

MCGS MUN 2018

Paris Peace Conference Historic Crisis Committee

Freeze Date- 17th January, 1919

Letter from the Executive Board

Dear Delegates,

Welcome to the 7th Edition of Mayo College Girls School MUN to be held from 19th - 23rd April, 2018. It is a privilege and an absolute honour to welcome you all the simulation of Paris Peace Conference 2018 as an Historical Crisis Committee.

You are about to enter the Paris Peace Conference, which defined the course of First World War and was one of the most important events of the 20th century. The First World War is considered to be the "seminal catastrophe" of the 20th century, because it enabled the emergence of other catastrophes in that century.

This war inaugurated the century of the massacres. In just over four years of conflict, the death toll was staggering, achieving never before recorded numbers. 1.8 million Germans, 1.6 million French, 800,000 British, 116,000 Americans (the latter in just over a year and a half). The Russian massacre was such that it led to the outbreak of the Russian Revolution.

This guide is going to give you a rundown of the war, the concepts that led to the war and the global scenario on the eve of the Paris Peace Conference. I am thankful to the authors I have cited and the videos that I have watched, and special regards to Brazilian Model United Nations Conference which simulated the same agenda and has provided a great deal of ideas for this guide.

We are at the end of the First World War and the Paris Conference is about to start. What can be done to ensure peace and prevent a new war? How can conflicts between powers be solved? Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the Conference that will define the course of the 20th century.

Here is hoping for an enriching experience.

May the Force Be with You!

Best Regards,

Pallav Kumar Singh

Chairperson, Paris Peace Conference,

Mayo College Girls School MUN 2018

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Committee's Scope of Debate

To give you a basic overview of the committee and some directions of debate, it would help you to look and anticipate crisis from the following sections. Though this is a crisis committee, the crisis will not necessarily be military or an act of war, it can also appeal to your political acumen and a thorough knowledge of the following sections.

Responsibility of the Authors of the War and Enforcement of Penalties (Command Responsibility)

- Criminal Acts
- Responsibility of the Authors of the War
- Violation of the Laws and Customs of War

Reparation of Damage

- Evaluation of Damage
- Measures of Control and Guarantees
- Monetary Questions

Territorial Questions

- Study of Eastern Frontiers
 - Czechoslovakian Affairs
 - Polish Affairs
 - Baltic Affairs
- Study of Western Affairs: Dispute for the Alsace-Lorraine region
- German Colonies

Treaty with Germany

- Control of the production of materials of war in Germany
- Disarmament of the German Army
- Study of the Means of imposing the Armistice Conditions on Germany
- Military, Naval and Aerial Clauses
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Introduction

Eric Hobsbawm, one of the most important historians of contemporary history, describes the 20th century as the century of massacres and wars. Indeed, it is the century with the highest number of deaths, considered the most violent of history. According to Hobsbawm, it is the short twentieth century, starting in 1914 and ending in 1991.

Considered the starting point of the 20th century, the First World War marked the collapse of 19th century Western civilization. The capitalist world economy expanded in the 19th century and the world was no longer limited only to national economies. There was an increase in the geographical base of economies and the number of industrialized and industrializing countries expanded. Global production increased between 1880 and 1914 and in the international market of primary products. The economic boom of the European economies between 1890 and 1914 is called the *belle époque*.

The period between the years of 1875 and 1914 is classified by Hobsbawm as the "Age of Empires", when the major European powers divided Africa and parts of Asia in formal and informal colonies and spheres of influence. Imperialism created a rivalry between the States, which later culminate in the First World War.

The partition of the Third World is considered by Hobsbawm as a kind of extension of protectionism. In protectionist policies, industrialized countries try to close their markets to ensure the competitiveness of their internal market. With protectionism advancing to the colonies, there is an increased rivalry among the powers to conquer those new markets.

Kissinger analyses the European scenario in the late 19th century from the balance of power theory. Europe was thrown into balance-of-power system when a group of States were obliged to deal with one another. According to Kissinger, in cases of multiple powers, either one State becomes so strong that it dominates all the others and creates an empire, or no state is ever quite powerful enough to achieve that goal.

The balance-of-power system was meant to limit the ability of States to dominate others and the scope of conflicts. Its goal is stability and moderation and it works when it keeps dissatisfaction below the level at which the aggrieved party will seek to overthrow the international order. Of course, the balance-of-power system failed in a generalized way for the first time in the 20th century with the First World War

Concepts

Before entering in the historical discussion of the problem, we have to review some important concepts that define the course of the First World War and, later, the Conference of Paris and the Treaty of Versailles.

Nationalism

Nationalism, according to Gellner, is the fusion of the cultural and the political, when there is congruence between the national unit and the political unit. This essence of nationalism is considered the central attribute to the legitimacy of the Modern State. In this way, it is a powerful formal identity to unite pre-existing loyalties based on the mythic criterion of common race, language, religion and territory, a national identity is created from these common criterions inside of a nation. The main nationalistic movements of the 19th century where the separation of Belgium from the Netherlands in 1831, the unification of Italy in 1861 and the unification of Germany in 1871.

According to Pearson, the Italian and German unification wars between 1859 and 1871 were started by liberals with freedom as their objective but they gave birth to a militaristic national spirit and a sense of national pride exaggerated by the nation's progress. Therefore, the author understands that there is a transition between the idea of freedom to imperialism.

Hobsbawm understands nationalism as the balance between people and the State (pre-French Revolution). The national movements were with expansionist or national unification objectives, which, according to Hobsbawm, would be incompatible with the definitions of nations based on ethnicity, language or common history, given that they were not the most relevant criterion in the liberal formation of nations. As examples, the fusion of the Serbs with the Croats in Yugoslavia, of the Polish with the Lithuanians and Russians, among other. The author also points out that even the old Nation-States, like Great Britain, France and Spain were heterogeneous.

According to Motta, European nationalism was strengthened with the advance of industrialization. Governments sought to create a series of traditions to convince their population of its superiority in world history. Concluding that the ones responsible for one country's internal problems were "external enemies", i.e. other nations.

Nationalism as built by States had the following objectives: to strengthen national unity, ensure citizens obedience and expand patriotism, which possibly motivate thousands of young people to defend the nation's interests in war.

Sovereignty

The concept of sovereignty has its origins in Latin, *super omne*, which means "above all". It is an important legitimizing element of the contemporary state. According to Jean Bodin, sovereignty refers to the exclusive right of a supreme authority over a group of people in a given territory. In the construction of the modern state, power was transferred from the king to the State and this is the holder of the highest authority in the nation.

At the national level, laws enacted by the State take precedence over any other rules or decisions defined by other groups. In the context of foreign relations, there is the idea of equality between all States before the international community: all countries are sovereign, with no subordination or dependence between them.

Sovereignty conveys the concept of equating the state to the nation and the main movements that supported this concept were the German and Italian unifications. Thus, it appears linked to the creation of nationalism, which consists in the idea devised to legitimize the accession of people to the construction of the state.

Imperialism

Around the last decade of the 19th century, the main European powers – United Kingdom, France, Germany, Belgium and Italy- had greatly increased their territorial domains. The United States and Japan also participated in this expansion; however, the race to new colonies was an essentially European phenomenon.

Industrial capitalism asked for markets that went beyond national economies and that brought forth a change in the political organization of Nation-States. As previously cited, the national movements gave rise to territorial expansions and then there is a change in the paradigm of the concept of nation.

Imperialism, then, is defined by Decca as "a deliberate policy of the European states of annexation of people and territories aiming for the expansion of capitalist markets". Colonization happened through military domination and was preponderant in Africa and Asia, in a direct manner.

In Latin America, there was no intervention by the European powers. The Monroe Doctrine reigned, created by the United States it preached "America for Americans", as a way to not accept any foreign interference in the continent. The United States, as previously mentioned, did not actively participated in the processes of colonization. However, with the Monroe Doctrine they had major influence in virtually the entire American continent.

Balance of Power

With the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the European States gathered at the Congress of Vienna to define the new international order. The Concert of Europe was established, where written rules or permanent institutions, but at times of crisis any of the member countries could propose a conference.

With the Napoleonic defeat, it was formed the Holy Alliance by Prussia, Austria and Russia with the goal of containing revolutionary manifestations like the French one. The countries, in this way, would act united. Kissinger claims that the existence of domestic institutions compatible between the States ensures a peaceful power balance by themselves. This way, the monarchies in Europe saw other ways of power organization as threats to peace, aiming to oppose revolutionary movements.

The European continent kept itself in peace for almost 100 years. During almost all of the nineteenth century, the European potencies didn't involve themselves directly in big wars. This scenery is due to the Congress of Vienna's three sustentation pillars: 1. Conciliatory peace with France; 2. Power balance and 3. Common agreement of legitimacy.

Power balance's purpose was to limit the States' capacity of dominating the others as well as the conflicts' extension. The goal was stability and moderation between the European potencies. The concept can be derivative from the division system of powers or from the controls and balances of Montesquieu, applied to the international context.

However, the European nations transformed the power balance in arms race, putting the continent on an "armed peace". The tension between the potencies soon unbalanced the powers balance, leading to the outbreak of the Great War.

Background of War

The First World War graduated from the imperialist rivalries between European states. On the eve of the war, the ordering of the four major powers - Britain, France, Germany and Russia - was as follows:

United Kingdom

The United Kingdom was the first industrial country and for a long time remained as the greatest power in Europe. However, with the shape of new capitalist world the British were the ones who suffered most since the newly industrialized countries put a limit to the expansion of British industry. In addition, the economic crisis of the 1870s led to a smaller number of larger of companies and a decrease in profits rates.

France

By the early nineteenth century, French economy was still quite rural, with as undeveloped domestic economy. The supply of British goods discouraged any domestic production. Thus, the French industrial development focused on quality products, unlike the English textile industries, taking advantage of French culture, which at the time was synonymous with beauty and good taste. With the aid of the state and English capital, the country expanded its rail network, in order to stimulate the domestic market, but it was still a backwards power if compared to the United Kingdom or Germany.

Germany

German industrial experience was a result of careful planning as an answer to English competition. The country invested in heavy industry, advanced technological bases and strong association between industries and banks. There was great encouragement to building railways for internal market integration. In addition, strong

investments in education were realized in order to create highly skilled individuals. The government also encouraged the formation of cartels, to promote the creation of large conglomerates that would be able to compete in international markets.

USSR

The Russian Empire was a power because of its large population. Having largest population in Europe, Russia was a country of contrasts. There was an efficient and technologically advanced industrial sector which contrasted with a gigantic miserable agricultural population, with about 79% of the population living in the countryside. In addition, Russian industry was largely dependent on foreign capital. According to Motta, "World War would only increase poverty and economic disruption, bringing to light the fragility of industrialization of this country".

Escalation of Conflict

France developed a strong rivalry with Germany because of the Franco-Prussian War, which took place during German unification. The French defeat and the consequent loss of the Alsace-Lorraine region (rich in iron and coal) stimulated a sense of revenge in France.

The antagonism between the United Kingdom and Germany was not expected because the countries had no history of conflict. However, the United Kingdom saw its economic interests threatened by the rapid development of German industry. Hobsbawm analyses a change in the paradigm of British foreign policy: first, an alliance with any continental nation seemed incompatible with maintaining the balance of power, yet with increasing rivalry between powers, the rules of the diplomatic game had changed, and the United Kingdom was forced to adapt.

The United Kingdom and France had a small dispute over the region of Morocco, but to overcome the rivalry signed agreements to define colonial areas in Africa. Such agreements became known as the entente cordiale and consisted of a strategy against the advance of the German Empire. Russia also signed the treaty with France and Britain in exchange for capital from both countries. In addition, both empires wanted to increase their influence in the Balkan region.

Countries lined up on opposite blocks, forming the Triple Alliance, consisting of Germany, Austro-Hungarian Empire and Italy. The other block was the Triple Entente, consisting of Britain, France and Russia.

The map of Europe on the eve of war had the following configuration (Image 1):

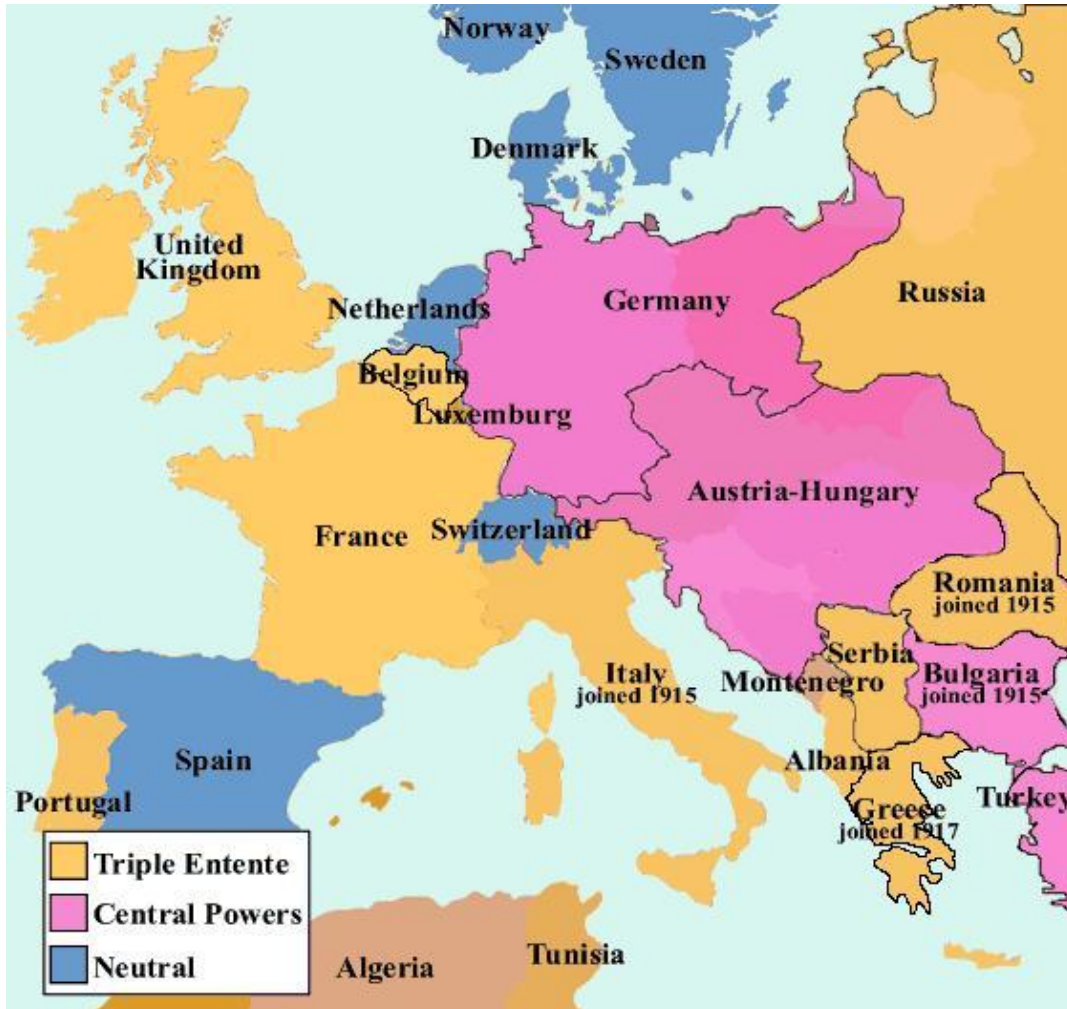


Image 1: Map of Europe in 1914

Brief Overview of the War

The Balkans, on the eve of war, had become a powder keg, involving interests in Austria, Russia and the Ottoman Empire. The spark that started the war happened exactly in this region, with the attack on the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne by Serbian terrorists in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914. Austria, supported by Germany, declared war on Serbia; Serbia, in turn, appealed to Russia, and the system of alliances the regional conflict escalated to World War. The Germans then declare war on Russia and France.

The German offensive in the war started with Belgium. Germany went through Belgium to get to France. As a result, Britain declares war on Germany. Predictions were for a short war since the Germans relied on military superiority. In fact, there was an initial supremacy of the German armies and France had to retreat. Italy remains neutral, with a stated policy of going to war only for defence.

Germany fought on two fronts, the Western, against the French and British armies, and the Eastern, with Austria, against Russia. On the Eastern front, the Germans had superior military, but the Russians had superior numbers. However, in October 1914 the Ottoman Empire entered the war on the German side and in response, the Entente declared war against the Ottomans.

The war began as a moving war with the belligerents advancing into enemy territory. Starting in 1915, the Western Front came to a halt and the troops stopped making progress. This was the start of Trench Warfare. This happened due to a revolution in firepower that was not matched by similar advances in mobility, resulting in a gruelling form of warfare in which the defender held the advantage. The Trenches War was extremely deadly, accounting for a huge number of casualties on both sides.

In 1915, Italy aligns with the Entente by declaring war against Austria. Bulgaria enters the war on the side of the Triple Alliance. The United States had a policy of non-intervention in European affairs and therefore remained neutral until 1917. However, although not directly involved in the war, the US kept strict business relations with the countries of the Triple Entente, selling food and weapons.

In 1917, the Germans instituted a naval blockade. Neutral powers were advised to withdraw their ships and steamboats from British seas under threat of indiscriminate sinking. This blockade directly affected United States commercial interests. This forced Americans to enter the war.

Also, in 1917, the Russian Revolution was initiated. In October of that year, with the Bolshevik Revolution, one of the claims was the country's departure of the war. The peace agreement was sealed with Germany in March 1918, with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. With the agreement, Russia lost the territories of Finland, Russian Poland, Ukraine and of the Baltic countries Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania.

With Russia's departure, there was a growth of German enforces on the occidental front. However, the German army already showed signs of fatigue. With the entry of American reinforcement, there was a power unbalance and German were defeated. On November 1918, the German armistice was signed, called the Compiègne Armistice.

Motta analyses the war in this way: "The First War expressed the cruel way the potencies competition and the belief in the superiority of one compared to the other." The result was a massacre, with a huge number of deaths on both sides.

Block Positions at the Peace Conference

Council of Five

The United States of America

The United States, represented by President Woodrow Wilson, had a different concept of international policy from the European countries. According to Kissinger, their criteria for the national order were democracy, the collective security and the self-determination. The American president postulated that

democratic nations were, by definition, peaceful, and the self-determination of the people was applied, the countries would not have reasons to go to war. Wilson condemned the power balance as an instable system and proposed the establishment of equal rights between the States. The United States had already presented, a year before, the 14 points of Wilson, with the proposal of peace without winners and tries to move along, on the Conference, with its principals.

France

The French delegation, led by Prime Minister George Clemenceau, arrives at the Conference with a revanchist feeling regarding Germany. France held a grudge against Germany since the loss of the Alsace-Lorraine territory in the Germany Unification War and intends to get them back. Furthermore, the country, in relative economic decline since mid-nineteenth century, wasn't being able to compete with the German industrial advance. The French then have the wish to divide Germany again to maintain the balance feel safe. Kissinger analyses the France position at the end of the First War was a country which "masks its vulnerability with irritability, and a panic incipient with intransigence." In this way, the delegation goes to the Conference requiring tangible guarantees for its safety, with solicitations which involve weakening considerably the Germans.

Great Britain

The main concern of the United Kingdom delegation, led by Prime Minister David Lloyd, was the maintenance of the unity of the British Empire. Moreover, they intended to secure France's security and apply sanctions to Germany, including end with the German naval power. The Prime Minister considered that Germany should pay the total cost of the war

Italy

The Allies had induced Italy to war promising the concession of Tirol and Dalmata coast's south territories. The agreement was sealed in 1915 with the Treaty of London.

The Italian delegation, headed by Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando, attended the Paris Conference with the goal of ensuring the compliance of the Treaty and the annexation of the referred regions.

Japan

The Japanese claim former German colonies, namely Shantung (including Kiaochow) and the Pacific islands north of the Equator (the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, the Mariana Islands, and the Carolines). In 1917, Japan had made secret agreements with Britain, France and Italy that guaranteed their annexation of these territories.

British Empire

India

India had an independent representation at the Conference. This decision lie in India's involvement in World War I. Indian troops were on the Western Front by the winter of 1914 and fought at the first Battle of Ypres. By the end of 1915, they had sustained many casualties. Along with the casualties from sickness, the decision was taken to withdraw the Indian Corps from front line duty at the end of 1915. For its endeavors, India expected to be rewarded with a major move towards independence or at the least self-government.

South Africa

The Union of South Africa was tied closely to the British Empire, and automatically joined with Great Britain and the allies against the German Empire. South Africa was part of significant military operations against Germany. Therefore, along with the British dominions, South Africa wanted their reward for their sacrifice. The main goal of the delegation in the Peace Conference is the territory of South West Africa.

Brazil

Brazil was the only country of Latin America that actually went to war. Brazil was suffering the effects of a fragile economy: it relied heavily on coffee exports and had to import oil. As the war progressed, ports across the world were blockaded and countries, notably the United Kingdom – one of Brazil's biggest markets – banned coffee exports in favour of more urgently needed goods. Later, the country's coffee exports came under physical attack: in 1916 and in 1917, German submarines sank a number of Brazilian merchant ships. On October 1917, Brazil joined the war. Brazil's concerns in the Peace Conference were in order to ensure the economic stability and guarantee the maintenance of the coffee trade. Brazil, furthermore, has close ties to the United States.

USSR

In 1917 with the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the country emerged from the First World War and signed an armistice with Germany. Russia's role in the world struggle has made her a heavy partner to the great international arrangements of war finance and economics, the regularization and adjustment of which is imminent. It is in the East, where the greatest changes in territorial and national adjustment are to take place, most of which either affect Russia directly or materially influence her future development. During the Bolshevik period, several obligations had been imposed upon Russia by Germany for the purpose of peaceful conquest. The Central Powers are holding nearly two million Russian prisoners of war. Russian demands in the Conference are that no questions, directly affecting Russia, to be settled without her cognizance and consent; participate on equal and similar terms with regard to reparation and restitution due to spoliation and reprisals; Russian prisoners of war to receive equal treatment.

Belgium

Belgium expected not only to rectify the restriction of neutrality imposed on her in 1839 while maintaining the accompanying Great Power guarantees, but also to gain important territorial and major economic concessions. Her demands included Flemish Zeeland (including control of the mouth of the Scheldt); Dutch Limburg; German borderland cantons, Moresnet, Eupen (predominantly German) and Malmedy (all of which she obtained); Luxemburg; and in Africa, a significant widening of the narrow sea coast of the Belgian Congo and large portions of German East Africa.

Czecho-Slovakia

The area of Czecho-Slovakia was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until the Empire collapsed at the end of World War I. During the war, a small number of Czechs, the Czecho-Slovak Legions, fought with the Allies in France and Italy, while large numbers deserted to Russia, in exchange for their support for the independence of Czechoslovakia from the Austrian Empire. Following the Pittsburgh Agreement of May 1918, the Czecho-Slovak declaration of independence was published by the Czecho-Slovak National Council. The main goal for the Delegation of Czecho-Slovakia is to gain territory, especially over Austria.

Moreover, it is a country with weak military base, and then another demand is to receive protection.

Greece

The Greek delegation was a strong supporter of the Fourteen Points and League of Nations. They demanded the expansion in Thrace and Asia Minor (lands of the defeated Kingdom of Bulgaria and Ottoman Empire), Northern Epirus, Imvros and Tenedos, aiming to the realization of Megali Idea.

Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

The State was created when the Habsburg Empire dissolved, on October 1918. The Kingdom had been proclaimed amid chaos, insecurity and euphoria. The country is located in the central area of conflicts, and they are trying to gain territory. The delegation claims territories populated by South Slavs and defends the principle of national self-determination. Another main goal is to strengthen their ties with allies that can aid them in the Conference.

Montenegro

Montenegro was a part of the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the 20th century. The country suffered substantial casualties at the Balkan War and this war formally secured Montenegro's independence from the Ottoman Empire. When Austria declared war on Serbia, Montenegro joined her neighbour shortly afterwards and declared war on Austria and Germany. Montenegro had soldiers on the Eastern front and on the Franco-Belgian front. The State has an important role in the central Adriatic region and in its relation to the other interior regions. Montenegro has close ties to the Serbians and is loyal to the interests of the Allied Powers.

Poland

The Polish Delegation demanded the following territories in the West: Prussian Poland (Duchy of Posen/Poznan); Pomorze, that is, Polish Pomerania (the Germans called it the "Polish Corridor" because it separated East Prussia from Germany proper); southern East Prussia, where most people spoke a Slavic dialect called Mazurian; Upper Silesia east of the Oder River. All these demands were justified on ethnic grounds, for according to the Prussian census of 1910 these territories were preponderantly Polish. However, the Polish Delegation also demanded the territory of Danzig as the only port that could serve Polish needs.

Portugal

Portugal was initially neutral in the war. However, due to tensions with Germany involving especially the German campaign in Angola, Portugal entered the war. The main demand of Portugal is the security of the colonial possessions of Angola and Mozambique in Africa. Besides, the State also had an interest in German Southwest Africa and German East Africa. The Portuguese delegation intend to adhere as closely as possible to Britain's position.

Romania

Romania entered the World War I with the motivation to seize Transylvania. However, after an initial success, the Central Powers push Romania back, until its surrender with the Peace of Bucharest in May 1918. The Romanian demands in the Paris Peace Conference are to regain control of lost territory and reparation to the damage suffered in the war.

Central Powers

Germany

During World War I, the German Empire was one of the Central Powers. It began participation with the conflict after the declaration of war against Serbia by its ally, Austria-Hungary. German forces fought the Allies on both the eastern and western fronts, although German territory itself remained relatively safe from widespread invasion for most of the war, except for a brief period in 1914 when East Prussia was invaded. In June of 1918 the first American soldiers fought the Germans. France, some days later, began a counter-offensive and took the Germans by surprise. Then, the Allies began to slowly push the Germans out of Marne. Bulgaria collapsed in late September, and Austria-

Hungary was soon to collapse. With no other choice left, the Germans proposed the armistice on October 3rd. The Allies declared that they would grant it only if Germany made no move to improve its military strength. Germany, as the other States of the Central Powers, is an observer member of the Conference. Its main goals are to attempt to secure concessions favorable to long-term German interests and convince conference attendees to vote against excessively harsh peace terms.

Austria-Hungary

Austria-Hungary was the power whose territorial ambitions played a large part in the coming of war in 1914. The State's association with Germany would see her at war with France, Britain and Japan, while her attack on Serbia also drew in Montenegro. After initial setbacks in Galicia (against the Russians) and Serbia, the Austrian army had more success in 1915, and by the middle of 1916 had conquered Serbia and Montenegro, pushed the Russians back from Poland and by the end of the year Romania had fallen to a combined German-Austrian-Bulgarian assault. Finally, with British and French reinforcements reaching the Balkans and Italy, the Austrian Emperor decided in October 1918 to sue for peace. The country goes to the Conference as an observer member with the concern about its territory.

Bulgaria

The Kingdom of Bulgaria participated in World War I on the side of the Central Powers from 14 October 1915, when the country declared war on Serbia, until 30 September 1918, when the Armistice of Thessalonica was signed and came into effect. In September 1918 the Serbs, British, French and Greeks broke through on the Macedonian front and Tsar Ferdinand was forced to sue for peace. Under the terms of the armistice, Bulgarian troops had to evacuate all occupied Greek and Serbian territory; agree to surrender of all arms and weapons of war; the evacuation of all German and Austrian troops and Allied occupation of strategic points inside Bulgaria. The Bulgarian delegation has an observer status at the Peace Conference.

Ottoman Empire

Ottoman Empire entered the war after Russia declared war. Ottoman armies had tied down large numbers of Allied troops on various fronts, keeping them away from theatres in Europe where they would have been used against German and Austrian forces.

In September 1918, the Allied forces mounted a sudden offensive at the Macedonian Front, which proved successful. On 30 October 1918, the Armistice of Mudros was signed, ending Ottoman involvement in World War 1. After Entente

forces occupied Constantinople, the Ottoman Empire collapsed. The Ottoman Empire goes to the Conference as an observer member and its main goal is to limit the amount of territory that is partitioned and the manner in which the territory is partitioned in.

The Aftermath of the Paris Peace Conference: -

Though we will be discussing on a freeze date of the eve of the conference, we shall be aware of how history looks at the conference.

Nicolson was typical of many Anglo-American participants when he declared, "We came to Paris convinced that the new order was about to be established; we left it convinced that the old order had merely fouled the new." This harsh judgement has been echoed by many subsequent historians, though the release of governmental archives from the 1960s onwards and recognition that the contemporary record of tackling ethnic nationalism and ideological extremism has not been brilliant, has prompted some more sympathetic appraisals.

The peacemakers knew their main responsibility was to integrate Germany into an international framework permitting it appropriate power and influence without overwhelming its neighbours. They hoped a democratic Germany, accepting its defeat, would concede that the settlement was just and execute the treaty. Yet in November 1918, with clear German victory in the east and its troops still occupying Northern France and Belgium, defeat was a difficult concept to grasp and it is arguable that no treaty based on such a premise would ever have been acceptable to Germany, even had the Allies been more amenable to negotiation.

Britain and France were left to execute a settlement that the Americans had heavily influenced but now reneged upon. Britain favoured modifying the terms in the hope of reconciling Germany, France preferred rigid enforcement to nullify German power. As a result, they veered between conciliation and coercion, effectively stymying both policies, contributing, in part, to an outcome in 1939 that neither wanted. Yet the responsibility for this new catastrophe cannot be attributed to the peacemakers alone as they sought to remedy the ills that drove Europe to war in 1914. The settlements they reached were not perfect and contained potential seeds of further conflict but also offered the hope for a better future. Lloyd George, in October 1922, was the last of the Four to leave office. Much would depend on how their successors interpreted and implemented their legacy.

Annexure I:

Transcript of President Woodrow Wilson's 14 Points (January 1918)

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 programme of the world's peace, therefore, is our programme; and that programme, the only possible programme, 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 affected 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 programme does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this programme 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.

Annexure- II

Allied Armistice Terms, 11 November 1918

I. Military Clauses on Western Front

One - Cessation of operations by land and in the air six hours after the signature of the armistice.

Two - Immediate evacuation of invaded countries: Belgium, France, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxemburg, so ordered as to be completed within fourteen days from the signature of the armistice. German troops which have not left the above-mentioned territories within the period fixed will become prisoners of war. Occupation by the allied and United States forces jointly will keep pace with evacuation in these areas. All movements of evacuation and occupation will be regulated in accordance with a note annexed to the stated terms.

Three - Reparation beginning at once to be completed within fifteen days of all the inhabitants of the countries above enumerated (including hostages, persons under trial or convicted).

Four - Surrender in good condition by the German armies of the following war material: Five thousand guns (2,500 heavy, and 2,500 field), 25,000 machine guns, 3,000 minenwerfer, 1,700 airplanes (fighters, bombers - firstly, all of the D 7'S and all the night bombing machines). The above to be delivered in situ to the allied and United States troops in accordance with the detailed conditions laid down in the note (annexure No. 1) drawn up at the moment of the signing of the armistice.

Five - Evacuation by the German armies of the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. The countries on the left bank of the Rhine shall be administered by the local troops of occupation. The occupation of these territories will be carried out by allied and United States garrisons holding the principal crossings of the Rhine (Mayence, Coblenz, Cologne), together with the bridgeheads at these points of a thirty-kilometre radius on the right bank and by garrisons similarly holding the strategic points of the regions. A neutral zone shall be reserved on the right bank of the Rhine between the stream and a line drawn parallel to the bridgeheads and to the stream and at a distance of ten kilometres, from the frontier of Holland up to the frontier of Switzerland. The evacuation by the enemy of the Rhine-lands (left and right bank) shall be so ordered as to be completed within a further period of sixteen days, in all, thirty-one days after the signing of the armistice. All the movements of evacuation or occupation are regulated by the note (annexure No. 1) drawn up at the moment of the signing of the armistice.

Six - In all territories evacuated by the enemy there shall be no evacuation of inhabitants; no damage or harm shall be done to the persons or property of the inhabitants. No person shall be prosecuted for offences of participation in war measures prior to the signing of the armistice. No destruction of any kind shall be committed. Military establishments of all kinds shall be delivered intact, as well as military stores of food, munitions, and equipment, not removed during the time fixed for evacuation. Stores of food of all kinds for the civil population, cattle, etc., shall be left in situ. Industrial establishments shall not be impaired in any way and their personnel shall not be removed.

Seven - Roads and means of communication of every kind, railroads, waterways, main roads, bridges, telegraphs, telephones, shall be in no manner impaired. All civil and military personnel at present employed on them shall remain. Five thousand locomotives and 150,000 wagons in good working order, with all necessary spare parts and fittings, shall be delivered to the associated powers within the period fixed in annexure No. 2, and total of which shall not exceed thirty-one days. There shall likewise be delivered 5,000 motor lorries (camion automobiles) in good order, within the period of thirty-six days. The railways of Alsace-Lorraine shall be handed over within the period of thirty-one days, together with pre-war personnel and material. Further, the material necessary for the working of railways in the countries on the left bank of the Rhine shall be left in situ. All stores of coal and material for the upkeep of permanent ways, signals, and repair shops shall be left in situ. These stores shall be maintained by Germany in so far as concerns the working of the railroads in the countries on the left bank of the Rhine. All barges taken from the Allies shall be restored to them. The note, annexure No. 2, regulates the details of these measures.

Eight - The German command shall be responsible for revealing within the period of forty-eight hours after the signing of the armistice all mines or delayed action fuses on territory evacuated by the German troops and shall assist in their discovery and destruction. It also shall reveal all destructive measures that may have been taken (such as poisoning or polluting of springs and wells, etc.). All under penalty of reprisals.

Nine - The right of requisition shall be exercised by the allied and United States armies in all occupied territories, subject to regulation of accounts with those whom it may concern. The upkeep of the troops of occupation in the Rhineland (excluding Alsace-Lorraine) shall be charged to the German Government.

Ten - The immediate repatriation without reciprocity, according to detailed conditions which shall be fixed, of all allied and United States prisoners of war, including persons tinder trial or convicted. The allied powers and the United States shall be able to dispose of them as they wish. This condition annuls the previous conventions on the subject of the exchange of prisoners of war, including the one of July, 1918, in course of ratification. However, the repatriation of German prisoners of war interned in Holland and in Switzerland shall continue as before. The repatriation of German prisoners of war shall be regulated at the conclusion of the preliminaries of peace.

Eleven - Sick and wounded who cannot be removed from evacuated territory will be cared for by German personnel, who will be left on the spot with the medical material required.

II. Disposition Relative to the Eastern Frontiers of Germany

Twelve - All German troops at present in the territories which before belonged to Austria-Hungary, Rumania, Turkey, shall withdraw immediately within the frontiers of Germany as they existed on August First, Nineteen Fourteen. All German troops at present in the territories which before the war belonged to Russia shall likewise withdraw within the frontiers of Germany, defined as above, as soon as the Allies, taking into account the internal situation of these territories, shall decide that the time for this has come.

Thirteen - Evacuation by German troops to begin at once, and all German instructors, prisoners, and civilians as well as military agents now on the territory of Russia (as defined before 1914) to be recalled.

Fourteen - German troops to cease at once all requisitions and seizures and any other undertaking with a view to obtaining supplies intended for Germany in Rumania and Russia (as defined on August 1, 1914).

Fifteen - Renunciation of the treaties of Bucharest and Brest-Litovsk and of the supplementary treaties.

Sixteen - The Allies shall have free access to the territories evacuated by the Germans on their eastern frontier, either through Danzig, or by the Vistula, in order to convey supplies to the populations of those territories and for the purpose of maintaining order.

III. Clause Concerning East Africa

Seventeen - Evacuation by all German forces operating in East Africa within a period to be fixed by the Allies.

IV. General Clauses

Eighteen - Repatriation, without reciprocity, within a maximum period of one month in accordance with detailed conditions hereafter to be fixed of all interned civilians, including hostages under trial or convicted, belonging to the Allied or associated powers other than those enumerated in Article Three.

Nineteen - The following financial conditions are required: Reparation for damage done. While such armistice lasts no public securities shall be removed by the enemy which can serve as a pledge to the Allies for the recovery or reparation for war losses. Immediate restitution of the cash deposit in the national bank of Belgium, and in general immediate return of all documents, specie, stocks, shares, paper money, together with plant for the issue thereof, touching public or private interests in the invaded countries. Restitution of the Russian and Rumanian gold yielded to Germany or taken by that power. This gold to be delivered in trust to the Allies until the signature of peace.

V. Naval Conditions

Twenty - Immediate cessation of all hostilities at sea and definite information to be given as to the location and movements of all German ships. Notification to be given to neutrals that freedom of navigation in all territorial waters is given to the naval and mercantile marines of the allied and associated powers, all questions of neutrality being waived.

Twenty-one - All naval and mercantile marine prisoners of the allied and associated powers in German hands to be returned without reciprocity.

Twenty-two - Surrender to the Allies and United States of all submarines (including submarine cruisers and all mine-laying submarines) now existing, with their complete armament and equipment, in ports which shall be specified by the Allies and United States. Those which cannot take the sea shall be disarmed of the personnel and material and shall remain under the supervision of the Allies and the United States. The submarines which are ready for the sea shall be prepared to leave the German ports as soon as orders shall be received by wireless for their voyage to the port designated for their delivery, and the remainder at the earliest

possible moment. The conditions of this article shall be carried into effect within the period of fourteen days after the signing of the armistice.

Twenty-three - German surface warships which shall be designated by the Allies and the United States shall be immediately disarmed and thereafter interned in neutral ports or in default of them in allied ports to be designated by the Allies and the United States. They will there remain under the supervision of the Allies and of the United States, only caretakers being left on board. The following warships are designated by the Allies: Six battle cruisers, ten battleships, eight light cruisers (including two mine layers), fifty destroyers of the most modern types. All other surface warships (including river craft) are to be concentrated in German naval bases to be designated by the Allies and the United States and are to be completely disarmed and classed under the supervision of the Allies and the United States. The military armament of all ships of the auxiliary fleet shall be put on shore. All vessels designated to be interned shall be ready to leave the German ports seven days after the signing of the armistice. Directions for the voyage will be given by wireless.

Twenty-four - The Allies and the United States of America shall have the right to sweep up all mine fields and obstructions laid by Germany outside German territorial waters, and the positions of these are to be indicated.

Twenty-five - Freedom of access to and from the Baltic to be given to the naval and mercantile marines of the allied and associated powers. To secure this the Allies and the United States of America shall be empowered to occupy all German forts, fortifications, batteries, and defence works of all kinds in all the entrances from the Cattegat into the Baltic, and to sweep up all mines and obstructions within and without German territorial waters, without any question of neutrality being raised, and the positions of all such mines and obstructions are to be indicated.

Twenty-six - The existing blockade conditions set up by the allied and associated powers are to remain unchanged, and all German merchant ships found at sea are to remain liable to capture. The Allies and the United States should give consideration to the provisioning of Germany during the armistice to the extent recognized as necessary.

Twenty-seven - All naval aircraft are to be concentrated and immobilized in German bases to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America.

Twenty-eight - In evacuating the Belgian coast and ports Germany shall abandon in situ and in fact all port and river navigation material, all merchant ships, tugs, lighters, all naval aeronautic apparatus, material and supplies, and all arms, apparatus, and supplies of every kind.

Twenty-nine - All Black Sea ports are to be evacuated by Germany; all Russian war vessels of all descriptions seized by Germany in the Black Sea are to be handed over to the Allies and the United States of America; all neutral merchant vessels seized are to be released; all warlike and other materials of all kinds seized in those ports are to be returned and German materials as specified in Clause Twenty-eight are to be abandoned.

Thirty - All merchant vessels in German hands belonging to the allied and associated powers are to be restored in ports to be specified by the Allies and the United States of America without reciprocity.

Thirty-one - No destruction of ships or of materials to be permitted before evacuation, surrender, or restoration.

Thirty-two - The German Government will notify the neutral Governments of the world, and particularly the Governments of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, that all restrictions placed on the trading of their vessels with the allied and associated countries, whether by the German Government or by private German interests, and whether in return for specific concessions, such as the export of shipbuilding materials, or not, are immediately cancelled.

Thirty-three - No transfers of German merchant shipping of any description to any neutral flag are to take place after signature of the armistice.

VI. Duration of Armistice

Thirty-four - The duration of the armistice is to be thirty days, with option to extend. During this period if its clauses are not carried into execution the armistice may be denounced by one of the contracting parties, which must give warning forty-eight hours in advance. It is understood that the execution of Articles 3 and 18 shall not warrant the denunciation of the armistice on the ground of insufficient execution within a period fixed, except in the case of bad faith in carrying them into execution. In order to assure the execution of this convention under the best conditions, the principle of a permanent international armistice commission is admitted. This commission will act under the authority of the allied military and naval Commanders in Chief.

VII. The Limit for Reply

Thirty-five - This armistice to be accepted or refused by Germany within seventy-two hours of notification.

This armistice has been signed the Eleventh of November, Nineteen Eighteen, at 5 o'clock French time.

F. FOCH. R. E. WEMYSS. ERZBERGER. A. OBERNDORFF. WINTERFELDT. VON SALOW.

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