
THE GREAT ILLUSION: WHEN FRANCE LOST THE PEACE

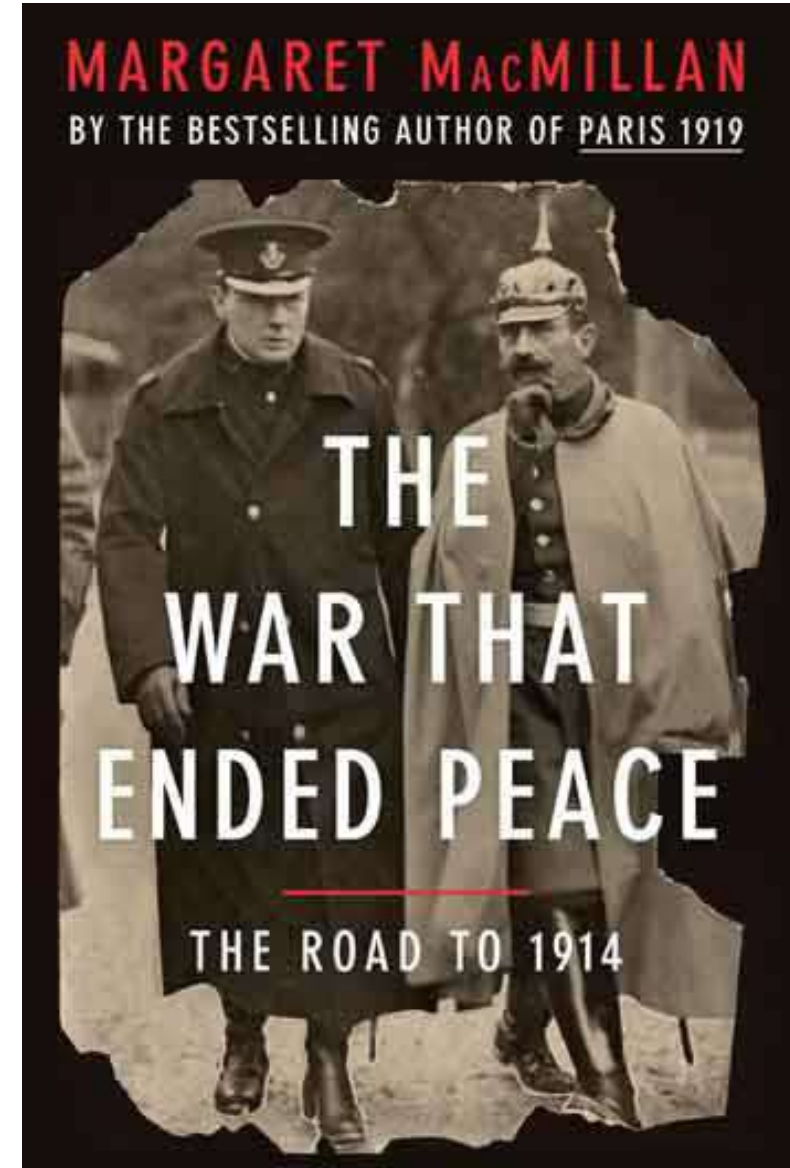
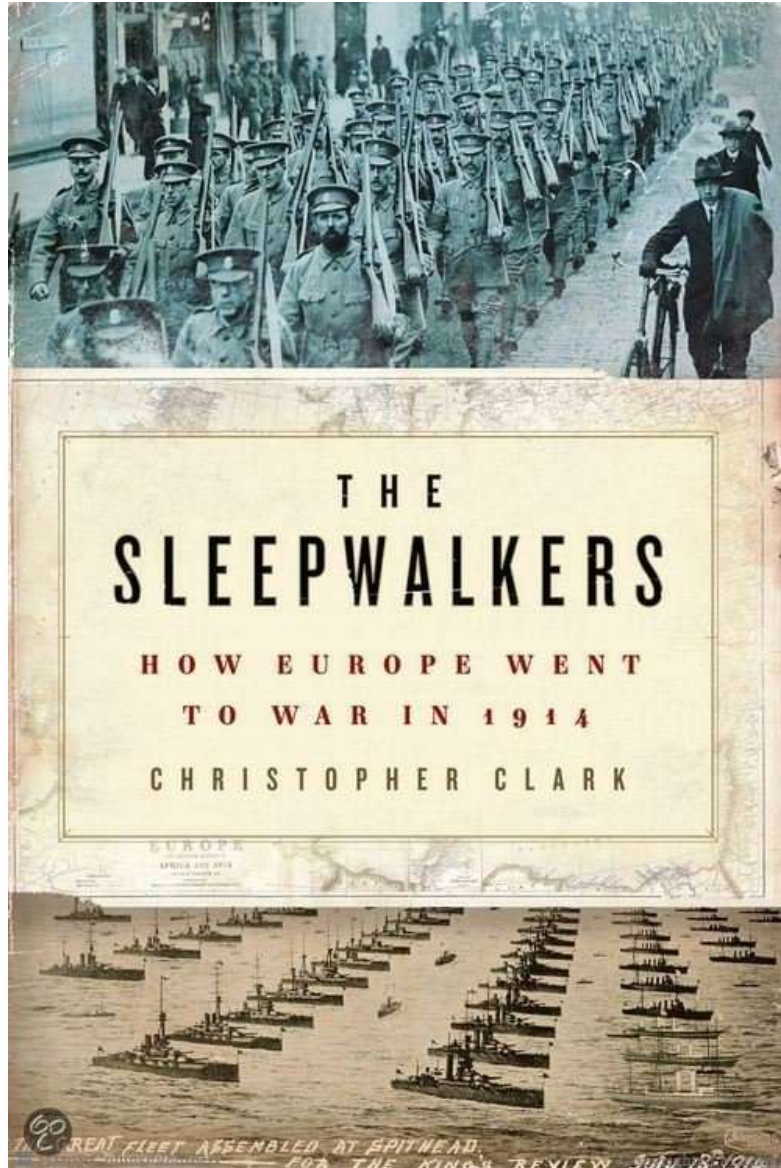
1914-1920



The great illusion

1. The war would be short
2. The end of Germany's power in Europe
3. France would establish a sphere of influence over West Germany
4. Long-term security





EUROPE'S LAST SUMMER

WHO STARTED
THE GREAT WAR IN 1914?



David Fromkin

Author of A PEACE TO END ALL PEACE

"An absorbing history of World War I's origins . . . Superb." —*NEWSWEEK*

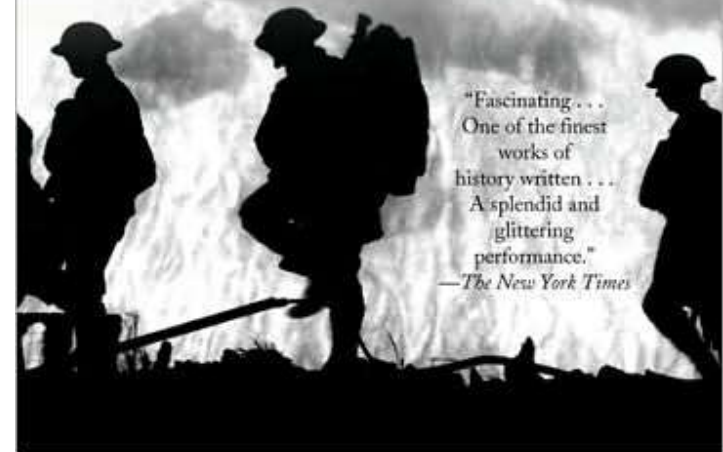


Winner of the Pulitzer Prize

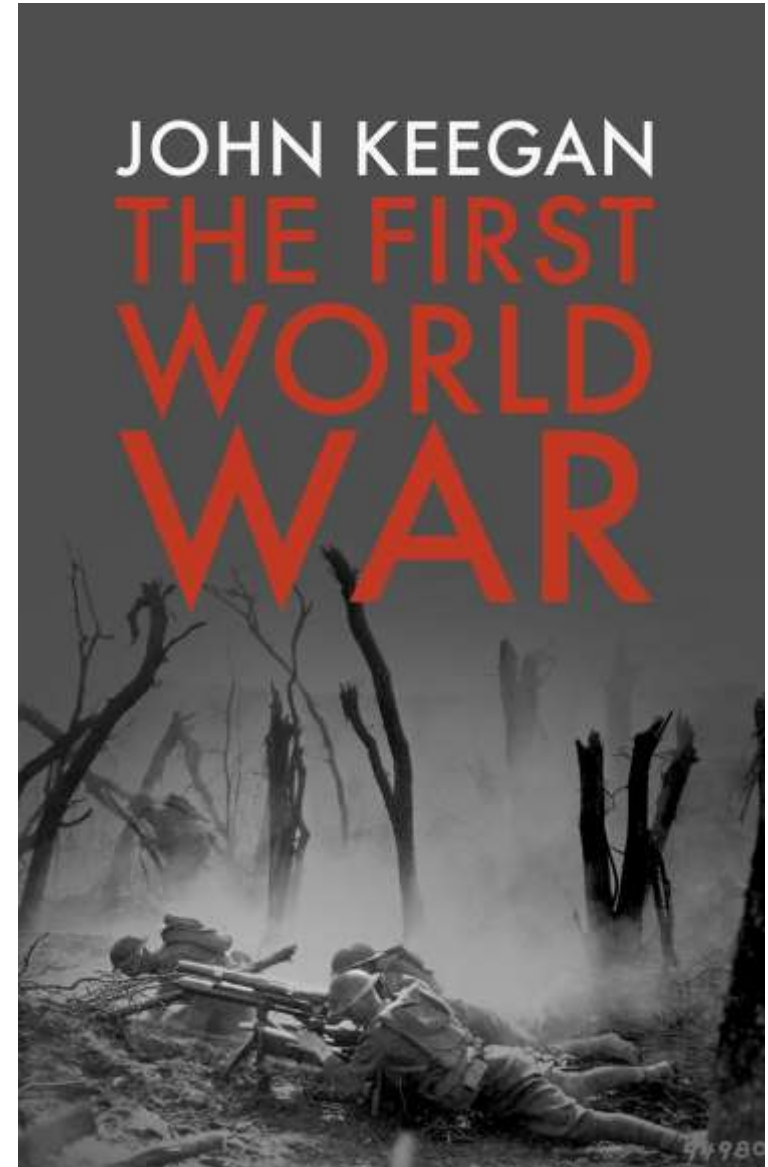
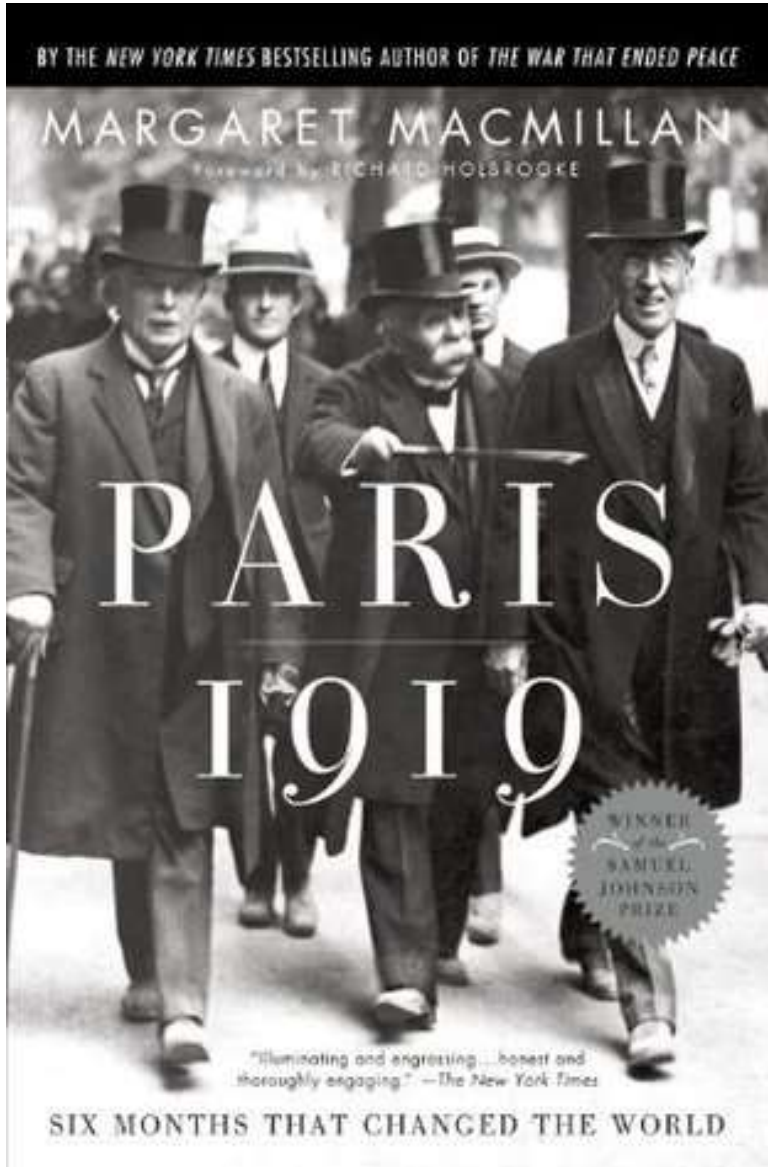
BARBARA W. TUCHMAN

With a Foreword by Robert K. Massie

★ ★ ★ THE ★ ★ ★ GUNS OF AUGUST

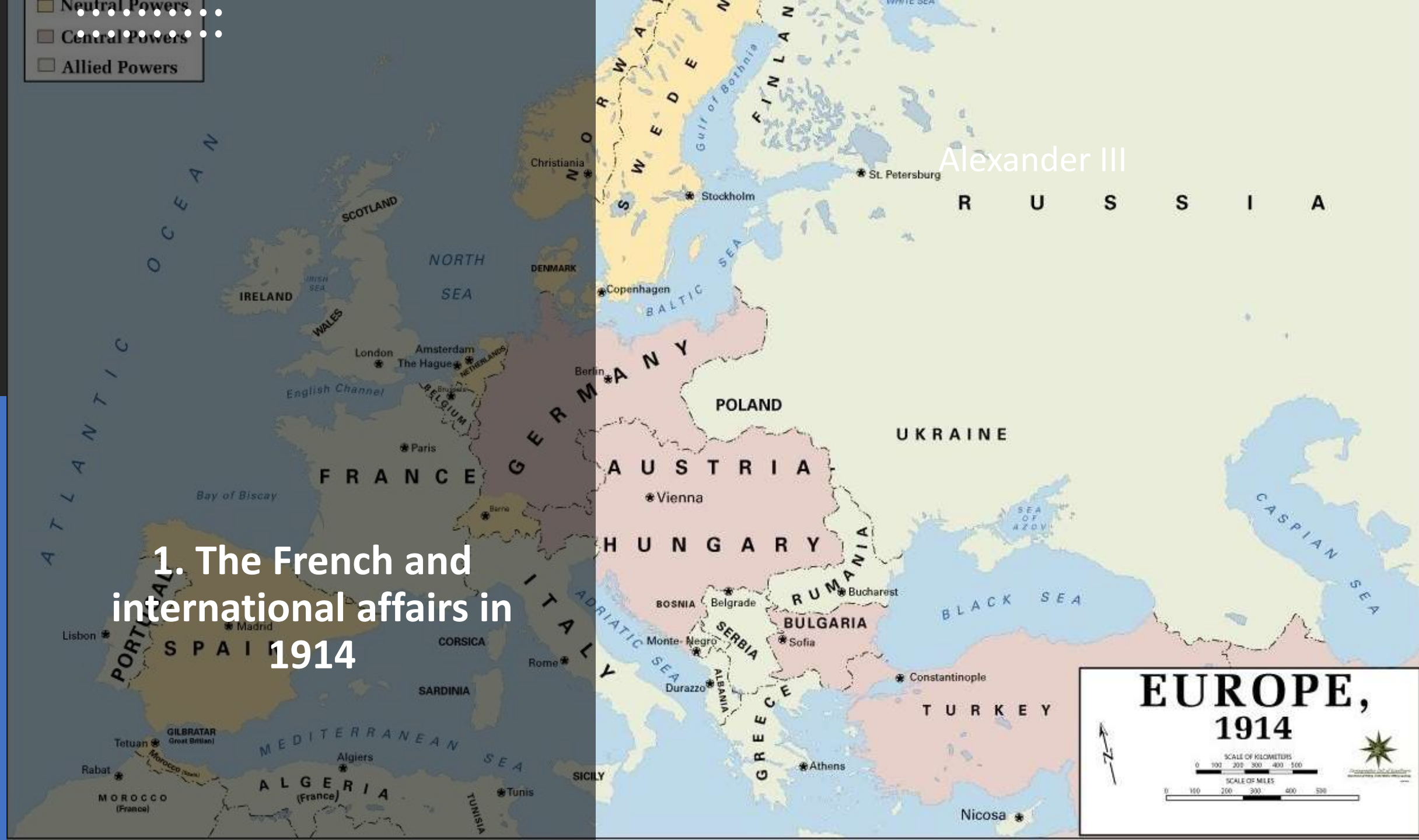


"Fascinating . . .
One of the finest
works of
history written . . .
A splendid and
glittering
performance."
—*The New York Times*



Neutral Powers
Central Powers
Allied Powers

1. The French and international affairs in 1914







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

France irreconcilable
BUT

Revenge not the objective of
the majority in 1914



Economic prosperity since 1895: a war unlikely?

The “European Concert”:
diplomatic congresses to
prevent a European conflict

**The principle of balance of
power offset by a system of
alliances**



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)





Alexander III



Alexander III

Germany perceived as a growing threat

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

**Nicolas II's official visit to
France (1896)**





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

The **diplomatic encirclement** of
Germany

1. **to strengthen** the Franco-Russian alliance
2. The ***Entente Cordiale*** with Great Britain (a political rapprochement)



The Balkans: a major
zone of tensions

The Ottoman Empire:
the “*sick man of
Europe*”



Russia: protector of
Slavs

Constantinople &
access to the straits
and the
Mediterranean



Austria-Hungary: to
contain Russia's
influence in the
Balkans

To prevent Slavs
within the empire
from separating





1908: Austria-Hungary
annexed **Bosnia &
Herzegovina**

Major crisis

France advised Russia not to
intervene



1904-1914

France, Great Britain &
Russia: fear of Germany

Germany: fear of
encirclement

Growing tensions in the
Balkans



Germany to
support her
only ally in
Europe

Austria-Hungary



France: to support
Russia if attacked by
Germany (1912)



Raymond Poincaré

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





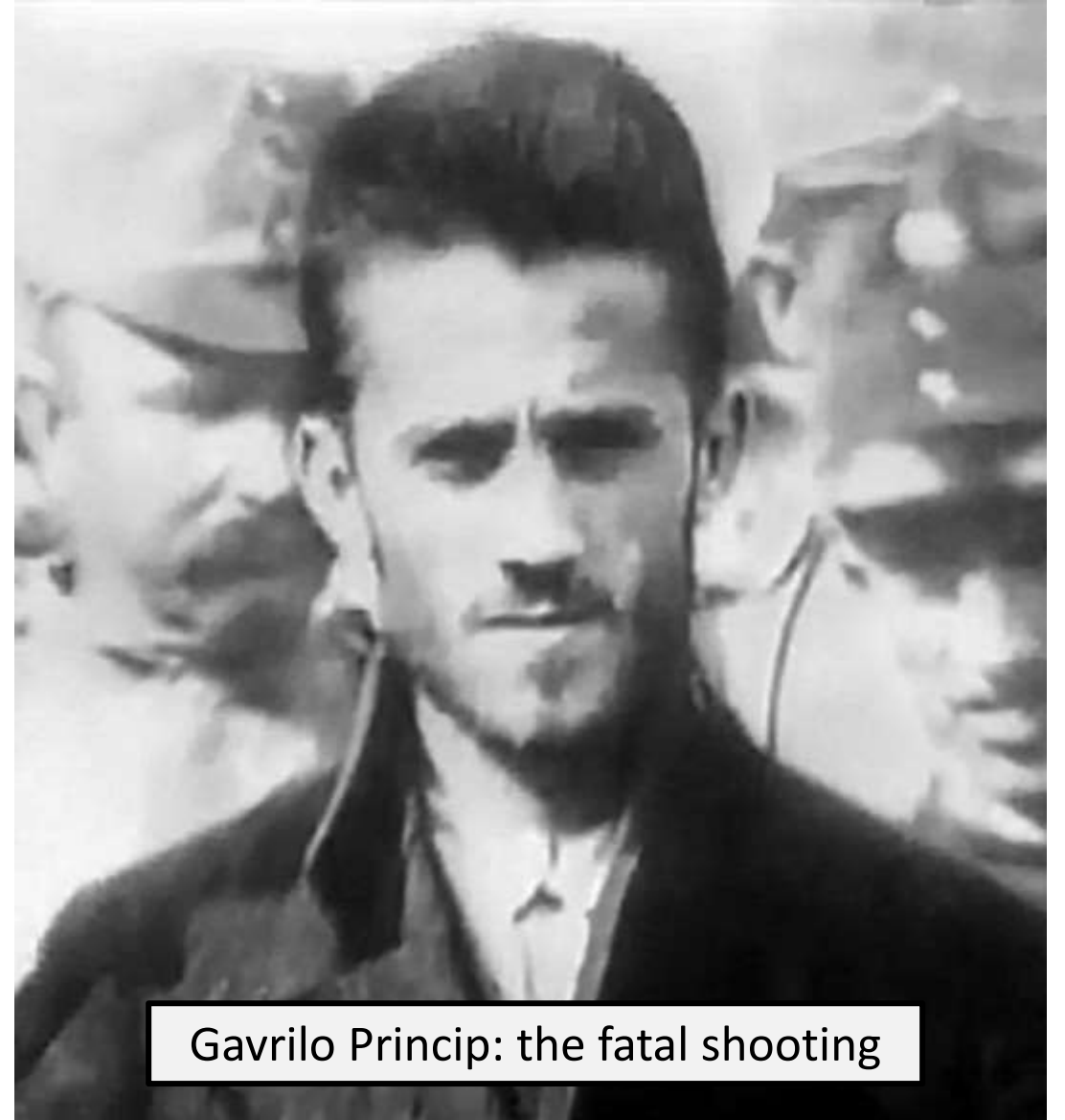


Itinerary modified at the last
minute

*"Mr. Mayor, I came here on a visit and
I am greeted with bombs. It is
outrageous."*

The drivers overwhelmed with poorly
laid out new instructions

And the motorcade took a wrong
turn...



Gavrilo Princip: the fatal shooting

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

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



Will Germany support
Austria-Hungary?

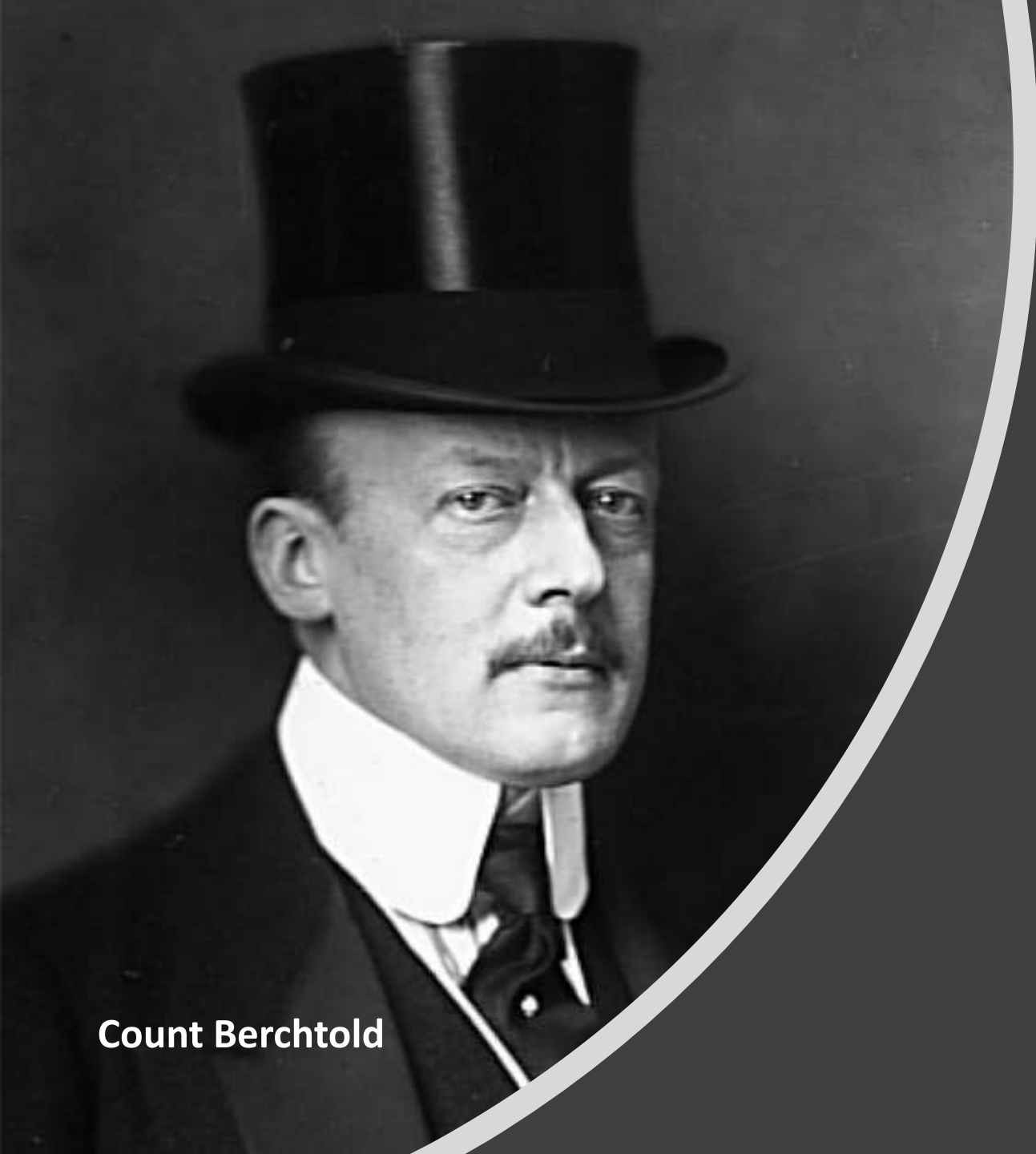


A letter from Franz Joseph to Wilhelm



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

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



Count Berchtold

July 7: An ultimatum to Serbia
discussed in Vienna

A harsh ultimatum Serbia could not
accept - a **limited war**



July 20-23: Poincaré in St. Petersburg
Russian & French governments already
knew the terms of the Austrian ultimatum
to Serbia (codebreaking)

No attempts by the French to urge
moderation on their hosts

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. Germany 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

A Russian partial
mobilization to scare
Austria-Hungary off (July
28)

Pressure from Germany
to rescind the order (or
else...!)

July 31: general
mobilization

**July 31: German ultimatum to
Russia** to demobilize within 12
hours and *“make us a distinct
declaration to that effect”*



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 cheered again and
again.

Shortly after we entered the Palace
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
patriots do not rise up to fight with us,
with God's help, we shall win
it that when all is over we can shake
it with honour.

War would demand of us enormous
sacrifices in property and life, but we
shall show what a nation it is to pro-
tect 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 direct for their own and the army
which was as arranged.

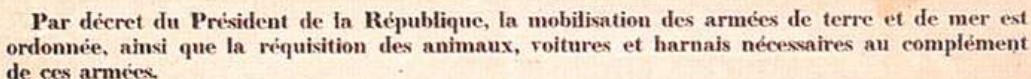
What would happen if they did not
come? "The work is," he added, "I
don't know anything further."

"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
rifle of the "Imperial" type, were
seen to be moving by the roadside
officer, Lord Cairns, Marquis, C.B.
It was a little march by Birmingham
which would be the main army that he
commanded, and he was that, from outside
the 1st Division, Marquis, C.B.
The Territorials would be sent out at the
beginning of the war for the 1st Division
which was in the 1st, which was the last
of the Territorials in 1914.

The Bishop of Birmingham (Dr. Samuel
Walker), as Chairman of the 1st Division
and as the man of the commanding
staff, and although only the Bishop of
the 1st Division (the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th, 31st, 32nd, 33rd, 34th, 35th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 40th, 41st, 42nd, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 51st, 52nd, 53rd, 54th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 63rd, 64th, 65th, 66th, 67th, 68th, 69th, 70th, 71st, 72nd, 73rd, 74th, 75th, 76th, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, 89th, 90th, 91st, 92nd, 93rd, 94th, 95th, 96th, 97th, 98th, 99th, 100th, 101st, 102nd, 103rd, 104th, 105th, 106th, 107th, 108th, 109th, 110th, 111th, 112th, 113th, 114th, 115th, 116th, 117th, 118th, 119th, 120th, 121st, 122nd, 123rd, 124th, 125th, 126th, 127th, 128th, 129th, 130th, 131st, 132nd, 133rd, 134th, 135th, 136th, 137th, 138th, 139th, 140th, 141st, 142nd, 143rd, 144th, 145th, 146th, 147th, 148th, 149th, 150th, 151st, 152nd, 153rd, 154th, 155th, 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"I want to see these fellows today," he
said, "for I feel that they are going to
show some very good work."



[illegible]

Le premier jour de la mobilisation est le Dimanche deux août 1914

Tout Français soumis aux obligations militaires doit, sous peine d'être puni avec toute la rigueur des lois, obéir aux prescriptions du **FASCICULE DE MOBILISATION** (pages coloriées placées dans son livret).

Sont visés par le présent ordre **TOUS LES HOMMES** non présents sous les Drapeaux et appartenant :

L'À L'ARMÉE DE TERRE y compris les **TROUPES COLONIALES** et les hommes des **SERVICES AUXILIAIRES:**

2° à l'ARMÉE DE MER y compris les **INSCRITS MARITIMES** et les **ARMURIERS**
de la **MARINE**. ©Droits réservés

© Droits réservés

Daily

Daily Net SALE Six Times as Large as That of Any Penny Lon

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5, 1914

LONDON

MANCHESTER

GREAT BRITAIN DECLARES WAR ON GERMANY

The following
announcement
was issued at
the Foreign Office
at 12.15 a.m.

SUMMARY REJECTION OF BRITISH

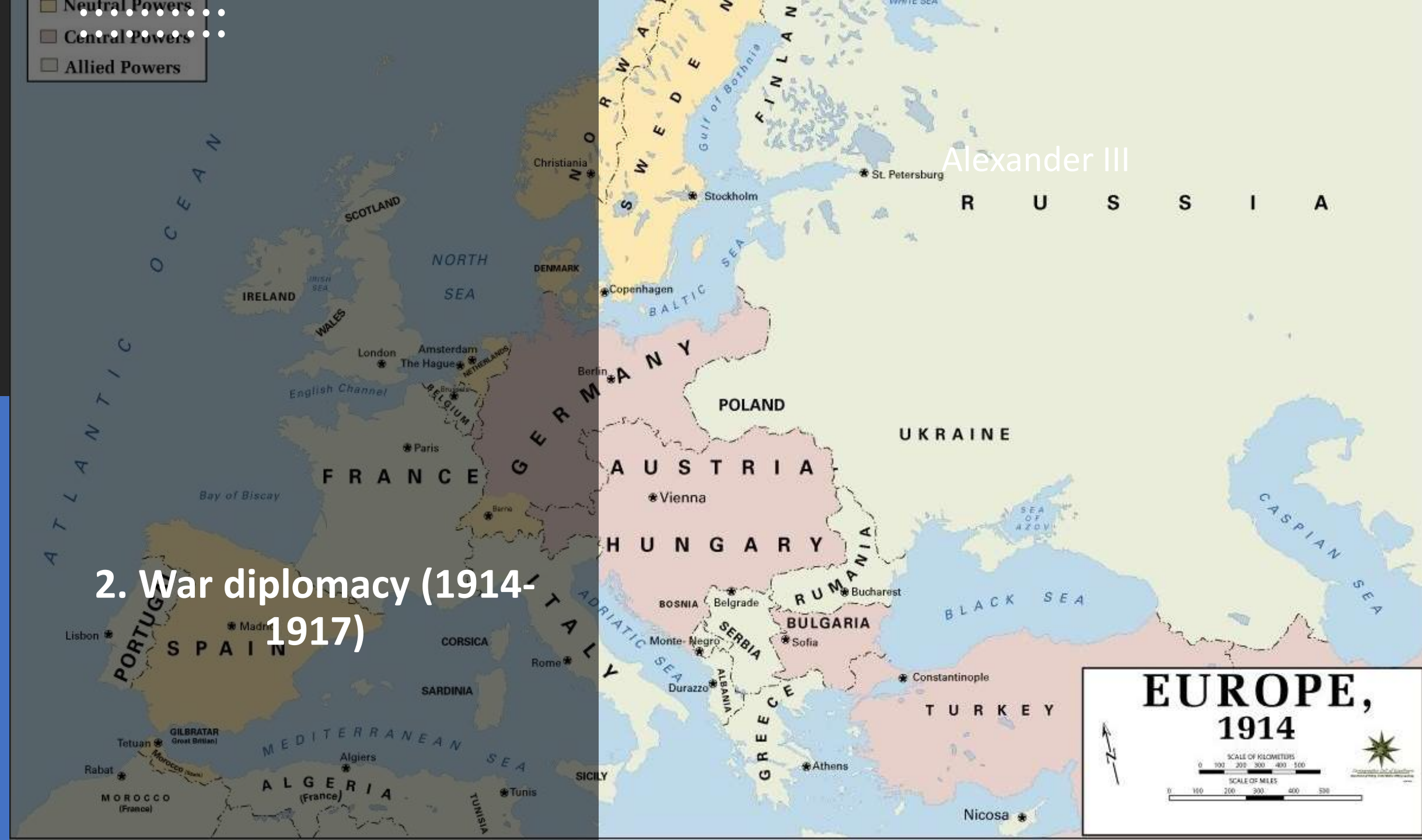
Britain had sent an ultimatum to Germany which expired at midnight. This was due to Germany's refusal to leave Belgium neutral and her invasion of that country. The German Ambassador went to 10 Downing Street at 12.10 a.m. to receive his

Historic d



- Neutral Powers
- Central Powers
- Allied Powers

2. War diplomacy (1914-1917)





2 fundamental decisions

1. 5 September 1914: the London Declaration

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

2. The pursuit of war until **total victory**

France: to end the hegemony
of "Prussian militarism"

No negotiated peace

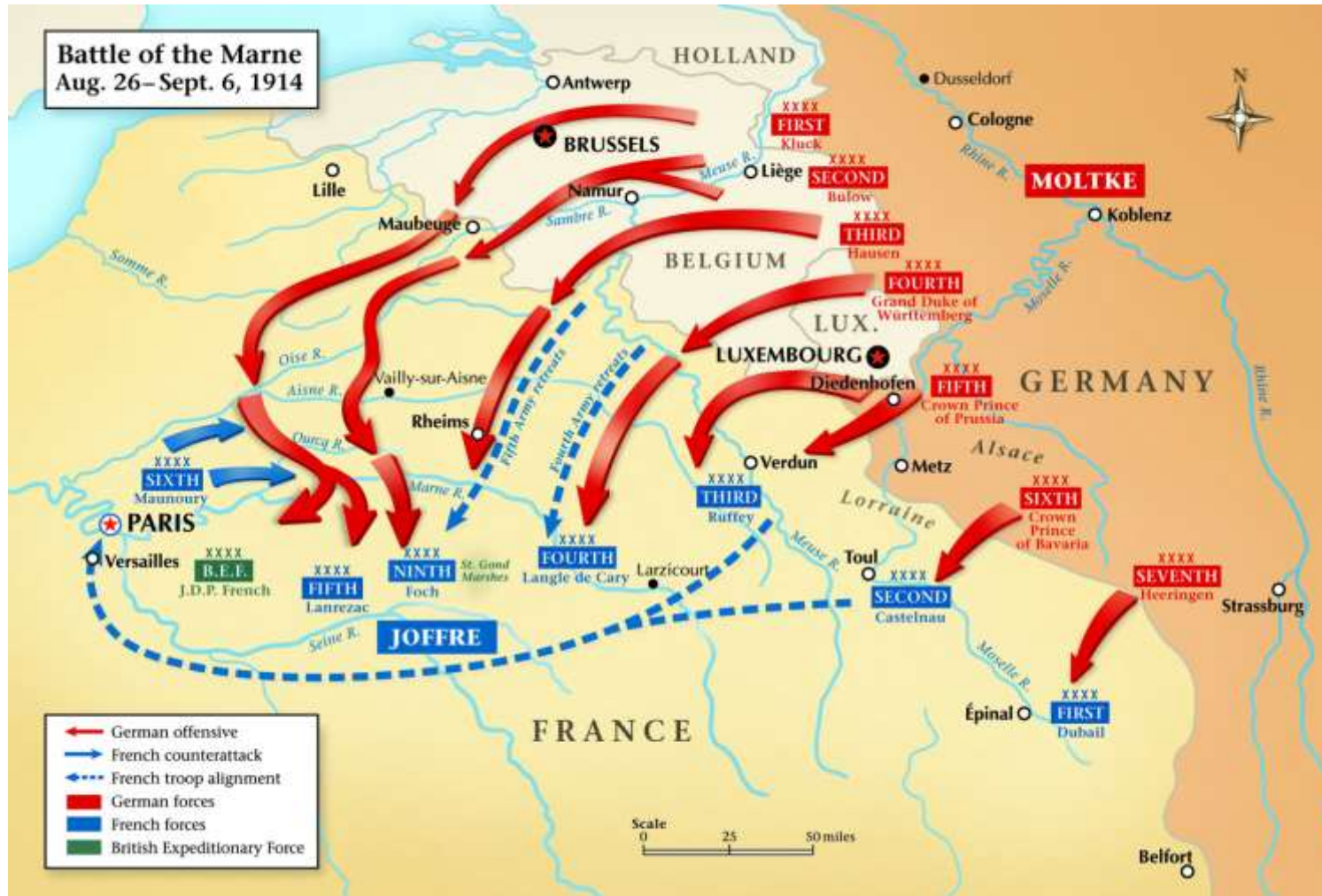
The war won't be short after
all!

Long held belief a war would only
last 3 months

1. European economies
intertwined
2. Military strategies: war plans
(decisive offensives)
3. A conflict no different that
previous ones

THE GREAT ILLUSION





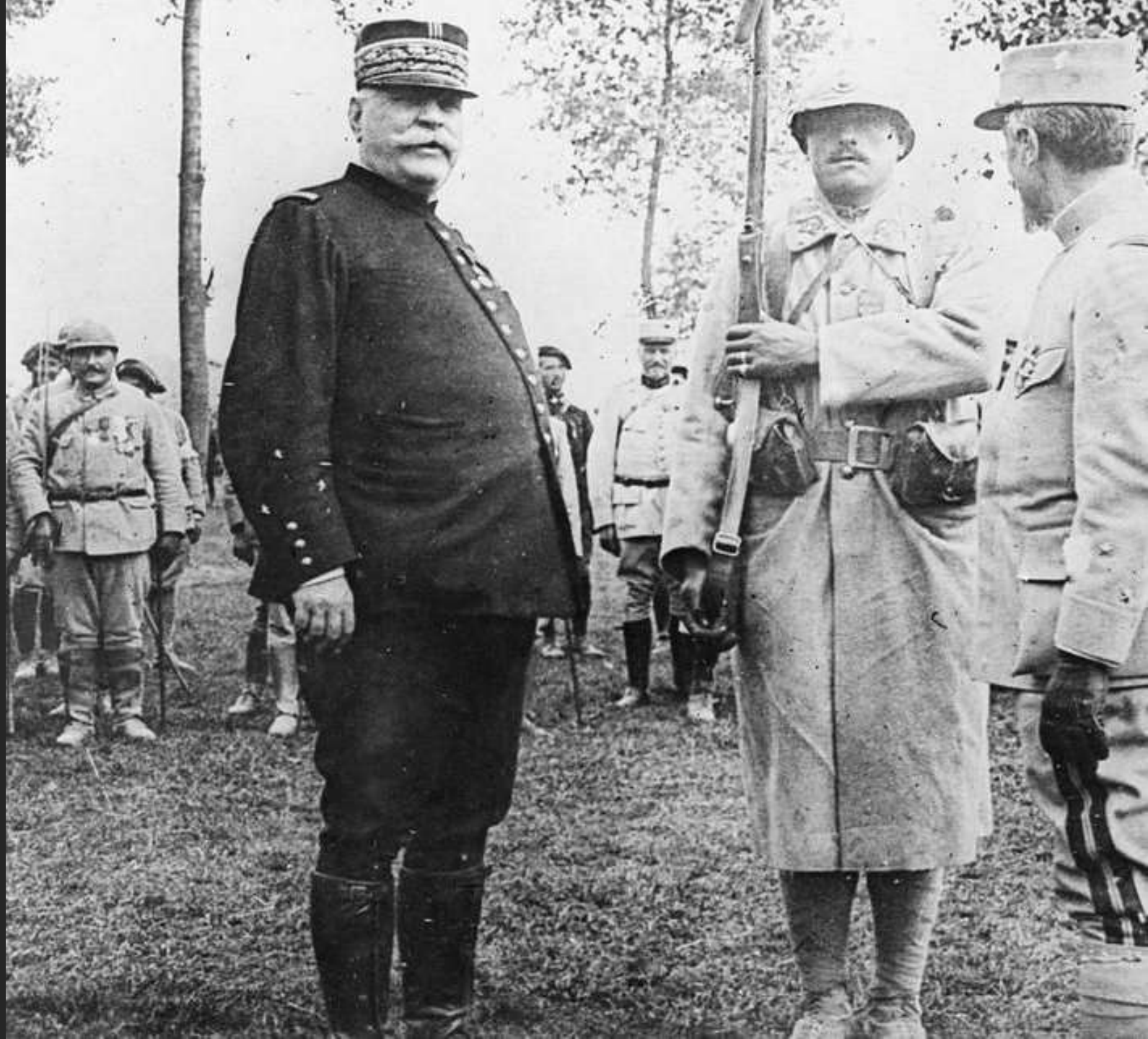
The German advance stopped at the Battle of the Marne



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

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

Useless and costly
offensives against German
lines





No strategic, economic or political **coordination** until the fall of 1915

From a Franco-Russian war to a Franco-British war (1916)

Great Britain replaced Russia as France's key strategic and political partner



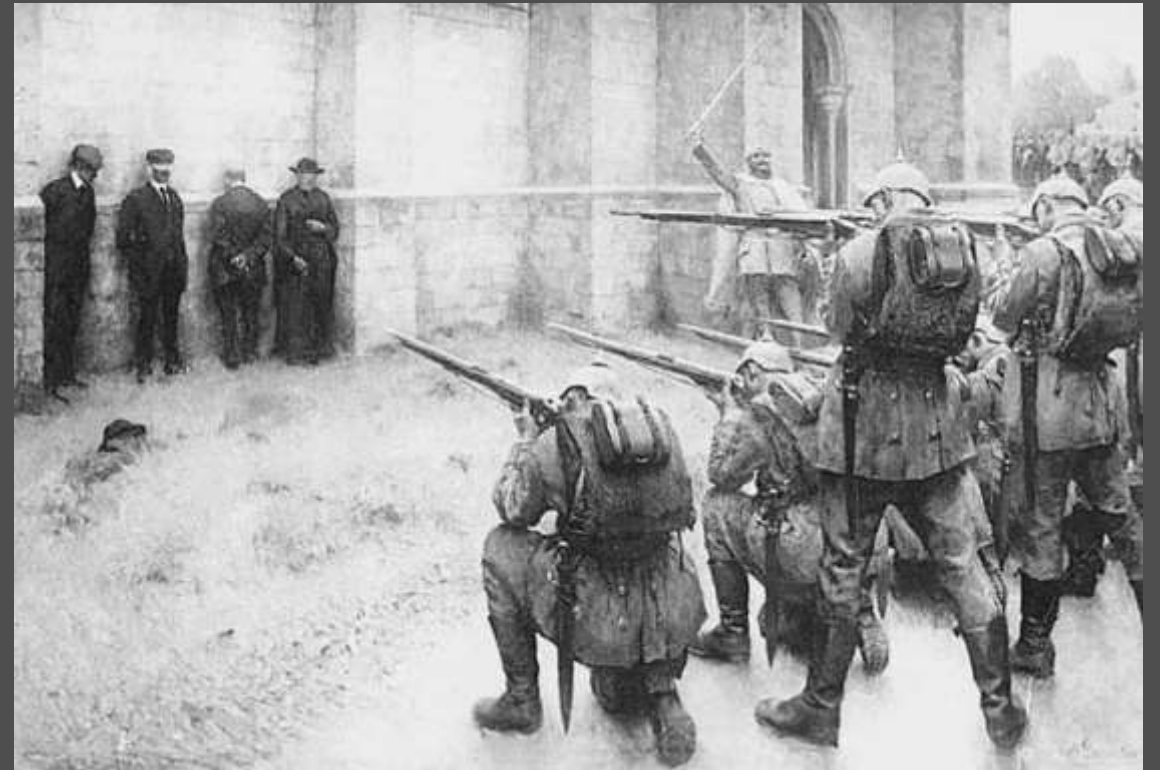
A "just war"

France: the birthplace of human rights

Fighting for freedom and justice

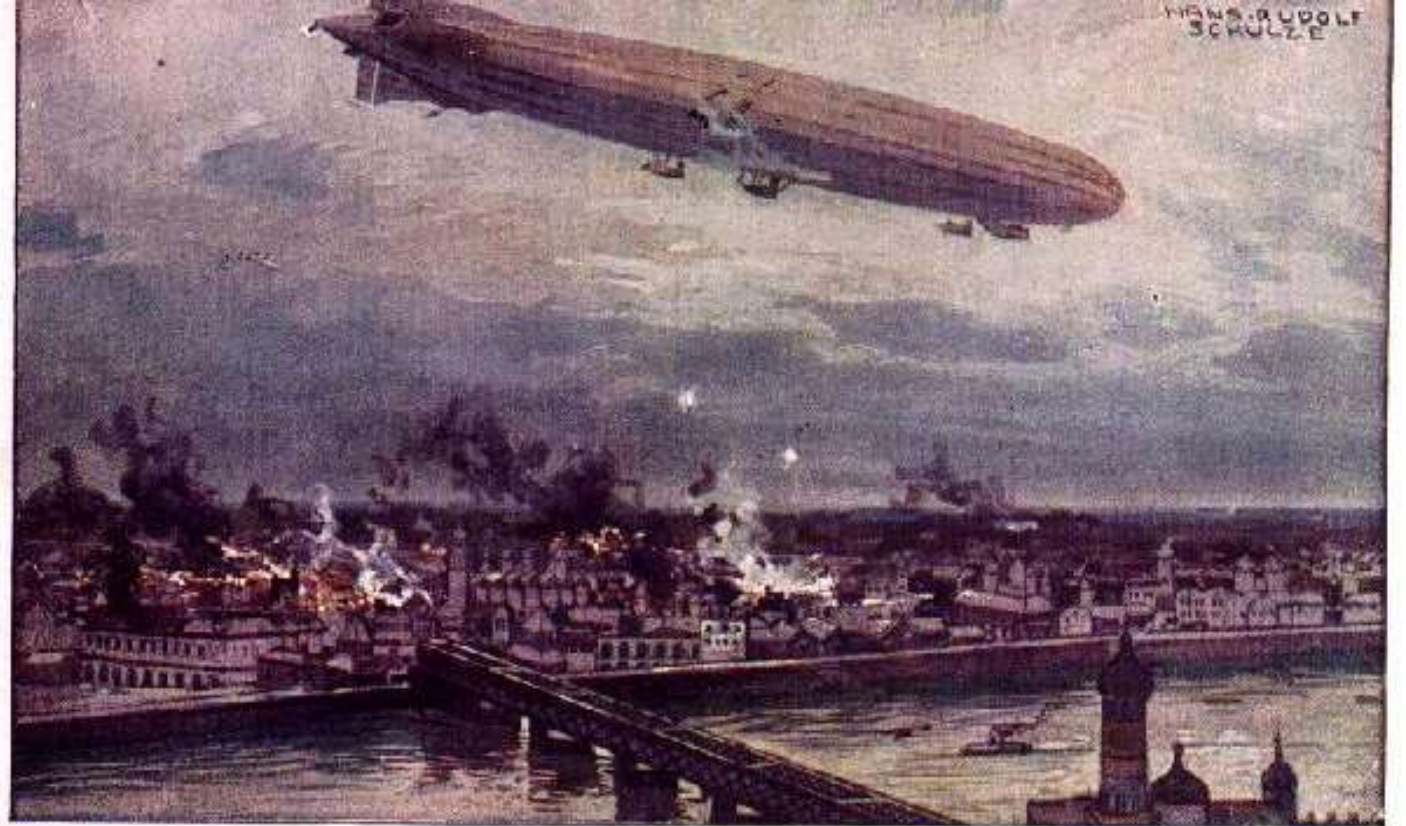


The rape of Belgium





The introduction of new
weapons



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

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



Submarine warfare





THE TRIUMPH OF "CULTURE."



THE DEATH-LORD.

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

- Neutral Powers
- Central Powers
- Allied Powers

3. Defining war aims (1914-1917)





The pursuit of war aims far beyond the return of the lost provinces (Alsace-Lorraine)

Strategic goals: a re-mapping of Europe

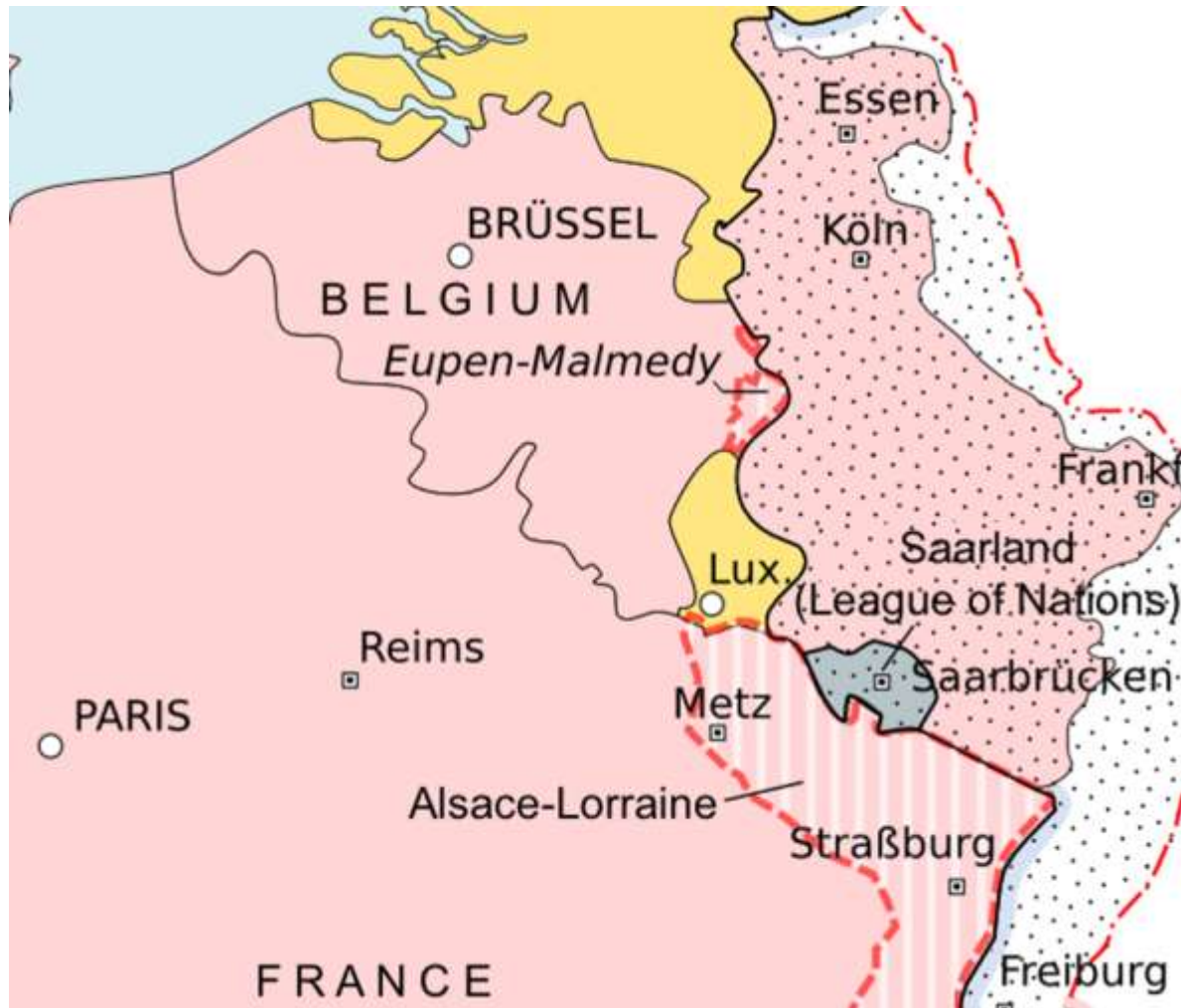
To erase Bismarck's policy

France to regain a dominant position on the European stage



Strategic security: to control the Rhineland

Economic security: security associated with industrial power



France's **needs in coal** (the dominant source of energy):
70 million tons annually

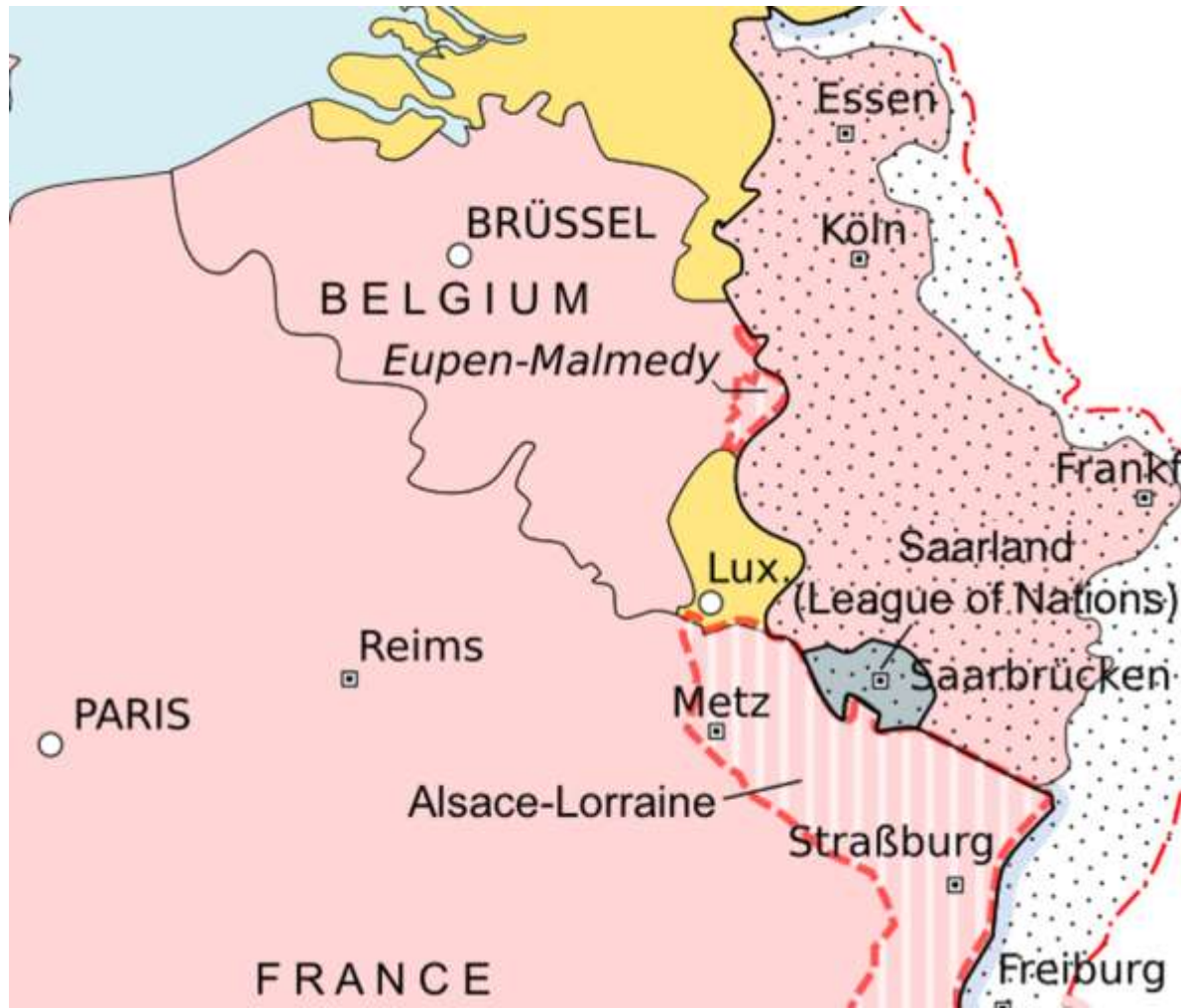
France's **annual production**:
50 million tons

Saarland's production: **20 million tons**

The addition of **Lorraine**,
Saarland and **Luxemburg**:
the French **steel**
manufacturing to compare
to Germany's

To weaken Germany's
economic power





The creation of a **customs union** with Belgium and Italy

Western Europe to fall under French economic influence



The question pertaining
to **nationalities**

A key issue

Multicultural states vs.
nation-states

What to do with Austria-
Hungary?

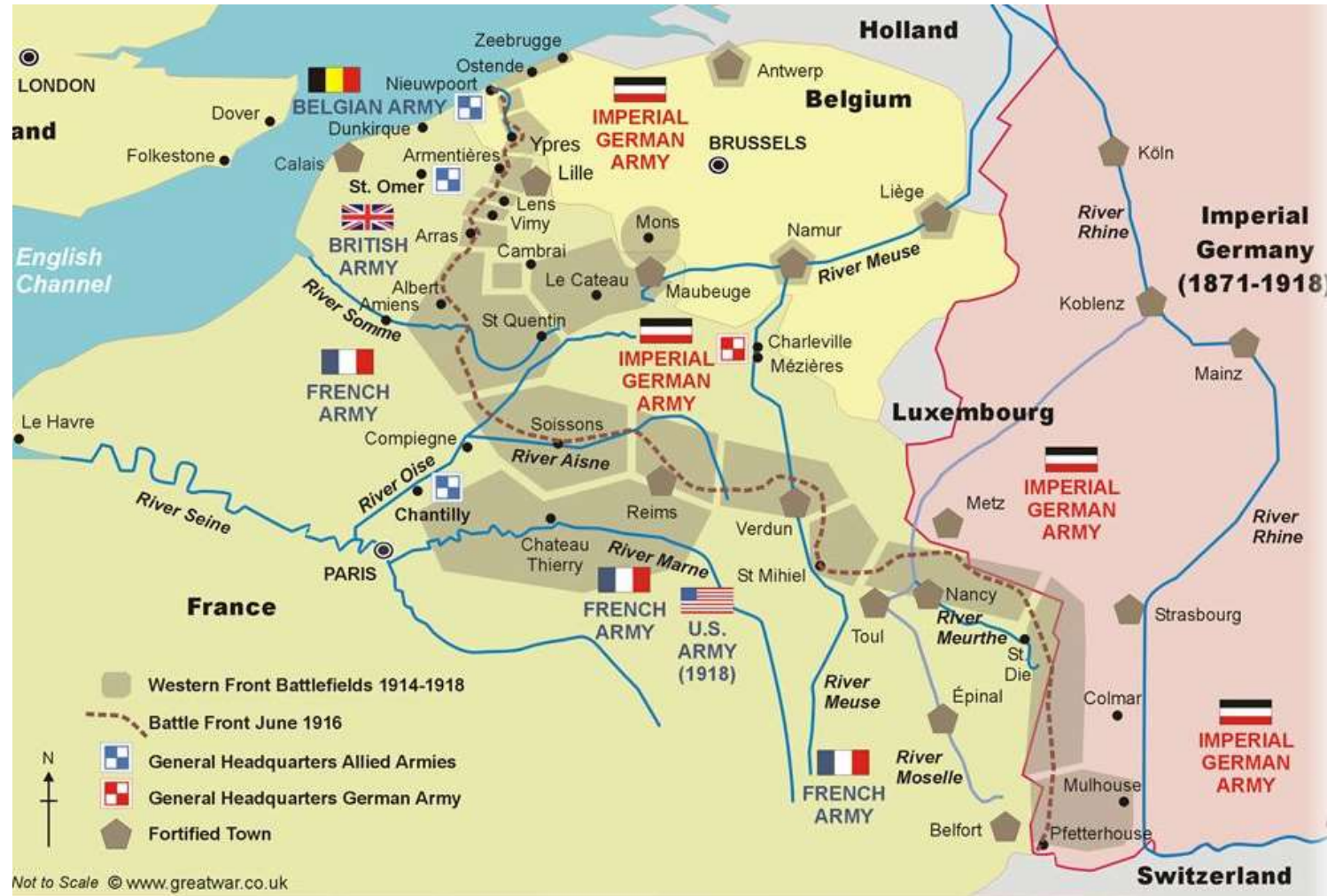
Neutral Powers
Central Powers
Allied Powers

4. Hesitations & secret negotiations (1917)



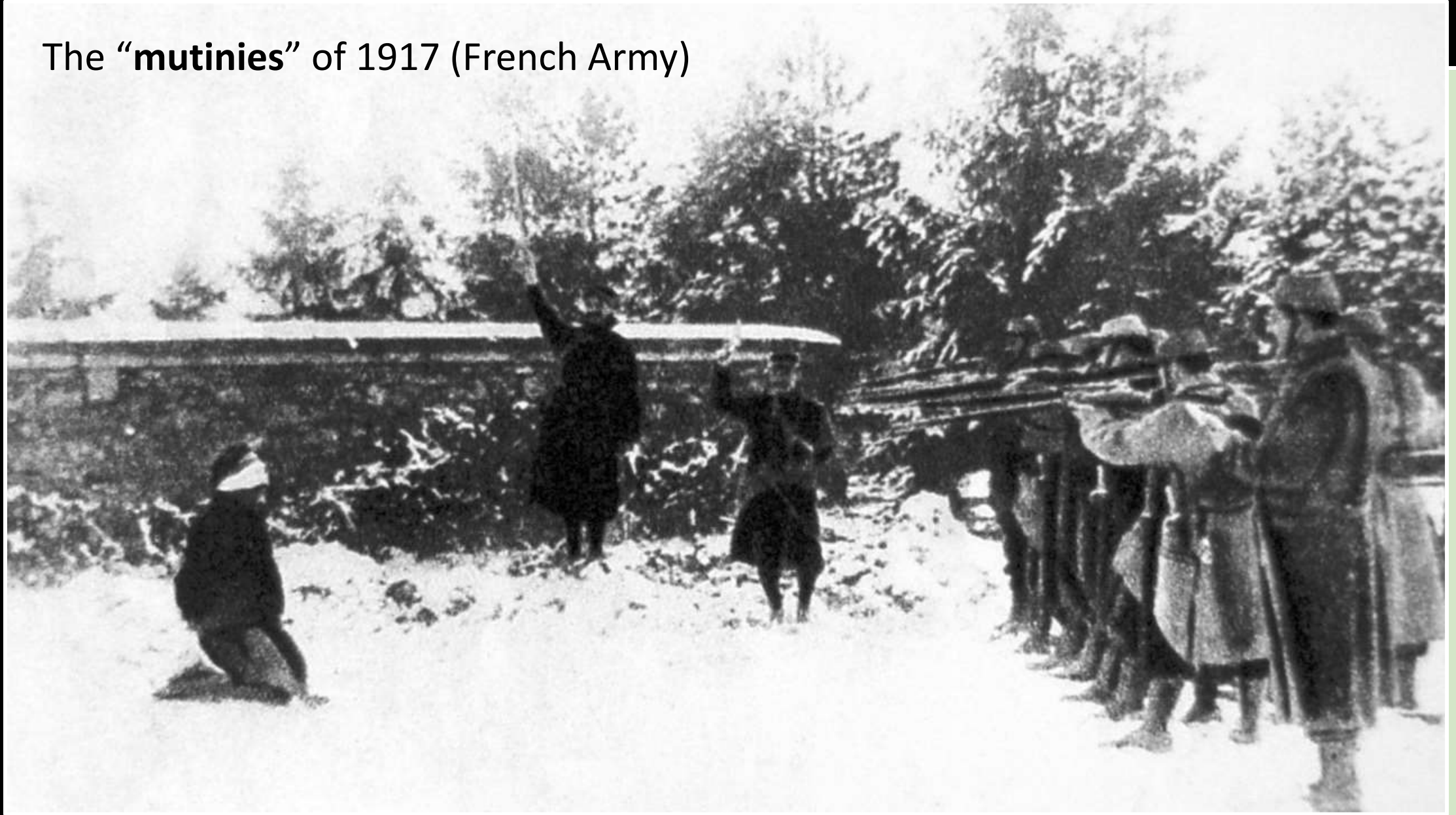
Early 1917: ongoing stalemate
Negotiated peace or total victory?





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

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



April 1917: **the U.S. at war**

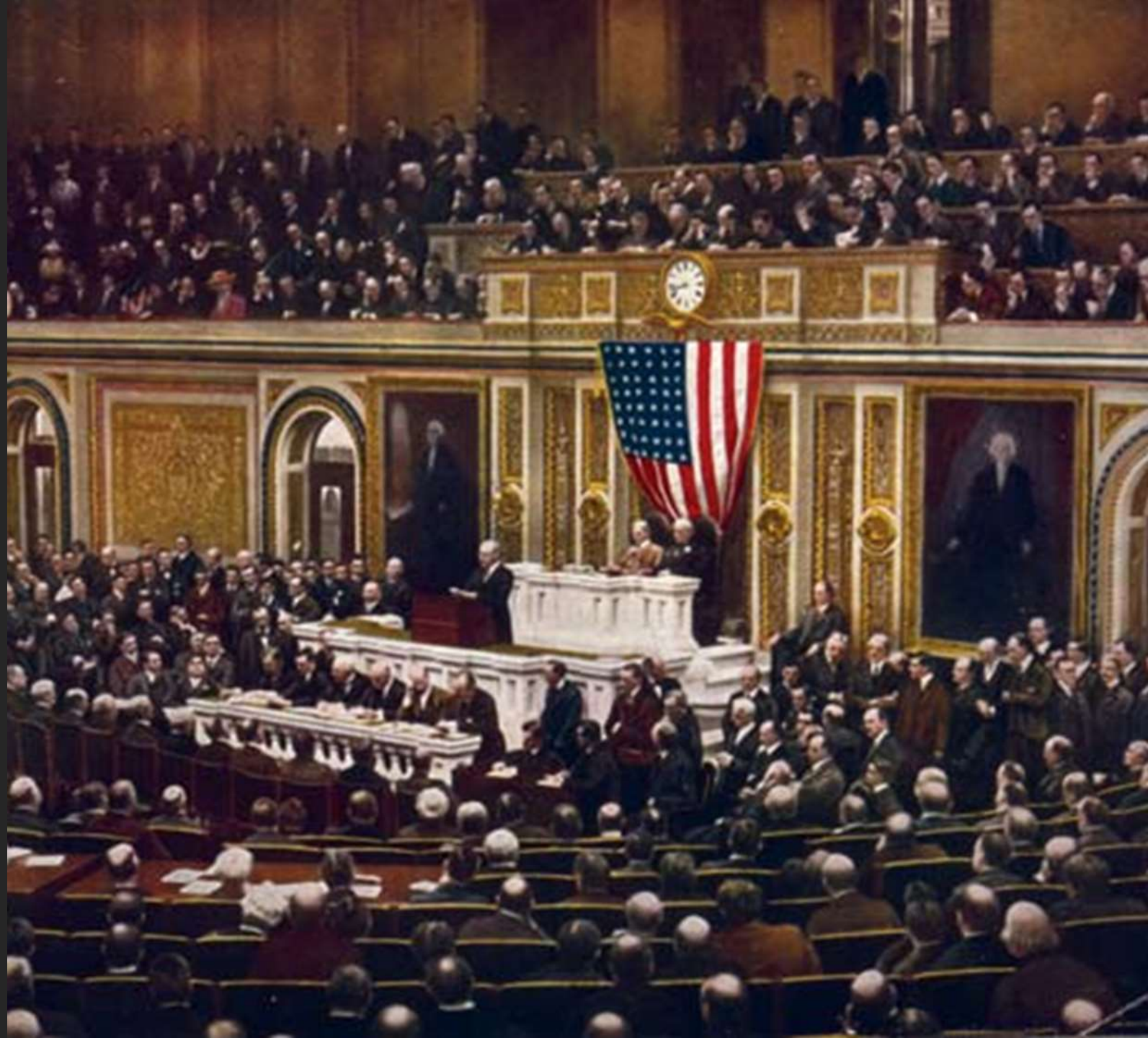
Woodrow Wilson's immediate
and considerable influence

Financial aid

Military contribution expected
for 1918

Wilson: a new post-war
international order

What consequences for war
aims?



July 1917: Germany's
“peace resolution”

The failure of **unrestricted
submarine warfare**
 (“the last card”)





Franz Joseph in 1916: to
bring peace back in
1917 A vital necessity

The future of the
Habsburg Monarchy at
stake





21 November 1916: the
death of **Emperor Franz
Joseph**

Charles I: to end the war as soon as possible

“I want to do everything to banish the horrors and sacrifices of the war as soon as possible and to win back for my peoples the sorely missed blessings of peace” (Charles I)

What about the alliance with Germany & France's war aims (Alsace-Lorraine)?



The appointment of **Count Czernin** as foreign affairs minister

Charles I: peace at all cost

Czernin: alliance with Germany first
(peace but only if Germany agrees)



Charles I: secret **peace feelers** to the Western Entente

His brother-in-law (Sixtus of Bourbon-Parma)
as intermediary

French officials: no peace in the West
possible unless Germany surrendered Alsace-
Lorraine





March 1917: Charles I wrote to
French president Raymond
Poincaré

Pledge to support *“by every means”*
France’s *“just claims”* to Alsace-
Lorraine

Belgium *“must be re-established as
a sovereign state”*

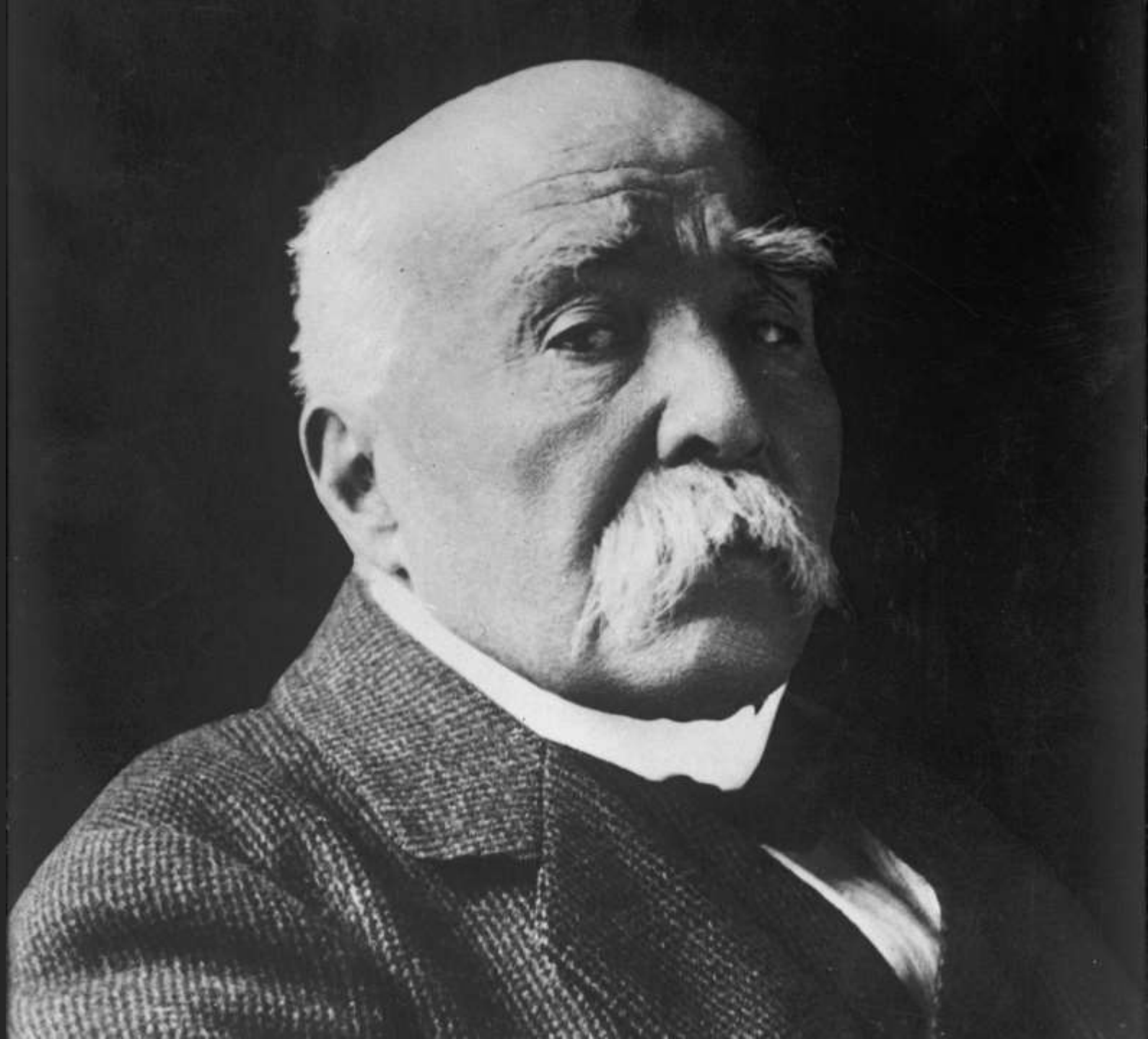


17 November 1917:
Georges Clemenceau
appointed Prime Minister

The end of all secret
negotiations

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



2 April 1918: Czernin's speech



Czernin accused French Premier George Clemenceau of being the **sole obstacle** to peace (Alsace-Lorraine)

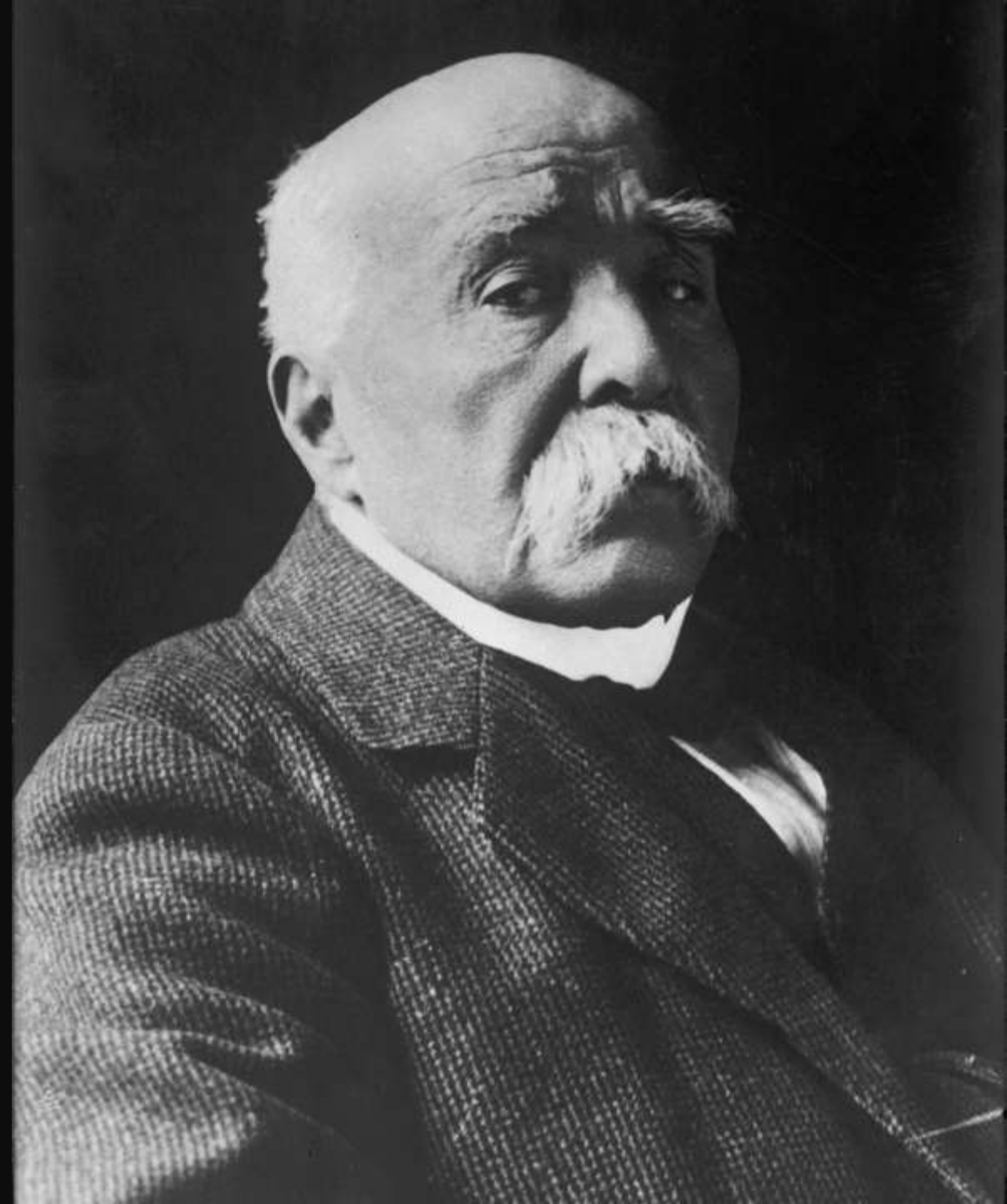
12 April: Clemenceau published
Charles I's letter to Poincaré

Diplomatic earthquake

Czernin sacked

Charles I: no choice but to renew
publicly alliance with Germany

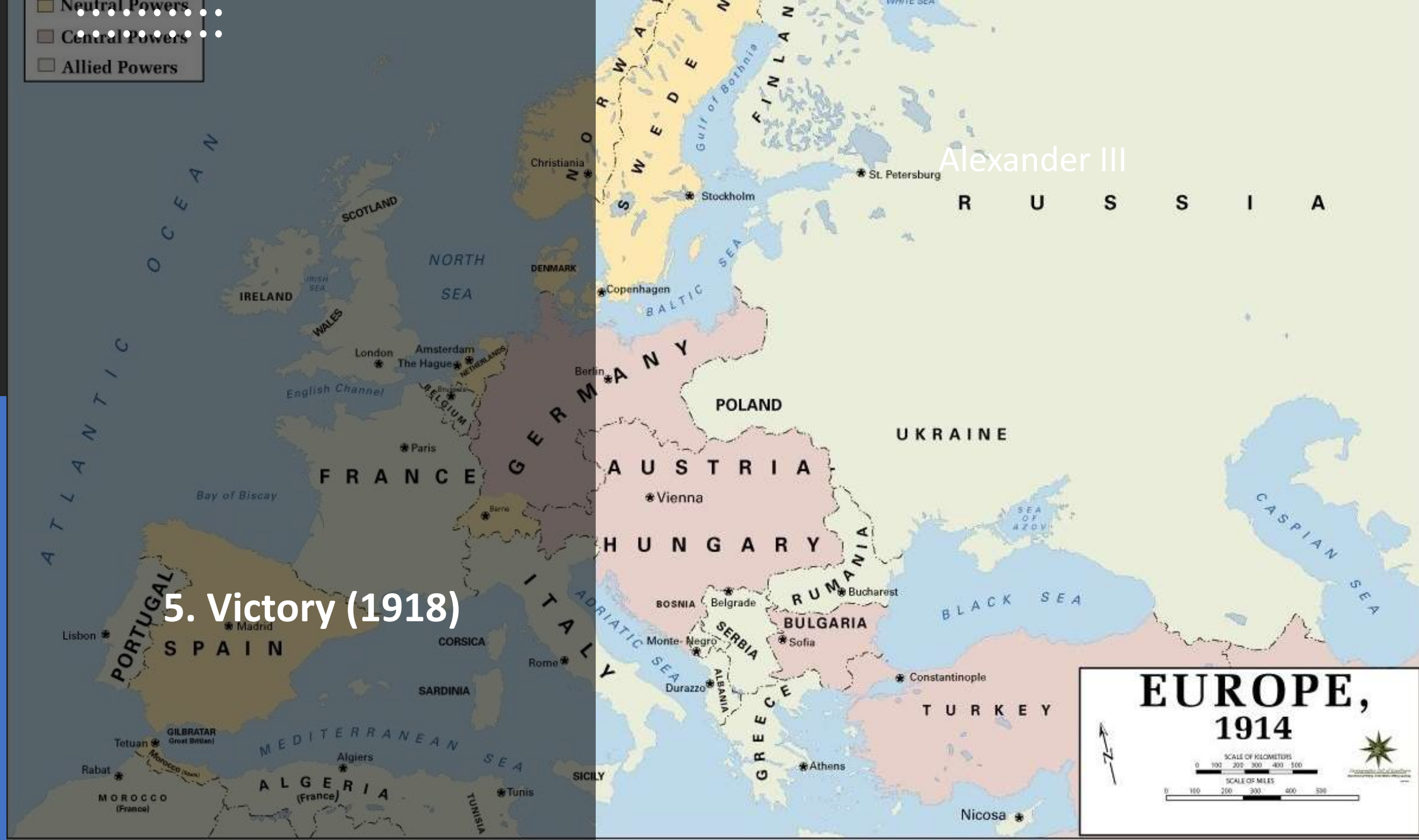
Clemenceau now favorable to the
destruction of Austria-Hungary



- Neutral Powers
- Central Powers
- Allied Powers

5. Victory (1918)

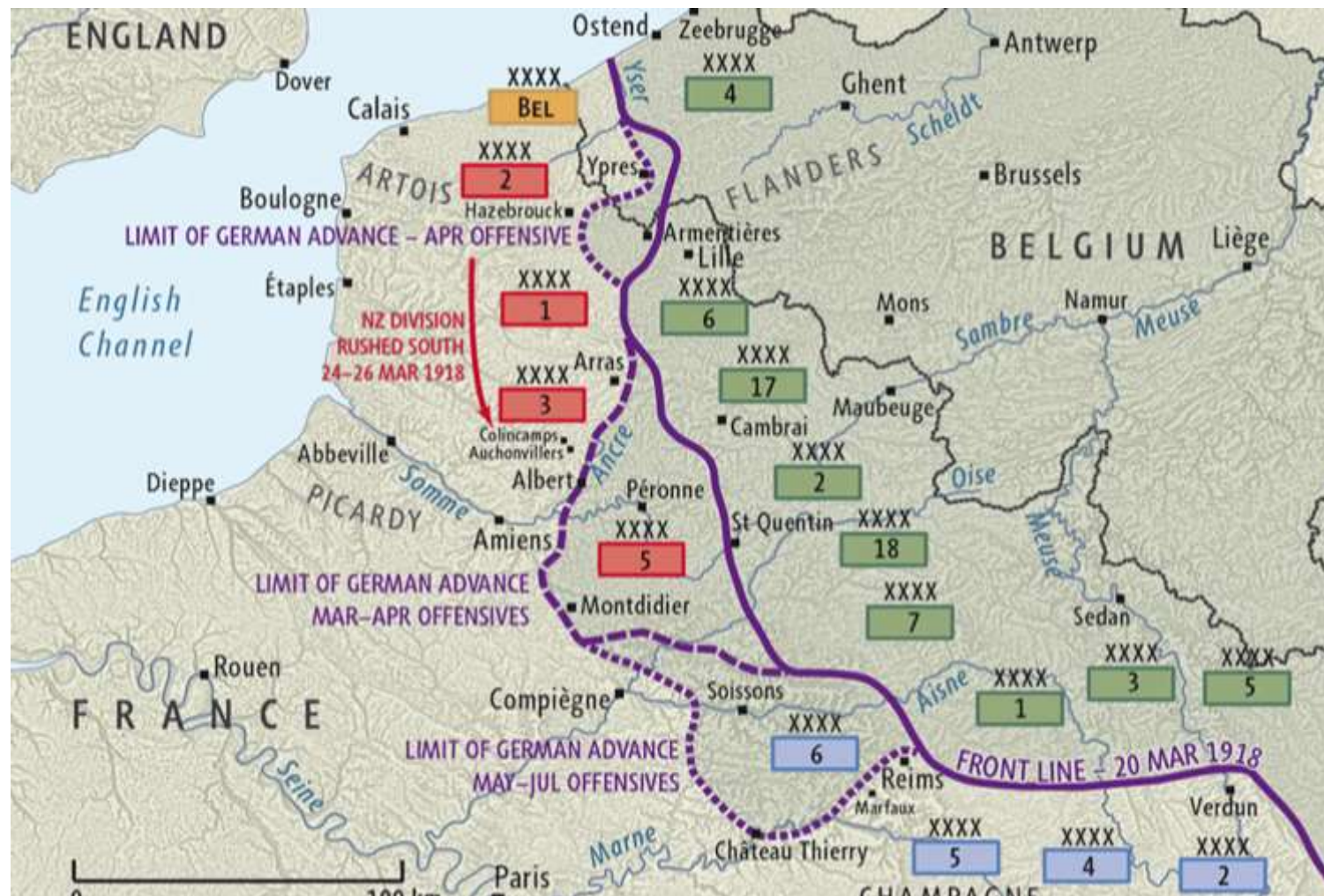
Alexander III





1918: can the
Central Powers
win the war?

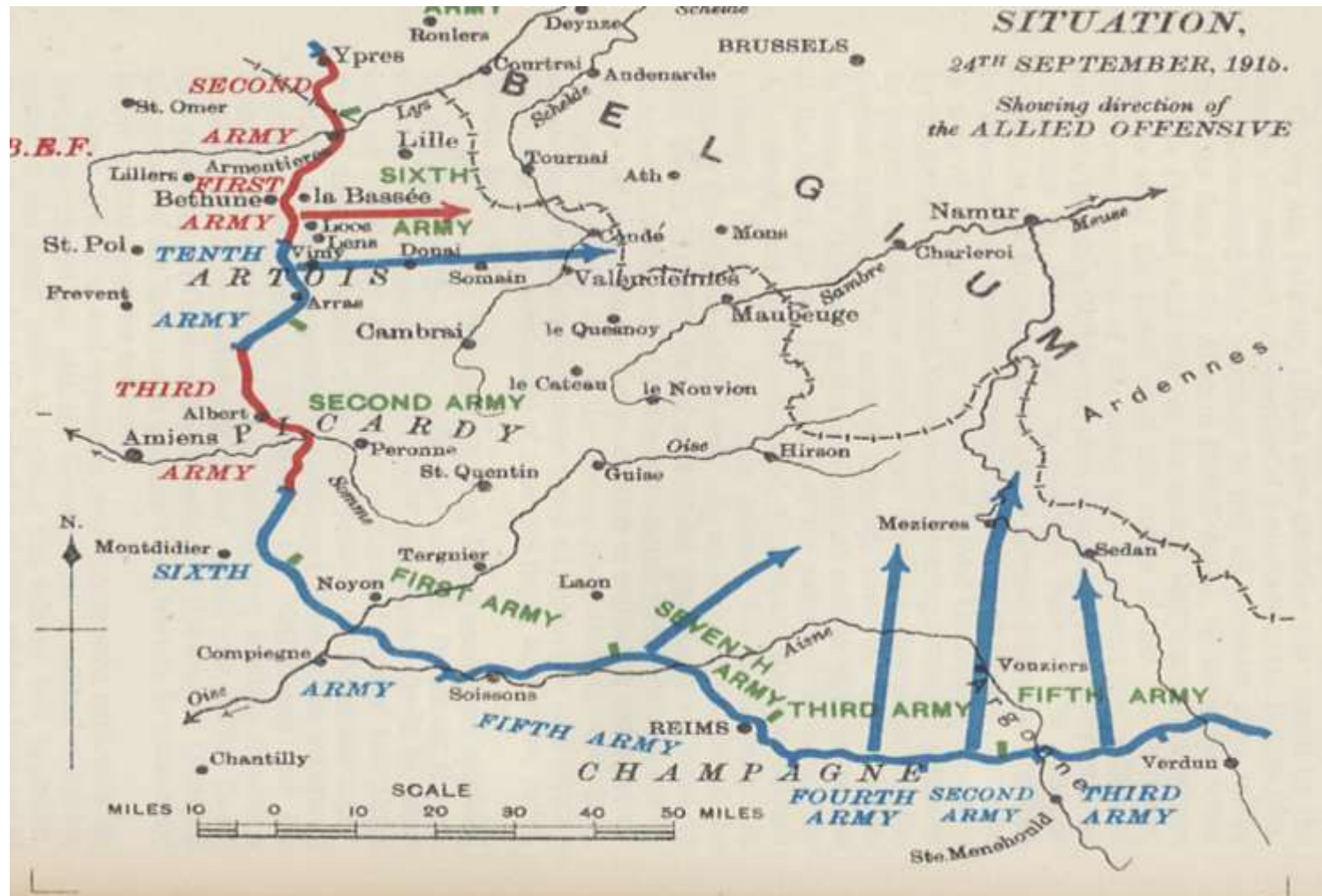




The German spring offensives

To obtain victory before the massive arrival of U.S. troops

A desperate move



Successful Allied counter-offensive

General Ludendorff
8 August 1918: *"A black day for the German army"*

Germany's defeat unavoidable

Government urged to negotiate armistice
(28 September)

GERMANY ASKS PEACE EXTRA ON WILSON'S 14 POINTS

Thousands Gather for Celebration When News of Peace Move Comes

WILSON THE MAN OF HOUR

President's Vision of Peace in the
Future is Blazing as a Beacon
for the World of Struggling
Nations



NO PEACE TALK UNTIL GERMAN TROOPS LEAVE FRANCE, BELGIUM, RUSSIA

Germany addressed
its request for an
armistice ONLY to
Wilson

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



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



The 14 Points: the basis of any future peace treaty

What about German unity?

President Wilson's Fourteen Points

1. Reliance on open diplomacy rather than secret agreements
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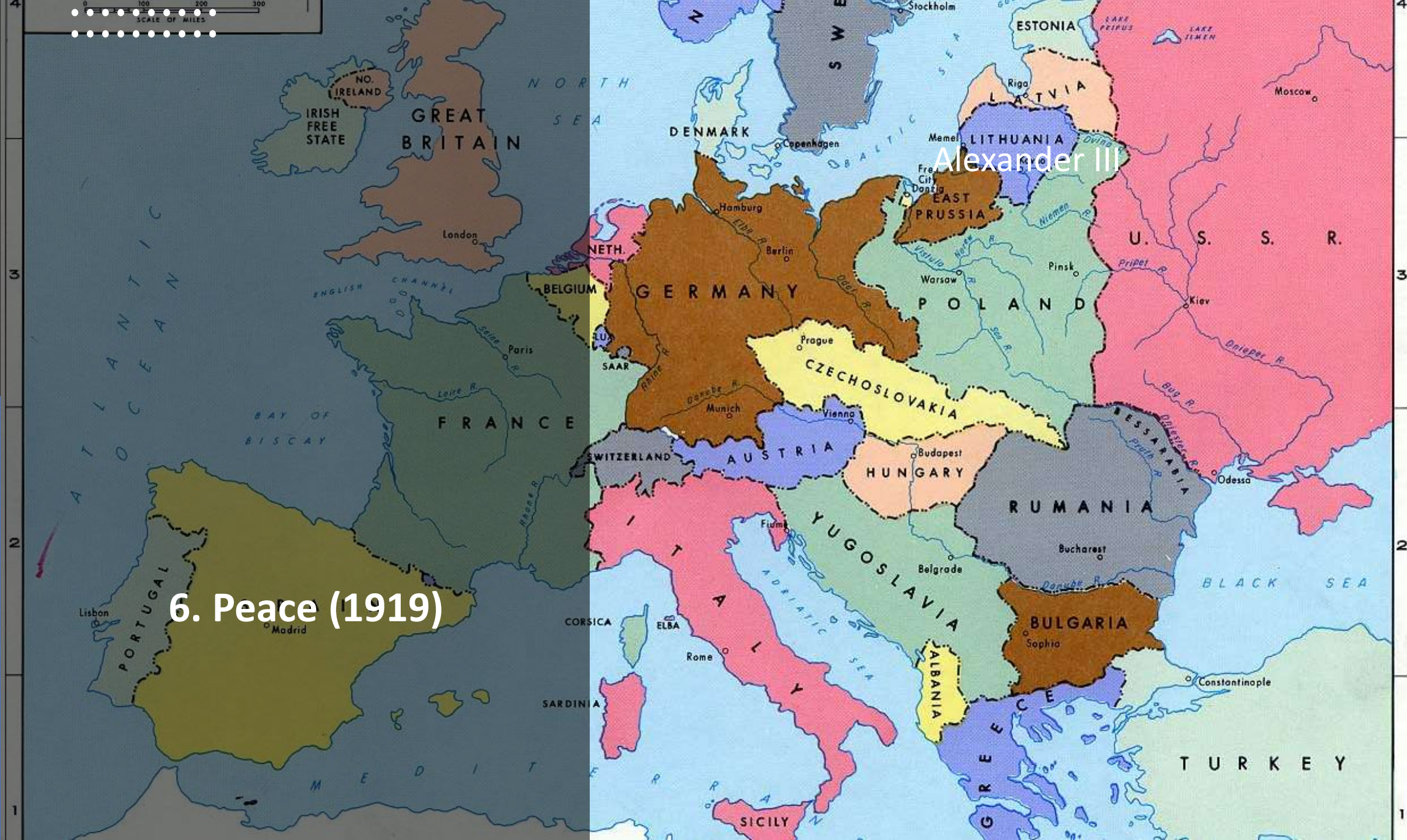
14 Points deemed **vague** by French diplomacy

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

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

6. Peace (1919)

Alexander III



At the Peace Table



—From Huepsen, Christiania.

CLEMENCEAU (to the German delegates): "Take your seats, gentlemen!"



Was Clemenceau
too harsh or too
lenient?

Clemenceau refused Germany's participation to the Paris
Peace Conference

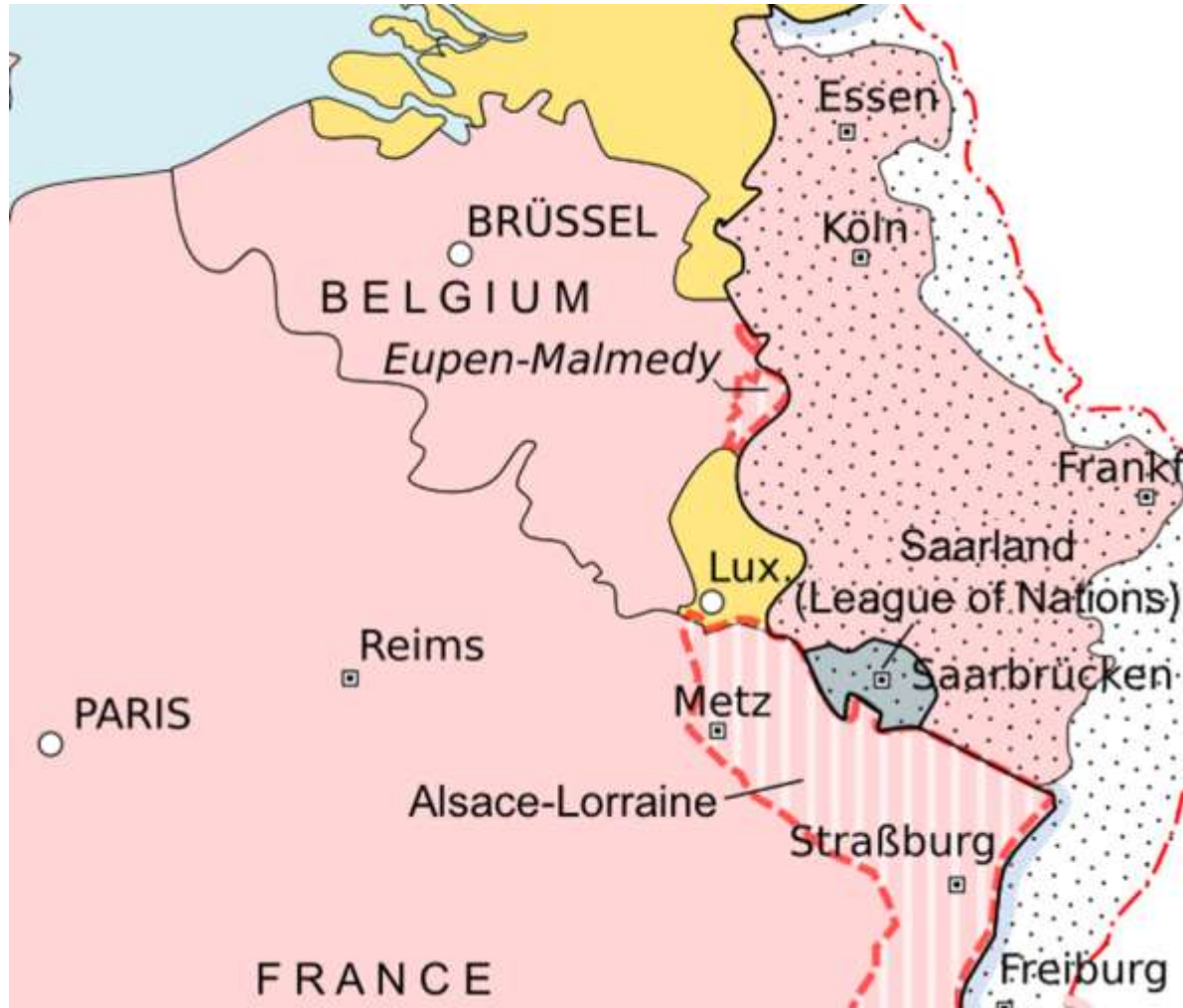
Germany to be invited only to sign the treaty



Clemenceau's
priorities: territorial
guarantees to
enhance France's
future **security**

The Treaty of Versailles





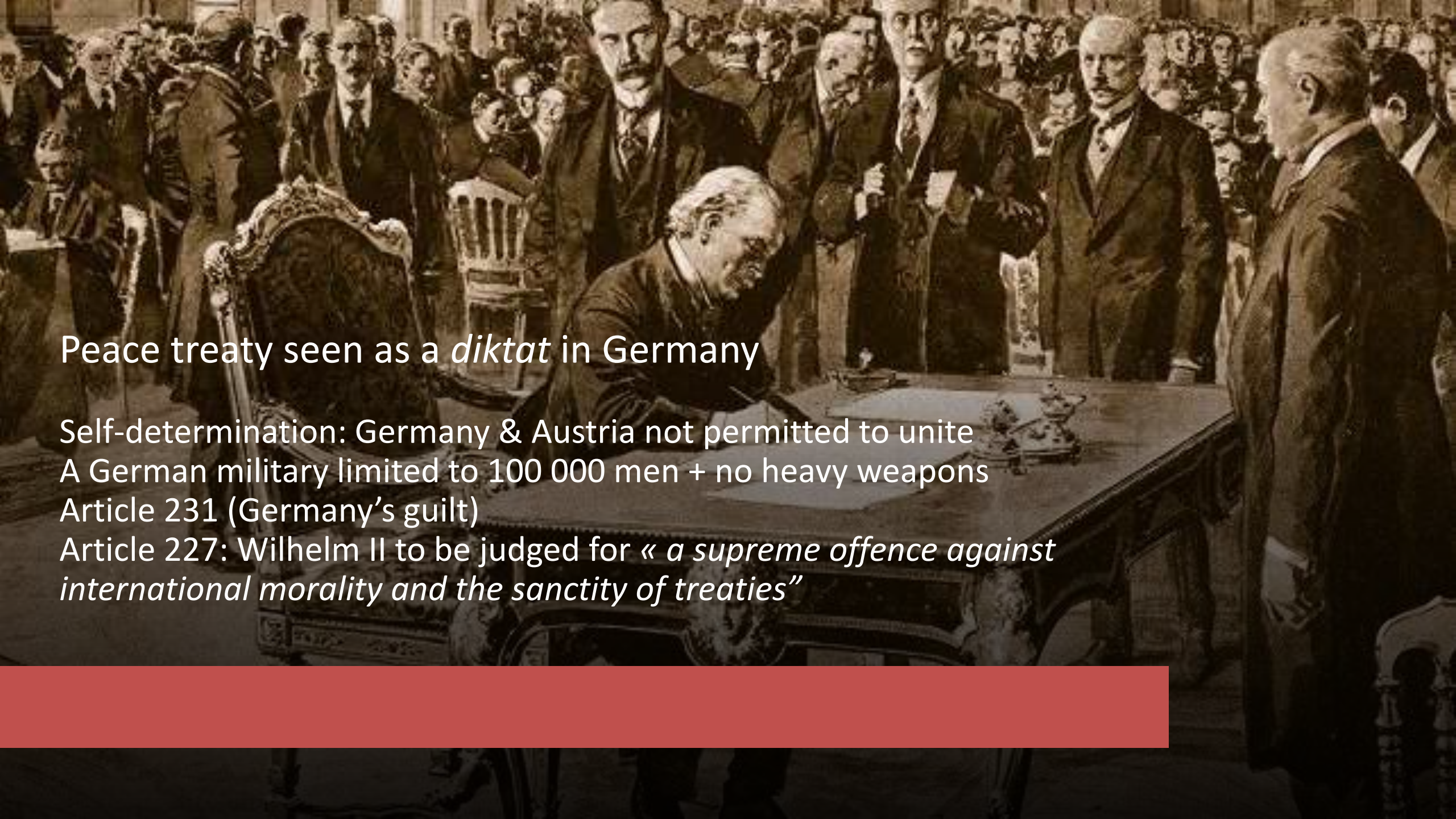
Wilson & Lloyd George
(British PM): Rhineland to
remain German

France to occupy Saarland
for 15 years

Rhineland to be
demilitarized



The Treaty of Versailles: a complex document (439 articles)



Peace treaty seen 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* »

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

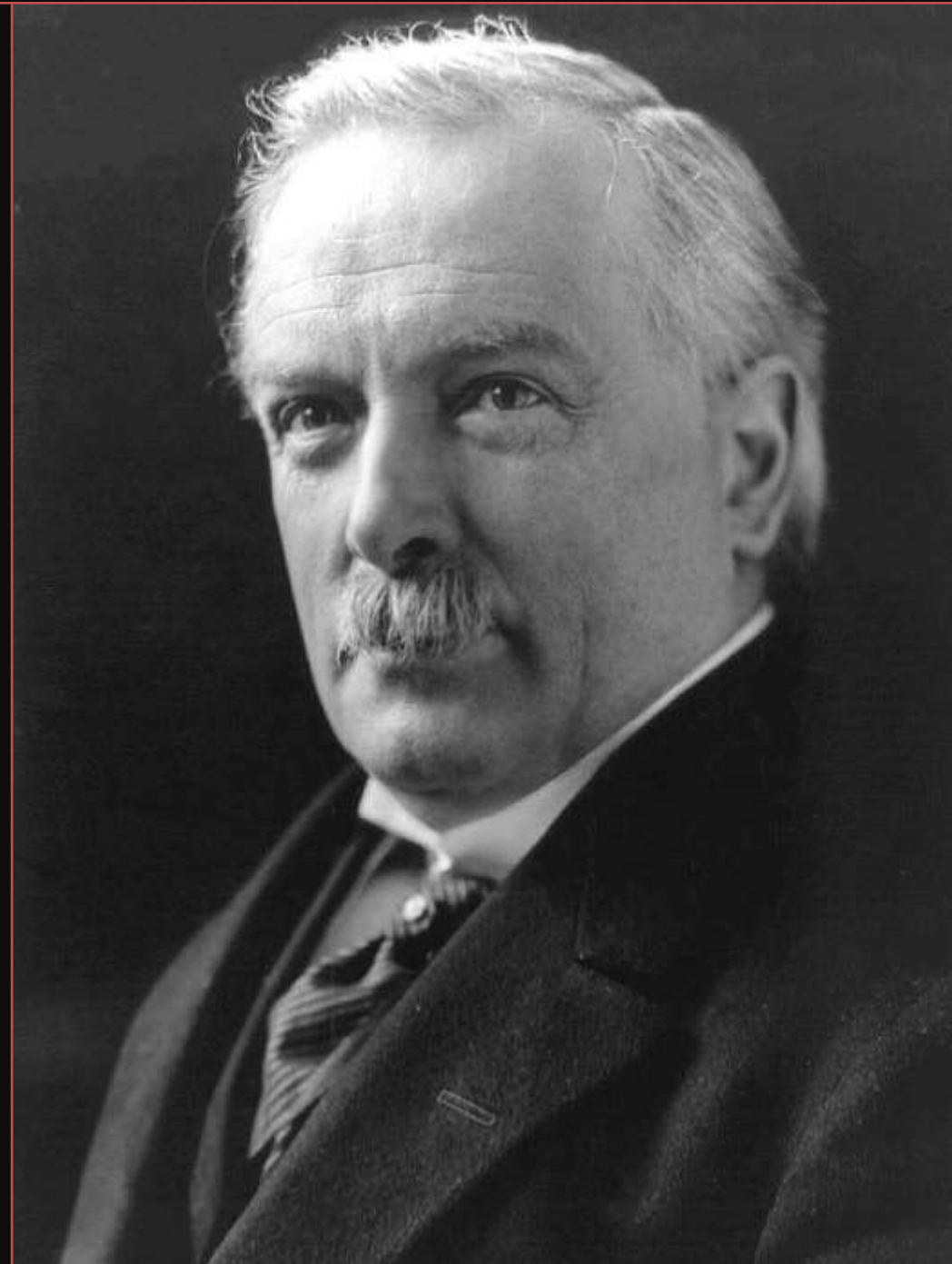


Lloyd George

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



Georges Clemenceau

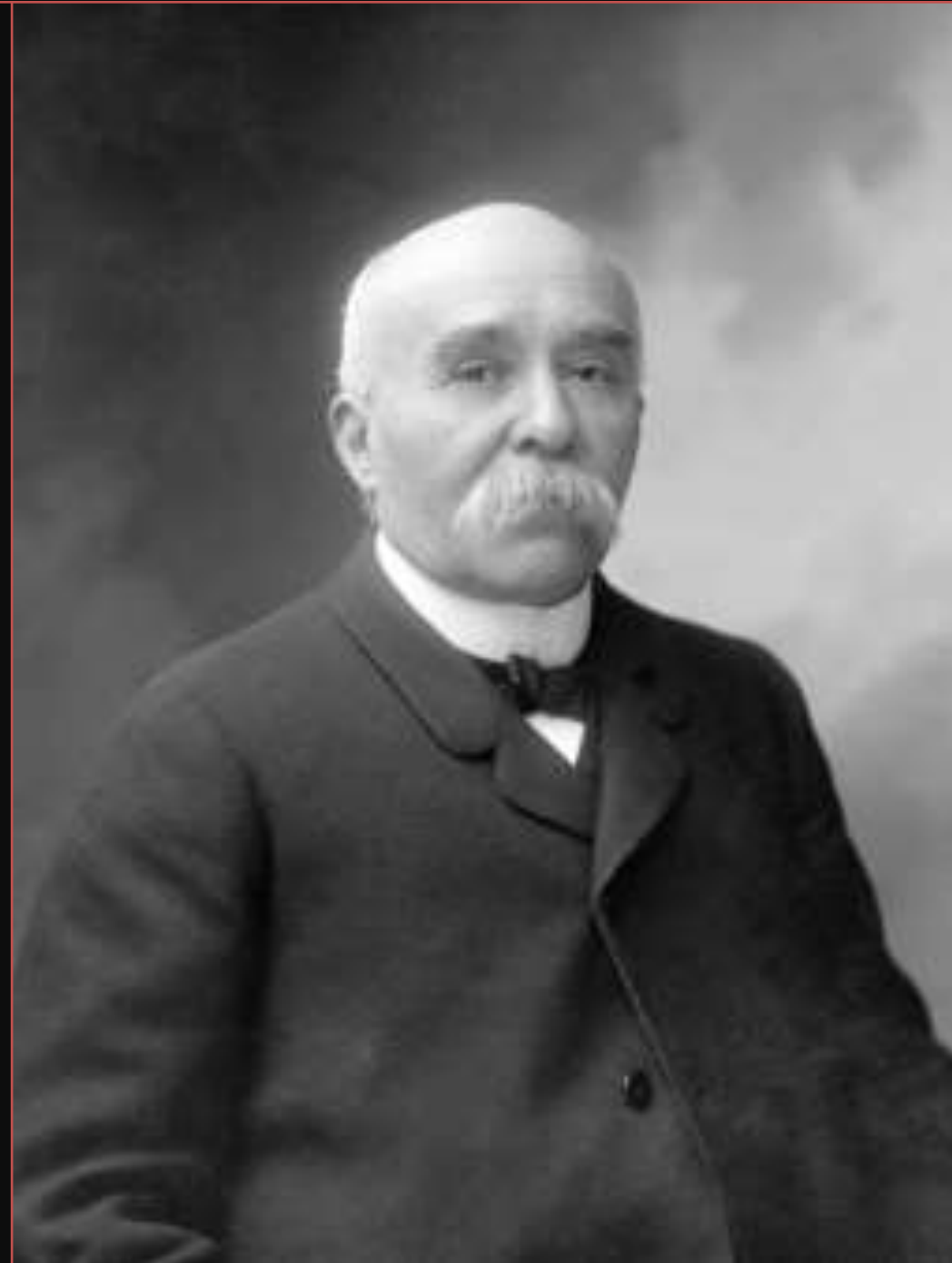
Fear of a German revenge

Fundamental preoccupation: security

To weaken Germany as much as possible

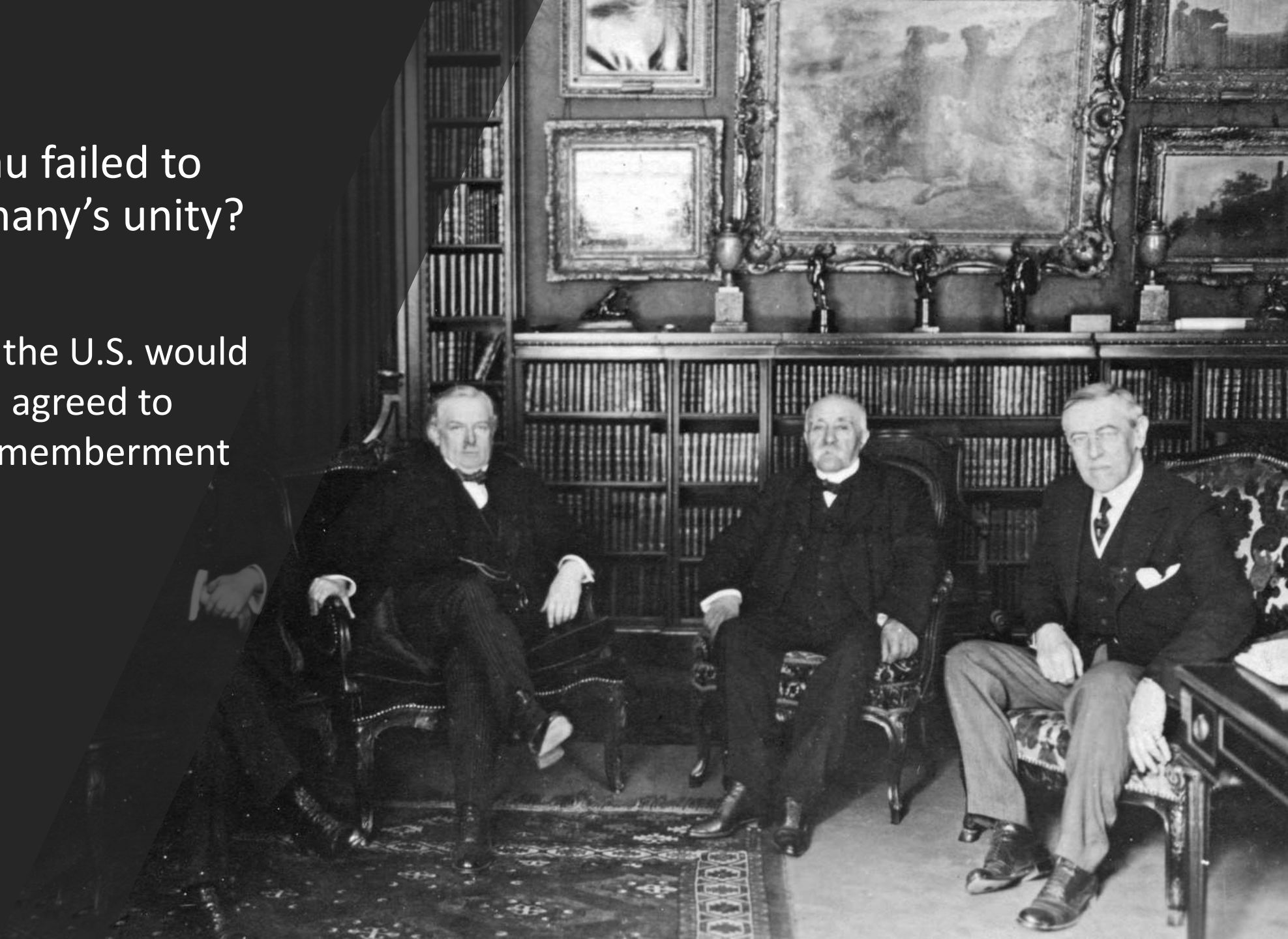
The Rhineland detached from Germany
(independent state occupied militarily by
France)

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



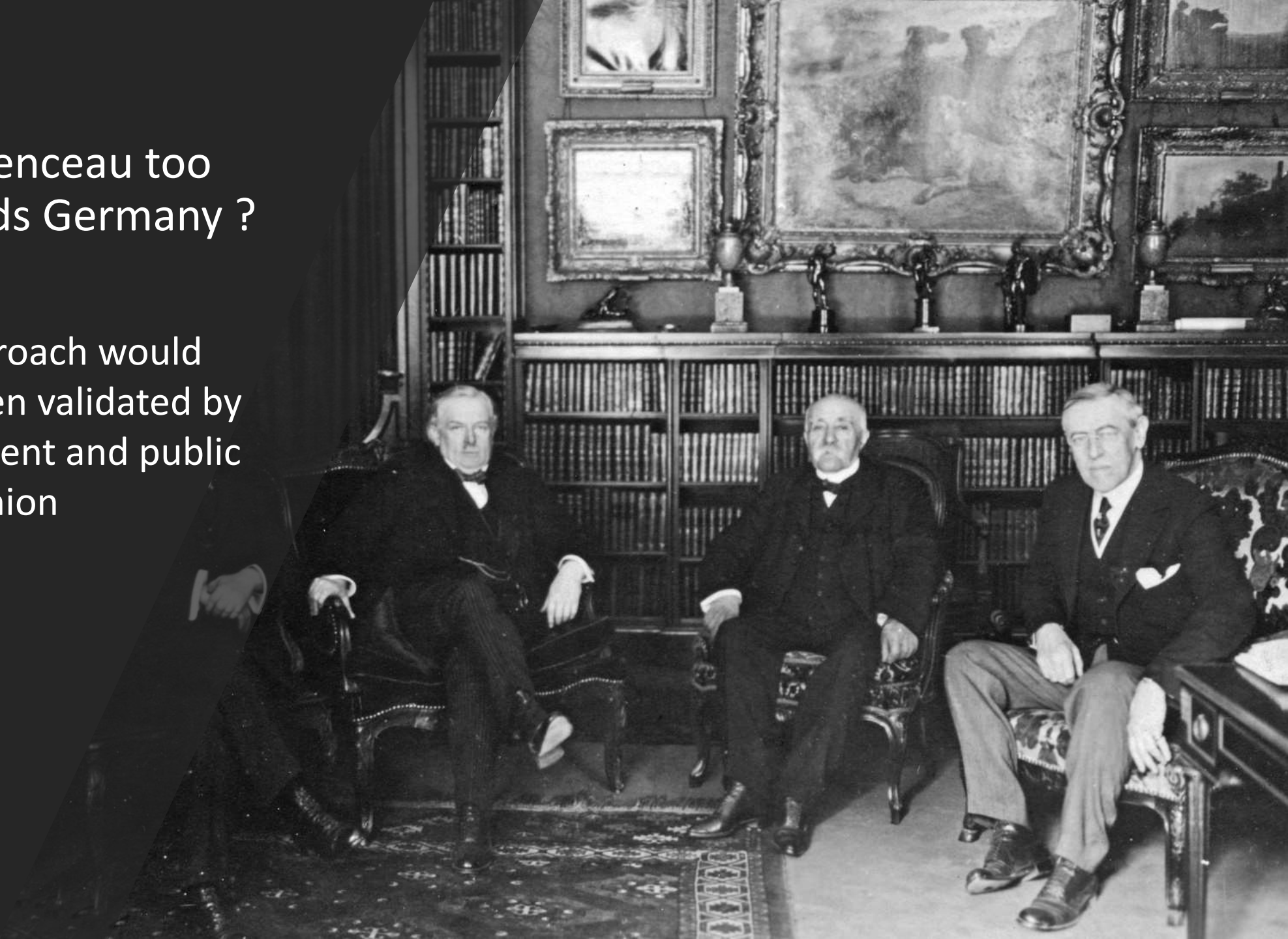
Clemenceau failed to
reverse Germany's unity?

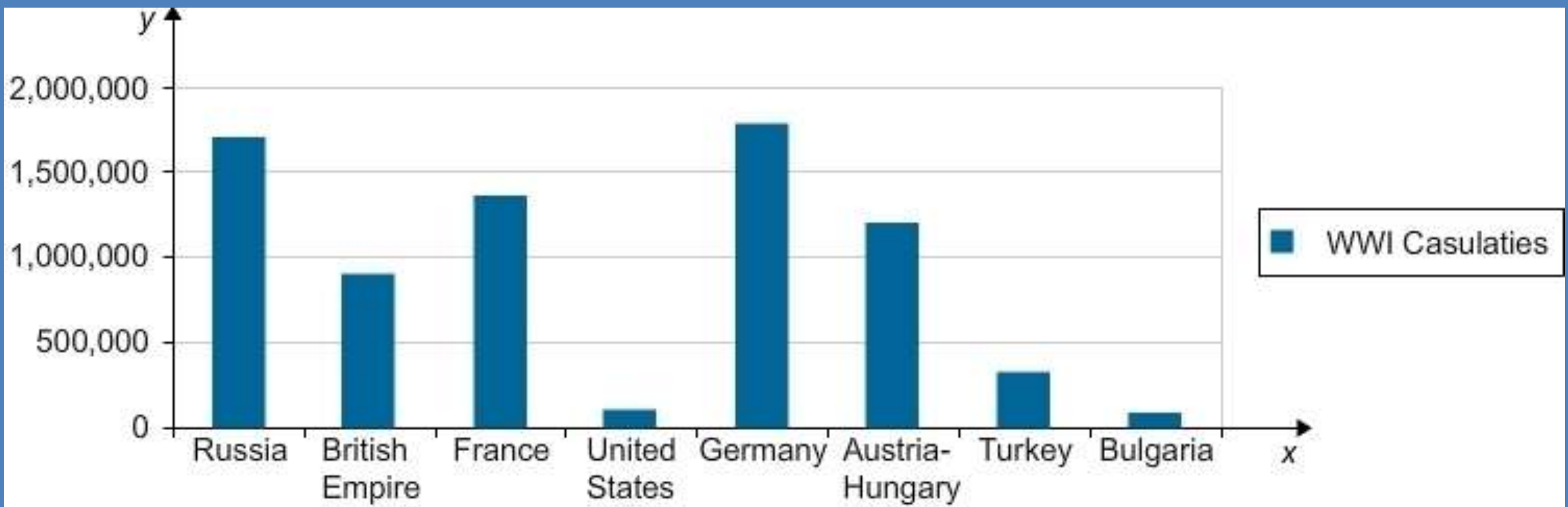
Great Britain & the U.S. would
never have agreed to
Germany's dismemberment



Was Clemenceau too
harsh towards Germany ?

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






France: 1.4 million dead (highest per capita)



LENS, FRANCE.

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. They are surrounded by a crowd of people in the background.

What if Clemenceau did the best he
could?