



**11 November**

**1918**

The end of the First World War



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BY THE NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLING AUTHOR OF *THE WAR THAT ENDED PEACE*

MARGARET MACMILLAN

Foreword by RICHARD HOLBROOKE



# PARIS 1919

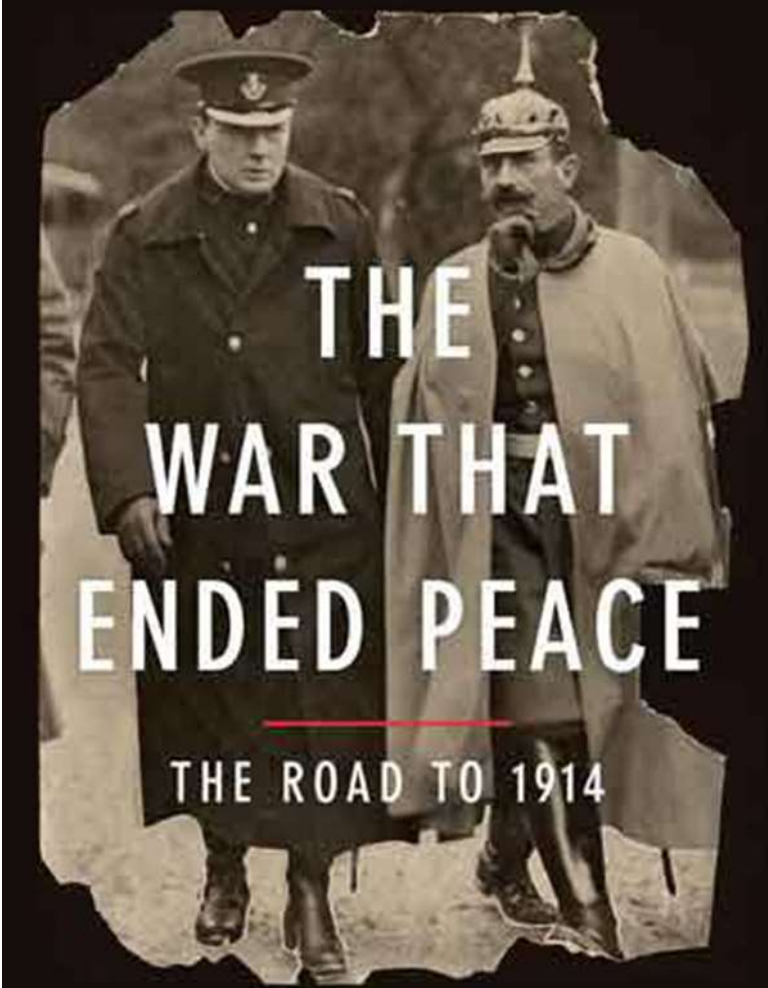
WINNER  
of the  
SAMUEL  
JOHNSON  
PRIZE

"illuminating and engrossing... honest and  
thoroughly engaging." —*The New York Times*

SIX MONTHS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD

MARGARET MACMILLAN

BY THE BESTSELLING AUTHOR OF *PARIS 1919*



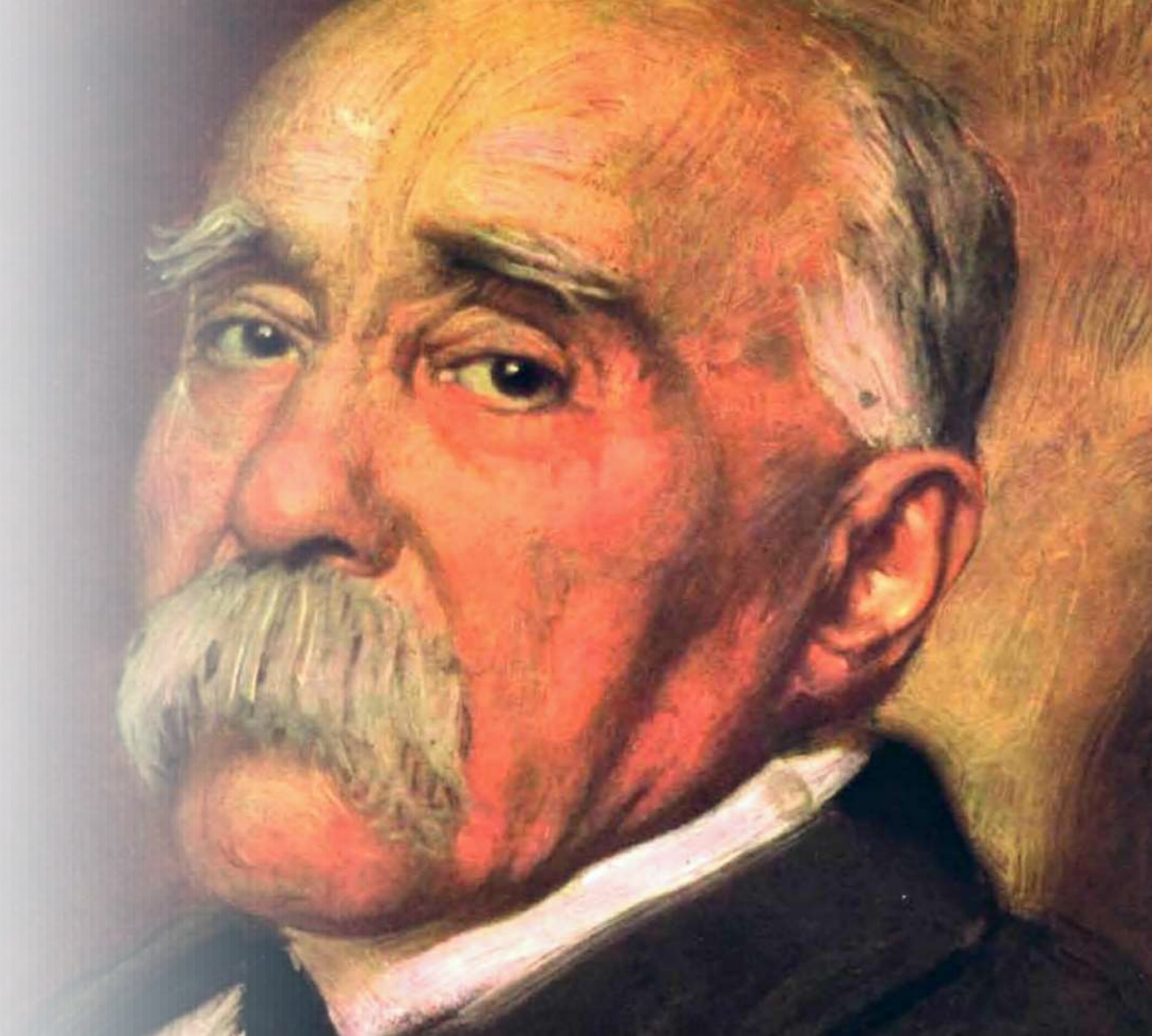
# THE WAR THAT ENDED PEACE

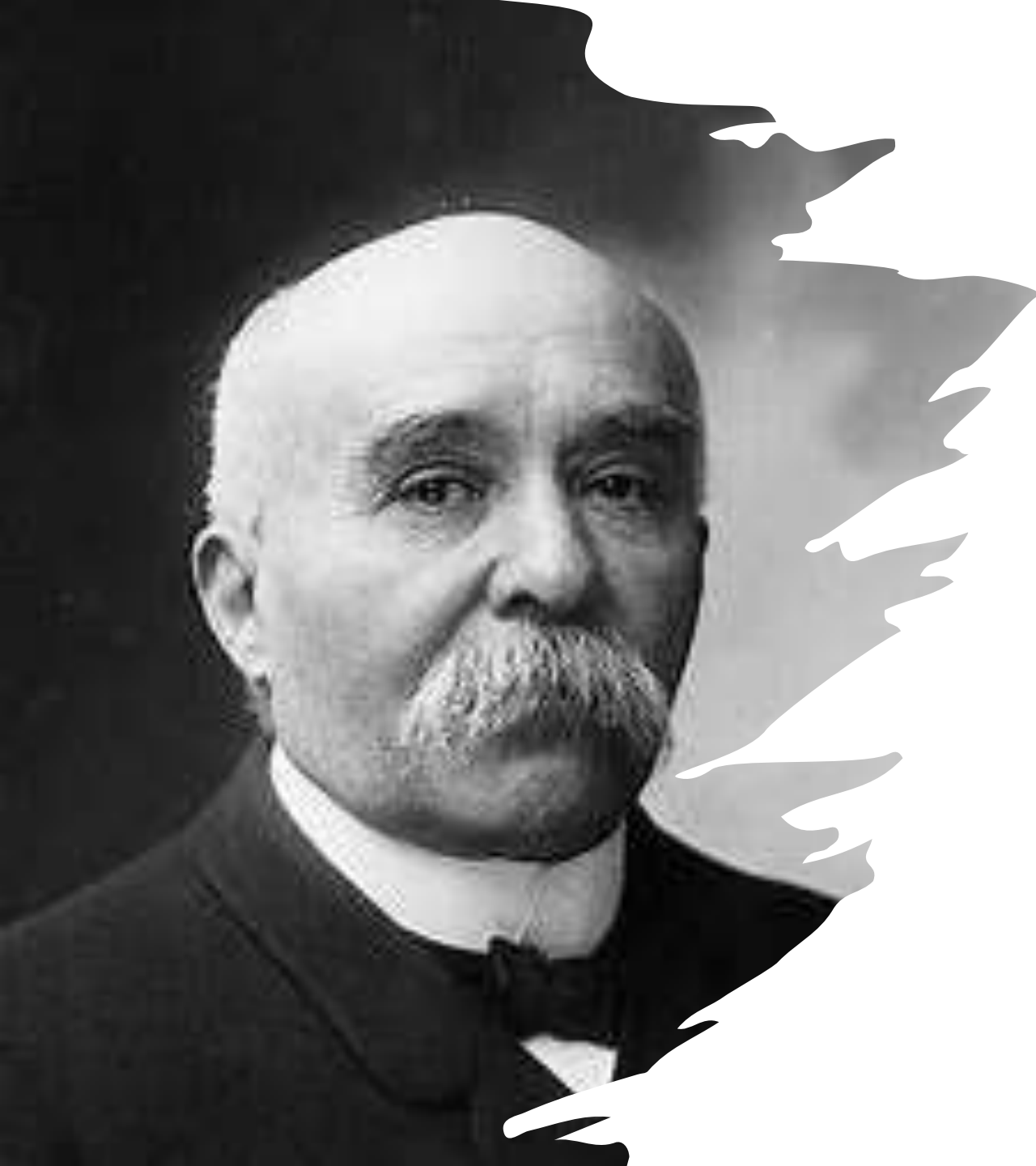
THE ROAD TO 1914

**Georges Clemenceau**  
*"The Tiger"*

President of the Council of  
Ministers (1917-1920)

*"Father Victory"*





## Clemenceau in 1914

Politically isolated

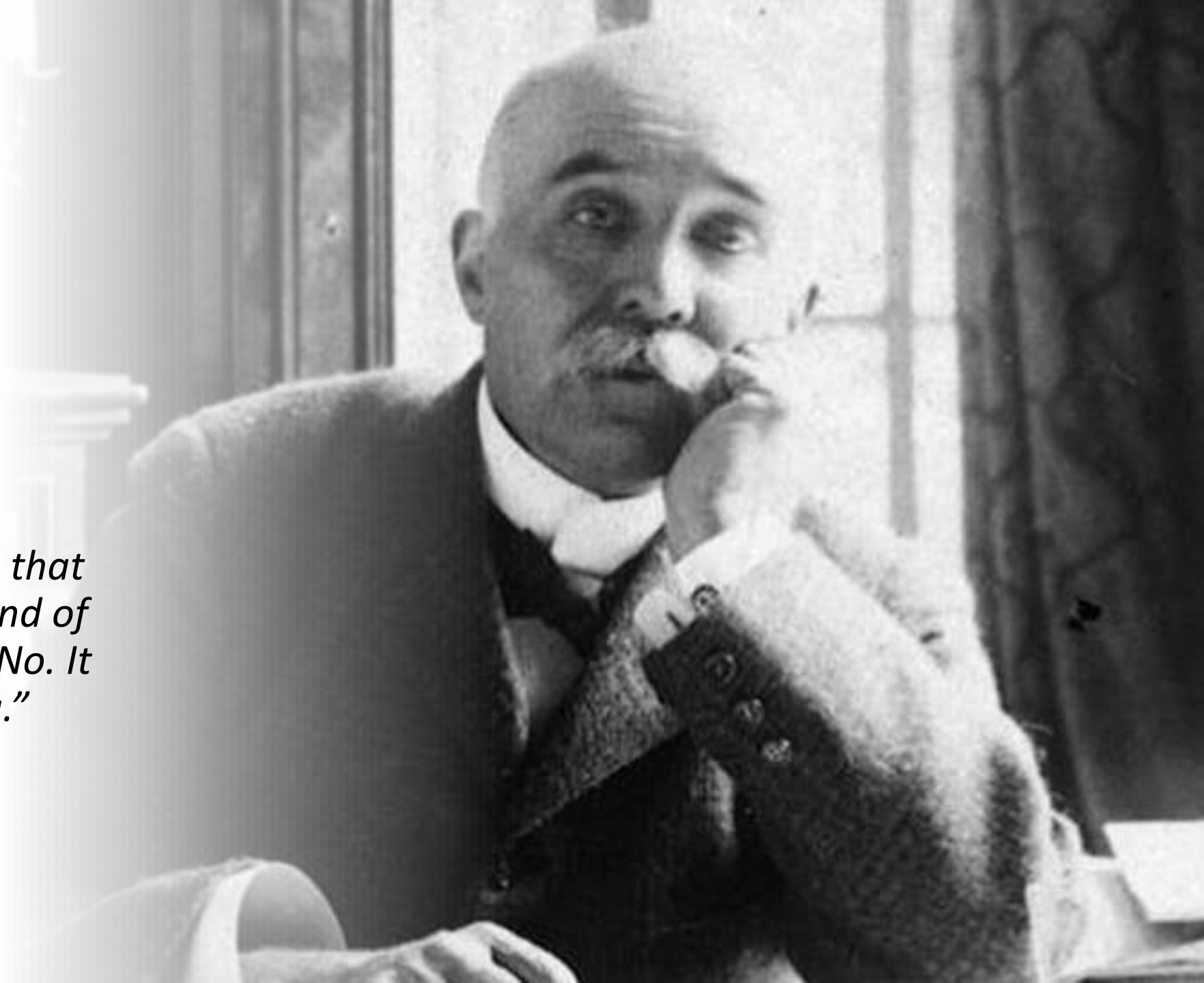
Detested by right wing parties  
(anticlerical and pro-Dreyfus)

Also detested by the Socialists (Brutal  
management of social conflicts as  
Interior Minister)



**January 1915**

*“I wish I could tell you that we will soon see the end of so much horror. Alas! No. It will long, very long.”*





The great illusion of 1914

The war would be short

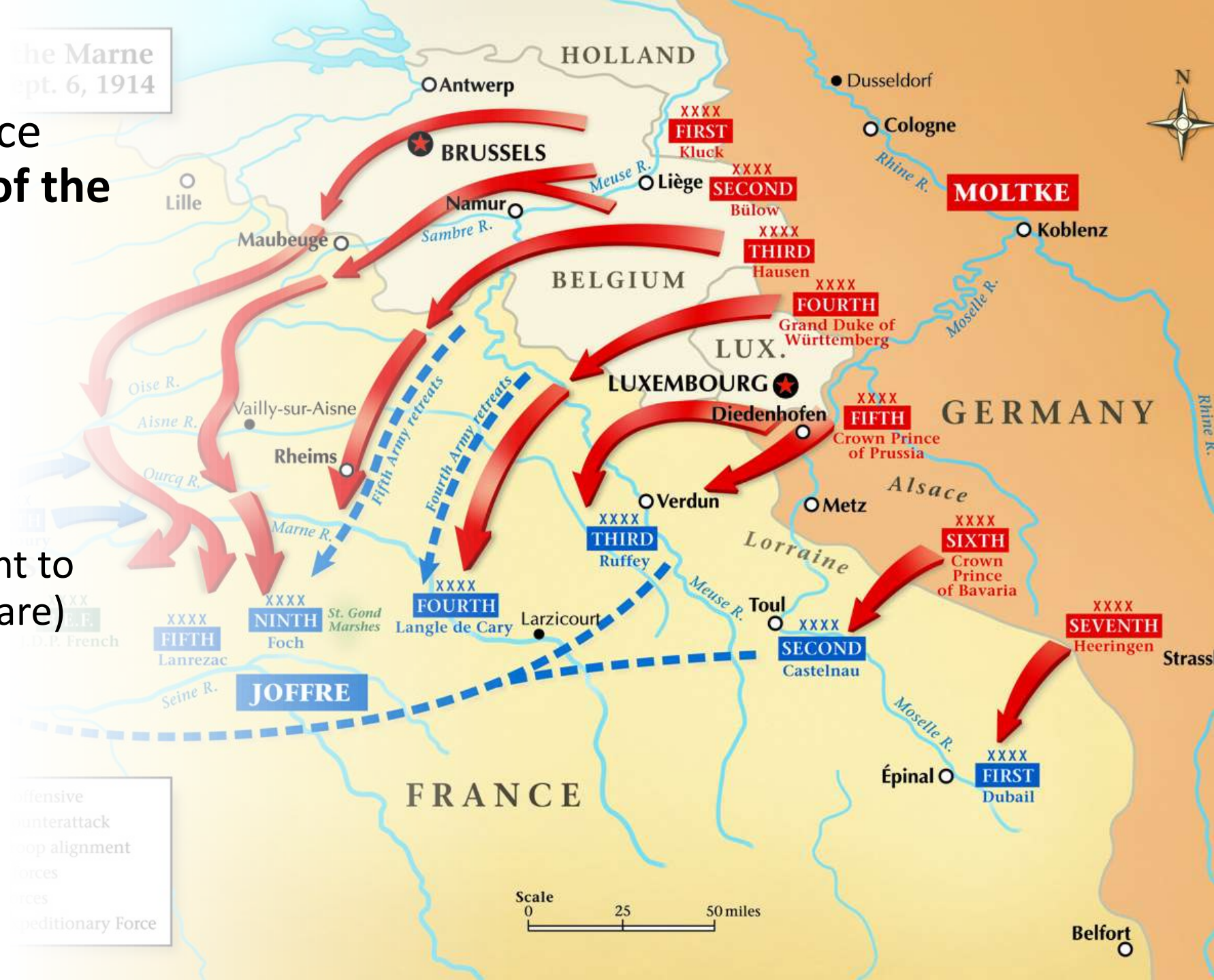
The war plans failed within a few weeks

NORTHWEST EUROPE, 1914  
WESTERN FRONT, 1914  
Schlieffen Plan of 1905 and  
French Plan XVII



# The German advance stopped at the **Battle of the Marne**

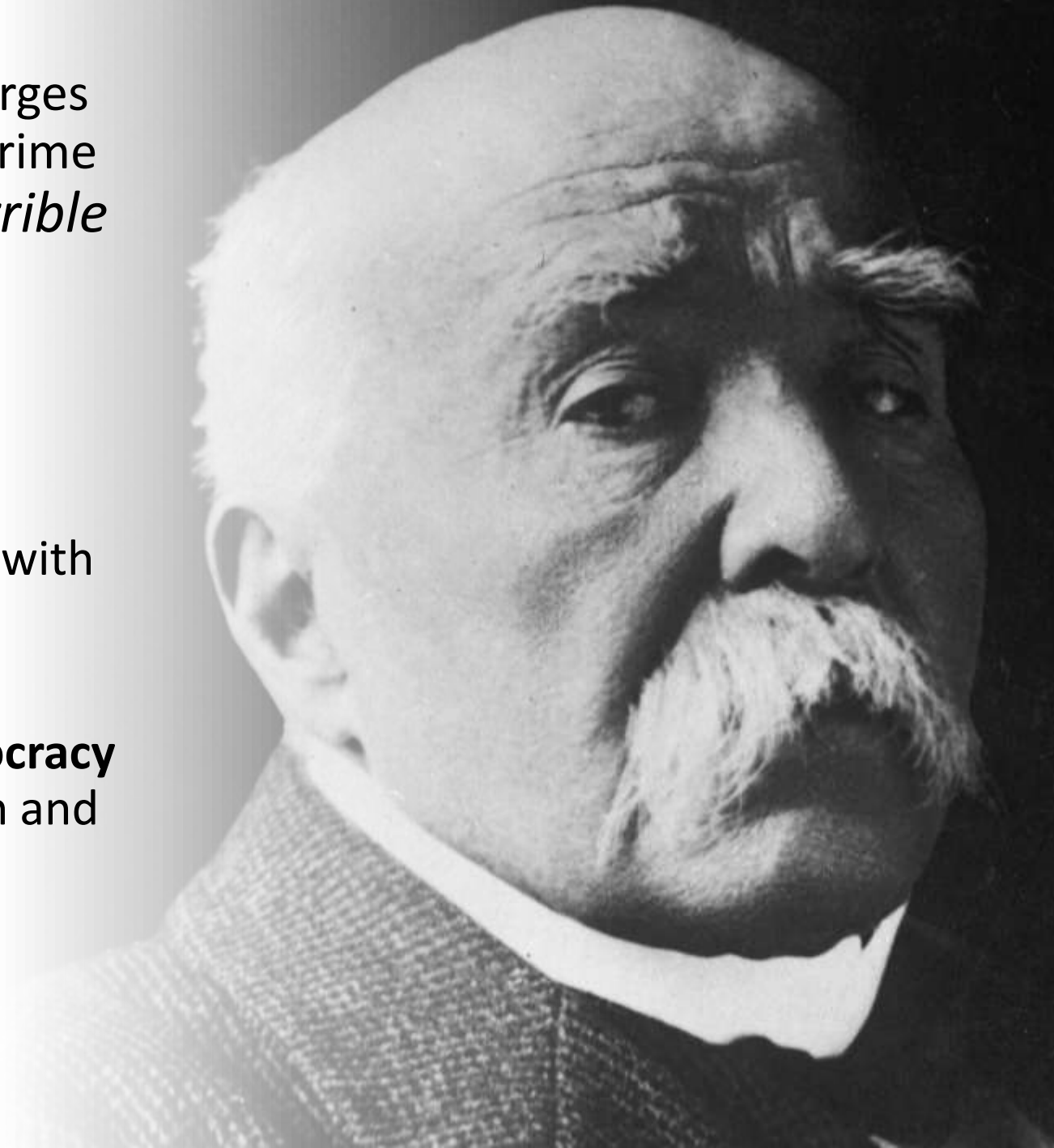
From a war of movement to **stalemate** (trench warfare)




**17 November 1917:** Georges Clemenceau appointed Prime Minister *“despite his terrible flaws”*

NO to a negotiated peace with Germany

Fighting for **justice & democracy**  
(alliance with Great Britain and the U.S. key)







*“Domestic politics, I wage  
war; foreign affairs, I wage  
war. I always wage war”*  
George Clemenceau

A war he never wanted!



The Germans in Paris (1871)









The defeat of 1870-1871 and  
annexation of **Alsace-Lorraine**

France irreconcilable  
BUT

*"I say it loud and clear; we have  
nothing to hide; our dream is not  
to bring war upon Europe. If war is  
imposed upon us, we shall accept  
it."* (1885)







Wilhelm II and *Weltpolitik*: to transform Germany into a **global power** & challenge British naval supremacy

*"We wish to throw no one into the shade, but we also want our own place in the sun"* (Foreign Secretary von Bulow)

## Franco-Russian alliance: a marriage of convenience (1894)



Alexander III



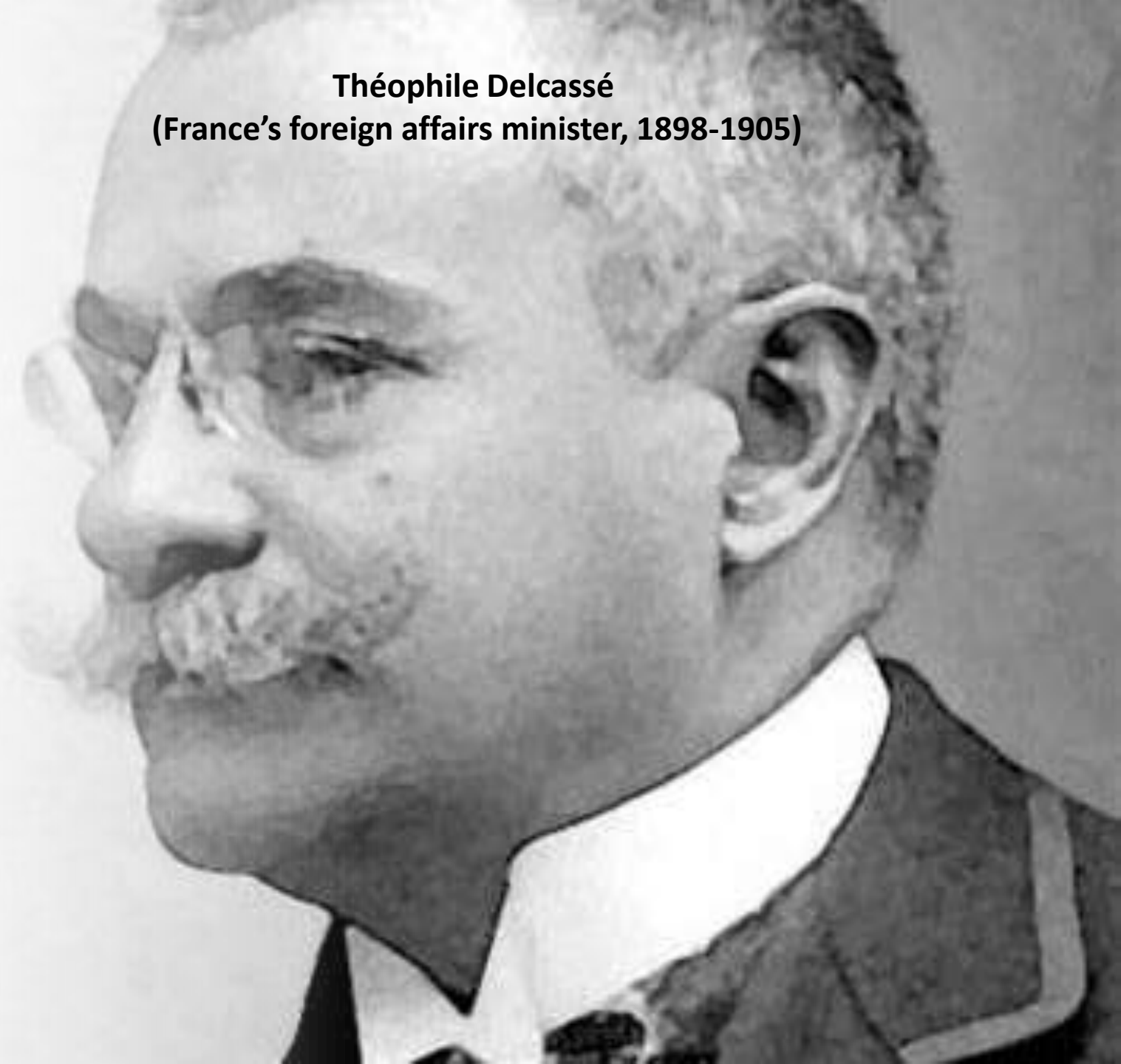


The **diplomatic  
encirclement** of Germany

To **strengthen** the Franco-Russian  
alliance

The ***Entente Cordiale*** with Great  
Britain (1904)

**Théophile Delcassé**  
(France's foreign affairs minister, 1898-1905)



**1904-1914**

France, Great Britain & Russia: fear  
of Germany

Germany: fear of encirclement

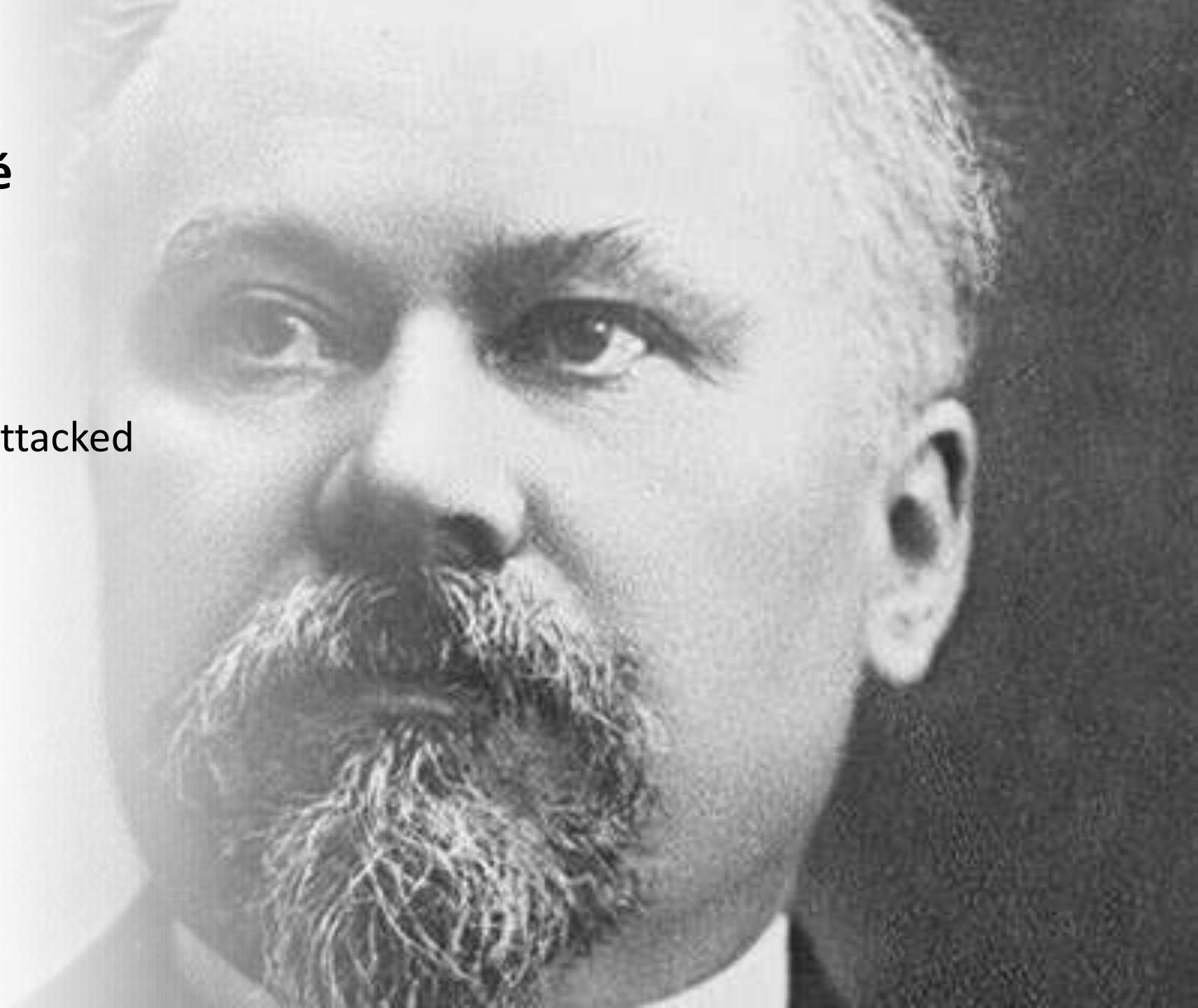
Growing tensions in the Balkans





## **Raymond Poincaré**

France to support Russia if attacked  
by Germany (1912)



Growing **tensions** in  
Europe

*"I am very pessimistic..."*  
(1912)





**28 June 1914: Archduke Franz  
Ferdinand's visit to Sarajevo**









Conrad von Hotzendorf (Austria-Hungary's Chief of the General Staff)

## How will Austria-Hungary react?

The assassination of Franz Ferdinand: the perfect **opportunity** to punish and destroy Serbia once and for all



# A letter from Franz Joseph to Wilhelm



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**5 July:** Germany's unconditional guarantee of support to Austria ("blank check")

Austria-Hungary to act quickly (to avoid a larger conflict)



CIRCULATION  
YESTERDAY  
5,115

# GENEVA DAILY TIMES

TEMPERATURE  
7 A. M. .... 65  
12 Noon. .... 72  
3 P. M. .... 73

Vol. 20, No 51. Two Cents—Ten Pages.

Geneva, N. Y., Tuesday, July 28, 1914.

Forecast | Tonight—Fair.  
Tomorrow—Fair.

## AUSTRIA DECLARES WAR!

### BELGRADE WILL BE OCCUPIED AT ONCE

Hostilities Already Commenced  
at Several Points Along  
the Border.

War Precipitated By Germany's Re-  
fusal to Enter Upon Mediation  
Negotiations.

Servians Hurrying to Enlist, and Type of Servian Fighting Men.



At the left is shown a picture of Servian workmen who dropped their tools when the first rumors of a possible war with Austria were spread, and hurried to the military offices to enlist as volunteers. The fact that workmen repairing the streets of Belgrade did not even stop to put their tools away before hurrying off to enlist illustrates the intense patriotism and warlike spirit of the people. At the left is shown a Servian infantryman, the type of the type that will bear the brunt of the fighting in the present conflict.



### EFFORTS FOR PEACE WERE IN VAIN

Germany Believed to Have Refused to Participate in Mediating Austro-Servian Controversy.

### BUT WAR MAY BE LOCALIZED

(By Herbert Toppin.)  
London, July 27.—England's effort to prevent war in the Balkans has failed. German has refused to accept the proposal that she participate in mediation efforts unless Austria requests such action. This information was conveyed here today in a dispatch from Berlin. Sir Ed-  
ward Grey received this official statement as confirmation of the Berlin dispatch showing that Gray's efforts had failed. There are strong hopes, however, that the Austro-Servian conflict will be localized and that the danger of war involving all the powers is much less than it was 24 hours ago. This belief is due to the offer

**July 31: Russia mobilized**

**German ultimatum to Russia to  
demobilize within 12 hours and  
*“make us a distinct declaration to  
that effect”***

**NO answer!**





Are You One  
of the "Crown-ed"  
Hands?

See Page 3

# Evening Despatch

**SPECIAL**  
**Sunday Edition.**

FREE INSURANCE AGAINST ALL FATAL ACCIDENTS.

BIRMINGHAM SUNDAY, 2 AUGUST, 1914.

8 PAGES, ONE HALFPENNY.

## GERMANY DECLARES WAR ON RUSSIA.

Firing Reported To-day on  
the Frontier.

ULTIMATUM TO FRANCE.

Time Said to be Extended  
Until To-morrow.

MOBILISATION ALL ROUND.

Italy Intimates that She Will  
Remain Neutral.

with the deepest sympathy for the brave  
bears in the north, who have valour and  
courage to defend the German frontiers  
against the attack of Russia.

It is quite natural that, under such  
the prospect of a campaign at our very  
doors, we should give expression to the  
feeling that dominates us today and cry  
"Viva la France!"

### KAISER'S SPEECH.

A telegram from Berlin received at  
Pain states that yesterday a crowd of  
10,000 persons assembled before the  
Imperial Palace and listened again and  
again.

Shortly after we entered the Emperor  
William appeared at the window, and the  
enthusiasm of the crowd increased.

In a tone which rang out boldly the  
German Emperor said:

This is a dark hour for Germany.  
The sword is being forced into her  
hands. If, at the last hour, our  
people do not rise up to fight with  
hope, with God's help, we shall be  
lost. That which all is that we can  
do is to fight with hope.

War would demand of us enormous  
sacrifices in property and life, but we  
shall show what a nation it is to  
oppose Germany. And now I leave you  
to God. Pray to Him to help our  
gallant army.

The Emperor has been crowned for

### DUBLIN FUSILIERS ON GUARD.



### TERRITORIALS OFF TO CAMP.

Bishop of Birmingham  
Interviewed.

Lord Cairns, Marquis, C.B., Officer  
Commanding the 1st and 2nd Divisions  
of the London Territorials, stated in the  
"Despatch" today that there had been  
no alteration in the orders already issued  
for camp training, and the Territorials  
would proceed direct for their camps and  
be there as arranged.

What would happen if they did not  
come? "The work is," he added, "I  
must leave working further."

"We live in a warlike time, as most  
people are well aware. I may as well be  
put up and play the game." A group  
of soldiers, armed with the latest  
weapons of "warfare," the Territorials,  
were seen to be moving off to the  
camps. Lord Cairns, Marquis, C.B.,  
stated that the Territorials were  
being sent to the camps in the  
morning, and he was sure that they  
would be there by the time the  
Territorials were sent to the camps.

The Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. Samuel  
Walker) is a member of the Territorial  
Force, and although only the Bishop of  
the 1st Division (the 1st London  
Territorial) he is a member of the  
Territorial Force. He is a member of  
the Territorial Force, and he is a  
member of the Territorial Force.

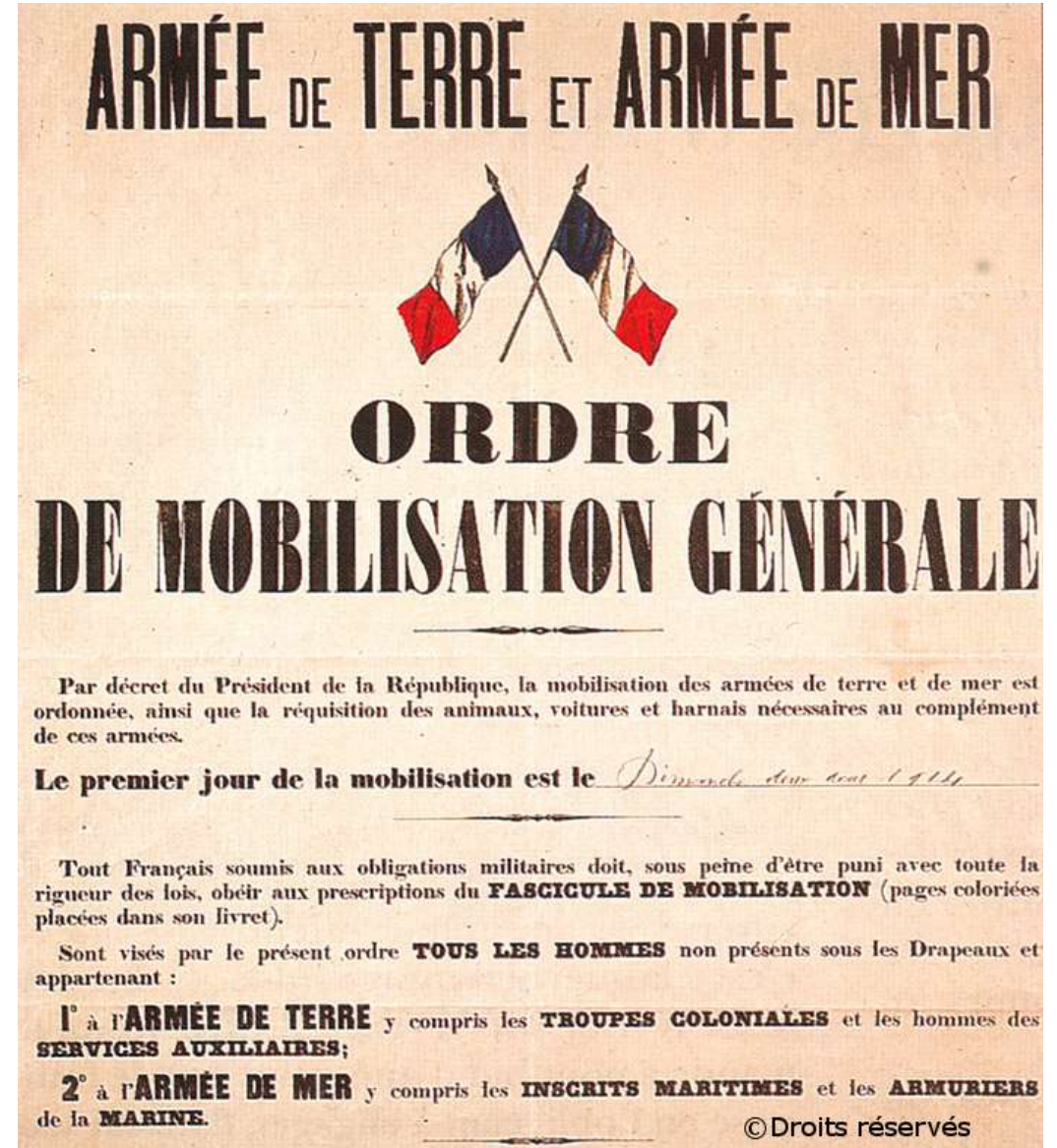




# August 3: Germany declared war on France



Clemenceau to support but no to join the French government at war



## Crucial decisions

### 5 September 1914: the London Declaration

France, Britain & Russia agreed not to sign a **separate peace** until **total victory**

France: to end the hegemony of  
“Prussian militarism”

**No negotiated peace**





A short war but delayed  
(**general Joffre** until 1916)

Useless and costly offensives  
against German lines

Clemenceau increasing  
**critical of Joffre** and lack of  
government supervision





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A "just war"

France: the birthplace of human rights

Fighting for freedom and justice



## The rape of Belgium







## Submarine warfare

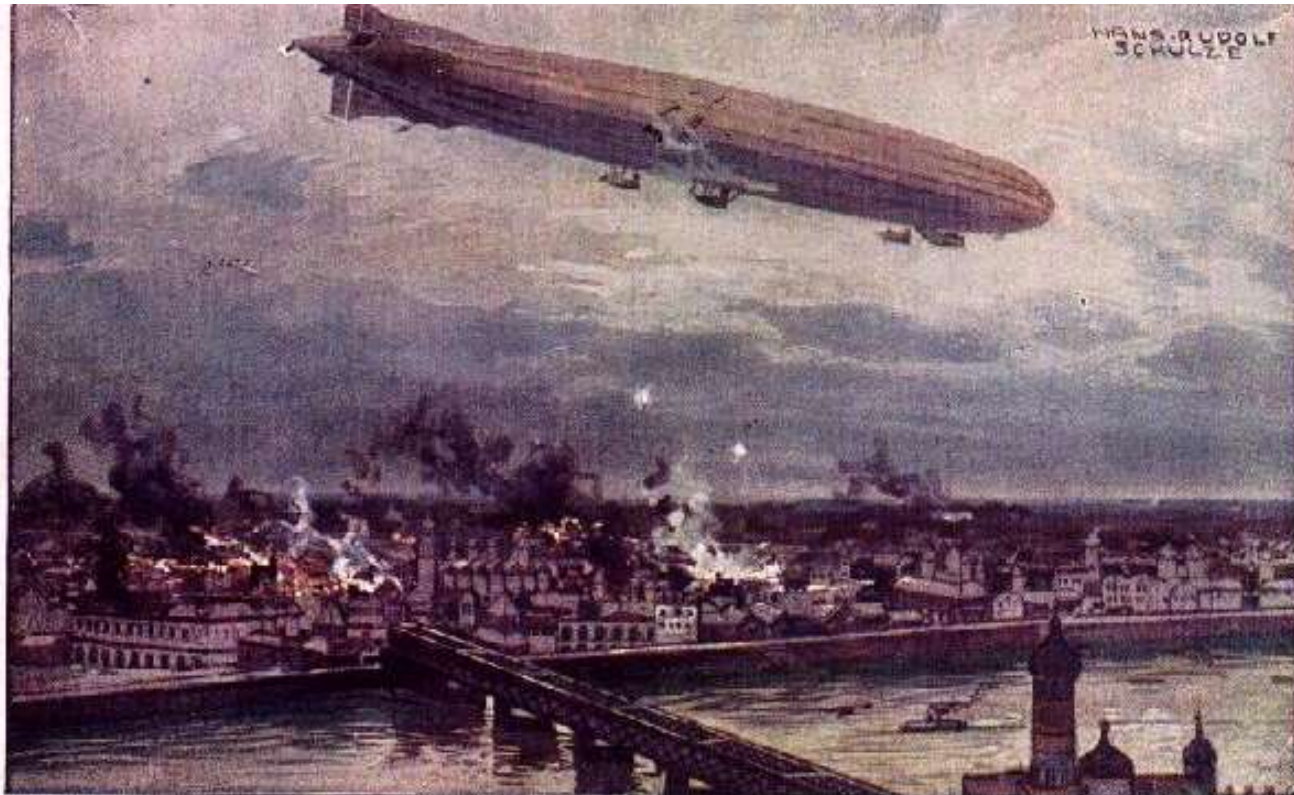




# The introduction of new weapons

The first air raids against cities  
(Paris, London, Warsaw...) –  
**Strategic bombing**

The introduction of **poison gas**  
(April 1915)





THE TRIUMPH OF "CULTURE."



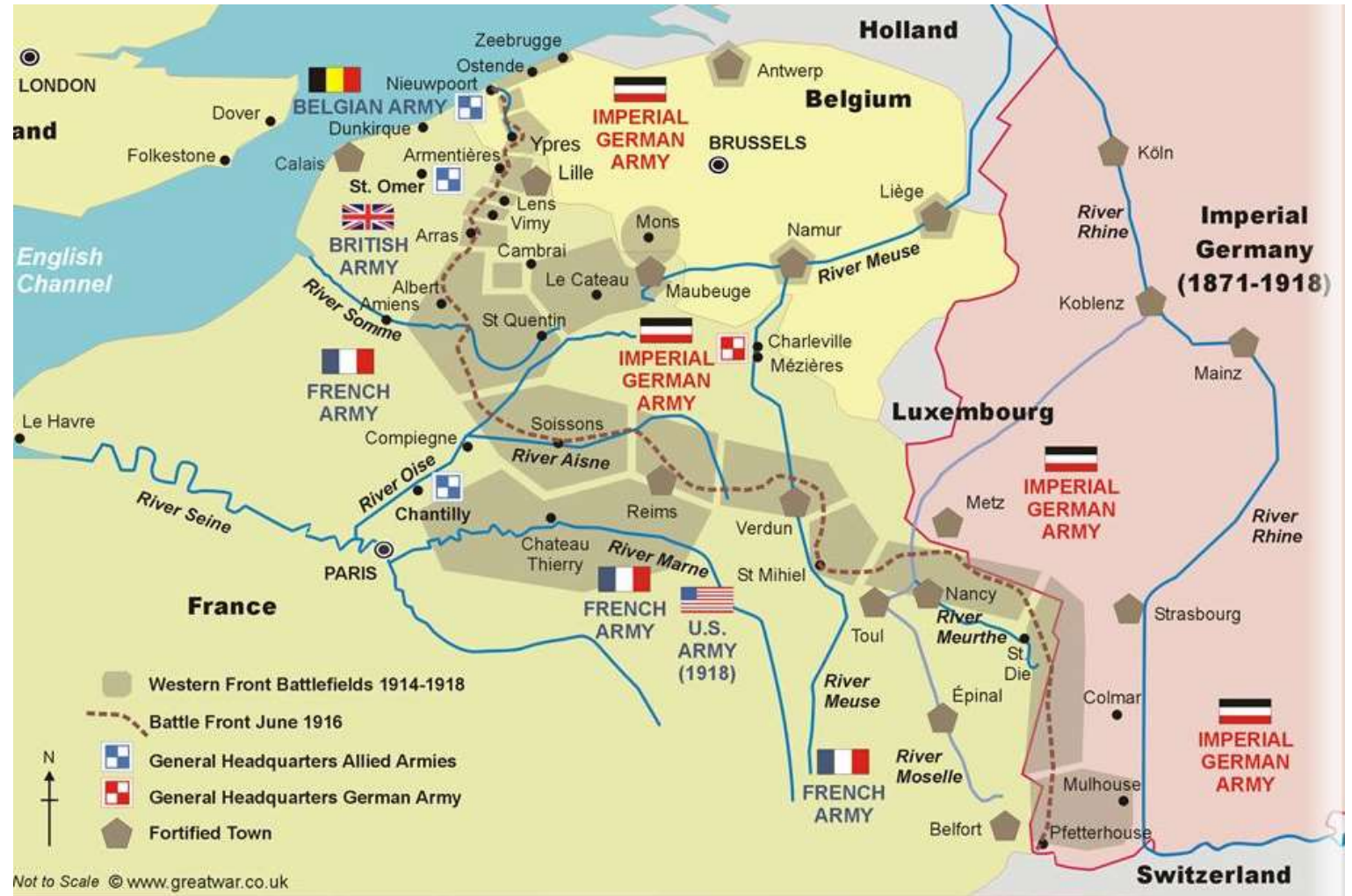
THE DEATH-LORD.

THE KAISER (on reading the appalling tale of German losses). "WHAT MATTER, SO WE HOHENZOLLERNS SURVIVE?"

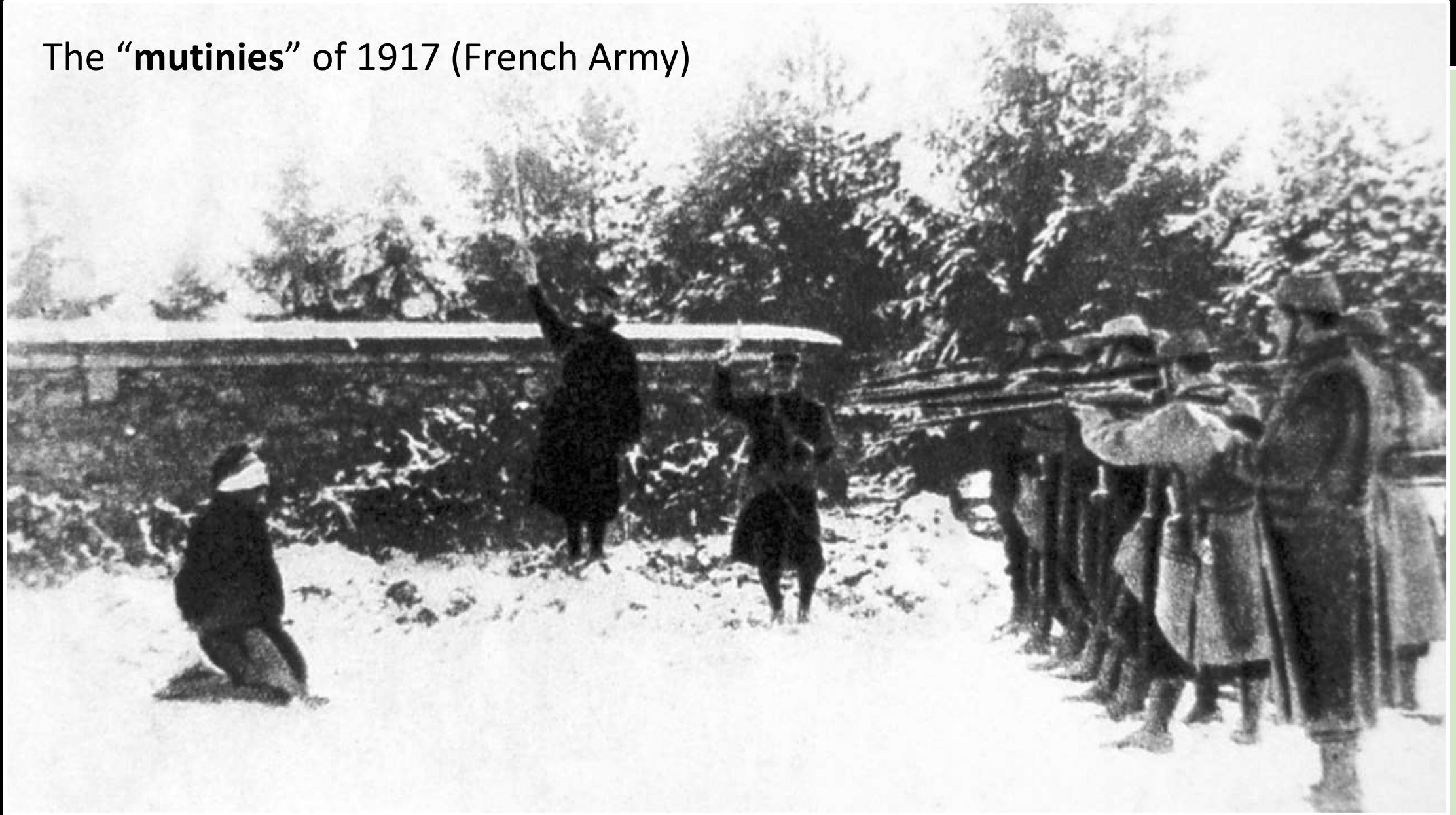


# The failure of the **Nivelle Offensive** (16 April – 9 May)

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## The “**mutinies**” of 1917 (French Army)

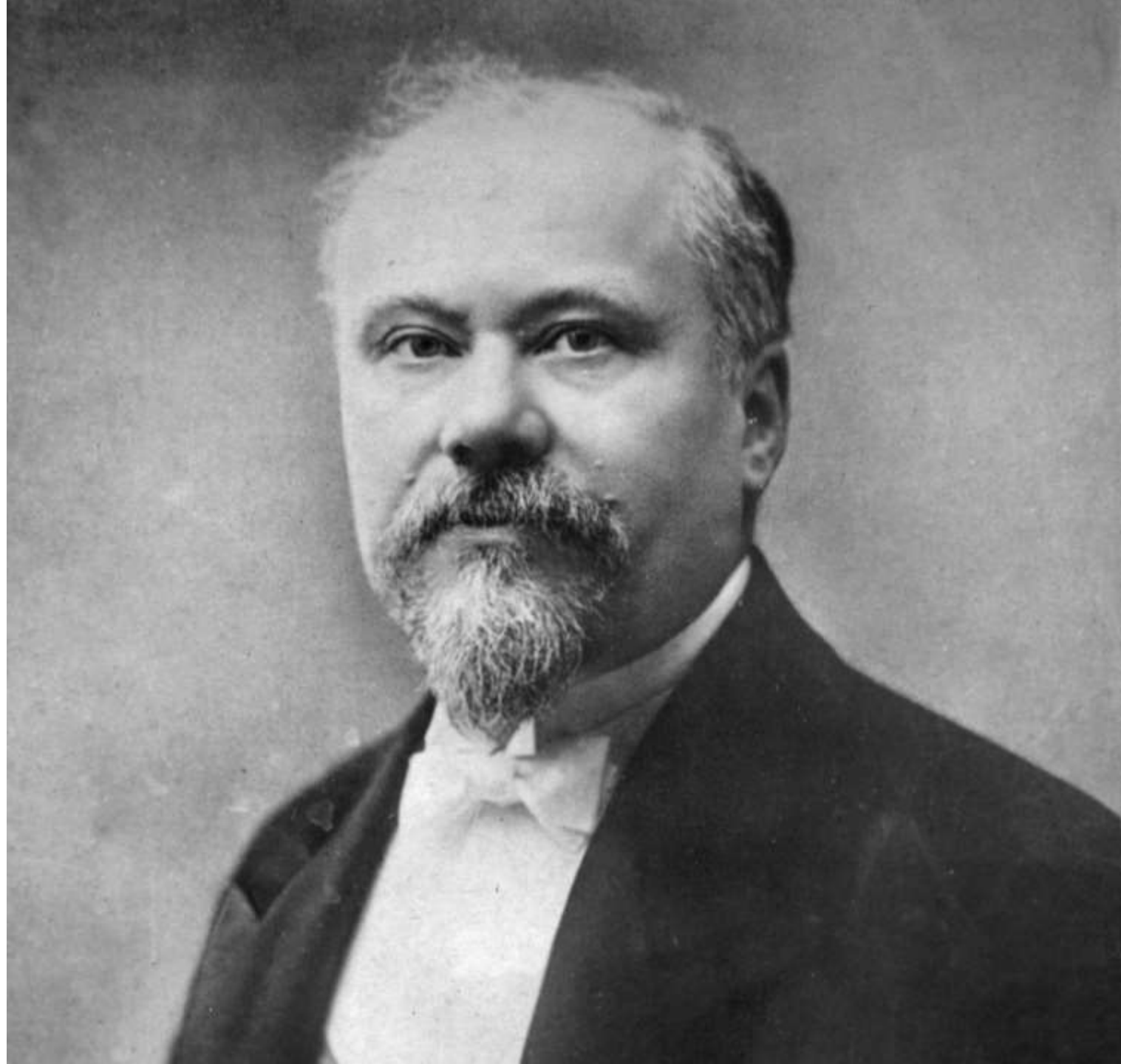




France in a most  
precarious position

Clemenceau: the only  
alternative

*"Now that all is lost, he  
alone is able to save it all."*



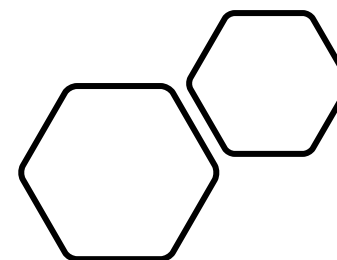
November 1917

Clemenceau accepted his appointment  
despite his age (76) & poor health  
(diabetes, cardiac arrhythmia, severe  
eczema)

Dislike for the French President  
(**Raymond Poincaré**)







## Clemenceau's strategy

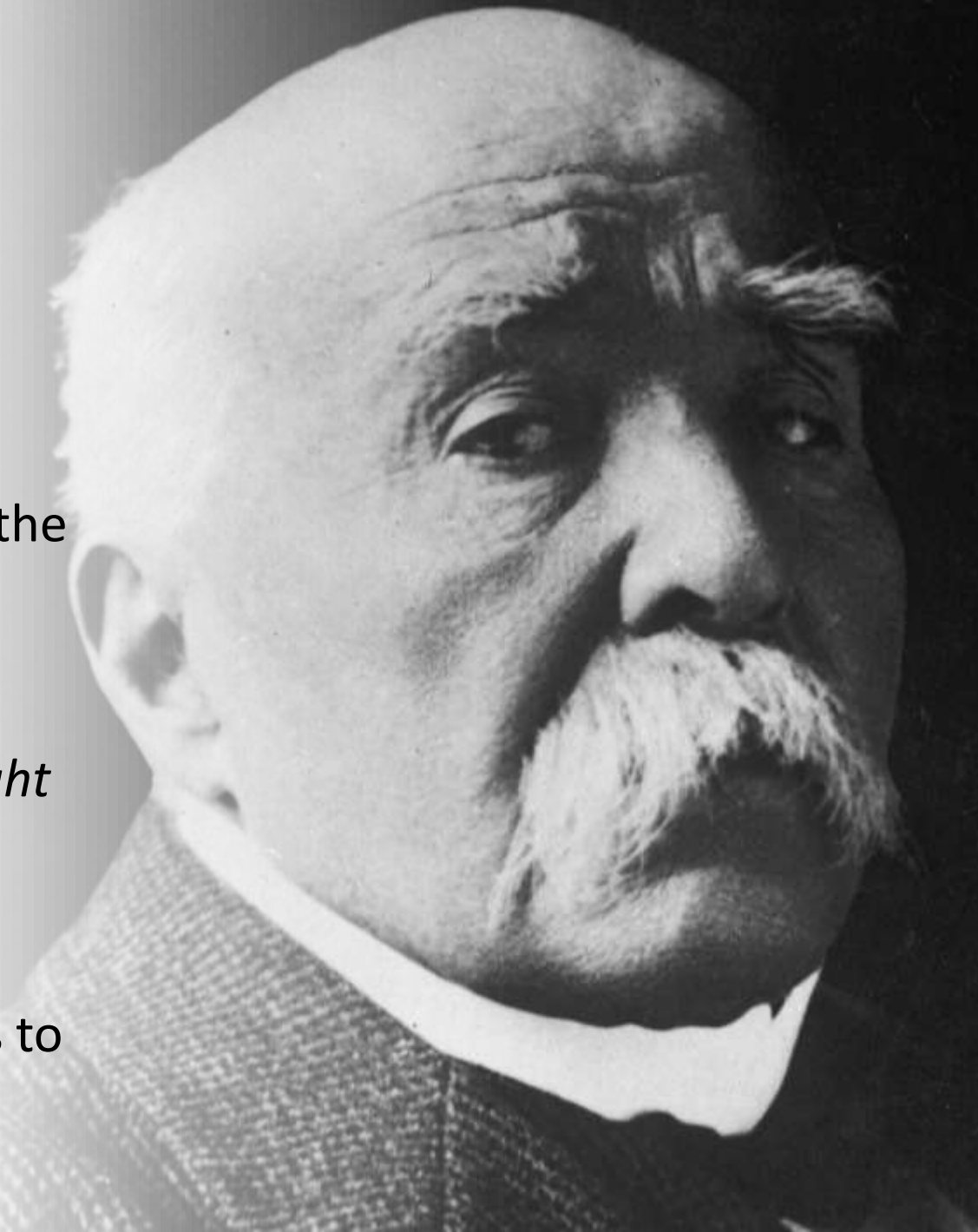
Superiority of political sphere over the military

Clemenceau also War Minister

Efficiency: *"the right man in the right place"*

Lighter bureaucracy

The "**three-day bulletin**": problems to be solved within 3 days



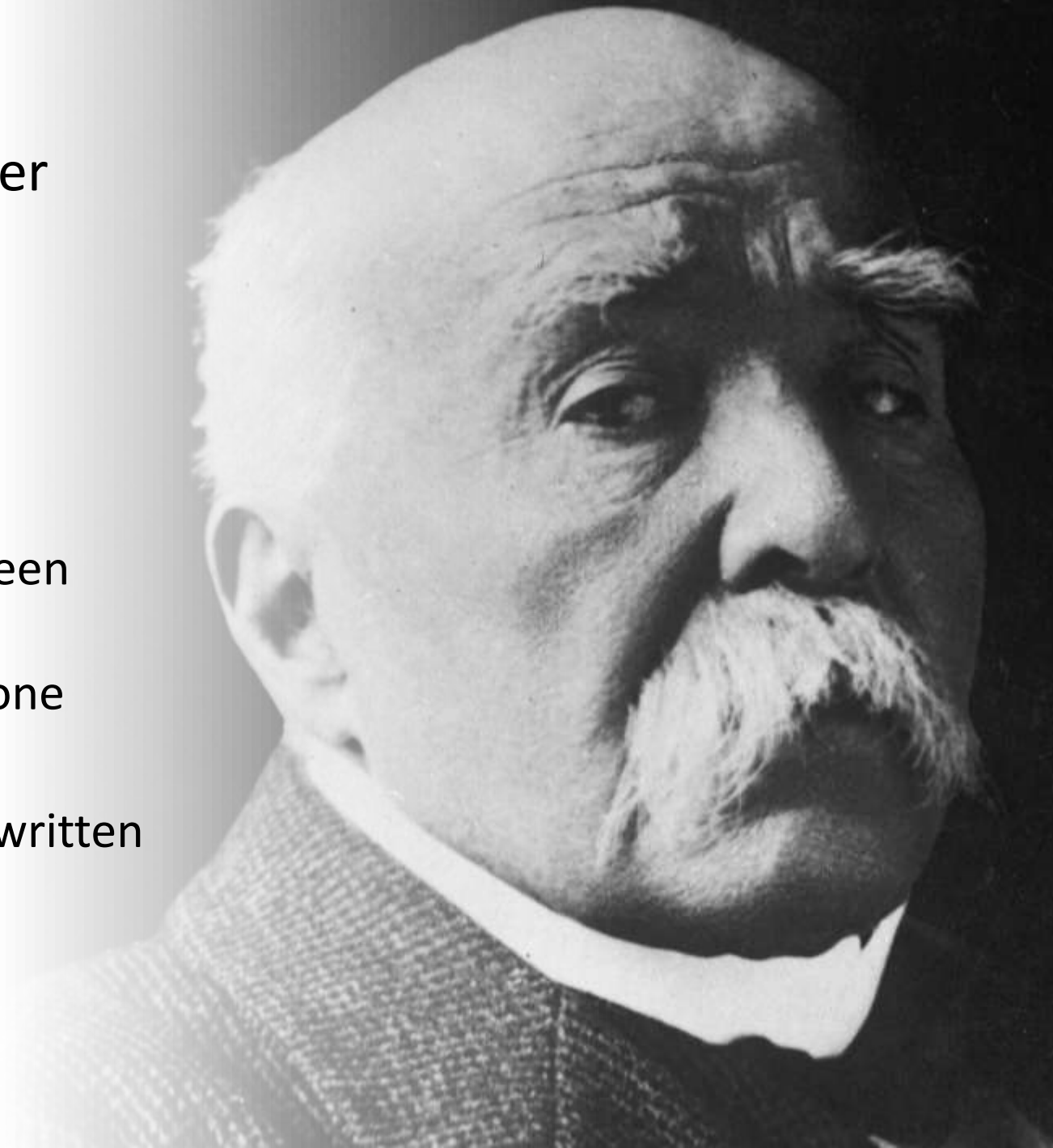


**Clemenceau:** a former  
journalist

**Communication** between  
departments key

The use of the telephone

**Verbal consensus** before written  
confirmation



**Inaugural speech**

**A united France** against the  
enemy





Fighting defeatism

**Joseph Caillaux** accused of  
calling for a compromise  
peace with Germany and  
arrested

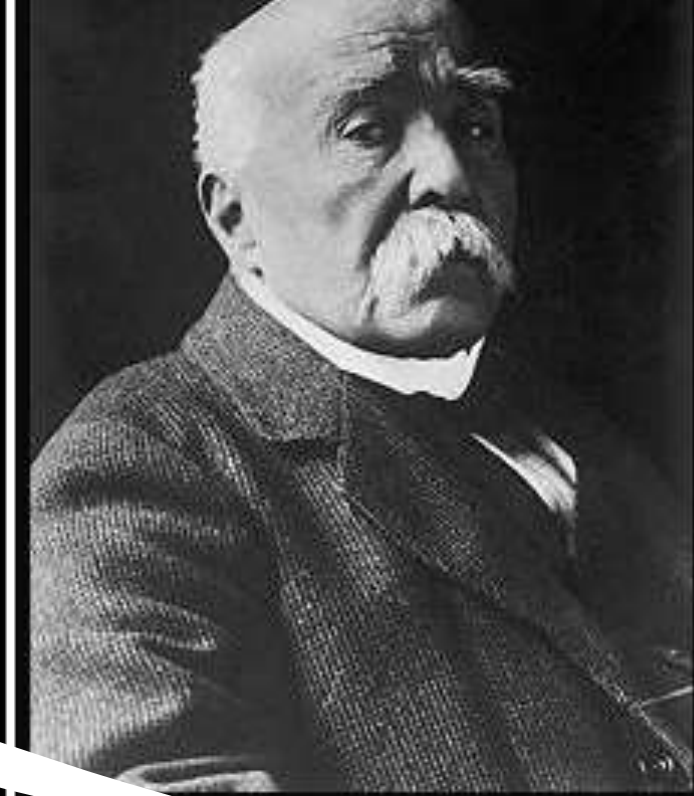


Visiting the front lines

Front line visits since  
September 1915







War is too important a matter to be left to the military.

(Georges Clemenceau)

Tight government  
**control** over military  
operations

Government controlled by Parliament  
Government actions submitted to a **vote of confidence** 8 times  
No “Clemenceau dictatorship”

Fluent in English

Correspondence with U.S.  
President Woodrow Wilson  
well before the Armistice







# The February Revolution

The abdication of Nicolas II  
and the end of czarism

The formation of **two rival  
powers** in Petrograd

1. A **Provisional  
Government**
2. The **Petrograd Soviet  
("council")**





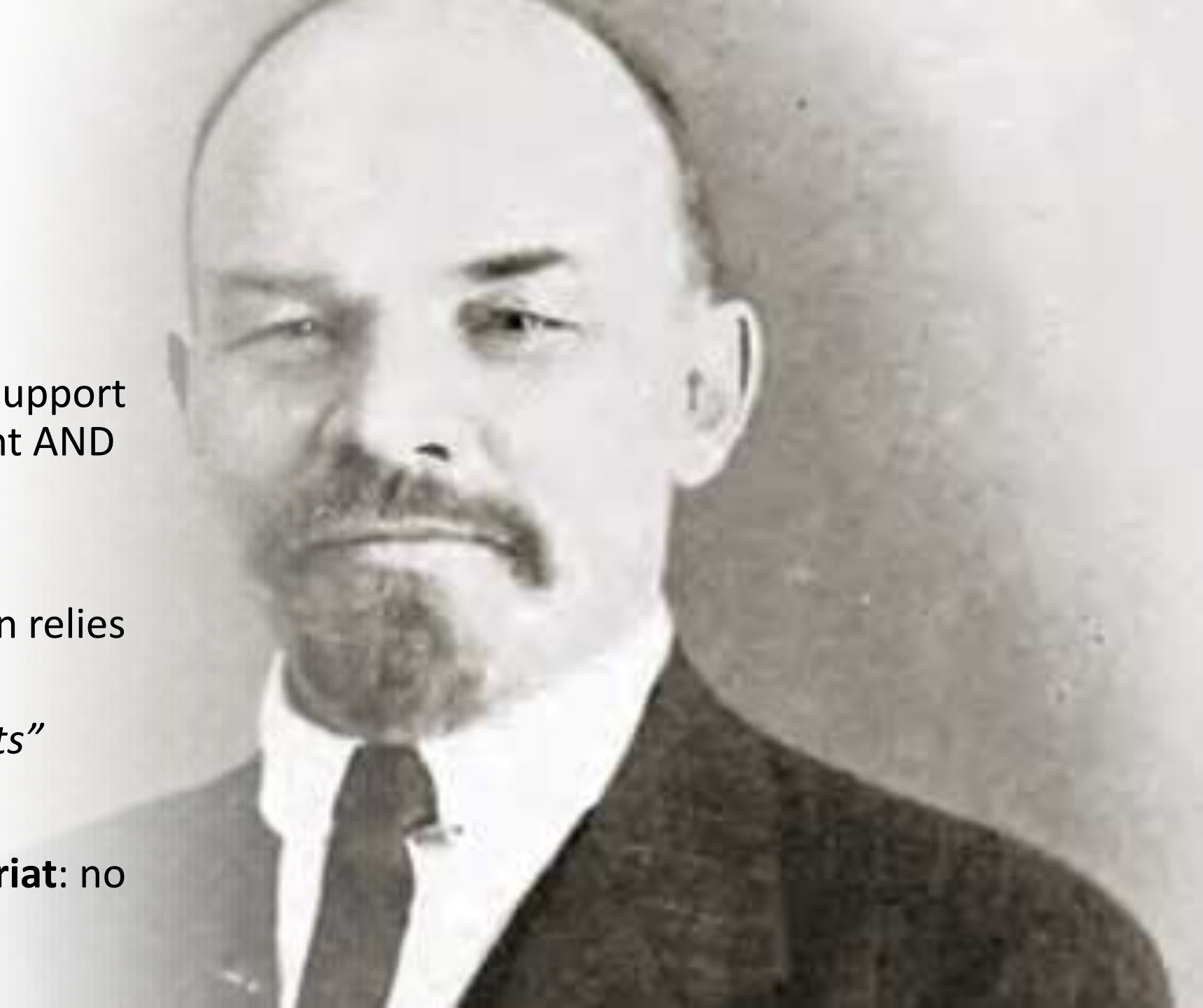
*Letters from afar*

Revolutionaries must NOT support  
the Provisional Government AND  
the war

The future of the Revolution relies  
on the Soviets

*"All power to the Soviets"*

**Dictatorship of the proletariat:** no  
time for democracy





# Lenin back in Russia

Negotiations with the Germans

Why allowing Lenin and 32 of his supporters to return to Russia?

**To undermine Russia's war effort**



# The October Revolution in Russia

The Bolsheviks seized power

Bad news for the Allies





## Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 1918)

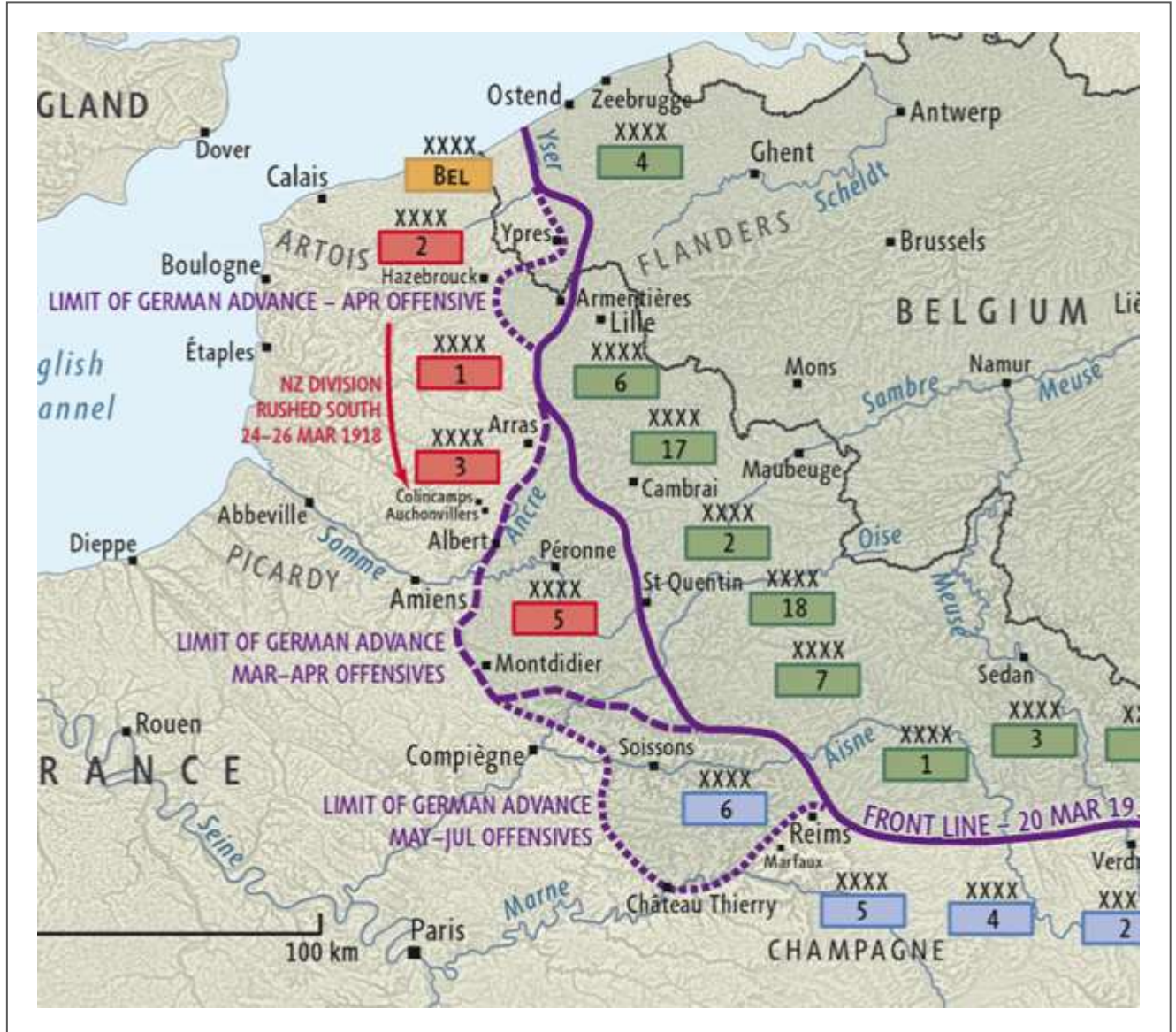
The end of a war on two fronts for  
Germany



# German spring offensives

Renewed offensives to obtain victory before the massive arrival of U.S. troops

Initial success but offensives stopped



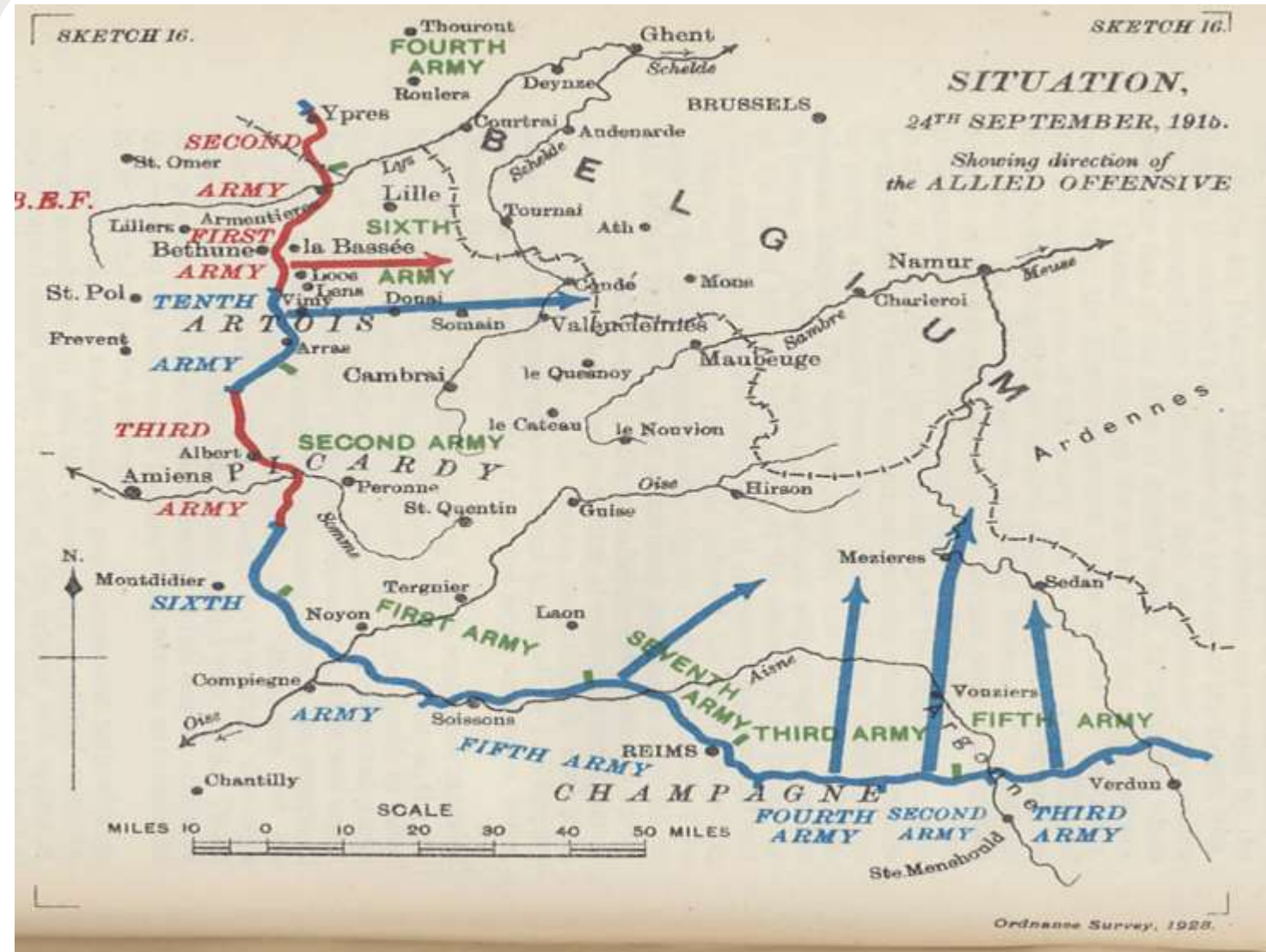


## Allied counter-offensives

Germany's **defeat unavoidable**  
Government urged to negotiate  
the armistice (28 September)

4 October 1918: German  
Chancellor called for an armistice

What terms?



Germany addressed its request for an armistice **ONLY** to Wilson

Armistice based on Wilson's 14 points  
(**self-determination**)

Clemenceau furious

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Mr. Wilson bores me with his Fourteen Points;  
why, God Almighty has only Ten!

(Georges Clemenceau)

# President Wilson's Fourteen Points

1. Reliance on open diplomacy rather than secret agreements
2. Freedom of the seas
3. Free trade
4. Reduce the military forces and/or weapons
5. Reduce the military forces and/or weapons
6. The allowance for Russia to self-determine its own government
7. Respect for Belgium's Integrity
8. Restoration of French Territory
9. Italy receives territory based upon ethnicity
10. Austria-Hungary receives fair development opportunities
11. Independence for the Balkan states
12. Creation of a Turkish state, and self-determination for the peoples of the Ottoman Empire and free passage through the Dardanelles
13. Independence for Poland
14. The formation of a League of Nations to guarantee independence for all countries, large and small

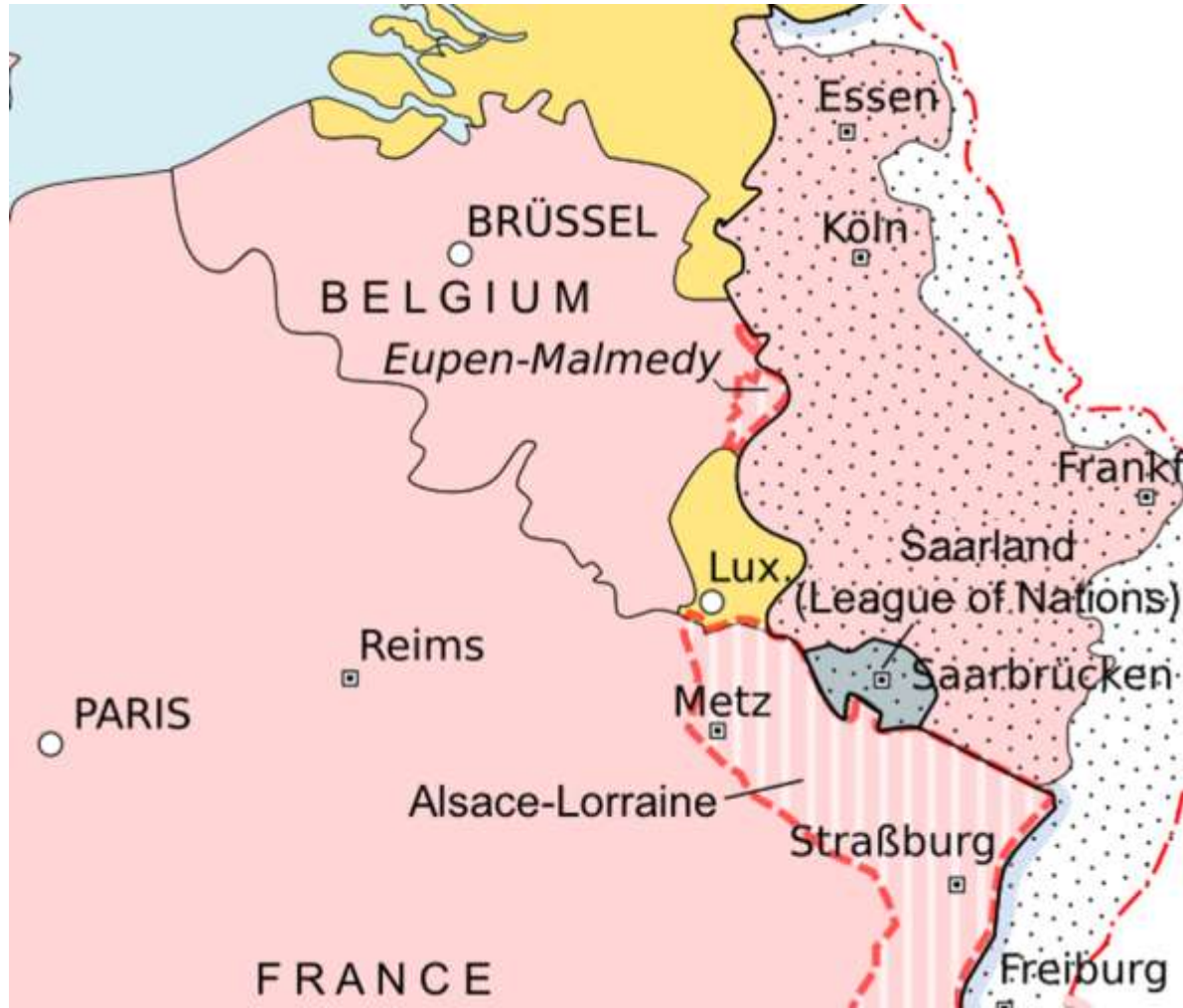


14 Points deemed **vague** by French diplomacy

No mention of “guarantees” or **reparations**

No mention of the return of **Alsace-Lorraine** to France





What did Clemenceau want?

The **occupation of the Rhineland**  
Territorial guarantees to enhance  
France's postwar **security**

A prerequisite to accept an  
armistice with Germany



# Harsh conditions

Will Germany accept the terms?

*"They will sign"* (Clemenceau)

11 November (5.12am): the Germans signed



The end of the war at  
last!

France victorious

*“One wrote that when the  
armistice was announced I  
could not hold my tears. I do  
not deny it.”*





**9am:** Marshal Foch  
arrived in Paris

*"It's in there..."*  
(Leather briefcase)

The Armistice to be made  
official at 11am





3.30pm: Council of Ministers at  
the Elysees Palace





## 4pm: the Chamber of Deputies

His speech interrupted 21 times

7 standing ovations

*"My duty is accomplished"*

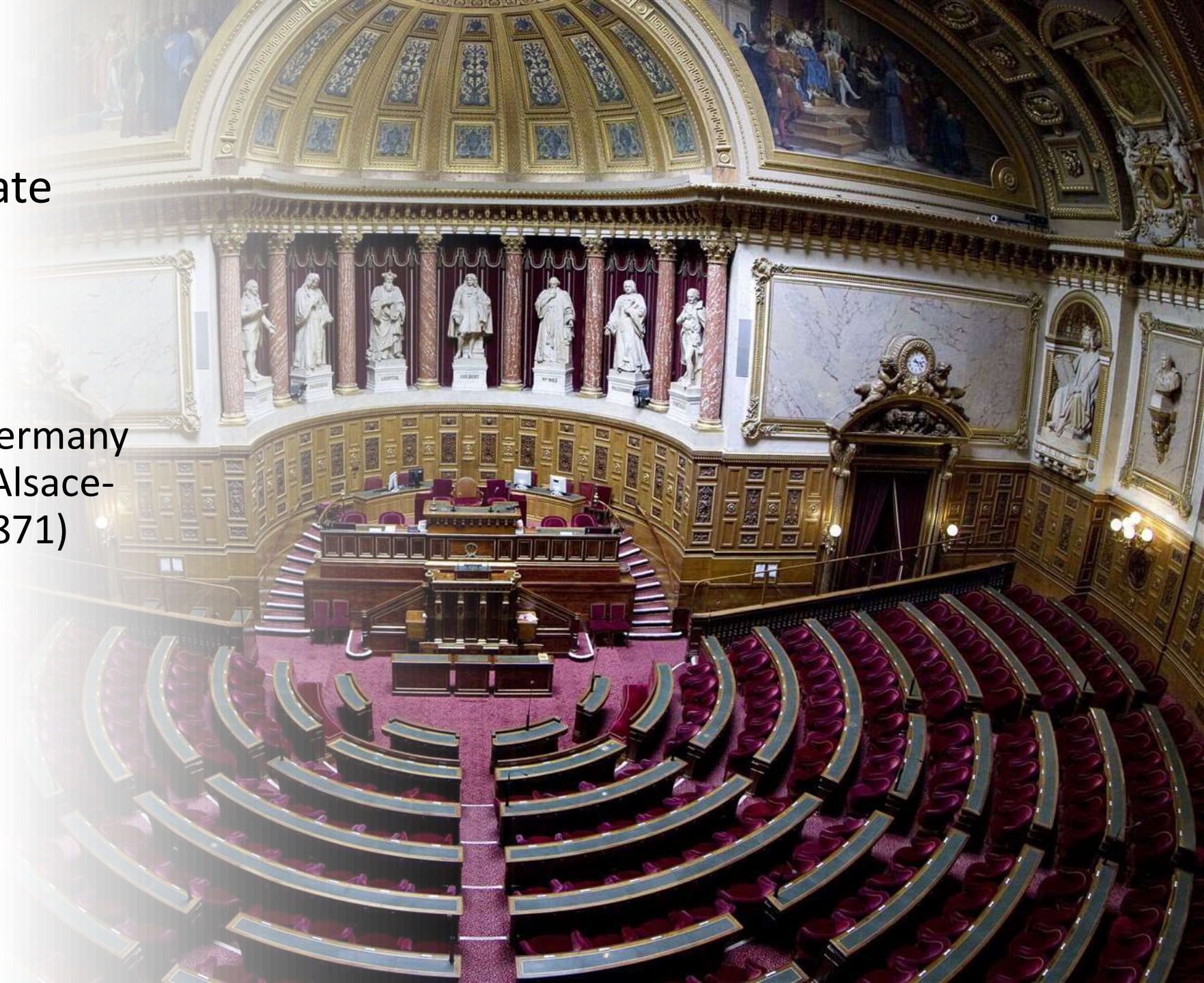
*"Honor to our great dead who gave  
us victory...!"*





5.20pm: the Senate

Reading of the protest to Germany  
against the annexation of Alsace-  
Lorraine (17 February 1871)





## A country in mourning

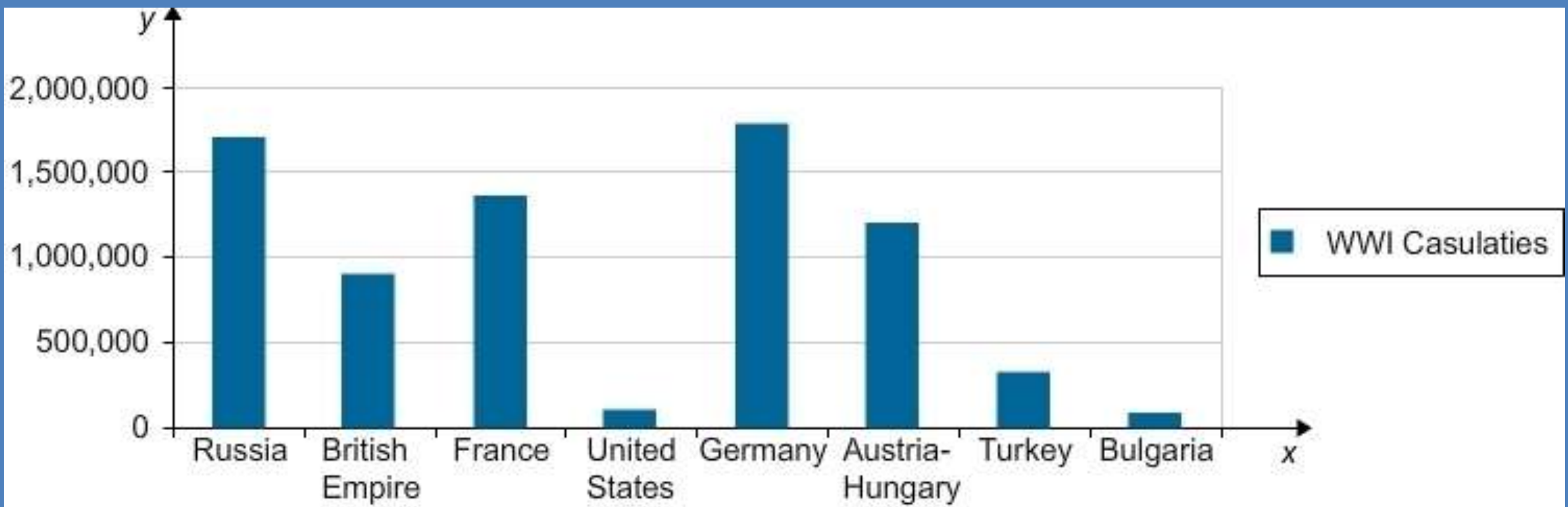


© CWGC

Empress Eugenie







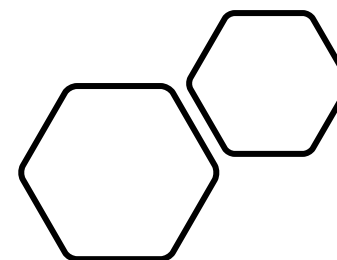
France: 1.4 million dead (highest per capita)

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LENS, FRANCE.

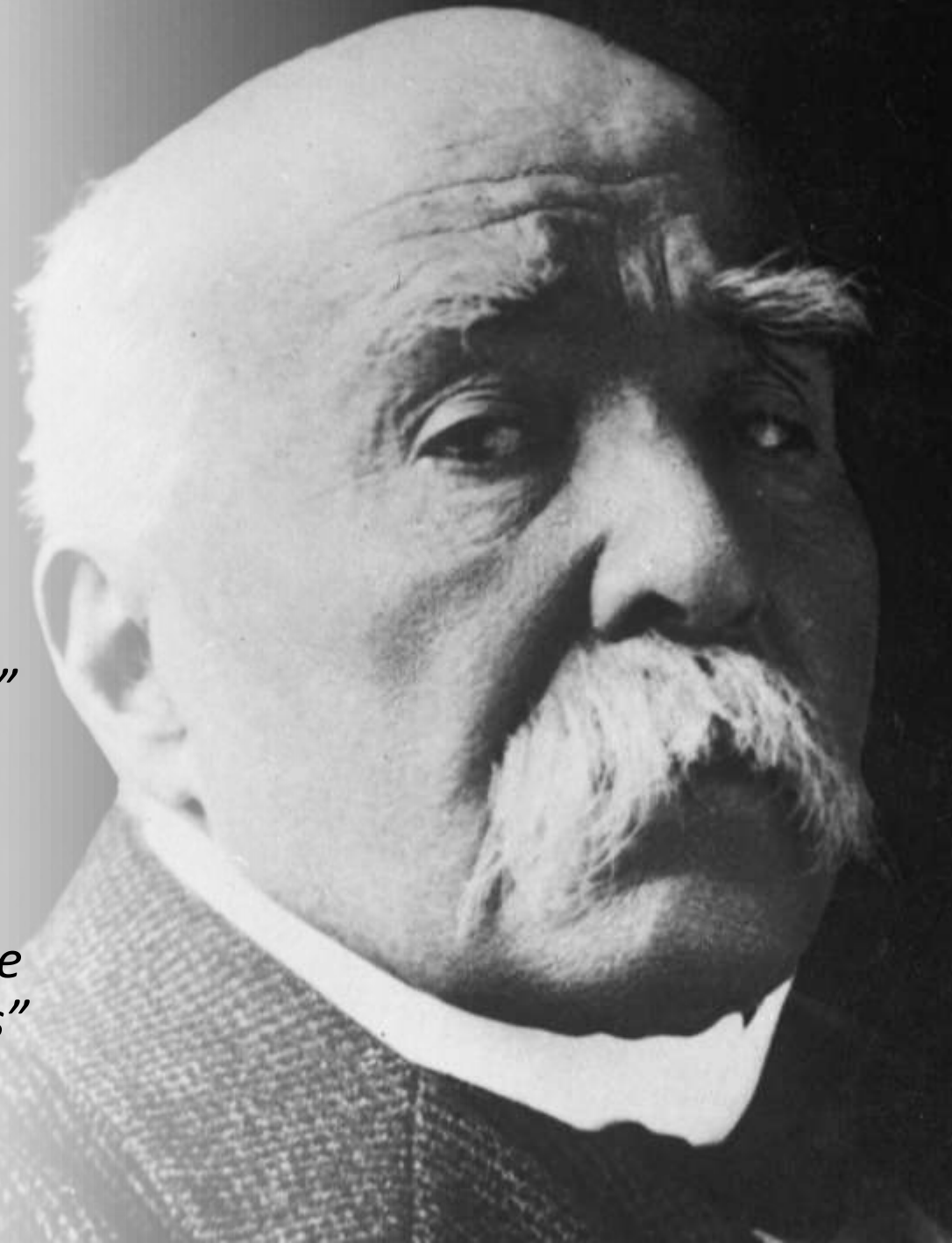




**Clemenceau:** *"We must now  
win the peace"*

*"Are you happy daddy? No, I am not"*

*"We won the war, not without  
difficulties, now we must win the  
peace, it might perhaps be even more  
difficult... especially with all our allies"*







# Georges Clemenceau

Fear of a German revenge

Main preoccupation: security  
To weaken Germany as much as possible

The Rhineland detached from Germany (independent state occupied militarily by France)

The Rhineland: a buffer to protect France from another German invasion



# Woodrow Wilson

A new international order (the end of traditional European diplomacy deemed responsible for the Great War)

1. Self-determination
2. No secret alliances
3. A League of Nations to solve differences peacefully

## What about Germany?

A democratic Germany to integrate the new world order as soon as possible





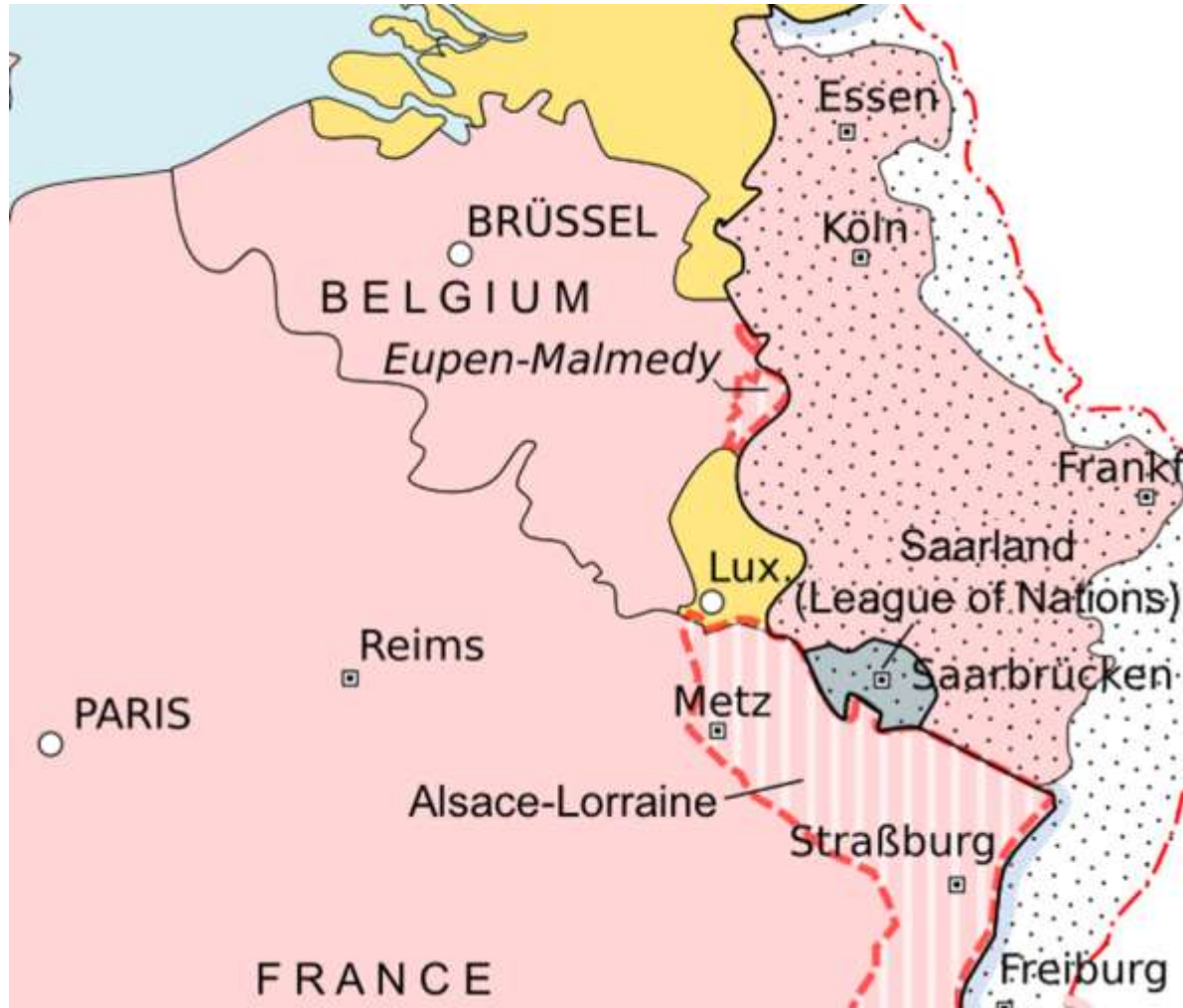
## Lloyd George

Germany to be deprived of its  
fleet and its colonies

But Germany not to be ruined: a  
potential **economic partner** in the  
future

**Balance of power** in Europe





Wilson & Lloyd George  
(British PM): Rhineland to  
remain German

France to occupy Saarland  
for 15 years

Rhineland to be  
**demilitarized**



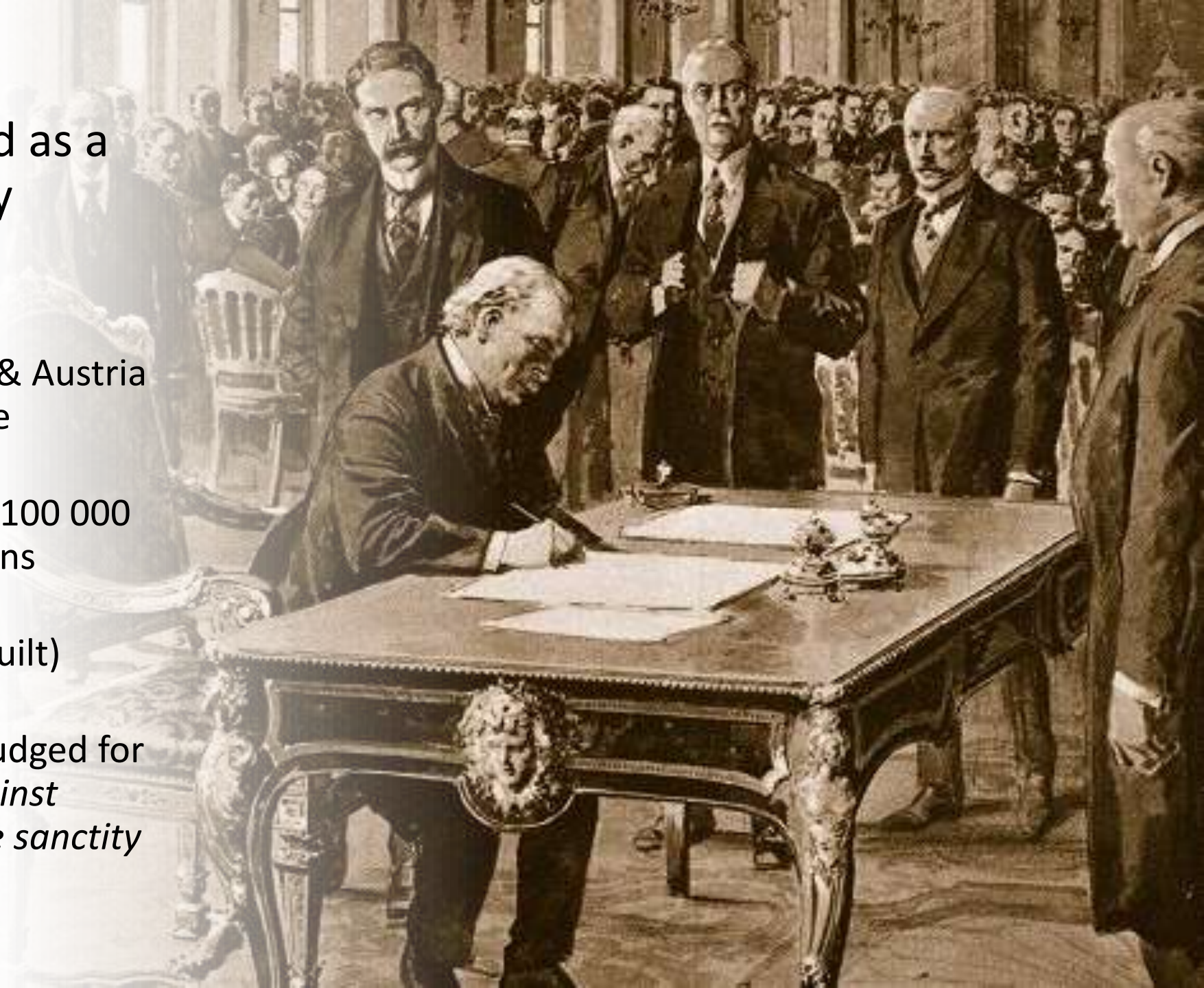
Peace treaty perceived as a  
*diktat* in Germany

Self-determination: Germany & Austria  
not permitted to unite

A German military limited to 100 000  
men + no heavy weapons

Article 231 (Germany's guilt)

Article 227: Wilhelm II to be judged for  
« *a supreme offence against  
international morality and the sanctity  
of treaties* »






Was Clemenceau too harsh  
towards Germany ?

A softer approach would never  
have been validated by French  
Parliament and public opinion



A black and white photograph showing three men in formal attire, including top hats and suits, walking outdoors. The man on the left is older, balding, and looking down. The man in the middle is wearing a top hat and looking towards the right. The man on the right is also wearing a top hat and is smiling. In the background, other people and a building are visible.

What if Clemenceau did the best he  
could?