!

REMEMBER!
Every German employed means a British Worker idle.
Every German article sold means a British article unsold.
BRITISH EMPIRE UNION, 346 STRAND, LONDON, W.C.2



- 1 From which country would Germany expect the most favourable treatment at the Peace Conference, and why?
- 2 Why do you think the French might want a harsher settlement than the British?
- 3 How might the British Empire Union poster influence British public opinion towards the treatment of Germany at Versailles?
- 4 Would Wilson's Fourteen Points be enough protection for France against future German aggression?

The German question

When the Peace Conference opened on 18th January 1919 at Versailles, the central problem was how to deal with Germany. The Kaiser's army had conquered and occupied almost all of Belgium, part of France and huge areas of Russia. Now Germany, exhausted, was at the mercy of the Allies—Britain, France and the United States.

Each country at the Conference wanted to protect or further its own interests, or the interests of international peace. The interests of the United States, France, Germany and Poland are outlined below.

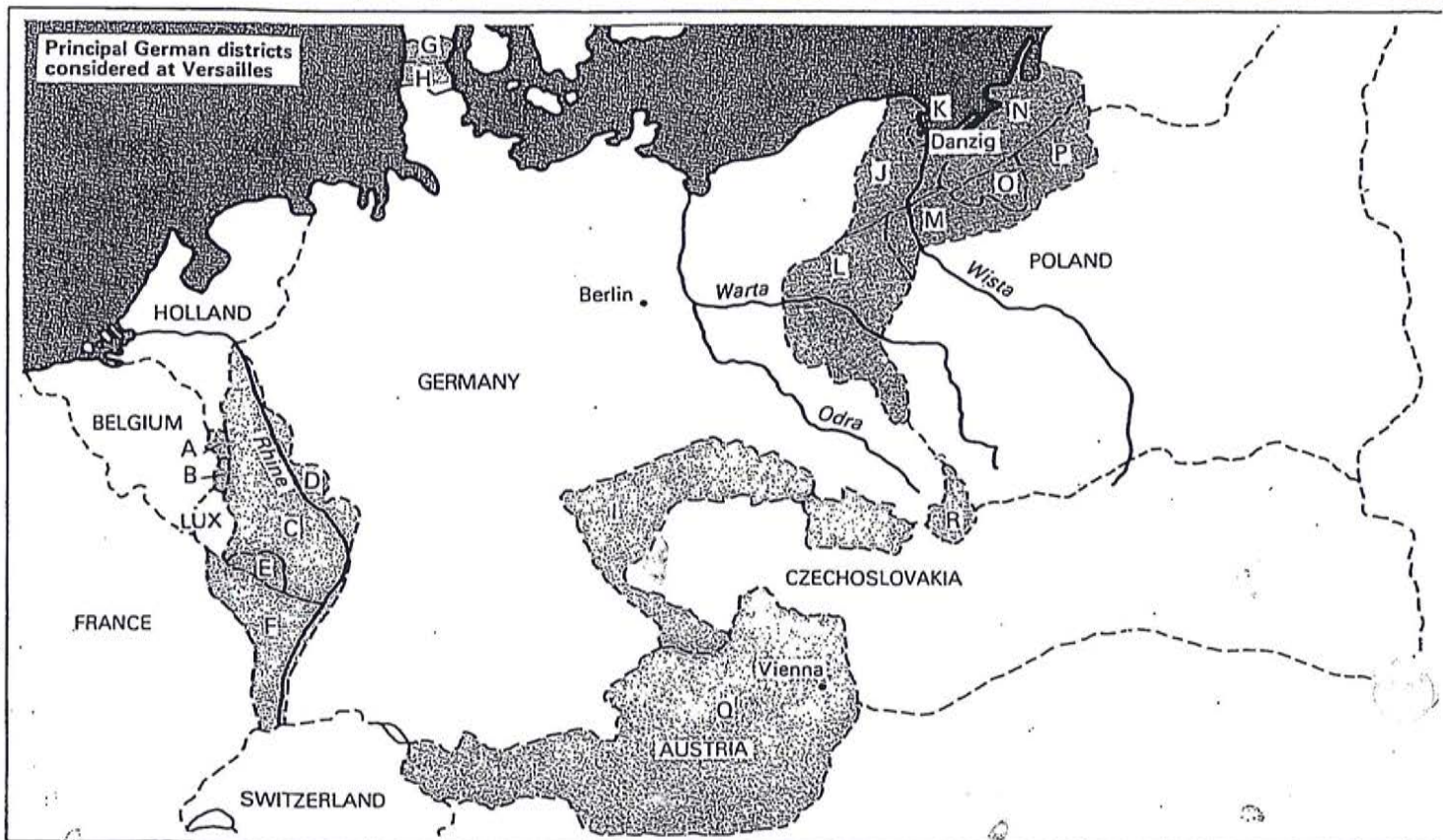
Study the interests of these four countries; the map showing the German-speaking districts whose future was considered at Versailles; and the possible treaty provisions on pp. 7-8. You should then be able to answer the question below.

People living in some disputed districts were allowed to vote for the country to which they would rather belong. Generally, people voted to belong to the country of the same race and the same language. This kind of vote is called a plebiscite.



Prepare a draft treaty proposal for each of the four countries. From the possible treaty provisions select one clause per territory to meet the aims of each nation.

For example, you might think that France would choose A1, B2 and C3, a Poland would choose J1 and K1.



United States

The Fourteen Points (see p. 4) guided America's approach to the peace, but Woodrow Wilson was firmly committed to making Poland and Czechoslovakia independent. Poland could not survive without a port or an outlet to the sea for trade. This however, would mean giving the Poles a 'corridor' of land straight through Germany territory, cutting off East Prussia from the rest of Germany and making Danzig, a German city, a free port. The Germans could then complain that the principle of self-determination had not been applied to them.

Wilson also wanted to meet French fears of future German attacks, but did not want to accept the French proposal that the Rhineland—German territory—should become an independent buffer state. He thought that German resentment at the loss would be a future cause of war. Instead he, and the British Prime Minister, Lloyd George, were prepared to guarantee French frontiers against German aggression.

France

France believed that Germany was to blame for the war. She wanted her old enemy cut down to size and compensation for her enormous losses of life and property. She wanted the return of Alsace

The German delegation, invited to Versailles at the last moment and presented with a text of the Treaty.



Lorraine, taken by the Germans in 1870. She demanded the Saar coalfield in repayment for the French mines destroyed by the Germans. She argued for the Rhineland to become a buffer state against future attack. Clemenceau, the French Prime Minister, supported the creation of Poland and Czechoslovakia, but was afraid that these small countries in the east would prove no match for Germany. Germany's large population and industrial strength, unbalanced by her eastern neighbours, was Europe's real problem.

Germany

Germany was badly shaken by suddenly losing a war that she thought she was going to win. Germans did not think themselves any more to blame for the war than anyone else; and expected the Fourteen Points and the principles of self-determination to be applied impartially at Versailles. She could only regard losses of German territory as outrageous.

Poland

Poland did not exist before the war. Poles lived under German, Russian or Austro-Hungarian governments. In 1919 they were eager to seize the chance offered by the end of the war to set up an independent state. Naturally, an outlet to the sea and a port for international trade were vital. Polish nationalists were claiming any territory where Poles lived.

(Choose from possible treaty provisions J, K, L, M, O, P and R only)

Possible treaty provisions

For each country's draft proposal, choose one clause for each territory.

A Eupen Small, but useful mineral resources

1 To Belgium
or 2 Germany to keep

- B Malmedy** Small, but useful mineral resources
 1 To Belgium
 or 2 Germany to keep
- C Rhineland** Historically German
 1 Germany to keep
 or 2 Germany to keep but no military installations whatsoever to be allowed
 or 3 To be a buffer state between France and Germany controlled by the League of Nations
- D Areas of occupation** (3 zones in the Rhineland)
 1 British, French and American troops to occupy, to guarantee that Germany carries out the Treaty terms. One zone to be evacuated every five years
 or 2 No occupation
- E Saar** German population; valuable coalfield, producing 9% of Germany's coal before the war
 1 Germany to keep
 or 2 To France in perpetuity
 or 3 France to supervise for the League (mandate) with use of coalmines. Plebiscite to be held in 15 years
- F Alsace-Lorraine** Taken from France in 1870; French and some German population; iron ore, potash and textiles
 1 Return to France
 or 2 Germany to keep
- G North Schleswig** Population of about 300 000; Danish bias
 1 Germany to keep
 or 2 Plebiscite
 or 3 To Denmark
- H South Schleswig** Smaller than North; German bias
 1 Germany to keep
 or 2 Plebiscite
 or 3 To Denmark
- I Sudetenland** Formerly part of Austro-Hungarian Empire; largely German population; strategically important, its mountains forming a natural defence if given to Czechoslovakia
 1 Award to Germany
 or 2 To new state of Czechoslovakia
- J West Prussia** Historically German. Useful forests and agricultural lands
 1 Germany to keep
 or 2 To new state of Poland
- K Danzig** German port, essential for Baltic trade
 1 Germany to keep
 or 2 To new state of Poland
 or 3 Special Free City Status (controlled by League of Nations and open to all trade)
- L Posen** Part of former German Empire
 1 Germany to keep
 or 2 To new state of Poland
- M Thorn** Part of former German Empire
 1 Germany to keep
 or 2 To new state of Poland
- N East Prussia** Not in dispute (German territory)
- O Marienwerder** Mixed German-Polish population
 1 Germany to keep
 or 2 To new state of Poland
 or 3 Plebiscite
- P Allenstein** Historically part of East Prussia; but Polish Protestant minority; poor agricultural land
 1 Germany to keep
 or 2 To new state of Poland
 or 3 Plebiscite
- Q Austria** German-speaking heart of Austro-Hungarian Empire, which centred on Vienna; with the break-up of the Empire, many Austrians now look to Germany
 1 To unite with Germany
 or 2 *Anschluss* (union of Germany and Austria) forbidden; Germany to recognize Austrian independence
- R Upper Silesia** Part of pre-war Germany; mixed Polish-German population; valuable coalfield, lead and zinc mines
 1 Germany to keep
 or 2 To new state of Poland
 or 3 Plebiscite

The final Treaty at Versailles

You should now try comparing the proposals that you have prepared for the United States, France, Germany and Poland, with one another and with the actual Treaty of Versailles

The provisions of Versailles

The final treaty was signed on 28th June 1919 at Versailles, and included these clauses.

Territorial provisions (see p. 7, possible treaty provisions)

A1 B1 C2 D1 E3 F1 G2
H2 I2 J2 K3 L2 M2 O3
P3 Q2 R3

(See map on p. 10 for the full effect of *all* the peace treaties.)

Other provisions

a Germany to surrender to the Allied

powers all her rights to overseas possessions.

b The German army to be reduced to a maximum 100 000 men.

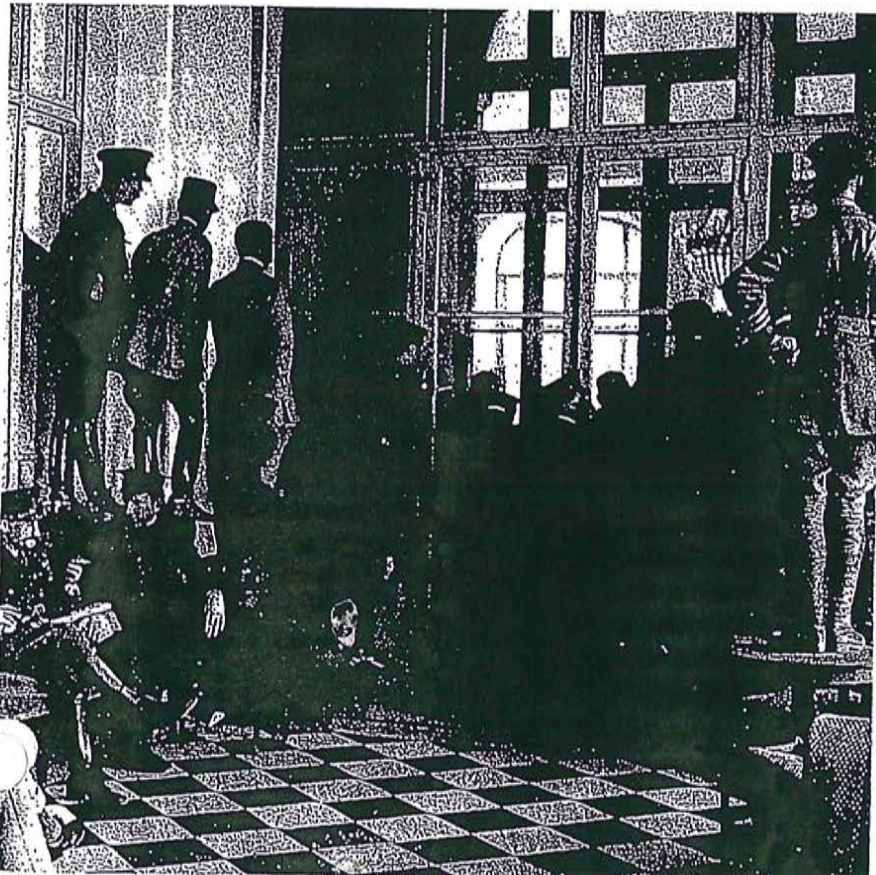
c The German navy to be restricted to 6 pre-Dreadnought battleships, 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers and 12 torpedo boats. No submarines.

d Germany to accept article 231 of the Treaty: i.e. full responsibility for causing the war.

e Germany to pay reparations, later fixed at £6 600 millions, as compensation for damage caused in the war.

The German Government was horrified when it saw the terms of the Treaty drafted by the Allies. There was no alternative to signing, however. The Allies brushed aside German protests and threatened to advance across the Rhine into Germany.

Allied officers, standing on chairs and tables, watching the signing of the Peace Treaty.



1 Imagine you are a patriotic German journalist who has read the Versailles proposals.

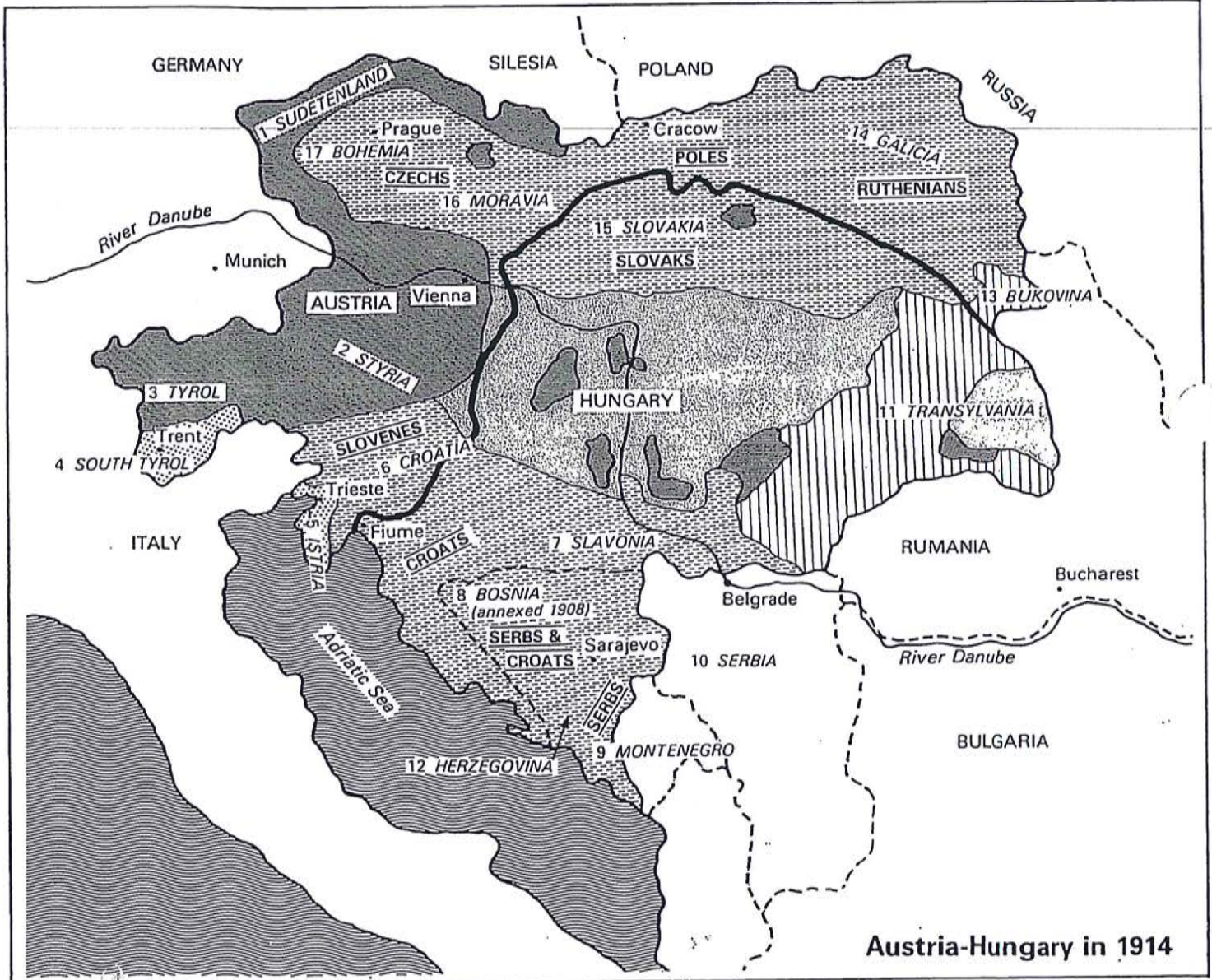
Write an article for your paper criticizing the Treaty and pointing out its most outrageous features.

2 Which clauses of the final Treaty either broke or could be argued to have broken Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points?

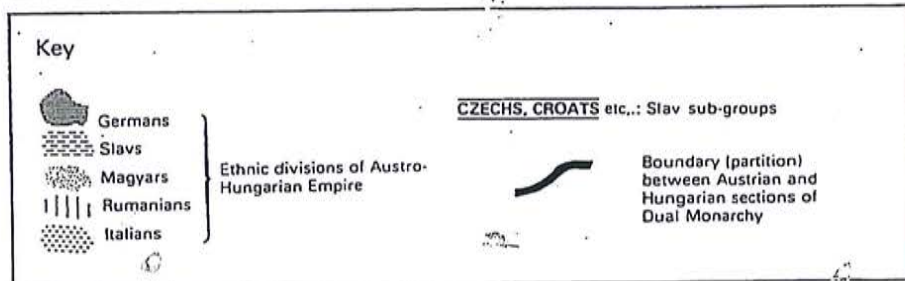
(Look at points 3, 5 and 13 on p. 4).

The break-up of Austria-Hungary

Austria-Hungary, a vast, ramshackle, multi-racial empire, disintegrated in 1918 under the accumulated pressures of war. Revolution broke out, and the peace-makers could, on the whole, only give legal substance to what was already happening.



Austria-Hungary in 1914



District

- 1 Sudetenland
- 2 Styria
- 3 Tyrol
- 4 South Tyrol
- 5 Istria
- 6 Croatia
- 7 Slavonia
- 8 Bosnia
- 9 Montenegro
Independent before 1914
- 10 Serbia
Independent before 1914
- 11 Transylvania
- 12 Herzegovina
- 13 Bukovina
- 14 Galicia
- 15 Slovakia
- 16 Moravia
- 17 Bohemia

Nation-state

Rumania

Shown on the map within its pre-war boundaries, which excluded many Rumanians

Yugoslavia

It is proposed to create a new state on the Adriatic Sea, from Slav states too small to be independent

Austria

The German-speaking core of the old Empire

Italy

United in 1859, shown within its pre-war boundaries. Entered the war late but on the winning side

Hungary

The 'other half' of the Dual Monarchy

Czechoslovakia

It is proposed to create a new independent state, from Slav districts in the north

Germany

Some districts have a high proportion of German-speaking inhabitants

Poland

It is proposed to create a strong Poland independent of Germany or Russia



- 1 Imagine you are a civil servant preparing an 'ideal' peace settlement for the territories of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Your aim is to remove possible sources of conflict and to satisfy as many people as possible.

Each of the districts 1-17 listed in the left-hand column above (and shown on the map on p. 10) must be given to one of the nation-states, either existing or proposed, listed in the right-hand column.

Think about points a-d. Then write out the names of each nation-state and, next to it the numbers of the districts that you have given it.

- a Study carefully and take into account Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, especially 9, 10 and 11 (see p. 4).
 - b Wilson wants to give Serbia an outlet to the sea, like Poland's. The obvious choice is Fiume, the only good port on the Dalmatian coast. The Italians, however, claim Fiume for themselves. They are prepared to walk out of the Conference rather than give it up.
 - c There are too many different races and languages in the Balkans for each to be the basis of a state. Whatever frontiers are decided on, there will always be minorities. Wherever possible, though, people of the same race or language should be together.
 - d The new state of Poland is eager to claim any territory where Poles live.
- 2 Students should then compare and contrast their own proposals with the actual treaties of St Germain-en-Laye and Trianon.

Russia & the Peace

After the Russian Revolution, the Bolshevik Government, headed by Lenin, had signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with the Germans (March 1918). Great tracts of territory were surrendered, because Lenin believed that getting Russia out of the war was more important than anything else. But the Bolsheviks soon found themselves fighting a civil war, against the anti-Communists—the Whites. Leon Trotsky, in charge of the Bolshevik forces—the Red Army, controlled only a central area around Petrograd and Moscow.

Britain, France and America were desperately anxious to keep Russia in the war. They sent men and weapons to help White Generals, such as Kolchak and Denikin, who looked as though they might carry on fighting the Germans. The Allies even continued supporting the Whites after the Armistice with Germany in November: they feared a Communist government in Russia. The result was that the Civil War lasted until 1922 when the Bolsheviks finally won undisputed control. This prolonged chaos meant that Russia was kept out of the Peace Conferences and did not become a member of the League of Nations. Frontiers were fixed by events and armies, rather than treaties. Woodrow Wilson's ideas (see p. 4, point 6) came to nothing.

Rumania took Bessarabia in February 1918, and Poland secured the western part of Byelorussia by the Peace of Riga with the Soviet Union in March 1921.



- 1 Make a list of the territories lost by Russia. Use the map left.
- 2 Select two of the policies a–e listed below and explain why the Soviet Government might adopt them after 1922, when the Civil War ended.
 - a Trust no one, build up armed forces, try to recover territory lost since 1918.
 - b Complete disarmament; foreign policy based on keeping the peace
 - c Seek friendship and/or military alliance with Germany, also humiliated and isolated by events at the end of the war.
 - d Seek friendship with Britain, France and the United States.
 - e Join the League of Nations and work for respectability.

The consequences of the Peace: Germany in the 1920's

The new German Republican Government at Weimar, more democratic than any in the country's history, accepted Versailles because there was no alternative. Most Germans, even socialists and liberals, looked forward to a day when the terms of the Treaty could be broken or reversed.

Study the pieces of evidence A-D below. You should then be able to answer the questions on p. 14.

A
War guilt: 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 nations have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.”

B
Germany's losses

13% of her territory
10% of her population
All colonies
All merchant vessels over 1 600 tonnes
Half vessels between 1 600 and 1 000 tonnes

Restrictions imposed on Germany

Conscription for the armed forces abolished
Army limited to 100 000 men
No heavy artillery or tanks
No airforce or submarines
Navy to be tightly controlled

Reparations

Eventually fixed at £6 600 million

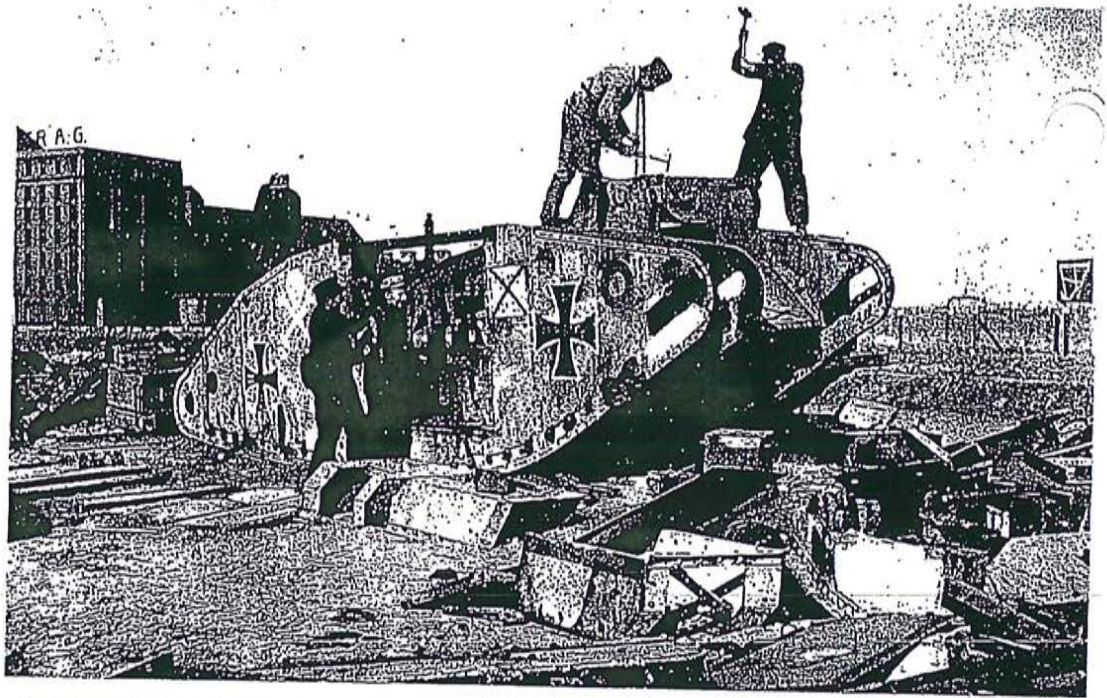
C
J. M. Keynes, the British economist, comments in 1920 on the decision to make Germany pay for the war, in *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, 1920

“It is evident that Germany's pre-war capacity to pay an annual foreign tribute has not been unaffected by the almost total loss of her colonies, her overseas connections, her mercantile marine, and her foreign properties, by the cession of ten per cent of her territory and population, of one third of her coal and of three quarters of her iron ore, by two million casualties amongst men in the prime of life, by the starvation of her people for four years, by the burden of a vast war debt, by the depreciation of her currency to less than one seventh its former value, by the disruption of her allies and their territories, by revolution at home and Bolshevism on her borders and by all the unmeasured ruin in strength and hope of four years of all-swallowing war and final defeat.”

D
Hitler in his book *Mein Kampf*, 1925
The Diktat of Versailles

“Peace treaties whose demands are a scourge to nations not seldom strike the first roll of drums for the uprising to come.

In the boundlessness of its oppression, the shamelessness of its demands, lies the greatest propaganda weapon for the re-awakening of a nation's dormant spirits of life.”



German tanks being broken up, Berlin 1919.



- 1 Why was the tank in the picture being demolished? (See evidence B.)
- 2 Why did France insist on the reductions in German armaments listed in evidence B?
- 3 How would Germans have reacted when they saw other defeated countries keeping their weapons and arguing about the small print at disarmament talks?
- 4 Do you think most ordinary Germans would have accepted the account of war guilt in A, especially as Germany herself was exhausted and tight rationing was in operation?
- 5 What evidence is there, in C, to suggest that imposing reparations payments of £6 600 millions on Germany might have been unrealistic or likely to lead to ill-feeling?
- 6 Why do you think Hitler attacked the Treaty of Versailles so often? (See D)?

In the 'twenties, German opinion about the Versailles Treaty changed as political and economic circumstances changed. *Study carefully these policies and circumstances. You should then be able to answer question 7.*

Policies

- 1 The Treaty must be overturned. Re-armament is essential. We must seize all the living-space we can in the East; all Germans must be brought together in one *Reich*.
- 2 The Treaty is harsh and unfair. We were not to blame for the war. But there is no alternative. We must obey.
- 3 It makes sense to pay reparations and work within the Treaty; American and British help will mean we gain more than we lose.

Circumstances

- a Early 'twenties
Germany suffering from exhaustion.
French army watching every move.
 - b Mid-'twenties
American loans flooding in.
Germany prosperous.
 - c Early 'thirties
Up to 8 million unemployed in America after the economic crash of 1929.
France politically weak and indecisive.
- 7 Pair these policies and circumstances to show when you think each policy would command the support of the German people. Explain the reasons for each pairing (e.g. 2 b).

The League of Nations



Woodrow Wilson wanted more than a treaty: he wanted a peace that would last. He agreed that almost any frontiers drawn on a map could lead to quarrels, and that war could only be avoided if there were some machinery for settling disputes. He insisted, therefore, that the Covenant (undertaking or agreement between the powers that signed) of the League of Nations was written as the first part of the Treaty of Versailles.

The First World War had happened because there was too little trust between countries, too much secrecy, and a series of misunderstandings and accidents. Wilson hoped that his idea of a League of Nations would nip any catastrophe in the bud.

Study articles 13, 15 and 16 of the League Covenant. You should then be able to explain which provision was intended to help solve each of the quarrels a-d.

Remember that arbitration means the hearing and settlement of a dispute by an umpire acceptable to those concerned: i.e. the League was intended to be the umpire.

a A country claims that a peace treaty of 1873 entitles it to a colony actually controlled by a fellow-member of the League.

b A country claims sovereignty over a strip of territory on its eastern border that has been ruled by a neighbour for more than twenty years. The neighbour is not interested in arbitration.

c A council report is unanimous in criticizing the behaviour of a powerful member of the League in the Far East. The member ignores the report and continues to interfere in the internal affairs of a neighbouring, weaker power.

d Country X invades country Y with several divisions and launches a bombing raid.

The Treaty of Versailles

Part I The Covenant of the League of Nations

The High Contracting Parties,

In order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organised peoples with one another,

Agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 13 The Members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration or judicial settlement, and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration or judicial settlement.

Article 15 If there should arise between Members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article 13, the Members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary

arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof . . .

The Council shall endeavour to effect a settlement of the dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and the terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Article 16 Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles 12, 13 or 15, it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a Member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

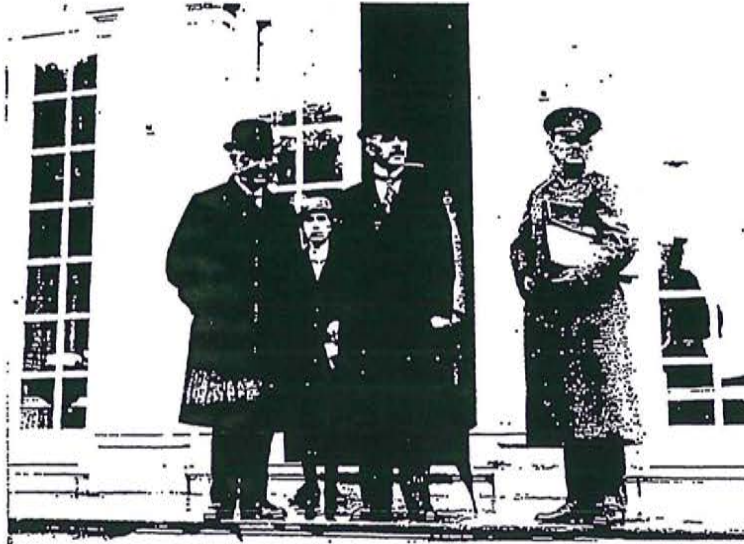
COSTS (1) OF 'THE GREAT WAR' 1914 - 1918

	Total Force Mobilized	Military Battle Deaths (2)	Military Wounded	Civilian Dead (3)	Economic Cost (\$ million) (4)
ALLIES					
France	8,410,000	1,357,800	4,266,000	40,000	49,877
Br. Empire	8,904,467	908,371	2,090,212	30,633 (5)	51,975
Russia	12,000,000	1,700,000	4,950,000	2,000,000 (6)	25,600
Italy	5,615,000	462,391	953,886	(7)	18,143
U. S.	4,355,000	50,585	205,690	(7)	32,320
Belgium	267,000	13,715	44,686	30,000	10,195
Serbia	707,343	45,000 (8)	133,148	650,000	2,400
Montenegro	50,000	3,000	10,000	(7)	2,400
Romania	750,000	334,706	120,000	275,000	2,601
Greece	230,000	5,000	21,000	132,000	556
Portugal	100,000	100,000	13,751	(7)	(7)
Japan	800,000	300	907	(7)	(7)
Total	42,188,810	4,888,891	12,809,280	3,157,633	193,899
CENTRAL POWERS					
Germany	7,800,000	1,808,546	4,247,143	760,000 (9)	58,027
Aust-Hung	7,800,000	922,500	3,620,000	300,000 (10)	23,706
Turkey	2,850,000	325,000	400,000	2,150,000 (11)	3,445
Bulgaria	1,200,000	75,844 (12)	152,390	275,000	1,015
Total	22,850,000	3,131,889	8,419,533	3,485,000	86,238
Grand Total	65,038,810	8,020,780	21,228,813	6,642,633	281,887

NOTES

- 1 Many of these figures (compiled from various sources) are approximations or estimates, since official figures are often misleading, missing, or contradictory.
- 2 Includes only killed in action or died of wounds.
- 3 Figures vary greatly; deaths from epidemic disease and malnutrition, probably not completely attributable to the war, are included in some instance and not in others.
- 4 Includes war expenditures, property losses, and merchant- shipping losses.
- 5 About 2/3 of these were lost to U-boats; the remainder to naval and aerial bombardment.
- 6 Includes approximately 500,000 Poles and Lithuanians.
- 7 No reliable figures available; loss was relatively small.
- 8 Approximately 80,000 additional were nonbattle deaths, caused by typhus, influenza, malnutrition, frostbite.
- 9 Asserted by German sources to be due to the Allied blockade through 1919; a small number of deaths were caused by Allied air raids.
- 10 At least 2/3 were Polish; many of the remainder have been attributed to Allied blockade.
- 11 More than half of these were Armenian; most of the remainder were Syrian or Iraqi.
- 12 At least 25,500 additional were nonbattle deaths.

SOURCE: R. Ernest Dupuy and Trevor N. Dupuy, *The Encyclopedia of Military History*, rev. ed. Copyright 1970 by R. Ernest Dupuy and Trevor N. Dupuy. Copyright 1977 by Trevor N. Dupuy. (Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.)



German delegates outside the Palace of Versailles, June 1919

and a continued naval blockade. The German Chancellor (Prime Minister) called the treaty a '*Diktat*' – an imposed settlement – and so Scheidemann, the German Chancellor, resigned rather than sign. However, a new government reluctantly accepted the terms on 23 June – four hours before the Allied deadline.

The terms can be divided into three main categories: territorial losses; military clauses; reparations (compensation in money and goods to the Allies).

1 Territorial losses

- a Germany lost all her colonies in Africa (e.g. Togoland and the Cameroons) and the Pacific. These areas became 'mandates' which meant that they were to be run by different Allied powers until they were ready for self rule. East Africa was mandated to Britain while Britain and France divided the Cameroons and Togoland between them. New Guinea in the Pacific went to Australia.
- b Alsace-Lorraine was returned to France.
- c Eupen-Malmedy went to Belgium after a plebiscite (a vote on a

single issue by the people) in 1920.

- d North Schleswig went to Denmark, also after a plebiscite, in 1920. (South Schleswig voted to remain part of Germany.)
- e Posen and West Prussia were given to the new state of Poland to provide the Poles with a 'corridor' (the 'Polish Corridor') to the sea.
- f Poland also acquired Upper Silesia after a plebiscite in 1921.
- g The League of Nations took control of the Saar and the port of Danzig.
- h The city of Memel went to the newly created Baltic state of Lithuania.

2 Military clauses

- a The Rhineland was demilitarised. This meant that the Germans were forbidden to place troops or carry out any military activities in the area.
- b Allied troops were stationed there instead.
- c The German army was cut to 100 000 men. Conscription was abolished so the army was to consist only of volunteers who had to serve at least twelve years.
- d The navy was to be handed over to the British – in fact the Germans sank or scuttled their own fleet before it could be handed over. Germany was to have a maximum of six battleships in its new navy. (In 1914 she had 23.)
- e Germany was not allowed to build any submarines, planes or tanks.

3 Reparations

The Allied Reparations Commission finally decided in 1921 that Germany should pay £6600 million in gold and goods. All the coal produced in the Saar was to go to France for five years.

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