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The first comprehensive documentary treatment of the territorial and political clauses of the Treaty of St. Germain which forms the corner stone of the Austria which was recognized and established by the Allied and Associated Powers in 1919. \$6.00

HOOVER WAR LIBRARY PUBLICATIONS—No. 5

The Treaty of St. Germain
A Documentary History

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HOOVER WAR LIBRARY PUBLICATIONS—No. 5

The Treaty of St. Germain

A Documentary History of Its
Territorial and Political Clauses

With a Survey of the Documents
of the Supreme Council of the
Paris Peace Conference

Selected and Edited by

NINA ALMOND

and

RALPH HASWELL LUTZ

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FOREWORD

THE TREATY OF SAINT GERMAIN forms the cornerstone of the Austria which was recognized and established by the Allied and Associated Powers in 1919. An understanding of this Treaty is essential to a knowledge of the complex problems which have arisen as the result of the decisions of the Allied Powers to maintain an independent Austria in Central Europe. In compiling a documentary history of the territorial and political clauses of the Treaty, the Editors have attempted to clear up certain points which heretofore have been obscure or distorted.

A comprehensive analysis of the documents of the Paris Peace Conference covering the negotiations concerning the Treaty of Saint Germain has been an arduous task. Three hundred forty-eight documents have finally been chosen for reproduction, about one hundred thirty-three of which are translations from the original French or German.

Selections have been made from thirty-five of the principal sources which deal with the Treaty. These are: Drafts of the Treaty which were presented by the Allied and Associated Powers to the Austrian Delegation on June 2, July 20, and September 2, and the Draft proposed by the Austrian Delegation; Minutes of the Plenary sessions of the Paris Peace Conference; Minutes of the Supreme Council, including the Council of Ten and the Supreme War Council, the Council of Five, the Council of Four, with Resolutions of this Council, and Index I.C.A., the Council of Heads of Delegations, with its Resolutions, and Index H.D., the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs and Council of Ambassadors; Reports of the Commissions on Rumanian and Yugoslav Affairs, on Czechoslovak Affairs, on Moroccan Affairs, on Belgian and Danish Affairs, and the Central Committee on Territorial Questions; Reports and Minutes of the Committee on New States; Compilations of the American Delegation at the Peace Conference consisting of *S-H* and *E.S.H.*

Bulletins; Documents and Minutes of the Supreme Economic Council; the Interim Report of the Inter-Allied Commission on the Relief of German Austria; *Notes de la Délégation de la République d'Autriche*; *Réponse des Puissances Alliées et Associées aux Rémarques de la Délégation Autrichienne sur les Conditions de Paix*; *Lettre d'Envoi au Président de la Délégation Autrichienne de la Réponse des Puissances Alliées et Associées*; *Conditions de Paix avec l'Autriche Allemande*, *Réponses aux Conditions de Paix du 20 juillet 1919*; *Deutsch-Österreich's Antwort auf die Friedensbedingungen*, *Die Note der Deutschösterreichischen Friedensdelegation an den Präsidenten der Friedenskonferenz vom 6. August, 1919, B. 914*; *Bericht über die Tätigkeit der deutschösterreichischen Friedensdelegation in St. Germain-en-Laye*; *Mittheilungen des Staatsamtes für Volksernährung über die Verhandlungen mit den Alliierten Hauptmächten über die Lebensmittelversorgung der Republik Österreich in der Zeit vom Dezember 1918 bis Anfang Oktober 1919*; Documents issued by the Yugoslav Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference, by the Czechoslovak Delegation, and by the Rumanian Delegation; *An Account of the Work of the Hungarian Peace Delegation at Neuilly from January to March 1920*; "Documentary History of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany," by P. W. Slosson, H. C. Nixon, and M. Florence Wilson; "A Commentary on the History of the Treaty with Austria," by Louis H. Gray; and *My Diary at the Conference of Paris*, with Documents, by David Hunter Miller. In addition the Editors have made use of certain documents in the standard government sets of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

Most of the translations reproduced in this study were made in 1919 by the translators of the American Delegation. These documents were hurriedly rendered into English and contain many vagaries in form, especially in grammar and spelling. However, unless the meaning is obscured, the Editors have reproduced the original texts without comment. All other translations in the book have been made under the supervision of the Editors.

Professor P. W. Slosson, Mr. H. C. Nixon, and Miss Florence Wilson wrote in 1919 the official American "Documentary History of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany." This work is, however, not a collection of documents, but a narrative based on the documents. In 1920 Mr. Louis Gray wrote the official American commentary on the Austrian treaty, entitled "A Commentary on the History of the Treaty with Austria." In his preface Gray states: "In view of the Commentary on the Treaty with Germany already written by Mr. H. C. Nixon and Dr. Preston Slosson and the History of the Covenant of the League of Nations by Miss M. F. Wilson, it has been possible to prepare a Commentary on the Treaty with Austria in relatively brief space." The main sources upon which this latter study is based are the Minutes of the Supreme Council to September 10, 1919, Minutes and Reports of certain of the Commissions and Committees set up by this Council, and *Notes de la Délégation de la République d'Autriche* and *Réponse des Puissances Alliées et Associées aux Remarques de la Délégation Autrichienne sur les Conditions de Paix*. Mimeographed copies of these two official American commentaries in the Hoover War Library have been of distinct value to the Editors of the present work. The history of the Versailles Treaty is printed as Volume XIX of the *Miller Diary*. It is to be hoped that Gray's commentary on the treaty with Austria also will be made available to American and foreign scholars.

The scope of the present study has been limited to the territorial and political clauses of the Treaty of Saint Germain as given in the Preamble and Articles One to One Hundred Seventeen. Articles dealing with territorial or political questions in other parts of the Treaty are covered only in so far as they are included in the discussions of the selected articles.

After weighing the advantages of a chronological arrangement of the materials in parts corresponding to the significant periods in the treaty negotiations, and a section by section or article by article treatment of the Treaty, as adopted by Slosson, Nixon, and Gray, the Editors finally

decided upon the latter plan as more usable. The documentary form of the work, which follows the excellent example of the *Bericht* and the Miller *Diary*, raises the question of selection, but in many of the sections of this study this difficulty is non-existent, since all of the available documents on the subject are reproduced.

The Editors have selected the following maps: (1) "Important Corridors of Central Alps." Inquiry 642*b*, published by Hunter Miller, and reproduced here through his courtesy; (2) "Yougo-Slavie." Map appended to Report No. 2 of the Commission on Rumanian and Yugoslav Affairs; reproduced through the courtesy of Professor Charles Seymour and the Librarian and Library Committee of Yale University Library; (3) "Übersichtskarte der Territorialen Friedensbedingungen für Deutsch-Österreich," appended to *Bericht über die Tätigkeit der deutschösterreichischen Friedensdelegation in St. Germain-en-Laye*, Bd. 2; (4) "Autriche," map appended to *Traité de Paix entre les Puissances Alliées et Associées et l'Autriche ... le 10 septembre 1919*.

The Editors wish to express their thanks for aid in the preparation of this work to Mr. Hunter Miller, Professor Charles Seymour, Professor Andrew Keogh (Librarian), and the Library Committee of Yale University Library, the Library of Congress, Mr. John C. White, Dr. Ray Stannard Baker, President Tyler Dennett, Dean Mary Yost, Professor Wm. Hawley Davis, Mrs. Jessie D. Whittern, Doubleday, Doran, and Houghton Mifflin Company. The Editors are also deeply indebted to the late Colonel James A. Logan.

Mr. Walther Milthaler and Miss Mary Scofield translated all documents which were not in the official American compilations or originally issued in English. Miss Ruth Macfarlane typed the manuscript for publication. Mr. Harry N. M. Winton, graduate student in Stanford University, prepared the index. To all of these the Editors wish to express their thanks.

NINA ALMOND
RALPH HASWELL LUTZ

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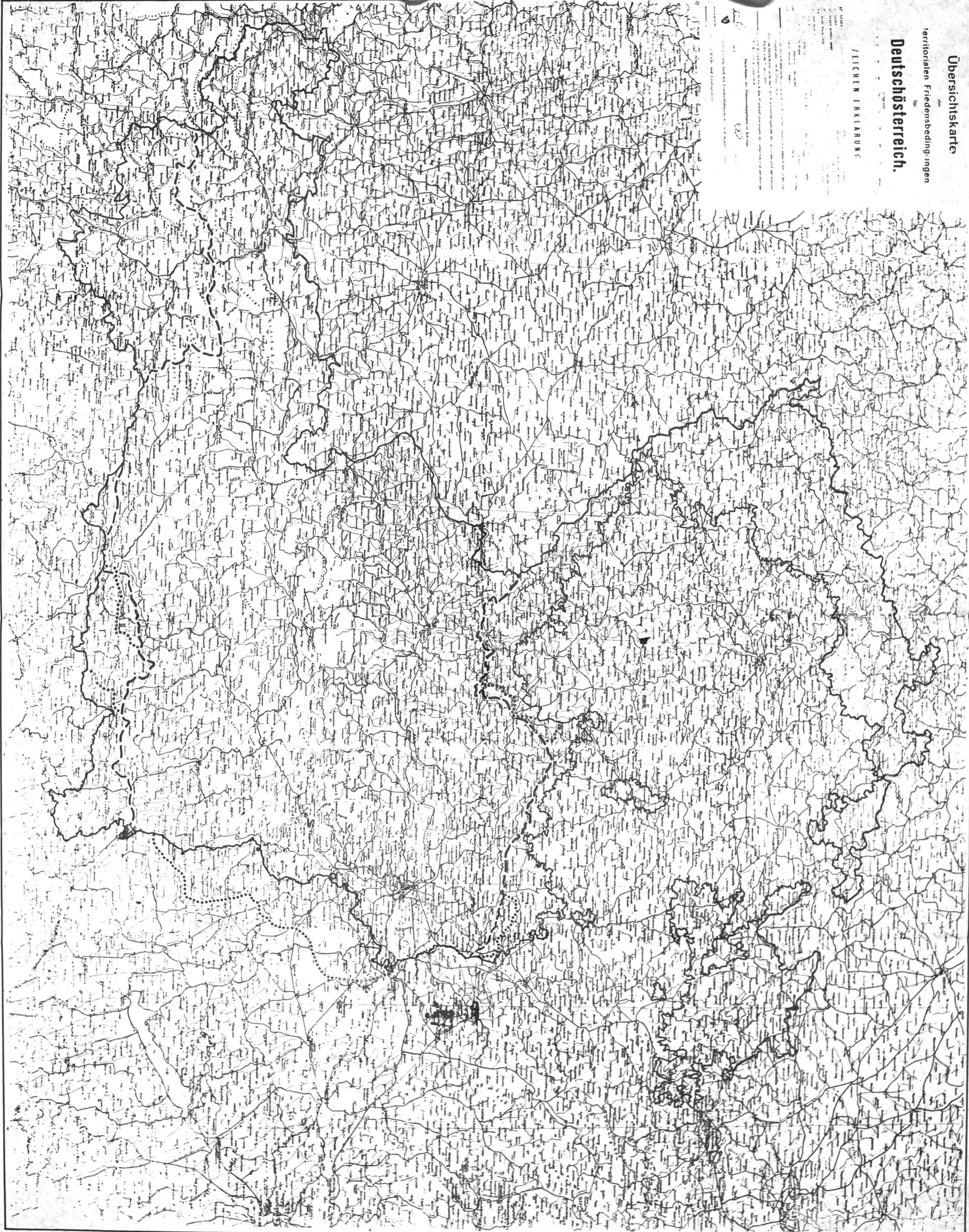
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Übersichtskarte
der
territorialen Friedensbedingungen
für
Deutschösterreich.

ZEICHEN ERKLÄRUNG

Die Karte zeigt die territorialen Friedensbedingungen für Deutschösterreich. Die Grenzen sind nach den Bestimmungen des Versailler Vertrags und der Wiener Schiedsrichterkonferenz von 1919 festgelegt. Die Karte ist in drei Teile unterteilt: 1. Die Grenzen des Reiches, 2. Die Grenzen der Provinzen, 3. Die Grenzen der Gemeinden. Die Karte ist in drei Teile unterteilt: 1. Die Grenzen des Reiches, 2. Die Grenzen der Provinzen, 3. Die Grenzen der Gemeinden.



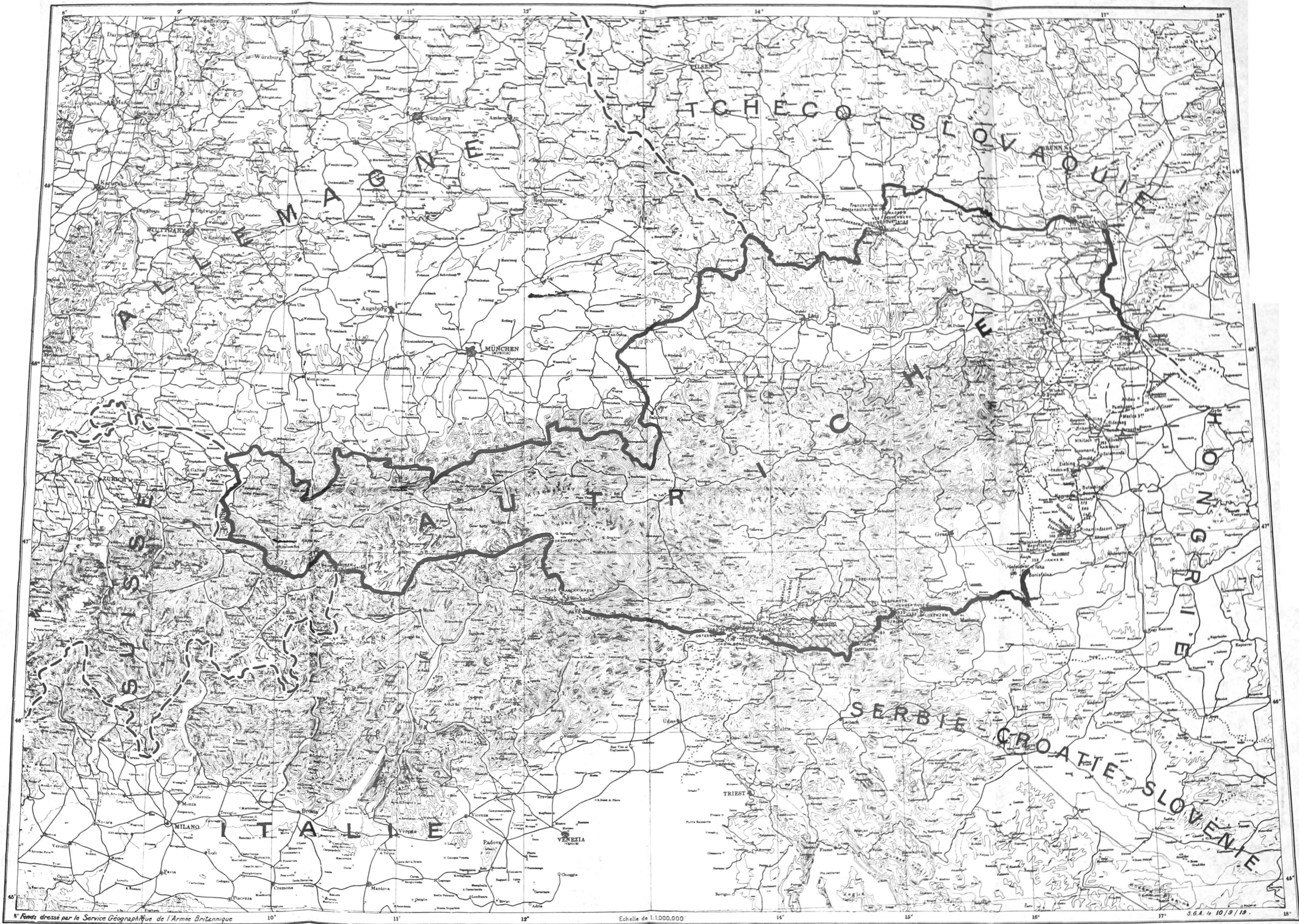
In lieu of colors the editors have superimposed the following symbols: Boundaries according to Decision of Austrian Staatsrat, January 3

Conditions of June 2

Conditions of July 20

From Bericht über die Tätigkeit der deutschösterreichischen Friedensdelegation ... Bd. 2

AUTRICHE



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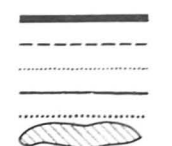
S.G.A. le 10/9/19

In lieu of colors the editors have superimposed the following symbol:
 From *Traité de Paix Entre les Puissances Alliées et Associées et l'Autriche, Protocole et Déclarations, signés à Saint-Germain-en-Laye le 10 Septembre 1919.*

Frontières ne nécessitant pas de délimitation sur le terrain
 Frontières nécessitant une délimitation sur le terrain
 Amorces de limites administratives
 Frontières d'autres États
 Anciennes frontières
 Zones soumises au Plébiscite

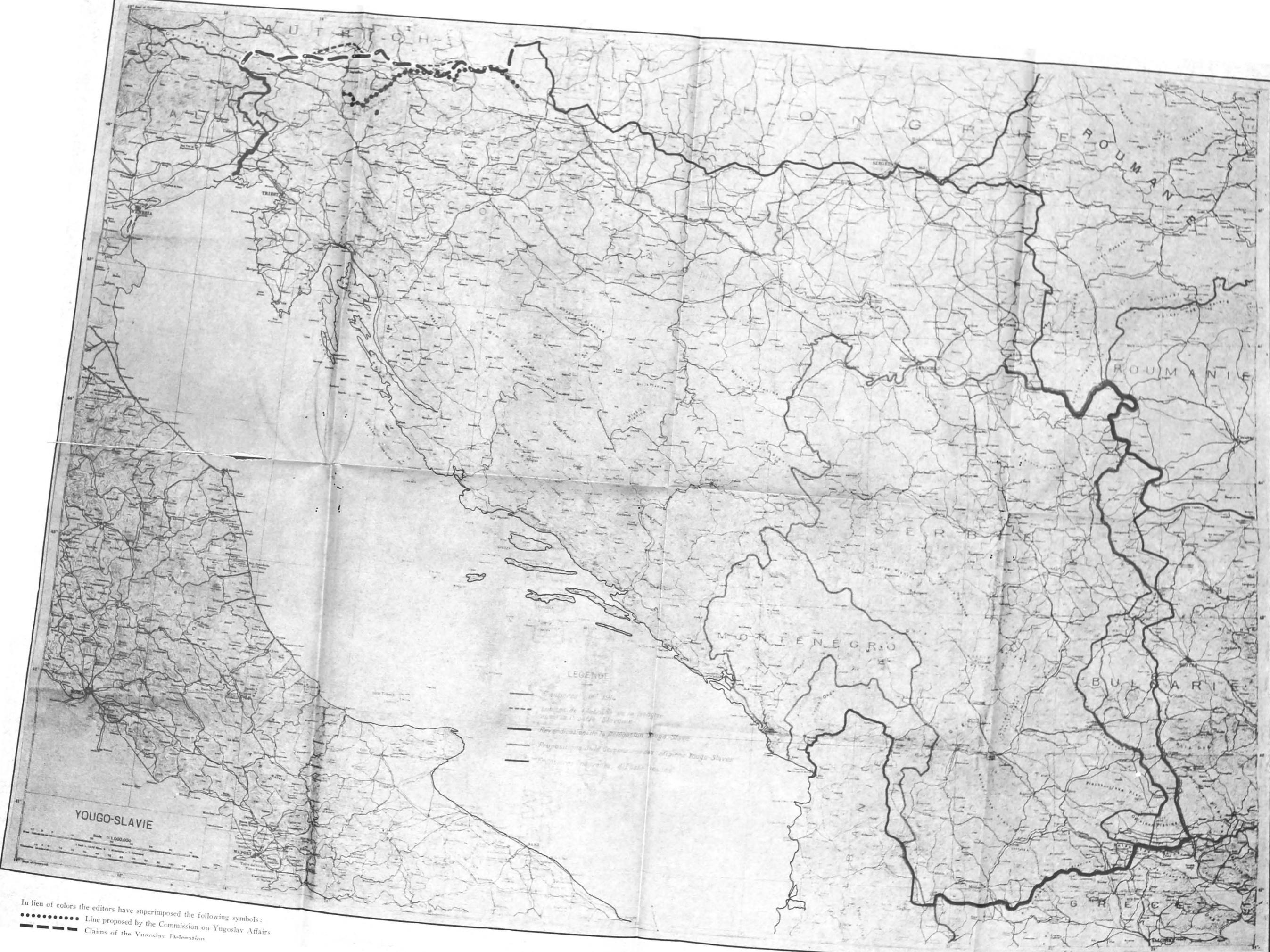


Boundaries which do not require to be delimited on the ground
 Boundaries to be delimited on the ground
 Portions of administrative boundaries
 Boundaries of other States
 Old Boundaries
 Areas for Plebiscite



Frontiere per le quali non occorrono determinazioni sopra luogo
 Frontiere per le quali occorrono determinazioni sopra luogo
 Tratte di confine amministrativo
 Frontiere d'altri Stati
 Antiche frontiere
 Zone sottomesse a Plebiscito

L'orthographe des surcharges est conforme aux Cartes d'Etat-Major Autrichiennes.



LEGENDE

- Frontières de l'Etat
- - - - - Lignes de démarcation en vigueur
- Revendications de la délégation yougoslave
- Propositions de la Commission des affaires yougoslaves
- Propriétés des terres de l'Etat

In lieu of colors the editors have superimposed the following symbols:
 ●●●●●●●● Line proposed by the Commission on Yugoslav Affairs
 - - - - - Claims of the Yugoslav Delegation

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