Paris peace conference
Creation of the Common State – Kingdom of SHS and the Great Powers
Key question

To what extent the Paris Peace Conference proved to be significant for the people of the Balkans?

Topic:
Main topic in this module is period at the end of the First World War, Paris Peace Conference and creation of the Kingdom SHS/Kingdom Yugoslavia. This module is relevant for all states involved in the project, and is very controversial and sensitive issue. Creation of the new state is starting point for many conflicts and wars during 20th century on the Balkans.

Learning outcomes:
• Acquiring basic knowledge about Paris peace conference. Who was involved, when and where this events took place?
• The students will assess the significance of Paris peace conference, expectations and disappointments among people in the Balkans.
• The students will analyze the significance of the decisions of Paris Peace Treaties for small nations and how they affected the Balkans.
• They will apply the knowledge about Paris peace conference in relation to the situation in the Balkans in present time.

Aims:
• An overview of expectations and disappointments from Paris Peace Conference and especially from the new state recognized at the Paris Peace Conference
• A critical understanding of the influence of the world politics on the situation on the Balkans

Teaching guideline

Step 1 - Introduction (contextualization). Teacher present the theme, read introduction and explain different type of sources. Also groups of four will be made for working with first group of sources.

Step 2 – First two activities will be working at same time but in different groups. After making at least 6 groups of students with 4 students in each group, teacher will give first two sources from Activity I to first 3 groups of students and to other three groups he will give sources from Activity II. They will have minutes to explain their conclusions and teacher randomly will chose one group for Activity I and one group for Activity II and comments are welcomed from other groups.

Step 3 – Again next two activities will be working at same time like before. But teacher now will take one student from each group of students and now six groups will be composed of three students and seventh group will be composed from 6 students. Activity III have three groups of sources and three questions to answer. Each group of sources and each answer will be given to two groups of students. Seventh group of students will doing Activity IV or they will get The Fourteen Points of USA president W. Wilson a source and they will answer to questiones.

Step 4 – Teacher randomly will ask groups to answered questiones and will try to involved all students to add or coment answers.

Step 5 – Second class (45 minutes). Techer will give some introduction about theme or even he can prepare small context with basic information about Kingdom of SHS/Kingdom Yugoslavia. He can also use two maps of Balkan Peninsula from 1913 and second map from 1919.

Step 6 – Teacher will form 4 groups with 6 students in every group and he will give them Flag and the Coat of Arms of Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians and also money which were used in Kingdom SHS/Kingdom Yugoslavia. Students will work on the Activity V.

Step 7 – Teacher will merge groups in two groups, so they can work with bigger number of documents and sources. Students will start with Activity VI, and both groups will work on a chronological timeline and they will placing information from sources on the timeline.

Step 8 – Last minutes both students and teacher will try to find answer of the key question - How far the Paris Peace Conference did prove to be significant for the people of Balkans?
Activity 1
Students divided in groups of four to discuss and to analyze cartoon using these four questions
1. Describe what you see on this cartoon!
2. Why are those figures on this cartoon?
3. Why is this cartoon titled “The Crime of the Ages”?
4. Please answer the question at the bottom of the cartoon.

Source 1
The main goal of this Conference was to punished the Central powers states which was considered responsible for the outbreak of the war. Several once-great European empires were shattered and others were fatally weakened. The fall of an empire opened opportunities for previously subject peoples and small nations throughout Europe.


Source 2
WWI political cartoon - The Crime of the Ages - Who Did It?

http://history148-20thcenturyusa.blogspot.com
Chicago Tribune, USA, 1914.
Activity 2

1. Compare those two maps and find out what are the consequences from Paris Peace Treaty in Europe

2. Read text on the cartoon and find out how and why cartoon is connected with maps

Source 1

Bulletin
The Paris peace conference is radically change the map of Europe
- All my years of study wasted!

Cartoon "Redrawing Europe" published 18/02/1919, Berryman Political Cartoon Collection

Source 2

Map of Europe in 1919

http://florigkor.com/WALL5295708.gif

Source 3

Map of Europe in 1914
Activity 3

1. Compare first four sources and find out are there any common aims
2. Compare speech of US President Woodrow Wilson with the statement of the German Foreign Minister
3. Analyze the map and find out which new states emerged

Source 1

“The Big four” Allied leaders who met at the Paris Peace Conference

Council of Four at the WWI Paris peace conference, May 27, 1919
http://www.europeana.eu/portal

Georges Clemenceau
Woodrow Wilson
David Lllyd George
Vittorio Orlando

Source 2

Statement by David Lloyd George, British Prime Minister, 5 January 1918

The first requirement ... [is 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.

... 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 ... 

... 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.

Letter from Aristide Briand to Jules Cambon dated 12 January 1917

In our eyes, Germany must no longer have a foot beyond the Rhine; the organisation of these territories, their neutrality and their temporary occupation must be considered in exchanges of opinion between the Allies. It is, however, important that France, being the most directly concerned with the territorial status of this region, should have the casting vote in examining the solution of this serious question.

Excerpt from a letter from Aristide Briand to Jules Cambon dated 12 January 1917, published in The Foreign Policy of France from 1914 to 1945 by Jacques Néré, Routledge Publishers, 2002, p. 267. Briand was Prime Minister of France eleven times and often Foreign Minister at the same time.

Speech of the President of the USA Woodrow Wilson, given on 8 January 1918.

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.

Excerpt from a speech about the Fourteen Points given on 8 January 1918 by Woodrow Wilson, President of the USA http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/fourteenpoints.htm

Excerpt from ‘Germany Before the Peace Conference by Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau’

We decline our enemies as judges because of their prejudice. We can inwardly submit not to the claims of the conqueror but only to the judgment of the unbiased. Therefore, I will not allow myself to be driven away from the points of the Wilson peace program as recognized by both sides … We are prepared for both limitations of our sovereignty, if our previous enemies and our future neighbors submit to the same limitation.

… Therefore, we hold fast to the Wilson principles that no costs are to be paid to the conqueror and no territory is to be ceded by the vanquished.

We are bound and prepared to make good the damage which has resulted from our attack to the civil population in the territories occupied by us, but if we again build up what has been destroyed in those territories, we wish to do that by our own free work.

Activity 4

1. Read carefully all fourteen points of the US President Woodrow Wilson and order them by importance
2. Explain why your list of those points are on this order
3. Which of those fourteen points are applicable in Balkan situation at the end of the WWI

Source 1

The Fourteen Points of the American President Woodrow Wilson

1. 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.
2. 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.
3. The removal, of all economic barriers and the establishment of equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.
4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.
5. 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.
6. 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.
7. 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.
8. 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.
9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.
10. The people of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development.
11. Romania, 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.
12. 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.
13. 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.
14. 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.

http://www.firstworldwar.com/source/fourteenpoints.htm
**Activity 5**

1. Analyze flag, coat of arms and money of Kingdom SHS and find out what symbols were used?
2. Are there any symbols still in use today and where?
3. Analyze some of the paper money used in Kingdom SHS, which pictures and symbols are used and why?

**Source 1**

**Flags and Coat of arms of Kingdom SHS|Kingdom Yugoslavia**

[Image of flags and coat of arms]

http://zeliko-heimer-fame.from.hr/descr/yu-king.html

**Source 2**

**Paper money used in Kingdom SHS|Kingdom Yugoslavia**

[Image of paper money]

http://www.hnb.hr/novcan/povijest/h-nastavak-4.htm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kingdom SHS</th>
<th>Kingdom Yugoslavia</th>
<th>Still use in the countries from former Yugoslavia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flag</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coat of arms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Activity 6
Make chronological timeline of foundation of Kingdom SHS

Source 1

Treaty of London 1915

 Territory offered to Italy, Serbia and Montenegro in London (1915)
- The international boundary
- The border region
- Added to Italy
- Added to Serbia
- Divided between Serbian and Montenegro

Source 2

The May Declaration

Article 4
By the future treaty of peace, Italy is to receive the district of Trentino; the entire Southern Tyrol up to its natural geographical frontier, which is the Brenner Pass; the city and district of Trieste; the County of Gorizia and Gradisca; the entire Istria [Istrian peninsula] …

Article 5
Italy shall also be given the province of Dalmatia within its present administrative boundaries...

Article 9
France, Great Britain and Russia admit in principle the fact of Italy’s interest in the maintenance of the political balance of power in the Mediterranean, and her rights, in case of a partition of Turkey, to a share, equal to theirs, in the basin of the Mediterranean …

Article 11
Italy is to get a share in the war indemnity corresponding to the magnitude of her sacrifices and efforts.

Article 16
The present arrangement shall be held secret.

Excerpt from the Treaty of London, 26 April 1915. This document was signed by the foreign ministers of Britain, France, Italy and Russia. Source: Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, London, 1920, LI Cmd. 671, Miscellaneous No. 7, 2-7
Proclamation of the State of Slovenians, Croats and Serbs, Zagreb, 29-X-1918.

Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia and the city of Rijeka are proclaimed independent territories (strong applause and approvals) from Hungary and Austria, and according to the modern principle of nationality, based on people’s unity of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, enters into joint, national and sovereign state of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs on the whole ethnographic area of the people, regardless to whatever territorial and state borders where the people of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs live today. (That’s right! – again everyone stood up with loud applause and exclamation).

The General Peoples’ Constitutional Assembly of the united people of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, shall decide with pre-determined qualified majority that fully protects from any outvoting, as in the form of government, also in the internal state organization of our country, based on full equality of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. (Applause and approvals). In Zagreb, 29 October 1918.

Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina accept State of Slovenians, Croats and Serbs.

Political representatives of Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina have opted for ‘the policy of national unity’ in September 1918, and when the National Council of SHS was created in Zagreb in October 1918, the leaders of BiH Muslims sent the following statement to the National Council of SHS:

“We hereby state that we accept the principles of Zagreb Resolution of March 1918, containing the principle of unconditioned national self-determination and uniting of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in an independent national state, created on the democratic basis. Holding to these fundamental principles, we take a pledge not to, as individuals or a group, make public appearances or give any statement without prior approval from the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs.”

The statement was signed by Dr Halilbeg Hrasnica, Zija Rizaefendic, Dr Mustafa Demislic, Dr Mehmed Spaho, Dr Mehmedbeg Zecevic and Hilzi Mulfic.

Podgorica assembly, decisions

During the session on November 13, 1918, the Assembly had made the decision:
1. that King Nikola Petrovic and his dynasty be dethroned,
2. that Montenegro and Serbia be united in one state under the Karadjordjevic dynasty and so united to become a common Yugoslav state,
3. that an Executive National Committee consisting of five members be elected, to rule in Montenegro until the union of Montenegro and Serbia is completed,
4. that King Nikola, be informed of these decisions as well as the government of the Serbian Kingdom, and the allied countries: France, England, the United States of America, and Italy. After the October Revolution Russia was no longer in the ally block.

Podgorica assembly, November 1918

http://www.montenegrina.net/pages/pages1/istorija/cg_izmedju_1_i_2_svj_rata/podgoricka_skupstina_n_martinovic.htm

Source 3

Source 4

Source 5

Source 6
Zagreb 29.10.1918, celebrating decision of the Croatian Sabor for leaving Austro-Hungary

Source 8
First Slovenian government in the State of Slovenian, Croats and Serbs November 1918

Source 9
Celebrations on the streets of Ljubljana and Celje
Source 10
Entering serbian army in Zagreb November 1918

http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prosinačke_zrtve_5_prosinca_1918

Source 11
During WWI in Croatia were active few military brigades with common Name “Domobraniji” as a part of The Austro-Hungarian army. After unification of the Kingdom SHS, those military unites were dismissed and as a reaction of that decision on 5th of November 1918, soldiers protest on the streets of Zagreb, and they were joined by few hundred citizens. Zagreb police open fire and killed 14 People and there were first victims in new state.

Vecernji list, 04.12.2010, Zagreb
http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prosinačke_zrtve_5_prosinca_1918
Activity 7

Role Play: Round table at Paris Peace Conference – Macedonian question

1. First group work on the sources related to documents issued by Macedonian political groups and intellectuals
2. Second group works on the documents (letters, newspaper articles…) sanded to the Paris Peace Conference by the foreigners who are familiar with situation in Macedonia
3. Third group will analyzed excerpts from the minutes of the Paris Peace Conference

Source 1

Memoir of IMRO

VMRO (Inner Macedonian) sent a memoir to the Bulgarian authorities denying the Bulgarian delegation the right to represent the Macedonian nation at the Peace Conference. “In these crucial days Macedonia has the right to raise its voice for liberation, for its freedom. Macedonia raises its voice before the whole world and before the Bulgarian people and their authorities.”

Risto Stefov - Evidence of the Existence of Macedonians throughout the ages, Skopje 2000

Source 2

Telegram to the Peace Conference

Zurich, 14th February 1919.
The Assembly of the Macedonian representatives in exile asks You to intervene at the Peace Conference so that the right of the Macedonians to self-government can be recognized following the example of all other peoples, thus confirming Your humane principles which will ensure peace in the Balkans and will contribute to the guarantees of universal peace.

TELEGRAM FROM THE MACEDONIAN POLITICAL ASSOCIATION "MACEDONIA TO THE MACEDONIANS" OF ZURICH TO GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, History of Macedonia, Skopje 1998.

Source 3

Appeal to the Peace Conference

The General Council of all the Macedonian Communities in Switzerland sent an appeal to the Peace Conference Revolutionary Organization in which they insisted on allowing Macedonia to be represented at the Conference by its own delegates.

"Regarding the explanations given by the prime ministers, referring to the Serbian and Greek territorial requests, the General Council of all the Macedonian Communities in Switzerland once again takes the liberty to appeal to the esteemed Peace Conference to let the Macedonian nation determine and define its own future according to the principle that no nation will ever put up with foreign rule if it is harmful and unprofitable. We sincerely believe that the Paris Agreement signed in 1919 will be as just to as to the other nations.

The Macedonian political association "Macedonia to the Macedonians" of Zurich. A telegram to the President of the French Government, Georges Clemenceau, and to P. E. Dutasta, Secretary General of the Paris Peace Conference, in defense of Macedonian rights. 14th February 1919

Source 4

Sister Augustine Bewicke on the Macedonian Autonomy, 4th January 1919.

Dear Sir,

Please excuse the liberty I take in writing to you, it is because the final settlement in the Balkans is of vital interest to the Catholics in these countries.

- I have been on this Mission for years, the Uniate Catholic Mission, which at the beginning of the Second Balkan War about 10,000 Catholics. The Treaty of Bucharest, which divided Macedonia without any regard to justice, was the cause of these poor people being dispersed on account of their Slav language, which was forbidden in Churches and schools.

- The Greeks will not admit the Slav language in Churches or schools; the inhabitants of Macedonia are in the great majority Slavs; they call themselves now Macedonians, and what they ardently desire for them is an autonomy under European control.

- In whatever way Macedonia might be divided, the people would always be discontented, and would fight again as soon as possible. The only hope I can foresee is in a strong autonomy, which neither Greeks nor Bulgars nor Serbs would dare attack; then the Macedonians, who are really intelligent and docile when they are well treated, would peacefully develop this beautiful fertile country, and might learn to be civilized.

Believe me, dear Sir, Sincerely yours,

Sister Augustine, Sister of Charity

http://thedocumentarynews.wordpress.com/2012/01/08/sister-augustine-bewicke-on-the-macedonian-autonomy/
RUDOLPH ARCHIBALD REISS* ON THE MACEDONIANS

*Rudolph Archibald Reiss (1876-1929) was a prominent Swiss lawyer and Professor at Lausanne University. As an expert on international military law and later as a volunteer in the Serbian Army, he participated in World War I and on the Salonika front.

I said that I would rather call your Bulgarophones Macedonians. You call those people Bulgarophones, owing to their language which is similar to Bulgarian. But, is it Bulgarian, is it the same language spoken in Sofia? No. Macedonian is just as similar to Serbian as it is to Bulgarian. I am not a linguist and I would not allow myself a personal judgment, but disinterested Balkanologists have asserted to me that Macedonian is more similar to Serbian than Bulgarian. It is possible that there are linguists who assert the opposite. But it is a fact that the Macedonian language is spoken neither in Sofia nor in Belgrade. It is an individual Slav language, just as we have the Romansch in Switzerland, spoken in Grisons, apart from Italian. To my mind, the Macedonian can be called neither Bulgarian nor Serb, but simply Macedonian.


MEMORANDUM BY JAMES BOURCHIER ON THE CONSTITUTION OF MACEDONIA

London, 26th February 1919.

(1) In the interests of justice and of the future peace of the Balkan Peninsula, it is necessary that the new frontiers of the Balkan States should be made to coincide so far as possible with the limits of nationalities.

(3) In the case of Macedonia the application of this principle is peculiarly desirable in view of the rival claims of neighboring countries, which have been the cause of infinite misery to the population for nearly half a century. Under an autonomous government protected by the Powers, the population would be enabled to care for its own interests and to live and thrive without the molestation to which it has hitherto been subjected.

(3) If we accept the theory advanced by the Serbians and Greeks that the national conscience of the Macedonians is "fluid" and displays no partiality for any foreign propaganda, the natural conclusion is that they should govern themselves and that the principle "Macedonia for the Macedonians" should be adopted.

(5) The autonomous Macedonian State would extend from the Sar Mountains (the Serbian ethnical boundary) on the north, to the Aegean Sea on the south, and from the Bulgarian frontier on the east to the Albanian on the west. The southern frontier, extending from Lake Kastoria to the mouth of the Vardar, would leave Verria to Greece, which would also retain Nigrita and the Chalcidice Peninsula.

(7) The renunciation by Serbia and Greece of the Macedonian territory they have occupied since 1913 would not be unreasonable in view of the great extension which these States will now receive.

(8) Salonika, which is commercially inseparable from the interior, would naturally become the capital of the new State.

(9) The solution thus proposed would satisfy the widely-felt desire for autonomy which has existed in Macedonia and at Salonika for many years past.

James D. Bourchier, a prominent British public figure and journalist.
July - November 1919

1. MINUTES OF THE THIRTIETH MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON NEW STATES
15th July, 1919.

The Treaty with the Serb-Croat-Slovene State was discussed. The Italian proposals for conferring autonomy on Macedonia (Annex (A)) and Albania (Annex (B)) were discussed and a long discussion took place on them. The Italian representative laid stress on the importance of providing the necessary securities for the protection of the inhabitants of Macedonia and in particular the Slavonic population which was not Serbian. Mr. Leeper suggested that while it was no doubt desirable that some form of self-government should be given to Macedonia by the Serbian Government, it was doubtful whether the obligation to do this should be imposed upon the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, and it would be better at any rate as a first step to enquire what the proposals of the Government for dealing with this district were. M. Laroche again laid stress upon the extreme importance of not undermining the authority of the Government by setting up a State within a State, and strongly urged the desirability of keeping to a minimum interference with the internal institutions of the State.

* Allen Leeper, head of the Press Office of the British Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference.
* Jules Laroche, delegate in the French Delegation at the Paris Peace Conference and member of the Committee on New States

2. MINUTES OF THE THIRTY-SEVENTH MEETING OF THE COMMITTEE ON NEW STATES
30th July, 1919.

...The Committee then discussed the Macedonian question. (1497) Two proposals were put forward, first a draft which had been prepared by Colonel Castoldi, (1498) by request, making Macedonia an autonomous district on the line similar to those adopted for Ruthenia. (1499)

It was generally agreed that it would not be possible to adopt this. The other was a suggestion made by the British representative that arrangements should be made by which the League of Nations would be authorized to maintain representatives in Macedonia in order to strengthen the guarantees against oppression.

As a result of the discussion no definite decision was reached, but it was agreed that the different members of the Committee should, if possible, bring forward some concrete proposals at the next meeting.

* Colonel Castoldi, member of the Italian Delegation at the Committee on New States.
* Ruthenia refer to Ukraine

D. H. Miller, My Diary, p. 323; Recueil, 215.