ON A KNIFE EDGE

Was the outcome of the First World War on a knife edge? In this major reassessment of German wartime politics and strategy, Holger Afflerbach argues that the outcome of the war was actually in the balance until relatively late in the war. Using new evidence from diaries, letters and memoirs, he fundamentally revises our understanding of German strategy from the decision to go to war and the failure of the western offensive to the radicalisation of Germany's war effort under Hindenburg and Ludendorff and the ultimate collapse of the Central Powers. He uncovers the struggles in wartime Germany between supporters of a compromise peace and hardliners who wanted to fight to the finish. He suggests that the German leadership was not nearly as committed to all-out conquest as previous accounts argue. Numerous German peace advances could have offered the opportunity to end the war before it dragged Europe into the abyss.

Holger Afflerbach is Professor of Modern European History at the University of Leeds. His previous publications include a biography of Erich von Falkenhayn, and a study of the Triple Alliance.

Cambridge Military Histories

Edited by

HEW STRACHAN, Professor of International Relations, University of St Andrews and Emeritus Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford

GEOFFREY WAWRO, Professor of Military History, and Director of the Military History Center, University of North Texas

The aim of this series is to publish outstanding works of research on warfare throughout the ages and throughout the world. Books in the series take a broad approach to military history, examining war in all its military, strategic, political and economic aspects. The series complements *Studies in the Social and Cultural History of Modern Warfare* by focusing on the 'hard' military history of armies, tactics, strategy and warfare. Books in the series consist mainly of single author works – academically rigorous and groundbreaking – which are accessible to both academics and the interested general reader.

A full list of titles in the series can be found at: www.cambridge.org/militaryhistories

ON A KNIFE EDGE

How Germany Lost the First World War

Holger Afflerbach

Translated by Anne Buckley and Caroline Summers



© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment/www.cambridge.org

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-108-96586-6 — On a Knife Edge Holger Afflerbach Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>



Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108965866

DOI: 10.1017/9781108966313

© Holger Afflerbach 2022, 2024

This is a translated publication of *Auf Messers Schneide: Wie das Deutsche Reich den Ersten Weltkrieg verlor*, written in German by Holger Afflerbach and published by C. H. Beck in 2018 (ISBN 9783406719691)

First published in English by Cambridge University Press in 2022

First paperback edition published 2024

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ Books Limited, Padstow, Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Afflerbach, Holger, author. | Buckley, Anne, 1967– translator. | Summers, Caroline, translator.

Title: On a knife edge : how Germany lost the First World War / Holger Afflerbach, University of

Leeds ; translated by Anne Buckley and Caroline Summers. Other titles: Auf Messers Schneide. English | How Germany lost the First World War Description: Cambridge ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2022. | Series: Cambridge military histories | "This is a translated publication of Auf Messers Schneide: Wie das Deutsche Reich den Ersten Weltkrieg verlor, written in German by Holger Afflerbach and published by C.H. Beck in 2018 (ISBN 9783406719691)." | Includes bibliographical references.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021052135 (print) | LCCN 2021052136 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108832885

(hardback) | ISBN 9781108965866 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108966313 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: World War, 1914-1918 - Germany. | Germany - History - 1918-1933.

Classification: LCC D531 .A6413 2022 (print) | LCC D531 (ebook) | DDC 940.3/43-dc23/eng/ 20211105

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021052135

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021052136

ISBN 978-1-108-83288-5 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-96586-6 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Dedicated to my grandfather, Antonio Saviano (1900–1943), medical doctor, car buff, bon vivant. He was too young to volunteer for the First World War. To do so, he falsified his birthdate, supposedly to escape a seminary, and fought then until the end of the war in the Italian Army.

The English version of this book has a second dedication – to my friend, Professor Francis Roy Bridge, Professor Emeritus of International History at the University of Leeds, who helped me to adapt the German version of the book for the British reader.

CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-108-96586-6 — On a Knife Edge Holger Afflerbach Frontmatter <u>More Information</u>

Contents

List	of Figures	<i>page</i> ix
	of Maps	xii
List of Tables		xiii
	of Abbreviations	xiv
Intr	oduction	1
Inter		_
	PART I. HUBRIS	9
1	The Road to War	11
2	'It Can Hardly Go Wrong Now': The Schlieffen Plan	ı
	and Its Failure	44
3	Tannenberg and the Rise of Hindenburg	67
4	The European Stalemate	81
5	A Strategy of Muddling Through? The War in 1915	104
6	'An Unparalleled Act of Barbarism': The Naval	
	Blockade, Submarine Warfare and the Battle for	
	American Neutrality	131
$\overline{7}$	'Potato-bread Spirit': The German Home Front	
	in 1914–1916	153
8	Squaring the Circle: Falkenhayn and Verdun 1916	176
9	Summer 1916: The Allied Attack on All Fronts	
	and Its Failure	199
	PART II. CLIMAX: AT THE APEX OF WAR	217
10	'Only a Miracle Can Save Us Now': Germany	
	and the War in the Autumn of 1916	219
11	Action Stations, Panic Stations: The Radicalisation	
	of Germany's Strategy under the Third OHL	238
12	'A Stroke of Genius': Tentative Offers of Peace	
	in December 1916	265

vii

CONTENTS

13	The Misjudged Stand-off: Unrestricted Submarine Warfare and the USA's Entry into the War	281
	PART III. NEMESIS: THE DEFEAT OF THE CENTRAL POWERS AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE EUROPEAN ORDER	309
	Onden	309
14	Military Developments in the First Half of 1917	311
15	The First Russian Revolution and the Opportunity	
	for a Peace Agreement with the Russian Democracy	326
16	'War Psychosis'? The Reichstag's Peace Offer and	
	Bethmann Hollweg's Demission	340
17	'The Unmasking of the Central Powers'? Victory	
	and Peace in the East	356
18	'Glorious, but Hopeless': Germany's Position at	
	the Turn of the Year 1917/18	390
19	'Ludendorff's Hammer': The Western Offensive of	
	1918	415
20	'Now the War Was Lost': The Military Collapse	
	of the Central Powers	455
21	'Savage in Victory, Contemptuous in Defeat':	
	Germany's Route out of the War	476
The	Final Reckoning: A Terrible Debt that Must Be Paid	506
Ackı	nowledgements	522
Note		524
Bibl	Bibliography	
	Index: People	
	ex: Places	676

Figures

1	Wilhelm II – a symbol of German imperialism	page 5
2	Bethmann Hollweg in his uniform as a Major	
	of the Reserves	25
3	Wilhelm II and his entourage at the Imperial	
	Headquarters in Pless	31
4	Battle of the Marne: a baggage train following the	
	advancing troops. Beginning of September 1914	60
5	The Austro-Hungarian Chief of the General Staff,	
	Conrad von Hötzendorf, looking over a map in	
	his study	71
6	Battle of Grunwald by the Polish painter Jan Matejko)
	(1878)	77
$\overline{7}$	Erich von Falkenhayn, Prussian Minister of War	
	(1913–15) and Chief of the General Staff	
	(1914–16)	82
8	German soldiers taking advantage of a favourable	
	wind to release poison gas from cylinders, which	
	drifts towards the enemy	108
9	The battle cruiser SMS Seydlitz after the Battle	
	of Jutland	136
10	Otto Weddigen and the U-9 achieved the first majo	r
	success of the U-boat campaign with the sinking	
	of the armoured cruisers the Aboukir, Cressy and	
	Hogue on 22 September 1914	137
11	The Lusitania, torpedoed and sunk by U-20	140
12	A notice to passengers planning to make	
	transatlantic journeys during the First World	
	War, 1915	142
13	A 'selfie' sent as a Christmas greeting in 1915	
	by Anna and Richard Wagner	156

LIST OF FIGURES

14	Aerial photograph of Fort Douaumont after the	
	bombardments during the Battle of Verdun,	
	1916	198
15	Hindenburg, Ludendorff and the Kaiser at Main	
	Headquarters in Pless (Pszczyna, Poland)	229
16	A cartoon in the satirical weekly Simplicissimus asks	
	whether the newly founded Poland would end up	
	being grateful to its 'parents', the German	
	Empire and Austria–Hungary	252
17	'Doing business with death' – the satirical weekly	
	Simplicissimus criticises the USA for supplying the	
	Allies	260
18	'The first call to peace' – a front cover from the	
	satirical weekly Simplicissimus, commenting on	
	the Central Powers' peace offer of December	
	1916 and the lack of response from the enemy	275
19	'The Hun' – the derogatory name for the Germans	
	during the First World War	312
20	'Don't be angry, be amazed' – the Péronne Town	
	Hall was destroyed by French artillery fire in April	
	1915	318
21	Arnauld de la Perière, the greatest 'U-boat ace'	
	of the First World War, with officers on the deck	
	of <i>U-35</i>	320
22	The steamer <i>Maplewood</i> is sunk by a U-boat	321
23	Propeller of a sinking ship, with passengers in	
	a lifeboat	322
24	German U-boat propaganda 1918	324
25	German militarism portrayed as a King-Kong-like	
	monster	347
26	Arrival of the Russian delegation in Brest-Litovsk.	
	In the centre is Trotsky; Kamenev and Joffe are	
	on the left, January 1918	369
27	Prince Leopold of Bavaria signs the Treaty	
	of Brest-Litovsk	375
28	The Wagners' 1917 Christmas card, now entirely	
	lacking in enthusiasm for the war	397
	0	

LIST OF FIGURES

29	9 Simplicissimus claims that men, not machines, win	
	wars	426
30	The only German tank of the First World War:	
	the A7V. Ready for combat behind the front line	427
31	A German truck convoy advances on Nesle,	
	April 1918	429
32	A propaganda leaflet celebrates the German gains	
	in April 1918	446
33	Hindenburg on a propaganda poster: 'Times are	
	hard, but victory is certain'	481
34	Berlin: entry of front-line troops	502

Maps

1	European alliances before 1914	page 42
2	The German offensive in the west in 1914	49
3	Tannenberg and the war in Eastern Prussia 1914	73
4	Gorlice-Tarnów and the war in the east 1915	121
5	The Battle of Verdun 1916	193
6	The Romanian campaign 1916	215
7	The retreat to the Siegfried Line 1917	316
8	German offensives in the east 1917-18	381
9	The front lines of the First World War 1914–17	393
0	The German offensives in the west in 1918	444
11	The German retreat on the Western Front in 1918	469

The maps featured in this book are reproduced with permission from Peter Palm. © Peter Palm, Berlin.

Tables

1	Peacetime forces of the European armies, 1904–13	
	(officers and ranks, in thousands)	page 37
2	The military strength of the Triple Alliance and the	
	Triple Entente powers, 1911	38
3	Strength of the belligerent nations 1914 (land forces	8
	only)	46
4	The costs of the war	509
5	The dead and wounded of the First World War	510

Abbreviations

Abbreviations used in the endnotes are as follows:

Abbreviations for published sources are explained in the Bibliography. For example: RA V, is listed as RA (= Reichsarchiv), *Der Weltkrieg 1914–1918*, vol. V.

Archives:	
ASSME:	Archivio Storico dello Stato Maggiore
	dell'Esercito, Rome
BA/MA, Freiburg:	Bundesarchiv/Militärarchiv, Freiburg
	im Breisgau
BA, Koblenz:	Bundesarchiv Koblenz
BHStA, Geh HA:	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Gehei-
	mes Hausarchiv, Munich
BHStA, KA:	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Kriegsar-
	chiv, Munich

Moscow Special Archive (also known as the Centre for the Preservation of Historical-Documentary Collections): Moscow Special Archive