

Halls of Mirrors: Peacemaking in Paris, 1919



A Historical Simulation

David Webster

History 105 | Simulation | Paris 1919

In this simulation, students will divide into groups to simulate delegations to the Paris peace conference, called in 1919 to discuss a peace settlement after the First World War. Each student will be assigned to play one participant in the conference, and to simulate both that individual and the country they are representing. This simulation is an exercise in participatory problem-based learning. Therefore, active participation in some form is expected of everyone. You will have a chance to meet in your group, then to develop proposals. Each group should come up with talking points, and then collaborate on writing them up. You will also be expected to write at least two short pieces of writing on behalf of the individual you are simulating. Finally, we will meet in plenary sessions in which all groups will be given the opportunity to debate and vote on key issues.

The Historical Moment: Paris, January 1919

Many entered the Great War – as World War I was known until a Second World War broke out – full of hope. It would be over by Christmas, and the war marked a time for all to rally around the flag. War was not desired, but all the great powers proved willing to go to war in pursuit of their geopolitical aims. In the words of the 19th century Prussian military thinker Carl von Clausewitz, war was the continuation of politics by other means.

The world looked very different after four years of brutal warfare. “Total war” saw the major powers (and the lesser ones) mobilize their all in a desperate bid for victory: millions of men in the field, industries diverted to war production, nothing off limits from poison gas to the once-unheard of mobilization of women for industrial work. The hopes of 1914 were ground down in the trenches into despair and then revulsion with war. Millions may have died (1.8-million Germans, 1.7-million Russians, 1.4-million Frenchmen, 1.3-million in Austria-Hungary, 700,000 from Britain, 600,000 from Italy, over 100,000 Americans, and so on – and the world longed for *something* good to come from it all. The Great War had been horrific, but perhaps it might have been so horrific that it would be “the war to end war,” a war so terrible that states would no longer resort to warfare to gain their policy goals.

To make things worse, the world had just been hit by a global pandemic. In 1918, a new influenza epidemic, nicknamed “the Spanish flu,” swept the world in a first and then a more devastating second wave. As delegates gather in Paris in January 1919, there are reports that a new third wave may be starting. Of course this is not an issue of the peace settlement – but perhaps some international cooperation on disease prevention should be on the world agenda at some point?

Country	Fatalities
Germany	1.8-million
Russia	1.7-million
Austria-Hungary	1.3-million
Britain	700,000 (plus Empire 202,000)
Italy	600,000
USA	112,000
Roumania	335,000

The new hopes of 1919 were summed up in the “14 points” sketched out by American president Woodrow Wilson (see Document 1). A new type of diplomacy, with collective global responsibility to build a more peaceful and cooperative world order, would take the place of the old diplomacy that Wilson and others believed had done much to cause the Great War. This was a popular vision: Wilson arrived in Paris to banners of welcome, cheering crowds, and the adulation of almost all Europe.



A new peace would, the peacemakers hoped, prevent such a terrible war from ever occurring again. At the same time, each political leader and diplomat hoped that the new order would benefit their country or people. Idealism and the quest to advance national interests intertwined and clashed in Paris for the first half of 1919 as 71 delegates from the victorious “Allied

and Associated Powers” gathered to determine the shape of the peace and the brave new world being born. In retrospect, their efforts were not an unqualified success. Perhaps they could have done no better. But perhaps you can. **Your mission in Paris: build a lasting peace, and advance your own nation’s interests.**

A final fear was common to all the delegates. Wilsonian internationalism offered one challenge to the old European order. While

Britain and France (Documents 2 and 7) defended their national interests, they were willing to accommodate American calls for a new global order. As the old empires of the Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns, Ottomans and Romanovs crumbled, the new states emerging from the European wreckage at least promised to follow liberal models (Document 6) and anti-colonial nationalists inspired by Wilson's call for national self-determination couched their demands in Wilsonian language (Document 9), there was a more serious challenge that threatened all governments. With the creation of the Soviet Union in 1917, a new power posed a fundamental challenge to the existing



regimes and proposed a very different world order and to European colonialism. The Soviet Union was not invited to Paris. Nor were anti-colonial nationalists. If the delegates to Paris did not find a lasting peace, the spectre of communist revolution loomed, and might engulf Europe or the colonial world. The stakes could hardly be higher.

The delegates

There were 71 voting delegates in Paris, each backed by a large supporting cast of diplomats, military advisors, economists and other technical experts. The great powers had five votes each. These were the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Japan – the last two secondary in power but included as a courtesy by the three top leaders: President Woodrow Wilson of America, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, and Georges Clemenceau, president of the Council of Ministers (prime minister, in other words) of France. Lesser allies received from one to three seats depending on their power and contribution to the war effort. These ranged from Roumania, which lost almost three times as many soldiers as the USA, to Panama, which joined late and mostly to please its American allies. The British Dominions and India, consequently, demanded and were given one or two seats each to recognize their sacrifices and their potential to contribute to the new world being built.

Because there may be than 71 students in this class, some departures may be made from the official delegates list. The votes remain as they were in real life, but (as in real life) there were others seeking to be heard in Paris. This simulation includes them as full participants, with a voice but no vote. In most cases, the departure is to add diplomats and others who were in Paris but without a vote.

The key issues

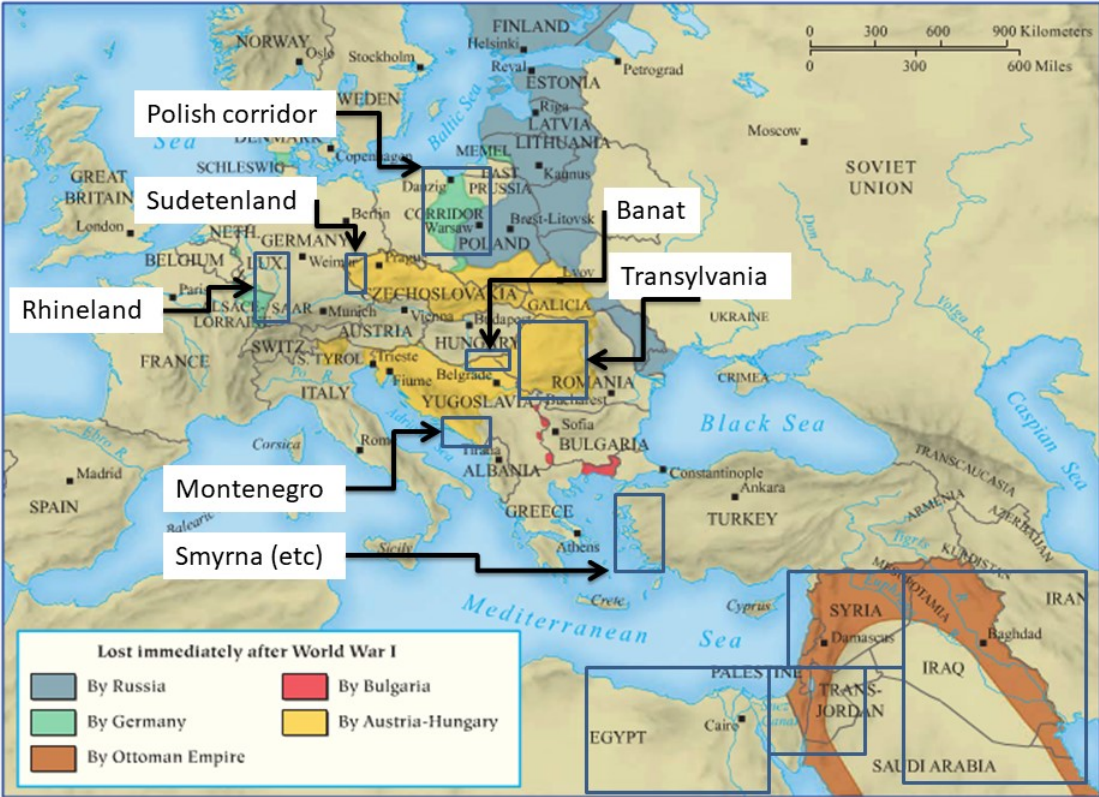
The peace conference had to deal with a hornet's nest of complexity, from sorting out the ethnic borders of Eastern Europe's intermingled ethnicities to deciding who would govern German possessions in the South Pacific. To deal with them all in the space of a few weeks would be impossible: it took the peacemakers in Paris six months of full-time work and sleep deprivation, and even then the job was left only partly done. Therefore this simulation concentrates on four major issues:

- *The League of Nations*. Wilson proposed that powers over peace and security and some forms of global governance pass to a new League of Nations. Would the League be formed? Would it operate with each state having one vote, or would there be a Council with the great powers reserving key decision-making to themselves? Would that council, if there was one, operate by majority vote or by consensus? Who would be on it? Who, for that matter, would be members of the League: did the defeated Central powers deserve seats? Did neutral powers? What about former German colonies and Ottoman provinces: should the League rule them, should they go to victorious great powers, or some other arrangement such as League "mandates" to rule in the short term, awarded to "deserving" powers?
- *Reparations and war guilt*. The war left Europe and other areas devastated, not least in economic terms. Great powers had mortgaged their future. It was customary for the losers in war to pay reparations to the winners. But how much? And should there be a clause assigning guilt for the most devastating war in European history, in order to make sure the aggressor power(s) never aggressed again?
- *Racial equality*. The vicious European war showed that perhaps Europeans were not the pinnacle of human civilization, as many had argued in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The "most civilized" continent had torn itself asunder. Meanwhile, Japan had played a significant war role and colonies from Africa to India made huge contributions to the war effort. Should there be a clause in the treaty affirming the equality of all races? Or was that interference with the domestic right of the USA, South Africa and others to discriminate on the basis of race, and of Canada and others to control their own immigration policies on a racial basis?
- *New countries and their borders*. Several new countries were born from the First World War and added to the map in Paris – though their exact borders remained to be determined, in many cases. There was to be a Poland, but how big would it be? The principle of a state for each ethnic group in Eastern Europe clashed with the conflicting claims of different nationalist groups. The simulation

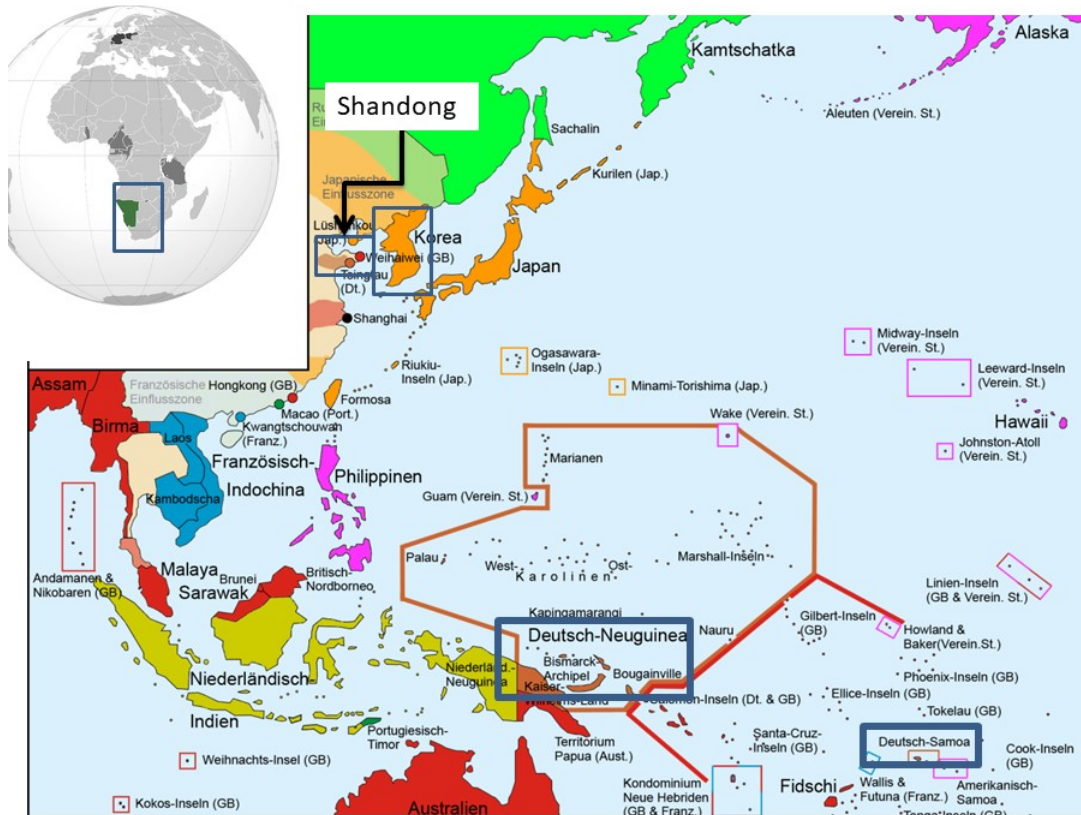
may consider whether to recognize new states and where to draw their borders in three regions: (1) Eastern Europe – Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania – plus Austria and Hungary; (2) the Middle East – Arab lands including Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia etc, and perhaps Egypt – considering here also British, French, Arab, Zionist and Ottoman claims – and also what’s left of the Ottoman empire, with claims from Italy, Greece, and many others including perhaps the USA and even Canada; (3) Asia – what is to become of the German colonies in China, of Korea and India and other colonized lands?

- Other issues. Delegates may, with the consent of the chair, opt to add other issues to the agenda.

Territorial disputes and claims: Europe and the Middle East



Territorial disputes and claims: Asia and Africa



Groups and Individuals

The Paris peace conference welcomed 71 voting delegates from 32 countries. They are as follows:

Group 1 USA (5)

The Honourable Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States

- The Honourable Robert Lansing, Secretary of State
- The Honourable Henry White, formerly Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States at Rome and Paris
- The Honourable Edward M. House
- General Tasker H. Bliss, Military Representative of the United States on the Supreme War Council

Group 2 United Kingdom (5)

- The Right Honourable David Lloyd George, M.P., First Lord of His Treasury and Prime Minister
- The Right Honourable Andrew Bonar Law, M.P., Lord Privy Seal
- The Right Honourable Viscount Milner, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., Secretary of State for the Colonies

- The Right Honourable Arthur James Balfour, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
- The Right Honourable George Nicoll Barnes, M.P., Minister without portfolio

Group 3 Other members of the British Empire delegation (9)

- Canada (2)
 - The Honourable Robert Borden, Prime Minister
 - The Honourable Arthur Lewis Sifton, Minister of Customs
- Australia (2)
 - The Right Honourable William Morris Hughes, Attorney General and Prime Minister
 - The Right Honourable Sir Joseph Cook, G.C.M.G., Minister for the Navy
- South Africa (2)
 - General the Right Honourable Louis Botha, Minister of Native Affairs and Prime Minister
 - Lieutenant-General the Right Honourable Jan Christian Smuts, K.C., Minister of Defence
- New Zealand (1)
 - The Right Honourable William Ferguson Massey, Minister of Labour and Prime Minister
- India (2)
 - The Right Honourable Edwin Samuel Montagu, M.P., Secretary of State for India
 - Major-General His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Bikaner, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., A.D.C.

Group 4 France (5)

- Mr. Georges Clemenceau, President of the Council, Minister of War
- Mr. Stephen Pichon, Minister for Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Louis-Lucien Klotz, Minister of Finance
- Mr. André Tardieu, Commissary General for Franco-American Military Affairs
- Mr. Jules Cambon, Ambassador of France

Group 5 Italy (5)

- Vittorio Orlando, Prime Minister
- Baron Sidney Sonnino, Deputy
- Marquis G. Imperiali, Senator, Ambassador of His Majesty, the King of Italy at London
- Mr. Silvio Crespi, Deputy
- Antonio Salandra

Group 6 Japan (5)

- Marquis Saionji, formerly President of the Council of Ministers
- Baron Makino, formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs, Member of the Diplomatic Council
- Viscount Chinda, Ambassador of H. M. the Emperor at London
- Mr. K. Matsui, Ambassador of H. M. the Emperor at Paris
- Mr. H. Ijuin, Ambassador of H. M. the Emperor at Rome

Group 7 South Americans (4)

- Mr. Ismael Montes, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of **Bolivia**
- Mr. Enrique Dorn y de Alsua, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of **Ecuador**
- Mr. Carlos G. Candamo, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of **Peru**
- Mr. Juan Antonio Buero, Minister for Foreign Affairs of **Uruguay**

Group 8 Central Americans (5)

- Mr. Antonio Sanchez de Bustamante, Dean of the Faculty of Law in the University of Havana, **Cuba**, President of the Cuban Society of International Law
- Mr. Joaquin Mendez, formerly Minister of State for Public Works and Public Instruction, Envoy Extraordinary, and Minister Plenipotentiary of **Guatemala**
- Dr. Policarpo Bonilla, formerly President of the Republic of **Honduras**
- Mr. Salvador Chamorro, President of the Chamber of Deputies of the Republic of **Nicaragua**
- Mr. Antonio Burgos, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of **Panama**

Group 9 Belgium (3)

- Mr. Paul Hymans, Minister for Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Jules van den Heuvel, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary
- Mr. Emile Vandervelde, Minister of Justice

Group 10 Brazil and Portugal (5)

- Brazil (3)
 - Mr. Joao Pandia Calogeras, Deputy, formerly Minister of Finance
 - Mr. Raul Fernandes, Deputy
 - Mr. Rodrigo Octavio de L. Menezes, Professor of International Law of Rio de Janeiro
- Portugal (2)

- Dr. Afonso Augusto da Costa, formerly President of the Council of Ministers
- Dr. Augusto Luiz Vieira Soares, formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs

Group 11 Asian states (5)

- Siam (3)
 - His Highness Prince Charoon, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. the King of Siam at Paris
 - His Serene Highness Prince Traidos Prabandhu, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs
 - Mr James Eldon, Advisor to the Royal Government
- China (2)
 - Mr. Lou Tseng-Tsiang [Lu Zhengxiang], Minister for Foreign Affairs
 - Mr. Chengting Thomas Wang, formerly Minister of Agriculture and Commerce

Group 12 Greece (3)

- Mr. Eleftherios K. Veniselos, President of the Council of Ministers
- Mr. Nicolas Politis, Minister for Foreign Affairs
- Col. Nikolaos Plastiras

Group 13 Poles and Czechs (5)

- Poland (2)
 - Mr. Ignace J. Paderewski, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister for Foreign Affairs
 - Mr. Roman Dmowski, President of the Polish National Committee
- Czecho-Slovakia (3)
 - Mr. Karel Kramar, President of the Council of Ministers
 - Mr. Eduard Benes, Minister for Foreign Affairs
 - Prof. Tomas Masaryk, organizer of the Czech Legion

Group 14 Roumania (3)

- Mr. Ion I. C. Bratianu, President of the Council of Ministers, Minister for Foreign Affairs
- General Constantin Coanda, Corps Commander, A.D.C. to the King, formerly President of the Council of Ministers
- Nicholas Misu, minister at London

Group 15 Yugoslavia (3)

- Mr. Nicholas P. Pachitch [Nicola Pasic], formerly President of the Council of Ministers

- Mr. Ante Trumbic, Minister for Foreign Affairs
- Mr. Milenko Vesnitch, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of H. M. the king of the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes at Paris

Group 16 Haiti, Liberia and the Hedjaz (4)

- Mr. Tertulien Guilbaud, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of **Haiti** at Paris, formerly minister of justice
- The Honourable Charles Dunbar Burgess King, Secretary of State of the Republic of **Liberia**
- Mr. Rustem Haidar, Kingdom of the **Hedjaz**
- Mr. Abdul Hadi Aouni, Kingdom of the **Hedjaz**

Group 17 Central Powers (3 members, no votes)

- Germany
 - Mr. Hermann Muller, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Weimar Republic
 - Dr. Johannes Bell, Minister of Colonial Affairs
- Republic of German-Austria
 - Mr. Karl Renner, Chancellor

Group 18 Nationalists (3 members, no votes)

- Mr. Kim Kyusik, delegate from **Korea** (Japanese colony)
- Mr. Said Zaghlul, vice-president of the legislative assembly of **Egypt** (British colony)
- Ho Chi Minh, petitioner from the League for **Vietnam** Independence (French colony)

A list of voting countries (the Allied and Associated powers) is at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_participants_to_Paris_Peace_Conference,_1919. You are expected to simulate both your individual character and your national delegation, whether or not you have a vote.

Victory Objectives

There is a common objective for all participants: a peaceful settlement. At the same time, each group will have its own objectives. For instance, if Bulgaria had been represented in this simulation, it would seek to avoid the loss of territory and to ensure national survival. If the Soviet Union had been included, it would seek the return of lands lost in 1917, and the spread of world revolution. **Your victory objectives are confidential and should not be disclosed to other delegations** (although they may become clear as you negotiate with others).

Rules – technical considerations

Class time for the simulation may be used in three ways: groups meeting to plan and work together; groups speaking privately with one or more other groups to try to build support for their aims; and plenary sessions in which the issues will be debated in open session and voted upon. The four key issues will each be given one plenary session.

Given the size of the class, it is not possible for everyone to make an oral presentation of their remarks. Thus group proposals must be written only in some cases. Each group may choose one priority issue to which to speak (the League of Nations, reparations, racial equality, and territorial adjustments) and will be given the chance to make their case for up to two minutes in the appropriate plenary session. Other groups may then take part, if they wish, in open debate.

Only one person may speak at a time. Interruptions to argue are not permitted: instead, ask the chair to recognize you. Interruptions such as applause, “hear hear” or “shame” and the like are tolerated, though considered poor manners by some of the more traditional diplomats. Only the person recognized by the chair as holding the floor are to speak. Time limits in plenary will be enforced – do not speak for more than two minutes.

Voting will be done in plenary sessions using (in a departure from historical accuracy) online voting. Voting is not secret but known – as Wilson said, the goal here was “open covenants, openly arrived at.”

Much of the work will be done online. You should post in-character only. The key consideration here is mutual respect: you are acting as if you were a diplomat in 1919, and addressing others as such. **Disagreement in-character should not be confused with disagreement out-of-character.** This includes respect for both members of your group (meeting your commitments to your fellow group members) and other groups (disagreeing in-character, but remaining respectful out-of-character to each other).

Fundamental considerations

Beware of getting bogged down in procedural or minor issues, such as who in your group holds the microphone and who shall rule the Eastern Banat. You should keep your major victory objectives at the core. Those who are most successful will relate their specific goals to larger issues of peace, lasting security, and – for many – the meaning of nationality.

Schedule of classes

Some time in each class will be set aside for background lectures and out-of-character technical questions. The majority of time, however, is for simulation groups and plenary sessions. A schedule, class by class, follows.

Some issues are more important to some countries than others. Wilson’s US delegation, for instance, is very keen to see a League of Nations created, while South and Central American states welcome a League where

their votes play a major role. Europeans are less interested – unless it can be a new form of collective security that enhances their own interests. Japan is proposing a racial equality clause, which the settler colonies such as Australia oppose the idea strongly because their immigration policy bans Asian migrants. Many delegations can select an issue to concentrate on. Some issues require some delegations to speak or respond to the opening speech. These are:

Issue	Lead-off	Respond
Reparations & war guilt	France or Belgium	USA or Italy
Racial equality	Japan	Canada, Australia or USA
League of Nations • Creation of League? • Collective security powers? • Rule German colonies?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • USA • France or any smaller European power • USA or any smaller European power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • France or Britain • Canada or other non-European power • Britain or any other colonial power
Land	Any claimant	

Class #1 (Feb. 3) – meet in groups. In this class, you should start discussing the broad outlines of your group’s goals, consulting the victory conditions given to each group. You may wish to divide up tasks, such as: researcher on your country’s goals and experience in Paris; rapporteur (takes notes summarizing the group’s discussion and proposals); speaker (the person who will present the group’s proposals in class); writing manager (coordinates putting together the written proposal and makes sure it gets posted in time online); task manager (makes sure everyone else in the group gets their work done on time); opposition researcher (look into what the other groups might say and look for arguments to counter them). If your group will speak to the League of Nations, be prepared to speak in class #2.

In order to do an effective job, you may need to conduct additional research outside class on your individual character and your country’s wartime experience and postwar goals. This can be online or in key books such as Margaret Macmillan’s *Paris 1919* or (for a few nationalist groups) Erez Manela’s *The Wilsonian Moment* (e-book).

Outside class time, you may post work and work together with others inside and outside your group using the online forum.

You may wish to approach other groups to negotiate support for your position.

Class #2 (Feb. 10) – meet in groups briefly; Plenary session I: League of Nations. Opening presentations; general debate; chance to consult other groups; voting on proposals. Each group choosing the League as their priority issue may make a proposal and submit it in their opening statement. You may wish to canvass other groups for support in the time allotted for consultations. If there are multiple proposals, they will be voted in random order.

Class #3 (Feb. 17) – **Deadline for submission of individual assignment 1**. By this date, your first written submission on behalf of your individual character should be submitted. Second individual assignments (and third and fourth, if you choose this option) can be submitted starting at any time up to the final deadline.

Plenary session II: War guilt and reparations. Opening presentations; general debate; chance to consult other groups; voting.

Plenary session III: Racial equality. Opening presentations; general debate; chance to consult other groups; voting.

Class #4 (Feb. 24) – Plenary session IV: Territorial adjustments. Opening presentations; general debate; chance to consult other groups; voting. This issue is about the creation of new countries, and changes to borders, in three regions: Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Asia. Priority is given to states that have made this their priority issue area, but others may also make proposals if time permits.

Debrief: we will take time to debrief on the simulation and compare outcomes to what happened in real life.

Feb. 26 (Friday) – **Final deadline for submission of individual assignments, and deadline to submit assessment rubrics on other group members**. Your second submission (press release etc) should be submitted before the reading week. This gives you the option of using your final individual submission to write a letter home, editorial etc that reflects on the peace conference as a whole.

Assignments: so what do I do, exactly?

Part of this simulation rests on group presentations in class time. Your individual mark, however, is based primarily on your individual writing, posted to the online forum on Teams, and written from the perspective of your character. Don't write "Woodrow Wilson believed..." Write as if you are Woodrow Wilson.

During this simulation, your character should submit at least two short written assignments of about 500-800 words.

Individual writing may be in any of the following formats. You may choose to use only one format for both/all your individual writing, or you may

choose to show breadth by using more than one format. It's up to you and your own comfort zone. You should post your writing in the online forum, either in the appropriate public forum or in a more private forum that others cannot read. Think of these writings as supplements to what you say in class orally: they can be used to persuade or to show your knowledge of your character and the issues.

- *Press release.* You may post a press release that reports on some aspect of your own individual/group's goals. For instance, Ho Chi Minh of Vietnam (not represented in this simulation) might write a press release about the failure of France to live up to its ideals of liberty in its Vietnam colony. Press releases go to the international media reporting from Paris, and will be judged based on how interesting and persuasive they are to that audience. Post to: press releases online forum.
- *Editorial opinion article.* You may write an editorial designed to persuade the reader of your opinion, for submission to a newspaper of your choice. This may be a major international newspaper such as the New York Times or Le Monde of Paris, or it may be a newspaper in your home country or another local newspaper in another country, such as the *Montreal Star* in Canada or the *Choson Ilbo* in Korea. Editorials will be judged based on the quality of writing and how well they would appeal to and persuade that newspaper's readers. Post to: editorials online forum.
- *Report to home government.* You may write a diplomatic report to your government at home, reporting on your progress in achieving goals or on the course of the conference as a whole or of one key issue as a whole. These reports should be written as diplomatic cables and will be judged based on how accurate they are and how well they display your talents to your government at home. Post to: your group's private online forum.
- *Speech.* You may opt to write a speech for an audience in Paris of your choice. For instance, Ho Chi Minh might wish to speak to a group of French Communists, or a group of Vietnamese exiles in Paris, or another group. Speeches will be judged based on how well they persuade listeners to agree with the speaker's case. Post to: speeches online forum.

Examples of all types of assignment appear below.

Assessment: so how are we being marked?

Again, you are being asked to write at least two individual writing assignments, and one or two additional pieces if you wish. Not all group members will receive the same mark. A holistic mark will be assigned to each student, taking into account a number of factors. First and most important is your individual writing. You will also be marked based on consideration of your group's participation in debate in class and online and on your own contribution to group work, based on online posts and rubrics submitted by other group members. The rubric appears below.

Group self and peer assessment rubric

Student Name: _____

CATEGORY	Advanced	Proficient	Basic	Unsatisfactory
Attend and take part in discussion and planning for group's written proposal and presentation	Attended all group meetings and participated actively	Attended most meetings and took active part in discussion	Attended sometimes and participated occasionally	Did not participate in group work
Generate ideas for written submission and participate in writing group proposal	Took active part in researching and coming up with ideas; actively collaborated in writing the group proposal	Took part in researching and coming up with ideas; helped with writing the group proposal	Participated in discussion of ideas with little or no input into writing the group proposal	Did not generate ideas or make any contribution to writing the group proposal
Take on and carry out tasks for the group	Volunteered to do tasks and completed them in time to allow others to do their own tasks	Volunteered for at least one task and completed it in a timely fashion	Assisted in the group's overall work but with minimal individual effort	Did not do any tasks for the group
Understand key themes in 1919 peace process	By the end of the simulation, displayed a clear understanding and able to apply to concrete issues	By the end of the simulation, displayed a clear understanding and some ability to apply ideas to concrete issues	By the end of the simulation, able to show some limited understanding	By the end of the simulation, showed little or no understanding of the issues

Sample media report

Wilson's League of Nations proposal debated in Paris

Special to the Sherbrooke Daily Record, from our special correspondent in Paris

The proposal to form a "League of Nations" will lead off debate at the Paris Peace Conference.

The idea for a League is to replace the former informal diplomacy with a structured system. In essence, governments will meet in permanent session to discuss the great issues of the day, with all diplomacy out in the open and decisions made in League deliberations, not by great powers meeting in secret or by alliances. Still more, decisions would not be taken on the battlefield. Instead, the League would get involved before international disputes led to war.

The League of the brainchild of American president Woodrow Wilson, and the prestige of the American Republic and of its leaders has led to the League being first up on the agenda. Some see it as a meaningless trinket to please the gentlemen from Washington, and put their faith in armed power. These are thought to include the delegations of France, Italy and the other great powers.

In an open letter to the American people, President Wilson said the League delivered the "promise of continued peace" and that the American delegation would therefore push hard in Paris for a League to be established. At the same time, it looks as if America will seek to hold the steering wheel of the League in its own hands and those of a few close associates: the president referred to a "natural hierarchy that is present in the world today" and implied that there would be a louder voice for some countries than others - as is the case at the peace table itself, where the great powers have more votes than the smaller powers.

There may be choppy waters ahead for the League ship, however. In a speech delivered as he was about to depart for Paris, Italian foreign minister Sidney Sonnino made it clear that Italy expects its share of the spoils. Italy joined the war, he explained, in return for promises of more territory to be taken from the wreckage of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. There was no talk of Wilsonian self-

determination of nations: Italy expected what Italy was promised. If the people of those territories spoke Serbo-Croatian or German, no matter. Treaty commitments bound the allies to deliver those lands to Italy, or at least that Italy should gain new lands as its share for helping win the war.

Nor was there any talk from Baron Sonnino of Wilsonian "open covenants, openly arrived at." Instead, there were secret deals. "The alliances we have made are confidential and therefore, I will not be mentioning them," he said in his speech.

Informed observers believe that many of the Europeans present will share this viewpoint. American idealism may have met its limits in Paris - the old diplomacy has life, yet. How much life will be seen in the debate over the League of Nations, item one on the Paris agenda.

Sample editorial

El Pais

The need for a League of All Nations

By Salvador de Mariaga

The Great War cost the lives of millions, devastated countries throughout Europe and beyond, showed the hollowness of Europe's claims to be the heart of civilization. Our continent tore itself asunder, and only a few countries manage dot stay untouched.

My own country, Spain, was one of those fortunate few, not sucked into the maw of warfare. Therefore, it has been left unrepresented at Paris. That's right and proper, some would say: Spain did not fight the war and therefore has no place in making the peace.

Perhaps. Under all the rules of diplomacy and warfare, it's true enough to say Spain should not be there. Nor should the Netherlands, Sweden, Russia, all the others with no seats at the table.

It's the old rules of diplomacy and warfare, on the other hand, which plunged Europe into such a terrible war. Then, all the rules of war were broken. Total war, with civilians affected as much as soldiers, with the whole world involved, with terrible chemical weapons and terrible suffering.

The old diplomacy is also responsible for the war. Austria demanded concessions of Serbia, which Serbia refused. So Austria planned to attack it. Then Serbia's ally Russia declared war on Austria. And to Austria's defence sprung Germany, it ally. This triggered Russia's alliance with France, and then with Britain. War was spread across all Europe.

Each of those great powers behaved entirely properly, according to the traditional rules of diplomacy. They honoured their promises and their alliances. The result? Millions dead, economies devastated, a world whose hopes are crushed into the mud of Flanders trenches.

We need new rules of diplomacy.

We need the League of Nations.

This League is an American proposal, but it belongs to all mankind. It offers a new way of doing things, a new promise of peace. No more alliances leading us into war.

Instead: the council of mankind gathered in permanent session, deciding on rights and wrongs.

This council of mankind can't be the property of the great powers alone. Not even of the Allied and Associated powers alone. It must be for all men of all nations.

I write not to press Spain's claims, but to press the claims for a universal League, with membership for all countries. Spain was neutral in the war, but Spain has much to offer the world. Spanish civilization has spanned the globe. The Spanish language is spoken on more than one continent. In discovery, in invention, Spain has done much. Spain is a large country, with many contributions to make to building a better world.

The same can be said of the Netherlands, of Russia, of many others who are not at the peace table. The League will be weaker without these voices. Neutrality in the war cannot mean exclusion from the League.

Another point: the League must work to disarm all. A terrible arms race made the Great War so much more devastating. The new technologies of death multiplied the suffering. The new world that is being built in Paris needs to be a peaceful world. That will mean that all governments must work towards phased multilateral reduction of arms. When no government trusts its neighbours, only a common authority can encourage the growth of trust and friendship across borders. The League can be that common authority, pushing all countries to disarm. In other words, the League must be strong, not the helpless plaything of great powers.

The work of Paris is more than forging a peace treaty. It is about forging a peace that will last. That peace needs a League in which all countries are members, and a League that will require all its members to reduce their armaments. Then security will mean not the individual security of each government, but the collective security of all mankind.

Sample press release

Irish demand their freedom

PARIS - The Paris peace conference must pay attention to all of Europe's subject peoples - not just those in Austria-Hungary and Russia.

"Self-determination isn't a word that can only be spoken in Czech or Polish," said Sean T O'Ceallaigh, one of the Irish delegates in Paris to petition for the independence of Ireland. "It can also be spoken in English."

In a letter to delegates to the Paris peace conference, O'Ceallaigh called for Ireland to receive the same consideration as countries now gaining their freedom in Eastern and Central Europe.

"If President Wilson's call for self-determination is to mean anything, if French talk of liberty is to mean anything, if the British commitments to justice are to mean anything, then the rights of colonized peoples in Asia and Africa must be given attention," he said. "Anything less is an injustice and a betrayal."

O'Ceallaigh added that the so-called "United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland" had no mandate to speak for the Irish people. "Ireland has a long and glorious history," he said. "Our freedom was stolen from us by the English. Now is the time to end that injustice, and restore Ireland's independence."

History shows Ireland to have a longstanding claim to be an independent nation. Like the Czechs, the Poles, the Croats and others, the Irish were placed under the foreign rule of a foreign empire. This justifies their claim to independence. So does the ethnicity of the people of Ireland - the original inhabitants are Irish, Catholic, and distinct from the English and Scots.

"We're not part of any United Kingdom," said O'Ceallaigh. "We never consented. We're part of an empire that should be laid to rest, just as the Austro-Hungarian empire is being laid to rest. Ireland must have its independence restored, as a democratic Republic based on the consent of the Irish people. The days of empires are done. Now is the time for the world to take the next step for democracy, and recognize the freedom of all nations - no matter whether their foreign ruler was on the winning side or the losing side in the Great War."

Ireland's claims are strengthened, the delegation said, by the atrocious misgovernment imposed on the emerald isle by the English. These include famines created by government policy, bars to advancement on the grounds of religion - anti-Catholic laws are meant to oppress the Irish people - and a systematic campaign to depopulate Ireland in favour of British settlers and absentee landowners.

Britain, therefore, has no right to sign any peace treaty on behalf of Ireland, the Irish delegation asserts. England claims it needs Ireland to protect its national security. "There is no truth in this claim," said O'Ceallaigh. "Ireland has never threatened the peace and security of England. It is the English who have crossed the Irish Sea to colonize and conquer and oppress. It is the English who used Ireland to launch campaigns of conquest overseas. The Irish people have always been peaceful, always democratic."

"It's time," he concluded, "that the world recognize the justice of Ireland's claims and force England to recognize Irish freedom."

The documents

Most of the historical personalities named here are described in online sources. The assigned chapter of *Paris 1919* describes the general situation as the Paris peace conference convened. Later chapters describe the issues seen from the viewpoint of most participant countries.

The source documents that follow are for reference and possible citation. You do not need to read them all, but you may refer to them if you wish. They open with US President Woodrow Wilson's "14 Points" speech (Document 1) and reactions from Germany (Document 3) and the Allied powers (Document 4), as well as a statement of British war aims by Prime Minister David Lloyd George (Document 2). Vladimir Lenin's "Declaration on Peace" (Document 5) lays out the foreign policy of the new Soviet Union, established late in 1917, including the hope to export revolution. A more liberal declaration is that of Czecho-Slovak independence, issued in Paris near the war's end (Document 6).

The opening address by French leader Raymond Poincaré (Document 7) lays out French hopes for a settlement that will prevent Germany from attacking again. The documents end with two that foreshadow problems of the peace: German military leader Erich Ludendorff's attack on the new Weimar Republic (Document 8) claims that the army was betrayed by civilian leaders (the "stab in the back" theory) while a moderate claim for rights issued by Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh (Document 9) raises issues of how history might have gone differently had anti-colonial delegations been welcomed and heeded in Paris.

Document 1

President Wilson's Fourteen Points

Delivered in Joint Session of Congress, January 8, 1918

Gentlemen of the Congress:

Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible basis of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between Russian representatives and representatives of the Central Powers to which the attention of all the belligerents have been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement.

The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace but also an equally definite program of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of practical terms was added. That program proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the populations with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Empires were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied -- every province, every city, every point of vantage -- as a permanent addition to their territories and their power.

It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement which they at first suggested originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own people's thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They cannot entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significances. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war?

The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within

open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired. To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the resolutions of the German Reichstag of the 9th of July last, the spirit and intention of the Liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

But, whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Empires, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definite terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them. Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and Government of Great Britain.

There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her allies. The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of Society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but hopeless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe.

They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond, with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secure once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and particularly that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest, and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others it will not be done to us. The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations

concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which

should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the Imperialists. We cannot be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end. For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world, -- the new world in which we now live, -- instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak.

Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything they possess. The moral climax of this the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

Document 2

Prime Minister Lloyd George on the British War Aims

British War Aims

Statement by the Right Honourable

David Lloyd George

January Fifth, Nineteen Hundred and Eighteen

Authorized Version as published by the British Government

New York: George H. Doran Company

When the Government," said Lloyd George, "invite organized labor in this country to assist them to maintain the might of their armies in the field, its representatives are entitled to ask that any misgivings and doubts which any of them may have about the purpose to which this precious strength is to be applied should be definitely cleared, and what is true of organized labour is equally true of all citizens in this country, without regard to grade or avocation. "When men by the million are being called upon to suffer and die, and vast populations are being subjected to the sufferings and privations of war on a scale unprecedented in the history of the world, they are entitled to know for what cause or causes they are making the sacrifice. It is only the clearest, greatest and justest of causes that can justify the continuance even for one day of this unspeakable agony of the nations, and we ought to be able to state clearly and definitely, not only the principles for which we are fighting, but also their definite and concrete application to the war map of the world.

"We have arrived at the most critical hour in this terrible conflict, and before any government takes the fateful decision as to the conditions under which it ought either to terminate or continue the struggle, it ought to be satisfied that the conscience of the nation is behind these conditions, for nothing else can sustain the effort which is necessary to achieve a righteous end to this war.

"I have, therefore, during the last few days taken special pains to ascertain the view and the attitude of representative men of all sections of thought and opinion in the country. Last week I had the privilege, not merely of perusing the Declared War Aims of the Labour Party, but also of discussing in detail with the labour leaders the meaning and intention of that declaration. I have also had an opportunity of discussing this same momentous question with Mr. Asquith and Viscount Grey. Had it not been that the Nationalist leaders are in Ireland engaged in endeavoring to solve the tangled problem of Irish self-government, I should have been happy to exchange views with them, but Mr. Redmond, speaking on their behalf, has, with his usual lucidity and force,

in many of his speeches, made clear what his ideas are as to the object and purpose of the war.

"I have also had the opportunity of consulting certain representatives of the great dominions overseas.

"I am glad to be able to say, as a result of all these discussions, that, although the Government are alone responsible for the actual language I propose using, there is national agreement as to the character and purpose of our war aims and peace conditions, and in what I say to you to-day, and through you to the world, I can venture to claim that I am speaking, not merely the mind of the Government, but of the nation and of the empire as a whole.

"We may begin by clearing away some misunderstandings and stating what we are not fighting for. We are not fighting a war of aggression against the German people. Their leaders have persuaded them that they are fighting a war of self-defence against a league of rival nations bent on the destruction of Germany. That is not so. The destruction or disruption of Germany or the German people has never been a war aim with us from the first day of this war to this day. Most reluctantly, and indeed quite unprepared for the dreadful ordeal, we were forced to join in this war in self-defence. In defence of the violated public law of Europe, and in vindication of the most solemn treaty obligation on which the public system of Europe rested, and on which Germany had ruthlessly trampled in her invasion of Belgium, we had to join in the struggle or stand aside and see Europe go under and brute force triumph over public right and international justice. It was only the realization of that dreadful alternative that forced the British people into the war.

"And from that original attitude they have never swerved. They have never aimed at the break-up of the German peoples or the disintegration of their state or country. Germany has occupied a great position in the world. It is not our wish or intention to question or destroy that position for the future, but rather to turn her aside from hopes and schemes of military domination, and to see her devote all her strength to the great beneficent tasks of the world. Nor are we fighting to destroy Austria-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital, or of the rich and renowned lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominantly Turkish in race.

"Nor did we enter this war merely to alter or destroy the imperial constitution of Germany, much as we consider that military, autocratic constitution a dangerous anachronism in the Twentieth Century. Our point of view is that the adoption of a really democratic constitution by Germany would be the most convincing evidence that in her the old spirit of military domination had indeed died in this war, and would make it much easier for us to conclude a broad democratic peace with her. But, after all, that is a question for the German people to decide.

"It is now more than a year since the President of the United States, then neutral, addressed to the belligerents a suggestion that each side should state clearly the aims for which they were fighting. We and our allies responded by the note of the tenth of January, 1917.

"To the President's appeal the Central Empires made no reply, and in spite of many adjurations from their opponents and from neutrals, they have maintained a complete silence as to the objects for which they are fighting. Even on so crucial a matter as their intentions with regard to Belgium, they have uniformly declined to give any trustworthy indication.

"On the twenty-fifth of December last, however, Count Czernin, speaking on behalf of Austria-Hungary and her Allies, did make a pronouncement of a kind. It is, indeed, deplorably vague. We are told that it is not the intention of the Central Powers to appropriate forcibly any occupied territories or to rob of its independence any nation which has lost its political independence during the war. It is obvious that almost any scheme of conquest and annexation could be perpetrated within the literal interpretation of such a pledge.

"Does it mean that Belgium, and Serbia, Monte-negro and Roumania will be as independent and as free to direct their own destinies as the German or any other nation? Or does it mean that all manner of interferences and restrictions, political and economic, incompatible with the status and dignity of a free and self-respecting people, are to be imposed? If this is the intention then there will be one kind of independence for a great nation and an inferior kind of independence for a small nation. We must know what is meant for equality of right among nations, small as well as great, is one of the fundamental issues this country and her Allies are fighting to establish in this war. Reparation for the wanton damage inflicted on Belgian towns and villages and their inhabitants is emphatically repudiated.

"The rest of the so-called 'offer' of the Central Powers is almost entirely a refusal of all concessions. All suggestions about the autonomy of subject nationalities are ruled out of the peace terms altogether. The question whether any form of self-government is to be given to Arabs, Armenians or Syrians is declared to be entirely a matter for the Sublime Porte. A pious wish for the protection of minorities 'in so far as it is practically realizable' is the nearest approach to liberty which the Central statesmen venture to make.

"On one point only are they perfectly clear and definite. Under no circumstances will the 'German demand' for the restoration of the whole of Germany's colonies be departed from. All principles of self-determination or, as our earlier phrase goes, government by consent of the governed, here vanish into thin air.

"It is impossible to believe that any edifice of permanent peace could be erected on such a foundation as this. Mere lip-service to the formula of no

annexations and no indemnities or the right of self determination is useless. Before any negotiations can even be begun, the Central Powers must realize the essential facts of the situation.

"The days of the Treaty of Vienna are long past. We can no longer submit the future of European civilization to the arbitrary decisions of a few negotiators striving to secure by chicanery or persuasion the interests of this or that dynasty or nation. The settlement of the new Europe must be based on such grounds of reason and justice as will give some promise of stability. Therefore, it is that we feel that government with the consent of the governed must be the basis of any territorial settlement in this war. For that reason also, unless treaties be upheld, unless every nation is prepared at whatever sacrifice to honour the national signature, it is obvious that no treaty of peace can be worth the paper on which it is written.

"The first requirement, therefore, always put forward by the British Government and their Allies, has been the complete restoration, political, territorial and economic, of the independence of Belgium, and such reparation as can be made for the devastation of its towns and provinces. This is no demand for war indemnity, such as that imposed on France by Germany in 1871. It is not an attempt to shift the cost of warlike operations from one belligerent to another, which may or may not be defensible. It is no more and no less than an insistence that, before there can be any hope for a stable peace, this great breach of the public law of Europe must be repudiated and, so far as possible, repaired. Reparation means recognition. Unless international right is recognized by insistence on payment for injury done in defiance of its canons it can never be a reality.

"Next comes the restoration of Serbia, Montenegro and the occupied parts of France, Italy and Roumania. The complete withdrawal of the alien armies and the reparation for injustice done is a fundamental condition of permanent peace.

"We mean to stand by the French Democracy to the death in the demand they make for a reconsideration of the great wrong of 1871, when, without any regard to the wishes of the population, two French provinces were torn from the side of France and incorporated in the German Empire. This sore has poisoned the peace of Europe for half a century and, until it is cured, healthy conditions will not have been restored. There can be no better illustration of the folly and wickedness of using a transient military success to violate national right.

"I will not attempt to deal with the question of the Russian territories now in German occupation. The Russian policy since the revolution has passed so rapidly through so many phases that it is difficult to speak without some suspension of judgment as to what the situation will be when the final terms of European peace come to be discussed. Russia accepted war with all its horrors because, true to her traditional guardianship of the weaker communities of her race, she stepped in to protect Serbia from a plot against

her independence. It is this honourable sacrifice which not merely brought Russia into the war, but France as well. France, true to the conditions of her treaty with Russia, stood by her ally in a quarrel which was not her own. Her chivalrous respect for her treaty led to the wanton invasion of Belgium; and the treaty obligation of Great Britain to that little land brought us into the war.

"The present rulers of Russia are now engaged without any reference to the countries whom Russia brought into the war, in separate negotiations with their common enemy. I am indulging in no reproaches; I am merely stating facts with a view to making it clear why Britain cannot be held accountable for decisions taken in her absence and concerning which she has not been consulted or had her aid invoked.

"No one who knows Prussia and her designs upon Russia can for a moment doubt her ultimate intention. Whatever phrases she may use to delude Russia, she does not mean to surrender one of the fair provinces or cities of Russia now occupied by her forces. Under one name and another -- and the name hardly matters -- these Russian provinces will henceforth be in reality part of the dominions of Prussia. They will be ruled by the Prussian sword in the interests of Prussian autocracy, and the rest of the people of Russia will be partly enticed by specious phrases and partly bullied by the threat of continued war against an impotent army into a condition of complete economic and ultimate political enslavement to Germany.

"We all deplore the prospect. The democracy of this country means to stand to the last by the democracies of France and Italy and all our other Allies. We shall be proud to fight to the end side by side with the new democracy of Russia, so will America and so will France and Italy. But if the present rulers of Russia take action which is independent of their Allies we have no means of intervening to arrest the catastrophe which is assuredly befalling their country. Russia can only be saved by her own people.

"We believe, however, that an independent Poland comprising all those genuinely Polish elements who desire to form part of it, is an urgent necessity for the stability of Western Europe.

"Similarly, though we agree with President Wilson that the break-up of Austria-Hungary is no part of our war aims, we feel that unless genuine self-government on true democratic principles is granted to those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have long desired it, it is impossible to hope for the removal of those causes of unrest in that part of Europe which have so long threatened its general peace.

"On the same grounds we regard as vital the satisfaction of the legitimate claims of the Italians for union with those of their own race and tongue. We also mean to press that justice be done to men of Roumanian blood and speech in their legitimate aspirations.

"If these conditions are fulfilled Austria-Hungary would become a power whose strength would conduce to the permanent peace and freedom of

Europe, instead of being merely an instrument to the pernicious military autocracy of Prussia, which uses the resources of its allies for the furtherance of its own sinister purposes.

"Outside Europe, we believe that the same principles should be applied. While we do not challenge the maintenance of the Turkish Empire in the homelands of the Turkish race with its capital at Constantinople, the passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea being internationalized and neutralized, Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine are in our judgment entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions. What the exact form of that recognition in each particular case should be need not here be discussed, beyond stating that it would be impossible to restore to their former sovereignty the territories to which I have already referred.

"Much has been said about the arrangements we have entered into with our Allies on this and on other subjects. I can only say that as new circumstances, like the Russian collapse and the separate Russian negotiations, have changed the conditions under which those arrangements were made, we are and always have been perfectly ready to discuss them with our Allies.

With regard to the German colonies, I have repeatedly declared that they are held at the disposal of a conference whose decision must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the native inhabitants of such colonies. None of those territories are inhabited by Europeans. The governing consideration, therefore, in all these cases must be that the inhabitants should be placed under the control of an administration, acceptable to themselves, one of whose main purposes will be to prevent their exploitation for the benefit of European capitalists or governments. The natives live in their various tribal organizations under chiefs and councils who are competent to consult and speak for their tribes and members and thus to represent their wishes and interests in regard to their disposal. The general principle of national self-determination is, therefore, as applicable in their cases as in those of occupied European territories.

"The German declaration that the natives of the German colonies have, through their military fidelity in the war, shown their attachment and resolve under all circumstances to remain with Germany is applicable not to the German colonies generally, but only to one of them, and in that case (German East Africa) the German authorities secured the attachment, not of the native population as a whole, which is and remains profoundly anti-German, but only of a small warlike class from whom their Askaris or soldiers were selected. These they attached to themselves by conferring on them a highly privileged position as against the bulk of the native population, which enabled these Askaris to assume a lordly and oppressive superiority over the rest of the natives. By this and other means they secured the attachment of a very small and insignificant minority, whose interests were

directly opposed to those of the rest of the population, and for whom they have no right to speak. The German treatment of their native populations in their colonies has been such as amply to justify their fear of submitting the future of those colonies to the wishes of the natives themselves.

"Finally, there must be reparation for injuries done in violation of international law. The Peace Conference must not forget our seamen and the services they have rendered to, and the outrages they have suffered for the common cause of freedom.

"One omission we notice in the proposal of the Central Powers, which seems to us especially regrettable. It is desirable and, indeed, essential, that the settlement after this war shall be one which does not in itself bear the seed of future war. But that is not enough. However wisely and well we may make territorial and other arrangements, there will still be many subjects of international controversy. Some, indeed, are inevitable.

"The economical conditions at the end of the war will be in the highest degree difficult. Owing to the diversion of human effort to warlike pursuits, there must follow a world-shortage of raw materials, which will increase the longer the war lasts, and it is inevitable that those countries which have control of the raw materials will desire to help themselves and their friends first.

"Apart from this, whatever settlement is made will be suitable only to the circumstances under which it is made and, as those circumstances change, changes in the settlement will be called for.

"So long as the possibility of dispute between nations continues—that is to say, so long as men and women are dominated by passion and ambition, and war is the only means of settling a dispute—all nations must live under the burden, not only of having from time to time to engage in it, but of being compelled to prepare for its possible outbreak. The crushing weight of modern armaments, the increasing evil of compulsory military service, the vast waste of wealth and effort involved in warlike preparation, these are blots on our civilization of which every thinking individual must be ashamed.

"For these and other similar reasons, we are confident that a great attempt must be made to establish by some international organization an alternative to war as a means of settling international disputes. After all, war is a relic of barbarism and, just as law has succeeded violence as the means of settling disputes between individuals, so we believe that it is destined ultimately to take the place of war in the settlement of controversies between nations.

"If, then, we are asked what we are fighting for, we reply as, we have often replied: we are fighting for a just and lasting peace, and we believe that before permanent peace can be hoped for three conditions must be fulfilled; firstly, the sanctity of treaties must be established; secondly, a territorial settlement must be secured, based on the right of self-determination or the consent of the governed, and, lastly, we must seek by the creation of some

international organization to limit the burden of armaments and diminish the probability of war.

"On these conditions the British Empire would welcome peace; to secure these conditions its peoples are prepared to make even greater sacrifices than those they have yet endured."

Document 3

German response to the 14 points

Summary of Count Hertling's Speech to the Reichstag, 24 January 1918.
Source Records of the Great War, Vol. VI.

(1) The negotiations at Brest-Litovsk prove "that we are quite ready to accept this proposal [President Wilson's first point, on no secret international agreements] and declare publicity of negotiations to be a general political principle."

(2) There is "no difference of opinion" with Mr. Wilson in respect to his second point, on freedom of the seas; but to realize this it would be well if the fortifications at Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Hong-Kong, and other places should be removed.

(3) The Central Powers are "in thorough accord with the removal of economic barriers which interfere with trade in a superfluous manner" and "condemn economic war."

(4) "The idea of limitation of armaments is entirely discussable."

(5) As to colonies, "Mr. Wilson's principles will encounter some difficulties in the realm of reality," but the "reconstitution of the world's colonial possessions" will "have to be discussed in due time."

(6) In respect to evacuation of Russian territory, "we are dealing with questions which concern only Russia and the four allied [Central] Powers."

(7) "The Belgian question belongs to those questions the details of which are to be settled by war and peace negotiations (*Kriegs und Friedensverhandlungen*)."

(8) "The integrity of our territory [including Alsace] offers the only possible basis of peace discussion. The occupied parts of France are a valuable pawn in our hands; forcible annexation forms no part of the official German policy."

(9 to 12) Mr. Wilson's points 9 to 12 touch chiefly Austria and Turkey.

(13) "It may be left to Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Poland to come to an agreement on the future constitution" of Poland.

(14) The German Government "is gladly ready, when all other pending questions have been settled, to begin the examination of the basis of... a bond of nations."

Document 4

Allied powers conditional acceptance of the 14 Points

A statement of the Allied Governments after the German Government had indicated its willingness to consider signing an Armistice based on President Wilson's 'Fourteen Points', dated 5 November, 1918

Foreign Relations of the United States, Washington, D.C., 1918, Supplement, I, 468-69.

The Allied Governments have given careful consideration to the correspondence which has passed between the President of the United States and the German Government. Subject to the qualifications which follow they declare their willingness to make peace with the Government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses. They must point out, however, that clause 2, relating to what is usually described as the freedom of the seas, is open to various interpretations, some of which they could not accept. They must, therefore, reserve to themselves complete freedom on this subject when they enter the peace conference. Further, in the conditions of peace laid down in his address to Congress of January 8, 1918, the President declared that invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated and freed, the Allies feel that no doubt ought to be allowed to exist as to what this provision implies. By it they understand that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea and from the air.

Document 5

Lenin's Decree on Peace

Delivered at Second All-Russia Congress of Soviets of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, 26 October 1917 and published by *Izvestiia*, 27 October 1917.

The Workers' and Peasants' Government, created by the revolution of October 24-25, and drawing its strength from the Soviets of Workers', Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies, proposes to all warring peoples and their governments to begin at once negotiations leading to a just democratic peace.

A just and democratic peace for which the great majority of wearied, tormented and war-exhausted toilers and labouring classes of all belligerent countries are thirsting, a peace which the Russian workers and peasants have so loudly and insistently demanded since the overthrow of the Tsar's monarchy, such a peace the government considers to be an immediate peace without annexations (i.e., without the seizure of foreign territory and the forcible annexation of foreign nationalities) and without indemnities.

The Russian Government proposes to all warring peoples that this kind of peace be concluded at once; it also expresses its readiness to take immediately, without the least delay, all decisive steps pending the final confirmation of all the terms of such a peace by the plenipotentiary assemblies of all countries and all nations.

By annexation or seizure of foreign territory the government, in accordance with the legal concepts of democracy in general and of the working class in particular, understands any incorporation of a small and weak nationality by a large and powerful state without a clear, definite and voluntary expression of agreement and desire by the weak nationality, regardless of the time when such forcible incorporation took place, regardless also of how developed or how backward is the nation forcibly attached or forcibly detained within the frontiers of the [larger] state, and, finally, regardless of whether or not this large nation is located in Europe or in distant lands beyond the seas.

If any nation whatsoever is detained by force within the boundaries of a certain state, and if [that nation], contrary to its expressed desire whether such desire is made manifest in the press, national assemblies, party relations, or in protests and uprisings against national oppression, is not given the right to determine the form of its state life by free voting and completely free from the presence of the troops of the annexing or stronger state and without the least desire, then the dominance of that nation by the stronger state is annexation, i.e., seizure by force and violence.

The government considers that to continue this war simply to decide how to divide the weak nationalities among the powerful and rich nations which had seized them would be the greatest crime against humanity, and it solemnly announces its readiness to sign at once the terms of peace which will end this war on the indicated conditions, equally just for all nationalities without exception.

At the same time the government declares that it does not regard the conditions of peace mentioned above as an ultimatum; that is, it is ready to consider any other conditions, insisting, however, that such be proposed by any of the belligerents as soon as possible, and that they be expressed in the clearest terms, without ambiguity or secrecy.

The government abolishes secret diplomacy, expressing, for its part, the firm determination to carry on all negotiations absolutely openly and in view of all the people. It will proceed at once to publish all secret treaties

ratified or concluded by the government of landlords and capitalists from March to November 7, 1917.

All the provisions of these secret treaties, in so far as they have for their object the securing of benefits and privileges to the Russian landlords and capitalists - which was true in a majority of cases - and retaining or increasing the annexation by the Great Russians, the government declares absolutely and immediately annulled.

While addressing to the governments and peoples of all countries the proposal to begin at once open peace negotiations, the government, for its part, expresses its readiness to carry on these negotiations by written communications, by telegraph by parleys of the representatives of different countries, or at a conference of such representatives.

To facilitate such negotiations the government appoints its plenipotentiary representative to neutral countries. The government proposes to all governments and peoples of all belligerent countries to conclude an armistice at once; at the same time it considers it desirable that this armistice should be concluded for a period of not less than three months - that is, a period during which it would be entirely possible to complete the negotiations for peace with the participation of representatives of all peoples and nationalities which were drawn into the war or forced to take part in it, as well as to call the plenipotentiary assemblies of people's representatives in every country for the final ratification of the peace terms.

In making these peace proposals to the government and peoples of all warring countries, the Provisional Government of Workers and Peasants of Russia appeals particularly to the class-conscious workers of the three most advanced nations of mankind, who are also the largest states participating in the present war - England, France and Germany.

The workers of these countries have rendered the greatest possible service to the cause of progress and socialism by the great example of the Chartist movement in England, several revolutions of universal historic significance accomplished by the French proletariat, and, finally, the heroic struggle against the Law of Exceptions in Germany, a struggle which was prolonged, dogged and disciplined, which could be held up as an example for the workers of the whole world, and which aimed at the creation of proletarian mass organisations in Germany.

All these examples of proletarian heroism and historic achievement serve us as a guarantee that the workers of these three countries will understand the tasks which lie before them by way of liberating humanity from the horrors of war and its consequences, and that by their resolute, unselfishly energetic efforts in various directions these workers will help us to bring to a successful end the cause of peace, and, together with this, the cause of the liberation of the toiling and exploited masses from all forms of slavery and all exploitation.

The Workers' and Peasants' Government created by the revolution of November 6-7 and drawing its strength from the Soviets of Workers, Soldiers', and Peasants' Deputies must begin peace negotiations at once. Our appeal must be directed to the governments as well as to the peoples.

We cannot ignore the governments, because this would delay the conclusion of peace, a thing which a people's government does not dare to do but at the same time we have no right not to appeal to the peoples. Everywhere governments and peoples are at arm's length; we must, therefore, help the peoples to take a hand in [settling] the question of peace and war.

We shall of course stand by our programme of peace without annexations and without indemnities. We shall not relinquish [that programme], but we must deprive our enemies of the possibility of saying that their conditions are different and that they do not wish, therefore, to enter into negotiations with us. No, we must dislodge them from that advantageous position by not presenting them our conditions in the form of an ultimatum.

For this reason we have included a statement to the effect that we are ready to consider any condition of peace, in fact, every proposal. Consideration, of course, does not necessarily mean acceptance. We shall submit [the proposals] for consideration to the Constituent Assembly, which will then decide, officially, what can and what cannot be granted.

We have to fight against the hypocrisy of the governments, which, while talking about peace and justice, actually carry on wars of conquest and plunder. Not one single government will tell you what it really means. But we are opposed to secret diplomacy and can afford to act openly before all people. We do not now close nor have we ever closed our eyes to the difficulties.

Wars cannot be ended by a refusal [to fight] ; they cannot be ended by one side alone. We are proposing an armistice for three months - though we are not rejecting a shorter period - so that this will give the suffering army at least a breathing spell and will make possible the calling of popular meetings in all civilised countries to discuss the conditions [of peace].

Document 6

Declaration of Czecho-Slovak Independence

Declaration of Czecho-Slovak Independence by the Provisional Government in Paris, 18 October 1918. *Source Records of the Great War, Vol. VII*

At this grave moment, when the Hohenzollerns are offering peace in order to stop the victorious advance of the allied armies and to prevent the dismemberment of Austria-Hungary and Turkey, and when the Hapsburgs are promising the federalization of the Empire and autonomy to the dissatisfied nationalities committed to their rule we, the Czecho-Slovak National Council, recognized by the allied and American Governments as the Provisional Government of the Czecho-Slovak State and nation, in complete accord with the declaration of the Czech deputies made in Prague on January 6, 1918, and realizing that federalization and, still more, autonomy, means nothing under a Hapsburg dynasty, do hereby make and declare this our declaration of independence.

We do this because of our belief that no people should be forced to live under a sovereignty they do not recognize and because of our knowledge and firm conviction that our nation cannot freely develop in a Hapsburg mock federation, which is only a new form of denationalizing oppression under which we have suffered for the past 300 years.

We consider freedom to be the first prerequisite for federalization, and believe that the free nations of central and eastern Europe may easily federate should they find it necessary.

We make this declaration on the basis of our historic and natural right. We have been an independent State since the seventh century, and in 1526, as an independent State, consisting of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, we joined with Austria and Hungary in a defensive union against the Turkish danger.

We have never voluntarily surrendered our rights as an independent State in this confederation. The Hapsburgs broke their compact with our nation by illegally transgressing our rights and violating the constitution of our State, which they had pledged themselves to uphold, and we therefore refuse longer to remain a part of Austria-Hungary in any form.

We claim the right of Bohemia to be reunited with her Slovak brethren of Slovakia, once a part of our national State, later torn from our national body, and fifty years ago incorporated in the Hungarian State of the Magyars, who, by their unspeakable violence and ruthless oppression of their subject races, have lost all moral and human right to rule anybody but themselves.

The world knows the history of our struggle against the Hapsburg oppression, intensified and systematized by the Austro-Hungarian dualistic compromise of 1867. This dualism is only a shameless organization of brute

force and exploitation of the majority by the minority; it is a political conspiracy of the Germans and Magyars against our own as well as the other Slav and the Latin nations of the monarchy.

The world knows the justice of our claims, which the Hapsburgs themselves dared not deny. Francis Joseph in the most solemn manner repeatedly recognized the sovereign rights of our nation. The Germans and Magyars opposed this recognition, and Austria-Hungary, bowing before the Pan-Germans, became a colony of Germany and, as her vanguard to the East, provoked the last Balkan conflict, as well as the present world war, which was begun by the Hapsburgs alone without the consent of the representatives of the people.

We cannot and will not continue to live under the direct or indirect rule of the violators of Belgium, France, and Serbia, the would-be murderers of Russia and Rumania, the murderers of tens of thousands of civilians and soldiers of our blood, and the accomplices in numberless unspeakable crimes committed in this war against humanity by the two degenerate and irresponsible dynasties.

We will not remain a part of a State which has no justification for existence and which, refusing to accept the fundamental principles of modern world-organization, remains only an artificial and immoral political structure, hindering every movement toward democratic and social progress. The Hapsburg dynasty, weighed down by a huge inheritance of error and crime, is a perpetual menace to the peace of the world, and we deem it our duty toward humanity and civilization to aid in bringing about its downfall and destruction.

We reject the sacrilegious assertion that the power of the Hapsburg and Hohenzollern dynasties is of divine origin; we refuse to recognize the divine right of kings. Our nation elected the Hapsburgs to the throne of Bohemia of its own free will and by the same right deposes them.

We hereby declare the Hapsburg dynasty unworthy of leading our nation, and deny all of their claims to rule in the Czecho-Slovak Land, which we here and now declare shall henceforth be a free and independent people and nation.

We accept and shall adhere to the ideals of modern democracy, as they have been the ideals of our nation for centuries. We accept the American principles as laid down by President Wilson; the principles of liberated mankind - of the actual equality of nations - and of governments deriving all their just power from the consent of the governed.

We, the nation of Comenius, cannot but accept these principles expressed in the American Declaration of Independence, the principles of Lincoln, and of the declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen. For these principles our nation shed its blood in the memorable Hussite Wars 500 years ago; for these same principles, beside her allies, our nation is shedding its blood today in Russia, Italy, and France.

We shall outline only the main principles of the Constitution of the Czecho-Slovak Nation: the final decision as to the constitution itself falls to the legally-chosen representatives of the liberated and united people.

The Czecho-Slovak State shall be a republic. In constant endeavour for progress it will guarantee complete freedom of conscience, religion and science, literature and art, speech, the press, and the right of assembly and petition.

The Church shall be separated from the State. Our democracy shall rest on universal suffrage; women shall be placed on an equal footing with men, politically, socially, and culturally. The rights of the minority shall be safeguarded by proportional representation; national minorities shall enjoy equal rights. The government shall be parliamentary in form and shall recognize the principles of initiative and referendum. The standing army will be replaced by militia.

The Czecho-Slovak Nation will carry out far-reaching social and economic reforms; the large estates will be re-deemed for home colonization; patents of nobility will be abolished. Our nation will assume its part of the Austro-Hungarian pre-war public debt; the debts of this war we leave to those who incurred them.

In its foreign policy the Czecho-Slovak Nation will accept its full share of responsibility in the reorganization of eastern Europe. It accepts fully the democratic and social principle of nationality and subscribes to the doctrine that all covenants and treaties shall be entered into openly and frankly without secret diplomacy.

Our constitution shall provide an efficient, rational, and just government, which will exclude all special privileges and prohibit class legislation.

Democracy has defeated theocratic autocracy. Militarism is overcome - democracy is victorious; on the basis of democracy mankind will be recognized.

The forces of darkness have served the victory of light - the longed-for age of humanity is dawning.

We believe in democracy - we believe in liberty - and liberty evermore.

Given in Paris, on the eighteenth of October, 1918.

Professor Thomas G. Masaryk, Prime Minister and Minister of Finance.

General Dr. Milan R. Stefanik, Minister of National Defence.

Dr. Edward Benes, Minister of Foreign Affairs and of Interior.

Document 7

France and the peace conference

Raymond Poincaré's Welcoming Address, Paris, 18 January 1919. *Source Records of the Great War, Vol. VII*

Gentlemen:

France greets and welcomes you and thanks you for having unanimously chosen as the seat of your labours the city which, for over four years, the enemy has made his principal military objective and which the valour of the Allied armies has victoriously defended against unceasingly renewed offensives.

Allow me to see in your decision the homage of all the nations that you represent towards a country which, still more than any others, has endured the sufferings of war, of which entire provinces, transformed into vast battlefields, have been systematically wasted by the invader, and which has paid the heaviest tribute to death.

France has borne these enormous sacrifices without having incurred the slightest responsibility for the frightful cataclysm which has overwhelmed the universe, and at the moment when this cycle of horror is ending, all the Powers whose delegates are assembled here may acquit themselves of any share in the crime which has resulted in so unprecedented a disaster.

What gives you authority to establish a peace of justice is the fact that none of the peoples of whom you are the delegates has had any part in injustice. Humanity can place confidence in you because you are not among those who have outraged the rights of humanity.

There is no need of further information or for special inquiries into the origin of the drama which has just shaken the world. The truth, bathed in blood, has already escaped from the Imperial archives. The premeditated character of the trap is today clearly proved.

In the hope of conquering, first, the hegemony of Europe and next the mastery of the world, the Central Empires, bound together by a secret plot, found the most abominable pretexts for trying to crush Serbia and force their way to the East. At the same time they disowned the most solemn undertakings in order to crush Belgium and force their way into the heart of France.

These are the two unforgettable outrages which opened the way to aggression. The combined efforts of Great Britain, France, and Russia broke themselves against that mad arrogance.

If, after long vicissitudes, those who wished to reign by the sword have perished by the sword, they have but themselves to blame; they have been destroyed by their own blindness. What could be more significant than the

shameful bargains they attempted to offer to Great Britain and France at the end of July 1914, when to Great Britain they suggested: "Allow us to attack France on land and we will not enter the Channel"; and when they instructed their Ambassador to say to France: "We will only accept a declaration of neutrality on your part if you surrender to us Briey, Toul, and Verdun"?

It is in the light of these memories, gentlemen, that all the conclusions you will have to draw from the war will take shape.

Your nations entered the war successively, but came, one and all, to the help of threatened right. Like Germany, Great Britain and France had guaranteed the independence of Belgium.

Germany sought to crush Belgium. Great Britain and France both swore to save her. Thus, from the very beginning of hostilities, came into conflict the two ideas which for fifty months were to struggle for the dominion of the world - the idea of sovereign force, which accepts neither control nor check, and the idea of justice, which depends on the sword only to prevent or repress the abuse of strength.

Faithfully supported by her Dominions and Colonies, Great Britain decided that she could not remain aloof from a struggle in which the fate of every country was involved. She has made, and her Dominions and Colonies have made with her, prodigious efforts to prevent the war from ending in the triumph of the spirit of conquest and the destruction of right.

Japan, in her turn, only decided to take up arms out of loyalty to Great Britain, her great Ally, and from the consciousness of the danger in which both Asia and Europe would have stood, for the hegemony of which the Germanic Empires had dreamt.

Italy, who from the first had refused to lend a helping hand to German ambition, rose against an age-long foe only to answer the call of oppressed populations and to destroy at the cost of her blood the artificial political combination which took no account of human liberty.

Rumania resolved to fight only to realize that national unity which was opposed by the same powers of arbitrary force. Abandoned, betrayed, and strangled, she had to submit to an abominable treaty, the revision of which you will exact.

Greece, whom the enemy for many months tried to turn from her traditions and destinies, raised an army only to escape attempts at domination, of which she felt the growing threat.

Portugal, China, and Siam abandoned neutrality only to escape the strangling pressure of the Central Powers.

Thus it was the extent of German ambitions that brought so many peoples, great and small, to form a league against the same adversary.

And what shall I say of the solemn resolution taken by the United States in the spring of 1917 under the auspices of their illustrious President, Mr. Wilson, whom I am happy to greet here in the name of grateful France,

and, if you will allow me to say so, gentlemen, in the name of all the nations represented in this room?

What shall I say of the many other American Powers which either declared themselves against Germany - Brazil, Cuba, Panama, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Haiti, Honduras - or at least broke off diplomatic relations - Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Uruguay?

From north to south the New World rose with indignation when it saw the empires of Central Europe, after having let loose the war without provocation and without excuse, carry it on with fire, pillage, and massacre of inoffensive beings.

The intervention of the United States was something more, something greater, than a great political and military event: it was a supreme judgment passed at the bar of history by the lofty conscience of a free people and their Chief Magistrate on the enormous responsibilities incurred in the frightful conflict which was lacerating humanity.

It was not only to protect themselves from the audacious aims of German megalomania that the United States equipped fleets and created immense armies, but also, and above all, to defend an ideal of liberty over which they saw the huge shadow of the Imperial Eagle encroaching farther every day.

America, the daughter of Europe, crossed the ocean to wrest her mother from the humiliation of thralldom and to save civilization. The American people wished to put an end to the greatest scandal that has ever sullied the annals of mankind.

Autocratic governments, having prepared in the secrecy of the Chancelleries and the General Staff a map programme of universal domination, at the time fixed by their genius for intrigue let loose their packs and sounded the horns for the chase, ordering science at the very time when it was beginning to abolish distances, bring men closer, and make life sweeter, to leave the bright sky towards which it was soaring and to place itself submissively at the service of violence, lowering the religious idea to the extent of making God the complacent auxiliary of their passions and the accomplice of their crimes; in short, counting as naught the traditions and wills of peoples, the lives of citizens, the honour of women, and all those principles of public and private morality which we for our part have endeavoured to keep unaltered through the war and which neither nations nor individuals can repudiate or disregard with impunity.

While the conflict was gradually extending over the entire surface of the earth the clanking of chains was heard here and there, and captive nationalities from the depths of their age-long jails cried out to us for help.

Yet more, they escaped to come to our aid. Poland came to life again and sent us troops. The Czecho-Slovaks won their right to independence in Siberia, in France, and in Italy. The Jugo-Slavs, the Armenians, the Syrians and Lebanese, the Arabs, all the oppressed peoples, all the victims, long

helpless or resigned, of great historic deeds of injustice, all the martyrs of the past, all the outraged consciences, all the strangled liberties revived at the clash of our arms, and turned towards us, as their natural defenders.

Thus the war gradually attained the fullness of its first significance, and became, in the fullest sense of the term, a crusade of humanity for Right; and if anything can console us in part at least, for the losses we have suffered, it is assuredly the thought that our victory is also the victory of Right.

This victory is complete, for the enemy only asked for the armistice to escape from an irretrievable military disaster. In the interest of justice and peace it now rests with you to reap from this victory its full fruits in order to carry out this immense task. You have decided to admit, at first, only the Allied or associated Powers, and, in so far as their interests are involved in the debates, the nations which remained neutral.

You have thought that the terms of peace ought to be settled among ourselves before they are communicated to those against whom we have together fought the good fight. The solidarity which has united us during the war and has enabled us to win military success ought to remain unimpaired during the negotiations for, and after the signing of, the Treaty.

It is not only governments, but free peoples, who are represented here. Through the test of danger they have learned to know and help one another. They want their intimacy of yesterday to assure the peace of tomorrow. Vainly would our enemies seek to divide us. If they have not yet renounced their customary manoeuvres, they will soon find that they are meeting today, as during the hostilities, a homogeneous block which nothing will be able to disintegrate.

Even before the armistice you placed that necessary unity under the standard of the lofty moral and political truths of which President Wilson has nobly made himself the interpreter.

And in the light of those truths you intend to accomplish your mission. You will, therefore, seek nothing but justice, "justice that has no favourites," justice in territorial problems, justice in financial problems, justice in economic problems.

But justice is not inert, it does not submit to injustice. What it demands first, when it has been violated, are restitution and reparation for the peoples and individuals who have been despoiled or maltreated. In formulating this lawful claim, it obeys neither hatred nor an instinctive or thoughtless desire for reprisals. It pursues a twofold object - to render to each his due, and not to encourage crime through leaving it unpunished.

What justice also demands, inspired by the same feeling, is the punishment of the guilty and effective guaranties against an active return of the spirit by which they were tempted; and it is logical to demand that these guaranties should be given, above all, to the nations that have been, and might again be most exposed to aggressions or threats, to those who have

many times stood in danger of being submerged by the periodic tide of the same invasions.

What justice banishes is the dream of conquest and imperialism, contempt for national will, the arbitrary exchange of provinces between states as though peoples were but articles of furniture or pawns in a game.

The time is no more when diplomatists could meet to redraw with authority the map of the empires on the corner of a table. If you are to remake the map of the world it is in the name of the peoples, and on condition that you shall faithfully interpret their thoughts, and respect the right of nations, small and great, to dispose of themselves, and to reconcile it with the right, equally sacred, of ethnical and religious minorities - a formidable task, which science and history, your two advisers, will contribute to illumine and facilitate.

You will naturally strive to secure the material and moral means of subsistence for all those peoples who are constituted or reconstituted into states; for those who wish to unite themselves to their neighbours; for those who divide themselves into separate units; for those who reorganize themselves according to their regained traditions; and, lastly, for all those whose freedom you have already sanctioned or are about to sanction.

You will not call them into existence only to sentence them to death immediately. You would like your work in this, as in all other matters, to be fruitful and lasting.

While thus introducing into the world as much harmony as possible, you will, in conformity with the fourteenth of the propositions unanimously adopted by the Great Allied Powers, establish a general League of Nations, which will be a supreme guarantee against any fresh assaults upon the right of peoples.

You do not intend this International Association to be directed against anybody in future. It will not of set purpose shut out anybody, but, having been organized by the nations that have sacrificed themselves in defence of Right, it will receive from them its statutes and fundamental rules. It will lay down conditions to which its present or future adherents will submit, and, as it is to have for its essential aim to prevent, as far as possible, the renewal of wars, it will, above all, seek to gain respect for the peace which you will have established, and will find it the less difficult to maintain in proportion as this peace will in itself imply greater realities of justice and safer guaranties of stability.

By establishing this new order of things you will meet the aspiration of humanity, which, after the frightful convulsions of these bloodstained years, ardently wishes to feel itself protected by a union of free peoples against the ever-possible revivals of primitive savagely.

An immortal glory will attach to the names of the nations and the men who have desired to co-operate in this grand work in faith and brotherhood,

and who have taken pains to eliminate from the future peace causes of disturbance and instability.

This very day forty-eight years ago, on January 18, 1871, the German Empire was proclaimed by an army of invasion in the Chateau at Versailles. It was consecrated by the theft of two French provinces; it was thus vitiated from its origin and by the fault of the founders; born in injustice, it has ended in opprobrium.

Document 8

The “stab in the back”

Erich Ludendorff on the New German Government, February 1919

Source Records of the Great War, Vol. VII

The power of the state failed, as nobody can doubt, because in its external and internal policy, before and during the war, it had not recognized the exigencies of the struggle for existence in which Germany has always been involved. It had demonstrated its inability to understand that politics is war and war is politics.

The situation into which the German Empire drifted was not attributable to its constitution - the same constitution which existed in the days of Bismarck - but was caused by the members of the state themselves.

They understood neither history nor the signs of the times, nor could they, prepossessed, as they were, in favour of international and pacifist ideas, begin to realize that, in view of the turn of mind of other nations, power in the hand of a strong government is the only means of securing the liberty and well-being of a people; that only the power of the state can prevent criminal confusion within and guard against slavery imposed from without.

Our executive government deserved its fate. But what was done intensified the misfortune. An innovation would have been justified if the leaders of the majorities, supported by the confidence of the Reichstag, had really created a new and strong government aiming at the national defence - something that the former government had neglected to do.

This purpose was expressed, but deeds were lacking. The majorities undertook nothing to secure the power of the state against aggression from without in the last hour. On the contrary, they occupied themselves with interior affairs, for the purpose of increasing their own power. They did not tell themselves that the possession of power imposes duties; and when they came to the top they soon proved even more inefficient than had been the previous government.

Finally it may be said that it could not have been otherwise. The parties and men who now held the reins of government belonged to those

who, previously in Peace times, had laboured to bring about the internal weakening of Germany. They were the parties and men ever ready for peace with their destructive, unstable mode of thinking, the men who doubted the power of the people of their own nation.

They endeavoured, in their external policy, to effect a peace based on compromise, which lay beyond the realm of possibility; within, they sought to introduce the Parliamentary form of government, which would break the power of the Emperor and the princes of the land, so that they might put it into their own hands.

This ambition went hand in hand with the desire of pleasing Wilson and thus facilitating a peace. They did not tell themselves that what an enemy wants can only be bad for ourselves. They were strong alone in the fervour with which they believed in the mission of the President of the United States to establish the happiness of the whole world, and in the eagerness with which, in consequence of the attitude of the government till then in power, they lent faith to the delusive representation that the high command had trodden underfoot the aims at peace of the Imperial Chancellor.

The belief in the human reconciliation, personified in the adoration of Wilson, the servile fear of aggravating the enemy by inflaming him and the feeling, correct in itself, of obtaining and maintaining full power within the country itself through a bad peace - these, together with a consideration of the independent social democracy, were in the following days to gain the victory in the Cabinet.

Government and Reichstag left the army in the lurch, and the political leadership did the same for the military commanders.

When the terrible conditions of Versailles became known in May, 1919, the democratic deputy, Conrad Haussman, who, in the session of October 17, 1918, as Secretary of State, had considered possible a continuation of the struggle and who, like his associate von Payer, had probably foreseen the disastrous consequences of a Wilson peace, gave expression to the following opinion: "Had our army had our workmen, on the 5th and 9th of November, known that peace would have looked that way, the army would not have laid down its arms; it would have held out."

The military command had warned the political leaders against disarmament, because, in its instinctive knowledge of the nature power and mode of thinking of the enemy, it had gauged with correctness what was to come. Not our brave army, which scorns the accusation, laid down its arms; it was forced to do so by our political leadership.

The people followed their bad leaders - and "misleaders" - and rushed blindly to their fate. They could and would not, even now, understand the aims of the military leaders, who had correctly gauged the will of the enemy but also knew his weaknesses, and who had demanded, as the only possible measure, the utmost resolution and exertions of a united people.

When the Reichstag's majority had attained its goal as regarded the internal policy of the country, had robbed the Kaiser and the princes of the confederation of all power, and had strengthened their own, the government, in its fourth note to Wilson, consummated the political capitulation before the enemy. In a spirit of abject servility they fawningly styled the prospective peace of annihilation a "peace of justice."

Finally the political leadership disarmed the unconquered army and delivered over Germany to the destructive will of the enemy in order that it might carry through the revolution in Germany unhindered. That was the climax in the betrayal of the German people.

Thus was perpetrated the crime against the German nation. No political regime has ever committed anything worse. Not the enemy, but our political leadership broke down the power of our military command, and consequently of the nation - that power which was embodied in the officers' corps and in the army.

Document 9

Vietnamese appeal to the Paris peace conference

"List of Claims of the Annamese People," by Nguyen Ai Quoc (Ho Chi Minh), 1919. Ho Chi Minh Internet Archive.

While waiting for the sacred right of nations to self-determination to be recognised, the people of the former kingdom of Annam, now a French possession in Indochina, present the following demands to the governments of the Allied powers in general, and the French government in particular:

- Complete amnesty of Vietnamese political prisoners.
- A reform of legislation in Indochina, providing Vietnamese with the same juridical guarantees as the Europeans and abolition of the special tribunals, an instrument of terror against the best Vietnamese.
- Freedom of the press and freedom of opinion.
- Freedom of association and freedom of assembly.
- Freedom of emigration and residence abroad.
- Right to education, opening of technical and occupational educational establishments for the population in all provinces.
- Substitution of a system of laws for the system of decrees.
- In the French Parliament there must be a permanent Vietnamese representative elected in his own country, in order to express the will and aspirations of his countrymen.