



PEACE WITHOUT VICTORY

HOW THE
GREAT WAR ENDS

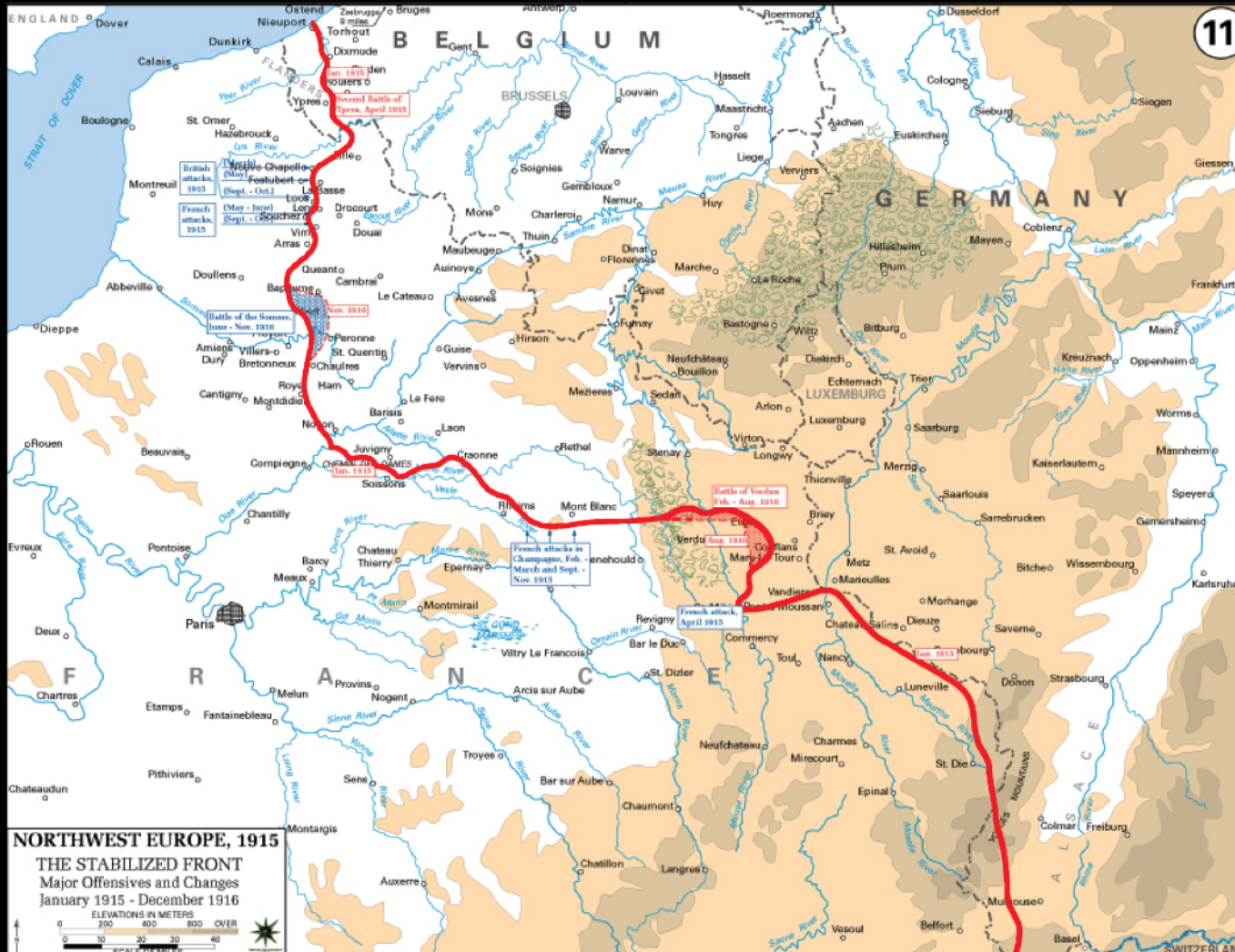
THREE THINGS

Europe did not “slither” unwittingly into war in 1914 owing to some hidden dynamic of the international system against which human agency was bound to fail.

The people who fought the war did not believe it was meaningless.

The failure of the peace settlement after 1919 is owed far more to the consequences of the war, than to the provisions of the treaties that end it.

THE WESTERN FRONT



Casualties by the end of 1914

UK	102,000
France	1,108,000
Germany	847,000
Austria-Hungary	874,000
Russia	1,444,000
Total	4,375,000*

*Killed, wounded, and missing, but not prisoners;
excludes Ottoman Empire, Belgium, and Serbia.

WAR IN THE EAST

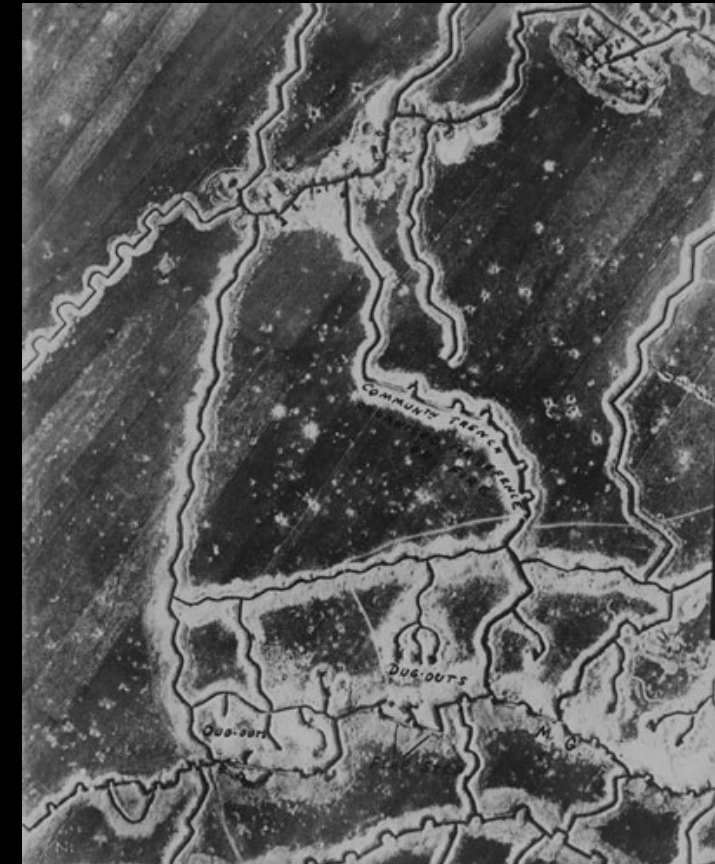
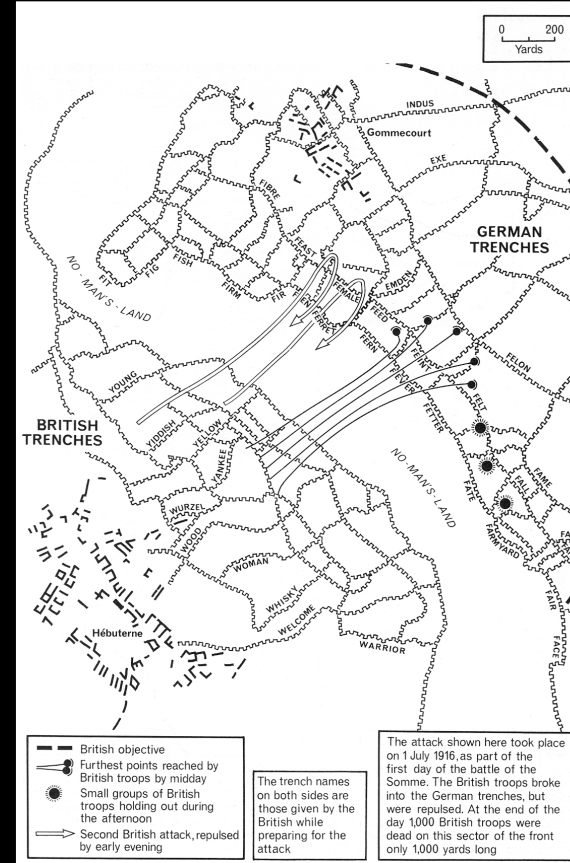


WAR IN THE EAST

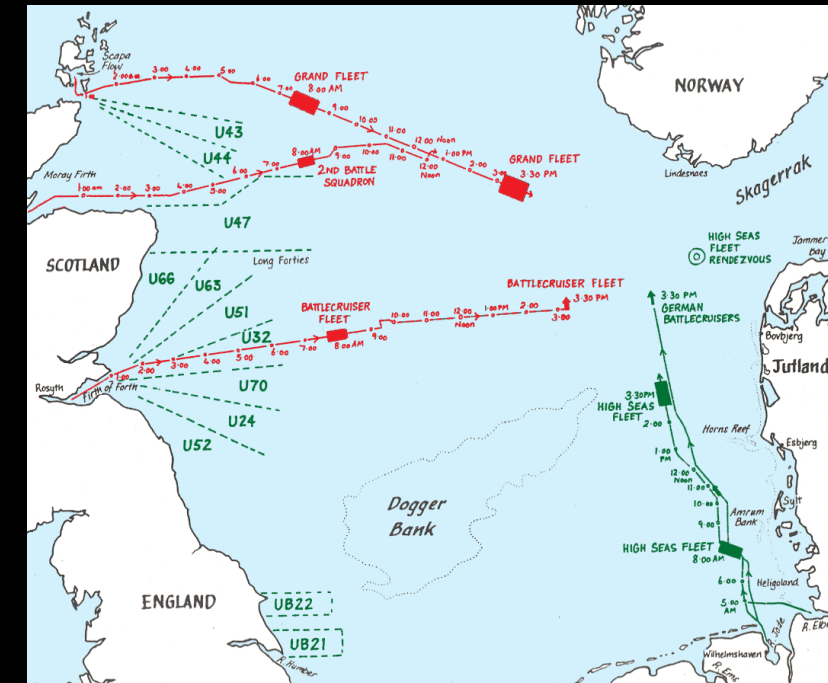
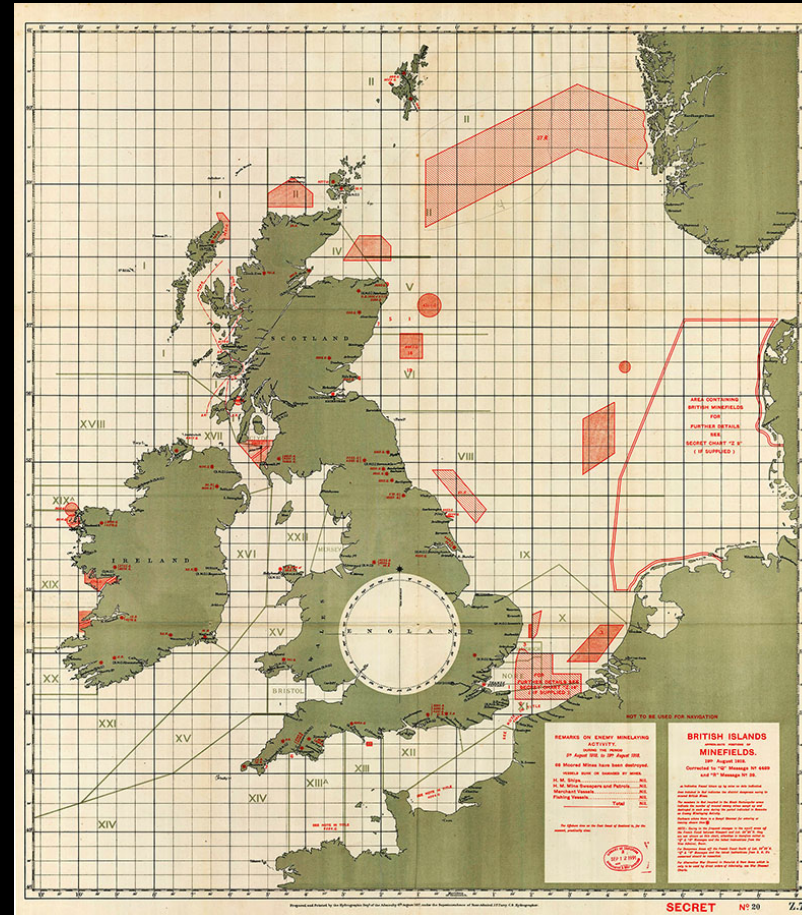


	Population in 1914	Mobilized	Casualties	% Mobilized in Casualties
Russia	160,000,000	12,000,000	9,150,000	76.3
Romania		750,000	535,706	71.4
Serbia	4,500,000	707,343	331,106	46.8
Greece		230,000	27,000	11.7
Germany	70,000,000	11,000,000	7,142,558	64.9
Aus-Hun	50,000,000	7,800,000	7,020,000	90
Turkey	20,000,000	2,850,000	975,000	34.2
Bulgaria	4,240,000	1,200,000	266,919	22.2
		36,537,343	25,448,289	69.7%

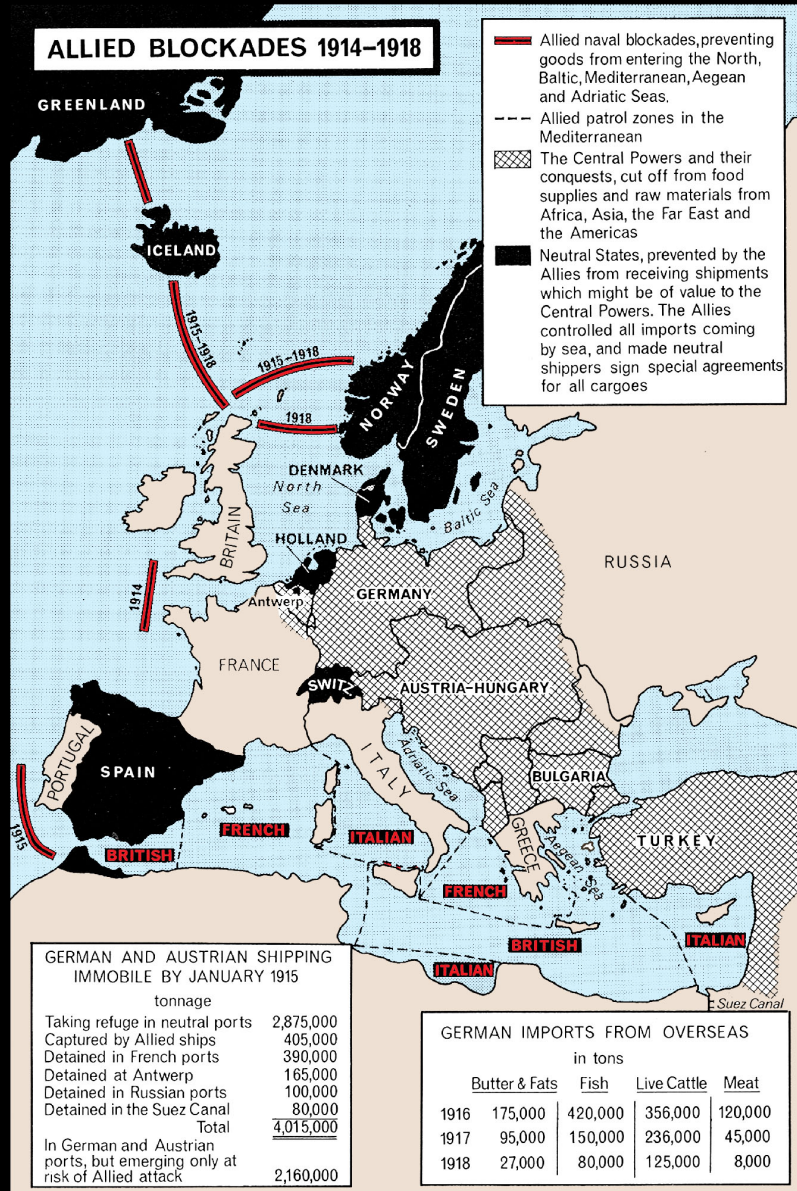
STALEMATE



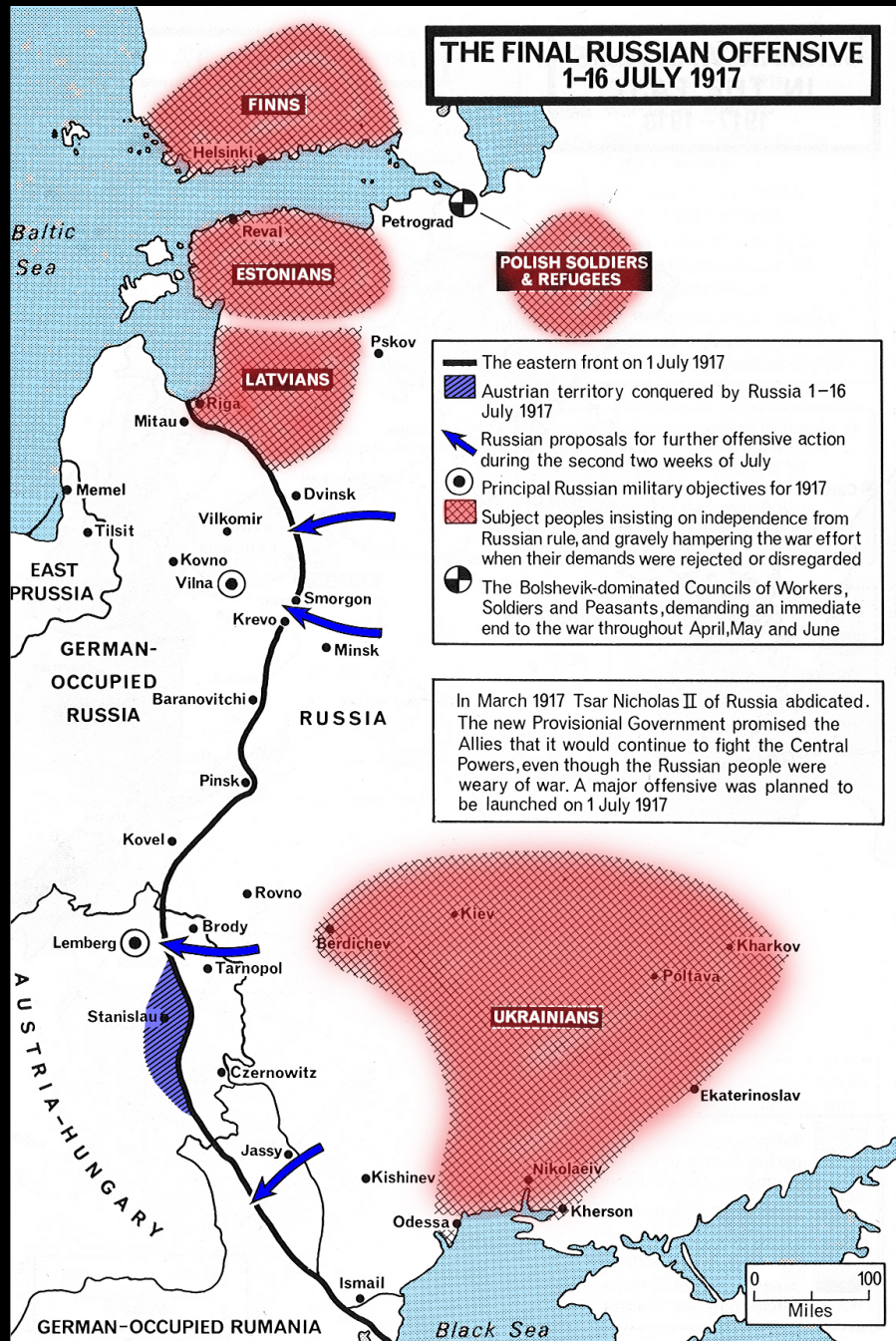
THE WAR AT SEA



THE WAR AT SEA



THE FALL OF THE ROMANOVS 1917



Provisional government under Alexander Kerensky (12 Mar)

15 Mar – Tsar abdicates

21 Mar – Finland autonomous

30 Mar – Poland independent

12 Apr – Estonia autonomous

Exiled Bolsheviks return from Switzerland (16 Apr)

Final Russian Offensive (June-July)

16-18 Jul – First Bolshevik coup attempt fails

9-14 Sept – Military coup (Kornilov) fails

Bolshevik seizure of power in Petrograd (Nov)

BREST-LITOVSK

MARCH 1918

1917

General invitation to all belligerents to make peace without annexations or indemnities. (8 Nov)

Brest-Litovsk Conference begins (3 Dec)

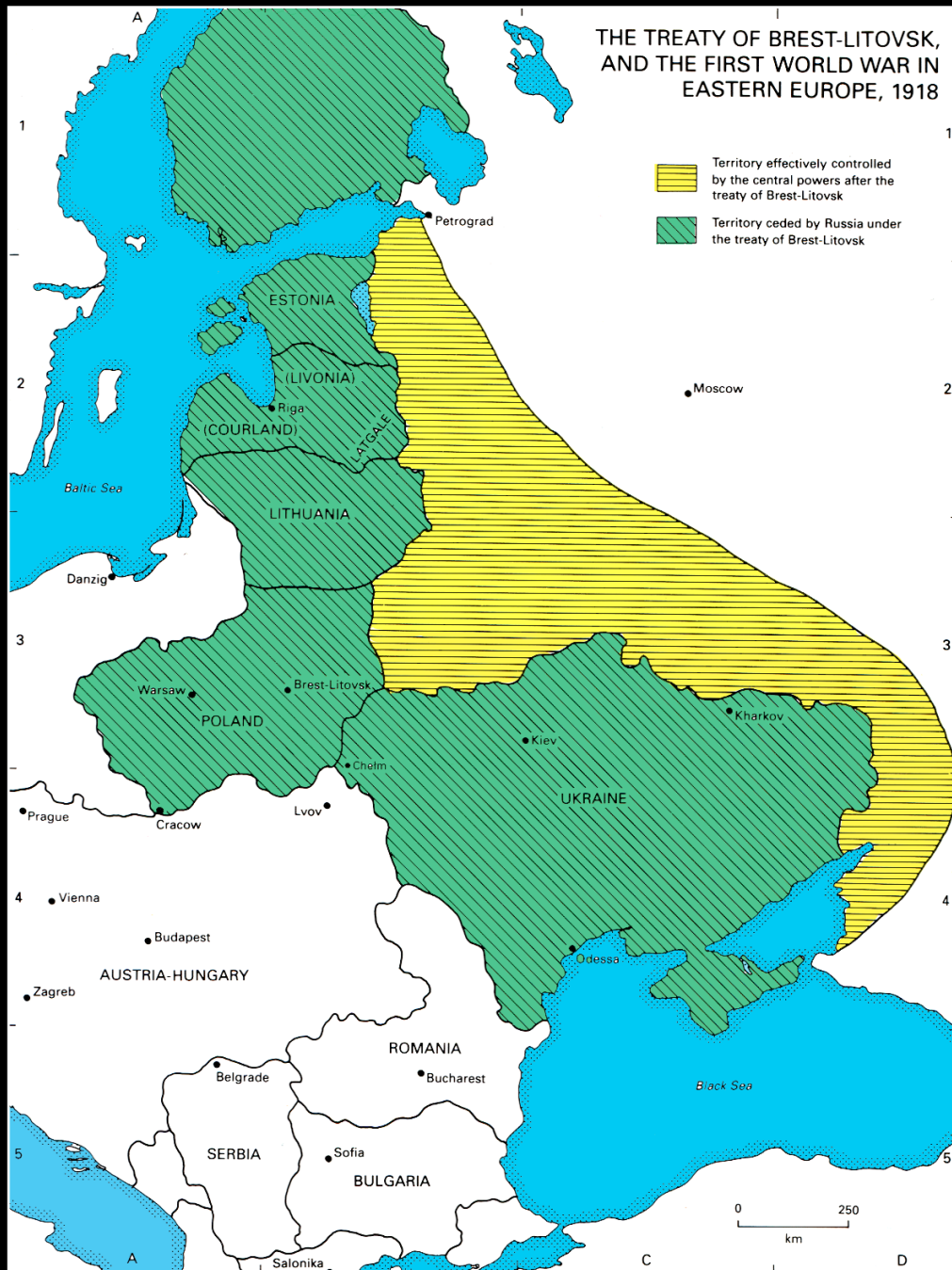
Finland, Moldova, Baltic states declare independence

1918

Ukraine concludes separate peace (Feb)

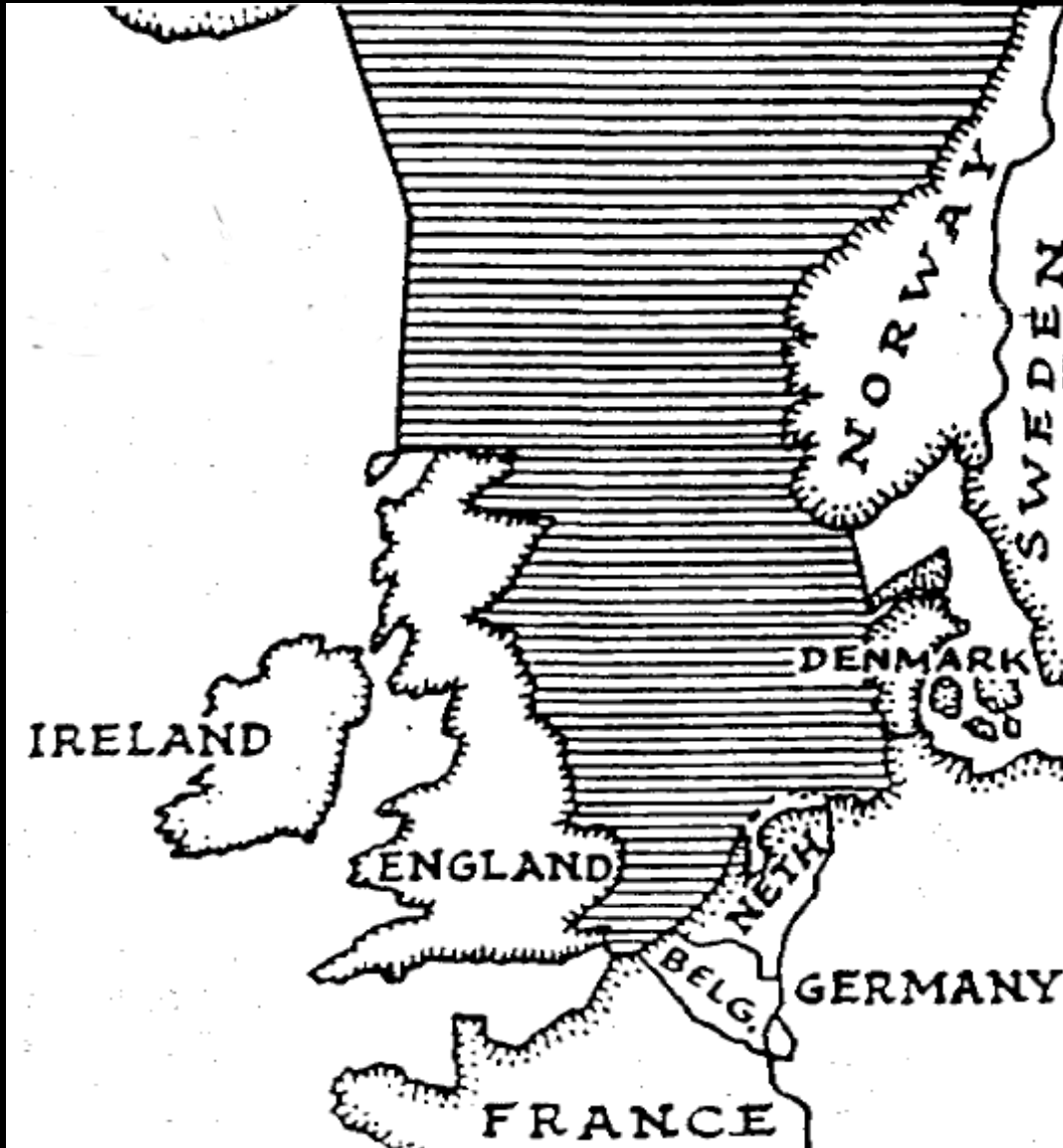
Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (3 Mar)

Poland, Lithuania, Baltic Provinces, Finland, Ukraine, and Trans-Caucasus abandoned to German sphere of influence



NO MAN'S LAND

THE "MILITARY AREA"



GBR (4 Nov 1914): ... [wherein] *merchant shipping of all countries, fishing craft, and all other vessels will be exposed to the gravest dangers from mines which it has been necessary to lay and from warships searching vigilantly by night and day for suspicious craft.*

NO MAN'S LAND

THE "WAR ZONE"

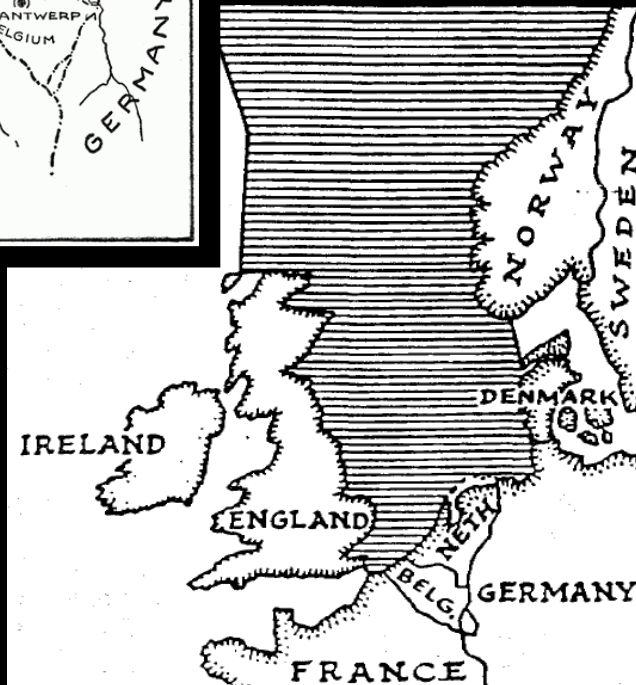


GBR (4 Nov 1914): ... [wherein] *merchant shipping of all countries, fishing craft, and all other vessels will be exposed to the gravest dangers from mines which it has been necessary to lay and from warships searching vigilantly by night and day for suspicious craft.*

DEU (4 Feb 1915): ... [wherein] *all enemy merchant vessels encountered in these waters will be destroyed, even if it may not be possible to save their crews and passengers. .. Neutral vessels cannot always be prevented from suffering the attacks intended for enemy ships.*

NO MAN'S LAND

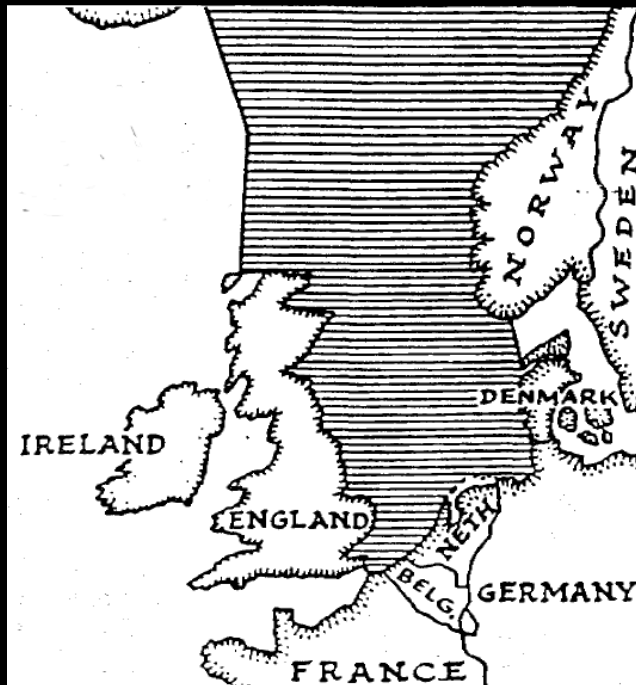
USA (10 Feb 1915): *to declare or exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area ... would be an act so unprecedented that this government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial Government of Germany contemplates it as possible.*



NO MAN'S LAND

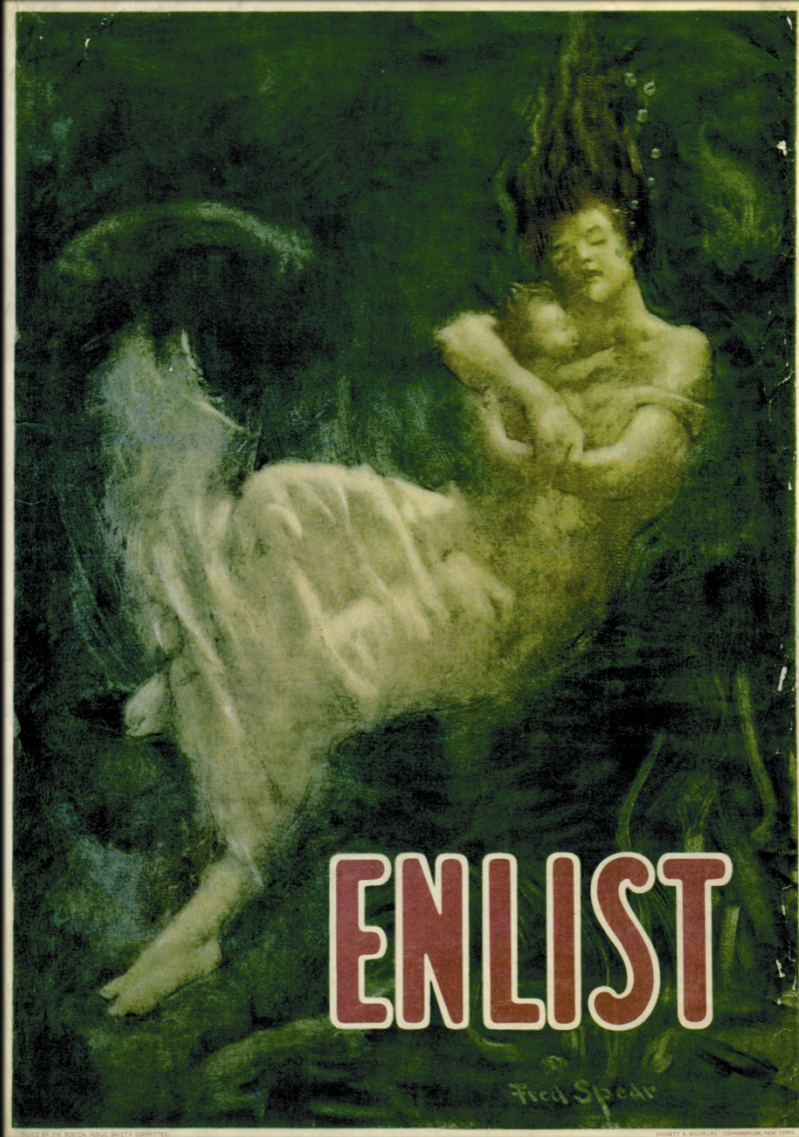


USA (10 Feb 1915): *to declare or exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area ...would be an act so unprecedented that this government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial Government of Germany contemplates it as possible.*



DEU (18 Feb 1915): *the German government see themselves compelled to meet England's murderous method of conducting maritime war with drastic counter-measures ... in order to compel her to conduct maritime warfare in accordance with international law and thus to reestablish freedom of the seas.*

AMERICA'S WAR



1915 War zone protest (Feb)

Lusitania sinking an “unfriendly act” (May)

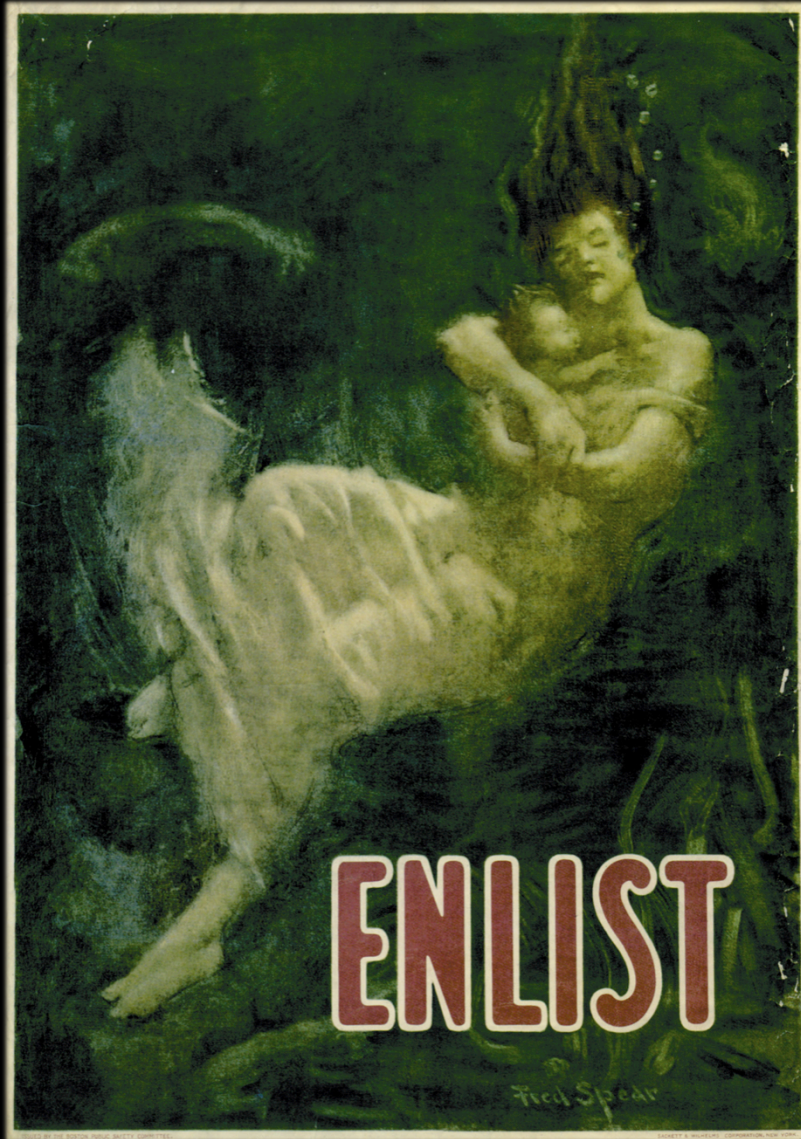
1916 *Sussex* note threatens to break relations (Mar)

Final mediation effort fails (Dec)

1917 “Peace without Victory” Speech (Jan)

In every discussion of the peace that must end this war, it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again.... It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise.

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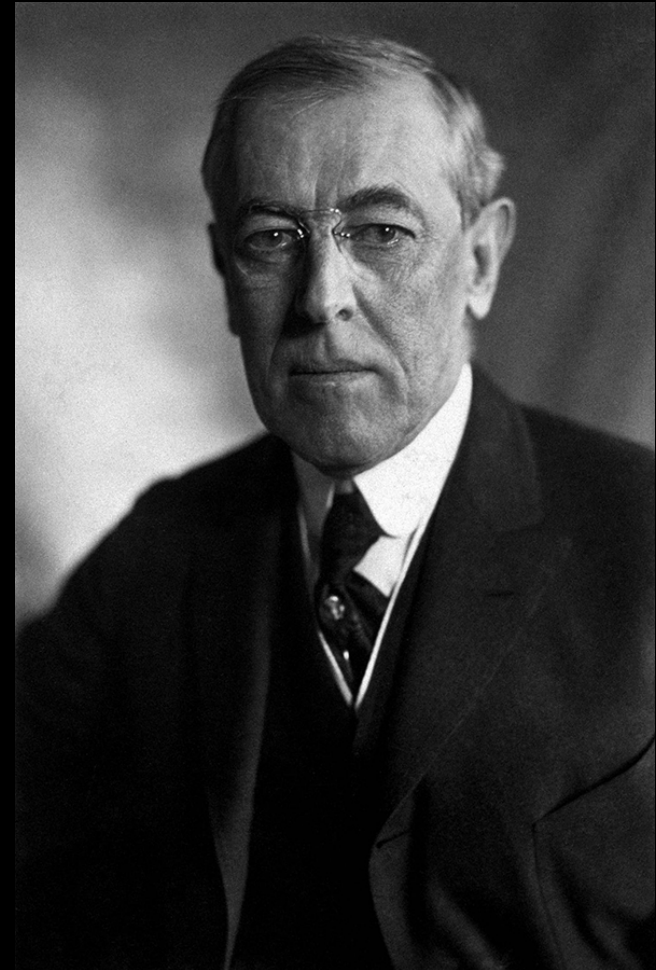
1917 “Peace without Victory” Speech (Jan)

The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. (Wilson’s War Message)



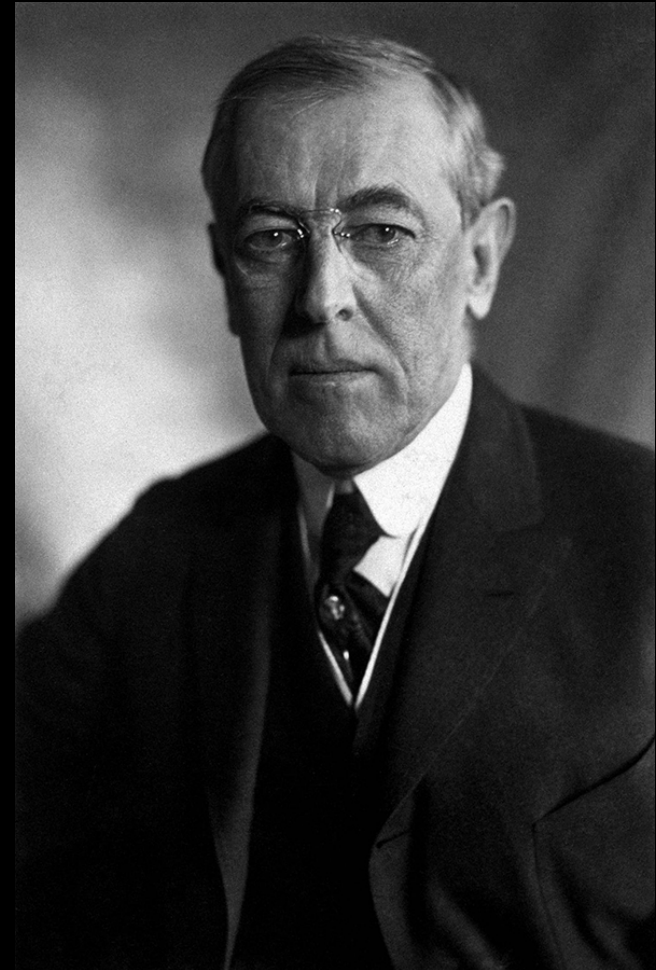
WHAT DOES WILSON WANT?

- A Democrat from the Jim Crow South (b. Virginia 1856); defender of Reconstruction as a just compromise
- No interest in overturning existing social, cultural, and racial hierarchies
- Believed American economic and political practices would prevail absent imperial obstruction



WHAT DOES WILSON WANT?

- A proponent of American “exceptionalism” (\neq “idealism”)
- Policy is an extension of the “Open Door” notes of 1899-1902
 - Equality of access for goods and capital (but not labor)
- Wishes to put an end to dangerous inter-imperial rivalries and exclusive spheres of influence
 - Anti-militarist, favors multi-lateral arbitration to settle disputes among strong states, and to secure independence of weaker ones
- “Freedom of the seas,” not “free trade”
 - America most protectionist of advanced economies

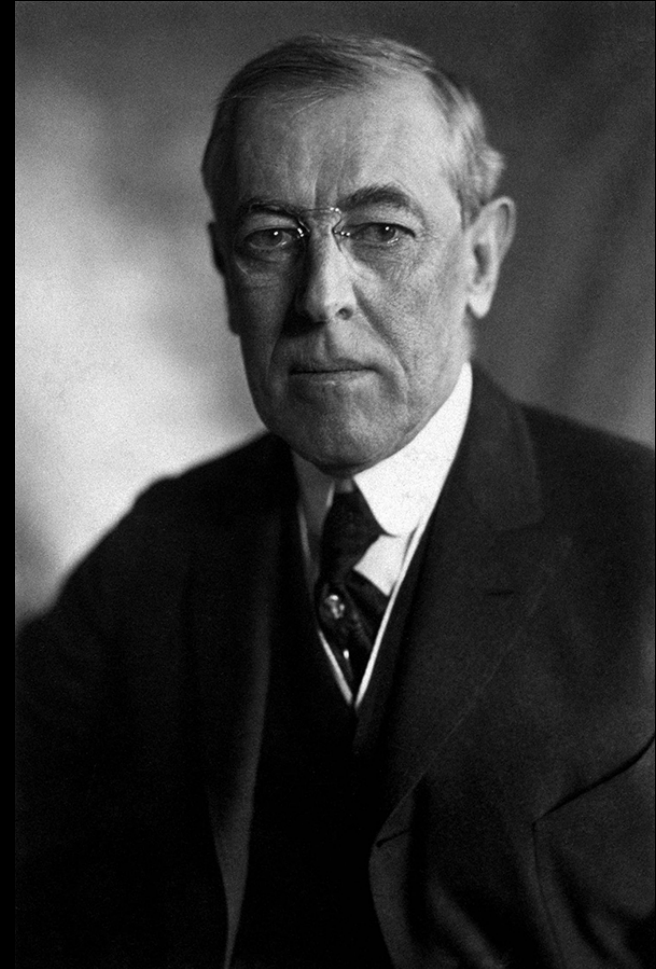


WHAT DOES WILSON WANT?

- Categorically rejected negotiation based on the *status quo ante*

It is more important that Russia should weld herself into a virile republic than that Germany should be beaten to her knees. ... If democracy were firmly established in Russia, German autocracy would be compelled to yield to a representative government within a very few years. Austria could likewise emancipate herself from Prussia, while Turkey could be sustained as an independent nation, [thus settling] the question of a division of Asia minor ... which is pregnant with future trouble.

Edward House to Wilson

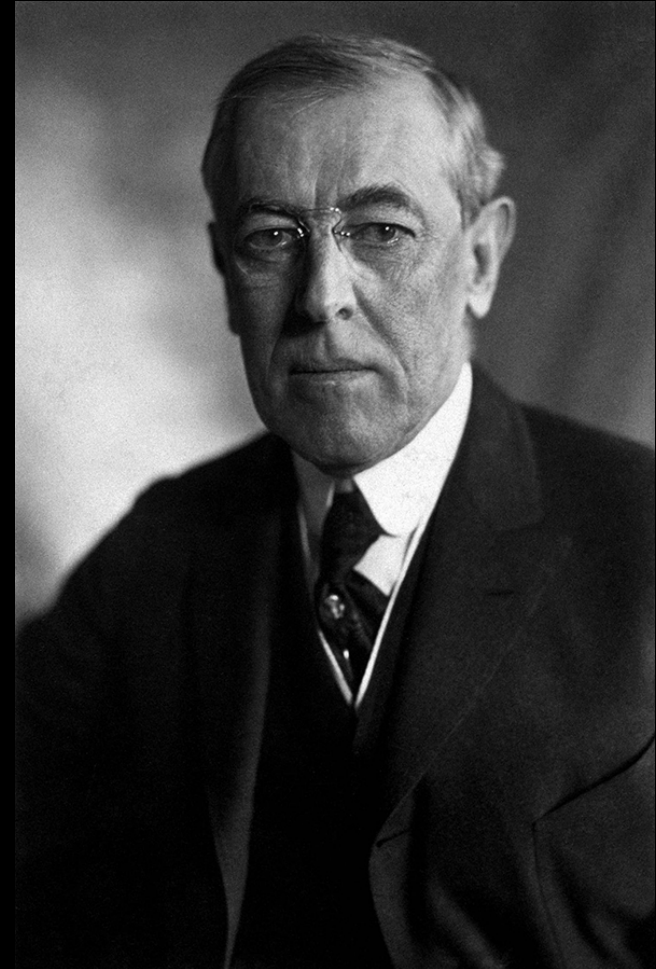


WHAT DOES WILSON WANT?

- Categorically rejected negotiation based on the *status quo ante*

... it was the status quo ante out of which this iniquitous war issued forth, the power of the Imperial German Government within the Empire and its widespread domination and influence outside of that Empire. That status must be altered in such fashion as to prevent any such hideous thing from ever happening again. ... We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure.

Wilson to Benedict XV



THE LUDENDORFF OFFENSIVE

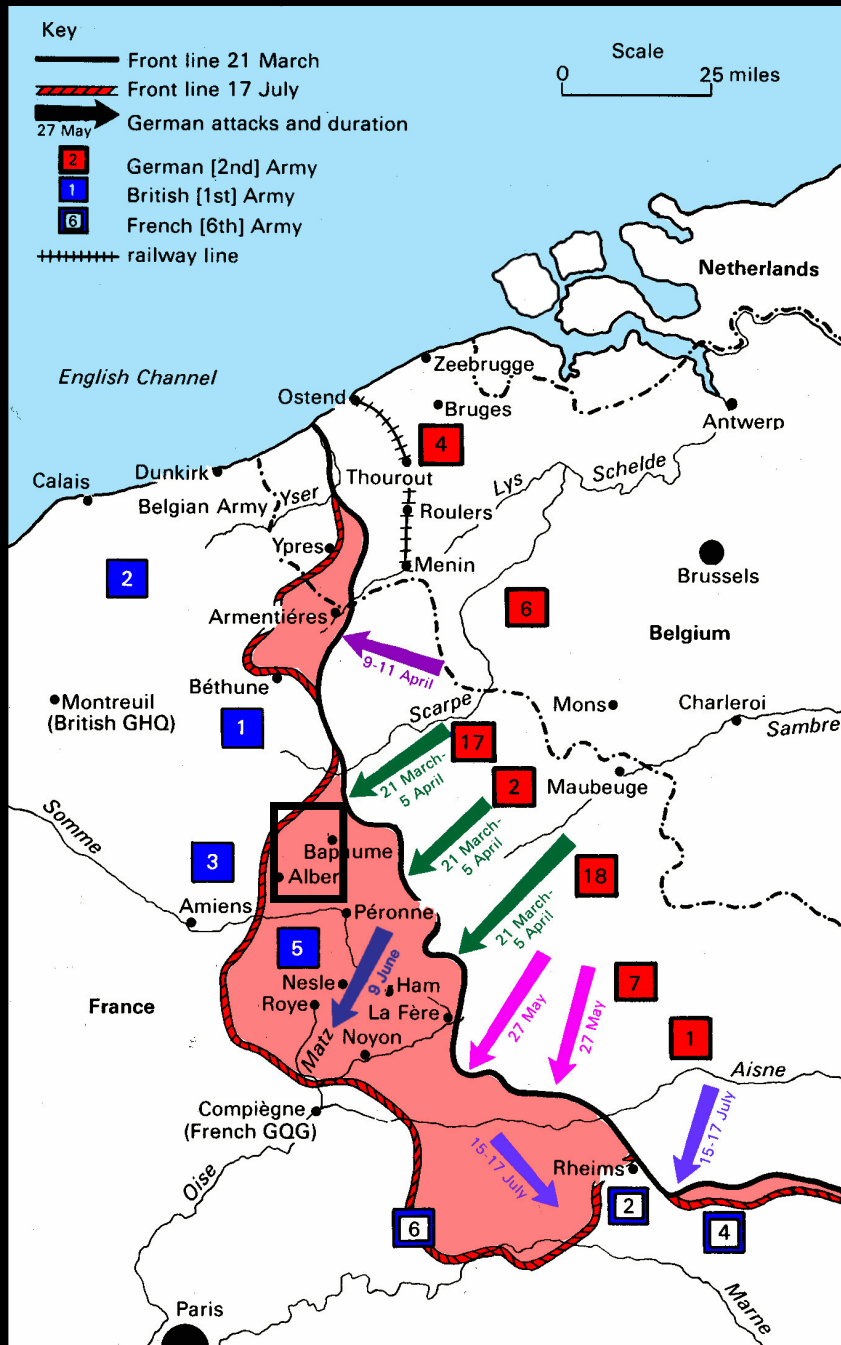
American Entry

Exhaustion / opportunism of important allies

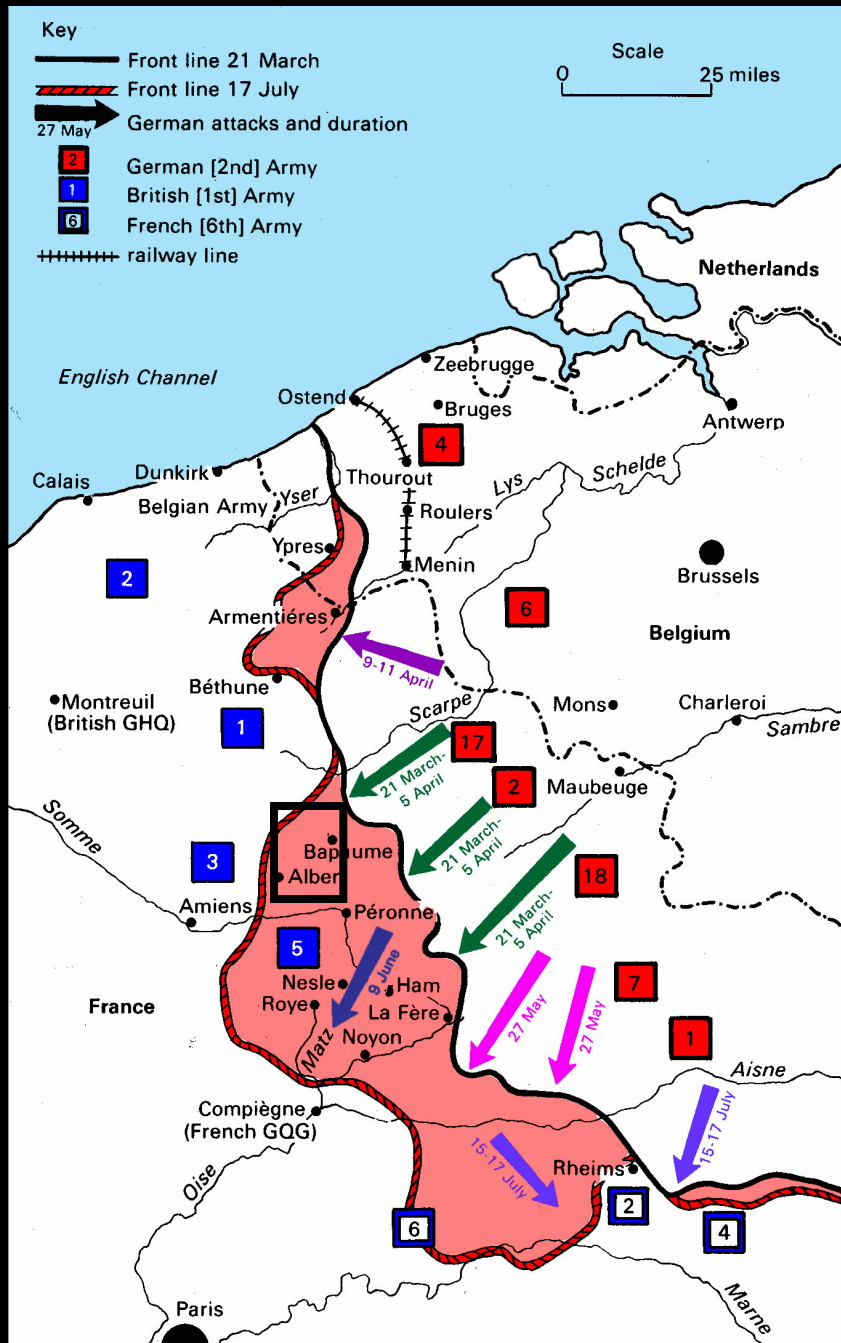
Austria seeks to solidify gains from collapse of Russia and Italian defeat at Caporetto (Dec 1917)

Bulgaria seeks to retain gains in Serbia and Macedonia

Turkey beaten in Palestine and Mesopotamia



THE LUDENDORFF OFFENSIVE



Decay of the *Burgfrieden*

Reichstag Peace Resolution of July 1917

Rising labor unrest after the Turnip Winter

Left echoes demands for “peace without victory” put forward by Trotsky and Wilson

Local superiority following Russian defeat

Improved tactical approach

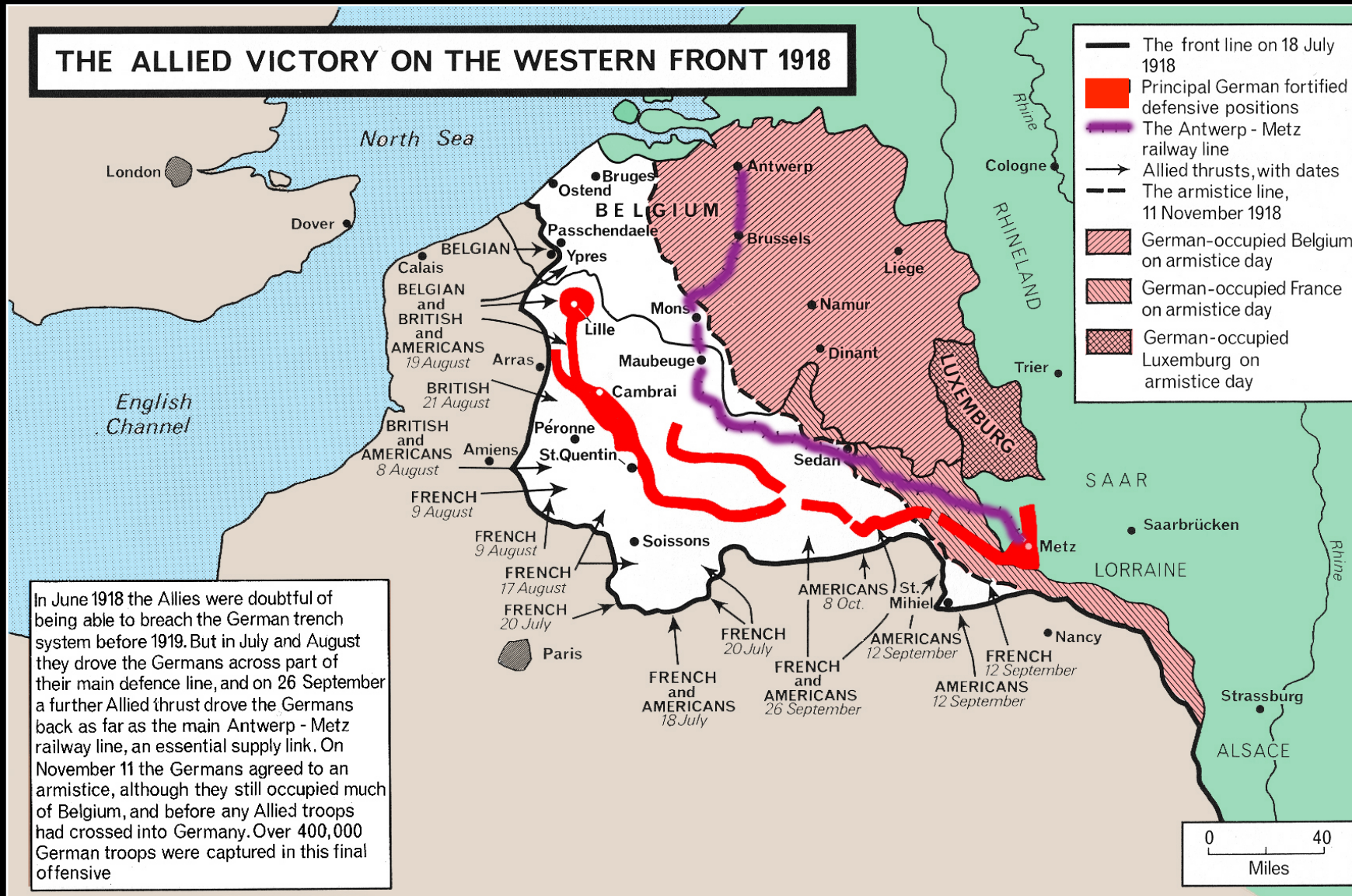
I do not want to hear the word “strategy.” We hack a hole. The rest comes of its own.

Ludendorff

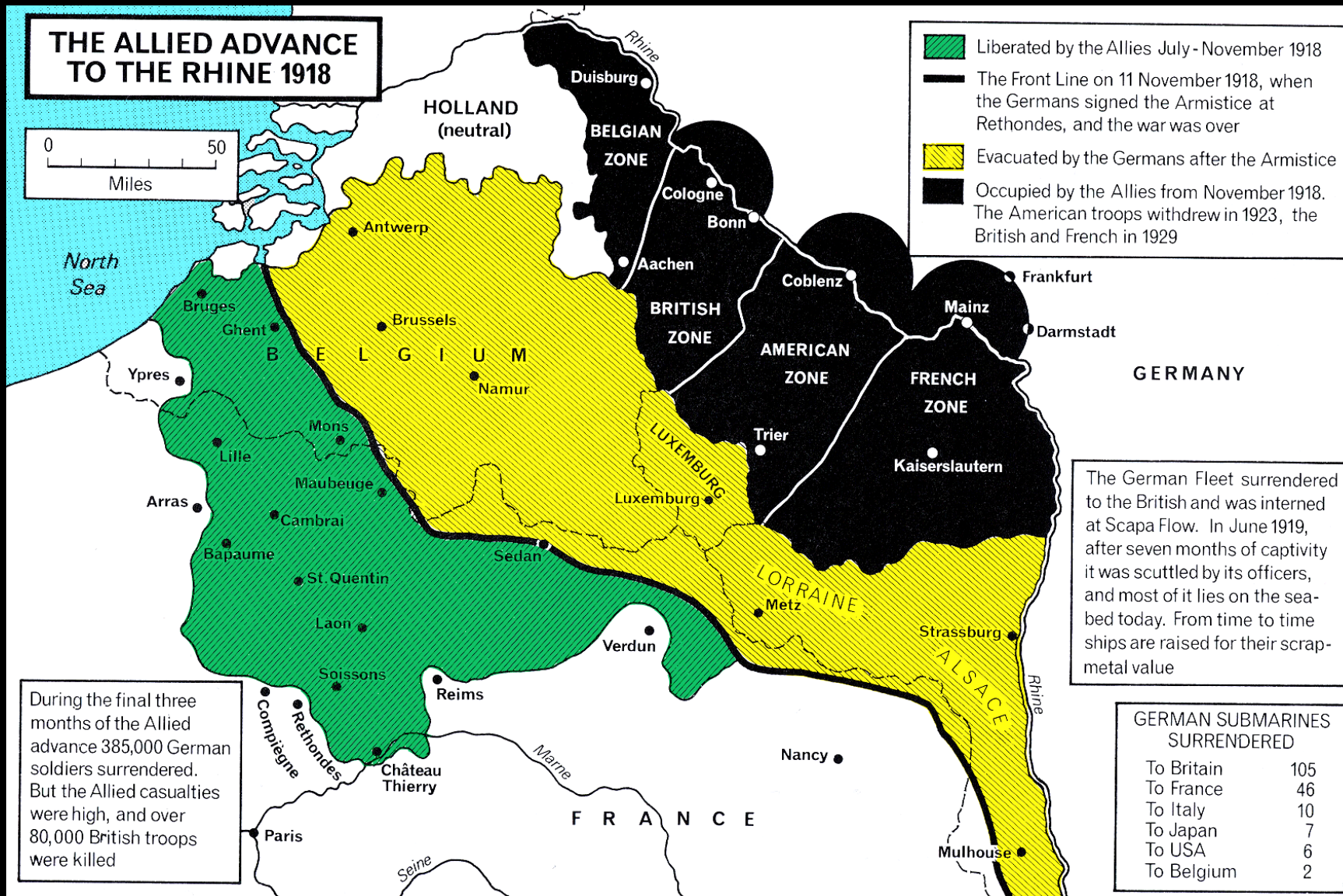
FINAL ALLIED OFFENSIVE

JULY – NOV 1918

THE ALLIED VICTORY ON THE WESTERN FRONT 1918



THE ARMISTICE

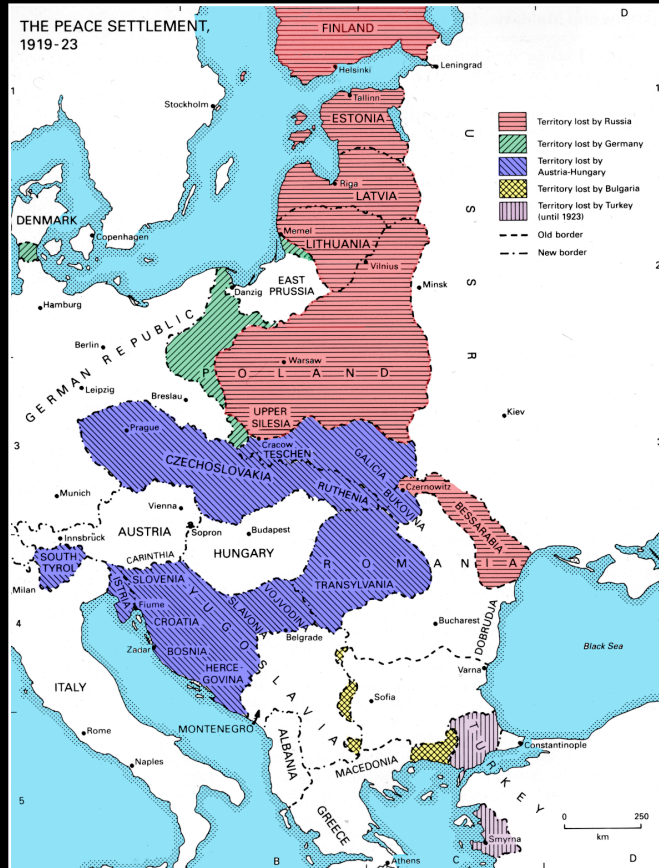


THE PEACE OF PARIS

Territorial adjustments to create ethnic majorities

Constitutional governments to protect minority rights

Disarmament + collective security to preserve peace and provide security for small states



Five Treaties

Saint-Germain (Austria)

Trianon (Hungary)

Sèvres (Ottoman Empire)

Neuilly (Bulgaria)

Versailles (Germany)

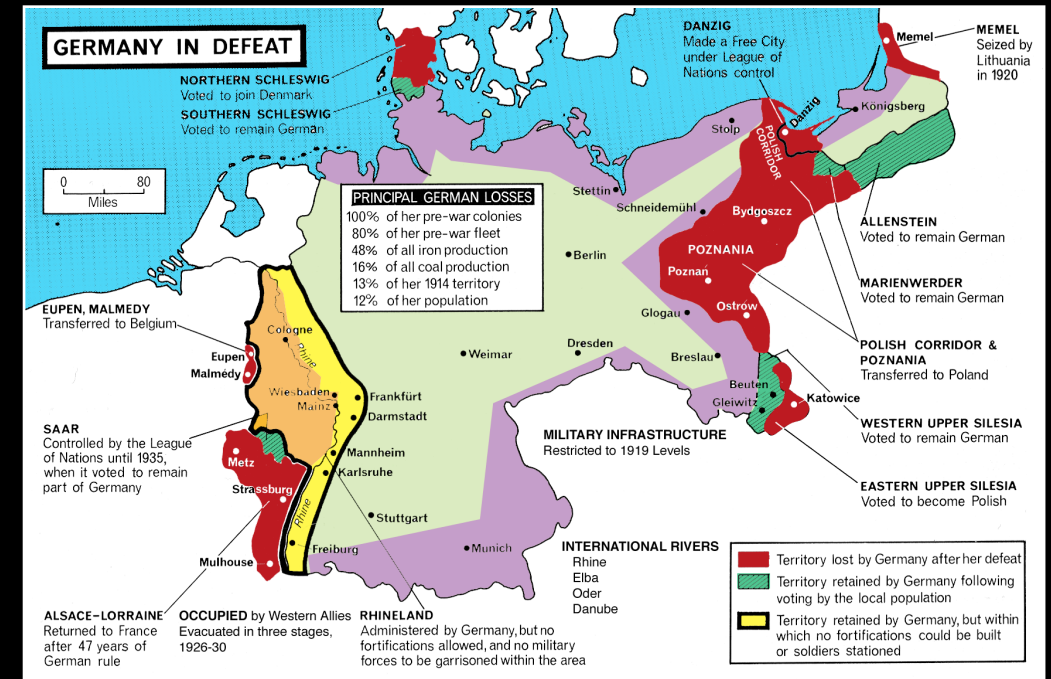
[Washington (Asia, 1921-22)]

THE PEACE OF PARIS

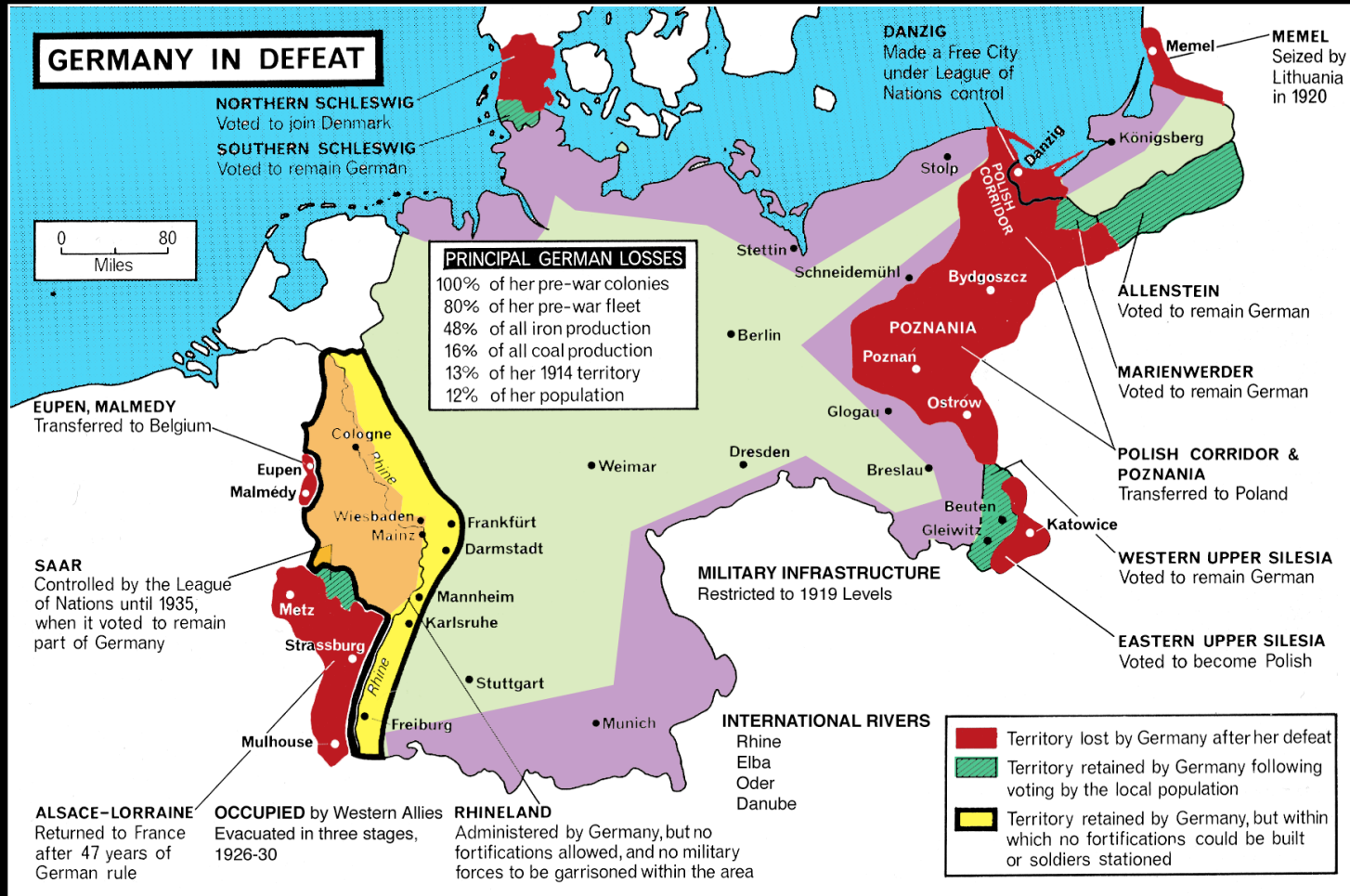
Territorial adjustments to create ethnic majorities

Constitutional governments to protect minority rights

Disarmament + collective security to preserve peace and provide security for small states



VERSAILLES



German responsibility

Reparations

Territorial / population losses

Trial of war criminals

De-militarization

Rhineland occupied

Border regions demilitarized

Army and armaments limited

Fleet surrendered

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION 1918

- 8 Aug “Black Day of the German Army” (Amiens)
- 28 Oct Naval Mutinies
- 8 Nov Bavarian Republic proclaimed by Kurt Eisner
- 9 Nov Wilhelm II abdicates

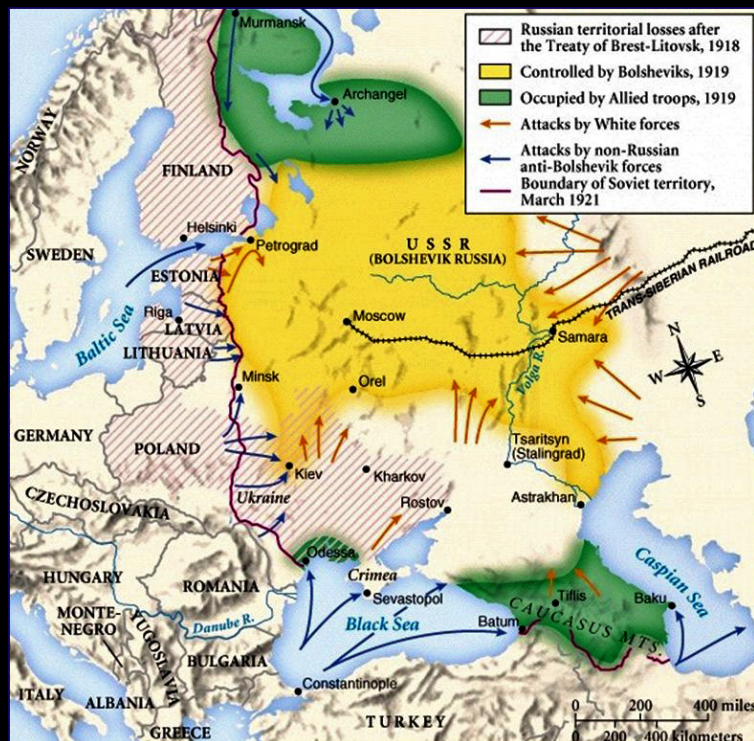


THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

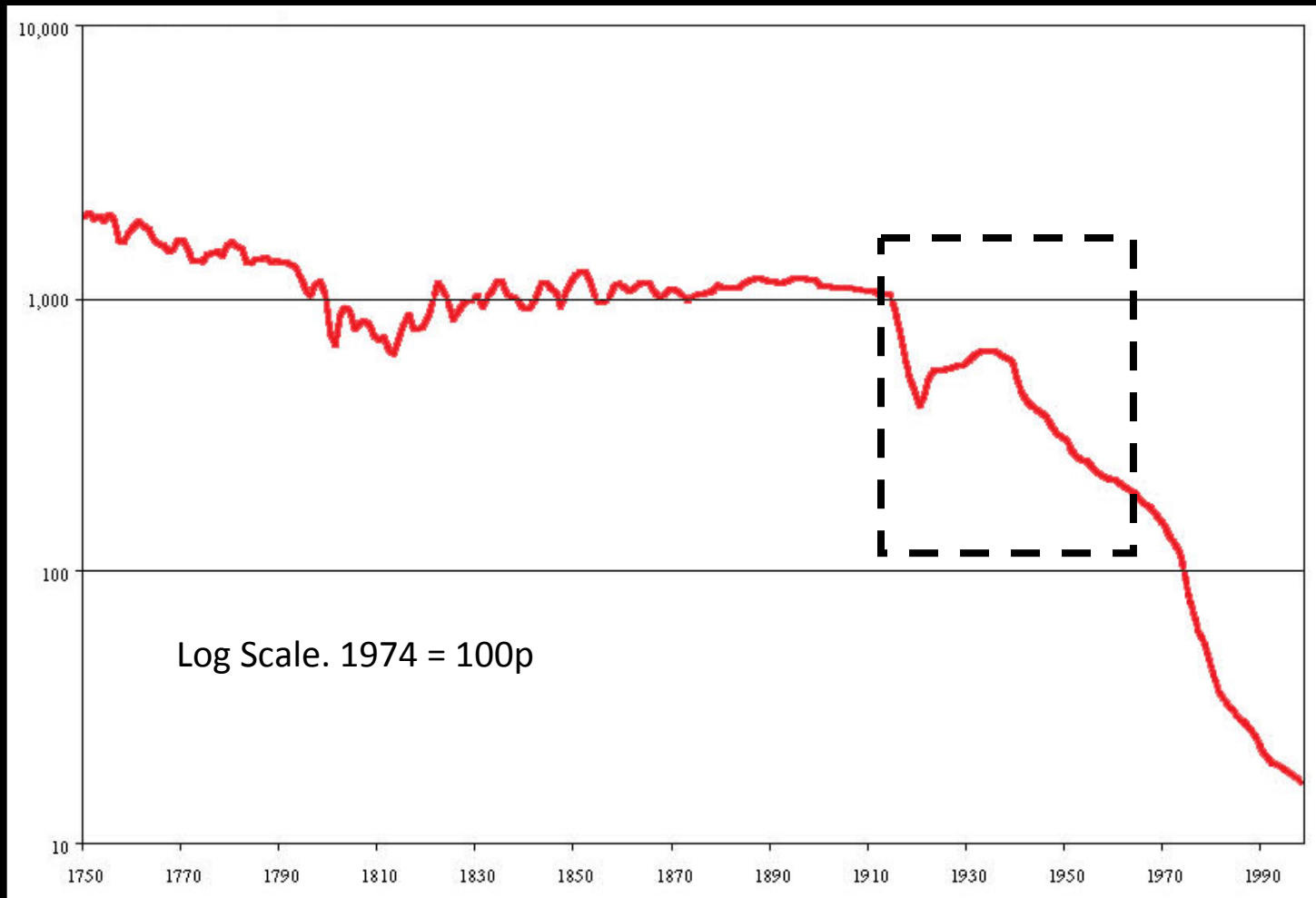
1919-23



- Jan Spartacist revolt
- Feb Socialist uprisings in major cities
- Apr Bavarian Soviet Republic
- June Rhineland Republic [backed by France]
- July Allied blockade lifted
- Oct Last German troops leave Latvia
- 1920
- Mar Kapp Putsch defeated by general strike
- Mar Spartacist rising | French occupy Ruhr
- ...
- June 1922 Walther Rathenau assassinated
- Nov 1923 "Beer Hall Putsch" in Munich

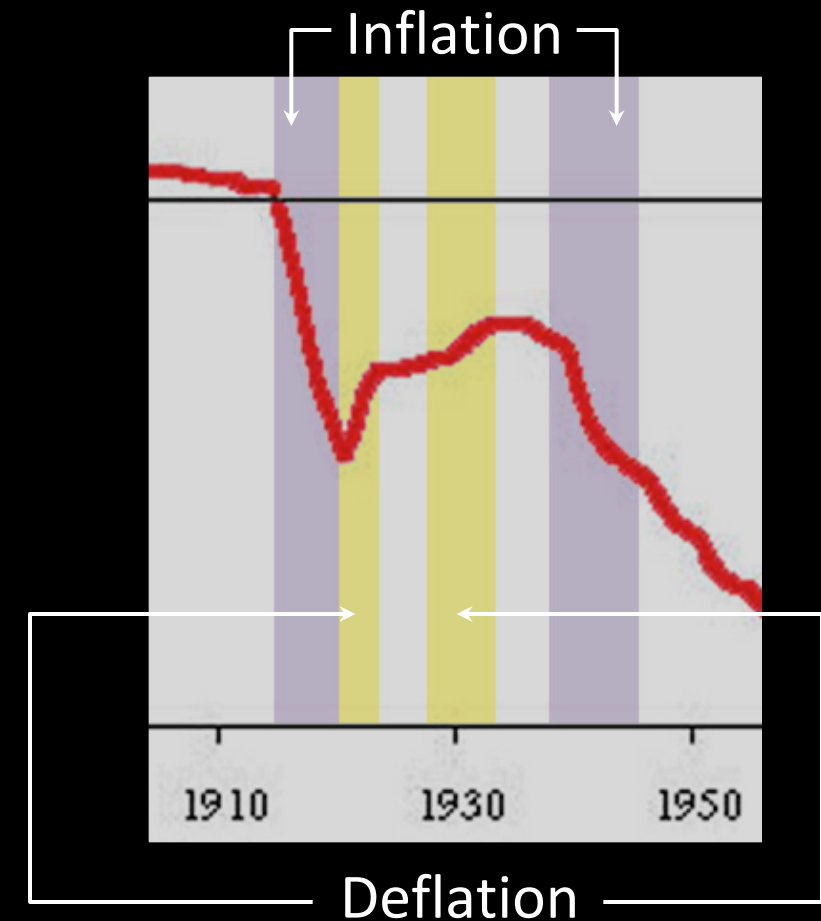


THE BRITISH POUND 1750-1950



The importance of money flows from it being a link between the present and the future.

John Maynard Keynes



THE GERMAN INFLATION

1914-23



Fifty-Billion Mark banknote (Oct 1923)



Letter w/ DM 40,000,000,000 postage (Nov 1923)



German Marks per \$1 US

Pre-war	4.2

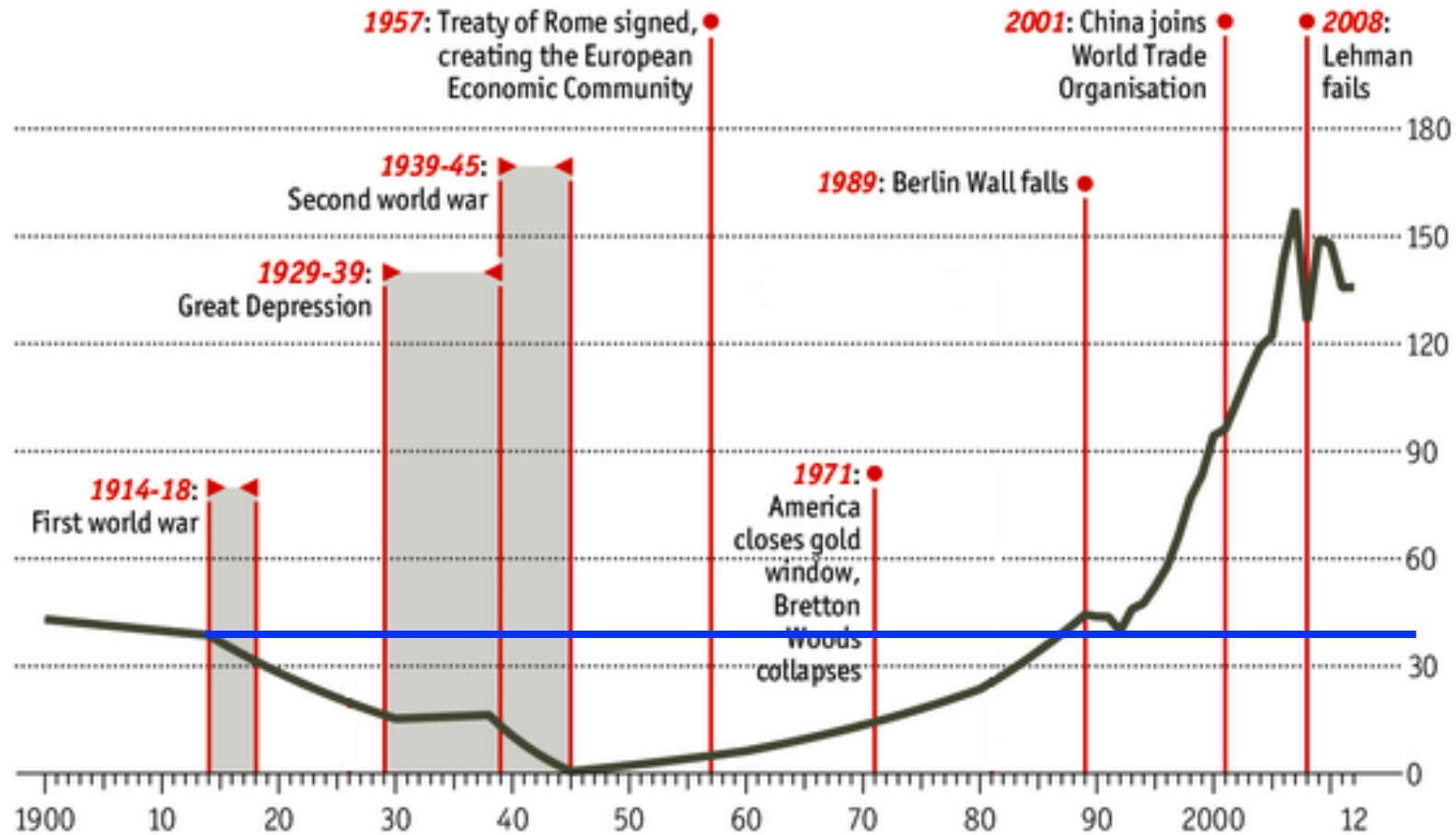
Jan 1919	~ 200

Jan 1924	~ 4.5T

GLOBAL FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Open and shut

Global foreign investment assets as % of sample* GDP



MEMORY



Niederwald, Germany

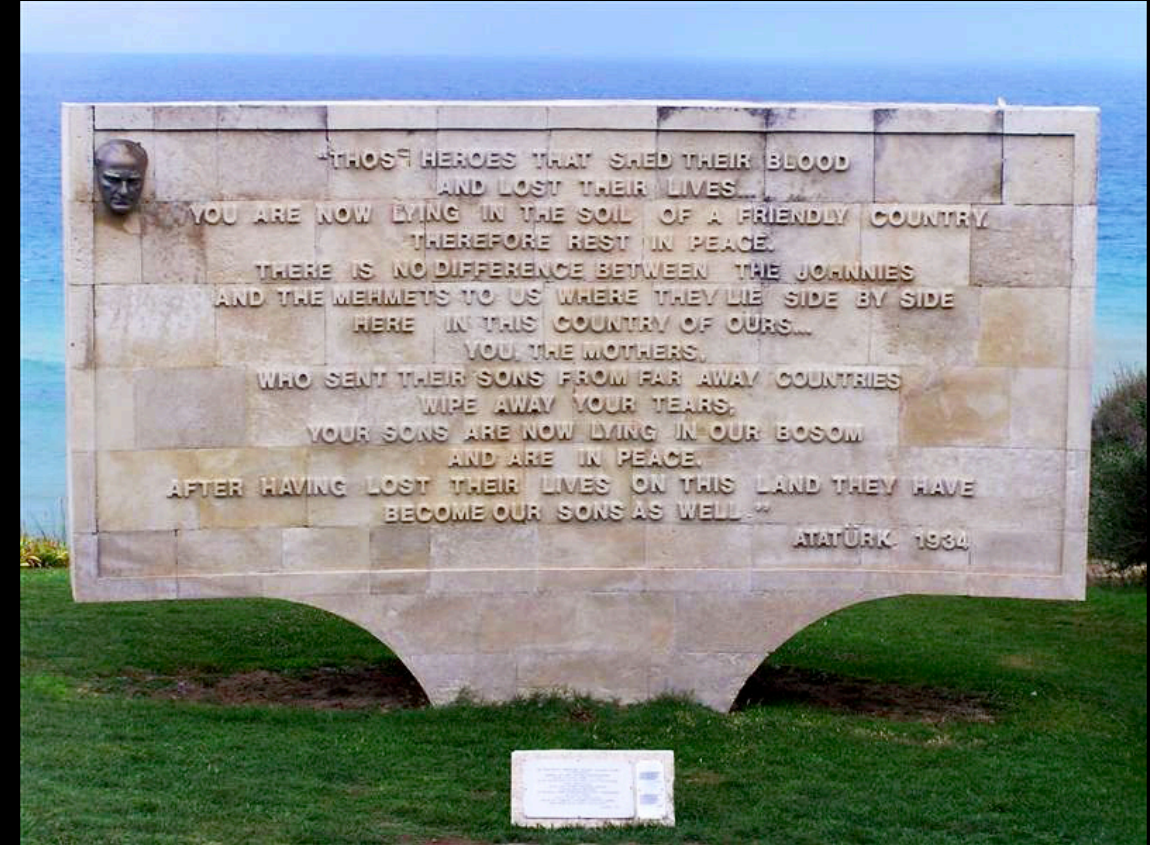


Lyon, France

MEMORY



Thiepval Memorial (Somme)



Memorial Plaque (Gallipoli)

MEMORY



Thiepval Memorial (Somme)



Vietnam Memorial (Washington, DC)