

Despots, Diplomats, Dreamers

Acting European History, 19th–20th Centuries

By Gary Parker Schoales





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Welcome to Despots, Diplomats, Dreamers



Role plays take your students from the mid-nineteenth century to the Cold War as you introduce ten historically based simulations in European history. These simulations will immerse your students in research and role play, and engage their sense of imagination, acting skills, and critical thinking by asking them to step into the shoes of various figures in history. Some topics include competing nineteenth-century “isms,” the annual French Salon, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and the International Congress of Women. Each of the ten units comes with a lesson plan, suggestions for a schedule, and background information that will contribute to the understanding of the time period in which the simulation takes place. In addition, discussion questions, extension activities, and primary source document analysis correspond to the Common Core State Standards of Reading, Speaking and Listening, and Writing.

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National Standards in World History for Grades 5–12

Simulation Title	National Standards in World History Grades 5–12	Description
Competing Nineteenth-Century “Isms”	Era 6 Standard 1 Era 7 Standards 4 and 5	How the transoceanic interlinking of all major regions of the world from 1450–1600 led to global transformations Patterns of nationalism, state-building, and social reform in Europe and the Americas, 1830–1914 Patterns of global change in the era of Western military and economic domination, 1800–1914
The Salon	Era 7 Standard 4	Patterns of nationalism, state-building, and social reform in Europe and the Americas, 1830–1914
Hague Peace Conference	Era 7 Standard 5	Patterns of global change in the era of Western military and economic domination, 1800–1914
War or Peace: 1914	Era 6 Standard 1	How the transoceanic interlinking of all major regions of the world from 1450–1600 led to global transformations
Women’s Peace Congress	Era 8 Standard 2	The causes and global consequences of World War I
Kellogg-Briand Pact	Era 8 Standard 4	The causes and global consequences of World War II
Appeasement: The British Parliament	Era 8 Standard 4	The causes and global consequences of World War II
Yalta Conference	Era 8 Standard 4	The causes and global consequences of World War II
Trial of Bruno Tesch	Era 9 Standard 1	How post-World War II reconstruction occurred, new international power relations took shape, and colonial empires broke up
Helinski Accords	Era 9 Standard 1	How post-World War II reconstruction occurred, new international power relations took shape, and colonial empires broke up

Common Core State Standards

All of the lessons in this text meet the following Common Core State Standards.

Common Core State Standards	Description
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.R.H.6-8.4	Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary specific to domains related to history/social studies.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.R.H.6-8.7	Integrate visual information (e.g., in charts, graphs, photographs, videos, or maps) with other information in print and digital texts.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.R.H.6-8.8	Distinguish among fact, opinion, and reasoned judgment in a text.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.R.H.6-8.9	Analyze the relationship between a primary and secondary source on the same topic.
CCSS.ELA-Literacy.R.H.6-8.10	By the end of grade 8, read and comprehend history/social studies texts in the grades 6–8 text complexity band independently and proficiently.

C3 Framework for Social Studies Standards

All of the lessons in this text meet the following C3 standards.

C3 Framework for Social Studies Standards	Description
D2.His.1.6-8	Analyze connections among events and developments in broader historical contexts.
D2.His.1.9-12	Evaluate how historical events and developments were shaped by unique circumstances of time and place as well as broader historical contexts.
D2.His.2.6-8	Classify series of historical events and developments as examples of change and/or continuity.
D2.His.2.9-12	Analyze change and continuity in historical eras.
D2.His.3.6-8	Use questions generated about individuals and groups to analyze why they, and the developments they shaped, are seen as historically significant.
D2.His.3.9-12	Use questions generated about individuals and groups to assess how the significance of their actions changes over time and is shaped by the historical context.
D2.His.4.6-8	Analyze multiple factors that influenced the perspectives of people during different historical eras.
D2.His.4.9-12	Analyze complex and interacting factors that influenced the perspectives of people during different historical eras.
D2.His.5.6-8	Explain how and why perspectives of people have changed over time.
D2.His.5.9-12	Analyze how historical contexts shaped and continue to shape people's perspectives.
D2.His.6.6-8	Analyze how people's perspectives influenced what information is available in the historical sources they created.
D2.His.6.9-12	Analyze the ways in which the perspectives of those writing history shaped the history that they produced.
D2.His.7.9-12	Explain how the perspectives of people in the present shape interpretations of the past.
D2.His.8.9-12	Analyze how current interpretations of the past are limited by the extent to which available historical sources represent perspectives of people at the time.
D2.His.9.6-8	Classify the kinds of historical sources used in a secondary interpretation.

Introduction

Think about the teacher who made a positive difference in your school experience. Was that teacher inspirational? Did that teacher provide opportunities for you to think, share, and reflect? Were you able to work collaboratively with other students? Allowing students the opportunity to engage in active-learning strategies is the essence of the best teaching practices. The love of learning is inextricably linked with a teacher's use of methods and content to motivate and engage students in the process of learning.

Active-learning lessons allow students to experience what they would typically get second-hand from reading and lectures. When used appropriately, these lessons allow students and teachers to enthusiastically join in the learning process by transporting students into roles and situations that involve relatively low risk for those who are shy and reluctant to participate. Role-playing and simulation activities target the representation of a real-world event in a reduced and compressed form that is both dynamic and safe. The more realistic the activity, the more students will appreciate the relevance of their learning. The role play increases student motivation to learn as well as heightens cooperation and peer interaction.

What do students learn and gain from these active-learning lessons? Because the lessons require the personal involvement of participants, students are forced to think on their feet, question their own responses to historical situations, and consider new ways of thinking. Students who are intellectually, emotionally, and physically engaged have greater retention.

Active-learning lessons challenge students by allowing them to:

- Practice general skills such as research and writing
- Practice cooperative learning
- Develop problem-solving skills
- Engage in synthesizing skills
- Develop empathic skills

First, it is always important to set aside adequate class time, both for the actual activity and for discussion and debriefing. Nothing is more frustrating for students than to get wrapped up in an activity and not have enough time to complete and discuss it. Without strong teacher leadership that helps students extract information from the activity, the role play just becomes a token gesture at active learning—perhaps a fun event, but not educationally sound. Thus, the post-simulation discussion and debriefing may be the only time they have to truly consolidate what they have experienced. Debriefing allows students to reflect on their participation in the activity and on how well they achieved the activity's objectives. It also allows them time to reflect

on how the questions and issues raised in the activity apply to contemporary situations. Finally, debriefing gives teachers time to reiterate what they hoped to achieve and provides helpful feedback to students so they can participate successfully in future activities.

Another feature of successful active-learning lessons includes knowing how to encourage participation from students who tend to be passive, easily frustrated, and/or reluctant to engage. A good technique to help create a supportive classroom atmosphere involves teacher participation in the activity. When teachers “ham it up” in their roles (especially wearing a costume), many passive students tend to lose their reserve and become fully engaged in the activity.



Teacher participation also eases stage fright by helping students to see that making mistakes is part of the exercise and not a cause for embarrassment: “I practice what I preach.”

Finally, each of the active-learning lessons in this book has historical relevancy. Consider what would have been the course of nineteenth-century history if Karl Marx had failed to publish? What would the European art and culture have looked like without the impressionists? What would have happened if all the European nations had wholly embraced and abided by the agreement reached at the Hague Peace Conference of 1899? Suppose Nicholas II had decided not to mobilize his vast army—would World War I have been averted? Would there have been an end to World War I in 1915 if the various nations had decided to act on the resolutions made by the women at the Peace Congress of 1915? What would have been the implications for world peace and harmony if all the nations had fully agreed to honor the provisions of the Kellogg-Briand Pact? What if the leaders of Great Britain and France had decided not to pursue a policy of appeasement in 1938? Suppose that Churchill and Roosevelt had insisted that, at the conclusion of World War II, Soviet armies had to retreat from the nations of Eastern Europe and allow the creation of truly democratic countries? What if the allies had decided not to prosecute Nazi war criminals? Would we still be experiencing the effects of the Cold War if there had been no agreement regarding human rights at the Helsinki Conference in 1975?

You and your students will now have the opportunity to resolve these challenging and important questions.

General Tips for Effectively Running These Lessons

1. Try to match roles to student personalities and academic strengths. For example, for student attorneys it is particularly important that you select students who are well-organized and not afraid to speak in front of the class.
2. You can limit the length of the simulation by omitting roles or by setting speaking time limits.
3. Students are not adept at being the authority figure in a classroom, so feel free to take that role or to directly assist the student who may be in that kind of position.
4. Make signs or labels to put on the desks or tables indicating where the participants should sit.
5. Have witnesses write their historical name on the board before speaking.
6. When presenting, allow students to use notecards and/or permit them to consult their research materials.
7. If a student seems flustered, stressed, or anxious when giving a speech, making a presentation, or debating, allow them to stop and begin again without any academic penalty.
8. Secretly prime a student to create an “incident” during the simulation. For example, during the House of Commons debate over appeasement, you could “prime” a student opposed to appeasement to stand up and shout, “Chamberlain, you are a fool to believe Hitler will honor any agreement!” Students really enjoy this.
9. Pairing a loquacious student with one who is more reticent works well as long as you make it clear that they will share whatever evaluation scheme you are using.
10. Have students keep a log or diary of comments and questions that you can review. This is particularly useful in assessing the quieter students, who may be hesitant to participate beyond the minimum expectations of their assigned role.
11. If you are unfamiliar with using active-learning strategies or simulations, try to sit in on a colleague’s class where they are routinely used and observe how they work and how students behave.
12. Make sure the simulation fits within the overall goals of your course.
13. Remember that post-simulation discussion and analysis is every bit as important as the activity itself. Plan class periods with plenty of time to spare for discussion and debriefing.
14. Debrief yourself after the simulation and make notes about what went well and what may need to be changed the next time you do the activity.

Evaluation

There are a number of ways to evaluate these lessons. I would avoid putting the majority of the weight on the actual participation during simulations. It rewards gregarious students at the expense of the more reticent. Instead, I would suggest making it one of many factors that define your assessment. How well did they research and prepare their role? How effective were they working with their group? How well did they participate in the discussions, debriefing, and any extension activities? Have students write an analysis of the events and the outcome of the activity from the perspectives of their roles.

Overall, these lessons are designed to inspire enjoyment in learning history, so I would be very careful about overemphasis on evaluation. The last thing you want is a group of students striving to get an A instead of working cooperatively to have an enjoyable and exciting activity.

Here are the aspects that you might decide to assess:

- **Listening Skills:** How attentive was the student during all aspects of the simulation?
- **Questioning Skills:** Did the student ask relevant questions?
- **Research and Preparation:** How well did the student research and prepare?
- **Participation:** How well did the student actually perform? Note that this may be assessed for the quieter students even by counting the coaching or assisting of other students who are actually doing the speaking.
- **Coordination:** How well did the student work with his or her assigned group?
- **Other:** Effective document analysis and/or completion of one of the extension activities.

Designing an evaluation matrix can be useful. Here is a sample:

Name _____ Simulation _____

	Exceptional	Very Good	Good	Needs Improvement
Listening				
Questioning				
Research				
Participation				
Other				

Teacher remarks:

Grade _____ (optional)

Research Suggestions

Research can be a formidable task for most students.

1. There are four major methods that researchers use to collect historical data: archival data (primary sources), secondary sources, running records, and oral recollections. Primary sources are the bread and butter for professional historians. The Internet, however, has clearly opened up a whole new world for historical research, making many primary sources available to students who do not have ready access to a well-stocked library.
2. Encourage your students to try and use both primary and secondary sources in developing their roles for the simulations.
3. Some roles associated with various lessons may be quite challenging to research. In these cases, students should concentrate their research primarily on the issues.
4. It is virtually impossible to prevent students from using Wikipedia and other forms of online encyclopedias as a starting point for their research, but it is important that you stress the need, whenever possible, to verify information through multiple sources.
5. I have provided a list of books and, in some cases, online sources that should prove useful for students in preparing their research for participation in these lessons.
6. I leave it to each teacher as to how you want your students to cite sources. I favor “the simpler the better” method: author, title, publisher, place of publication, copyright, and page number. Website hyperlinks generally work well for verifying online information.

Competing Nineteenth-Century *Isms*



Lesson

Overview

Students research prominent proponents of significant *isms* that emerged in the nineteenth century, including imperialism, liberalism, socialism, nationalism, industrialism, and anarchism. They will present their findings at a Meeting of the Minds conference with the goal of convincing the collective group that their *ism* is the most significant.

Objectives

- Students will understand the basic concepts of liberalism, nationalism, socialism, imperialism, industrialism, and anarchism.
- Students will understand the role significant individuals played in the development of the various *isms*.

Notes for the Teacher/Duration

- Assign students to one of the six *isms*, and have those students sit together in the classroom.
- Give each group the brief overviews of individuals associated with its assigned *ism*, and tell the students that they will need to research both the *ism* and any or all of the individuals associated with this concept.
- You may either assign students to a particular individual or have them decide as a group which individuals to bring to the Meeting of the Minds.
- Explain that they will be preparing for a Meeting of the Minds conference, at which time they will be addressing the following questions:
 - What is the meaning of your particular *ism*?
 - Why did your individual become associated with this *ism*?
 - Were there any significant events associated with your *ism*? Explain.
 - Why is this *ism* the most significant of the nineteenth century?

Day One

- Read and discuss the “Background for Teachers and Students.”
- Group students by an assigned *ism*, and give them the names and brief overviews of the individuals associated with their *ism*.
- Have students do further research on the assigned *ism* and the biographies of associated individuals.
- Have students decide which individuals they would like to bring to the Meeting of the Minds conference.

Teaching tip

Depending on the number of students in the class, you may either fill all of the individual roles or use two or three roles from each *ism* group. If the class size is larger than thirty-six, you can have students double up on selected individuals.



Teaching tip

You may allow students to use technology in their presentations at the Meeting of the Minds.



Day Two

- Distribute the “Meeting of the Minds Agenda” for notetaking.
- Research and group planning

Days Three and Four

- Students attend the Meeting of the Minds conference. They have each of their selected individuals address the questions on the agenda.

Days Four and Five

- Have students vote on which *ism* was the most significant. They cannot vote for their own selected *ism*. If there is a tie, you may cast the deciding vote.
- Debrief using discussion questions and document analysis.

Day Six

- Debrief using the extension activities.
- Check the answers to the document questions.

Answers to Document Questions**Document A**

1. What kind of revolution is Nechayev suggesting? Explain.

A complete destruction of the existing order

2. What does Nechayev mean by the “deeds”?

A violent act, like an assassination

Document B

1. Is this a racist poem by nineteenth-century standards? Explain.

Answers will vary, but most nineteenth-century people viewed this as not racist.

2. Is this a racist poem by twenty-first-century standards? Explain.

Answers will vary, but most twenty-first-century people would view this as very racist.

Document C

1. Why does the author suggest that only Prussia can truly form a united Germany?

Prussia can unify Germany because it is more interested in reform and the establishment of national interests.

2. What were the positive and negative potential consequences of Prussia forming a unified Germany?

Prussia can form a powerful nation state, but this centralized body could be internationally aggressive and internally oppressive.

Document D

1. Identify and discuss what Mill suggests is a danger to liberty. Do you agree? Explain.

Answers will vary, but students should mention that individual liberties may be restricted by the will of the majority.

2. What other dangers to liberty might Mill have discussed?

Answers will vary, but one danger could be oppression by a powerful monarch or leader.

Document E

1. What do you think are the best and worst aspects of this industrial city?

Answers will vary, but worst aspects mentioned should include the bleak, overpopulated, and generally depressing atmosphere.

2. How does the author describe factory owners? Do you agree or disagree with this characterization?

He calls them the "generals and rulers of human toil."

Document F

1. Do you agree with Marx's assessment of historical class struggle? Explain.

Answers will vary.

2. Do you agree or disagree with Marx about the struggle between the bourgeoisie (middle class) and the proletariat (workers)? Explain.

Answers will vary.

Roles Assignment Chart

	Socialism	Nationalism	Industrialism	Imperialism	Liberalism	Anarchism
	Karl Marx	Otto von Bismarck	Robert Stephenson	Benjamin Disraeli	John Stuart Mill	Mikhail Bakunin
Student Name						
	Friedrich Engels	Franz Joseph	James Watt	Queen Victoria	Jeremy Bentham	Sergey Nechayev
Student Name						
	Charles Fourier	Giuseppe Mazzini	James Nasmyth	Rudyard Kipling	Robert Peel	William Godwin
Student Name						
	Louis Blanc	Camillo Benso	John Wood	Wilhelm II	William Ewart Gladstone	Emma Goldman
Student Name						
	Henri de Saint-Simon	Giuseppe Garibaldi	Matthew Curtis	John Hobson	Richard Cobden	Pierre-Joseph Proudhon
Student Name						
	Robert Owen	Louis Kossuth	Edmund Potter	Cecil Rhodes	John Bright	Peter Kropotkin
Student Name						

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Competing Nineteenth-Century *Isms*

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Background for Teachers and Students

During the nineteenth century, several nations in Europe, most notably Great Britain, established liberal-oriented governments. The first

recorded usage of the political term “liberal,” however, was in Spain in 1811, when it was used to describe those deputies and journals that favored reform.¹

Building on the ideas of philosophers like John Locke, liberals supported free elections and basic civil rights for

men, free trade, representative democracy, fair laws, and the inviolability of private property.

The French Revolution shattered the concept of absolutism in Europe and unleashed the idea of the nation-state. Napoleon’s armies spread this concept throughout Europe. In the early 1800s, the major powers, led by Metternich in Austria, tried to limit nationalism in favor of restoring the so-called “legitimate” monarchs—such as Louis XVIII of France—to power. In the early 1820s, however, Greece challenged this absolutist policy and won independence from the Ottoman Empire. Later that century, both Italy (1866, Victor Emmanuel II) and Germany (1871, Kaiser William I) unified under a single monarch. In 1871, the British prime minister, Benjamin Disraeli, declared that the unification of Germany and the subsequent establishment of the German Empire were, “Nothing less than a revolution [and] an event more momentous than the French Revolution. . . . There is not a single diplomatic tradition that has

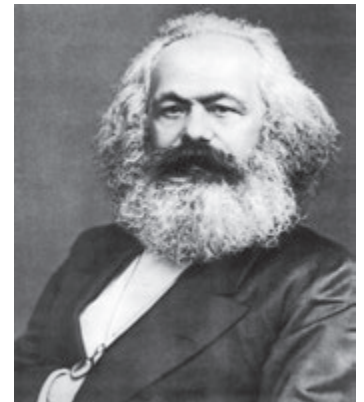
not been swept away.”² One of the greatest proponents of nationalism in the nineteenth century was Giuseppe Mazzini. The organization he created—Young Italy—served as the model for the nationalist organizations that sprang up throughout Europe, including Young Ireland and Young Germany.³

Along with nationalism, the French Revolution also spawned socialism as an economic and political movement. Socialists argued for social ownership of the means of production and cooperative management of the economy. Socialism also became associated with its opposition to capitalism. Socialists also saw the vote as the one means by which the masses could equalize the power of capital. They wanted to improve the life of the working class and to make the distribution of wealth more equitable. In short, socialists wanted an eight-hour workday, universal male suffrage, citizens’ militias instead of standing armies, and recognition of May Day as a “working-man’s” holiday.⁴ Through the writings of the German philosopher Karl Marx, socialism also came to be associated with class struggle.

Nineteenth-century imperialists wanted the Western nations to culturally, politically, and economically dominate the non-Western world, especially in the regions of Asia and Africa. Great Britain and France were especially active in asserting their imperialistic dominance in these regions.



Giuseppe Garibaldi
the “Sword” of
Italian Unification



Karl Marx

1 Broers, *Europe after Napoleon*, 36.

2 Schulze, *States, Nations and Nationalism*, 228–229.

3 Broers, *Europe after Napoleon*, 98.

4 Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 484.



European despots carving their portions of the non-Western world

Otto von Bismarck, architect of German unity, saw colonies as a distraction from his goal of dominating the European continent. He said that “for us Germans, colonies would be exactly like the silks and sables of the Polish nobleman who had no shirt to wear under them.”⁵ Imperialist leaders from both government and business were motivated by the idea of manifest destiny, economic enterprise, missionary zeal, and personal greed. The lifestyle of European imperialists who went to foreign lands in Asia and Africa, however, was most often defined by the subjugation of indigenous populations. In 1836, a British gentleman, tongue in cheek, wrote home from Madras, India, that “every horse has a man and a maid to himself—the maid cuts grass for him; and every dog has a boy. I inquired whether the cat had any servants, but I found that she was allowed to wait upon herself; and, it seemed she was the only person in the establishment capable of doing so.”⁶

Anarchists at this time wanted society to be free of governmental institutions. People viewed this movement as extremist, especially when it was associated with violent deeds, such as political assassinations. Historian Barbara Tuchman noted, “So enchanting was the vision of a stateless society without government, without law,

without ownership of property, in which, corrupt institutions having been swept away, man would be free to be good as God intended him, that six heads of state were assassinated for its sake in the twenty years prior to 1914.”⁷

The six heads of state included President Carnot of France (1894), Premier Canovas of Spain (1897), Empress Elizabeth of Austria (1898), King Humbert of Italy (1900), President McKinley of the United States (1901), and Premier Canalejas of Spain (1912). Another historian referred to anarchism as a “daydream of desperate romantics.”⁸

Great Britain had entered the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century, through the creative genius of inventors and entrepreneurs, industrial development had made Great Britain the wealthiest nation in the world. Industry made it easier for entrepreneurs to raise capital and expand their businesses. The improvement of infrastructure, including better roads, railroads, and steamships, made possible the movement of goods throughout Great Britain and the larger continent. Agricultural productivity expanded the population and increased demand for manufactured goods.⁹ By 1850, Great Britain was the manufacturer of half the world’s textiles. It also produced more pig iron and coal than any other nation, and it had more railroads to transport



Tsar Alexander II assassinated by an anarchist

5 Stern, *Gold and Iron*, 409.

6 Weber, *The Western Tradition*, 785.

7 Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 72.

8 Ibid.

9 Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 513.

Image sources: *The Plumb-pudding in danger, or, State epicures taking un petit souper*. By James Gillray, 1805, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC, LC-USZC4-8791

Illustration of Alexander II's Assassination. By G. Broling, in *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* 76 (March/April 1881): 262

these raw materials for use in factories and exports. Great Britain was, by this time, without question the world's greatest industrial power. In Great Britain, said American writer Ralph Waldo Emerson, "steam was a member of Parliament."¹⁰ Great Britain's merchant fleet, protected by the Royal Navy, was by far the largest in the world. In 1851, Great Britain hosted the Great Exhibition in London, which displayed the newest technological developments. During the nineteenth century, some industrialists were also elevated in social standing through knighthood, while others were accepted as nobility—Jesse Boot, 1st Lord Trent, for example. Social standing became much more flexible. Not all was positive about this period in history, however.

¹⁰ Cunliffe, *The Age of Expansion*, 22.

The nineteenth century was notorious for the employment of young children of both genders in factories and mines. Children as young as nine or ten worked long hours deep in coal mines. They also represented a substantial part of the workforce in the textile industry because owners could pay them less.

During this time, other nations, such as France and the United States, modeled industrial development after Great Britain.

You will now have the chance to research and represent a significant person associated with one of the important *isms* of the nineteenth century at a Meeting of the Minds.



Iron and Coal, a painting by William Bell Scott

Image source: *Iron and Coal*. By William Bell Scott, circa 1855–1860, via Wikimedia Commons

Name _____

Roles Chart

Socialism	Nationalism	Industrialism	Imperialism	Liberalism	Anarchism
Karl Marx	Otto von Bismarck	Robert Stephenson	Benjamin Disraeli	John Stuart Mill	Mikhail Bakunin
Friedrich Engels	Franz Joseph	James Watt	Queen Victoria	Jeremy Bentham	Sergey Nechayev
Charles Fourier	Giuseppe Mazzini	James Nasmyth	Rudyard Kipling	Robert Peel	William Godwin
Louis Blanc	Camillo Benso	John Wood	Wilhelm II	William Ewart Gladstone	Emma Goldman
Henri de Saint-Simon	Giuseppe Garibaldi	Matthew Curtis	John Hobson	Richard Cobden	Pierre-Joseph Proudhon
Robert Owen	Louis Kossuth	Edmund Potter	Cecil Rhodes	John Bright	Peter Kropotkin

Your Character Name _____

Keep in mind that you will be considering the following questions during the Meeting of the Minds:

- What is the meaning of your particular *ism*?
- Why did your individual become associated with this *ism*?
- Were there any significant events associated with your *ism*? Explain.
- Why is this *ism* the most significant of the nineteenth century?

Roles

Socialism

Karl Marx**Nationality:** German**Major accomplishment/work:** wrote *The Communist Manifesto***Friedrich Engels****Nationality:** German**Major accomplishment/work:** helped Karl Marx develop the idea of communism**Charles Fourier****Nationality:** French**Major accomplishment/work:** developed the idea of utopian socialism**Louis Blanc****Nationality:** French**Major accomplishment/work:** developed the idea of living communally**Henri de Saint-Simon****Nationality:** French**Major accomplishment/work:** proponent of Christian socialism**Robert Owen****Nationality:** Welsh**Major accomplishment/work:** advocated for the eight-hour workday

Nationalism

Otto Von Bismarck**Nationality:** German**Major accomplishment/work:** unified Germany**Franz Joseph****Nationality:** Austrian**Major accomplishment/work:** became emperor of Austria and Hungary**Giuseppe Mazzini****Nationality:** Italian**Major accomplishment/work:** known as the "soul" of Italian unification**Camillo Benso****Nationality:** Italian**Major accomplishment/work:** known as the "brain" of Italian unification**Giuseppe Garibaldi****Nationality:** Italian**Major accomplishment/work:** known as the "sword" of Italian unification**Louis Kossuth****Nationality:** Hungarian**Major accomplishment/work:** advocated for Hungarian independence

Industrialism

Robert Stephenson**Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** built the steam locomotive called the "Rocket"**James Watt****Nationality:** Scottish**Major accomplishment/work:** term "watt" was named after this scientist**James Nasmyth****Nationality:** Scotland**Major accomplishment/work:** developed the steam hammer**John Wood****Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** advocated for the use of steam engines**Matthew Curtis****Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** built the most cotton-spinning machinery in Great Britain**Edmund Potter****Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** developed the largest printing factory in Great Britain

Imperialism

Benjamin Disraeli**Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** became prime minister of Great Britain**Queen Victoria****Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** became queen of Great Britain**Rudyard Kipling****Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** wrote many books about the British Empire**Wilhelm II****Nationality:** German**Major accomplishment/work:** became the German kaiser**John Hobson****Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** wrote about the economic benefits of imperialism**Cecil Rhodes****Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** founded Rhodesia

Liberalism

John Stuart Mill**Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** wrote *Essays on Economics and Society***Jeremy Bentham****Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** wrote *Defense of Usury***Robert Peel****Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** became prime minister of Great Britain**William Ewart Gladstone****Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** became prime minister of Great Britain**Richard Cobden****Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** advocated for free trade**John Bright****Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** advocated for free trade

Anarchism

Mikhail Bakunin**Nationality:** Russian**Major accomplishment/work:** advocated for social anarchism**Sergei Nechayev****Nationality:** Russian**Major accomplishment/work:** advocated for extreme methods including assassination**William Godwin****Nationality:** British**Major accomplishment/work:** wrote *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice***Emma Goldman****Nationality:** Russian**Major accomplishment/work:** wrote *Anarchism and Other Essays***Pierre-Joseph Proudhon****Nationality:** French**Major accomplishment/work:** wrote *What Is Property? Or, an Inquiry into the Principle of Right and Government***Peter Kropotkin****Nationality:** Russian**Major accomplishment/work:** wrote *Fields, Factories and Workshops*

Meeting of the Minds Agenda

During this Meeting of the Minds, you will be discussing the following agenda items. Take notes on the answer to each of these questions during your research.

1. What is the meaning of your particular *ism*?
2. Why did your individual become associated with this *ism*?
3. Were there any significant events associated with your *ism*? Explain.
4. Why is this *ism* the most significant of the nineteenth century?

Glossary and Brief Chronology

anarchism: A political philosophy that supports self-governed societies with voluntary institutions.

anarchy: A state of disorder due to absence or nonrecognition of authority.

capitalism: An economic and political system in which a country's trade and industry are controlled by private owners for profit.

class struggle: In nineteenth-century terms, it meant conflict between the proletariat (working class) and the bourgeoisie (middle class).

imperialism: Extending a nation's power and influence through diplomacy or military force.

industrialism: A social system in which industry and factories form the primary basis of a nation's economy.

liberalism: A political philosophy based on the ideas of liberty and equality.

Marxism: a method of societal analysis that focuses on class struggle and a materialistic interpretation of historical development.

nationalism: The belief that a population that shares a common history, language, and culture should be an independent nation.

socialism: A social, political, and economic system defined by social ownership and control of the means of production.

1815	The Congress of Vienna ends.
1830	July Revolution in France occurs.
1832	Greek War of Independence ends.
1848	Marx writes <i>The Communist Manifesto</i> . Revolutions occur throughout Europe.
1853	The Crimean War begins.
1870	The Franco-Prussian War begins.
1871	Italian and German unifications occur.
1878	Congress of Berlin is held.
1890	Bismarck is dismissed as German chancellor.
1901	Queen Victoria dies.

Aftermath

Imperialism did not die, but Queen Victoria did. She passed away at the beginning of the twentieth century, after seeing her country expand to the largest empire in human history. New powers entered the imperialistic arena, though, including Germany, Italy, and the United States. Industrialism saw its negative side continue to grow with the escalation of the arms industry. Liberals continued to press for reforms; the most notable quest moving into the twentieth century, however, became the women's suffrage movement. By 1910, most anarchists, including Emma Goldman (often referred to by the press as the Queen of the Anarchists), realized passion for the movement had waned.¹¹ Goldman herself increasingly turned her attention to the efforts by women (suffragists) to gain voting privileges.

Otto von Bismarck was relieved of his office in 1890, and Wilhelm II took control of Germany with disastrous consequences—for Germany and the rest of Europe. Nationalism arguably became the strongest factor in propelling the great powers of Great Britain, Germany, Russia, France, Italy, and Austria-Hungary into the cataclysm of war in 1914. Lenin, too, building on the ideas of Marx, fomented a communist revolution in Russia in 1917.

The nineteenth-century *isms* laid the groundwork for the great struggles of the twentieth century, both on and off the battlefield; we are still dealing with the legacy of this era today.



¹¹ Tuchman, *The Proud Tower*, 127.

Discussion Questions

1. Discuss how two or more of the *isms* are directly or indirectly related to each other.
2. Were any of the *isms* so dependent on a certain individual (or individuals) that it would not have been a significant factor in the nineteenth century had that person not been born? Explain.
3. Identify and discuss any other significant *isms* that should have been included in the Meeting of the Minds (for example, impressionism in art).
4. Do you agree with the class decision? Explain why or why not.
5. To what extent could it be said that the real dialogue between all the *isms* was primarily over who was going to be in control: industrialists, monarchs, radicals, socialists, imperialists, or liberals? Discuss.
6. Are any or all of the *isms* relevant today? For example, Margaret Thatcher, former British prime minister, once said that the problem with Socialist governments is that “they eventually run out of other people’s money.”¹² Do you agree with her assessment? Can you identify any other criticism of socialism and/or any of the other *isms*?
7. American writer Edward Abbey wrote that “anarchism is not a romantic fable but the hard-headed realization, based on five thousand years of experience, that we cannot entrust the management of our lives to kings, priests, politicians, generals, and county commissioners.”¹³ Do you agree or disagree? Why or why not?
8. The concept of liberalism embraces most of what we associate with a free society, including civil rights, religious freedom, constitutional government, democratic elections, and free trade. To what extent, however, is it a fragile concept? Discuss.
9. François Fénelon, a seventeenth-century French theologian, wrote that “all wars are civil wars because all men are brothers. . . . Each one owes infinitely more to the human race than to the particular country in which he was born.”¹⁴ How would Bismarck, Benso, and Joseph respond to this idea?
10. The American philosopher Bertrand Russell said that “it is in the nature of imperialism that citizens of the imperial power are always among the last to know—or care—about circumstances in the colonies.”¹⁵ To what extent do you think the people of the various European colonial powers, including Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, and Portugal knew or cared about the conditions of the indigenous people in their colonial empires? Do you think their populations were deliberately kept in the dark about the actual oppressions? Why or why not?

¹² Thatcher, interview by Llew Gardner.

¹³ Abbey, *A Voice Crying*.

¹⁴ François Fénelon, quoted in Cohen, *Critical Thinking Unleashed*, 148.

¹⁵ Russell, introduction to *Against the Crime of Silence*, 3–4.

Document A: *The Revolutionary Catechism*

Excerpt from *The Revolutionary Catechism* by Sergey Nechayev

The Duties of the Revolutionary toward Himself

- 1- The revolutionary is a doomed man. He has no personal interests, no business affairs, no emotions, no attachments, no property, and no name. Everything in him is wholly absorbed in the single thought and the single passion for revolution.
- 2- The revolutionary knows that in the very depths of his being, not only in words but also in deeds, he has broken all the bonds which tie him to the social order and the civilized world with all its laws, moralities, and customs, and with all its generally accepted conventions. He is their implacable enemy, and if he continues to live with them it is only in order to destroy them more speedily. . . .
- 6- . . . For him, there exists only one pleasure, one consolation, one reward, one satisfaction—the success of the revolution.

Source: Nechayev, Sergey Genadievich. "The Revolutionary Catechism." *Government Herald* (July 1871).
<https://www.marxists.org/subject/anarchism/nechayev/catechism.htm>.

Questions

1. What kind of revolution is Nechayev suggesting? Explain.
2. What does Nechayev mean by the "deeds"?

Document B: "The White Man's Burden"

Written by Rudyard Kipling

Take up the White Man's burden—
Send forth the best ye breed—
Go, bind your sons to exile
To serve your captives' need;
To wait, in heavy harness,
On fluttered folk and wild—
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
Half-devil and half-child.

Take up the White Man's burden—
In patience to abide,
To veil the threat of terror
And check the show of pride;
By open speech and simple,
An hundred times made plain
To seek another's profit,
And work another's gain.

Take up the White Man's burden—
The savage wars of peace—
Fill full the mouth of Famine
And bid the sickness cease;
And when your goal is nearest
(The end for others sought)
Watch sloth and heathen folly
Bring all your hope to nought.

Take up the White Man's burden—
No iron rule of kings,
But toil of serf and sweeper—
The tale of common things.
The ports ye shall not enter,
The roads ye shall not tread,
Go, make them with your living,
And mark them with your dead.

Take up the White Man's burden
And reap his old reward—
The blame of those ye better,
The hate of those ye guard—
The cry of hosts ye humour
(Ah, slowly!) toward the light:—
"Why brought ye us from bondage,
Our loved Egyptian night?"

Take up the White Man's burden—
Ye dare not stoop to less—
Nor call too loud on Freedom
To cloke your weariness.
By all ye will or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent sullen peoples
Shall weigh your God and you.

Take up the White Man's burden!
Have done with childish days—
The lightly-proffered laurel,
The easy, ungrudged praise:
Comes now, to search your manhood
Through all the thankless years,
Cold, edged with dear-bought wisdom,
The judgment of your peers.

Source: Kipling, Rudyard. "The White Man's Burden." *McClure's Magazine* 12 (February 1899).
<http://www.unz.org/Pub/McClures-1899feb-00290>.

Questions

1. Is this a racist poem by nineteenth-century standards? Explain.
2. Is this a racist poem by twenty-first-century standards? Explain.

Document C: *Speech to the Frankfurt Assembly*

Excerpt from Speech to the Frankfurt Assembly, 1848, by Johann Gustav Droysen

We cannot conceal the fact that the whole German question is a simple alternative between Prussia and Austria. In these states German life has its positive and negative poles—in the former, all the interests which are national and reformatory, in the latter, all that are dynastic and destructive. The German question is not a constitutional question, but a question of power; and the Prussian monarchy is now wholly German, while that of Austria cannot be. . . . We need a powerful ruling house. Austria's power meant lack of power for us, whereas Prussia desired German unity in order to supply the deficiencies of her own power. Already Prussia is Germany in embryo. She will "merge" with Germany.

Source: Droysen, Johann Gustav. "Speech to the Frankfurt Assembly." Speech presented to the Frankfurt parliament, Frankfurt, Germany, 1848. <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/germanunification.asp>.

Questions

1. Why does the author suggest that only Prussia can truly form a united Germany?
2. What were the positive and negative potential consequences of Prussia forming a unified Germany?

Document D: *On Liberty*

Excerpt from *On Liberty* by John Stuart Mill

Like other tyrannies, the tyranny of the majority was at first, and is still vulgarly, held in dread, chiefly as operating through the acts of the public authorities. But reflecting persons perceived that when society is itself the tyrant—society collectively over the separate individuals who compose it—its means of tyrannizing are not restricted to the acts which it may do by the hands of its political functionaries. Society can and does execute its own mandates: and if it issues wrong mandates instead of right, or any mandates at all in things with which it ought not to meddle, it practices a social tyranny more formidable than many kinds of political oppression, since, though not usually upheld by such extreme penalties, it leaves fewer means of escape, penetrating much more deeply into the details of life, and enslaving the soul itself. Protection, therefore, against the tyranny of the magistrate is not enough: there needs protection also against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling; against the tendency of society to impose, by other means than civil penalties, its own ideas and practices as rules of conduct on those who dissent from them; to fetter the development, and, if possible, prevent the formation, of any individuality not in harmony with its ways, and compels all characters to fashion themselves upon the model of its own. There is a limit to the legitimate interference of collective opinion with individual independence: and to find that limit, and maintain it against encroachment, is as indispensable to a good condition of human affairs, as protection against political despotism.

Source: Mill, John Stuart. *On Liberty*. London: Longmans, Green, 1865.

Questions

1. Identify and discuss what Mill suggests is a danger to liberty. Do you agree? Explain.
2. What other dangers to liberty might Mill have discussed?

Document E: Description of Manchester

Excerpt of French historian Hippolyte Taine's writings from a visit to Manchester in 1859.

Manchester: a sky turned coppery red by the setting sun; a cloud strangely shaped resting upon the plain; and under this motionless cover a bristling of chimneys by hundreds, as tall as obelisks. Then a mass, a heap, blackish, enormous, endless rows of buildings; and you are there, at the heart of a Babel built of brick. . . . Earth and air seem impregnated with fog and soot. The factories extend their flanks of fouler brick one after another, bare, with shutterless windows like economical and colossal prisons . . . and inside, lit by gas-jets and deafened by the uproar of their own labor, toil thousands of workmen, penned in, regimented, hands active, feet motionless, all day and every day, mechanically serving their machines. . . . What dreary streets! Through half-open windows we could see wretched rooms at ground level, or even below the damp earth's surface. Masses of livid children, dirty and flabby of flesh, crowd each threshold and breathe the vile air of the street, less vile than that within. . . . Even to walk in the rich quarter of the town is depressing. . . . But they [the rich] are powerful: there is the compensation. The life of the head of an industrial or commercial house can be compared to that of a prince. They have the capital sums, the large aims, the responsibilities and dangers, the importance and, from what I hear, the pride of a potentate . . . they are the generals and rulers of human toil. . . . Half-a-million sterling, such are the figures they deal in. . . . The warehouses of finished cotton goods and other fabrics are Babylonian monuments. One of them is two hundred yards long and the bales of cloth are handled by steam-driven machinery. A cotton mill may contain as many as three hundred thousand spindles. . . . Always the same impression: enormousness. But is work and power all that is required to make a man happy?

Source: Taine, Hippolyte. In Girouard, Mark. *Cities and People: A Social and Architectural History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Questions

1. What do you think are the best and worst aspects of this industrial city?
2. How does the author describe factory owners? Do you agree or disagree with this characterization?

Document F: *The Communist Manifesto*

Excerpt from *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinct feature: it has simplified class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other—Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

Source: Marx, Karl. *Marx/Engels Selected Works*. Vol. 1. Moscow: Progress, 1969.

Questions

1. Do you agree with Marx's assessment of historical class struggle? Explain.
2. Do you agree or disagree with Marx about the struggle between the bourgeoisie (middle class) and the proletariat (workers)? Explain.

Extension Activities

1. Create a flowchart that demonstrates how the various *isms* are interrelated.
2. Write a brief essay or create a media presentation relating a selected individual to one or more of the *isms*.
3. Research and present to the class some other individuals associated with the various *isms* that could have been invited to the Meeting of the Minds.
4. Write an essay or create a multimedia presentation about the *isms* that are relevant to the twenty-first century.

The Salon



Lesson

Overview

The impressionist art movement began in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was inspired by artists who wanted to paint common people and subjects from nature and everyday life, rather than the classical themes associated with religion, mythology, and history.

Objectives

- Students will understand the importance of the Paris Salon in determining the success of artists in the nineteenth century.
- Students will be able to identify the characteristics of the various schools of art associated with the nineteenth century, including neoclassicism, romanticism, realism, and impressionism.
- Students will appreciate the frustration and dedication of the impressionists as they strove to exhibit their art.

Notes for the Teacher/Duration

- Set up the classroom, or another location, so that students can display copies of the pictures they want to submit.
- Decide whether you will allow your students to display art that includes nudity. Keep in mind the potential discussions that will surround the controversial aspects associated with these paintings.
- Display all of the non-impressionist paintings in a prominent place and the impressionist paintings in spots that make them hard to see (like very high on the wall). This will prompt students to realize the prejudice faced by the artists of this new movement.
- If you are having students show their paintings digitally, then allow the impressionist painters to show only very small images, while the other painters can use larger images. This will also suggest to students that the works of these artists were not really appreciated.
- Urge the jury (or, if you are acting as the jury, make sure) to accept all of the non-impressionist paintings for display and only to accept one or two paintings from each of the impressionist painters.
- Urge the jury (or, if you are acting as the jury, make sure) to only award “prizes” to the non-impressionist painters.
- At some point, either when the paintings are being displayed or after the prizes are awarded, you should secretly alert all of the impressionists to “protest” the unfair process of selection, hanging of paintings, and awarding of prizes. They should “storm out of the room,” declaring they

are setting up a separate exhibit in a prearranged room and inviting all to come and see their excellent and innovative art.

Day One

- Read and discuss the “Background for Teachers and Students.”
- Assign roles to students and discuss the simulation.
- Use the remainder of the period for research.

Day Two

- Prepare for the Salon.
- Allow time for more research and development.

Day Three

- Salon

Day Four

- Debriefing using the discussion questions, document analysis, and extension activities.
- Check the answers to the document questions.

Answers to Document Questions

Look at the paintings from Documents A–D, and answer the questions that follow.

1. Which of the art pieces is an example of neoclassicism? Romanticism? Realism? Impressionism?

Document A: neoclassicism

Document B: romanticism

Document C: realism

Document D: impressionism

2. List the characteristics of each painting that convinces you that it falls into one of the categories identified in the previous question.

Answers will vary.

3. Which painting(s) would likely be best received by the Paris Salon? Why?

Answers will vary.

Roles Assignment Chart

Neoclassicism	Student Name	Realism	Student Name
Jacques-Louis David		Édouard Manet	
Antoine-Jean Gros		Rosa Bonheur	
Jean-Auguste Dominique Ingres		Gustave Courbet	
Marie-Guillemine Benoist		Honoré Daumier	
		Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier	
Romanticism	Student Name	Impressionism	Student Name
Eugène Delacroix		Claude Monet	
		Marie Bracquemond	
Caspar David Friedrich		Pierre-Auguste Renoir	
		Edgar Degas	
Théodore Géricault		Mary Cassatt	
		Camille Pissarro	
J. M. W. Turner		Alfred Sisley	
		Berthe Morisot	

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The Salon

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Background for Teachers and Students



View of the Salon of 1785

If you were a rising artist, particularly a French artist, there was only one path to success—have your paintings exhibited at the annual Salon. Artists who successfully won awards at the Salon were likely to get government commissions and sales from private patrons. Acceptance carried a price, however. You needed to be a conservative painter, with compositions that illustrated and taught moral lessons employing religious, mythical, and historical subjects. Having a painting selected for exhibit at the annual Salon instantly granted respectability and potential profitable sales to the artist. Renoir wrote to an art dealer in 1881, explaining why he entered his works, “I am going to try and explain to you why I exhibit at the Salon. . . . In Paris there are scarcely fifteen collectors capable of liking a painter without the backing of the Salon.”¹⁶

The artists favored by the Salon tended to be those who used dark, rich colors, with their subjects frequently depicted in shadows. Figures were often larger than life and had heroic proportions. Nature played a secondary role, serving more as a prop for the drama to enhance the overall message. Their works were so meticulously painted that often there was little or no evidence of the artist’s brushwork.

The Salon opened in the first week of May and ran for six weeks. It featured thousands of works of art chosen by a jury of a dozen artists or art experts (the selection committee). It was open to the public for the small fee of only one franc. In some years, nearly a million people visited the Salon.¹⁷

¹⁶ Milner, *The Studios of Paris*, 48

¹⁷ King, *The Judgement of Paris*, 17.

Image source: *View of the Salon of 1785*. By Pietro Antonio Martini, 1785, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, A. Hyatt Mayor Purchase Fund, Marjorie Phelps Sarr Bequest, 2009, 2009.472

The Salon selection committee was dominated by Count Alfred Émilien O'Hara van Nieuwerkerke, who saw his role as a kind of guardian, making sure that each painting conformed to the highest artistic and moral standards. He encouraged historical painting, with classical themes, and discouraged any movement toward realism, a movement where artists abandoned noble and elevated subjects in favor of gritty scenes featuring peasants, shopkeepers, picnickers, and prostitutes.

In deciding which works would be included in the Salon, the selection committee evaluated each work of art. The paintings were typically evaluated for only a short span of time, after which they were either accepted for inclusion in the Salon or rejected. Each individual juror then had the right of a "charity" pick that they could use to include one painting that had been rejected by the entire jury.¹⁸

The enormous Salon exhibition hall was partitioned into several dozen rooms, each with an alphabet letter on the door. Artists with a surname beginning with *A* were exhibit in a room labeled "*A*," those with the surname beginning with *B* were exhibited in a room labeled "*B*," and so on. Once inside the room, the viewer was faced with paintings stacked floor to ceiling on all four walls; some rooms held nearly two hundred works of art, and viewers could purchase guidebooks known as "*Salons*" that included reviews of the art by many critics.

The Salon jury hardly ever included works from impressionists. The name itself was first mentioned by a Parisian art critic about Monet's *Impression, Sunrise*. He sarcastically wrote that the painting seemed more like an "impression" than a finished painting.¹⁹ A historical witness to the movement, Gustave Geffroy, gave his definition of the movement saying that "impressionism, in its most representative works, is painting that approaches phenomenalism, the appearance

and significance of things in space, and which tries to catch the synthesis of these things in their momentary appearance."²⁰ To the critics, the artists were impressionists because they not only painted the landscape, but also conveyed the sensation produced by the landscape. The colors and blatant brushwork of the impressionists were astonishing. Impressionists were not afraid to make nature the subject, and they used vivid colors, often splashed and mixed directly on the canvas, to convey their subjects. They painted commonplace scenes from everyday life. They brought their easels outdoors to paint—landscapes drenched in dazzling sunlight or shrouded in mist or twilight, streets draped with flags, couples dancing, boulevards teeming with carriages, ballerinas in the glare of stage lighting, and promenades on the islands of the Seine. Their paintings were, in a word, shocking. That shock, however, came with a price. Édouard Manet wrote to his friend Baudelaire that "insults rain down on me like hailstones."²¹ His painting *Incident in a Bullfight*—which suggested the loneliness and isolation of a dead bullfighter in the foreground and the helpless spectators in the background—was exhibited in the 1863 Salon and received such public criticism and derisive reviews that Manet took a knife to the canvas and cut it in two. The lower portion, with the dead bullfighter, now hangs in the National Gallery in Washington, DC, and the upper part, with the bullring and the spectators, hangs in the Frick Collection in New York City.²²

You will now have the chance to represent a famous artist at the Paris Salon.

18 King, *The Judgement of Paris*, 57.

19 Coman, *National Gallery of Art*, 181.

20 Courthion, *Impressionism*, 12.

21 Ibid., 73.

22 House, *Impressionist Masterpieces*, 7.

Name _____

Roles Chart

1. You will be playing the role of a famous artist from the second half of the nineteenth century.
2. It will be your job to research your character and his or her works.
3. You must make a brief class presentation about yourself and your general style of painting.
4. Make color copies of your painting and/or have them digitally produced for display.
5. Prepare to present your works for acceptance at the famous art Salon in Paris.
6. The jury (judges) will either accept or reject your paintings, so it is important that you select your best work for evaluation.
7. If any of your paintings are accepted, the jury will next decide where in the exhibition hall (possibly the classroom) the paintings will be displayed. You are hopeful that they will receive a prominent position.
8. Note that if all the works will be displayed digitally, then you will work with your teacher to find the best way of making your paintings available for public display.
9. Finally, after the exhibition, the jury will award three prizes for the best works.
10. Remember, your future as a career artist depends on being discovered by a patron or being given a good review by a prominent art critic.

Neoclassicism	Romanticism	Realism	Impressionism
Jacques-Louis David	Eugène Delacroix	Édouard Manet	Claude Monet
Antoine-Jean Gros	Caspar David Friedrich	Rosa Bonheur	Marie Bracquemond
Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres	Théodore Géricault	Gustave Courbet	Pierre-Auguste Renoir
Marie-Guillemine Benoist	J. M. W. Turner	Honoré Daumier	Edgar Degas
		Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier	Mary Cassatt
			Camille Pissarro
			Alfred Sisley
			Berthe Morisot

Your Character Role _____

Roles

Neoclassical Artists

Jacques-Louis David

Nationality: French

Example of work: *Oath of the Horatii*

Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres

Nationality: French

Example of work: *The Turkish Bath*

Antoine-Jean Gros

Nationality: French

Example of work: *Bonaparte at the pont d'Arcole*

Marie-Guillemine Benoist

Nationality: French

Example of work: *Elisa Bonaparte*

Romantic Artists

Eugène Delacroix

Nationality: French

Example of work: *Liberty Leading the People*

Théodore Géricault

Nationality: French

Example of work: *The Raft of the Medusa*

Caspar David Friedrich

Nationality: German

Example of work: *Wanderer above the Sea of Fog*

J. M. W. Turner

Nationality: French

Example of work: *The Slave Ship*

Realist Artists

Édouard Manet

Nationality: French

Example of work: *A Bar at the Folies-Bergère*

Honoré Daumier

Nationality: French

Example of work: *The Third-Class Carriage*

Rosa Bonheur

Nationality: French

Example of work: *Ploughing in the Nivernais*

Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier

Nationality: French

Example of work: *1807, Friedland*

Gustave Courbet

Nationality: French

Example of work: *The Stone Breakers*

Impressionist Artists

Claude Monet**Nationality:** French**Example of work:** *Impression, Sunrise***Marie Bracquemond****Nationality:** French**Example of work:** *On the Terrace at Sèvres***Pierre-Auguste Renoir****Nationality:** French**Example of work:** *Luncheon of the Boating Party***Edgar Degas****Nationality:** French**Example of work:** *The Ballet Class***Mary Cassatt****Nationality:** American**Example of work:** *Little Girl in a Blue Armchair***Camille Pissarro****Nationality:** French**Example of work:** *White Frost***Alfred Sisley****Nationality:** French**Example of work:** *View of the Canal Saint-Martin***Berthe Morisot****Nationality:** French**Example of work:** *The Harbor at Lorient*

Glossary and Brief Chronology

impressionism: Named for Claude Monet's *Impression, Sunrise*, this art movement included loose, quick brush strokes and a focus on one's immediate impression of a scene. Like the realist artists, impressionists painted everyday subjects, often in a natural setting. This movement completely rejected the classical themes associated with religion and mythology.

neoclassicism: Artists painting in this style reflect the rational way of thinking that was a significant part of the latter half of the eighteenth century. They drew inspiration from classical Greek and Roman style and content. Art that is considered part of the neoclassical movement can be identified by its idealized forms and stable composition.

realism: This movement featured the rejection of the subjective, emotional, and exotic characteristics of romanticism. Instead, artists in this movement concentrated on observable reality. Realistic artists painted everyday subjects, such as landscapes, workers, and peasants. This movement emphasizes nature and contemporary, everyday life.

romanticism: This movement features art based on emotion, rather than rationale, and places an emphasis on the individual, rather than on society. Romantic works feature a brighter use of color and expressive brushstrokes; they are also intended to evoke emotion. Romanticism more prevalently features exotic subjects from foreign lands more than any other type of artistic movement.

1725	The Salon is first held at the Palace of the Louvre.
1791	A jury system is initiated at the Salon to vet paintings.
1848	The revolutions of this year throughout Europe liberalize the Salon, and the amount of art rejected is greatly reduced.
1863	The <i>Salon des Refusés</i> opens, with works by Manet, Cézanne, and Pissarro.
1872	Monet's <i>Impression, Sunrise</i> is exhibited at the Salon.
1874	The first impressionist exhibition is held in Paris.

Aftermath

In 1863, the Salon jury turned away the majority of impressionist paintings. The artists and their many fans were outraged. Even the French ruler, Emperor Napoleon III, saw the injustice. He helped organize the *Salon des Réfuses* (nicknamed the Emperor Salon), which was an exhibit that



The charge of the cuirassiers at Friedland

contained many of the paintings rejected by the Salon jury. It was a popular attraction, but many people approached the exhibit like they were expecting to view, as one critic said, “a chamber of horrors.” Ultimately, the impressionists completely rejected the Salon and held their own exhibitions from 1874 until 1886.²³

Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier, arguably the best-known and most successful French artist of the second half of the nineteenth century, died in Paris on January 31, 1891. His most famous painting, *Friedland* (which celebrates Napoleon’s great victory over Russia) hangs in a corridor in New York City’s Metropolitan Museum of Art, where viewers can see it on their way into a room that displays nearly a dozen paintings by his great rival Edouard Manet.²⁴

Manet continued to paint portraits of women, landscapes, and flowers. He received a second place medal at the Salon of 1880, guaranteeing him the opportunity to become an exhibitor at all future Salons. He eventually became very ill and died at the age of fifty-one, likely of syphilis. Claude Monet died on December 5, 1926, at his home in Giverny. He wrote that “my only merit lies in having painted directly in front of nature, seeking to render my impressions of the most fleeting effects.”²⁵ Soon after his death, the French government placed his last water-lily series in the Orangerie in Paris, where they remain today. August Renoir continued to paint until his death in 1919, despite the fact that severe rheumatism forced him to strap a paintbrush to his hand. By 1888, Degas’s failing eyesight had turned him into a recluse, suffering bouts of severe depression. Nevertheless, he continued to paint until his death in 1917. Mary Cassatt, a great friend of Degas, continued painting until 1914, when poor eyesight ended her career too. Angry at her relatives because of their opposition to her work for the woman’s rights movement, she willed her entire estate to her maid.

²³ Roe, *The Private Lives of the Impressionists*, 27.

²⁴ King, *The Judgment of Paris*, 369.

²⁵ Claude Monet to Evan Charteris, 21 June 1926, in Steven Z. Levine, “Monet’s Series: Repetition, Obsession,” *October* 37 (Summer 1986): 65–75.

Image source: 1807, *Friedland*. By Ernest Meissonier, circa 1861–1875, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 87.20

Discussion Questions

1. To what extent it is fair or unfair for an established exhibition like the Salon to set up standards for art? Should any artistic expression be allowed?
2. Do you think impressionist art was truly radical? Can you think of any more modern examples of art that was, or still is, shocking but may prove to be much more acceptable over time?
3. What factors during this time likely stimulated the dramatic changes that brought about the impressionist movement in art?
4. Often art critics were brutal in their statements regarding artists and their works. For example, Delacroix's *The Massacre at Chios* was called by one critic, Antoine-Jean Gros, the "massacre of painting."²⁶ At the Salon of 1828, Delacroix's *Death of Sardanapalus* aroused such widespread revulsion, with its brilliant colors and wild sensuality, that one visitor threatened to put a stop to the painter's controversial career by amputating his hands. One critic said that Manet's brushwork lacked so much finesse that it could have been done with a floor mop.²⁷ To what extent is such harsh criticism appropriate? Can you think of any contemporary examples from the arts (visual art, music, or literature) of critics unduly damaging or destroying the career of a worthy artist, musician, or writer?
5. Pablo Picasso claimed that "the artist is a receptacle for emotions that come from all over the place; from the sky, from the earth, from a scrap of paper, from a passing shape, from a spider's web."²⁸ Keeping Picasso's idea in mind, what two paintings, for you, best meet this characterization?
6. Artists have been painting and sculpting nude human figures for thousands of years. Why do you think the impressionist painters were singled out for such harsh criticism when their paintings depicted nudity (for example, Manet's *Luncheon on the Grass*)?

²⁶ Antoine-Jean Gros, quoted in Prendergast, *Napoleon and the History of Painting*, 197.

²⁷ King, *The Judgement of Paris*, 20.

²⁸ Pablo Picasso, quoted in Friedenthal, *Letters*, 258.

Document A: *Oath of the Horatii*



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Image source: *Oath of the Horatii*. By Jacques-Louis David, 1784, the Louvre, Paris

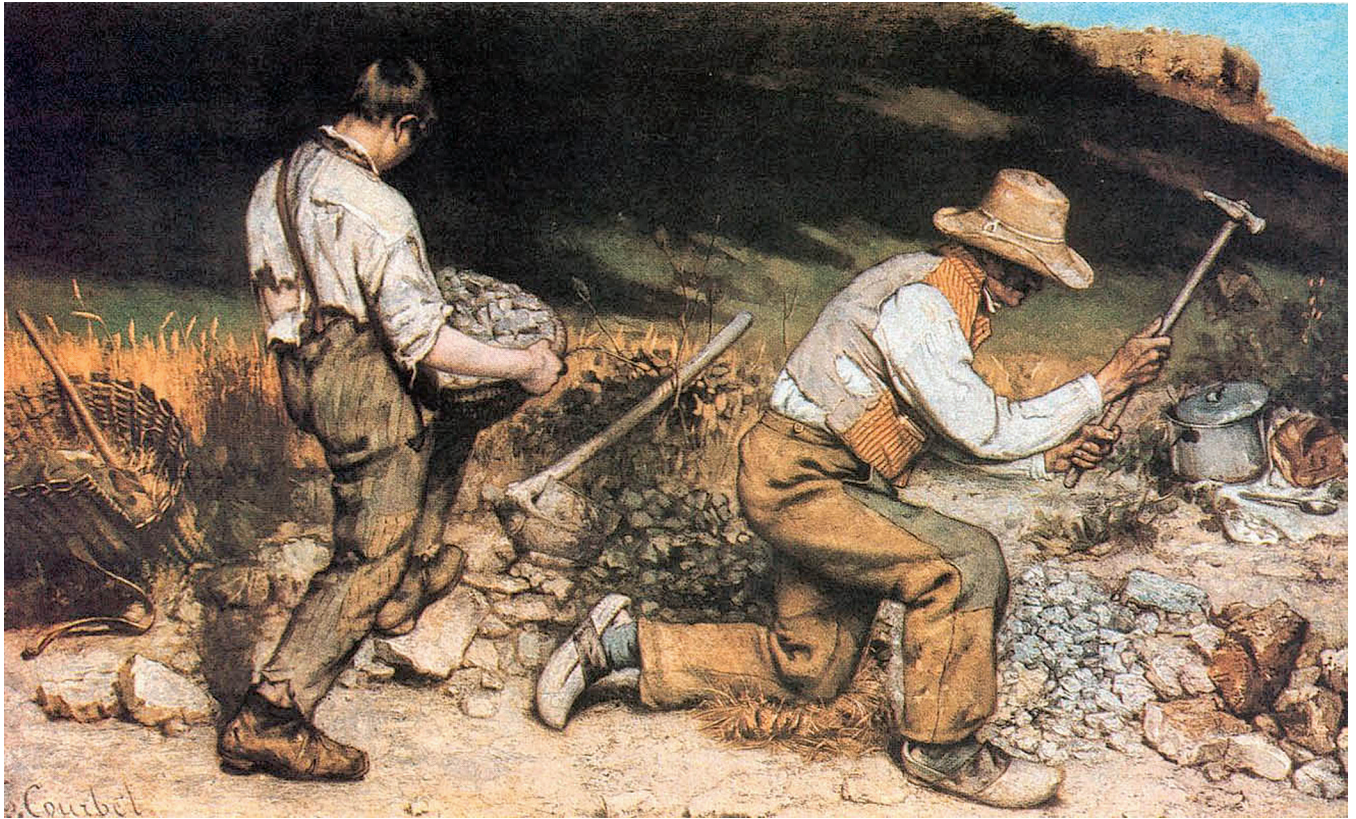
Document B: *The Raft of the Medusa*



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Image source: *The Raft of the Medusa*. By Jean Louis Théodore Géricault, 1819, the Louvre, Paris, INV 4884

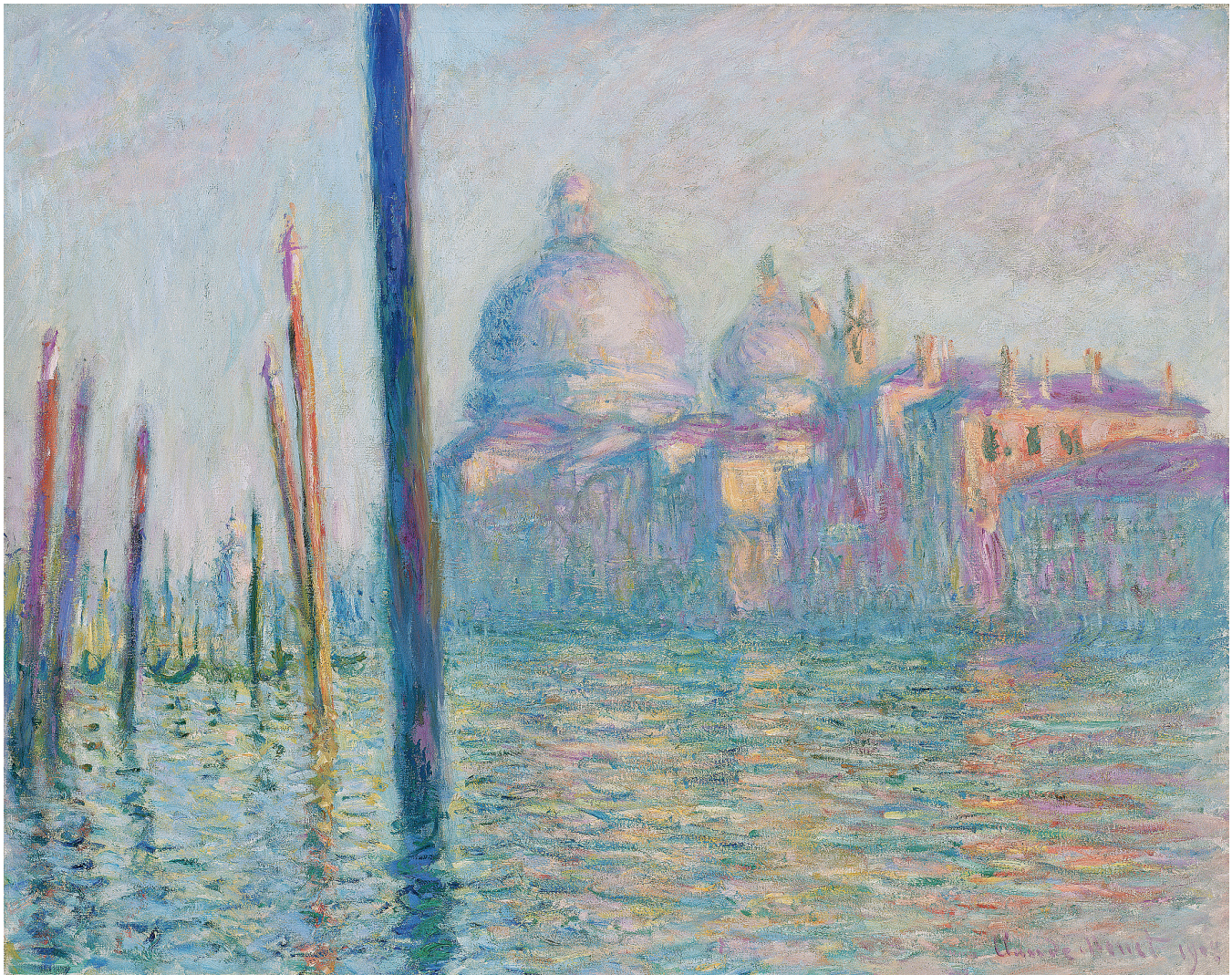
Document C: *The Stone Breakers*



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Image source: *The Stone Breakers*. By Jean Désiré Gustave Courbet, 1849, via Wikimedia Commons

Document D: *Le Grand Canal*



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Image source: *Le Grand Canal*. By Claude Monet, 1908, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Lois and Michael Torf Gallery, 19.171

Questions

Look at the paintings from Documents A–D, and answer the questions that follow.

1. Which of the art pieces is an example of neoclassicism? Romanticism? Realism? Impressionism?
2. List the characteristics of each painting that convinces you that it falls into one of the categories identified in the previous question.
3. Which painting(s) would likely be best received by the Paris Salon? Why?

Extension Activities

1. Ernest Meissonier, clearly the most popular artist in France in the second half of the nineteenth century, is virtually unknown to most people today. No artist was as adored in his or her lifetime, and no other artist came close to acquiring the amount that collectors paid for his paintings. Within just a few decades after his death, however, his paintings, certainly in contrast to the impressionists, were nearly worthless. Most people who enjoyed art did not even recognize his name. How can we account for his lack of recognition beyond his time? Write an essay or create a multimedia presentation about another artist, musician, or writer who you argue fits this profile: popular in his or her time but forgotten today.
2. Create a multimedia presentation showing the influence of impressionists on the postimpressionists that followed them into the twentieth century.
3. Does art imitate life, or does life imitate art? Write an essay in which you argue that, in the case of the impressionists, art imitated life.
4. Select one or more of the most debated paintings of the impressionist era, and discuss what made it, or them, so controversial.

Hague Peace Conference



Lesson

Overview

This conference resulted in the first multinational treaty addressing the arbitration of potential conflicts and what nations could and could not do during war.

Objectives

- Students will know the basic provisions of the Lieber Code and how it framed this international agreement regarding disarmament, the laws of war, and war crimes.
- Students will understand the basic multinational agreement signed in 1899 that attempted to limit conflicts between nations and whether any nation at that time could prosecute war criminals.
- Students will understand how this conference affected the nature of warfare and the prosecution of war crimes in the twentieth century and beyond.

Notes for the Teacher/Duration

- For the purpose of this activity, you should assume the role of conference chairperson.
- You should run the meeting using a modified form of parliamentary procedure, essentially going down each item on the agenda and calling for resolutions. Then allow two or three brief statements from student delegates either supporting the resolution or arguing against it. Following this, ask for a vote; a majority will be needed to adopt the resolution.
- You should try to reach a consensus; advise the delegates, however, that if they strongly believe any part of a resolution is against their national principles, they should voice their objections and refuse to sign off on it. For example, although the United States signed the final treaty, it did not agree to abide by the provision regarding the use of expanding bullets.
- Explain to students that all the nations attending the conference sincerely wanted to reach a consensus on every issue.
- Have a student delegate keep a record of the adopted resolutions. The head of the delegation should sign the final document at the end of the activity.
- Note that the preliminary schedule that follows is based on four one-hour class sessions.

Day One

- Explain to students that they will be expected to frame, debate, and pass resolutions at this conference consistent with the goals of their assigned nation.
- Assign students a country and a role.
- Give students a copy of the simulation "Instructions," and give students in a delegation a copy of their country role sheet, which contains some helpful background information.
- Give students a copy of "Document A: the Lieber Code."
- Give students class time to meet as a group with their delegation, research their countries, understand their national interests and goals. They should also put together preliminary resolutions for discussion at the conference during this time.

Day Two

- Set up the classroom to look like a conference room, with tables and place cards for each nation.
- As chairperson, welcome the delegates to the conference and explain the procedure for introducing resolutions for discussion, debate, and, eventually, agreement.
- Start with agenda-item 1, and begin discussion and debate on resolution proposals regarding this item. Then move on to the second item, and so on, down the list.
- Make sure that a conference secretary accurately records the final decisions.

Day Three

- Complete discussion, debate, and resolutions.
- Have the heads of state sign the formal document.
- Debrief using discussion questions and document analysis.

Day Four

- Debrief using the extension activities.
- Check the answers to the document questions.

Answers to Document Questions

1. Find some examples of how your resolutions were similar to these resolutions.

Answers will vary depending on the resolutions adopted by the students.

2. Find some examples of how your resolutions were significantly different from these resolutions.

Answers will vary depending on the resolutions adopted by the students.

**Teaching tip**

You can shorten the activity by reducing the agenda items, or you can lengthen the activity to include one or more days by allowing speeches and more debate on each issue and/or adding additional agenda items. For example, you could add debate and discussion surrounding the establishment of an international court of arbitration. Adding more countries to those attending the conference will also lengthen the activity.

Roles Assignment Chart

Country	Position	Role	Student Name
Austria-Hungary	Head of State	Franz Josef I	
	Delegation Head	Count Rudolph von Welsersheimb	
	Assistant	Alexander Okolicsányi von Okolicsna	
	Assistant	Cajetan Mérey von Kapos-Mére	
	Assistant	Victor von Khuepach zu Reid	
France	Head of State	Émile Loubet	
	Delegation Head	Léon Bourgeois	
	Assistant	Georges Bihourd	
	Assistant	Paul-Henri-Benjamin d'Estournelles de Constant	
	Assistant	Admiral Péphau	
Germany	Head of State	Wilhelm II	
	Delegation Head	George Herbert, Count Münster-Ledensburg	
	Assistant	Dr. Phillip Zorn	
	Assistant	Captain Siegel	
	Assistant	Baron Freherr von Stengel	
Great Britain and Ireland	Head of State	Queen Victoria	
	Delegation Head	Sir Julian Pauncefote	
	Assistant	Sir Henry Howard	
	Assistant	Sir John A. Fisher	
	Assistant	Sir John Charles Ardagh	
Japan	Head of State	Emperor Meiji	
	Delegation Head	Baron Tadasu Hayashi	
	Assistant	Ichiro Motono	
	Assistant	Captain Toshiatsu Sakamoto	
	Assistant	Nagao Ariga	
Russia	Head of State	Nicholas II	
	Delegation Head	Baron Egor Egorovich Staal	
	Assistant	Fedor Fedorovich Martens	
	Assistant	Alexander Basily	
	Assistant	Colonel Gilinsky	
Turkey	Head of State	Abdulhamid II	
	Delegation Head	Turkhan Pasha	
	Assistant	Yousouf Bey	
	Assistant	General Abdullah Pasha	
	Assistant	R. Mehemed Pasha	
United States	Head of State	William McKinley	
	Delegation Head	Andrew Dickson White	
	Assistant	Seth Low	
	Assistant	Stanford Newel	
	Assistant	Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan	

If you want to include more countries here are some possibilities with participants.

Country	Position	Role	Student Name
Belgium	Head of State	Leopold II	
	Delegation Head	Auguste Beernaert	
	Assistant	Count de Grelle Rogier	
	Assistant	Maurice Joostens	
Bulgaria	Head of State	Ferdinand I	
	Delegation Head	Dr. Dimitri I. Stancioff	
	Assistant	Major Christo Hessaptchieff	
	Assistant	Colonel Roberto Trompowsky	
Greece	Head of State	George I	
	Delegation Head	Nicholas P. Delyanni	
	Assistant	Georges Streit	
	Assistant	C. Sapountzakis	
Italy	Head of State	Umberto I	
	Delegation Head	Count Constantino Nigra	
	Assistant	Count Guido Pompilj	
	Assistant	Louis Zuccari	
Netherlands	Head of State	Queen Wilhelmina	
	Delegation Head	Abraham Pieter Cornelis van Karnebeek	
	Assistant	General J. C. C. den Beer Poortugael	
	Assistant	Willem Hendrik de Beaufort	
Portugal	Head of State	Carlos I	
	Delegation Head	Count de Macedo	
	Assistant	A. d'Ornellas de Vasconcellos	
	Assistant	Captain Augusto de Castilho	
Romania	Head of State	Carol I	
	Delegation Head	Alexander Beldiman	
	Assistant	Jean N. Papiniu	
	Assistant	Colonel Constantin Coanda	
Serbia	Head of State	Alexander I	
	Delegation Head	Chedomille Miyatovitch	
	Assistant	Colonel Alexander Maschine	
	Assistant	Dr. Voislave Veljkovitch	
Spain	Head of State	Alfonso XIII	
	Delegation Head	Duke de Tetuán	
	Assistant	Wenceslao Villa Urrutia	
	Assistant	Arturo de Baguér	
Switzerland	Head of State	Robert Comtesse	
	Delegation Head	Dr. Arnold Roth	
	Assistant	Colonel Arnold Künzli	
	Assistant	Edouard Odier	

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Background for Teachers and Students



The first International Peace Conference in The Hague

The Lieber Code, signed into law by Abraham Lincoln in 1863 during the American Civil War, was a domestic regulation of the U.S. Army. When, in 1899, the Hague Convention sought to codify the rules of war, it drew heavily on Lieber's 157 articles, in which he had set out guidelines to ensure that civilians and prisoners of war would be protected despite the fighting around them. The code enumerated the rules of behavior in times of war, including the application of martial law and the treatment of noncombatants, prisoners of war, and hostages. It also addressed pillage, spying, truces, prisoner exchanges, and paroles.²⁹ This code served as a working paper for the delegates to an international peace conference that included the major European powers of Great Britain, France, and Germany.

The conference agenda included negotiations around the themes of avoiding conflicts, disarmament, the laws of war, and war crimes. It also suggested that nations not directly involved in a conflict help arbitrate a solution. During the conference, it was even recommended that an international court of justice be established to mediate disputes between nations. Most of the countries at the conference favored arbitration; there was disagreement, however, as to whether there should be binding arbitration.

Twenty-seven countries participated in the Hague Convention of 1899, including Great Britain, Russia, the United States, Germany, France, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, and Japan. In fact, it was Tsar Nicholas II of Russia who first proposed the conference and was instrumental in setting it up. All the nations at the conference were regarded as equals, with each having one vote in passing resolutions. The conference discussed the mediation as a means of settling a conflict between one or more nations. Delegates also passed resolutions regarding most of the items in the Lieber Code, including treatment of prisoners of war, banning the use of poison or poison gas, treatment of noncombatants, wanton bombardment of civilians, looting, and forced conscription. Additionally, country delegates saw the need to ban the use of explosives launched from balloons. (Use of airplanes was still in the future.) Most nations agreed it was necessary to prohibit the use of dum dum bullets, which expand when striking a person or object.

You will now have the opportunity to debate and frame resolutions on several of the most important issues facing the delegates at this conference.

²⁹ Schoales, *Justice and Dissent*, 256.

Image source: First Peace Congress. By unknown artist, 1899, Imperial War Museums, A Court Charles (Col), HU67224, via Wikimedia Commons

Name _____

Roles Chart

Country	Head of State	Delegation Head	Assistant	Assistant	Assistant
Austria-Hungary	Franz Josef I	Count Rudolph von Welsersheimb	Alexander Okolicsányi von Okolicsna	Cajetan Mérey von Kapos-Mére	Victor von Khuepach zu Reid
France	Émile Loubet	Léon Bourgeois	Georges Bihourd	Paul-Henri-Benjamin d'Estournelles de Constant	Admiral Péphau
Germany	Wilhelm II	George Herbert, Count Münster-Ledensburg	Dr. Phillip Zorn	Captain Siegel	Baron Freiherr von Stengel
Great Britain	Queen Victoria	Sir Julian Pauncefote	Sir Henry Howard	Sir John A. Fisher	Sir John Charles Ardagh
Japan	Emperor Meiji	Baron Tadasu Hayashi	Ichiro Motono	Captain Toshiatsu Sakamoto	Nagao Ariga
Russia	Nicholas II	Baron Egor Egorovich Staal	Fedor Fedorovich Martens	Alexander Basily	Colonel Gilinsky
Turkey	Abdulhamid II	Turkhan Pasha	Youssef Bey	General Abdullah Pasha	R. Mehemed Pasha
United States	William McKinley	Andrew Dickson White	Seth Low	Stanford Newel	Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan

Additional Roles

Country	Head of State	Delegation Head	Assistant	Assistant
Belgium	Leopold II	Auguste Beernaert	Count de Grelle Rogier	Maurice Joostens
Bulgaria	Ferdinand I	Dr. Dimitri I. Stancioff	Major Christo Hessaptchieff	Colonel Roberto Trompowsky
Greece	George I	Nicholas P. Delyanni	Georges Streit	C. Sapountzakis
Italy	Umberto I	Count Constantino Nigra	Count Guido Pompilj	Louis Zuccari
Netherlands	Queen Wilhelmina	Abraham Pieter Cornelis van Karnebeek	General J. C. C. den Beer Poortugael	Willem Hendrik de Beaufort
Portugal	Carlos I	Count de Macedo	A. d'Ornellas de Vasconcellos	Captain Augusto de Castilho
Romania	Carol I	Alexander Beldiman	Jean N. Papiniu	Colonel Constantin Coanda
Serbia	Alexander I	Chedomille Miyatovitch	Colonel Alexander Maschine	Dr. Voislave Veljkovitch
Spain	Alfonso XIII	Duke de Tetuán	Wenceslao Villa Urrutia	Arturo de Baguér
Switzerland	Robert Comtesse	Dr. Arnold Roth	Colonel Arnold Künzli	Edouard Odier

Your Character Role _____

Instructions

1. You will be assuming the roles of delegates to a conference at The Hague, who will discuss potential conflicts between nations and the rules of war.
2. During the conference, you must frame resolutions regarding the issues on the agenda.
3. Use the edited copy of the Lieber Code (Document A) to help decide how to word your resolutions.
4. You should try and reach a consensus on the wording of each resolution; if you believe that your country would object to a particular resolution, however, then you may note that objection as a footnote to the final document.
5. When all the resolutions have been debated and passed, you will sign the completed document on behalf of your country.
6. If you strongly object to a particular resolution, you may decide to note that objection in writing and then specify that your country will not abide by this particular resolution.

Agenda

1. **International disputes:** How should nations be expected to resolve their disputes without resorting to war, and what role might a neutral nation play in this process? Should there just be binding arbitration by neutral states?
2. **Collection of international debts:** Should a nation be allowed to use military force to recover debts from another nation? If so, under what conditions?
3. **Waging legal war:** How does a nation go about initiating a legal war against another nation?
4. **Rules of war:** What should be the rules of war regarding prisoners of war and regarding the use of weapons such as poison, poison gas, expanding bullets, mines, and explosive torpedoes? Should warring nations have the freedom to use indiscriminant bombardment from land, sea, and air? How should spies, civilians, and the sick and wounded be treated? Should armies be permitted to use pillage? How should both surrender and the cessation of hostilities be administered?
5. **Treatment of noncombatants:** How must an occupying military force treat the civilian population under its control?
6. **Neutral nations:** What are the rights and obligations of neutral nations on both land and sea?



Austria-Hungary

National Leader

Emperor Franz Joseph I

Head of Delegation

His Excellency Count Rudolph von Welsersheimb, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary

Assistants

- Alexander Okolicsányi von Okolicsna, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at The Hague
- Cajetan Mérey von Kapos-Mére, counselor of embassy and chief of cabinet of the minister of foreign affairs
- Victor von Khuepach zu Reid, lieutenant general on the general staff

Background Information and Goals

Your realm includes not only Austria and Hungary, but also dozens of other nationalities and ethnicities. Geographically your country is second only to Russia in overall size. You are a powerful industrial country whose only challengers would be the mighty nations of Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. You are closely allied with Germany, as one of the so-called Central Powers, but are worried about any potential conflict with the other great powers of Great Britain, France, and Russia.

Fill in the grid below with your position on the issues.

Issue	Position
International disputes	
Collection of international debts	
Waging legal war	
Rules of war	
Treatment of noncombatants	
Neutral nations	



National Leader

President Émile Loubet

Head of Delegation

Léon Bourgeois, ex-president of counsel, ex-minister of foreign affairs, member of the chamber of deputies, and delegate plenipotentiary

Assistants

- Georges Bihourd, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at The Hague
- Paul-Henri-Benjamin d'Estournelles de Constant, minister plenipotentiary
- Admiral Péphau

Background Information and Goals

Your country suffered a humiliating defeat in 1870 at the hands of the German Confederation, led by Prussia. You were required to pay reparations to a newly unified Germany, and you also lost two of your provinces: Alsace and Lorraine. Your leader, Emperor Napoleon III, was also overthrown, and the French Third Republic was established. Since then, you have been determined to rebuild your military so that you will never again, you hope, suffer defeat from Germany. You have even entered into an alliance with Great Britain and Russia. Unfortunately, your military has recently been rocked by a scandal that began in 1894, when a Jewish French Army captain, Alfred Dreyfus, was accused and convicted (to life imprisonment) of allegedly giving secret military information to the Germans. Dreyfus will eventually be exonerated, but it has made you very wary of German intentions. You are willing to agree to most of the peace initiatives and rules of war, unless you think it significantly weakens your ability to compete with Germany.

Fill in the grid below with your position on the issues.

Issue	Position
International disputes	
Collection of international debts	
Waging legal war	
Rules of war	
Treatment of noncombatants	
Neutral nations	

Roles *Germany*

National Leader

Kaiser Wilhelm II

Head of Delegation

His Excellency George Herbert, Count Münster-Ledensburg, German ambassador to Paris, delegate plenipotentiary

Assistants

- Baron Freherr von Stengel, professor at the University of Munich
- Dr. Phillip Zorn, judicial privy counselor and professor at the University of Königsberg
- Captain Siegel, naval attaché to the Imperial Embassy in Paris

Background Information and Goals

At the turn of the century, your country was arguably the most dynamic industrial and military power in Europe. Led by your mercurial, and some say unstable, kaiser, Wilhelm II, your country had abandoned the military alliances created by Bismarck and is pursuing a policy that suggests an eventual collision course with France, Great Britain, or Russia. Your decision to build a world-class navy to rival Great Britain's was particularly upsetting to Queen Victoria and the leaders of Parliament. Nevertheless, you do realize that the outcome of war is always unpredictable, so you are open to achieving your goals without conflict. You also favor the establishment of some rules for war.

Fill in the grid below with your position on the issues.

Issue	Position
International disputes	
Collection of international debts	
Waging legal war	
Rules of war	
Treatment of noncombatants	
Neutral nations	

Roles

Great Britain and Ireland

National Leader

Queen Victoria

Head of Delegation

His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir Julian Pauncefote, member of Her Majesty's privy council, ambassador extraordinary, and plenipotentiary

Assistants

- Sir Henry Howard, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at The Hague
- Sir John A. Fisher, vice admiral
- Sir John Charles Ardagh, major general

Background Information and Goals

You have the world's greatest navy and are very interested in maintaining that position. Your powerful navy, along with a small, but highly trained and efficient, army have made you the world's leading colonial power in both Asia and Africa. Your country is an island nation, so an important part of your economy includes importing raw materials. Wary of the growing might of Germany, you have allied yourself with France and Russia.

Fill in the grid below with your position on the issues.

Issue	Position
International disputes	
Collection of international debts	
Waging legal war	
Rules of war	
Treatment of noncombatants	
Neutral nations	



National Leader

Emperor Meiji

Head of Delegation

Baron Tadasu Hayashi, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at St. Petersburg

Assistants

- Ichiro Motono, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at Brussels
- Captain Toshiatsu Sakamoto, Japanese Navy sailor
- Nagao Ariga, professor of international law at Superior Military School and the Naval School of Tokyo

Background Information and Goals

In 1850, your country opened its ports after more than a hundred years of isolation. In a brief span of a little more than twenty years, your country changed from feudalism to capitalism, from despotism to a superficial imitation of Western liberal democracy, and from a military relying on medieval weaponry (swords and bows) to one that fielded modern rifles and field guns. Like Great Britain, you are an island nation heavily dependent upon imports to fuel your growing industrialism. You are determined to become the dominant nation in the Asian-Pacific region, and achieving that goal puts you squarely in the path of both the Russian and British Empires. You are willing to make concessions, but not if it dramatically effects your overall military strength.

Fill in the grid below with your position on the issues.

Issue	Position
International disputes	
Collection of international debts	
Waging legal war	
Rules of war	
Treatment of noncombatants	
Neutral nations	



National Leader

Tsar Nicholas II

Head of Delegation

His Excellency Baron Egor Egorovich Staal, privy counselor, Russian ambassador to London, and delegate plenipotentiary

Assistants

- Fedor Fedorovich Martens, member of the Russian Imperial Ministry for Foreign Affairs and delegate plenipotentiary
- Alexander Basily, counselor of state and delegate plenipotentiary
- Colonel Gilinsky, on the general staff

Background Information and Goals

Your country is the largest in Europe. Politically, you are ruled by an absolute monarch. When Nicholas II, your tsar, assumed the throne in 1894, he said that he would preserve the principle of autocracy as firmly and unswervingly as did his father, Alexander III. After you formed an alliance with France in 1893, large sums of French money was loaned to your country to buttress your growing industries. Your country, however, is considered by the majority of Europe to be industrially, politically, and socially backward. Russia is also politically threatened by a growing socialist movement, with radical leaders such as Vladimir Ulianov (Lenin) leading the dissent. You have a huge army, but it is poorly equipped and incompetently led. Your leader was instrumental in calling this conference, arguably because he truly did not want war and also realized that Russia would likely suffer defeat.

Fill in the grid below with your position on the issues.

Issue	Position
International disputes	
Collection of international debts	
Waging legal war	
Rules of war	
Treatment of noncombatants	
Neutral nations	

Roles Turkey

National Leader

Sultan Abdulhamid II

Head of Delegation

His Excellency Turkhan Pasha, ex-minister for foreign affairs, member of the Turkish Council of State, and delegate plenipotentiary

Assistants

- Youssouf Bey, secretary-general to the minister of foreign affairs and delegate plenipotentiary
- General Abdullah Pasha, part of the division of staff and delegate plenipotentiary
- R. Mehemed Pasha, rear admiral and delegate plenipotentiary

General Background and Goals

Your country geographically and strategically sits on the crossroads between Europe and Asia. Your nation has been in decline for years and is popularly referred to as “the sick man of Europe.” None of the other great powers (France, Britain, Germany, or Russia), however, want you completely out of the picture, because they all fear a military and economic power vacuum. You are especially concerned about maintaining your control of the Black Sea region, but your military is not as powerful as any of the great powers. You are, therefore, willing to agree to any proposal that will likely keep you out of any future conflict.

Fill in the grid below with your position on the issues.

Issue	Position
International disputes	
Collection of international debts	
Waging legal war	
Rules of war	
Treatment of noncombatants	
Neutral nations	

Roles *United States*

National Leader

President William McKinley

Head of Delegation

His Excellency Mr. Andrew Dickson White, U.S. ambassador to Berlin and delegate plenipotentiary

Assistants

- The Honorable Seth Low, president of Columbia University
- Stanford Newel, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at The Hague
- Captain Alfred Thayer Mahan, U.S. Navy sailor and delegate plenipotentiary

Background Information and Goals

Your country is beginning to emerge from its isolationism. Why? By the 1890s, the Western frontier was considered safe from the threat posed by native peoples. Blessed with virtually unlimited natural resources, an expanding population, and wholehearted acceptance of the capitalist system, your country has been on its way to becoming the greatest industrial nation in the world. Early in the century, the Monroe Doctrine had served as a warning that your country would not tolerate future colonialism in the Western hemisphere. The Spanish-American War in 1898 showed the world that this was not an empty threat. This war, which resulted in your country's acquisition of the Philippines, has also brought you into potential conflict with the expanding Japanese Empire. You believe, however, that fundamentally you are a peace-loving nation. It is your Lieber Code, passed by your country, which serves as the model for the discussion surrounding the rules of war at this conference. You see yourself as a so-called "honest broker" in these negotiations between the various European nations that have been off and on warring against each other for centuries.

Fill in the grid below with your position on the issues.

Issue	Position
International disputes	
Collection of international debts	
Waging legal war	
Rules of war	
Treatment of noncombatants	
Neutral nations	

Glossary and Brief Chronology

armistice: An agreement by belligerent countries to cease hostilities.

belligerent: A nation at war.

binding arbitration: Agreeing to accept the decision of an arbitrator or arbitrating nation even if you do not like the terms of the agreement.

honest broker: One who is seen as a person who can make a fair deal or settlement because they have no strong interest in the outcome of the meeting.

munitions: War material.

no quarter: Not accepting surrender and just killing the belligerent, rather than taking the belligerent as prisoner.

nonbinding arbitration: An agreement to have a person or nation present an agreement that may or may not be acceptable.

plenipotentiary: A person, especially a diplomat, charged with full power of independent action on behalf of their government, usually in a foreign country.

1870	The Franco-Prussian War leads to German unification.
1890	Bismarck is dismissed as German chancellor by Wilhelm II.
1899	First International Peace Conference at The Hague is held.
1907	Second International Peace Conference at The Hague is held.
1914	World War I begins.
1918	Armistice ending hostilities in World War I occurs.
1919	The Treaty of Versailles is signed.

Aftermath

The second conference, proposed by President Theodore Roosevelt, was first scheduled to meet in 1904 but was postponed because of the war between Japan and Russia. Ironically, it was Roosevelt, probably the United States' most militant president, who negotiated the settlement of this conflict and received the Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts.

Forty-four nations sent officials to the Second Hague Conference of 1907, including all the participants of the 1899 Conference. This conference included seventeen nations from South and Central America. The British were very interested in securing a limit on naval armaments, but this was resisted by Germany, who was trying to build a world-class fleet. The conference, however, did expand on the topics of international arbitration, acceptable methods of declaring war, the rules of war, and the rights of neutral nations.



Delegates meet at the second peace conference in 1907

Both the 1899 and the 1907 conferences established the basic principle that individuals, no matter their nationality, had inherent rights and obligations that needed to be respected even in times of war. It was deemed illegal to wage aggressive warfare, especially against civilians.³⁰

Many of the provisions of the two Hague Conventions were violated by nations participating in World War I. When Germany invaded Belgium in 1914, it violated a provision of the 1907 agreement that prohibited hostile actions without clear warning. The use of poison gas, first introduced by Germany on the Western front in 1916, was also a direct violation of the declarations of 1899 and 1907, which unequivocally banned the use of poison. In 1925, the Geneva Protocol, signed by most of the nations of the world, permanently banned the use of all forms of chemical and biological weapons.

At the conclusion of World War II, hundreds of Germans and Japanese individuals were placed on trial. The prosecution used the decisions reached and agreed to by the various nations to hold these criminals accountable. For example, a German businessman, Dr. Bruno Tesch, was placed on trial for supplying the SS with poison gas in violation of Article 46 of the Hague Convention of 1907, which specified that "family honor and rights, the lives of persons, and private property, as well as religious convictions and practice, must be respected."³¹ (See the "Background for Teachers and Students" on pg. 247 of **Trial of Bruno Tesch**.)

The nations also decided that the rules formed by the delegates to the Hague Conventions should be viewed as legally binding, even to countries that did not attend the conference or sign the agreements. To this day, the two Hague Conventions stand as idealistic symbols of the necessity of placing restrictions on war.

³⁰ Ball, *Prosecuting War Crimes and Genocide*, 14.

³¹ International Peace Conference, Convention (IV).

Discussion Questions

1. What provisions of these treaties do you think were unrealistic given the realities of warfare, both then and now?
2. Gandhi said that “our greatness lies not so much in being able to remake the world . . . as being able to remake ourselves.”³² Do you think that the delegates to these conferences were idealistic dreamers, or did they actually believe that their decisions would create a world free of major conflicts? Did they think that nations who did end up in wars would actually abide by the rules they created?
3. Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote in *The Social Contract* that during a war “individuals are enemies only accidentally, not as men, nor even as citizens, but as soldiers.”³³ Do the decisions reached by the Hague Treaty buttress this statement? Explain.
4. Considering what you know about the evolution of warfare in the twenty-first century, to what extent do the rules of warfare agreed to by the nations in 1899, and later in 1907, still apply? What additions would you make? For example, should the use of napalm or barrel bombs be banned?
5. Most people consider territorial invasion by a nation a just cause for war. Are there any other causes that rise to that level of provocation? For example, currently, if a nation launched an Internet attack that severely damaged another country’s economy, would that be a reasonable cause for war?
6. Can you think of any incidents during the wars of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries that violated the provisions of the 1899 and 1907 conferences?
7. There is a popular quote that “all is fair in love and war.” Is that really true? Discuss.
8. Early in 1900, U.S. soldiers fighting in the Philippines were accused of using expanding bullets. In August 1914, Germany attacked France through Belgium without warning. In 1916, a German submarine off the coast of Ireland sank a British ocean liner suspected of carrying arms, also without warning and with great loss of civilian life. The British and American Air Forces firebombed the city of Dresden during World War II, also with great loss of civilian life. In 1944, fifty British airmen were executed for escaping from a prison camp. Were any or all of the above clear violations of the Hague Treaty? Why or why not?

³² Mahatma Gandhi, quoted in Attenborough, ed., *The Words of Gandhi*.

³³ Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, 11.

Document A: The Lieber Code

Excerpt from the Lieber Code

- 4- Martial Law is simply military authority exercised in accordance with the laws and usages of war. Military oppression is not Martial Law: it is the abuse of the power which that law confers. As Martial Law is executed by military force, it is incumbent upon those who administer it to be strictly guided by the principles of justice, honor, and humanity—virtues adorning a soldier even more than other men, for the very reason that he possesses the power of his arms against the unarmed. . . .
- 15- Military necessity admits of all direct destruction of life or limb of *armed* enemies, and of other persons whose destruction is incidentally *unavoidable* in the armed contests of the war; it allows of the capturing of every armed enemy, and every enemy of importance to the hostile government, or of peculiar danger to the captor; it allows of all destruction of property, and obstruction of the ways and channels of traffic, travel, or communication, and of all withholding of sustenance or means of life from the enemy; of the appropriation of whatever an enemy's country affords necessary for the subsistence and safety of the army, and of such deception as does not involve the breaking of good faith either positively pledged, regarding agreements entered into during the war, or supposed by the modern law of war to exist. Men who take up arms against one another in public war do not cease on this account to be moral beings, responsible to one another, and to God.
- 16- Military necessity does not admit of cruelty, that is, the infliction of suffering for the sake of suffering or for revenge, nor of maiming or wounding except in fight, nor of torture to extort confessions. It does not admit of the use of poison in any way, nor of the wanton devastation of a district. It admits of deception, but disclaims acts of perfidy; and, in general, military necessity does not include any act of hostility which makes the return to peace unnecessarily difficult. . . .

- 19- Commanders, whenever admissible, inform the enemy of their intention to bombard a place, so that the noncombatants, and especially the women and children, may be removed before the bombardment commences. But it is no infraction of the common law of war to omit thus to inform the enemy. Surprise may be a necessity. . . .
- 23- Private citizens are no longer murdered, enslaved, or carried off to distant parts, and the inoffensive individual is as little disturbed in his private relations as the commander of the hostile troops can afford to grant in the overruling demands of a vigorous war. . . .
- 35- Classical works of art, libraries, scientific collections, or precious instruments, such as astronomical telescopes, as well as hospitals, must be secured against all avoidable injury, even when they are contained in fortified places whilst besieged or bombarded. . . .
- 44- All wanton violence committed against persons in the invaded country, all destruction of property not commanded by the authorized officer, all robbery, all pillage or sacking, even after taking a place by main force, all rape, wounding, maiming, or killing of such inhabitants, are prohibited under the penalty of death, or such other severe punishment as may seem adequate for the gravity of the offence.

A soldier, officer or private, in the act of committing such violence, and disobeying a superior ordering him to abstain from it, may be lawfully killed on the spot by such superior.

- 56- A prisoner of war is subject to no punishment for being a public enemy, nor is any revenge wreaked upon him by the intentional infliction of any suffering, or disgrace, by cruel imprisonment, want of food, by mutilation, death, or any other barbarity.
- 60- It is against the usage of modern war to resolve, in hatred and revenge, to give no quarter. No body of troops has the right to declare that it will not give, and therefore will not expect, quarter; but a commander is permitted to direct his troops to give no quarter, in great straits, when his own salvation makes it impossible to cumber himself with prisoners. . . .

- 70- The use of poison in any manner, be it to poison wells, or food, or arms, is wholly excluded from modern warfare. He that uses it puts himself out of the pale of the law and usages of war. . . .
- 75- Prisoners of war are subject to confinement or imprisonment such as may be deemed necessary on account of safety, but they are to be subjected to no other intentional suffering or indignity. The confinement and mode of treating a prisoner may be varied during his captivity according to the demands of safety. . . .
- 77- A prisoner of war who escapes may be shot, or otherwise killed in his flight; but neither death nor any other punishment shall be inflicted upon him simply for his attempt to escape, which the law of war does not consider a crime. Stricter means of security shall be used after an unsuccessful attempt at escape. . . .
- 88- A spy is a person who secretly, in disguise or under false pretence, seeks information with the intention of communicating it to the enemy.

The spy is punishable with death by hanging by the neck, whether or not he succeed in obtaining the information or in conveying it to the enemy. . . .

- 118- The besieging belligerent has sometimes requested the besieged to designate the buildings containing collections of works of art, scientific museums, astronomical observatories, or precious libraries, so that their destruction may be avoided as much as possible. . . .
- 142- An armistice is not a partial or a temporary peace; it is only the suspension of military operations to the extent agreed upon by the parties.

Source: Lieber, Francis. *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field and Revised by a Board of Officers*. New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1863. <https://archive.org/details/governarmies00unitrich>.

Document B: Laws of War

In 1907, representatives of the various nations met again to make revisions to the resolutions passed in 1899. Below is an excerpted copy of those resolutions.

Pacific Settlement of International Disputes (Hague, I)

ARTICLE 2

In case of serious disagreement or conflict, before an appeal to arms, the Signatory Powers agree to have recourse, as far as circumstances allow, to the good offices or mediation of one or more friendly Powers. . . .

ARTICLE 7

The acceptance of mediation cannot, unless there be an agreement to the contrary, have the effect of interrupting, delaying, or hindering mobilization or other measures of preparation for war.

If mediation occurs after the commencement of hostilities it causes no interruption to the military operations in progress, unless there be an agreement to the contrary. . . .

Limitation of Employment of Force for the Recovery of Contract Debts (Hague, II)

ARTICLE 1

The Contracting Powers agree not to have recourse to armed force for the recovery of contract debts claimed from the Government of one country by the Government of another country as being due to its nationals.

This undertaking is, however, not applicable when the debtor State refuses or neglects to reply to an offer of arbitration, or, after accepting the offer, prevents any *compromis* from being agreed on, or, after the arbitration, fails to submit the award. . . .

Opening of Hostilities (Hague, III)

ARTICLE 1

The Contracting Powers recognize that hostilities between themselves must not commence without previous and explicit warning, in the form either of a reasoned declaration of war or an ultimatum with conditional declaration of war. . . .

Laws and Customs of War on Land (Hague, IV)

ARTICLE 4

Prisoners of war are in the power of the hostile Government, but not in that of the individuals or corps who captured them.

They must be humanely treated.

All their personal belongings, except arms, horses, and military papers, remain their property. . . .

ARTICLE 8

Prisoners who, after succeeding in escaping, are again taken prisoners, are not liable to any punishment on account of the previous flight. . . .

ARTICLE 23

In addition to the prohibitions provided by special Conventions, it is especially forbidden:

- (a) To employ poison or poisoned weapons;
- (b) To kill or wound treacherously individuals belonging to the hostile nation or army;
- (c) To kill or wound an enemy who, having laid down his arms, or having no longer means of defense, has surrendered at discretion;
- (d) To declare that no quarter will be given;
- (e) To employ arms, projectiles, or material calculated to cause unnecessary suffering;
- (f) To make improper use of a flag of truce, of the national flag, or of the military insignia and uniform of the enemy, as well as the distinctive badges of the Geneva Convention;
- (g) To destroy or seize the enemy's property, unless such destruction or seizure be imperatively demanded by the necessities of war;
- (h) To declare abolished, suspended, or inadmissible in a Court of law the rights and actions of the nationals of the hostile party.

A belligerent is likewise forbidden to compel the nationals of the hostile party to take part in the operations of war directed against their own country, even if they were in the belligerent's service before the commencement of the war. . . .

ARTICLE 25

The attack or bombardment, by whatever means, of towns, villages, dwellings, or buildings which are undefended is prohibited. . . .

ARTICLE 28

The pillage of a town or place, even when taken by assault, is prohibited.

ARTICLE 29

An individual can only be considered a spy if, acting on clandestinely or false pretenses, he obtains, or seeks to obtain information in the zone of operations of a belligerent, with the intention of communicating it to the hostile party. . . .

ARTICLE 36

An armistice suspends military operations by mutual agreement between the belligerent parties. If its duration is not defined, the belligerent parties may resume operations at any time, provided always that the enemy is warned within the time agreed upon, in accordance with the terms of the armistice.

ARTICLE 44

It is forbidden to force the inhabitants of occupied territory to swear allegiance to the hostile Power.

ARTICLE 46

Family honor and rights, the lives of persons, and private property, as well as religious convictions and practice must be respected.

Private property cannot be confiscated.

Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers and Persons in War on Land (Hague, V)**ARTICLE 1**

The territory of neutral Powers is inviolable.

ARTICLE 2

Belligerents are forbidden to move troops or convoys of either munitions of war or supplies across the territory of a neutral Power.

Laying of Automatic Submarine Contact Mines (Hague, VIII)**ARTICLE 1**

It is forbidden:

1. To lay unanchored automatic contact mines, except when they are so constructed as to become harmless one hour at most after the person who laid them ceases to control them; . . .
3. To use torpedoes which do not become harmless when they have missed their mark.

Bombardment by Naval Forces in Time of War (Hague, IX)**ARTICLE 1**

The bombardment by naval forces of undefended ports, towns, villages, dwellings or buildings is forbidden. . . .

ARTICLE 5

In bombardments by naval forces all necessary measures must be taken by the commander to spare as far as possible sacred edifices, buildings used for artistic, scientific, or charitable purposes, historic monuments, hospitals, and places where the sick or wounded are collected, on the understanding that they are not used at the same time for military purposes.

Neutral Powers in Naval War (Hague, XIII)**ARTICLE 1**

Belligerents are bound to respect the sovereign rights of neutral Powers and to abstain, in neutral territory or neutral waters, from any act which would, if knowingly permitted by any Power, constitute a violation of neutrality. . . .

ARTICLE 5

Belligerents are forbidden to use neutral ports and waters as a base of naval operations against their adversaries. . . .

ARTICLE 6

The supply, in any manner, directly or indirectly, by a neutral Power to a belligerent Power, of war-ships, ammunition, or war material of any kind whatever, is forbidden.

Prohibiting Launching of Projectiles and Explosives from Balloons (Hague, IV, 1)

The Contracting Powers agree to prohibit for a term of five years, the launching of projectiles and explosives from balloons, or by other new methods of similar nature.

Declaration regarding the use of expanding bullets

The Contracting Parties agree to abstain from the use of bullets which expand or flatten easily in the human body, such as bullet with a hard envelope which does not entirely cover the core, or is pierced with incisions.

Sources: Bevans, Charles I. *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America*. Vol 1. Washington, DC: Department of State, 1968.

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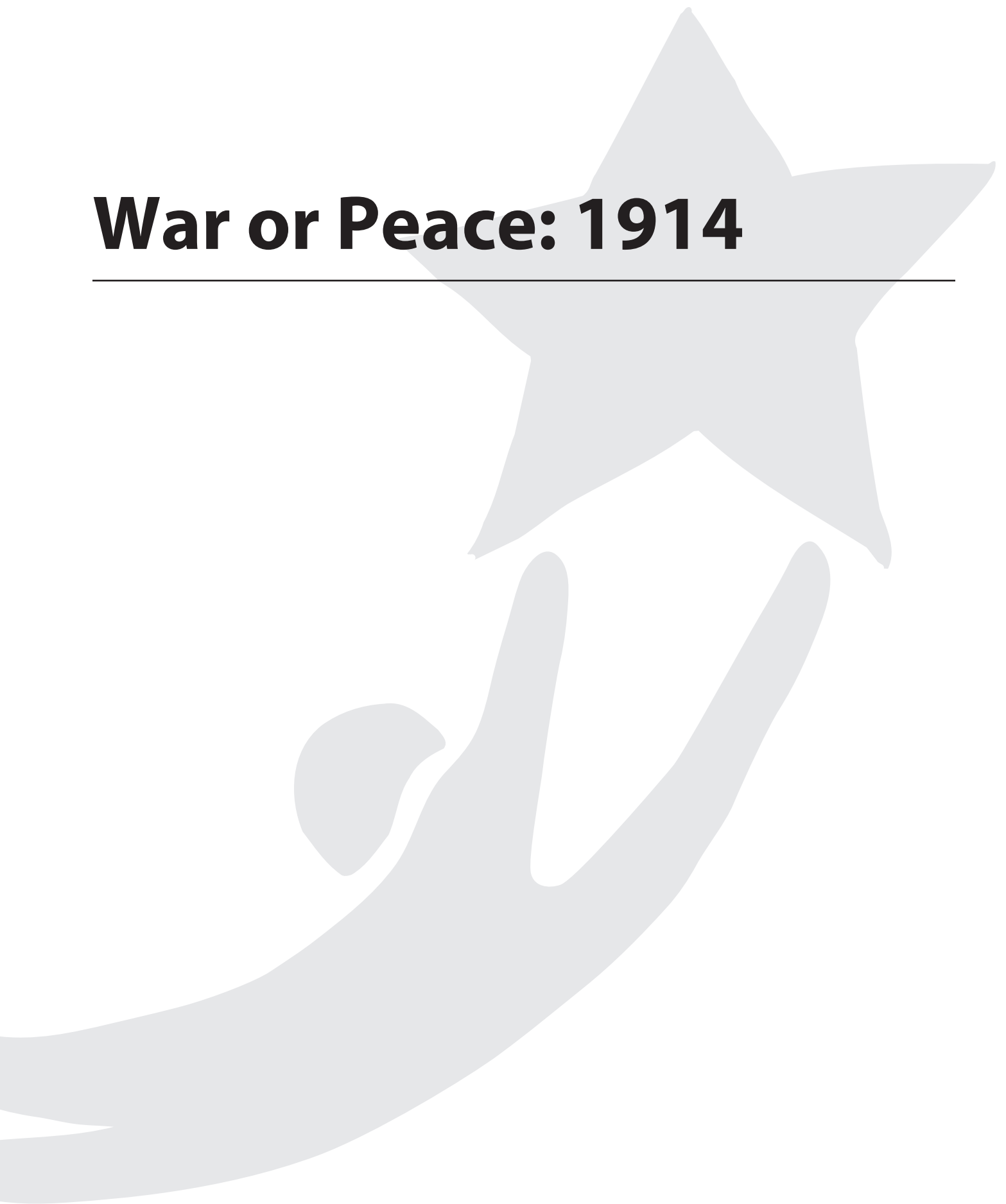
Questions

1. Find some examples of how your resolutions were similar to these resolutions.
2. Find some examples of how your resolutions were significantly different from these resolutions.

Extension Activities

1. Write an essay in which you argue that either (1) these agreements had little or no concrete impact on the way nations waged war in the twentieth century or (2) these agreements had a significant impact on the way nations waged war in the twentieth century.
2. Within a few short years, two of the major powers that attended the peace conference in 1899, Japan and Russia, were at war. In fact, it was Tsar Nicholas II of Russia who proposed the conference. Create a multimedia presentation or write an essay explaining why these nations ended up in a war. Additionally, explain whether the agreements made in 1899 helped mediate an end to the conflict, and/or whether the two belligerent nations refrained from violating any of the provisions regarding the rules of war.
3. Create a multimedia presentation demonstrating the ways that nations in current times have violated the rules of war established by these two conventions. If they have committed these violations, have they been held accountable?

War or Peace: 1914



Lesson

Overview

In late August 1914, German troops crossed the border into neutral Belgium, precipitating what became known in Europe as the Great War. The war finally ended four years later—millions were dead; much of Europe was in ruins; the monarchs of Germany, Austria, and Russia were either dead or in exile; a communist revolution was occurring in Russia; colonialism in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East was still firmly in place; and the victorious nations of France and Britain were determined to make the former Central Powers of Germany and Austria pay dearly in treasure and territories for starting this Great War. What caused World War I, and was it inevitable?

Objectives

- Students will learn about the interlocking European alliances that existed in 1914 and the effect these pacts had on the events of July and August of that year.
- Students will appreciate the difficulty of avoiding war in 1914.

Notes for the Teacher/Duration

- This is a technology-based lesson in which students represent six nations grappling with the pressure to avoid a world war in August 1914.
- Use the handout “Messages to All Nations” for your portion of the activity.

Day One

- Read and discuss the “Background Information for Teachers and Students,” then separate the students into six groups representing the six great powers.
- You may either assign roles to students within their groups or have them choose who will be the diplomatic leader.
- Explain to students that they will be re-creating the efforts by the various nations to avoid war in July 1914, using existing technology (for example, e-mail, instant messaging, and social media) to re-create the cable message system actually used to communicate by the leaders and diplomats at the time.
- Give each group their assigned “Roles” handout, “Nation Messages” handout, and any additional information you think they require about their assigned country. In the case of Austria-Hungary, the message to Serbia containing demands should start the messages between nations.

Teaching tip

You can create eight groups if you include Belgium and Italy.



- Explain that at the beginning of the actual activity, they will be assigned a specific location (for example, classroom, library, computer lab), and they must stay in that location for the entire activity, only using the message system to communicate with other nations and you, who will be acting as a general information conduit.
- Tell them that the first message (sent by the teacher to all groups) will be an account of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, and this event will begin the activity.
- Give them the remainder of the period to develop a negotiating strategy to avoid war. They cannot, however, violate any of the existing treaty obligations. If any nation decides to mobilize its troops (call up its reserves), then this will force all the nations to follow suit and war will break out.
- Meet secretly with the students representing Austria-Hungary, and tell them they need to prepare a message listing demands they are going to send to Serbia at the beginning of the simulation in Day Two. This list should contain all or some of the actual demands, which are easily available online.

Day Two

- Students should go directly to their assigned location and open up a line of communication to the teacher and other nations using your chosen method of technological communication.
- You should have each nation send you an initial message to indicate that the group is in its assigned location and ready to receive messages. You should then respond to these messages by sending out an account of the assassination and instructions to send out e-mail/message comments to other nations explaining the nation's position.
- Send a message to Austria-Hungary telling the group to send the message listing their demands to Serbia. The group representing Austria-Hungary should already have prepared this list, ready to go out with your signal.
- Next, send a message to Serbia telling them to accept some of the demands, not all of them. Then send out a message to Russia to try and force Austria to relax some of the demands.
- From here on, you have to let the activity run its course. Every five or ten minutes, send out a general message to each nation asking if any of them have decided to mobilize their troops. Note that there is a list of messages that you can send out if you want to "influence" the action, ranging from mild threats by the German kaiser to alleged pictures of troops mobilizing.



Teaching tip

In addition to sending the real demands, you might also have them tack on a few contemporary ones, like the Serbians have to buy the Austro-Hungarians lunch.

Days Three and Four

- Debrief by discussing the events of the activity and comparing it with what actually happened. Inform students that during the simulation some of the messages that you sent were fictional representations similar to the general communication at the time.
- Debrief using discussion questions, document analysis, and extension activities.
- Check the answers to the document questions.

Answers to Document Questions

Document A

1. Why does the German ambassador put the blame for the crisis squarely on the Serbian government?

The Serbians have many intrigues, which the author suggests have been going on for years.

2. What does the author suggest should be done under the circumstances?

Austria should punish Serbia, and, if necessary, punishment should be done by Austro-Hungarian military forces.

3. According to this document, what is the real danger of letting this crisis extend beyond the borders of Austria and Serbia?

This regional conflict could spread to become a major European war.

Document B

1. Would you describe the general tone of these telegrams as confrontational or conciliatory? Discuss.

Specific evidence will vary, but students should consider them conciliatory.

2. Which country seems to emerge in these telegrams as the primary guilty nation for the start of hostilities and why?

Russia and Tsar Nicholas II's decision to mobilize his army and navy

3. Do you think that William and/or George, as suggested by the telegrams, were sincere in their efforts to avoid war?

Answers will vary.

4. Given the fact that George was a constitutional monarch and William was more or less at the mercy of his general staff, do you think either monarch could have actually prevented the war? Discuss.

Answer will vary.

Roles Assignment Chart

Country	Role	Student Name
Germany	Wilhelm II, kaiser	
	Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, chancellor	
	Gottlieb von Jagow, foreign minister	
	Arthur Zimmerman, state secretary for foreign affairs	
Austria-Hungary	Franz Joseph I, emperor	
	Count Leopold Berchtold, foreign minister	
	Baron Karl von Macchio, first section chief in the Austro-Hungarian Imperial Foreign Ministry	
	János Forgách, second section chief in the Austro-Hungarian Imperial Foreign Ministry	
Serbia	Peter I, king	
	Alexander Karađorđević, prince	
	Nikola Pašić, prime minister	
	Dr. Laza Pačou, foreign minister	
France	Raymond Poincaré, president	
	Charles Jonnart, foreign minister	
	Stéphien Pichon, foreign minister	
	René Viviani, foreign minister	
Great Britain	Richard Burdon Haldane, 1st Viscount Haldane, lord chancellor	
	Edward Grey, 1st Viscount Grey of Fallodon, secretary of state for foreign affairs	
	Edward Nicolson, assistant secretary of state for foreign affairs	
Russia	Nicholas II, tsar	
	Sergey Sazonov, foreign minister	
	Vladimir Sukhomlinov, minister of war	
Italy*	Antonino Paternò Castello, Marquis di San Giuliano, foreign minister	
Belgium*	Julien Davignon, foreign minister	

*Optional role

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Background for Teachers and Students



Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, Sophie, are shot by Gavrilo Princip.

By August of 1914, the great powers in Europe, including France, Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia were locked in an all-out arms race spawned by nationalism and fueled by the Industrial Revolution. Millions of active-duty soldiers and reservists from the different nations, inspired by jingoistic slogans and propaganda and armed with repeating rifles, high-explosive artillery, and machine guns, awaited the order to mobilize—an order that most believed would result in a glorious victory for their nation.

In 1871, France had been soundly defeated in the Franco-Prussian War; it had to pay a huge indemnity on top of losing two of its provinces: Alsace and Lorraine. In France, both the military and the citizenry widely supported using any excuse to regain these lost provinces and make Germany pay for inflicting this humiliating defeat. France had also perfected a new and improved form of artillery, the 75- and 105-millimeter cannons that would prove their worth during the coming war. French military planners also preached the doctrine of the offensive attack, which still relied on the use of the bayonet. French socialists (such as Jean Jaurès), however, believed that a European war between the great industrial powers was folly and did everything they could to avert what they saw as a catastrophe of epic proportions.

Germany, united under Prussian leadership in 1871, and led by the Iron Chancellor, Otto von Bismarck, was arguably the most dynamic and dangerous of the great European powers. Fearful of being crushed by France and Russia in a future two-front war, Bismarck had skillfully framed alliances that kept these two powers apart. What Bismarck feared most, and predicted correctly, was that “some damned thing in the Balkans” would ignite a war involving all the great powers.³⁴ In 1890, however, Kaiser Wilhelm II became the German monarch, and one of his first acts was to send Bismarck into retirement. He then proceeded to threaten the British Empire by launching a naval buildup that defied the British fleet and its empire. He threatened and alienated Russia by challenging their interests in the Balkans. France clearly saw the huge German Army as a direct threat to its security. The result was what Bismarck had most feared: a French, British, and Russian alliance and the prospect of a two-front war.

Many different nationalities and religious groups comprised the Austro-Hungarian Empire, including Christians, Jews, Muslims, Austrians, Magyars (Hungarians), Serbs, Croats, Slavs, and Bosnians. Each of these ethnic groups was affected by the surge of nationalism initially spawned by the French Revolution and, later, by the politics of the nineteenth century. Many yearned for an independent state divorced from this polyglot empire. Its Slavic peoples, ethnically related to the Russians, looked to Russia as their protector in any potential conflict. Bosnia-Herzegovina had recently been added to the empire, even though the majority favored being part of the Kingdom of Serbia. The only unifying factor in this region was the allegiance to the aging emperor, Franz Joseph I.

³⁴ Tuchman, *The Guns of August*, 71.

Russia was by far the largest country in Europe, and the most underdeveloped. Much of the country was more suited to the fifteenth than the nineteenth century. It was still led by a tsar, who ruled as an absolute monarch with little attention to liberal reforms. The Russian Army was the largest in Europe, but it was poorly supplied and incompetently led. The Russian desire for a warm weather seaport on the Adriatic, however, remained an unfulfilled desire. Russia also saw itself as the champion of the Slavic people.

The British Empire, by the turn of the century, was the largest in world history, encompassing lands in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. The British fleet, supported by a small but highly effective and well-armed army, exerted its power worldwide and supported the great commercial enterprises that made huge British fortunes. Great Britain, however, saw the rising power of Germany and its determination to build a great naval fleet as a direct threat to the empire.

The Kingdom of Serbia was a land-locked country that, like Russia, desired a warm-water seaport on the Adriatic. Serbia also desired to expand its territory by annexing Bosnia-Herzegovina, a quest that directly threatened Austria-Hungary.

By 1914, three key pacts (summarized below) effectively divided the great powers into two opposing sides: the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy) opposed by the Triple Entente (France, Russia, and Britain). These pacts effectively ensured that an attack on any one power would initiate a widespread war between all the great powers.

1879 Secret Alliance between Austria and Germany

This was a defensive alliance signed by Germany and Austria. This pact was primarily directed at Russia and committed each nation to give military support to each other if attacked by Russia or by any nation supporting Russia.

1882 Triple Alliance

This alliance brought together Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy in a long-lasting pact designed to ensure Italy's support and, thus, a two-front war in the event of a French attack on Germany.

1907 Anglo-Russian Entente

This was a pact between Great Britain and Russia, settling their colonial disputes in Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet. It later led to the Triple Entente between Great Britain, France, and Russia.

In July 1914, Europe was shocked by the news that Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria and his wife, Sophie, had been assassinated by a Serbian ultra-nationalist in Sarajevo, the capital of the Kingdom of Serbia. Austria demanded justice. On July 16, the British ambassador in Vienna sent a telegraph to the secretary of state for foreign affairs in London, Sir Edward Grey, which summarized the gravity of the situation. He said that a kind of indictment was being prepared, accusing the Serbian government of complicity in the conspiracy that brought about the assassination of the Archduke and his wife, and that the "Austro-Hungarian government will insist on an immediate unconditional compliance [to its terms], failing which force will be used."³⁵ It will be this ultimatum that will potentially spark a fire that will ignite all of Europe.

You will now have the chance to play a role during the dramatic days before the beginning of World War I and see whether or not you can avert this enormous catastrophe.

³⁵ Göerlitz, *The History of the German General Staff*, 151.

Messages to All Nations

Instructor will send these messages to begin and maintain the activity.

A

Send this to begin the activity.

The world news services have just reported the following.

Heir to Austro-Hungarian Throne Slain by Bosnian Youth

SARAJEVO, Bos., June 28, 1914—Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Austria-Hungary, and his wife, Sophie, were shot and killed by a Bosnian student here today. The fatal shots were the second attempt of the day upon the lives of the couple. The assassination is believed to be the result of a political conspiracy that involved Serbian military intelligence. The arrested assassin is a Bosnian student by the name of Gavrilo Princip, a member of the notorious secret nationalist group known as the Black Hand. He has said that he is “proud of his deed.”

B

Send this as soon as Austria-Hungary has sent out its demands to Serbia. Add any additional demands they believe are also necessary.

To: Britain, France, Russia

Austria-Hungary has just issued the following demands to Serbia—it is reported that Germany may support Austria in these harsh demands. Please begin immediately sending cables to Austria-Hungary asking it to tone down the demands and to Germany pleading with its people not to support Austria-Hungary.

Also begin sending cables to your allies, reminding them of their treaty obligations in the impending crisis.

You must meet the following demands within twenty-four hours or face war:

End all propaganda against Austria-Hungary in your newspapers, magazines, and public schools.

Remove all officials hostile to Austria from your government, and allow Austria-Hungary to take part in suppressing all plots directed against it.

Arrest all the conspirators associated with the assassination and with connections to the so-called Black Hand, and allow Austria-Hungary to put them on trial.

Close borders to all illegal crossings into Austria-Hungary, and offer suitable explanations for all anti-Austro-Hungarian statements made by your officials.

C

Send additional messages to influence the outcome.

The *International Herald Tribune* reports, "The Kaiser has said to his generals that Germany's enemies are worms."

The *International Herald Tribune* reports, "The French President has said that it is important that his country gets Alsace-Lorraine back from Germany."

The *International Herald Tribune* reports, "There is talk among the various great powers of organizing a peace conference."

The *International Herald Tribune* reports, "The Serbian government is considering accepting most, if not all, of the demands from Austria-Hungary."

The *International Herald Tribune* reports, "Austro-Hungarian officials have privately expressed contempt for the Serbian government and have indicated that they intend to suggest even further demands in the future."

The *International Herald Tribune* reports, "French officials remain wary of any promise made by the Germans not to interfere in the dispute between Austria-Hungary and Serbia."

The *International Herald Tribune* reports, "The French socialist leader Jean Jaurès is calling for a peaceful resolution of this crisis on behalf of all of the working men of the various nations."

The *International Herald Tribune* reports, "Great Britain has detained several German nationals for questioning after they were found drawing sketches of the naval ships, including some of Great Britain's top battleships, docked in Portsmouth."

The *International Herald Tribune* reports, "The pope has called on all Christians to unite against the prospect of war."

The *International Herald Tribune* reports, "The secret Serbian society known as the Black Hand has vowed to strike again if Austria-Hungary does not tone down its belligerent rhetoric."

The *International Herald Tribune* reports, "Unofficially, Russian officials have said that there is no way that they will allow their Slavic brothers in Serbia to come under the boot of the Austro-Hungarians."

The *International Herald Tribune* reports, "The German foreign minister has written Austria-Hungary a 'blank check' to punish Serbia in whatever manner seems appropriate with the assurance that Germany will fully support those actions."

D

If you definitely want war to break out, then send these images.



Russian troops mobilizing for war



French troops mobilizing for war



German troops mobilizing for war

Image sources: *Russian Infantry*. By Bain News Service, circa 1914–1915, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC, LC-B2- 3238-9
French Infantry. By Bain News Service, circa 1914–1915, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC, LC-B2- 3208-14
German Soldiers. By Oscar Tellgmann, 1914, Munich, German Federal Archives, Koblenz, Germany, Bild 146-1994-022-19A

Name _____

Roles Chart

Germany	Austria-Hungary	Serbia	France	Great Britain	Russia	Italy*	Belgium*
Wilhelm II, kaiser	Franz Joseph I, emperor	Peter I, king	Raymond Poincaré, president	Richard Burdon Haldane, 1st Viscount Haldane, lord chancellor	Nicholas II, tsar	Antonino Paternò Castello, Marquis di San Giuliano, foreign minister	Julien Davignon, foreign minister
Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg, chancellor	Count Leopold Berchtold, foreign minister	Alexander Karađorđević, prince	Charles Jonnart, foreign minister	Edward Grey, 1st Viscount Grey of Fallodon, secretary of state for foreign affairs	Sergey Sazonov, foreign minister		
Gottlieb von Jagow, foreign minister	Baron Karl von Macchio, first section chief in the Austro-Hungarian Imperial Foreign Ministry	Nikola Pašić, prime minister	Stéphen Pichon, foreign minister	Edward Nicolson, assistant secretary of state for foreign affairs	Vladimir Sukhomlinov, minister of war		
Arthur Zimmermann, state secretary for foreign affairs	János Forgách, second section chief in the Austro-Hungarian Imperial Foreign Ministry	Dr. Laza Pačou, foreign minister	René Viviani, foreign minister				

*Optional roles

Your Character Role _____

Roles

Germany

You are **Wilhelm II**, the kaiser of Germany and head of the German delegation.

You are **Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg**, imperial chancellor and second-in-command of the German delegation.

You are **Gottlieb von Jagow**, foreign minister and third-in-command of the German delegation.

You are **Arthur Zimmermann**, state secretary of foreign affairs and fourth-in-command of the German delegation.

Austria-Hungary

You are **Franz Joseph I**, the Austro-Hungarian emperor and head of the Austro-Hungarian delegation.

You are **Count Leopold Berchtold**, foreign minister and second in command of the Austro-Hungarian delegation.

You are **Baron Karl von Macchio**, first section chief in the Austria-Hungarian Imperial Foreign Ministry and third-in-command of the Austro-Hungarian delegation.

You are **János Forgách**, second section chief in the Austria-Hungarian Imperial Foreign Ministry and fourth-in-command of the Austro-Hungarian delegation.

Serbia

You are **Peter I**, king of Serbia and head of the Serbian delegation.

You are **Alexander** Karađorđević, prince of Serbia and second-in-command of the Serbian delegation.

You are **Nikola Pašić**, prime minister of Serbia and third-in-command of the Serbian delegation.

You are **Dr. Laza Pačou**, foreign minister and fourth-in-command of the Serbian delegation.

France

You are **Raymond Poincaré**, president of France and head of the French delegation.

You are **Charles Jonnart**, foreign minister and second-in-command of the French delegation.

You are **Stéphen Pichon**, foreign minister and third-in-command of the French delegation.

You are **René Viviani**, foreign minister and fourth-in-command of the French delegation.

Great Britain

You are **Richard Burdon Haldane, 1st Viscount Haldane**, lord chancellor and head of the British delegation.

You are **Edward Grey, 1st Viscount Grey of Fallodon**, secretary of state for foreign affairs and second-in-command of the British delegation.

You are **Edward Nicolson**, assistant secretary of state for foreign affairs.

Russia

You are **Nicholas II**, tsar of Russia and head of the Russian delegation.

You are **Sergey Sazonov**, foreign minister and second-in-command of the Russian delegation.

You are **Vladimir Sukhomlinov**, minister of war and third-in-command of the Russian delegation.

Optional Roles:

Italy

You are **Antonino Paternò Castello, Marquis de San Giuliano**, foreign minister and head of the Italian delegation.

Belgium

You are **Julien Davignon**, foreign minister and head of the Belgian delegation.

Nation Messages

Austria-Hungary

You must punish those guilty of murdering the archduke! Issue the demands you have drawn up for Serbia to make up for the horrible crime committed against your heir to the throne. Appeal for help from Germany. See if they will support you in your demands against Serbia, especially if that leads to war.

You should send the following to Serbia with a copy to Germany. Below the last demand, list any additional stipulations Serbia must meet in recompense for their wrong.

From: Austria-Hungary
To: Serbia
Copy: Germany

You must meet the following demands within twenty-four hours or face war:

1. End all propaganda against Austria-Hungary in your newspapers, magazines, and public schools.
2. Remove all officials hostile to Austria-Hungary from your government, and allow Austria-Hungary to take part in suppressing all plots directed against it.
3. Arrest all the conspirators associated with the assassination and with connections to the so-called Black Hand, and allow Austria-Hungary to put them on trial.
4. Close borders to all illegal crossings into Austria, and offer suitable explanations for all anti-Austro-Hungarian statements made by your officials.
5. (Optional) Pay for the pain and suffering of our leaders by hosting a lavish “lunch” as soon as possible during school break.

Reply to this note immediately!

1882 Triple Alliance

This alliance brought together your country, Germany, and Italy in a long-lasting pact that is meant to ensure Italy's support and, thus, a two-front war in the event of a French attack on Germany.

Germany

You have the strongest army in Europe, but it may not be enough to fight both the French and British on one front and the Russians on the other. You must decide whether to allow the Austro-Hungarians to punish Serbia. Will you support your ally? It is a hard question. You might send messages to your cousin "Nicky" in Russia and urge him not to support Serbia—then you might only be faced with an angry France.

Send a note to Austria-Hungary immediately, assuring them that you will support them in any action they might wish to take against Serbia but urging them not to be too harsh, which may provoke military action.

You may shortly receive a note from Austria-Hungary with a list of demands they have issued to Serbia. Read them carefully and then send a note to Austria suggesting your support; then send a note to Serbia demanding they accept the terms.

1882 Triple Alliance

This alliance brought together your country, Austria-Hungary, and Italy in a long-lasting pact that was meant to ensure Italy's support and, thus, a two-front war in the event of a French attack on you.

Great Britain

Try to set up some kind of peace conference. You really want to avoid a general war, because you have a very weak army compared to the Germans. Send messages to Germany and Austria, urging them to go easy on Serbia and avoid a general war.

You only have a small army, so make every effort to stem the tide of war. Try to arrange a diplomatic conference to settle the problems between Austria-Hungary and Serbia.

1907 Anglo-Russian Entente

This was a pact between Great Britain and Russia, settling their colonial disputes in Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. It later led to the Triple Entente between Great Britain, France, and Russia.

France

Try to figure a way out of the crisis. Attempt to set up—via messages—a general meeting of ambassadors or heads of state to avoid mobilization and war. You are fearful of Germany's military might, although some members of the general staff might want revenge for the loss suffered during the Franco-Prussian War in 1870.

You are very anxious to get back your lost provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which Germany took from you under the terms of the treaty ending the Franco-Prussian War. The news has reported recently, however, that German diplomats have publicly stated that they have absolutely no intention of ever returning the provinces.

Your military experts now believe that your new 75-mm cannon is so revolutionary in its design that it will be the deciding factor in any future war and may lead to a quick victory.

1907 Anglo-Russian Entente

This was a pact between Great Britain and Russia, settling their colonial disputes in Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. It later led to the Triple Entente between Great Britain, France, and Russia.

Serbia

Try to work out a deal with the Austro-Hungarians. Read their demands, but, if you feel they are too harsh, refuse and suggest which items you are willing to accept. Appeal to the Russians for help. They are your brother Slavs.

Send Austria-Hungary a reply accepting some (but not all) of their demands and see if they will accept this compromise. If that does not work, send cables to the other nations asking for mediation and/or a negotiated settlement. You might try and set up an international conference.

Russia

You desperately want a solution to the problem without mobilization. Your generals fear a war. Your cousin "Willy," the German kaiser, has referred to your country as "backward" and is not to be relied upon if war happens. Despite his remarks, send some telegrams to your cousin and see if he will help you prevent the Austro-Hungarians from being so harsh to Serbia. Try to appeal to him on a personal level, and try to also get him to tone down the rhetoric and not support Austria-Hungary.

Despite these preventative measures, you cannot allow your brother Slavs to be punished by Austria-Hungary. You must come to their aid if they are directly threatened.

You should send out stern warnings to Austria-Hungary, with copies to Germany, reminding the country that you are a protector of your fellow Slavs in Serbia and will not allow their invasion.

1907 Anglo-Russian Entente

This was a pact between Great Britain and Russia, settling their colonial disputes in Persia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. It later led to the Triple Entente between Great Britain, France, and Russia.

Glossary and Brief Chronology

alliance: A union formed between two or more countries.

blank check: A figurative term used to describe a situation or an agreement that is vague and potentially subject to misuse or abuse.

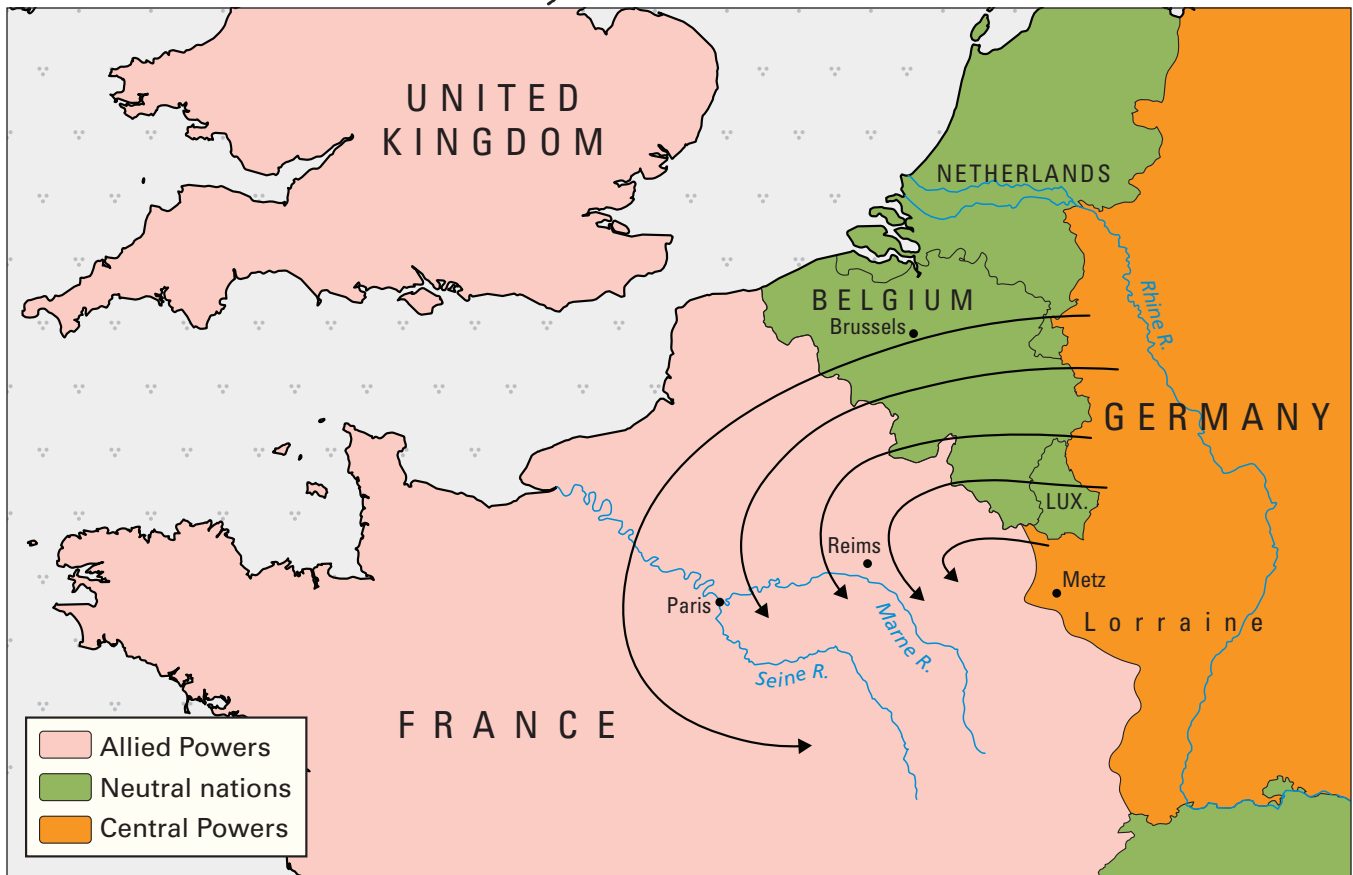
entente: A friendly understanding or informal alliance between nations.

mobilization: The act of assembling and making troops and supplies ready for war.

treaty: A formal and ratified agreement between two or more countries.

1871	German Unification occurs.
1882	Triple Alliance is formed.
1887	Reinsurance Treaty is signed.
1890	Bismarck is dismissed as chancellor of Germany.
1907	Anglo-French Entente is signed.
1914	Serbian archduke Franz Ferdinand is assassinated.

Aftermath



Under pressure from his generals to mobilize the huge Russian Army, Tsar Nicholas reluctantly agreed, and Russia began to call up its reserves to face a perceived threat from Germany. The Germans then began their own mobilization and set in motion the Schlieffen Plan, which called for an attack on France through neutral Belgium. Less than twenty-four hours after his last desperate telegram to his cousin, Kaiser William signed the order allowing his generals to begin their attack through neutral Belgium. "Gentlemen," he said to his general staff, "you will live to regret this."³⁶ Schlieffen estimated that it would take Russia six weeks to organize its army for an attack on Germany. It was, therefore, essential for France to surrender before Russia was ready to use all its forces. Honoring their treaty obligations the other nations began their mobilization and, in a flash, nearly all of the nations of Europe were at war.

The Schlieffen plan failed because of the unexpected and stubborn resistance of neutral Belgium and the French Army's valiant stand at the Marne River. The war degenerated into a stalemate defined by horrendous battles—such as those at Verdun, the Somme, and Ypres—and years of trench warfare, both claiming the lives of millions of soldiers. The war also ended the reigns of most of the monarchs of Europe, including Nicholas II, who was assassinated, along with his entire family, by the Bolsheviks in 1917. Earlier in 1916, Franz Joseph I died of pneumonia at Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna. In 1918, with German defeat inevitable, William II fled for the Netherlands, where he remained in exile until his death in 1941.

³⁶ Morton, *Thunder at Twilight*, 326.

Discussion Questions

1. What were the advantages and disadvantages of each nation when confronting a major war in 1914?
2. Prior to mobilization and declarations of war by the various nations of Europe, their leaders attempted to stem the tide of war by use of telegrams. If the various nations had had access to twenty-first-century sources of information (the Internet) and communication (e-mail, instant messaging, and social media) would that have prevented the war? Discuss.
3. What role did the concept of nationalism play in the start of the World War I in 1914?
4. After the war, Germany and Austria-Hungary were forced to accept responsibility for starting the war. Do you agree or disagree with that assessment? Were the nations of Russia, France, Great Britain, and Serbia also responsible? Explain.
5. World War I has often been described as an unnecessary war. Most historians agree it was in the interest of none of the great powers in 1914 to go to war against one another, but they all did. Why? If professional diplomats had handled the negotiations and made the decisions instead of monarchs like Nicholas II and Wilhelm II, could a war have been avoided?
6. Bismarck famously said that if war broke out among the European nations it would be over "some damn fool thing in the Balkans."³⁷ How did the toxic combination of religious and ethnic differences and nationalism in that region fuel the war?
7. Guglielmo Marconi said in 1912 that "the coming of the wireless era will make war impossible, because it will make war ridiculous."³⁸ Why did the many messages exchanged between the various nations not prevent the war?
8. How was the start of World War I similar to or different from other wars that you have studied?
9. Many argue that balance of power among nations is the greatest deterrent of war. Do you agree or disagree? Why did this concept not work in 1914? Is it still relevant today? Discuss.

³⁷ Otto von Bismarck, quoted in Neiberg, *The World War I Reader*, 5.

³⁸ Guglielmo Marconi, quoted in Narodny, "Marconi's Plans for the World."

Document A: Note by the German Ambassador

Note communicated by the German ambassador to the British government, July 24, 1914

The publication of the Austro-Hungarian Government concerning the circumstances under which the assassination of the Austrian heir presumptive and his consort has taken place disclose unmistakably the aims which the Great Serbian propaganda has set itself, and the means it employs to realize them. The facts now made known must also do away with the last doubts that the centre of activity of all those tendencies which are directed towards the detachment of the southern Slavic provinces from Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and their incorporation into the Serbian Kingdom is to be found in Belgrade, and is at work with at least the connivance of members of the Government and army.

The Serbian intrigues have been going on for many years. In an especially marked form from [sic] the Great Serbian chauvinism manifest itself during the Bosnian Crisis. It was only owing to the far reaching self-restraint and moderation of the Austria-Hungarian Government and to the energetic interference of the Great Powers that the Serbian provocation to which Austria-Hungary was then exposed did not lead to conflict. The assurance of good conduct in the future which was given by the Serbian government at that time has not been kept. Under the eyes, at least with the tacit permission of official Serbian [sic], the Great Serbian propaganda has continuously increased in extension and intensity; to its account must be set the recent crime, the threads of which lead to Belgrade. It has become clearly evident that it would not be consistent either with the dignity or with self-preservation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy still longer to

remain inactive [in face] of this movement on the other side of the frontier, by which the security and the integrity of her territories are constantly menaced. Under these circumstances, the course of procedure and demands of the Austro-Hungarian Government can only be regarded as equitable and moderate. In spite of that, the attitude which public opinion as well as the government in Serbia have recently adopted does not exclude the apprehension that the Serbian government might refuse to comply with those demands and might allow themselves to be carried away into a provocative attitude against Austria-Hungary. The Austro-Hungarian Government, if it does not wish definitely to abandon Austria's position as a great Power, would then have no choice but to obtain the fulfillment of their demands from [the] Serbian government by strong pressure and, if necessary by using military measures, the choice of the means having to be left to them.

The Imperial Government want to emphasize their opinion that in the present case there is only a question of a matter to be settled exclusively between Austria-Hungary and Serbia, and that the Great Powers ought seriously to endeavor to reserve it to those two immediately concerned. The Imperial Government desire urgently the localization of the conflict, because every interference of another Power would, owing to the different treaty obligations, be followed by incalculable consequences.

Source: Hance, John. *Chaos, Confusion, and Political Ignorance: June 28–August 5, 1914; The Untold Truth about the Start of World War II*. Bloomington, IN: Trafford, 2014.

Questions

1. Why does the German ambassador put the blame for the crisis squarely on the Serbian government?
2. What does the author suggest should be done under the circumstances?
3. According to this document what is the real danger of letting this crisis extend beyond the borders of Austria and Serbia?

Document B:

Telegrams between London and Berlin

Excerpts of telegrams exchanged between London and Berlin July 30–August 1, 1914

July 30

Prince Henry of Prussia to the King George of Great Britain

William, who is very anxious, is doing his utmost to comply with the request of Nicholas to work for the maintenance of peace. He is in continual telegraphic communication with Nicholas, who has to-day confirmed the news that he has ordered military measures which amount to mobilization, and that these measures were taken five days ago. . . .

Believe me that William is inspired by the greatest sincerity in his efforts for the maintenance of peace. But the military preparations of his two neighbors may end in compelling him to follow their example for the safety of his own country, which otherwise would remain defenseless. I have informed William of my telegram to you, and I hope that you will receive my communication in the same friendly spirit which has inspired it.

(Signed) HENRY

George V to Prince Henry of Prussia

Thanks for your telegram. I am very glad to hear of William's efforts to act with Nicholas for the maintenance of peace. I earnestly desire that such a misfortune as a European war—the evil of which could not be remedied—may be prevented. My Government is doing the utmost possible in order to induce Russia and France to postpone further military preparations, provided that Austria declares herself satisfied with the occupation of Belgrade and the neighboring Serbian territory as a pledge for a satisfactory settlement of her demands, while at the same time the other countries suspend their preparations for war. . . .

(Signed) GEORGE

William II to George V

Many thanks for your friendly communication. Your proposals coincide with my ideas and with the communication which I have this evening received from Vienna, and which I have passed on to London. I have just heard from the chancellor that intelligence has just reached him that Nicholas this evening has ordered the mobilization of his entire army and fleet. He has not even awaited the result of the mediation in which I am engaged, and he has left me completely without information. I am traveling to Berlin to assure the safety of my eastern frontier, where strong Russian forces have already taken up their position.

(Signed) WILLIAM

August 1

George V to William II

Many thanks for your telegram of last night. I have sent an urgent telegram to Nicholas, in which I have assured him of my readiness to do everything in my power to further the resumption of the negotiations between the powers concerned.

(Signed) GEORGE

German Ambassador at London to the German Imperial Chancellor

Sir Edward Grey has just called me to the telephone and has asked me whether I thought I could declare that in the event of France remaining neutral in a German-Russian war we would not attack France. I told him that I believed that I could assume responsibility for this.

(Signed) LICHNOWSKY

William II to George V

I have just received the communication of your Government offering French neutrality under the guarantee of Great Britain. To this offer there was added the question whether, under these conditions, Germany would refrain from attacking France. For technical reasons the mobilization which I have already ordered this afternoon on two fronts—east and west—must proceed according to the arrangements made. A counter-order cannot now be given, as your telegram unfortunately came too late; but if France offers me her neutrality, which must be guaranteed by the English Army and Navy, I will naturally give up the idea of an attack on France and employ my troops elsewhere. I hope that France will not be nervous. The troops on my frontier are at this moment being kept back by telegraph and by telephone from crossing the French frontier.

(Signed) WILLIAM

Source: New York Times Company. *The New York Times Current History: The European War*. Vol. 13. New York: New York Times, 1917.

Questions

1. Would you describe the general tone of these telegrams as confrontational or conciliatory? Discuss.
2. Which country seems to emerge in these telegrams as the primary guilty nation for the start of hostilities and why?
3. Do you think that William and/or George, as suggested by the telegrams, were sincere in their efforts to avoid war?
4. Given the fact that George was a constitutional monarch and William was more or less at the mercy of his general staff, do you think either monarch could have actually prevented the war? Discuss.

Extension Activities

1. Write an essay arguing that the war began with German and Italian unification.
2. Write an essay stating your position on which nations were most responsible for World War I.
3. Get a copy of Sidney Bradshaw Fay's thesis on the causes of World War I, *The Origins of the World War*. Make a presentation to the class explaining this thesis and whether you agree or disagree with his analysis.

Women's Peace Congress



Lesson

Overview

Commonly referred to as the Women's Peace Congress, the International Congress of Women was a meeting held by more a thousand women from belligerent and neutral countries to draft proposals to end World War I through negotiation.

Objectives

- Students will understand the goals of the women's peace movement during World War I.
- Students will appreciate the difficulty of assuming an outspoken, unpopular position.

Notes for the Teacher/Duration

- You should serve as conference president or assign a student delegate (Jane Addams or Emily Balch would be a good choice) to be the president.
- You should use a simplified parliamentary procedure to run the conference. Call for proposals, and then allow one or two speakers to speak for and/or against the proposal. Next, hold a vote. If the proposal fails, then either (A) call for a brief caucus before a submission of a new proposal or (B) directly call for the submission of a new proposal.
- You should either appoint a conference secretary or ask for a volunteer (one of the delegates) to keep a record of the proceedings, especially recording the decisions reached regarding the agenda items.

Day One

- Read and discuss the "Background for Teachers and Students."
- Assign each student a role for the coming conference.
- Give students time to research their assigned personalities and their country's position on the war.
- Inform students that some of the roles will be difficult to research, in which case they should research the country they represent and the issues they will need to discuss.
- Students should look at all the agenda items and decide which option they favor.
- Students should create a working paper briefly outlining their position on at least four of the agenda items.

Teaching tip

If a student is running the conference, assist him or her, as students are generally not adept at being the authority figure in the classroom.



- They should use the worksheet provided about each country to help organize their position on these issues.
- Tell students that when the conference begins they should be prepared to present their views on why a particular option from the agenda should be adopted.
- The remainder of the period should be used for research and preparation.

Day Two

- Further time for research and preparation (if necessary)
- Begin the conference.

Day Three

- Debate on issues and resolutions

Day Four

- Concluding debates and resolutions
- Debrief using discussion questions.

Day Five

- Debrief by using document analysis and extension activities.
- Check the answers to the document questions.

Answers to Document Questions

Document A

Answers will vary depending on student decisions in the simulation.



Teaching tip

If time permits, you may decide to have each student give a formal speech on one or more of the agenda items.

Roles Assignment Chart

Country	Delegate	Student Name	Women in Delegation	Country Status in the War (1915)
Austria	Leopoldine Kulka		6	Belligerent
	Olga Misar			
Belgium	Eugénie Hamer		5	Neutral—Occupied by Germany
	Marguerite Sarten			
Denmark	Thora Daugaard		6	Neutral
	Clara Tybjerg			
Germany	Dr. Anita Augspurg		28	Belligerent
	Lida Gustava Heymann			
Great Britain and Ireland	Chrystal Macmillan		3	Belligerent
	Kathleen Courtney			
Hungary	Vilma Glücklich		10	Belligerent
	Rosika Schwimmer			
Italy	Rose Genoni		1	Belligerent
	Gemma Marconi (fictional)			
Netherlands	Dr. Aletta Jacobs		1,000	Neutral
	Hanna van Biema-Hymans			
	Dr. Mia Boissevain			
Norway	Dr. Emily Arnesen		12	Neutral
	Louisa Keilhau			
Sweden	Anna Kleman		16	Neutral
	Emma Hansson			
United States	Jane Addams		47	Neutral
	Fannie Fern Andrews			
	Emily Greene Balch			

Note: Women from the belligerent powers of Bulgaria (Central Powers) and the Ottoman Empire (Central Powers) did not participate in the conference. The French government prevented the participation of a French delegation, and the planned 180-strong British delegation was severely reduced by the British government's deliberate suspension of the commercial ferry service.

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Background for Teachers and Students



The Great War (World War I), which began nearly a year before the proposed women's peace conference, had already claimed hundreds of thousands of lives on battlefields throughout Europe and on the high seas. Enthusiasm for the war was beginning to wane, especially among women. They were increasingly being added to the workforce at home, even working in dangerous conditions in the armaments industry, while the men were fighting a brutal and seemingly endless war.

A peace conference was proposed, and from April 28 to May 1, 1915, invitations to take part in the Congress were sent to women's organizations and individual women all over the world. Each organization was invited to send two delegates. Membership in Congress was

restricted to women only, and members needed to agree with two important points before they could participate: international disputes should be settled by pacific means, and the parliamentary franchise should be extended to women. More than a thousand women from North America and Europe decided to attend, despite efforts by a few governments to stop them. British authorities refused to grant passports to most of its female citizens. Only three women, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, Chrystal Macmillan, and Kathleen Courtney, managed to attend because they were already in the Netherlands. The French and Russians adamantly refused to allow their countrywomen to attend, because they believed attendance was disloyal.³⁹

³⁹ Alonso, *Peace as a Women's Issue*, 67.

Image source: Peace Delegates. By Bain News Service, 1915, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC, LC-DIG-ggbain-18848

In 1915, leaders of the nations of the world recognized war as a legitimate means of resolving conflicts between nations when diplomatic negotiations failed. The women who attended this conference disagreed and called for an immediate end to a war that they believed was fundamentally illegal under international law. The congress also discussed the suffering women were experiencing during the war, including mass rape. They expressed their solidarity with all the victims of war, regardless of social class or religion. The belligerent countries were asked to make suggestions for peace in the framework of continuous mediation. A British delegate later said:

The Congress proceeded to hold its sessions in an atmosphere of sympathetic harmony. The preamble to the resolutions stated: "This International Congress of Women of different nations, classes, creeds, and parties is united in expressing sympathy with the suffering of all, whatever their nationality, who are fighting for their country or laboring under the burden of war.

Since the mass of people in each of the countries now at war believe themselves to be fighting, not as aggressors but in self-defense and their national existence, there can be no irreconcilable differences

between them. . . . The Congress therefore urges the Governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed and begin peace negotiations."⁴⁰

The women representing the United States, a neutral country, felt that they had a particularly strong moral obligation to mediate peace. They hoped to use the U.S. opposition to joining the war as a stepping stone to settling the conflict.

Only three issues were banned from discussion and debate—first, the relative national responsibility for starting the war; second, the way each nation was fighting the war; third, any "rules" under which future wars could be conducted.

When Dr. Anna Howard Shaw rose to speak there was a hushed silence. She urged the women to protest the war and upbraided the men who had brought on this awful calamity. She said, "Looking into his [a soldier's] dead face some[one] asks a woman, 'What does a woman know about war?' In the face of a crime like that, [I ask you] what does a man know about war?"⁴¹

You will now have the opportunity to assume the role of one of these delegates and to frame resolutions you hope will lead to an end to World War I.

⁴⁰ Foster, *Women for All Seasons*, 11–12.

⁴¹ Brill, *Women for Peace*, 7.



Name _____

Roles Chart

Country	Delegate	Delegate	Women in Delegation	Country Status in the War (1915)
Austria	Leopoldine Kulka	Olga Misar	6	Belligerent
Belgium	Eugénie Hamer	Marguérite Sarten	5	Neutral—Occupied by Germany
Denmark	Thora Daugaard	Clara Tybjerg	6	Neutral
Germany	Dr. Anita Augspurg	Lida Gustava Heymann	28	Belligerent
Great Britain and Ireland	Chrystal Macmillan	Kathleen Courtney	3	Belligerent
Hungary	Vilma Glücklich	Rosika Schwimmer	10	Belligerent
Italy	Rose Genoni	Gemma Marconi	1	Belligerent
Netherlands	Dr. Aletta Jacobs	Hanna van Biema-Hymans	1,000	Neutral
		Dr. Mia Boissevain		
Norway	Dr. Emily Arnesen	Louisa Keilhau	12	Neutral
Sweden	Anna Kleman	Emma Hansson	16	Neutral
United States	Jane Addams	Fannie Fern Andrews	47	Neutral
		Emily Greene Balch		

Note: Women from the belligerent powers of Bulgaria (Central Powers) and the Ottoman Empire (Central Powers) did not participate in the conference. The French government prevented the participation of a French delegation, and the planned 180-strong British delegation was severely reduced by the British government's deliberate suspension of the commercial ferry service.

Instructions

1. You will be attending the International Congress of Women at The Hague starting on April 28, 1915.
2. The issues on the agenda are listed below.
3. There are two potential options for each item on the agenda, **A** or **B**. Select the option that most appeals to you and your country.
4. You should then select four items that you would like passed and be prepared to present your views on these items to your colleagues.
5. You should also be prepared to give a brief speech of about the item on the agenda that you believe is most important to you.
6. After each item has been discussed, a vote will be taken as to whether to adopt as a resolution option **A** or **B** on the agenda. A simple majority will decide.
7. Your teacher may nominate a conference secretary to record your decisions, but you should keep a personal record.

Issues

1. Decide whether to call for (**A**) an immediate and unconditional end of the war or (**B**) a mediated end to the war with neutral nations acting as the mediators.
2. Decide whether to (**A**) condemn this war or (**B**) condemn war in general as a violation of international law
3. Decide whether to (**A**) condemn violence toward women as a violation of international law or (**B**) view these actions as legal under wartime conditions.
4. Decide whether to (**A**) assert the principle that all people have the right to a democratically elected government or (**B**) recognize all forms of government, including autocratically governed nations.
5. Decide whether to (**A**) condemn the use of force to acquire territory both in Europe and abroad or (**B**) condemn this practice as a violation of international law.
6. Decide whether to (**A**) call for the immediate enfranchisement of women, giving them equal political rights or (**B**) wait until the conclusion of the war and the peace settlement to pursue enfranchisement.
7. Decide whether to (**A**) call for all neutral nations to exert social, moral, and economic pressure on the warring nations or (**B**) allow them to maintain strict neutrality.
8. Decide whether to (**A**) call for a mandatory peaceful settlement of all future disputes by means of international arbitration and conciliation or (**B**) recognize the legitimacy of future armed conflict.
9. Decide whether to (**A**) call for the establishment of a society of nations and an international court of justice to settle political and economic disputes between nations or (**B**) suggest that nations need to peacefully work out their differences without formal international intervention.

10. Decide whether to **(A)** call for universal disarmament in the future and formal restrictions on the manufacture of arms and armaments or **(B)** leave it to each nation to set regulations on its military expenditures.
11. Decide whether to **(A)** demand the end of all secret treaties between nations or **(B)** recognize that some provisions of treaties between nations need to be confidential.
12. Decide whether to **(A)** call on all nations to provide free and mandatory education to all children, with particular attention to providing moral lessons supporting the principles of international peace or **(B)** leave it to each nation to decide its own educational policies.
13. Decide whether to **(A)** call for participation of women in a future conference to frame a peaceful settlement of the war or **(B)** allow negotiations to proceed without the participation of women delegates.
14. Decide whether to **(A)** send envoys from this women's conference with the accepted resolutions to each of the warring nations or **(B)** simply send a written document to each of the warring nations with an introductory statement urging the immediate acceptance of the enclosed resolutions.

Roles Austria

Belligerent Nation

Representatives

- Leopoldine Kulka
- Olga Misar

Background Information

It was your government's decisions to punish Serbia for the assassination of your archduke, Franz Ferdinand, which contributed to the outbreak of the war in 1914. Your country is allied with Germany but is clearly playing a subordinate military role. Austria's army has performed poorly, primarily because of incompetent generals and the necessity of fighting on several different fronts. Austria's army also suffers from shortages of supplies and the low morale of its soldiers, men coming from the many different ethnicities that comprised the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Use the format below to create your working paper on your selected agenda items.

Agenda Item (Number)	Choice (A or B)	Why do you favor this choice?

Roles
Belgium

Neutral Nation

Representatives

- Eugénie Hamer
- Marguérite Sarten

Background Information

Your country opposed the German invasion at the beginning of the war, and it was defeated. The German Army is currently running your country, with three occupation zones: one including the capital city of Brussels, another including the important cities of Ghent and Antwerp, and the final one along the coastline, administered by the German Navy.

Use the format below to create your working paper on your selected agenda items.

Agenda Item (Number)	Choice (A or B)	Why do you favor this choice?

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Roles Denmark

Neutral Nation

Representatives

- Thora Daugaard
- Clara Tybjerg

Background Information

Even though your country is not directly involved in the war, there is a strong indirect threat. Your leaders fear that Great Britain might use your country as a northern launching pad for an invasion of Germany. Germany has built defensive positions along your border to prevent such an attempt. Additionally, south of your border, Germans of Danish descent were part of the general mobilization in 1914, and nearly thirty thousand are serving in the German Army.

Use the format below to create your working paper on your selected agenda items.

Agenda Item (Number)	Choice (A or B)	Why do you favor this choice?

Roles
Germany

Belligerent Nation

Representatives

- Dr. Anita Augspurg
- Lida Gustava Heymann

Background Information

Your country attacked France through neutral Belgium in August 1914, suffering enormous casualties. Germany’s campaign was eventually halted, and the war has become a stalemate, with trenches stretching from Belgium across France—the German Army on one side and the French and British Armies on the other. Thousands of German soldiers are being killed daily in futile attacks to try and break this deadlock. Your country is also using submarine warfare to halt supplies from reaching Great Britain and France.

Use the format below to create your working paper on your selected agenda items.

Agenda Item (Number)	Choice (A or B)	Why do you favor this choice?

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Roles

Great Britain and Ireland

Belligerent Nations

Representatives

- Chrystal Macmillan
- Kathleen Courtney

Background Information

Great Britain came to the aid of Belgium early in the war to try and stop the German advance on Paris. Eventually Great Britain's small army, along with the French, halted the German invasion. Now the war has degenerated into trench warfare, with both sides losing thousands of soldiers each day in futile attacks against their foes. Great Britain has the greatest navy in the world, and you are using it to blockade Germany to prevent its soldiers from getting much-needed supplies.

Use the format below to create your working paper on your selected agenda items.

Agenda Item (Number)	Choice (A or B)	Why do you favor this choice?

Roles
Hungary

Belligerent Nation

Representatives

- Vilma Glücklich
- Rosika Schwimmer

Background Information

Hungary is part of what is termed the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was your government's decision to punish Serbia for the assassination of your archduke, Franz Ferdinand, which contributed to the outbreak of the war in 1914. Your country is allied with Germany but is clearly playing a subordinate military role. Hungary's army has performed poorly, primarily because of incompetent generals and the necessity of fighting on several different fronts. Your army also suffers from shortages of supplies and the low morale of your soldiers, men coming from the many different ethnicities that comprised the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Use the format below to create your working paper on your selected agenda items.

Agenda Item (Number)	Choice (A or B)	Why do you favor this choice?

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Neutral Nation

Representatives

- Rose Genoni
- Gemma Marconi

Background Information

Your country was an original member of the Triple Alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary. Italy viewed this alliance, however, as being purely defensive and refused to declare war or join the fighting. Nevertheless, there is growing interest among the leaders of your country to join the war on the side of Great Britain and France, primarily because they are offering your country coveted territories across the Adriatic Sea.

Use the format below to create your working paper on your selected agenda items.

Agenda Item (Number)	Choice (A or B)	Why do you favor this choice?

Roles
Netherlands

Neutral Nation

Representatives

- Dr. Aletta Jacobs
- Hanna van Biema-Hymans
- Dr. Mia Boissevain

Background Information

Your country's fear of a German invasion has caused it to mobilize the Netherlands' small army and keep it prepared. This has effectively removed thousands of workers from the economy. The war has had a devastating effect on your economy. Imports and exports have almost completely stopped. Because the Netherlands relies heavily on the importation of basic agricultural products, this has caused widespread poverty and starvation.

Use the format below to create your working paper on your selected agenda items.

Agenda Item (Number)	Choice (A or B)	Why do you favor this choice?

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Neutral Nation

Representatives

- Dr. Emily Arnesen
- Louisa Keilhau

Background Information

Your country, along with Sweden and Denmark, issued a joint declaration early in the war declaring strict neutrality and warning belligerent nations that the three countries would support one another against any threat to their security.

Use the format below to create your working paper on your selected agenda items.

Agenda Item (Number)	Choice (A or B)	Why do you favor this choice?

Roles
Sweden

Neutral Nation

Representatives

- Anna Kleman
- Emma Hansson

Background Information

Your country, along with Norway and Denmark, issued a joint declaration early in the war declaring strict neutrality and warning belligerent nations that the three countries would support one another against any threat to their security.

Use the format below to create your working paper on your selected agenda items.

Agenda Item (Number)	Choice (A or B)	Why do you favor this choice?

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Roles *United States*

Neutral Nation

Representatives

- Jane Addams
- Fannie Fern Andrews
- Emily Greene Balch

Background Information

Your country's population traces its roots to all the nationalities fighting the war in Europe. Therefore it is very difficult for your people to decide which side to support. President Wilson, along with most of the population, clearly wants to remain strictly neutral. You also, however, want to be able to trade freely with any nation. This has been a major problem because of the British blockade and Germany's use of submarines.

Use the format below to create your working paper on your selected agenda items.

Agenda Item (Number)	Choice (A or B)	Why do you favor this choice?

Glossary and Brief Chronology

belligerent: A nation at war.

mobilization: Preparing your troops and resources to fight a war.

neutrality: Choosing not to participate in a war.

pacific: Conciliatory.

1914	World War I begins.
1915	Women's Peace Conference is held.
1916	Battles of Verdun and the Somme occur.
1917	The United States enters the war.
1918	The last battles and the end of the war occur.

Aftermath

Rosika Schwimmer, the representative from Hungary, rose at the conclusion of the Congress and said that words were fine, but what were the women actually going to do? She suggested taking the resolutions to the leaders of Europe and President Wilson. The conference delegates voted to adopt her proposal. After the conference, thirty of the delegates, including Jane Addams, toured the European capitals for the next two months, arguing for peace. Their pleas fell on deaf ears. The war raged on for three more years, claiming millions of lives. Some of the proposals that came from the women's peace conference, however, later became part of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points.

Following the war, Rosika Schwimmer immigrated to the United States, where she was labelled a pacifist and denied U.S. citizenship. She died of pneumonia on August 3, 1948, in New York City. Chrystal Macmillan went to Zurich in 1919 as a delegate to the second International Congress of Women, where she strongly condemned the punishing terms of the proposed Versailles Treaty. She continued to promote the cause of peace and women's rights until her death in 1937.

Dr. Anita Augspurg continued her fight for peace and women's rights throughout the 1920s and 1930s. She opposed anti-Semitism and the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany. In 1933, fearing Nazi persecution, Anita and her longtime partner, Lida Heymann, went into exile in Switzerland, where Anita died ten years later.

Two women from the congress went on to win the Nobel Peace Prize: Jane Addams in 1931 and Emily Greene Balch in 1946. Their work for international peace inspired both the League of Nations and the United Nations.



Image source: Woman Marching. By unknown artist, circa 1914–1922, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, DC, LC-USZ62-97745

Discussion Questions

1. Was this conference just a futile gesture given the realities of war in 1915, or did it have a legitimate chance of stopping the conflict? Explain.
2. Would the conference have been more influential had it included delegates from France and Russia, two of the leading belligerent nations? Explain.
3. Would the conference have been more influential had it included both men and women? Explain.
4. Do you think the conference would have been more successful in driving the various powers to the peace table had it taken place in 1917 or 1918 instead of 1915? Explain.
5. Have any of the resolutions regarding the nature of war and war in general passed by the women during your conference (and the real conference) been realized in our age? If not, why have they not been realized?
6. Can you think of any contemporary examples where a group of dedicated activists have significantly influenced a nation, or nations, to stop hostilities? Explain.
7. Some critics at the time labeled the delegates as "sensationalists" and "peacettes," implying the women's efforts could not be taken seriously. Many faced personal and professional censure. What do you think the delegates gained or lost as a result of attending this conference? For example, do you think those attending from belligerent countries might have been viewed as unpatriotic? Explain.
8. Looking at the decisions reached in the conference (see document section), do you think any of the dreams these women had of a new world order have been realized in our age? If not, why have they not been realized?

Document A: Resolutions Adopted

Resolutions adopted by the International Congress of Women at The Hague, Holland, May 1, 1915

I. WOMEN AND WAR

1. PROTEST

We women, in International Congress assembled, protest against the madness and the horror of war, involving as it does a reckless sacrifice of human life and the destruction of so much that humanity has labored through centuries to build up. . . .

2. WOMEN'S SUFFERINGS IN WAR

This International Congress of Women opposes the assumption that women can be protected under the conditions of modern warfare. It protests vehemently against the odious wrongs of which women are the victims in time of war, and especially against the horrible violation of women which attends all war.

II. ACTION TOWARDS PEACE

3. THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

This International Congress of Women of different nations, classes, creeds and parties is united in expressing sympathy with the suffering of all, whatever their nationality, who are fighting for their country or laboring under the burden of war. . . .

The Congress therefore urges the Governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed, and to begin peace negotiations. It demands that the peace which follows shall be permanent and based on principles of justice, including those laid down in the resolutions adopted by this Congress, namely:

That no territory should be transferred without the consent of the men and women in it, and that the right of conquest should not be recognized.

That autonomy and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people.

That the Governments of all nations should come to an agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration or conciliation and to bring social, moral and economic pressure to bear upon any country which resorts to arms.

That foreign politics should be subject to democratic control.

That women should be granted equal political rights with men.

4. CONTINUOUS MEDIATION

This International Congress of Women resolves to ask the neutral countries to take immediate steps to create a conference of neutral nations which shall without delay offer continuous mediation. The Conference shall invite suggestions for settlement from each of the belligerent nations and in any case shall submit to all of them simultaneously, reasonable proposals as a basis of peace.

III. PRINCIPLES OF A PERMANENT PEACE

5. RESPECT FOR NATIONALITY

This International Congress of Women, recognizing the right of the people to self-government, affirms that there should be no transference of territory without the consent of the men and women residing therein, and urges that autonomy and a democratic parliament should not be refused to any people.

6. ARBITRATION AND CONCILIATION

This International Congress of Women, believing that war is the negation of progress and civilization, urges the governments of all nations to come to an agreement to refer future international disputes to arbitration and conciliation.

7. INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE

This International Congress of Women urges the governments of all nations to come to an agreement to unite in bringing social, moral and economic pressure to bear upon any country, which resorts to arms instead of referring its case to arbitration or conciliation.

8. DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF FOREIGN POLICY

Since war is commonly brought about not by the mass of the people, who do not desire it, but by groups representing particular interests, this International Congress of Women urges that Foreign Politics shall be subject to Democratic Control; and declares that it can only recognize a democratic system which includes the equal representation of men and women.

9. THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN

Since the combined influence of the women of all countries is one of the strongest forces for the prevention of war, and since women can only have full responsibility and effective influence when they have equal political rights with men, this International Congress of Women demands their political enfranchisement.

10. THIRD HAGUE CONFERENCE

This International Congress of Women urges that a third Hague Conference be convened immediately after the war.

11. INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

This International Congress of Women urges that the organization of the Society of Nations should be further developed on the basis of a constructive peace, and that it should include:

- a.* As a development of the Hague Court of Arbitration, a permanent International Court of Justice to settle questions or differences of a justiciable character, such as arise on the interpretation of treaty rights or of the law of nations.
- b.* As a development of the constructive work of the Hague Conference, a permanent International Conference holding regular meetings in which women should take part, to deal not with the rules of warfare but with practical proposals for further International Coöperation among the States. This Conference should be so constituted that it could formulate and enforce those principles of justice, equity and good will in accordance with which the struggles of subject communities could be more fully recognized and the interests and rights not only of the great Powers and small nations but also those of weaker countries and primitive peoples gradually adjusted under an enlightened international public opinion.

This International Conference shall appoint:

A permanent Council of Conciliation and Investigation for the settlement of international differences arising from economic competition, expanding commerce, increasing population and changes in social and political standards.

12. GENERAL DISARMAMENT

The International Congress of Women, advocating universal disarmament and realizing that it can only be secured by international agreement, urges, as a step to this end, that all countries should, by such an international agreement, take over the manufacture of arms and munitions of war and should control all international traffic in the same. It sees in the private profits accruing from the great armament factories a powerful hindrance to the abolition of war.

13. COMMERCE AND INVESTMENTS

- a.* The International Congress of Women urges that in all countries there shall be liberty of commerce, that the seas shall be free and the trade routes open on equal terms to the shipping of all nations.
- b.* Inasmuch as the investment by capitalists of one country in the resources of another and the claims arising therefrom are a fertile source of international complications, this International Congress of Women urges the widest possible acceptance of the principle that such investments shall be made at the risk of the investor, without claim to the official protection of his government.

14. NATIONAL FOREIGN POLICY

- a.* This International Congress of Women demands that all secret treaties shall be void and that for the ratification of future treaties, the participation of at least the legislature of every government shall be necessary.
- b.* This International Congress of Women recommends that National Commissions be created, and International Conferences convened for the scientific study and elaboration of the principles and conditions of permanent peace, which might contribute to the development of an International Federation.

These Commissions and Conferences should be recognized by the Governments and should include women in their deliberations.

15. WOMEN IN NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

This International Congress of Women declares it to be essential, both nationally and internationally to put into practice the principle that women should share all civil and political rights and responsibilities on the same terms as men.

V. THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

16. THIS INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN URGES THE NECESSITY OF SO DIRECTING THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN THAT THEIR THOUGHTS AND DESIRES MAY BE DIRECTED TOWARDS THE IDEAL OF CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE.

VI. WOMEN AND THE PEACE SETTLEMENT CONFERENCE

17. THIS INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN URGES, THAT IN THE INTERESTS OF LASTING PEACE AND CIVILIZATION THE CONFERENCE WHICH SHALL FRAME THE PEACE SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR SHOULD PASS A RESOLUTION AFFIRMING THE NEED IN ALL COUNTRIES OF EXTENDING THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE TO WOMEN.

18. THIS INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN URGES THAT REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE SHOULD TAKE PART IN THE CONFERENCE THAT SHALL FRAME THE PEACE SETTLEMENT AFTER THE WAR, AND CLAIMS THAT AMONGST THEM WOMEN SHOULD BE INCLUDED.

VII. ACTION TO BE TAKEN

19. WOMEN'S VOICE IN THE PEACE SETTLEMENT

This International Congress of Women resolves that an international meeting of women shall be held in the same place at the same time as the Conference of the Powers which shall frame the terms of the peace settlement after the war for the purpose of presenting practical proposals to that Conference.

20. ENVOYS TO THE GOVERNMENTS

In order to urge the Governments of the world to put an end to this bloodshed and to establish a just and lasting peace, this International Congress of Women delegates envoys to carry the message expressed in the Congress Resolutions to the rulers of the belligerent and neutral nations of Europe and to the President of the United States.

These envoys shall be women of both neutral and belligerent nations, appointed by the International Committee of this Congress. They shall report the result of their missions to the International Committee of Women for permanent Peace as a basis for further action.

Source: Addams, Jane, Emily Greene Balch, and Alice Hamilton. *Women at The Hague: The International Congress of Women and Its Results*. New York: MacMillan, 1916.

Question

Compare and contrast some of the actual resolutions adopted and the resolutions concluded at your conference.

Similarities	Differences

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Extension Activities

1. Write an essay or create a multimedia presentation highlighting the post-Congress activities of some of the delegates, including their visits to the various capitals of Europe to promote the peace initiatives that emanated from the conference.
2. Write an essay or create a multimedia presentation about another peace initiative during a different war (for example, the peace initiative in the United States against the war in Vietnam).

Kellogg-Briand Pact



Lesson

Overview

The Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928 was a treaty signed by most of the major world powers, including the United States, Germany, Great Britain, France, and Japan. It provided for the renunciation of war as an instrument of national policy.

Objectives

- Students will understand the motives that led the various nations to seek a treaty banning war.
- Students learn about the provisions of the actual treaty.
- Students will appreciate the difficulty of enforcing the provisions of this treaty.
- Students will understand the role this treaty played in the prosecution of war criminals after World War II.

Notes for the Teacher/Duration

- The activity can be run using two options:
 - Option A: For a small class, include only the following nations—the United States, Germany, Great Britain and India, Italy, France, and Japan.
 - Option B: For a larger class, include all of the original fourteen signatories of the original agreement.

Day One

- Read and discuss the “Background for Teachers and Students.”
- Assign students to countries and roles. Use either Option A or Option B.
- Give students copies of the “Instructions” handout and the appropriate “Role” handouts for each country.
- Give students the remainder of the period to conduct further research into their assigned country and to begin the process of framing resolutions on the agenda items.
- Tell students that resolutions should be consistent with the overall policy and security goals of their countries.

Day Two

- Set up the classroom as a meeting place, with signs identifying the location of each nation.

- Act as conference president during the simulation.
- Give student delegates time to finish any work on their resolutions and reasons for favoring various options.
- You, as conference president, should call for a resolution on Agenda Item One.
- Write the resolution under discussion on the board.
- Begin debate on the resolution using a modified version of parliamentary procedure. The nation that submitted the resolution should give the reasons why this resolution should be adopted. You should then allow one or two speakers, either favoring the resolution or identifying reasons why the resolution should be rejected, to make their arguments.
- For a resolution to be adopted, it must be acceptable to all attending nations. They must reach a consensus.

Day Three

- Continue discussion and debate on agenda items.
- Sign the final pact.
- Debrief using discussion questions.

Day Four

- Debrief using document analysis and extension activities.

Roles Assignment Chart

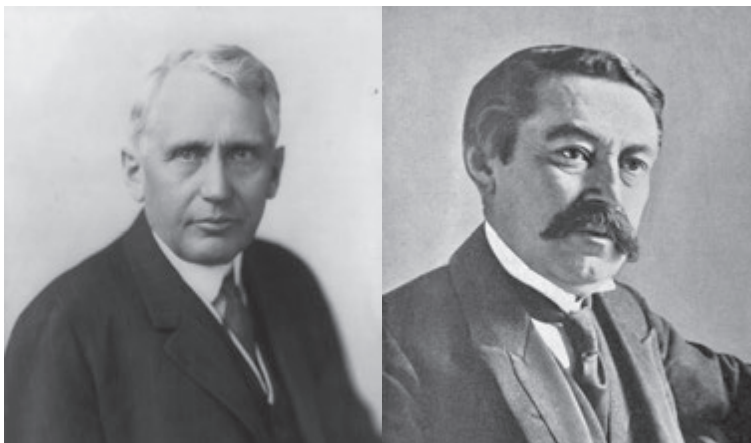
Nations	Delegation Head	Student Name	Plenipotentiary	Student Name
Australia*	Stanley Bruce, prime minister		Alexander John McLachlan, member of the Australian Federal Executive Council	
Belgium*	Henri Jasper, prime minister		Paul Hymans, foreign minister	
Canada*	William Lyon Mackenzie King, prime minister		Lester Pearson, deputy prime minister	
Czechoslovakia*	Antonín Švehla, prime minister		Dr. Eduard Beneš, foreign minister	
France	Raymond Poincaré, president		Aristide Briand, foreign minister,	
Germany	Hermann Müller, chancellor		Dr. Gustav Stresemann, foreign minister	
Great Britain and India	Stanley Baldwin, prime minister		Ronald McNeill, 1st Baron Cushendun, secretary of state for foreign affairs	
Irish Free State*	James McNeill, governor-general		William Thomas Cosgrave, president of the Irish Free State Executive Council	
Italy	Benito Mussolini, prime minister		Count Gaetano Manzoni, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at Paris	
Japan	Tanaka Giichi, prime minister		Count Uchida Kōsai, privy councilor	
New Zealand*	Sir Joseph Ward, prime minister		Sir Christopher James Parr, high commissioner for New Zealand in Great Britain	
Poland*	Kazimierz Bartel, prime minister		August Zaleski, foreign minister	
South Africa*	J. B. M. Hertzog, prime minister		Jacobus Stephanus Smit, high commissioner for the Union of South Africa in Great Britain	
United States	Calvin Coolidge, president		Frank B. Kellogg, secretary of state	

* Option B

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Background for Teachers and Students



Frank B. Kellogg (left) and Aristide Briand (right)

The destruction and deaths of millions during World War I spawned efforts by the nations of Europe and the United States to seek ways to prevent future conflicts. The defeated nations, Germany and Austria-Hungary, had been stripped of their mighty armies and navies by the Treaty of Versailles, but the victorious nations of France, Great Britain, and even the United States had survived similar repercussions. The countries met at several conferences, beginning in 1921 and targeting naval-arms reduction, but none addressed overall arms reduction. France still maintained a powerful army and had made new alliances with Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Yugoslavia, and Great Britain. Aristide Briand, the French foreign minister, sought to further buttress French security by signing a bilateral peace treaty with the United States. The United States balked at this proposal and, pressured by a growing peace movement, suggested instead a multilateral treaty.

U.S. assistant secretary of state, William Castle, wrote in his diary that “we have Monsieur Briand out on a limb. I do not think the French will agree to a multilateral treaty, but I think they will have an awful time not to agree.”⁴² He was right.

⁴² William Castle, diary, 28 February, 1928, quoted in Ferrell, *Peace in Their Time*, 264.

In 1927, Briand reluctantly accepted the multilateral peace proposal. He suggested an all-inclusive peace agreement that called for outlawing war as an instrument of national policy. He proposed that aggressive warfare should be banned by international law. Nations would be obligated to settle their disputes by peaceful negotiation.

In 1928, fifteen nations (France, the United States, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Belgium, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Italy, and Japan) met to frame and debate resolutions that would address the future warfare. At the conclusion of the meeting, they signed what became known as the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which renounced aggressive warfare as an instrument of national policy.⁴³ Later, an additional forty-seven nations also signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact. The one notable exception was Russia.

You will now have a chance to frame the provisions of this important international treaty and to discuss its implications for the future of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

⁴³ “U.S. Aides Uphold Nuremberg Trial.”

Image sources: Portrait of Briand. By unknown artist, in *The World's Work*. Vol. 31 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1918) Portrait of Kellogg. By Moffett, circa 1912, Chicago, Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-99922

Name _____

Roles Chart

Nations	Delegation Head	Plenipotentiary
Australia*	Stanley Bruce, prime minister	Alexander John McLachlan, member of the Australian Federal Executive Council
Belgium*	Henri Jasper, prime minister	Paul Hymans, foreign minister
Canada*	William Lyon Mackenzie King, prime minister	Lester Pearson, deputy prime minister
Czechoslovakia*	Antonín Švehla, prime minister	Dr. Edvard Beneš, foreign minister
France	Raymond Poincaré, president	Aristide Briand, foreign minister
Germany	Hermann Müller, chancellor	Dr. Gustav Stresemann, foreign minister
Great Britain and India	Stanley Baldwin, prime minister	Ronald McNeill, 1st Baron Cushendun, foreign secretary
Irish Free State*	James McNeill, governor-general	William Thomas Cosgrave, president of the Irish Free State Executive Council
Italy	Benito Mussolini, prime minister	Count Gaetano Manzoni, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at Paris
Japan	Tanaka Giichi, prime minister	Count Uchida Kōsai, privy councilor
New Zealand*	Sir Joseph Ward, prime minister	Sir Christopher James Parr, high commissioner for New Zealand in Great Britain
Poland*	Kazimierz Bartel, prime minister	August Zaleski, foreign minister
South Africa*	J. B. M. Hertzog, prime minister	Jacobus Stephanus Smit, high commissioner for the Union of South Africa in Great Britain
United States	Calvin Coolidge, president	Frank B. Kellogg, secretary of state

*Option B

Your Character Role _____

Instructions

You will be framing an international treaty addressing the issue of future conflicts between nations. You must debate and pass two resolutions from the following agenda items.

Agenda Item One

CONDEMNING WAR AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY

Option A: The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

Option B: The high contracting parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another except when invaded by a hostile nation.

Option C: Create your own resolution.

Agenda Item Two

RESOLVING CONFLICTS THAT MAY LEAD TO WAR

Option A: The high contracting parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

Option B: Every effort should be made by the High Contracting Parties to settle all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be by pacific means. A declaration of war should only be employed as a last resort when all appeasement and conciliatory means have been exhausted.

Option C: Create your own resolution.

Roles Australia

Delegation Leader

Stanley Bruce, prime minister

Plenipotentiary

Alexander John McLachlan, member of the Australian Federal Executive Council

Background Information

Similar to the United States, your country is a nation of immigrants—primarily from Great Britain. The discovery of gold and a booming agricultural industry brought national prosperity. You are politically and culturally tied to Great Britain and fought on the side of the British in World War I. The expansion of the Japanese in the Asian-Pacific region has caused you to draw closer to the United States, which controls the Philippines. You are intrigued by the idea of a pact ending war, however not if it endangers your overall national security.

Agenda Item One Choice	Reasons for favoring this option
Agenda Item Two Choice	Reasons for favoring this option



Delegation Leader

Henri Jasper, prime minister

Plenipotentiary

Paul Hymans, foreign minister

Background Information

Your country is small and would like to maintain neutrality in any armed conflict; Belgium, however, feels incredibly vulnerable because of its strategic position bordering France and Germany. In fact, your country was invaded by Germany at the beginning of World War I in its efforts to quickly defeat France. You would like a strong binding pact that will end war as an instrument of national policy, and you favor even stronger measures to enforce this treaty.

Agenda Item One Choice	Reasons for favoring this option
Agenda Item Two Choice	Reasons for favoring this option

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Delegation Leader

William Lyon Mackenzie King, prime minister

Plenipotentiary

Lester Pearson, deputy prime minister

Background Information

Canada shares a long border with the United States and has had a very good relationship with its neighbor to the south for more than a hundred years. Your country has political and cultural ties to Great Britain and fought with the British in World War I. Like the United States, you have always been comfortably protected from European army attacks by the Atlantic Ocean. You recognize, however, the increased threat of mechanisms of modern warfare and are interested in a pact ending war as an instrument of national policy.

Agenda Item One Choice	Reasons for favoring this option
Agenda Item Two Choice	Reasons for favoring this option

Roles
Czechoslovakia

Delegation Leader

Antonín Švehla, prime minister

Plenipotentiary

Dr. Edvard Beneš, foreign minister

Background Information

Your country was created after World War I by the merging of lands from the former Kingdom of Bohemia, Slovakia, and Carpathian Ruthenia. You have a democratic government and are strategically situated in Central Europe. Your geographical position makes your country very vulnerable to attack, especially from Germany. You are therefore very interested in any pact that would outlaw war as an instrument of national policy. You even favor having some kind of strong measures that will enforce this treaty.

Agenda Item One Choice	Reasons for favoring this option
Agenda Item Two Choice	Reasons for favoring this option

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Delegation Leader

Raymond Poincaré, president

Plenipotentiary

Aristide Briand, foreign minister

Background Information

Your country defeated the Central Powers, including Germany, in World War I and forced these defeated nations to sign the crippling terms of the Versailles Treaty. You believe that these countries are in no position to pose a threat to your country in the immediate future. You do not, however, trust their intentions in the long run. Briand initially proposed to unite with the United States in a treaty outlawing war; the United States, however, has demanded that the pact be expanded to include many nations. You wholly support any proposal banning war as an instrument of national policy.

Agenda Item One Choice	Reasons for favoring this option
Agenda Item Two Choice	Reasons for favoring this option



Delegation Leader

Hermann Müller, chancellor

Plenipotentiary

Dr. Gustav Stresemann, foreign minister

Background Information

Your country is a parliamentary democracy known as the Weimer Republic. Your government has had to face many serious problems following Germany’s defeat in World War I, exacerbated by the crippling terms of the Versailles Treaty. Some of these problems include extreme inflation, political extremism, and contentious relationships with the victorious nations. This year (1928), however, you have successfully reformed your currency and eliminated most of the most severe provisions of the Versailles Treaty. The biggest internal threat to your country comes from extremists on the left, represented by the Communist Party, and extremists on the right, represented by Adolph Hitler and the Nazi Party. Germany’s military is relatively weak. You are willing to agree to a treaty banning aggressive warfare and are hopeful that such a treaty will allow your nation to prosper without the threat of international conflict.

Agenda Item One Choice	Reasons for favoring this option
Agenda Item Two Choice	Reasons for favoring this option

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Great Britain and India

Delegation Leader

Stanley Baldwin, prime minister

Plenipotentiary

Ronald McNeill, 1st Baron Cushendun, secretary of state for foreign affairs

Background Information

Great Britain was victorious in World War I, but the economic price to your overall economy was enormous. War debts need to be repaid, and without wartime industries, such as shipbuilding, steel, and armaments, unemployment has grown into the double digits. Working women have been forced to give up their jobs to returning soldiers. Great Britain's empire emerged intact after the war, but controlling your overseas dominions has become increasingly difficult; they contributed much to winning the war, and many now desire independence. This is especially true of your most prized colony, India, whose interests you will represent yourself. You are interested in a treaty banning aggressive warfare as long as it does not affect the ability of your army and navy to maintain its control of your far-flung empire.

Agenda Item One Choice	Reasons for favoring this option
Agenda Item Two Choice	Reasons for favoring this option

Roles
Irish Free State

Delegation Leader

James McNeill, governor-general

Plenipotentiary

William Thomas Cosgrave, president of the Irish Free State Executive Council

Background Information

Negotiations with Great Britain from October to December 1921 produced the Anglo-Irish Treaty, ending what is called the Irish War of Independence. Your country was formally established in 1922 as part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, replacing the self-proclaimed Irish Republic. Northern Ireland is not part of your country, preferring to remain part of Great Britain. Until 1927, executive power in your country belonged to a governor-general on behalf of the British monarch. You have a complicated and evolving relationship with Great Britain. You favor any treaty abolishing war as an instrument of national policy.

Agenda Item One Choice	Reasons for favoring this option
Agenda Item Two Choice	Reasons for favoring this option

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Delegation Leader

Benito Mussolini, prime minister

Plenipotentiary

Count Gaetano Manzoni, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary at Paris

Background Information

Since 1922, your country has been ruled by the National Fascist Party, led by Benito Mussolini. The desire to assert the superiority of Italian culture and expand the Italian colonial empire is a fundamental tenant of Italian fascism. You believe that your country should provide living space for Italian settlers by creating colonies and should also have control over the Mediterranean Sea. You are willing to sign an agreement banning aggressive warfare as long as it does not include any kind of enforcement provisions.

Agenda Item One Choice	Reasons for favoring this option
Agenda Item Two Choice	Reasons for favoring this option



Delegation Leader

Tanaka Giichi, prime minister

Plenipotentiary

Count Uchida Kōsai, privy councilor

Background Information

Your country made an astonishing transition in the latter half of the nineteenth century from an isolated and nearly medieval nation to a modern industrial state, rapidly taking its place as one of the great powers (especially in the Asian-Pacific region). Your victory in the Russo-Japanese War early in the twentieth century demonstrated to the world that you were a military power to be respected. You are willing to go along with a treaty limiting the use of aggressive warfare as long as it does not limit your overall security and your desire to be the major power in Asia.

Agenda Item One Choice	Reasons for favoring this option
Agenda Item Two Choice	Reasons for favoring this option

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Roles *New Zealand*

Delegation Leader

Sir Joseph Ward, prime minister

Plenipotentiary

Sir Christopher James Parr, high commissioner for New Zealand in Great Britain

Background Information

Your country has been in the forefront of many progressive initiatives, including providing old age pensions and giving women the vote. New Zealand is an ardent member of the British Empire. Your military fought alongside the British during World War I, and New Zealand signed the Treaty of Versailles. Your nation has been free to follow an independent foreign policy, but your defense is still very much tied to Great Britain. You are willing to join the international effort to ban the use of aggressive warfare.

Agenda Item One Choice	Reasons for favoring this option
Agenda Item Two Choice	Reasons for favoring this option



Delegation Leader

Kazimierz Bartel, prime minister

Plenipotentiary

August Zaleski, foreign minister

Background Information

Your country was created after World War I. Some of your territory came from Germany. You have a democratic government and are strategically situated in Central Europe. Poland’s geographical and topographical (few mountains) position makes it very vulnerable to attack, especially from Germany and Russia. You are therefore very interested in any pact that would outlaw war as an instrument of national policy. You even favor having some kind of strong measures that will enforce this treaty.

Agenda Item One Choice	Reasons for favoring this option
Agenda Item Two Choice	Reasons for favoring this option

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Roles *United States*

Delegation Leader

Calvin Coolidge, president

Plenipotentiary

Frank B. Kellogg, secretary of state

Background Information

U.S. participation in World War I signaled the end of your long-standing policy of isolation. Your country is arguably the world's greatest industrial nation. You view the United States, however, as being a peace-loving country and are reluctant to either expand your military-industrial complex or enter into any treaty that would potentially drag you into conflicts in Europe or Asia. Initially your country was skeptical about any pact that would outlaw war. Your government, however, has been challenged by a growing peace movement led by academics like Nicholas Murray Butler. By June 1927, the U.S. State Department and French foreign ministry had begun formal diplomatic conversations designed to reach some form of international agreement. President Hoover and Secretary of State Kellogg, however, remained uncomfortable about entering into a bilateral agreement with France, fearing that it would amount to an indirect alliance that would deprive the United States from the freedom of independent action if France were to go to war with another nation. You prefer to expand the agreement into a multilateral treaty with most, if not all, of the major world powers, except Russia, which you view as a rogue nation exporting communism.

Agenda Item One Choice	Reasons for favoring this option
Agenda Item Two Choice	Reasons for favoring this option

Glossary and Brief Chronology

aggressive warfare: Attacking a country without any direct provocation.

appeasement: Making concessions to avoid a potential conflict.

binding agreement: A formal agreement enforceable by law.

consensus: An agreement by all concerned.

nonbinding agreement: An agreement that is not enforceable by law.

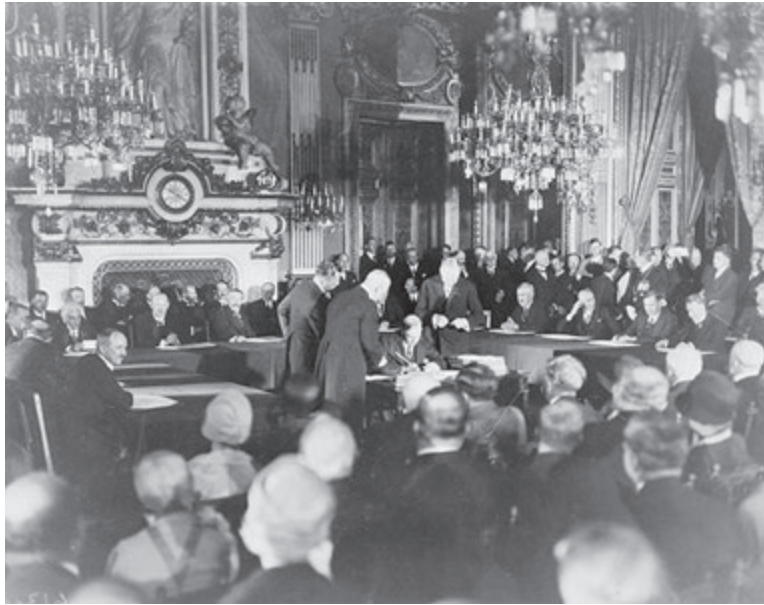
pacif means: Seeking a resolution to a conflict without the use of force.

pact: A formal treaty that may or may not be binding.

plenipotentiary: A representative of a government given full decision-making powers.

1899	The Hague Peace Conference begins.
1914	World War I begins.
1918	World War I ends.
1919	The Treaty of Versailles is signed.
1928	The Kellogg-Briand Pact is signed.

Aftermath



Signing the Kellogg-Briand Pact

Aristide Briand occupied the French foreign office longer than any other diplomat since Talleyrand. Following the signing of the pact, Briand continued his work for the peace and the security of France. In 1930, he presented a proposal to the League of Nations for a European economic union. With the death of his longtime supporter, German foreign minister Gustav Stresemann, however, and the beginning of the Great Depression, the proposal eventually petered out. Briand died on March 7, 1932.

Frank Kellogg earned the Nobel Peace Prize in 1929 for his work on the Peace Pact. However, the pact never accomplished its goal of preserving world peace. The major problem resided in the fact that the treaty provided no means of enforcement or sanctions against nations that violated its basic provisions. Additionally, it did not clarify what constituted self-defense and when self-defense could legally be a just cause for war. Nations that signed the pact ignored the spirit of the agreement by engaging in armed conflict without formally declaring war. The Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1931, the Italians invaded Ethiopia in 1935, and, most significantly, Nazi Germany invaded Poland in 1939, precipitating World War II in Europe. The pact did serve, however, as the legal base for the conviction of war criminals by the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals after the war.

Frank Kellogg became an associate judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice from 1930 to 1935. He died on December 21, 1937, and is buried in St. Paul, Minnesota.

Image source: Signing the Pact. By unknown artist, 1928, Paris, Library and Archives Canada, 3408256

Discussion Questions

1. Compare your resolutions with the actual agreement (see Document A). Would your agreement have worked better? Why or why not?
2. In 1930, President Hoover said in a speech that the Kellogg-Briand Pact was "One of the most potent instruments for peace which the world has ever forged for itself."⁴⁴ Do you agree with his assessment? Why or why not?
3. Winston Churchill invented a parable in one of his speeches, depicting an animal disarmament conference.

Once upon a time all the animals in the Zoo decided that they would disarm, and they arranged to have a conference to arrange the matter. So the Rhinoceros said when he opened the proceedings that the use of teeth was barbarous and horrible and ought to be strictly prohibited by general consent. Horns, which were mainly defensive weapons, would, of course, have to be allowed. The Buffalo, the Stag, the Porcupine, and even the little Hedgehog all said they would vote with the Rhino, but the Lion and the Tiger took a different view. They defended teeth and even claws, which they described as honorable weapons of immemorial antiquity. The Panther, the Leopard, the Puma, and the whole tribe of small cats all supported the Lion and the Tiger. Then the Bear spoke. He proposed that both teeth and horns should be banned and never used again for fighting by any animal. It would be quite enough if animals were allowed to give each other a good hug when they quarreled. No one could object to that. It was so fraternal, and that would be a great step towards peace.⁴⁵

When it was signed, the Kellogg-Briand Pact was considered as a great milestone in the effort to advance the cause of international peace. How does this fable explain the Kellogg-Briand pact? Were the leaders and diplomats who framed and signed this pact hopeless dreamers, or did they actually believe this would end all wars in the future?

4. Why do you think that some nations signed this pact when, from their later actions, it was pretty clear that they had no intention of honoring their commitments?
5. Can a negotiated formal treaty ending war in the twenty-first century work, or is it the best policy to pursue a balance of power so that no country will dare attack another?
6. If you consider war inevitable, then do you think it is the duty of powerful nations such as the United States to protect weaker countries even if it means resorting to war?
7. Historian Robert Ferrell wrote about the Kellogg-Briand pact that it "was the particular result of some very shrewd diplomacy and some very unsophisticated popular enthusiasm for peace."⁴⁶ Do you agree with this assessment? Why or why not?

⁴⁴ Hoover, Address to the Annual Conference.

⁴⁵ Churchill, "A Disarmament Fable."

⁴⁶ Ferrell, *Peace in Their Time*, 263.

Document A: The Kellogg-Briand Pact

The Kellogg-Briand Pact provisions

ARTICLE I

The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it, as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.

ARTICLE II

The High Contracting Parties agree that the settlement or solution of all disputes or conflicts of whatever nature or of whatever origin they may be, which may arise among them, shall never be sought except by pacific means.

ARTICLE III

The present Treaty shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties named in the Preamble in accordance with their respective constitutional requirements, and shall take effect as between them as soon as all their several instruments of ratification shall have been deposited at Washington.

This Treaty shall, when it has come into effect as prescribed in the preceding paragraph, remain open as long as may be necessary for adherence by all the other Powers of the world. Every instrument evidencing the adherence of a Power shall be deposited at Washington and the Treaty shall immediately upon such deposit become effective as between the Power thus adhering and the other Powers parties hereto.

It shall be the duty of the Government of the United States to give each Government named in the Preamble and every Government subsequently adhering to this Treaty with a certified copy of the Treaty and of every instrument of ratification or adherence. It shall also be the duty of the Government of the United States telegraphically to notify such Governments immediately upon the deposit with it of each instrument of ratification or adherence.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty in the French and English languages both texts having equal force, and hereunto affix their seals.

DONE at Paris, the twenty-seventh day of August in the year one thousand nine hundred and twenty-eight.

Source: United States Congress. *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America: From April, 1929, to March, 1931.* Vol. 46. Washington, DC: United States Government, 1931.

Extension Activities

1. The Chaco peace agreement that settled the conflict in the Americas between Paraguay and Bolivia was noted by U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull as an example of how nations should apply pacific means to settle a dispute. Research this event and write an essay about why it was successful.
2. Create a media presentation about one or more of the clear violations of the Kellogg-Briand Pact that occurred in the years leading up to the start of World War II. What were the causes of these conflicts, and what, if any, were the consequences to the nations who violated the pact?
3. In 1924, the Geneva Protocol, signed by representatives from forty-eight nations, formally declared that a war of aggression constitutes an international crime. This was confirmed by the League of Nations in 1927. The Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928, signed by Germany and Japan, renounced war as an instrument of national policy. Write an essay or create a media presentation showing how these international agreements were used by prosecutors to try and convict German and Japanese leaders of the crime of “waging aggressive warfare.” In your essay, you should examine how far down the chain of command prosecutors felt they needed to go in determining guilt, and the problem following World War II of how to prosecute war crimes without a formal international court in place.

Appeasement: The British Parliament



Lesson

Overview

Neville Chamberlain became the British prime minister in May 1937. His administration was dominated by the question of British policy toward the increasingly aggressive dictatorships in fascist Germany and Italy and communist Russia.

Objectives

- Students will understand the general political situation in 1938 Europe.
- Students will understand the German aggression in Czechoslovakia and the concept of appeasement.
- Students will appreciate the stance of different British politicians on appeasement and rearmament.

Notes for the Teacher/Duration

Day One

- Read and discuss the “Background Information for Teachers and Students.”
- Distribute to each student the “Appeasement Worksheet.”
- Students should participate in groups to frame a working definition of appeasement.
 - *Student definitions of appeasement will vary. Suggested responses should include the idea of giving something to a person or government to prevent that person or government from simply taking the object by force.*
- They should work either individually or as a group to complete the rest of the “Appeasement Worksheet.”
- You may decide to use the “Background for Teachers and Students” in the **Hague Peace Conference** chapter as a student resource. Additionally, they should be encouraged to review the events in Germany and the rise of Adolph Hitler from the 1920s to the 1930s. William Shirer’s *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (there is a video edition) is an excellent source of information leading up to the crisis in Munich.
- The completed chart for the “Appeasement Worksheet” should contain all or most of the following points.

For Appeasement	Against Appeasement
The real threat is not Hitler and Nazi Germany but Stalin and the Bolsheviks in the USSR.	Appeasement does not work. The more you give to a dictator, the more they will ask for.
Hitler can be trusted that he will not take any further aggressive action.	Hitler cannot be trusted and will undoubtedly continue his aggressive action.
The German population in Sudetenland is being persecuted and need German intervention.	Germany is directly instigating trouble in Czechoslovakia.
Great Britain has not rearmed sufficiently to wage a land war against Germany.	Britain, France, and Czechoslovakia should confront Nazi Germany with a ring of steel and make them back down.
Most British people are in favor of appeasement.	The British people are not fully aware of the threat posed by Hitler.
Germany is not prepared for war with the Western democracies.	The German military is strong enough to take on the Western democracies and is getting more powerful every day.

Day Two

- Assign students to specific roles, depending on class numbers. If possible, try to have a balance between those who favor appeasement and those who are opposed.
- Explain that they will be debating whether or not to appease Germany and rearm Great Britain.
- Have students do further research into their assigned character, their position on appeasement, and the Munich meeting.
- Students should hold a caucus in the classroom and then divide into those favoring appeasement and rearmament and those opposing appeasement and rearmament.
- Note that support for appeasement was highest among Conservatives, but it was by no means unanimous. This was an issue that cut across party lines.
- Students should prepare to deliver speeches and engage in debate over the issue of appeasement and rearmament.

Day Three

- Begin the speeches and debates by the various members. Students should elaborate on the points they identified on the "Appeasement Worksheet."
- At the conclusion of the speeches and debates, members should vote on one of the following proposals:

Appeasement: The British Parliament

Lesson

- On Appeasement
 - Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's policy of appeasement is the best course of action and should be supported by Parliament and the nation.
 - Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain has let Parliament and the nation down by appeasing a dictator, and Chamberlain should resign immediately so a new government can negotiate a different response.
- On Rearmament
 - Given the aggressive action being taken by Nazi Germany prior to, and including, the events in Czechoslovakia, Great Britain should begin a process of rearmament immediately.
 - The direct threat posed by Nazi Germany has been removed by appeasement in Czechoslovakia; there is therefore no immediate need to begin a rearmament policy.

Day Four

- Debrief using the discussion questions and extension activities.
- Debrief using document analysis.
 - Divide students into five groups, and give each group a document. Have the groups read the documents and then report the best points made by the speaker. Take a class vote on which speaker made the best points and why.

Roles Assignment Chart

Liberal Party	Student Name	Conservative Party	Student Name
Edward Clement Davies (A)		Leopold (Leo) Charles Maurice Stennett Amery (A)	
Independent Labour Party		Lady Nancy Witcher Langhorne Astor (P)	
James Maxton (P)		Charles Vernon Oldfield Bartlett (A)	
Independent Party		Robert John Graham Boothby (A)	
Sir Alan Patrick Herbert (P)		Brendon Bracken (A)	
Labour Party		Arthur Neville Chamberlain (P)	
Aneurin Bevan (A)		Sir Henry (Chips) Channon (P)	
Clement Richard Attlee (A)		Sir Winston Leonard Churchill (A)	
Sir Ernest Nathaniel Bennett (P)		Alfred Duff Cooper (A)	
Sir Richard Stafford Cripps (A)		Alexander (Alec) Frederick Douglas-Home (P)	
Arthur Greenwood (A)		Robert Anthony Eden (A)	
Janet (Jennie) Lee (A)		David Lloyd George (A)	
Eleanor Florence Rathbone (A)		Samuel John Gurney Hoare (P)	
Major Richard Rapier Stokes (P)		Leslie Hore-Belisha (A)	
Colonel Josiah Clement Wedgwood (A)		Sir Thomas Hunter (P)	
Frederick Pethick-Lawrence (A)		Katharine Marjory Stewart-Murray (A)	
		John Joseph Stourton (P)	
		Sir Howard Kingsley Wood (P)	

A = anti-appeasement (19)

P = pro-appeasement (12)

Total Roles: 31 (Conservatives [18], Labor [10], and Other Parties [3])

If you have a large class, here are some other possible roles:

Conservative: R. A. B. (Rab) Butler (P), Major John Ronald Hamilton Cartland (A), Maurice Harold Macmillain (A), Archibald Maule Ramsay (P), and Major-General Edward Spears (A)

Labour: Edward Hugh John Neale Dalton (A), George Lansbury (P), Harold Nicolson (A), Philip John Noel-Baker (P), Emanuel (Manny) Shinwell (A), and George Russell Strauss (A)

Liberal: Sir Richard Thomas Dyke Acland (A)

Independent Labour: Ellen Cicely Wilkinson (A)

Liberal National Party: Sir John Simon (P)

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Background for Teachers and Students

The rise of so many dictators (Mussolini, Stalin, Hitler) created significant issues for Great Britain. These totalitarians were challenging the status quo in Europe and threatening peace. Would it be wise to try to pacify them and yield to the claims of these dictators, or would compromise only stimulate their appetites for further demands? Should the British band together with the other Western democracies and respond aggressively to these provocations, or would this policy serve only to force the democracies into another senseless war in defense of weaker European nations, such as Czechoslovakia and Poland? Given the enormous losses in World War I, would the citizens of Great Britain and France support any policy that would bring about another war? Should the Western democracies begin a massive rearmament policy to counter the threat posed by these dictatorships? These were the questions that needed answers in 1938.

By fall of that same year, many ethnic Germans living in the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia demanded to be united with Nazi Germany. The Nazis were clearly stirring them up with propaganda. The Czech government steadfastly refused, because this region was of great strategic importance. Most of its border defenses were in this mountainous area, along with much of its heavy industries. Adolf Hitler threatened war. Neville Chamberlain, the Conservative British prime minister, met Adolf Hitler in Bad Godesberg, Germany, on September 22, where Hitler demanded immediate German occupation of the Sudetenland. Chamberlain said he needed time to review this demand with his cabinet. They next met in Munich, and, on September 20, the so-called Munich agreement was signed between Germany, Italy, Great Britain, and France. Neville Chamberlain reported that "we shall never get far in the work of mediation unless we can accustom ourselves to the idea

that the democracies and totalitarian states are not to be ranged against each other in two opposing blocs."⁴⁷ For him, they needed to find common ground and work together. The Czech government, abandoned by Great Britain and France, was not even involved in the negotiations. The Soviet Union played no part in the discussions either.

The final agreement essentially ceded the Sudetenland to Germany with a tacit understanding that Britain and France would not stop Nazi Germany from taking the rest of Czechoslovakia in the future. Hitler was "appeased," and a European war was averted. Many members of Parliament, however, including Winston Churchill, attacked the agreement. They believed that Chamberlain had behaved dis-honorably, and Great Britain had lost the support of the Czech Army, a force they thought tipped the military balance in favor of Great Britain and France. This view was bolstered after World War II when a German general, Erich von Manstein, told the Nuremberg tribunal, "If a war had broken out, [in 1938] neither our western border nor our Polish frontier could really have been effectively defended by us, and there is no doubt whatsoever that had Czechoslovakia defended herself, we would have been held up by her fortifications, for we did not have the means to break through."⁴⁸

Critics viewed the appeasement of Hitler and Nazi Germany with dismay and argued for immediate rearmament in preparation for an inevitable conflict. The stage was set for some of the most important speeches and debates in British Parliamentary history. You will now have the opportunity to play a role in this dramatic event.

⁴⁷ Simms, *Europe*, 355.

⁴⁸ Shirer, *The Nightmare Years*.

Name _____

Roles Chart

Liberal Party	Labour Party	Conservative Party
Edward Clement Davies (A)	Clement Richard Attlee (A)	Leopold (Leo) Charles Maurice Sennett Amery (A)
	Sir Ernest Nathaniel Bennett (P)	Lady Nancy Witcher Langhorne Astor (P)
	Aneurin Bevan (A)	Charles Vernon Oldfield Bartlett (A)
Independent Labour Party	Sir Richard Stafford Cripps (A)	Robert John Graham Boothby (A)
James Maxton (P)	Arthur Greenwood (A)	Brendon Bracken (A)
	Janet (Jennie) Lee (A)	Arthur Neville Chamberlain (P)
	Frederick Pethick-Lawrence (A)	Sir Henry (Chips) Channon (P)
Independent Party	Eleanor Florence Rathbone (A)	Sir Winston Leonard Churchill (A)
Sir Alan Patrick Herbert (P)	Major Richard Rapier Stokes (P)	Alfred Duff Cooper (A)
	Colonel Josiah Clement Wedgwood (A)	Alexander (Alec) Frederick Douglas-Home (P)
		Robert Anthony Eden (A)
		Samuel John Gurney Hoare (P)
		Leslie Hore-Belisha (A)
		Sir Thomas Hunter (P)
		David Lloyd George (A)
		Katharine Marjory Stewart-Murray (A)
		John Joseph Stourton (P)
		Sir Howard Kingsley Wood (P)

A = anti-appeasement

P = pro-appeasement

Your Character Role _____

Roles

Leopold (Leo) Charles Maurice Stennett Amery

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: a harsh critic

Nancy Witcher Langhorne Astor

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: a very strong supporter

Clement Richard Atlee

Political party: Labour

Basic position on appeasement: a strong opponent

Charles Vernon Oldfield Bartlett

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: a harsh critic

Sir Ernest Nathaniel Bennett

Political party: Labour

Basic position on appeasement: a strong supporter

Aneurin Bevan

Political party: Labour

Basic position on appeasement: a harsh critic

Robert John Graham Boothby

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: a strong opponent

Brendon Bracken

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: a strong opponent

Arthur Neville Chamberlain

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: a very strong proponent

Sir Henry (Chips) Channon

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: an enthusiastic proponent

Sir Winston Leonard Churchill

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: a very strong opponent

Alfred Duff Cooper

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: a complete opponent

Sir Richard Stafford Cripps

Political party: Labour

Basic position on appeasement: a strong opponent

Edward Clement Davies

Political party: Liberal

Basic position on appeasement: an opponent

Alexander (Alec) Frederick Douglas-Home

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: an opponent

Robert Anthony Eden

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: willing to resign rather than support

David Lloyd George

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: a very strong opponent

Arthur Greenwood

Political party: Labour

Basic position on appeasement: believes it dishonorable and dangerous

Sir Alan Patrick Herbert

Political party: Independent

Basic position on appeasement: a strong proponent

Samuel John Gurney Hoare

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: a full proponent

Leslie Hore-Belisha

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: an opponent

Sir Thomas Hunter

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: a very strong proponent

Janet (Jennie) Lee

Political party: Labour

Basic position on appeasement: believes it dangerous and wrong

James Maxton

Political party: Independent Labour

Basic position on appeasement: a complete proponent

Katharine Marjory Stewart Murray

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: an opponent

Frederick Pethick-Lawrence

Political party: Labour

Basic position on appeasement: a very strong opponent

Eleanor Florence Rathbone

Political party: Labour

Basic position on appeasement: an opponent

Major Richard Rapier Stokes

Political party: Labour

Basic position on appeasement: a full proponent

Colonel Josiah Clement Wedgwood

Political party: Labour

Basic position on appeasement: an opponent

Sir Howard Kingsley Wood

Political party: Conservative

Basic position on appeasement: a strong proponent

Appeasement Worksheet

Definition of appeasement:

For appeasement and delaying rearmament	Against appeasement and for immediate rearmament

Glossary and Brief Chronology

Anschluss: The annexation of Austria by Nazi Germany.

appeasement: A diplomatic policy of conceding to another nation to avoid armed conflict.

blitzkrieg: The German word for “lightning war,” characterized by aggressive use of tanks and airplanes.

Kellogg-Briand Pact: An international agreement signed by Germany, France, Great Britain, and many other nations, promising not to use war to resolve disputes or conflicts.

League of Nations: An international organization founded following World War I whose primary mission was to maintain world peace.

Locarno Treaty: An agreement that allowed Germany into the League of Nations.

Munich agreement: A political settlement that allowed Nazi Germany to annex the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia.

Spanish Civil War: A civil war that lasted from 1936 to 1939, fought between the forces of the Spanish Republic and the fascist forces led by General Francisco Franco. Germany provided military aid to the fascists, while the Western democracies backed the existing government. The fascists won.

Treaty of Versailles: The treaty that formally ended World War I. It severely punished Germany, including blaming it for starting the war.

1919	Versailles Treaty is signed.
1923	Beer Hall Putsch occurs.
1925	July Hitler publishes his book, <i>Mein Kampf</i> . December Locarno Treaty is signed.
1928	Kellogg-Briand Pact outlaws aggressive warfare.
1933	Hitler becomes chancellor of Germany.
1936	March Germany occupies the Rhineland, violating the Locarno Treaty. July The Spanish Civil War begins.
1938	<i>Anschluss</i> occurs.
1939	March Munich agreement is struck. September Germany attacks Poland, initiating World War II.

Aftermath



Nazi troops march into Prague, greeted by ethnic Germans

Some argue that the British were willing to make concessions to Hitler in continental Europe as long as those demands did not directly threaten their imperialistic holdings in East Asia and Africa. Others believe that they were willing to accept Czechoslovakia falling into Nazi hands rather than the embrace of the Soviet Union.⁴⁹ Regardless, Hitler had no intention of honoring the provisions of the Munich agreement. Neville Chamberlain declared the Munich agreement meant “peace in our time.” He had, however, been wholly deceived by Hitler’s assurances that the dictator had no further claims to make on Czech territory. Within months, German armies marched into Czechoslovakia without opposition and occupied all of Sudetenland. In March 1939, German troops swept into the western part of Czechoslovakia, occupied Prague, and installed a Nazi-controlled government that remained in power until the liberation of the country in 1945. Without firing a shot, Hitler had added the resources of a highly industrialized state to the Nazi regime, including the Škoda Armament plant, one of the largest in Europe.

On September 1, 1939, Nazi armies attacked Poland, unleashing the fury of the blitzkrieg. Great Britain honored its treaty obligation to Poland and declared war on Germany. Neville Chamberlain’s government fell, and Winston Churchill became prime minister, vowing never to bow to Nazi Germany. He made good on his promises. France fell to the Nazi armies, but Great Britain, led by the defiant Churchill, remained unbowed. Throughout the summer and fall of 1940, the brave flyers of the Royal Air Force battled the Luftwaffe over the skies of Great Britain, forcing Hitler to cancel his invasion plans. Churchill later said that “never was so much owed by so many to so few.”

After five years of bitter fighting, and millions of military and civilian casualties, World War II ended in Europe with Germany defeated and Hitler dead.

⁴⁹ MacDonogh, 1938 *Hitler’s Gamble*, 2.

Image source: Nazi Troops Entering Prague. By unknown artist, Žatec, Czech Republic, 1938, German Federal Archives, Koblenz, Germany, Bild 146-1970-005-28

Discussion Questions

1. Is it better to stand up to dictators or put up with them for the sake of stability? Does appeasement ever work? Can you think of any contemporary examples where leaders have “appeased” a leader or nation that is causing trouble for the sake of the world community?
2. Winston Churchill famously said of appeasers that “Each one hopes that if he feeds the crocodile enough, the crocodile will eat him last.”⁵⁰ Why do you think appeasement in 1938 was so popular with the British people?
3. A crisis is both a danger and an opportunity. Do you think the Western democracies missed the chance to halt the rise of Nazi power in 1938, or were they already too late? Explain.
4. Most military analysts believe that Great Britain, France, and Czechoslovakia could have defeated Germany in 1938. Do you think Hitler would have backed down from his demands if he had been confronted with a ring of steel and the prospect of war, rather than appeasement?
5. Was war with Germany inevitable with or without appeasement in 1938? Explain.
6. In one of his Fireside Chats, Franklin Roosevelt said that “no man can tame a tiger into a kitten by stroking it. There can be no appeasement with ruthlessness. There can be no reasoning with an incendiary bomb.”⁵¹ Those who favor appeasement often argue that the alternative, confrontation and conflict, is just as bad, if not worse. Do you agree or disagree? Explain.
7. Neville Chamberlain was a hero to most of the British population in 1938 for preventing war, and he was vilified less than a year later when it was clear he had been utterly deceived by Hitler. Can you think of any other leaders who have similarly gone from hero to scapegoat?
8. Arrange the following statements from what you think is most to least true about the appeasement of Hitler in 1938, and defend your choice.
 - a. It was a noble attempt to prevent the deaths of millions in a war.
 - b. It abandoned millions of people in Europe to the Nazis.
 - c. It gave Great Britain and France the needed time to rearm in the face of Germany militarism.
 - d. It assured that Great Britain and France would have the high moral ground for trying to stop a world war.
 - e. It was destined to failure, because Hitler was determined to have a war.
 - f. It allowed Germany time to grow even stronger.
 - g. It encouraged war, because it convinced Hitler he could do anything he wanted without consequences.
 - h. It humiliated Great Britain and France.

⁵⁰ Churchill, “It Will Rage and Roar.”

⁵¹ Roosevelt, “The Great Arsenal of Democracy”.

Document A: Debating the Munich Agreement—Duff Cooper

Excerpt from the British Parliamentary debate on the Munich Agreement—Duff Cooper, House of Commons, October 3, 1938

During the last four weeks we have been drifting, day by day, nearer into war with Germany, and we have never said, until the last moment, and then in most uncertain terms, that we were prepared to fight. We knew that information to the opposite effect was being poured into the ears of the head of the German State. He had been assured, reassured, and fortified in the opinion that in no case would Great Britain fight. . . .

I had urged . . . after the rape of Austria, that Great Britain should make a firm declaration of what her foreign policy was, and then and later I was met with this, that the people of this country are not prepared to fight for Czechoslovakia. . . .

I besought my colleagues not to see this problem always in terms of Czechoslovakia, not to review it always from the difficult strategic position of that small country, but rather to say to themselves, “A moment may come when, owing to the invasion of Czechoslovakia, a European war will begin, and when that moment comes we must take part in that war, we cannot keep out of it, and there is no doubt upon which side we shall fight. Let the world know that and it will give those who are prepared to disturb the peace reason to hold their hand.” It is perfectly true that after the assault on Austria the Prime Minister made a speech in this House—an excellent speech with every word of which I was in complete agreement—and what he said then was repeated and supported by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Lanark. It was, however, a guarded statement. It was a statement to the effect that if there were such a war it would be unwise for anybody to count upon the possibility of our staying out.

That is not the language which the dictators understand. Together with new methods and a new morality they have introduced also a new vocabulary into Europe. They have discarded the old diplomatic methods of correspondence. . . .

The Prime Minister has confidence in the good will and in the word of Herr Hitler, although when Herr Hitler broke the Treaty of Versailles he undertook to keep the Treaty of Locarno, and when he broke the Treaty of Locarno he undertook not to interfere further, or to have further territorial aims, in Europe. When he entered Austria by force he authorized his henchmen to give an authoritative assurance that he would not interfere with Czechoslovakia. That was less than six months ago. Still, the Prime Minister believes that he can rely upon the good faith of Hitler; he believes that Hitler is interested only in Germany, as the Prime Minister was assured. . . .

The Prime Minister may be right. I can assure you, Mr. Speaker, with the deepest sincerity, that I hope and pray that he is right, but I cannot believe what he believes. I wish I could. . . . I remember when we were discussing the Godesberg ultimatum that I said that if I were a party to persuading, or even to suggesting to, the Czechoslovak Government that they should accept that ultimatum, I should never be able to hold up my head again. . . . I have ruined, perhaps, my political career. But that is a little matter; I have retained something which is to me of great value—I can still walk about the world with my head erect.

Source: Lee, Dwight E., ed. *Munich, Blunder, Plot, or Tragic Necessity?* Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1970.

Document B: Debating the Munich Agreement—Neville Chamberlain, October 3

Excerpt from the British Parliamentary debate on the Munich Agreement—Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, House of Commons, October 3, 1938

In my view the strongest force of all, one which grew and took fresh shapes and forms every day was the force not of any one individual, but was that unmistakable sense of unanimity among the peoples of the world that war somehow must be averted. The peoples of the British Empire were at one with those of Germany, of France and of Italy, and their anxiety, their intense desire for peace, pervaded the whole atmosphere of the conference, and I believe that that, and not threats, made possible the Concessions that were made. . . .

Ever since I assumed my present office my main purpose has been to work for the pacification of Europe, for the removal of those suspicions and those animosities which have so long poisoned the air. The path which leads to appeasement is long and bristles with obstacles. The question of Czechoslovakia is the latest and perhaps the most dangerous. Now that we have got past it, I feel that it may be possible to make further progress along the road to sanity. . . .

I believe there are many who will feel with me that such a declaration, signed by the German Chancellor and myself, is something more than a pious expression of opinion. In our relations with other countries everything depends upon there being sincerity and good will on both sides. I believe that there is sincerity and good will on both sides in this

declaration. That is why to me its significance goes far beyond its actual words. If there is one lesson which we should learn from the events of these last weeks it is this, that lasting peace is not to be obtained by sitting still and waiting for it to come. It requires active, positive efforts to achieve it. No doubt I shall have plenty of critics who will say that I am guilty of facile optimism, and that I should disbelieve every word that is uttered by rulers of other great States in Europe. I am too much of a realist to believe that we are going to achieve our paradise in a day. We have only laid the foundations of peace. The superstructure is not even begun. . . .

While we must renew our determination to fill up the deficiencies that yet remain in our armaments and in our defensive precautions, so that we may be ready to defend ourselves and make our diplomacy effective—*[Interruption]*—yes I am a realist—nevertheless I say with an equal sense of reality that I do see fresh opportunities of approaching this subject of disarmament opening up before us, and I believe that they are at least as hopeful to-day as they have been at any previous time. It is to such tasks—the winning back of confidence, the gradual removal of hostility between nations until they feel that they can safely discard their weapons, one by one, that I would wish to devote what energy and time may be left to me before I hand over my office to younger men.

Source: Lee, Dwight E., ed. *Munich, Blunder, Plot, or Tragic Necessity?* Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1970.

Document C: Debating the Munich Agreement—Clement Attlee

Excerpt from the British Parliamentary Debate on the Munich Agreement—Clement Attlee, House of Commons, October 3, 1938

We all feel relief that war has not come this time. Every one of us has been passing through days of anxiety; we cannot, however, feel that peace has been established, but that we have nothing but an armistice in a state of war. We have been unable to go in for carefree rejoicing. We have felt that we are in the midst of a tragedy. We have felt humiliation. This has not been a victory for reason and humanity. It has been a victory for brute force. At every stage of the proceedings there have been time limits laid down by the owner and ruler of armed force. The terms have not been terms negotiated; they have been terms laid down as an ultimatum. We have seen today a gallant, civilized and democratic people betrayed and handed over to a ruthless despotism. We have seen something more. We have seen the cause of democracy, which is, in our view, the cause of civilization and humanity, receive a terrible defeat.

I think that in the mind of every thoughtful person in this Country when he heard that this settlement had been arrived at Munich, there was a conflict. On the one hand there was enormous relief that war had been averted, at all events for the time being; on the other, there was a sense of humiliation and foreboding for the future. . . .

The events of these last few days constitute one of the greatest diplomatic defeats that this country and France have ever sustained. There can be no doubt that it is a tremendous victory for Herr Hitler. Without firing a shot, by the mere display of military force, he has achieved a dominating

position in Europe which Germany failed to win after four years of war. He has overturned the balance of power in Europe. He has destroyed the last fortress of democracy in Eastern Europe which stood in the way of his ambition. He has opened his way to the food, the oil and the resources which he requires in order to consolidate his military power, and he has successfully defeated and reduced to impotence the forces that might have stood against the rule of violence. . . .

The history of the last seven years is the background of this crisis, and the first point I must make to the Government is this. This crisis did not come unexpectedly. It was obvious to any intelligent student of foreign affairs that this attack would Come. The immediate signal was given by the Prime Minister himself on 7th March of this year when he said: “What country in Europe today if threatened by a larger Power can rely upon the League for protection? None.” It was at once an invitation to Herr Hitler and a confession of the failure of the Government. The invitation was accepted a few days later by the Anschluss in Austria. Then our Government and the French Government could have faced the consequences. They could have told Czechoslovakia “We cannot any longer defend you. You had better now make the best terms you can with Germany, enter her political orbit and give her anything to escape before the wrath comes upon you.” But they did nothing of the sort. Czechoslovakia continued under the supposed shelter of these treaties. True, it was urged that something should be done for the Sudeten Germans but there was no attempt made to take early steps to prevent this aggression.

Source: Lee, Dwight E., ed. *Munich, Blunder, Plot, or Tragic Necessity?* Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1970.

Document D: Debating the Munich Agreement—Sir Samuel Hoare

Excerpt from the British Parliamentary Debate on the Munich Agreement—Secretary of State for the Home Department Sir Samuel Hoare, House of Commons, October 3, 1938

A week ago we were on the verge of a terrible abyss. . . . Did we shrink from it in fear, or did we feel that there was some hope still of finding a path round it to more solid ground? I am fully aware that there are some hon. Members, and some people in the Country, who believe that no peace is possible in Europe as long as the dictatorships exist, who hold, quite sincerely, the view—I think the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down does—that as long as the dictatorships exist, war is inevitable, and that it may be better to have war now, when we have an issue that may be supposed to appeal to the whole world, rather than to put it off to some future date when our position may be more difficult and dangerous. . . .

The conclusion of such a view is to me so appalling that I could not accept it if I thought there was still some glimmer of hope that the catastrophe might yet be averted. What is more important, the Prime Minister had that settled conviction. It was on that account that he made his superhuman efforts at great risk to himself, at great risk to the Government of which he is a member—but these things do not count in moments of this gravity—to take upon himself the responsibility of trying at the last moment to prevent this catastrophe coming upon us.

The Prime Minister acted not alone as the head of the Government of which I am a member. He acted rather as the spokesman of the millions of men and women from one end of the world to the other who were determined that we should still try to keep a controlling hand upon the course of events and avoid an appalling calamity that would undoubtedly have ended in the extinction of civilization as we have known it. . . . I

claim that, having undertaken the responsibility of mediation, it would have been courting certain failure if at one and the same time when he was attempting to mediate he engaged himself upon a policy of threats and ultimatums. . . .

War has been averted; has the price paid been too high? I frankly admit that Czechoslovakia has received a staggering blow. . . .

I say with all deliberation that, when once Germany rearmed and became powerful, and when once the Anschluss took place, the strategic frontier of the republic was turned. The Sudeten Germans looked to reunion with the Reich. . . . Union with the Reich was the ideal that they were determined to achieve. Further than that, we faced the fact that owing to the geographical position of Czechoslovakia it mattered not who might win or lose the war, Czechoslovakia would almost inevitably be destroyed. Some said it would be a matter of days and others said a matter of weeks, but all were agreed who had studied the strategic position that it could not be a matter of more than a month or two. In the meanwhile, the republic would have been destroyed; immense slaughter would have taken place within its boundaries; devastation would have run riot. Supposing that at the end of the war we emerged the victors—and I have always believed, as every Member in this House believes, that in the final result we should emerge the victors—then we should be confronted with a position in which Czechoslovakia as we know it to-day would have been destroyed, and I do not believe that the negotiators of the peace treaty in any conditions would ever re-create its old frontiers.

Source: Lee, Dwight E., ed. *Munich, Blunder, Plot, or Tragic Necessity?* Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1970.

Document E: Debating the Munich Agreement—Winston Churchill

Excerpt from the British Parliamentary Debate on the Munich Agreement—Winston Churchill, House of Commons, October 5, 1938

. . . Now I come to the point, which was mentioned to me just now from some quarters of the House, about the saving of peace. No one has been a more resolute and uncompromising struggler for peace than the Prime Minister. Everyone knows that. Never has there been such intense and undaunted determination to maintain and to secure peace. That is quite true. Nevertheless, I am not quite clear why there was so much danger of Great Britain or France being involved in a war with Germany at this juncture if, in fact, they were ready all along to sacrifice Czechoslovakia. The terms which the Prime Minister brought back with him—I quite agree at the last moment; everything had got off the rails and nothing but his intervention could have saved the peace, but I am talking of the events of the summer—could easily have been agreed, I believe, through the ordinary diplomatic channels at any time during the summer. And I will say this, that I believe the Czechs, left to themselves and told they were going to get no help from the Western Powers, would have been able to make better terms than they have got—they could hardly have worse—after all this tremendous perturbation.

There never can be any absolute certainty that there will be a fight if one side is determined that it will give way completely. When one reads the Munich terms, when one sees what is happening in Czechoslovakia from hour to hour, when one is sure, I will not say of Parliamentary approval but of Parliamentary acquiescence, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer makes a speech which at any rate tries to put in a very powerful and persuasive manner the fact that, after all, it was inevitable and indeed

righteous—right—when we saw all this, and everyone on this side of the House, including many Members of the Conservative Party who are supposed to be vigilant and careful guardians of the national interest, it is quite clear that nothing vitally affecting us was at stake, it seems to me that one must ask, What was all the trouble and fuss about? . . .

I venture to think that in future the Czechoslovak State cannot be maintained as an independent entity. You will find that in a period of time which may be measured by years, but may be measured only by months, Czechoslovakia will be engulfed in the Nazi regime. Perhaps they may join it in despair or in revenge. At any rate, that story is over and told. But we cannot consider the abandonment and ruin of Czechoslovakia in the light only of what happened only last month. It is the most grievous consequence which we have yet experienced of what we have done and of what we have left undone in the last five years—five years of futile good intention, five years of eager search for the line of least resistance, five years of uninterrupted retreat of British power, five years of neglect of our air defenses. . . .

We are in the presence of a disaster of the first magnitude which has befallen Great Britain and France. Do not let us blind ourselves to that. It must now be accepted that all the countries of Central and Eastern Europe will make the best terms they can with the triumphant Nazi Power. The system of alliances in Central Europe upon which France has relied for her safety has been swept away, and I can see no means by which it can be reconstituted.

Source: Lee, Dwight E., ed. *Munich, Blunder, Plot, or Tragic Necessity?* Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1970.

Document F: Debating the Munich Agreement—Neville Chamberlain, October 5

Excerpt from the British Parliamentary Debate on the Munich Agreement—Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, House of Commons, October 5, 1938

It seems to me that the strongest argument against the inevitability of war is to be found in something that everyone has recognized in every part of the House. That is the universal aversion from war of the people, their hatred of the notion of starting to kill one another again. . . .

What is the alternative to this bleak and barren policy of the inevitability of war? In my view it is that we should seek by all means in our power to avoid war, by analyzing possible causes, by trying to remove them, by discussion in a spirit of collaboration and good will. I cannot believe that such a programme would be rejected by the people of this country, even if it does mean the establishment of personal contact with dictators, and of talks man to man on the basis that each, while maintaining his own ideas of the internal government of his country, is willing to allow that other systems may suit better other peoples. . . .

I am told that the policy which I have tried to describe is inconsistent with the continuance, and much more inconsistent with the acceleration of our present programme of arms. I am asked how I can reconcile an appeal to the country to support the continuance of this programme with the words which I used when I came back from Munich the other day and spoke of my belief that we might have peace in our time. I hope hon. Members will not be disposed to read into words used in a moment of some emotion,

after a long and exhausting day, after I had driven through miles of excited, enthusiastic, cheering people—I hope they will not read into those words more than they were intended to convey.

I do indeed believe that we may yet secure peace for our time, but I never meant to suggest that we should do that by disarmament, until we can induce others to disarm too. Our past experience has shown us only too clearly that weakness in armed strength means weakness in diplomacy. . . .

. . . Our policy of appeasement does not mean that we are going to seek new friends at the expense of old ones, or, in-deed, at the expense of any other nations at all. I do not think that at any time there has been a more complete identity of views between the French Government and ourselves than there is at the present time. Their objective is the same as ours—to obtain the collaboration of all nations, not excluding the totalitarian States, in building up a lasting peace for Europe. That seems to me to be a policy which would answer my hon. Friends' appeal, a policy which should command the support of all who believe in the power of human will to control human destiny. If we cannot here this afternoon emulate the patriotic unanimity of the French Chamber, this House can by a decisive majority show its approval of the Government's determination to pursue it.

Source: Lee, Dwight E., ed. *Munich, Blunder, Plot, or Tragic Necessity?* Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1970.

Extension Activities

1. Research and report to the class about other events after World War II that presented world leaders with decisions similar to those facing Chamberlain at Munich. Did these leaders learn anything from Munich, or did they follow a path similar to Chamberlain?
2. Gandhi said that "in no case can there be any appeasement at the cost of honour. Real appeasement is to shed all fear and do what is right at any cost."⁵² Write an essay discussing when, if ever, appeasement is a legitimate foreign policy.
3. Regarding the appeasement of Nazi Germany in 1938, people focus more on its effect on the Western democracies, particularly Great Britain. Historian Nicholas Stargardt wrote in *The German War: A Nation under Arms* that "even Hitler's greatest foreign policy triumphs such as the Munich Summit of 1938 were overshadowed by popular fear of war."⁵³ Research and write an essay about how the German people viewed the apparent diplomatic victory at Munich. Did they view it as a significant step toward war with France and Britain, or did they merely view it as a strong leader skillfully getting them "living space" without actually having a war?

⁵² Gandhi, quoted in Tendulkar, *Mahatma*, 299.

⁵³ Stargardt, *The German War*, 9.

Yalta Conference



Lesson

Overview

No single event of World War II has sparked more debate than the historic meeting of Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill at Yalta. These three leaders made decisions at this meeting that shaped the postwar world and arguably launched the Cold War.

Objectives

- Students will identify the critical issues facing the Allies at this conference.
- Students will understand how the personalities and negotiating strategy of Roosevelt, Stalin, Churchill, and their advisers affected the outcome of the conference.
- Students will understand the difficulty of resolving issues when faced with conflicting interests.

Notes for the Teacher/Duration

- The schedule below is based on a fifty-minute class schedule. You should feel free to adjust the schedule based on the length of your class periods.
- The meeting itself should be conducted using a modified version of parliamentary procedure.
- Have one member from each delegation make an opening statement about his or her general position on the agenda item. Then permit a brief period (five or ten minutes) of caucus followed by one or two speakers for and against a particular resolution.
- For a resolution to be adopted, it must be agreeable to all three powers: Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union.
- Tell students that if a resolution cannot be resolved, it should be tabled and considered the topic of a future conference.

Day One

- Read and discuss the "Background for Teachers and Students."
- Explain that students will be playing a role associated with one of the countries participating in the Yalta Conference.
- Tell students that it will be their task to research their countries' positions on each of the agenda issues; they should work with their peers to frame a negotiating strategy.
- Assign students countries and roles.

- The students assigned the roles of Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin will be expected to make the final decision on each of the agenda items.
- Give them the remainder of the period for research. If they need more time, assign research for homework.

Day Two

- Students should meet with their group to conduct further research and discuss their negotiating strategy.
- Option A: If you feel they are prepared and ready, you can begin the conference.
- Option B: Give them the remainder of this period to finish the conference preparation. If they need more time, assign further conference preparation for homework.

Day Three

- Either begin the conference, or continue the conference (if you had started on Day Two).

Day Four

- Conclusion of the conference
- Debrief using discussion questions.

Day Five

- Debrief using document analysis and extension activities.
- Check answers to the document questions.

Answers to Document Questions

Document A

1. What does the author view as the greatest achievement(s) of the conference?

Answers will vary but should include good food and congenial social interaction.

2. What does the author view as the greatest failure(s) of the conference?

Answers will vary but should include a view that there was little political success, especially regarding the issue of Poland.

Document B

1. What does President Roosevelt identify as the two primary goals of the Yalta Conference?

Defeating Nazi Germany and beginning the process of establishing world peace and security

2. How does President Roosevelt characterize the process of world peace?

Answers will vary but should include aspects of both domestic and international cooperation.

3. What does President Roosevelt identify as the primary goal regarding Poland?

The formation of a democratic provisional government

4. What does President Roosevelt suggest is necessary to maintain peace in the future?

The end to unilateral actions, exclusive alliances, spheres of influence, and reliance on a balance of power

Roles Assignment Chart

USSR	Student Name	United States	Student Name	Great Britain	Student Name
Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, delegation leader		Franklin Delano Roosevelt, delegation leader		Sir Winston Leonard Churchill, delegation leader	
Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov		William Averill Harriman		Robert Anthony Eden	
Vladimir Nikolayevich Pavlov		Charles "Chip" Eusitis Bohlen		Sir James Fownes Somerville	
Aleksei Innokentievich Antonov		William Daniel Leahy		Sir Henry Maitland Wilson	
Sergei Alexandrovich Khudyakov		George Catlett Marshall		Sir Alan Francis Brooke	
Nikolay Gerasimovich Kuznetsov		Ernest Joseph King		Sir Charles Frederick Algernon Portal	
Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko		John Russell Deane Jr.		Sir Andrew Browne Cunningham	
Fedor Tarasovich Gusev		Andrew J. McFarland		Sir Harold Alexander	
Stepan Grigoryevich Kucherov		Frederick Lewis Anderson		Sir Hastings Lionel Ismay	
Anatoly Alekseyevich Gryzlov		John Edwin Hull		Ernest Russell Archer	

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Background for Teachers and Students



Seated on the bench, from left to right, Churchill, Roosevelt, and Stalin at the Yalta Conference

During World War II, the allied leaders held regular meetings to discuss the conduct of the war. The first conference with an agenda targeting postwar Europe, however, was not held until February 1945, when Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin met at Yalta in the Crimea region of the Soviet Union.

The conference sessions met in Livadia Palace (southwest of Yalta), which had been built in 1911 for Tsar Nicholas II. In deference to President Roosevelt's disability, which forced him to rely on leg braces, crutches, and a wheelchair, he and the rest of the American delegation were housed in this palace. The British delegation, including Prime Minister Churchill, lodged in Vorontsov Palace, about twelve miles away along the Black Sea. Stalin stayed in the Yusupov Palace, midway between the two. Each delegation took turns providing lavish meals, but the actual living conditions, especially for the British and American officials, were decidedly poor. There were few toilets, and bath facilities were primitive by Western standards. Most officials, even senior officers, shared rooms. Only with liberal use of DDT were delegates able to control the bedbugs. There was another kind of bug, however,

that they could not control. The Soviet secret police, the NKVD, had installed "bugs," hidden microphones, in all the British and American rooms. Each morning they reported to Stalin on the conversations that took place in these supposedly secure places.⁵⁴ Even though Stalin had more inside information about the goals of his Western counterparts, however, it was still up to him to assert his will during the conference.

The negotiations were concerned first and foremost with the territorial settlement of Europe, especially Poland, and the occupation zones of Germany following its inevitable defeat. The second concern was the defeat of Japan and the territorial settlement of East Asia. Reparations from Germany to the Allies was also included, as well as the question of how to deal with Nazi war criminals. Finally, the leaders wanted to discuss options for the organization of a world body that would ensure future peace.⁵⁵

You will now have the opportunity to recreate this pivotal conference and to shape the future of the postwar world.

⁵⁴ Reynolds, *Summits*, 121.

⁵⁵ Allen, *Declassified*, 237.

Roles Chart

USSR	United States	Great Britain
Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, delegation leader	Franklin Delano Roosevelt, delegation leader	Sir Winston Leonard Churchill, delegation leader
Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov	William Averill Harriman	Robert Anthony Eden
Vladimir Nikolayevich Pavlov	Charles "Chip" Eusitis Bohlen	Sir James Fownes Somerville
Aleksei Innokentievich Antonov	William Daniel Leahy	Sir Henry Maitland Wilson
Sergei Alexandrovich Khudyakov	George Catlett Marshall	Sir Alan Francis Brooke
Nikoley Gersimovich Kuznetsov	Ernest Joseph King	Sir Charles Frederick Algernon Portal
Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko	John Russell Deane Jr.	Sir Andrew Browne Cunningham
Fedor Tarasovich Gusev	Andrew J. McFarland	Sir Harold Alexander
Stepan Grigoryevich Kuchеров	Frederick Lewis Anderson	Sir Hastings Lionel Ismay
Anatoly Alekseyevich Gryzlov	John Edwin Hull	Ernest Russell Archer

Your Character Role _____

Instructions

You will represent the leaders and advisers of the United States, Great Britain, and the Soviet Union at this pivotal conference.

Conference Agenda and Potential Decisions

1. The occupation and control of defeated Germany
 - A. The forces of the three Allies will each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Coordinated administration and control will be provided under the plan through a central Control Commission consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the three Allies. Its headquarters will be located in Berlin, the German capital, which will be similarly divided into three occupied zones.
 - B. Proposal A, with the addition that France will be invited by the three Allies, if it so desires, to take over a zone of occupation and to participate as a fourth member of the Control Commission
 - C. All of proposal B, with the exception that the Soviet Union will have control of half of Germany, including Berlin, and the other three Allies will divide the remainder
2. Reparations
 - A. Germany must pay for the losses it caused to the Allied nations in the course of the war. Reparations must be made first to the countries that have borne the burden of the war, have suffered the heaviest losses, and have organized victory over the enemy. Reparation will consist of three forms.
 - a. Within two years, the removal of military industry inside and around Germany (such as equipment, machine tools, ships, rolling stock, German military investments abroad, shares of military industrial, transport, and other enterprises); these removals are chiefly aimed to destroy the war potential of Germany in the future.
 - b. Annual deliveries of goods from production for a period of time; to be fixed in the future
 - c. Use of German labor
 - B. All of proposal A, with the exception that, in recognition of the suffering of the people of the USSR, Soviets will receive half of the reparations while the other nations will divide the rest
 - C. All of proposal A, with the exception that because the United States did not suffer any real damage to its homeland it will not receive any direct reparations
3. Creation of a United Nations
 - A. A conference to arrange the details of a United Nations will meet in April 1945 in San Francisco.
 - B. A conference to arrange the details of a United Nations will meet in London with the defeat of Germany.
 - C. A conference to arrange the details of a United Nations will meet in Moscow with the defeat of Germany.

4. Poland

- A. The provisional government now functioning in Poland, known as the Lublin government, should be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland. This process will be arranged under the direction of representatives of the three big Allies: Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union.
- B. The provisional government now functioning in Poland, known as the Lublin government, should be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland. Because the Soviet Red Army has liberated all of Poland, the USSR will oversee this new process.
- C. The provisional government now functioning in Poland, known as the Lublin government, should be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland. This process will take place without any outside influences.

5. Major War Criminals

- A. The question of major war criminals should be the subject of a future meeting of the foreign secretaries of the United States, Great Britain, France, and the USSR.
- B. The question of the major war criminals should be the subject of a future conference attended by the heads of state of the Allies.
- C. Major war criminals should be dealt with by the countries that capture them.

6. The War Against Japan

- A. When Nazi Germany is defeated, the USSR will declare war on Japan and begin immediate military actions to contribute to the defeat of Japan. In return, after the defeat of Japan, the USSR will be given control of the Kuril (Chishima) Islands and the southern part of Sakhalin (Karafuto) Island. The USSR will also get an occupation zone on the Korean peninsula.
- B. When Nazi Germany is defeated, the USSR will declare war on Japan and begin immediate military actions to contribute to the defeat of Japan.
- C. The participation of the USSR in the war against Japan will be the subject of a future meeting of the foreign secretaries of the United States, Great Britain, France, and the USSR.

Roles USSR

Delegation Leader

Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party

Assistants

Vyacheslav Mikhailovich Molotov, people's commissar for foreign affairs

Vladimir Nikolayevich Pavlov, personal secretary and interpreter to Stalin

Aleksei Innokentievich Antonov, army general

Sergei Vladimirovich Khudyakov, deputy chief of the Soviet Air Staff

Nikoley Gersimovich Kuznetsov, fleet admiral and people's commissar of the Soviet Navy

Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, Soviet ambassador to the United States

Fedor Tarasovich Gusev, Soviet ambassador to Great Britain

Stepan Grigoryevich Kuchеров, vice admiral and deputy chief of staff of the Soviet Navy

Anatoly Alekseyevich Gryzlov, lieutenant general

Background Information and Goals

General Secretary Stalin, your diplomacy, like President Roosevelt's, is a blend of gut instinct and skillful opportunism. As a Marxist, you also want an eventual international communist revolution.

You believe that your country suffered the most from Nazi aggression, including the loss of nearly 25 million military and civilian casualties and widespread destruction of your land and properties. You also believe that your armies have contributed the most to the eventual defeat of Germany. You believe that the primary concern for your country in the postwar era is security, and that means preventing Germany from ever becoming a military threat again.

You favor dismembering Germany into pre-unification states, similar to the pre-Bismarck era, with the USSR in direct control of some of these states—especially eastern Prussia. You also want control of Poland, because Poland has historically been the path that invaders, from Napoleon to Hitler, have used to attack your country. You also want to regain the Russian territories lost to Germany in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk during World War I, including eastern Poland and the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. You also would like to expand your influence in the Black Sea region, the USSR's traditional gateway to the Mediterranean Sea. Finally, if you were to get involved in the conflict against Japan, you would want territorial gains in the East Asia.

Issues

1. The Occupation and Control of Defeated Germany

You believe the forces of the three Allies should each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Coordinated administration and control will be provided under the plan through a central Control Commission consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the three Allies. Its headquarters will be located in Berlin, the German capital, which will be similarly divided into three occupied

zones. The Soviet Union, however, will have control of half of Germany, including Berlin, while the other two Allies will divide the remainder.

2. Reparations

Germany must pay for the losses it caused to the Allied nations in the course of the war. Reparations must be made first to the countries that have borne the burden of the war, have suffered the heaviest losses, and have organized victory over the enemy. Reparation will consist of three forms.

- a. Within two years, the removal of military industry inside and around Germany (such as equipment, machine tools, ships, rolling stock, German military investments abroad, shares of military industrial, transport, and other enterprises); these removals are chiefly aimed at destroying the war potential of Germany in the future.
- b. Annual deliveries of goods from production for a period of time; to be fixed in the future
- c. Use of German labor
- d. You favor all of the above; however, in recognition of the suffering of the people of the Soviet Union, the USSR will receive half of the reparations, while the other nations will divide the rest.

3. Creation of a United Nations

A conference to arrange the details of a United Nations will meet in Moscow with the defeat of Germany.

4. Poland

The Provisional Government now functioning in Poland, known as the Lublin government, should be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland. Because the Red Army has liberated all of Poland, the USSR will oversee this new process.

5. Major War Criminals

The major war criminals should be dealt with by the countries that capture them.

6. The War against Japan

When Nazi Germany is defeated the USSR will declare war on Japan and begin immediate military actions to contribute to the defeat of Japan. In return, after the defeat of Japan, the USSR will be given control of the Kuril (Chishima) Islands and the southern part of Sakhalin (Karafuto) Island. The USSR will also get an occupation zone on the Korean peninsula.

Roles *United States*

Delegation Leader

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, president

Assistants

William Averill Harriman, U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union

Charles "Chip" Eusitis Bohlen, assistant to the secretary of state; interpreter to President Roosevelt

William Daniel Leahy, fleet admiral

George Catlett Marshall, army general

Ernest Joseph King, fleet admiral

John Russell Deane Jr., major general

Andrew J. McFarland, brigadier general

Frederick Lewis Anderson, major general

John Edwin Hull, major general

Background Information and Goals

President Roosevelt, your diplomacy is a blend of gut instinct and skillful opportunism.

The U.S. military has been fighting a global war against the forces of Nazi Germany and the empire of Japan. Your army invaded and liberated France and is now, along with the USSR, on the verge of defeating the last of the resistance in Germany. Berlin, the German capital, will soon be in the hands of Soviet troops.

Throughout the war, your country has contributed millions of dollars of aid and materials to the allied war effort. Even the USSR has benefited from American supplies, its soldiers eating Spam and driving Jeeps.

Your primary concern entering the negotiations is the organization of a future world body that will prevent wars like this one from ever happening again. You are also very interested in getting the Soviets to join the fight against Japan.

Issues

1. The Occupation and Control of Defeated Germany

The forces of the three Allies will each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Coordinated administration and control will be provided under the plan through a central Control Commission consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the three Allies. Its headquarters will be located in Berlin, the German capital, which will be similarly divided into three occupied zones.

Additionally to the above, France will be invited by the three Allies, if it so desires, to take over a zone of occupation and to participate as a fourth member of the Control Commission.

2. Reparations

- A. Germany must pay for the losses it caused to the Allied nations in the course of the war. Reparations must be made first to the countries that have borne the burden of the war, have suffered the heaviest losses, and have organized victory over the enemy. Reparation will consist of three forms.
- Within two years, the removal of military industry inside and around Germany (such as equipment, machine tools, ships, rolling stock, German military investments abroad, shares of military industrial, transport, and other enterprises); these removals are chiefly aimed at destroying the war potential of Germany in the future.
 - Annual deliveries of goods from production for a period of time; to be fixed in the future
 - Use of German labor

3. Creation of a United Nations

A conference to arrange the details of a United Nations will meet in April 1945 in San Francisco.

4. Poland

The Provisional Government that is now functioning in Poland, known as the Lublin government, should be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland. This process will take place without any outside influences.

5. Major War Criminals

The question of major war criminals should be the subject of a future meeting of the foreign secretaries of the United States, Great Britain, France, and the USSR.

6. The War against Japan

When Nazi Germany is defeated, the USSR will declare war on Japan and begin immediate military actions to contribute to the defeat of Japan.

Roles Great Britain

Delegation Leader

Sir Winston Leonard Churchill, prime minister

Assistants

Robert Anthony Eden, secretary of state for foreign affairs

Sir James Fownes Somerville, admiral

Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, field marshal

Sir Alan Francis Brooke, field marshal

Sir Charles Frederick Algernon Portal, marshal of the British Royal Air Force

Sir Andrew Browning Cunningham, admiral

Sir Harold Alexander, field marshal

Sir Hastings Lionel Ismay, general

Ernest Russell Archer, rear admiral

Background Information and Goals

As the head of your delegation, you, Prime Minister Churchill, are above all an opportunist. You are not as trustful of General Secretary Stalin as President Roosevelt seems to be, but you recognize that it is necessary to get "Uncle Joe" on board with any agreement.

In 1940, your country stood alone against the wrath of the mighty Nazi military. Nevertheless, you won the Battle of Britain and prevented your island from being invaded and occupied like France. You have also been involved in fighting the Japanese Empire, protecting your interests in East Asia, especially India. Your army, along with the U.S. Army, invaded and liberated France and is now in Germany, fighting to defeat the last of the German resistance.

You are primarily interested in creating a postwar Europe that does not include having a large part of the continent, especially Poland, under the control of the USSR. You are also interested in maintaining the British Empire, especially your spheres of interest in East Asia.

Issue

1. The Occupation and Control of Defeated Germany

The forces of the three powers will each occupy a separate zone of Germany. Coordinated administration and control will be provided under the plan through a central Control Commission consisting of the Supreme Commanders of the three Allies. Its headquarters will be located in Berlin, the German capital, which will be similarly divided into three occupied zones.

2. Reparations

- A. Germany must pay for the losses it caused to the Allied nations in the course of the war. Reparations must be made first to the countries that have borne the burden of the war, have suffered the heaviest losses, and have organized victory over the enemy. Reparation will consist of three forms.
- Within two years, the removal of military industry inside and around Germany (such as equipment, machine tools, ships, rolling stock, German military investments abroad, shares of military industrial, transport, and other enterprises); these removals are chiefly aimed at destroying the war potential of Germany in the future.
 - Annual deliveries of goods from production for a period of time; to be fixed in the future
 - Use of German labor

3. Creation of a United Nations

A conference to arrange the details of a United Nations will meet in London with the defeat of Germany.

4. Poland

The Provisional Government that is now functioning in Poland, known as the Lublin government, should be reorganized on a broader democratic basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland. This process will be arranged under the direction of representatives of the three big Allies: Great Britain, the United States, and the USSR.

5. Major War Criminals

The question of the major war criminals should be the subject of a future conference attended by the heads of state of the Allies.

6. The War against Japan

When Nazi Germany is defeated, the USSR will declare war on Japan and begin immediate military actions to contribute to the defeat of Japan.

Glossary and Brief Chronology

mediation: Agreement to settle an issue or conflict typically with the help of a third party.

reparations: Monies and materials paid to a victorious nation by a defeated nation.

1939	Nazi armies attack Poland, beginning World War II in Europe.
1940	May France is defeated. July–October The Battle of Britain occurs.
1941	June Nazi Germany attacks the USSR. December Japan attacks the United States at Pearl Harbor.
1942	Battle of Stalingrad occurs.
1943	The Allies invade Italy.
1944	The Allies invade France.
1945	February The Yalta Conference is held. April Hitler commits suicide. May Nazi Germany is defeated.

Aftermath

During the actual conference, Roosevelt played a mediating role between Stalin and Churchill. He refused to go along with Churchill's desire to have U.S., British, and French troops drive deep into Eastern Europe. This put the Soviets into a dominant role in the negotiations regarding territory, because their troops held the ground.

The delegates agreed that the liberated people should be allowed to establish democratic governments, but no one defined just what precisely this would mean. Soviet armies occupied Poland; however, Stalin agreed that non-Communists would be included in the provisional government. The Allies also agreed that the new Polish state should include a considerable amount of territory that was formerly part of Germany—up to the line of the Oder and Neisse rivers. Poland would have to cede some of its former territory in the east to Russia. Stalin explained at Yalta that his motivations for continuing to control Poland were both emotional and practical. He saw Poland as the avenue through which Russia had been attacked by Germany—twice in the twentieth century—with horrific results.⁵⁶

Stalin agreed to declare war on Japan; in return, the USSR would receive the Kuril (Chishima) Islands, a naval lease at Port Arthur from China, and rights over the Manchurian railways and Outer Mongolia.

It was agreed that postwar Germany should be divided into allied zones of occupation and that a new international organization should be set up to replace the League of Nations. A conference from April to June in 1945 laid the foundations for this international organization. On June 26, 1945, the Charter of the United Nations was signed.

Berlin was divided into four sectors: British, French, Soviet, and American. The Allies ordered Germany to dismantle its war industries and brought Nazi war criminals to trial. Each occupying nation was to take reparations from Germany, but, in recognition of the enormous losses by the USSR, the Soviets were allowed to take a much larger share. The Western allies, however, resisted demands by the Soviets to take control of the Ruhr industrial region.

Roosevelt died two months after the conference, and, by the time of the Potsdam Conference, it was clear that the postwar era would be dominated by two superpowers: the United States and the USSR. Relations between these two powers deteriorated so quickly it became evident that a new kind of war, without bloodshed, was being fought, a Cold War.

As the Iron Curtain descended, Yalta became a focus of accusations by American right-wing politicians. Senator Joseph McCarthy stated that “twenty years of treason” by U.S. State Department communists had sold out the cause of freedom. He used Yalta as a potent symbol, conjuring the image of President Roosevelt and Stalin huddled in a conspiratorial retreat on the Black Sea and dividing up postwar Europe. The presence of Alger Hiss as a U.S. adviser at the Yalta Conference buttressed McCarthy's contentions. He said that Hiss had acted as a communist agent who influenced American decisions. The shadow of Yalta continued to haunt the United States throughout the Cold War; people accused the U.S. of being weak towards the Soviets. Roosevelt and Churchill, however, did not sell out Eastern Europe to Stalin and the USSR, because control of that region had been decided on the battlefield by the Red Army and by understandings negotiated at two earlier conferences in Teheran (1943) and Moscow (1944).⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Simms, *Europe*, 387.

⁵⁷ Reynolds, *Summits*, 160.

Discussion Questions

1. There is an old French saying: *Passez-moi la rhubarbe, je vous passerai le séné*. (Pass me the rhubarb, I will pass you the senna). It essentially means, "Let us make mutual concessions." To negotiate is to haggle. Did Yalta prove the truth of this saying? Is it still true of negotiations today?
2. During the postwar era known as the Cold War, the Yalta agreements were viewed, especially by the French, as essentially the two superpowers of the United States and the USSR dividing Europe between them. Others viewed it as "appeasing" Stalin and condemning millions in Eastern Europe to life under Soviet domination. People especially singled out President Roosevelt as caving in to the demands of Stalin. Do you agree or disagree with this assessment? Explain.
3. Some historians argue that the interesting thing about Yalta is not what Roosevelt and Churchill conceded to Stalin, because the Soviet leader already possessed most of it (Soviet troops occupied most of Eastern Europe), but the belief on the part of these two leaders that it was possible to build a cooperative and lasting relationship with him. Do you agree or disagree? Discuss.
4. John Lewis Gaddis of Yale, a prominent Cold War historian, wrote that the, "Munich Conference and the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Treaty caused things to happen. Yalta didn't change anything. If the Yalta Conference had never taken place, the division of Europe into two great spheres of influence would still have happened."⁵⁸ Do you agree or disagree? Discuss.
5. Churchill proposed "Argonaut" as the conference code name—an allusion to the mythological quest by Jason and the Argonauts for the Golden Fleece. Did this code name portend more than Churchill realized at the time? Were the leaders grasping for a postwar world that was fraught with as much danger and hopelessness as this mythological quest? Discuss.
6. Can you think of any contemporary summit conferences that have had as deep and lasting an impact as the Yalta Conference?
7. The war against Nazi Germany made strange bedfellows of the Western democracies and the Communist USSR. Is it only under the expediency of war that this kind of alliance works, or are there other conditions and situations that make this kind of an alliance possible? Clearly democratic leaders and societies need to be prepared to pay a price for close involvement with those who do not share their values. What price did the United States and Great Britain pay at Yalta? Can you think of any contemporary situations similar to that which existed at the time of the Yalta Conference?
8. Much of the focus directed at the Yalta Conference has involved the dynamics that existed between Roosevelt and Churchill on one side and Stalin on the other. Some people have said, however, that it is just as critical to know one's ally as much as one's adversary. Do you think Roosevelt and Churchill understood each other's strengths and weaknesses? Discuss.

⁵⁸ John Lewis Gaddis, quoted in Bumiller, "60 Years Later."

Document A: Ismay's Reflections

General Lord Hastings Ismay's reflections on the Yalta Conference, February 1945

The Conference lasted about a week. From the gastronomical point of view, it was enjoyable: from the social point of view, successful: from the military point of view, unnecessary: and from the political point of view, depressing. The general atmosphere was extremely friendly and at the customary round of banquets, the speeches were more than usually fulsome. Churchill said that he walked through the world "with greater courage and hope" when he found himself in "a relationship of friendship and intimacy" with Stalin. Stalin, not to be outdone, toasted Churchill as "the man who is born once in a hundred years." President Roosevelt likened the relations between the three countries to be those of a happy family. This seems to be going a little too far, but I believe he meant what he said. . . .

But the deadlock over the Polish-Soviet affairs continued. In particular the vital problems of holding free elections in Poland, and of setting up a single Government on a broader democratic basis, were no nearer settlement at the end of the Conference than they had been at the beginning. All that emerged was an agreement that these matters should be studied by a committee consisting of Mr. Molotov, Mr. Harriman and Sir Archibald Clark Kerr. Churchill was anxious that the Conference should not break up until more definite arrangement had been made, but the President said that he could not spare the time. In any case, he and his delegation were exultant at the results already achieved. 'We really believed in our hearts,' said Hopkins to Sherwood, 'that this was the dawn of the new day we had all been praying for and talking about for many years. The Russians had proved that they could be reasonable and far-seeing and there was not any doubt in the minds of the President or any

of us that we could live with them and get along with them peacefully for as far into the future as any of us could imagine.' Nor were the Americans alone in their optimism. I believe that I was voicing the general opinion of the British delegation, with the exception of the Prime Minister who had been disillusioned by the failure to settle the Polish problem, when I wrote to Admiral Mountbatten that the Conference had 'been a great success not so much because of the formal conclusions that were reached, but because of the spirit of frank cooperation which characterized all the discussions.'

Looking back on those days, I suppose that we ought to have seen the red light when Stalin insisted that for Russia, Poland was a question not only of honor but of security, or in other words, that it was thought to be a matter of life and death for the Soviet that Poland should be under the Communist yoke. But perhaps we were all deceived by the spirit of exuberant *bonhomie* which had prevailed throughout the Conference; or perhaps we preferred not to look unpleasant facts in the face.

Source: Ismay, Hastings Lionel. *The Memoirs of Lord Ismay*. New York: Viking, 1960.

Questions

1. What does the author view as the greatest achievement(s) of the conference?
2. What does the author view as the greatest failure(s) of the conference?

Document B: Roosevelt's Address

Transcript of president Franklin D. Roosevelt's address to Congress on March 1, 1945

I hope that you will pardon me for this unusual posture of sitting down during the presentation of what I want to say, but I know that you will realize that it makes it a lot easier for me not to have to carry about ten pounds of steel around on the bottom of my legs; and also because of the fact that I have just completed a fourteen-thousand-mile trip.

First of all, I want to say, it is good to be home. . . .

There were two main purposes in this Crimea Conference. The first was to bring defeat to Germany with the greatest possible speed and the smallest possible loss of Allied men. That purpose is now being carried out in great force. The German Army, and the German people, are feeling the ever-increasing might of our fighting men and of the Allied armies. Every hour gives us added pride in the heroic advance of our troops in Germany—on German soil—toward a meeting with the gallant Red Army.

The second purpose was to continue to build the foundation for an international accord that would bring order and security after the chaos of the war, that would give some assurance of lasting peace among the Nations of the world. . . .

World peace is not a party question. I think that Republicans want peace just as much as Democrats. It is not a party question—any more than is military victory—the winning of the war.

When the Republic was threatened, first by the Nazi clutch for world conquest back in 1940 and then by the Japanese treachery in 1941,

partisanship and politics were laid aside by nearly every American; and every resource was dedicated to our common safety. The same consecration to the cause of peace will be expected, I think, by every patriotic American and by every human soul overseas.

The structure of world peace cannot be the work of one man, or one party, or one Nation. It cannot be just an American peace, or a British peace, or a Russian, a French, or a Chinese peace. It cannot be a peace of large Nations—or of small Nations. It must be a peace which rests on the cooperative effort of the whole world.

It cannot be a structure of complete perfection at first. But it can be a peace—and it will be a peace—based on the sound and just principles of the Atlantic Charter—on the concept of the dignity of the human being—and on the guarantees of tolerance and freedom of religious worship. . . .

One outstanding example of joint action by the three major Allied powers in the liberated areas was the solution reached on Poland. . . .

Our objective was to help to create a strong, independent, and prosperous Nation. That is the thing we must always remember, those words, agreed to by Russia, by Britain, and by the United States: the objective of making Poland a strong, independent, and prosperous Nation, with a government ultimately to be selected by the Polish people themselves.

To achieve that objective, it was necessary to provide for the formation of a new government much more representative than had been possible while Poland was enslaved. There were, as you know, two governments—

one in London, one in Lublin—practically in Russia. Accordingly, steps were taken at Yalta to reorganize the existing Provisional Government in Poland on a broader democratic basis, so as to include democratic leaders now in Poland and those abroad. This new, reorganized government will be recognized by all of us as the temporary government of Poland. Poland needs a temporary government in the worst way—an ad interim government, I think is another way of putting it. . . .

The Crimea Conference was a successful effort by the three leading Nations to find a common ground for peace. It ought to spell the end of the system of unilateral action, the exclusive alliances, the spheres of influence, the balances of power, and all the other expedients that have been tried for centuries—and have always failed. . . .

I am confident that the Congress and the American people will accept the results of this Conference as the beginnings of a permanent structure of peace upon which we can begin to build, under God, that better world in which our children and grandchildren—yours and mine, the children and grandchildren of the whole world—must live, and can live.

And that, my friends, is the principal message I can give you. But I feel it very deeply, as I know that all of you are feeling it today, and are going to feel it in the future.

Source: Roosevelt, Franklin D. "Address to Congress on Yalta." Speech presented to Congress, Washington, DC, March 1, 1945. University of Virginia, Miller Center. <http://millercenter.org/president/fdroosevelt/speeches/speech-3338>.

Questions

1. What does President Roosevelt identify as the two primary goals of the Yalta Conference?
2. How does President Roosevelt characterize the process of world peace?
3. What does President Roosevelt identify as the primary goal regarding Poland?
4. What does President Roosevelt suggest is necessary to maintain peace in the future?

Extension Activities

1. Make a multimedia presentation about another of the wartime conferences (San Francisco, Potsdam, or Tehran).
2. Write an essay in which you compare and contrast the result from your classroom simulation with those reached at the actual conference.
3. Write an essay arguing that, given the military situation at the time (Soviet Armies controlling most of Eastern Europe), either (A) the Western democracies, including Great Britain, France, and the United States, received the best deal possible from the Yalta agreements; or (B) the Western democracies, including Great Britain and the United States, could have been more aggressive toward the Soviets and achieved more political and territorial parity.
4. David Kennedy, a Stanford historian, said about Yalta that, “[it] was a stick to beat the Democrats up with in the McCarthy Era.”⁵⁹ The word “Yalta” became synonym for “betrayal,” akin to the appeasement of Hitler at the Munich Conference. Write an essay that compares the two conferences.

⁵⁹ David M. Kennedy, quoted in Bumiller, “60 Years Later.”

Trial of Bruno Tesch



Lesson

Overview

At the turn of the twentieth century, the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and many other European nations met and agreed to provisions about what could and could not be used during war. Key agreements emerged at The Hague in 1907 (see the **Hague Peace Conference** chapter) and in the Kellogg-Briand Pact (see the **Kellogg-Briand Pact** chapter). After the conclusion of World War II, the victorious allies placed on trial thousands of individuals from Germany and Japan accused of war crimes. This simulation of a trial deals with a German businessman, Bruno Tesch, whose company produced Zyklon B, the gas used in various Nazi concentration camps to kill millions of innocent people, most of them Jews.

Objectives

- Students will understand the role played by German entrepreneurs in the Holocaust.
- Students will learn of the details of the trial of Bruno Tesch, whose company supplied Zyklon B for use in Nazi concentration camps.
- Students will understand the role that the prior international agreements played regarding the rules of war governing the conviction of war criminals.

Notes for the Teacher/Duration

Day One

- Set up the classroom to look like a courtroom.
- Read and discuss the “Background for Teachers and Students.”
- Explain that you will be reading a dramatic representation of the trial of Bruno Tesch.
- Explain that the script is not an exact transcript of the trial. It is, rather, an edited version of the actual proceedings inspired by the actual testimony.
- Assign each student in the class a character to read.
- Begin reading the play.

Day Two

- Conclude the reading of the play.
- Answer any questions students might have about the details of the play.
- Debrief using discussion questions and document analysis.
- Discuss the document question with the class.

Teaching tip

It is recommended that students with strong reading and/or speaking skills play the roles with more lengthy lines. You might also have students take turns with the various roles.



Answers to Document Question

1. Would this statement have been used by the prosecution in the trial of Bruno Tesch? Why or why not?

Answers to the question will vary.

Day Three

- Debrief using extension activities.

Roles Assignment Chart

Character	Student
NARRATOR	
CLERK	
GENERAL PERSSE	
MAJOR DRAPER	
EMIL SEHM	
DR. ZIPPEL	
ERNA BIAGINI	
ANNA UENZELMANN	
KARL RUEHMLING	
WILHELM BAHR	
PERRY BROAD	
DR. BENDEL	
KARL WEINBACKER	
DR. DROSIHN	
DR. WERNER	
TESCH	

Bibliography and Suggested Reading

Note to instructors: It is important that you carefully vet all sources related to this trial, especially those posted online. There are many Holocaust-denial sites that deal with this case and the Holocaust in general.

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Trial of Bruno Tesch

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Background for Teachers and Students



Zyklon B

When the Allies decided to try Nazi war criminals at the conclusion of World War II, they were attempting not only to punish the guilty, but also to record a history of the awful crimes against humanity perpetrated during this global war.

World War II in Europe began in 1939 when Nazi armies invaded Poland, precipitating a declaration of war on Germany by Great Britain and France. By 1942, after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor and Germany invaded the Soviet Union, nearly the entire world was at war. World War II can best be described as total war. Civilians and soldiers were both involved. Combatants bombed cities, murdered millions, and displaced noncombatants from their homes.

For some civilians, war was profitable. They earned money either by providing war materials, or, as we shall see in the following case, by providing lethal gas for mass extermination in concentration camps scattered across German-occupied Europe.

Bruno Tesch was a German chemist and entrepreneur who was the sole proprietor of the firm Tesch and Stabenow. This company supplied pesticides like Zyklon B, originally created for the elimination of vermin. This lethal gas, however, was used by the SS in concentration camps to murder millions of human beings. Most of those

killed were Jews, but the gas was also used to exterminate the Romani people, homosexuals, other religious sects (such as Roman Catholics and Jehovah's Witnesses), and those people deemed to have physical and mental disabilities.

After the war, the Allies—Great Britain, France, and the United States—arrested and placed on trial the major Nazi leaders, accusing them of waging aggressive warfare and of war crimes. Hundreds of lesser known Germans, however, ranging from concentration camp guards to businessmen like Bruno Tesch, were also arrested and placed on trial.

The prosecutors accused Bruno Tesch of a war crime. Specifically, he was accused of violating Article 46 of the Hague Convention of 1907. This article concerning specifically the Laws and Customs of War on Land and on which the case for the prosecution's case was based, stated that "family honor and rights, the lives of persons, and private property, as well as religious convictions and practice, must be respected."⁶⁰ This article fell under the section "Military Authority over the Territory of the Hostile State" and was intended to refer to acts committed by occupying authorities in occupied territory. In the trial of Bruno Tesch, the acts to which the

⁶⁰ International Peace Conference, Convention (IV).

accused was allegedly accessory before the fact were committed mainly at the concentration camp of Auschwitz, in occupied Poland.

The court concluded the following:

The decision of the [British] Military Court ... in the present case is a clear example of the application of the rule that the provisions of the laws and customs of war are addressed not only to combatants and to members of state and other public authorities, but to anybody who is in a position to assist in their violation. The activities with which the accused [Tesch] in the present case were charged were commercial transactions conducted by civilians. The Military Court acted on the principle that any civilian who is an accessory to a violation of the laws and customs of war is also liable as war criminal.⁶¹

You will now have the opportunity to participate in a dramatic historical play, *The Trial of Bruno Tesch*, and to discuss the implications of this case for the postwar era and modern times.



⁶¹ UN War Crimes Commission, "Law Reports," 103.

Name _____

Roles

Cast of Characters

NARRATOR	
CLERK	A courtroom clerk.
GENERAL PERSSE	A judge.
MAJOR DRAPER	A judge-advocate.
EMIL SEHM	Tesch's bookkeeper and chief accountant.
DR. ZIPPEL	Tesch's defense lawyer.
ERNA BIAGINI	Tesch's stenographer.
ANNA UENZELMANN	An assistant to Erna.
KARL RUEHMLING	Tesch's bookkeeper.
WILHELM BAHR	A medical orderly who worked at the Neuengamme concentration camp.
PERRY BROAD	Rottenführer at Auschwitz.
DR. BENDEL	A former inmate at Auschwitz.
KARL WEINBACKER	A business manager.
DR. DROSIHN	A zoologist.
DR. WERNER	A doctor of infectious diseases.
TESCH	The accused on trial.

Your Character Role _____

The Trial of Bruno Tesch

ACT I

Scene 1

NARRATOR. We are in Hamburg, Germany. It is March of 1946. A large, open room is arranged like a courtroom, including desks for the judge-advocate, the defense attorney, and the defendant. All three desks are filled. Three British officers staring grimly ahead are seated at a long table. In front of them is an empty witness chair.

CLERK. Will the accused rise to answer the charges?

GENERAL PERSSE. You have been charged by the allied forces of Great Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and France with a war crime. The clerk will now read the specific charge.

CLERK. Dr. Bruno Tesch, at Hamburg, Germany, between January 1941 and March 1945, in violation of the laws and usages of war, did supply poison gas used for the extermination of civilians and allied prisoners-of-war interned in concentration camps well knowing that the said gas was to be so used.

GENERAL PERSSE. How do you plea?

TESCH. *(rises from his seat at the defense table)* Not guilty.

GENERAL PERSSE. You may be seated. *(turns to the Judge-Advocate's desk)* Major Draper, you may make any opening remarks you might have at this time.

MAJOR DRAPER. Sirs, may it please the court, I shall get right to the heart of this grim story. In the Auschwitz concentration camp, during the summer of 1941, 250 hospital patients and 600 Russian prisoners-of-war were forced into a sealed chamber and murdered with a poison gas called Zyklon B, a poison developed to kill insects, rats—vermin. And this, honorable sir, was merely an experiment by the SS, a test of Zyklon B's killing power. This experiment by the SS—and undoubtedly there were others—was considered a great success. Eventually, six huge concentration camps became killing centers. All of them used gas; two, Auschwitz and Chelmno, used Zyklon B. How was Dr. Bruno Tesch part of this diabolical plot to methodically murder innocent people?

May it please the court, by 1942 Dr. Tesch was the sole owner of a company known as Tesch and Stabenow. He had succeeded in buying out his former partner. His business included the distribution of certain types of gas and gassing machinery for use as disinfectant for buildings, including German Army barracks and concentration camps run by the dreaded SS. One of the gasses involved in his business was labelled Zyklon B; it is nearly 100 percent prussic acid and is highly toxic to vermin and, as the SS butchers found out, humans. Zyklon B was actually produced by another German firm, but Dr. Tesch's company arranged the transfer of all supplies directly from the manufacturer to the customers—the German Army and the SS. In fact, from 1941 to 1945, Dr. Tesch's company supplied vast quantities

of this highly lethal gas to the SS who were in charge these death camps. During this time, it is estimated that nearly 6 million human beings were exterminated—most in gas chambers. Nearly 1 million men, women, and children were gassed to death in one camp alone—Auschwitz! Who were these murdered human beings? The vast majority was from the Nazi-occupied territories of Europe, including Czechs, Russians, Poles, French, Dutch, and Belgians—most were Jews. Many were also British, American, French, and Russian prisoners-of-war. The prosecution will show that Dr. Tesch knew of this wholesale extermination of human beings by the SS using Zyklon B and continued to supply the SS with ever-increasing amounts of this lethal gas until, by February of 1944, Auschwitz alone was demanding two tons a month! Honorable sirs, the defendant, Bruno Tesch, knowingly put this horrible weapon of mass extermination into the hands of sadistic killers. For that crime, he is just as guilty as those who actually committed the murders. His actions were in direct violation of Article 46 of the Hague Regulations of 1907 concerning the laws and customs of war on land, which provides that, and I quote, “family honor and rights, the lives of persons, and private property, as well as religious convictions and practice, must be respected.” This article specifically refers to territory occupied by a military power.

GENERAL PERSSE. Thank you, Major Draper. Are you prepared, at this time, to call your first witness?

MAJOR DRAPER. I am, sir. The prosecution calls Mr. Emil Sehm.

NARRATOR. Emil Sehm stands in front of the witness chair. The Clerk, who is standing near the witness box, holds out a Bible to him. Sehm places his hand on it.

CLERK. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

EMIL SEHM. I do.

CLERK. Please be seated.

MAJOR DRAPER. Please state your name and occupation for the court.

EMIL SEHM. My name is Emil Sehm. I was the bookkeeper and chief accountant for the firm of Tesch and Stabenow.

MAJOR DRAPER. How long did you occupy this position?

EMIL SEHM. I was hired in April 1937, and I worked for the company until the end of the war. I . . . I'm not well now.

MAJOR DRAPER. Did your job as bookkeeper and chief accountant give you access to information about the business transactions of the company?

EMIL SEHM. It did.

MAJOR DRAPER. And did you ever see information related to a type of gas known as Zyklon B?

EMIL SEHM. Yes.

MAJOR DRAPER. Can you describe, for the court, specific examples of this data between the years of 1941 and 1945?

EMIL SEHM. The numbers in the accounts are related to purchases, sales, distribution—things like that—steadily increased, beginning in 1941. . . . It was one of the most profitable products we distributed.

MAJOR DRAPER. Did Dr. Tesch ever directly discuss with you the use of the gas known as Zyklon B?

EMIL SEHM. No, sir. He never said anything about the use of this gas. I believed at first, early in 1940, that it was developed by one of our suppliers for use as a disinfectant—to kill vermin.

MAJOR DRAPER. Mr. Sehm, please explain to the court how you found out that this toxic gas, Zyklon B, was being used for purposes other than a disinfectant.

EMIL SEHM. In October or November of 1942—I can't remember the exact date—I accidentally saw, in the files of the company's registry, a report written by Dr. Tesch describing his business trips beginning in late 1941—in particular his meetings with the SS. I was curious. I shouldn't have, but I read it.

MAJOR DRAPER. Were these secret files kept under lock and key?

EMIL SEHM. Yes. It was wartime, and we had a lot of business with the military. We even had special file cabinets for our military accounts.

MAJOR DRAPER. Did you read the entire report?

EMIL SEHM. I did.

MAJOR DRAPER. Will you tell the court what this report said?

EMIL SEHM. The report described in detail a meeting Dr. Tesch had with several leading members of the SS. They complained to him that the shooting and mass burial of Jews in occupied Europe was proving extremely—er—unhygienic. Some SS personnel had become sick. They wanted Dr. Tesch's opinion about how to solve this problem—perhaps his company could provide disinfectants. But, he had a better . . . a more—er—efficient suggestion.

MAJOR DRAPER. Go on. What did Dr. Tesch suggest?

EMIL SEHM. He told the SS that releasing prussic acid gas in an enclosed chamber would prove as lethal to humans as it was to lice and other vermin. They could, in effect, exterminate human beings with a disinfectant. He suggested the gas Zyklon B, a product distributed by our company, as being very suitable to the task.

MAJOR DRAPER. And what was the SS's reaction to this suggestion?

EMIL SEHM. They thought it was an excellent idea and asked him how the gas should be used.

MAJOR DRAPER. How did he respond?

EMIL SEHM. Dr. Tesch suggested the use of a sealed gas chamber and volunteered to conduct experiments, to demonstrate that it would be effective.

MAJOR DRAPER. Thank you, Mr. Sehm. (*turns to the officers*) I have no further questions for this witness.

GENERAL PERSSE. Defense counsel, do you wish to question the witness?

DR. ZIPPEL. Yes, sir.

GENERAL PERSSE. Proceed.

DR. ZIPPEL. Isn't it true, Mr. Sehm, that your job focused exclusively on the financial aspects of Dr. Tesch's business?

EMIL SEHM. Yes.

DR. ZIPPEL. And isn't it true, Mr. Sehm, that you were subsequently fired from the company early in 1945 for embezzling several thousand German marks?

MAJOR DRAPER. Objection, your honor. Irrelevant. The witness is not on trial.

GENERAL PERSSE. Sustained.

DR. ZIPPEL. Mr. Sehm, did you ever actually see Dr. Tesch's signature on this alleged document?

EMIL SEHM. I don't remember.

DR. ZIPPEL. Then you cannot be sure that he authored this document?

EMIL SEHM. I can't but—

DR. ZIPPEL. —Please, just a simple yes or no.

EMIL SEHM. No.

DR. ZIPPEL. I have no further questions of this witness.

CLERK. Witness may step down.

GENERAL PERSSE. Major, you may call your next witness.

MAJOR DRAPER. The prosecution calls Erna Biagini.

NARRATOR. Erna Biagini stands in front of the witness chair. The clerk holds out a Bible to her. Erna places her hand on it

CLERK. Please raise your right hand. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

ERNA BIAGINI. I do.

CLERK. Be seated.

MAJOR DRAPER. Please state your name and occupation for the court.

ERNA BIAGINI. My name is Erna Biagini, and I am a stenographer.

MAJOR DRAPER. Were you employed by Dr. Tesch in 1942?

ERNA BIAGINI. Yes. I was the stenographer for his company, Tesch and Stabenow.

MAJOR DRAPER. Specifically, what was your primary job?

ERNA BIAGINI. I took notes at meetings and was in charge of the company's internal documents—
memos, travel reports, letters—things like that.

MAJOR DRAPER. Do you know anything about the gas known as Zyklon B?

DR. ZIPPEL. Objection. Witness is not competent to answer this question.

GENERAL PERSSE. Overruled. Witness will answer the question.

ERNA BIAGINI. Yes, it is a disinfectant gas for killing insects like lice.

MAJOR DRAPER. Did you ever see anything in the memos, travel reports, or letters of Dr. Tesch's
company—the company that you worked for—about Zyklon B.

ERNA BIAGINI. Yes, there were hundreds of such documents—I think we were its sole distributor.

MAJOR DRAPER. Will you please tell the court about one such travel document you read in 1942?

ERNA BIAGINI. I remember reading a travel report submitted by Dr. Tesch sometime in 1942—I can't
remember the exact date—which stated that he thought Zyklon B would work as well on
humans as it did on vermin.

MAJOR DRAPER. Thank you, Mrs. Biagini. No further questions.

GENERAL PERSSE. Dr. Zippel, do you have any questions for this witness?

DR. ZIPPEL. Yes, your honor, I do. *(rises from his seat)* Mrs. Biagini, is it customary for stenographers like
yourself to read company documents?

ERNA BIAGINI. No, but I—

DR. ZIPPEL.—Please, just answer the question.

ERNA BIAGINI. No.

DR. ZIPPEL. Isn't it true, Mrs. Biagini, that you were not supposed to read company documents? That
you were supposed to file them?

ERNA BIAGINI. Yes, but sometimes I—

DR. ZIPPEL.—And isn't it also true, Mrs. Biagini, that you were often reprimanded by Dr. Tesch for
reading such documents?

MAJOR DRAPER. Objection, your honor. Relevancy. Whether the witness read documents illegally or legally is not the issue here.

GENERAL PERSSE. Objection sustained.

DR. ZIPPEL. Mrs. Biagini, are you positive that the document you read in 1942 said that Zyklon B could be used to kill human beings?

ERNA BIAGINI. Positive.

DR. ZIPPEL. Those were the exact words?

ERNA BIAGINI. The exact words—Zyklon B *could* be used to kill human beings.

DR. ZIPPEL. I have no further questions for this witness.

CLERK. Witness may step down.

GENERAL PERSSE. I am calling a recess at this time until tomorrow morning at ten a.m. Court is adjourned.

CLERK. All rise. Court is dismissed.

Scene 2

NARRATOR. The court reconvenes with all members present. The prosecution continues to present its case.

GENERAL PERSSE. Major Draper, you may call your next witness.

MAJOR DRAPER. The prosecution calls Miss Anna Uenzelmann.

NARRATOR. Anna Uenzelmann stands in front of the witness chair. The Clerk holds out a Bible to her. Anna places her hand on it.

CLERK. Please raise your right hand. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

ANNA UENZELMANN. I do.

CLERK. You may be seated.

MAJOR DRAPER. Please state your name and occupation.

ANNA UENZELMANN. My name is Anna Uenzelmann, and I am a stenographer.

MAJOR DRAPER. Please tell the court where you worked from the beginning of 1942 until the end of the war.

ANNA UENZELMANN. I worked for the company of Tesch and Stabenow. I was hired to assist Mrs. Biagini.

MAJOR DRAPER. Please tell the court about a conversation you had with Dr. Tesch regarding the gas known as Zyklon B.

ANNA UENZELMANN. Dr. Tesch had just returned from a business trip to Berlin—I think it was about the middle of June 1944. He called me into his office to dictate a travel report. This was standard company procedure after a business trip. He mentioned in the report that Zyklon B was being used by the SS for gassing human beings.

MAJOR DRAPER. How did you react when you heard this?

ANNA UENZELMANN. I remember being totally shocked. He appeared to be terrified. He told me that he didn't know what to do. He begged me not to say anything about this to the other employees. He said they just would not understand why he was doing it. He said it was for all our benefit.

MAJOR DRAPER. Did you say anything about this matter to the other employees?

ANNA UENZELMANN. No.

MAJOR DRAPER. Why?

ANNA UENZELMANN. I guess I didn't want to believe what he was saying was true. And I didn't think the others would believe me. It was just too horrible—and he was so nice to all of us.

MAJOR DRAPER. That will be all, Miss Uenzelmann. No further questions.

GENERAL PERSE. Do you have any questions of this witness, Dr. Zippel?

DR. ZIPPEL. I do, your honor. Miss Uenzelmann, you have testified that Dr. Tesch told you that Zyklon B was being used to gas human beings. Is that correct?

ANNA UENZELMANN. Yes.

DR. ZIPPEL. After this initial conversation, did Dr. Tesch ever discuss this matter with you again?

ANNA UENZELMANN. Not that I can recall.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did you ever try to confirm—let's say by reading company documents—whether what he said was true?

ANNA UENZELMANN. No.

DR. ZIPPEL. No further questions.

GENERAL PERSE. Witness may step down. Major Draper, you may call your next witness.

MAJOR DRAPER. The prosecution calls Mr. Karl Ruehmeling.

NARRATOR. Karl Ruehmeling stands in front of the witness chair. The Clerk holds out a Bible to him. Karl places his hand on it.

CLERK. Raise your right hand. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

KARL RUEMLING. I do.

CLERK. Be seated.

MAJOR DRAPER. Please state your name and occupation for the court.

KARL RUEMLING. My name is Karl Ruehmeling, and I was the bookkeeper for the firm of Tesch and Stabenow.

MAJOR DRAPER. How long did you hold this position?

KARL RUEMLING. Ten years. From 1935 to 1945.

MAJOR DRAPER. Did your position in the company allow you access to the shipping records of the firm?

KARL RUEMLING. Yes.

MAJOR DRAPER. Please describe for the court, generally speaking of course, about the shipping of the gas Zyklon B by the company Tesch and Stabenow until 1942.

KARL RUEMLING. We began distribution of this gas sometime in 1939. It quickly became a successful product. It was very effective as a disinfectant. Well, by the beginning of 1942, we were shipping what I would describe as increasing amounts of this gas to various locations throughout Europe. It was our number-one product for distribution.

MAJOR DRAPER. Can you remember any specific locations?

KARL RUEMLING. I can remember some of the locations on the shipping orders as being Auschwitz, Sachsenhausen, and Neuengamme.

MAJOR DRAPER. Was the company successful? You know, making money?

KARL RUEMLING. Yes, profits were very good.

MAJOR DRAPER. And did business get even better as the war progressed?

KARL RUEMLING. Yes. We began to ship enormous quantities of this gas—especially to Auschwitz—I think by 1943 they were receiving nearly two tons a month.

MAJOR DRAPER. Mr. Ruehmeling, did your boss, Dr. Tesch, ever mention why places like Auschwitz were receiving such large quantities of this highly lethal gas.

KARL RUEMLING. Well, we all knew . . . I mean . . . everyone . . . our armies had captured hundreds of thousands of prisoners, especially in Russia. He said that the gas was being used to disinfect the prison camps. It seemed logical at the time.

MAJOR DRAPER. No further questions.

GENERAL PERSSE. Dr. Zippel, do you have any questions of this witness?

DR. ZIPPEL. Yes, your honor. Mr. Ruehmeling, isn't it true that Dr. Tesch told you that the gas Zyklon B was being sent to various camps throughout Europe during the war years as a disinfectant.

KARL RUEMLING. Yes.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did he ever say to you that this gas was being used on human beings?

KARL RUEMLING. No.

DR. ZIPPEL. So you cannot say for sure that this gas was being used for any other purpose other than as a cleansing and disinfecting agent.

KARL RUEMLING. Yes, I guess that's so.

GENERAL PERSSE. Witness may step down. Major Draper, you may call your next witness.

MAJOR DRAPER. The prosecution calls Mr. Wilhelm Bahr.

NARRATOR. Wilhelm Bahr stands in front of the witness chair. The Clerk holds out a Bible to him. Wilhelm places his hand on it.

CLERK. Please raise your right hand. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

WILHELM BAHR. I do.

CLERK. Be seated.

MAJOR DRAPER. Please state your name for the court.

WILHELM BAHR. Wilhelm Bahr.

MAJOR DRAPER. Tell the court what your occupation was from 1942 to 1945.

WILHELM BAHR. I was a medical orderly at the Neuengamme concentration camp.

MAJOR DRAPER. In the course of your duties as a medical orderly at this camp, did you ever have anything to do with the gas known as Zyklon B?

WILHELM BAHR. Yes.

MAJOR DRAPER. Please explain to the court how this gas was used.

WILHELM BAHR. At first, it was used as a disinfectant—to get rid of vermin, lice . . . later . . . *(he hesitates)*

MAJOR DRAPER. Go on, Mr. Bahr.

WILHELM BAHR. It was used to gas inmates in the camp.

MAJOR DRAPER. Did you ever use this gas on human beings?

WILHELM BAHR. (*looks down at the floor*) I used Zyklon B gas to execute hundreds of Russian prisoners-of-war at Neuengamme in 1942. I had to. . . They—the SS—would have shot me if I had disobeyed.

MAJOR DRAPER. Can you describe the process for the court? Exactly how was this gas used?

DR. ZIPPEL. Objection, with all respect to the court. We all know the horrors that were committed in these concentration camps. The defense does not deny that individuals were murdered by the thousands in gas chambers. The defendant, Dr. Tesch, however, is not on trial for committing any specific offense in a concentration camp. Any testimony related to the specifics of what happened there is irrelevant.

MAJOR DRAPER. Sir, how can the court comprehend the enormity of the effect of what the defendant did without a specific comprehension of the end result of his actions—the effect on those who died in the gas chambers?

GENERAL PERSSE. Objection overruled. Witness will continue.

WILHELM BAHR. Nearly all the prisoners arrived covered in filth—most had been shut up in cattle cars for several days. They were told they were going to be deloused. Men and women were separated. Then, they were ordered to strip off all their clothes and were herded into the gas chamber—it was designed to look like showers. When they were all packed into the chamber, SS men shut the heavy iron door, which was fitted with a rubber seal, and locked it. (*continues looking down at the floor*)

MAJOR DRAPER. Continue, Mr. Bahr. What happened then?

WILHELM BAHR. At the command of an SS officer, crystals of Zyklon B were dropped through openings in the roof of the gas chamber, and then the openings were quickly sealed. Within about twenty minutes, everyone inside was dead. There was a lot of screaming.

MAJOR DRAPER. Mr. Bahr, where did you learn how to use this highly lethal gas? I mean, wasn't it dangerous?

WILHELM BAHR. I attended a training session at the SS Hospital at Oranienburg in the spring of 1942.

MAJOR DRAPER. Who was your teacher?

WILHELM BAHR. Dr. Tesch.

MAJOR DRAPER. Is that the man? (*points to the defendant*)

WILHELM BAHR. Yes.

MAJOR DRAPER. No further questions.

GENERAL PERSSE. Dr. Zippel, do you wish to question the witness.

DR. ZIPPEL. (*rises from his seat*) Mr. Bahr, did you ever see Dr. Tesch at the concentration camp Neuengamme?

WILHELM BAHR. No.

DR. ZIPPEL. So, the first and only contact you ever had with Dr. Tesch was at this so-called training session in the spring of 1942?

WILHELM BAHR. Yes, I guess that's true.

DR. ZIPPEL. Isn't it also true, Mr. Bahr, that Dr. Tesch did not teach you how to use prussic acid—Zyklon B gas—on human beings?

WILHELM BAHR. Well, I suppose—

DR. ZIPPEL. You learned that procedure from SS doctors at the camp, didn't you?

WILHELM BAHR. Yes, but Dr. Tesch's training—

DR. ZIPPEL. No further questions.

GENERAL PERSSE. Witness is excused. Major Draper, call your next witness.

MAJOR DRAPER. The prosecution calls Mr. Perry Broad.

NARRATOR. Perry Broad stands in front of the witness chair. The Clerk holds out a Bible to him. Perry places his hand on it.

CLERK. Please raise your right hand. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

PERRY BROAD. I do.

CLERK. Be seated.

MAJOR DRAPER. Please state your name for the court.

PERRY BROAD. Perry Broad.

MAJOR DRAPER. What was your occupation from June 1942 to the spring of 1945?

PERRY BROAD. I was the rottenführer in the kommandantur of the Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland.

MAJOR DRAPER. Was the poison gas known as Zyklon B used to exterminate human beings at this camp?

PERRY BROAD. Yes.

MAJOR DRAPER. Describe the process for the court.

PERRY BROAD. Those selected for extermination were forced to strip off all their clothing. They were then told to enter a gas chamber made to look like a bathhouse. They were told that they were going to be deloused and showered. Each chamber held about two hundred people. They were crammed into the chamber, and the door was sealed. The gas was then released into the chamber from a ceiling opening.

MAJOR DRAPER. Did you ever witness this process?

PERRY BROAD. No. I never wanted to see it.

MAJOR DRAPER. How would you describe the people who were exterminated in these gas chambers? I mean, where did they come from?

PERRY BROAD. To the best of my knowledge, they came from all over Europe—German deportees; Jews from Belgium, Holland, France, Northern Italy, Czechoslovakia, and Poland; and Gypsies.

MAJOR DRAPER. Were there any prisoners-of-war from Great Britain, the United States, France, or the Soviet Union among those exterminated?

PERRY BROAD. Yes, Soviet prisoners for sure. I don't know about the other countries.

MAJOR DRAPER. That will be all. No further questions for this witness.

GENERAL PERSSE. Do you wish to question this witness, Dr. Zippel?

DR. ZIPPEL. Yes, your honor. Mr. Broad, do you know the defendant, Dr. Tesch?

PERRY BROAD. No.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did you ever see him at the Auschwitz concentration camp?

PERRY BROAD. No.

DR. ZIPPEL. Do you know how the men who operated the gas chambers at Auschwitz learned how to handle the gas Zyklon B?

PERRY BROAD. Some were sent to training sessions. I'm not sure where. And technicians came to the camp—the seals had to be inspected for leaks.

DR. ZIPPEL. But you never saw Dr. Tesch among those technicians. Isn't that true?

PERRY BROAD. Yes.

DR. ZIPPEL. No further questions, your honor.

GENERAL PERSSE. Witness may be seated. Major, you may call your next witness.

MAJOR DRAPER. The prosecution calls Dr. Bendel to the stand.

NARRATOR. Dr. Bendel stands in front of the witness chair. The Clerk holds out a Bible to him. Bendel places his hand on it.

CLERK. Please raise your right hand. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

DR. BENDEL. I do.

CLERK. Be seated.

MAJOR DRAPER. Please state your name for the court.

DR. BENDEL. Karl Bendel.

MAJOR DRAPER. What is your profession?

DR. BENDEL. I am a physician. Before the war, I specialized in internal medicine.

MAJOR DRAPER. Please tell the court, Dr. Bendel, where you were from the beginning of 1944 to January of 1945.

DR. BENDEL. I was an inmate at Auschwitz concentration camp in Poland.

MAJOR DRAPER. Please explain to the court how you survived this horrible concentration camp.

DR. BENDEL. I was a doctor, so the SS used my skills to treat sick guards and sometimes inmates they wanted kept alive—for slave labor.

MAJOR DRAPER. Can you tell us what you know about the gas Zyklon B and how it was used in the camp?

DR. BENDEL. Zyklon B is an extremely toxic gas. A small amount in an enclosed place is 100 percent fatal to human beings.

MAJOR DRAPER. How many people would you estimate could be killed with two tons of this gas?

DR. BENDEL. Hundreds of thousands.

MAJOR DRAPER. Was Zyklon B used to exterminate human beings at Auschwitz concentration camp?

DR. BENDEL. Yes. I would estimate that in one day alone, in 1944, nearly thirty thousand people were gassed to death.

MAJOR DRAPER. And how many were killed while you were in the camp?

DR. ZIPPEL. Objection, your honor. Incompetent. The witness could not have been in a position to count the number of the dead.

MAJOR DRAPER. Your honor, I will show how Dr. Bendel was able to arrive at these figures.

GENERAL PERSSE. Overruled. You may continue.

MAJOR DRAPER. How many were killed at the camp, Dr. Bendel?

DR. BENDEL. From February 1944 to January 1945, I believe 1 million people were gassed to death at Auschwitz.

MAJOR DRAPER. And how did you arrive at these figures?

DR. BENDEL. Arithmetic and logic. The SS patients I cared for were constantly bragging about how many Jews they were killing. I kept a mental record of numbers of the dead on various days; and, because trains were arriving full of prisoners every day, it is reasonable to assume it was probably more.

MAJOR DRAPER. Thank you, Dr. Bendel. No further questions.

GENERAL PERSSE. Dr. Zippel, do you wish to question this witness?

DR. ZIPPEL. Yes, your honor. Dr. Bendel, I realize that you have been through a truly horrible experience. No one in this courtroom doubts that thousands of people died in concentration camps like Auschwitz. Yet, I would like you to try and put aside your emotions for a moment and try to answer the following questions like a physician—an expert doctor. Have you ever, in your medical practice, prescribed drugs, which, if misused—taken in larger quantities, for example—would result in injury or death?

DR. BENDEL. Yes, I suppose so.

MAJOR DRAPER. Objection, your honor. What possible relevancy could this have?

DR. ZIPPEL. If the court will bear with me for a moment, it will become apparent.

GENERAL PERSSE. Objection overruled. You may continue.

DR. ZIPPEL. So, it is possible to misuse perfectly legal drugs?

DR. BENDEL. Yes.

DR. ZIPPEL. Dr. Bendel, if a doctor deliberately misused a drug to kill a patient, would you hold the drug company responsible?

MAJOR DRAPER. Objection, your honor! Irrelevant!

GENERAL PERSSE. Sustained. Dr. Zippel, I fail to see the relevancy of this line of questioning.

DR. ZIPPEL. I am merely trying to show the court that any product, be it a medical drug, a toxic gas like Zyklon B, or a firearm, can be abused, and it is not the fault of the manufacturer or supplier. No further questions.

GENERAL PERSSE. Witness may step down. Major, do you have any further witnesses?

MAJOR DRAPER. The prosecution rests, your honor.

GENERAL PERSSE. We will call a recess until tomorrow, at which time defense counsel will make his opening remarks.

CLERK. Attention! All rise.

ACT II

Scene 1

NARRATOR. The courtroom is filled, with the exception of the three judges. The defendant and defense attorney quietly chat at their table. Major Draper reviews his notes. The clerk stands off to the side.

CLERK. Attention!

NARRATOR. The three presiding officers enter and are seated.

CLERK. At ease.

GENERAL PERSE. Dr. Zippel, you may come forward and make your opening remarks to the court on behalf of your client, Dr. Bruno Tesch.

DR. ZIPPEL. May it please the court, the defense will show that during the war, Dr. Bruno Tesch had no knowledge of the extermination of human beings by means of Zyklon B gas. His company arranged legitimate delivery of this toxic gas to detention centers in areas occupied by the German Army with the understanding it was to be used solely as a disinfectant and for medical purposes. At the time, the large quantities of Zyklon B supplied to these so-called concentration camps seemed quite normal to Dr. Tesch, especially considering the sanitation needs of the many thousands of prisoners being captured by the German army. Yes, Dr. Tesch did design and implement instruction courses in the use of Zyklon B in gas chambers, but these courses were only conducted to train technicians in the use of these facilities for the purpose of exterminating vermin—never human beings. Dr. Tesch never went to Auschwitz, or any other detention center, during the war. Finally, guilt for the misuse of Zyklon B gas lies solely in the hands of the SS and the Nazi leadership. Thank you, your honor.

GENERAL PERSE. You may call your first witness.

DR. ZIPPEL. The defense calls Mr. Karl Weinbacker.

NARRATOR. Karl Weinbacker stands in front of the witness chair. The Clerk holds out a Bible to him. Karl places his hand on it.

CLERK. Please raise your right hand. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. WEINBACKER. I do.

DR. ZIPPEL. Please state your name and occupation for the court.

MR. WEINBACKER. My name is Karl Weinbacker. I am a business manager.

DR. ZIPPEL. What company did you work for during the years from 1942 to 1945?

MR. WEINBACKER. I was employed by Tesch and Stabenow.

DR. ZIPPEL. Describe for the court the nature of your job.

MR. WEINBACKER. I managed the front office. I was in charge of the business in the absence of Dr. Tesch. I had to deal with all incoming and outgoing correspondence, including orders, queries—normal business traffic. Dr. Tesch was often away on business.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did you ever read any of Dr. Tesch's travel reports?

MR. WEINBACKER. I read some of them, but not all. . . . There were just too many, and they were very long. Normally, I just skimmed through them to see if there was anything that I might have to act on.

DR. ZIPPEL. Do you remember reading anything in these travel reports about the possibility of destroying human beings with the gas Zyklon B?

MR. WEINBACKER. No. Never.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did Dr. Tesch ever discuss with you personally the possibility of using Zyklon B gas to exterminate human beings?

MR. WEINBACKER. No.

DR. ZIPPEL. Mr. Weinbacker, did you ever visit a concentration camp during the war?

MR. WEINBACKER. No, never.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did you ever hear anything during the war years about extermination of human beings in concentration camps?

MR. WEINBACKER. No. Well, of course there were rumors. But no, I don't think anybody really knew anything about these camps. They were kept quite secret by the SS.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did you ever read any letters from SS officials asking your boss, Dr. Tesch, for advice on how to use Zyklon B gas to exterminate human beings?

MR. WEINBACKER. No, I never read any such letters. After all, why would they need his help? There were plenty of technical books available on the use of prussic acid, and it's really something more suitable for a technician. Dr. Tesch was the chief executive of our company—he had more important matters to deal with.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did Dr. Tesch, as far as you know, ever visit any of the concentration camps?

MR. WEINBACKER. Not that I know of. I never saw any travel reports or receipts from such a trip. No, I don't think so.

DR. ZIPPEL. Thank you, Mr. Weinbacker. No further questions.

GENERAL PERSSE. Major Draper, do you have any questions for this witness?

MAJOR DRAPER. Yes, sir. (rises and turns to the witness) About how many days during the course of each year—1942, 1943, and 1945—was Dr. Tesch away on business? Generally speaking of course.

MR. WEINBACKER. I can't say for sure. Maybe two hundred.

MAJOR DRAPER. Isn't it true, Mr. Weinbacker, that during his absence, in addition to your office management duties, you were what is called a "procurer"? That is, you were fully empowered and authorized to do all acts on behalf of the business—sales, for example?

MR. WEINBACKER. Yes, I ran the business in the absence of Dr. Tesch.

MAJOR DRAPER. Mr. Weinbacker, was the company, whose principle owner and manager was the Dr. Tesch, shipping the gas known as Zyklon B to concentration camps throughout German-occupied Europe?

MR. WEINBACKER. Yes, but we referred to them as detention centers.

MAJOR DRAPER. —And did the orders for Zyklon B gas steadily increase until by 1944 some camps, like Auschwitz in Poland, were receiving as much as two tons a month?

MR. WEINBACKER. I am not sure about that amount—but yes, orders for this gas did increase, but—

MAJOR DRAPER. —And isn't it true, that Dr. Tesch's company was making a huge profit from the sale of this product, Zyklon B gas?

MR. WEINBACKER. The company was doing very well. It was profitable, but—

MAJOR DRAPER. —And you mean to tell this court that no one, including your boss, Dr. Tesch, suspected that this gas was being used by the SS to exterminate Jews and allied prisoners-of-war!?

DR. ZIPPEL. Objection, your honor! The witness cannot be expected to—

MAJOR DRAPER. —No further questions, sir.

GENERAL PERSSE. Witness is excused. Dr. Zippel, you may call your next witness.

DR. ZIPPEL. The defense calls Dr. Joachim Drosihn.

NARRATOR. Dr. Drosihn stands in front of the witness chair. Clerk holds out a Bible to him. The doctor places his hand on it.

CLERK. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

DROSIHN. I do.

CLERK. Be seated.

DR. ZIPPEL. Please state your name and occupation for the court.

DROSIHN. My name is Dr. Joachim Drosihn. I am a scientist, a zoologist.

DR. ZIPPEL. Were you employed by the firm of Tesch and Stabenow during the years from 1942 to 1945?

DR. DROSIHN. Yes.

DR. ZIPPEL. Please tell the court the specific nature of your job.

DR. DROSIHN. From 1942 to 1945, I was the technical gassing master to the firm. I spent more than half a year traveling, keeping the operational level of our gassing machines and products at a high level.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did your work involve the product known as Zyklon B?

DR. DROSIHN. Yes. I was in charge of quality control for that product.

DR. ZIPPEL. How was Zyklon B gas used?

DR. DROSIHN. It was used in gas delousing chambers.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did you ever personally inspect any of the delousing chambers in the concentration camps during the period from 1942 until the end of the war?

DR. DROSIHN. Yes, it was part of my job. I had to see that they were working properly.

DR. ZIPPEL. Can you be more specific? Which camps did you visit in your inspection tours—er—of the equipment?

DR. DROSIHN. I checked the delousing chambers in Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrück, and Neuengamme.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did you see any evidence that these gas chambers were being used for any other purpose than delousing—killing vermin?

DR. DROSIHN. No.

DR. ZIPPEL. And did you ever give SS officials instruction courses in how to operate these gas chambers?

DR. DROSIHN. No, never. I merely inspected them for mechanical defects, malfunctioning parts—things like that.

DR. ZIPPEL. In your capacity as a scientist, an expert on gassing, how much Zyklon B gas would be needed to kill human beings in contrast to its legitimate use of exterminating insects?

DR. DROSIHN. A very small amount.

DR. ZIPPEL. Can you be more precise?

DR. DROSIHN. The amount of Zyklon B gas needed for killing a million people would be proportionally so small to what would be needed for exterminating lice that it would hardly have been noticed.

DR. ZIPPEL. No further questions.

GENERAL PERSSE. Major Draper, do you wish to question the witness?

MAJOR DRAPER. Yes, sir. *(turns to the witness)* Dr. Drosihn, isn't it true that you spent considerable time on company inspection tours? *(looks through a folder of documents)* The company records indicate from 150 to 200 days per year from 1942 to 1945.

DR. DROSIHN. Well—yes.

MAJOR DRAPER. And you inspected Sachsenhausen?

DR. DROSIHN. Yes.

MAJOR DRAPER. How many times?

DR. DROSIHN. Once or twice. I'm not sure.

MAJOR DRAPER. Ravensbrück?

DR. DROSIHN. Twice. Yes, I was there two times.

MAJOR DRAPER. And Neuengamme?

DR. DROSIHN. I think I was there twice, maybe three times. I'm not sure.

MAJOR DRAPER. How about Auschwitz?

DR. DROSIHN. I never inspected that camp.

MAJOR DRAPER. Why?

DR. DROSIHN. I don't remember. Dr. Tesch scheduled the inspection trips from official requests. I suppose the officials at that camp did not have a problem with the equipment.

MAJOR DRAPER. Did you know in 1944 that Auschwitz was receiving nearly two tons of Zyklon B gas from your company per month?

DR. DROSIHN. No. I was not aware of that. I was a technical expert. I knew nothing about the amounts of shipments of any of our products.

MAJOR DRAPER. Dr. Drosihn, it is an established fact that millions of human beings were gassed to death during the years 1942, 1943, and 1945—many thousands in the very gas chambers you inspected at Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrück, and Neuengamme. Are you telling this court that you saw no evidence of this?

DR. DROSIHN. I never witnessed any gassing of human beings. I am ashamed to admit that I did see human beings suffering and living in a deplorable conditions, but what could I do? They were prisoners, and I was not even in the military.

MAJOR DRAPER. And did you ever report these awful conditions to your boss, Dr. Tesch?

DR. DROSIHN: I told him the prisoners were living in awful conditions.

MAJOR DRAPER: What was his reaction?

DR. DROSIHN: He seemed—well—upset, but I don't think he ever really knew how bad things were in the camps. None of us did.

MAJOR DRAPER: He knew, Dr. Drosihn. Oh, yes, he knew. No further questions.

GENERAL PERSSE: Witness may step down. Dr. Zippel, you may call your next witness.

DR. ZIPPEL: The defense calls Dr. Hans Werner.

NARRATOR: Dr. Werner stands in front of the witness chair. The Clerk holds out a Bible to him. The doctor places his hand on it.

CLERK: Please raise your right hand. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

DR. WERNER: I do.

CLERK: Be seated.

DR. ZIPPEL: Please state your name and occupation for the court.

DR. WERNER: My name is Dr. Hans Werner. I am a physician.

DR. ZIPPEL: What is your medical specialty?

DR. WERNER: Infectious diseases.

DR. ZIPPEL: Please tell the court, Dr. Werner, about the medical threat posed by vast numbers of prisoners confined in close contact with each other.

DR. WERNER: If proper sanitation was not maintained, they could suffer from many infectious diseases, including typhoid, influenza, tuberculosis, skin disorders—things like that. Lice and other vermin exacerbate the process.

DR. ZIPPEL: Are you familiar with the gas known as Zyklon B?

DR. WERNER: Yes, it is nearly all prussic acid—highly toxic.

DR. ZIPPEL: When was it developed? And what was its purpose?

DR. WERNER: I am not exactly sure when it was developed. Before the war, I think, but it was widely used for killing vermin, especially lice.

DR. ZIPPEL: Was it effective?

DR. WERNER: It was 100 percent effective.

DR. ZIPPEL: Was it legitimate? That is, was it perfectly legal to buy and sell it?

DR. WERNER. Yes.

DR. ZIPPEL. So buying, selling, or distributing this gas, under German law, was in no way illegal?

DR. WERNER. No, sir.

DR. ZIPPEL. No further questions.

GENERAL PERSSE. Major Draper, do you wish to question this witness?

MAJOR DRAPER. Yes, sir. *(turns to Dr. Werner)* Do you know the defendant personally?

DR. WERNER. Yes, but not well. We met a few times during the war at social occasions.

MAJOR DRAPER. Did you ever, at these social occasions, discuss his—er—business?

DR. WERNER. No. Our conversations were strictly social. . . . Of course, everyone discussed the war.

MAJOR DRAPER. But not concentration camps?

DR. WERNER. No. Everyone knew they existed, these large prisoner-of-war camps. We never called them concentration camps. But, no, we never knew the SS were murdering people.

MAJOR DRAPER. How many lice could one kill with two tons of Zyklon B, doctor?

DR. WERNER. I don't understand.

MAJOR DRAPER. Auschwitz concentration camp was receiving nearly two tons a month of this lethal gas, which you say was "highly effective" in killing vermin. Well, how effective? *(speaks sarcastically)* Millions, billions, trillions . . . ?

DR. WERNER. I don't know.

DR. ZIPPEL. Objection, your honor—

MAJOR DRAPER. —No further questions.

GENERAL PERSSE. It's late. I am calling a recess until tomorrow morning.

CLERK. All rise.

Scene 2

NARRATOR. The courtroom reconvenes with everyone present—witnesses, defendant, and judges. There is a visible tension hanging in the air.

GENERAL PERSSE. Please call your next witness, Dr. Zippel.

DR. ZIPPEL. The defense calls Dr. Tesch.

NARRATOR. Dr. Tesch stands in front of the witness chair. The Clerk holds out a Bible to him. The doctor places his hand on it.

CLERK. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

TESCH. I do.

DR. ZIPPEL. Please state your name for the court.

TESCH. Dr. Bruno Tesch.

DR. ZIPPEL. What was your occupation during the war?

TESCH. I was the owner and operator of the firm of Tesch and Stabenow.

DR. ZIPPEL. What was the nature of this company?

TESCH. We were a distributor of gassing products and equipment.

DR. ZIPPEL. Was one of the products your company distributed called Zyklon B?

TESCH. Yes. It was a prussic acid used in gas chambers as a disinfectant.

DR. ZIPPEL. Was the sale and purchase of this gas under any restrictions?

TESCH. No—but—well, it was not available to the average consumer. It is what you would call an industrial disinfectant.

DR. ZIPPEL. Please explain.

TESCH. I mean it was a highly toxic gas that had to be used in a special gas chamber.

DR. ZIPPEL. Who were your major customers for this gas during the war years?

TESCH. Most of the supplies of this gas were sold to the German Army for use in the process of disinfecting the clothing of those detained as prisoners-of-war.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did you ever give any training sessions in the use of gas chambers?

TESCH. Yes.

DR. ZIPPEL. Where and for what purpose?

TESCH. I gave a few instructional sessions in the use of disinfection gas chambers in Hamburg and Berlin. These training courses were designed to teach technicians how to safely use this toxic gas for extermination of lice and other vermin. But mostly these training sessions were conducted by technicians. I had more important . . . financial matters to attend to.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did you ever personally visit a concentration camp?

TESCH. No.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did you ever hear anything about Zyklon B gas being used to exterminate human beings in concentration camps?

TESCH. No.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did you ever attend any conference, conduct any training sessions, or write any document suggesting the use of Zyklon B gas for killing human beings?

TESCH. No, never.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did you send any other company employee to concentration camps to conduct training sessions in the use of Zyklon B gas for exterminating human beings?

TESCH. No. Dr. Drosihn, the company science technician, made trips to various concentration camps to inspect the delousing gas chambers, but this was strictly in accordance with the product's use as a disinfectant. He never reported the use of this gas for killing human beings.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did you ever say anything to any of your employees about the use of Zyklon B gas for the murder of human beings?

TESCH. Never. That product was sold exclusively for the extermination of vermin.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did you consider the large quantities of Zyklon B gas being sent to Auschwitz concentration camp as unusual?

TESCH. No. Not really. It was a large camp, and it also administered to other smaller camps in Poland. No. At the time . . . no, it didn't seem unusual.

DR. ZIPPEL. And you never visited this camp?

TESCH. No. My business trips were almost exclusively to Berlin or our gassing facilities in Hamburg.

DR. ZIPPEL. Dr. Tesch, was your company the only firm in Germany during the war that distributed supplies of prussic acid or Zyklon B gas?

TESCH. No, there were other competitors.

DR. ZIPPEL. Did these other companies supply concentration camps in occupied Europe.

TESCH. Naturally. It was a legitimate business.

DR. ZIPPEL. So, in fact, Dr. Tesch, it may not even have been your firm that supplied the bulk of this gas to the various camps throughout Eastern Europe?

TESCH. I believe not. We were just one of several firms in this business. The SS—I mean—the Army, well, they could have purchased this gas from one of our competitors. Yes, I know they used several distributors.

DR. ZIPPEL. I have no further questions.

GENERAL PERSSE. Major Draper, do you wish to cross-examine?

MAJOR DRAPER. Yes, sir. Dr. Tesch, your company sold large quantities of the toxic gas known as Zyklon B to the German Army and the SS, correct?

TESCH. Yes.

MAJOR DRAPER. You made a profit on the sale of this lethal gas, correct?

TESCH. Yes.

MAJOR DRAPER. And this was a perfectly legitimate business?

TESCH. Yes. It was not illegal in any way.

MAJOR DRAPER. *(looks the defendant squarely in the eyes)* Could you have refused to sell this product to the SS?

TESCH. *(he hesitates)* I suppose so, but—well—Major, at the time—well—*(regains his composure)* I believed they were using the product for sanitation purposes—delousing prisoners-of-war.

MAJOR DRAPER. You have told the court that you never visited any concentration camp. Is that true?

TESCH. Yes.

MAJOR DRAPER. And you never conducted any training sessions at any of the concentration camps scattered across Europe in the use of gas chambers to exterminate human beings?

TESCH. Never.

MAJOR DRAPER. The only training sessions you gave were in Hamburg and Berlin. Is that correct?

TESCH. Yes.

MAJOR DRAPER. Dr. Tesch, by 1944, your company was shipping nearly two tons of Zyklon B gas to one concentration camp in Poland—Auschwitz—and you mean to tell this court that you never felt the need to visit this site, to make sure this highly toxic gas was being used properly or, to conduct any training sessions?

TESCH. I only organized training sessions on request. The SS officials running that camp never requested my assistance—

MAJOR DRAPER. —And, despite the enormous quantities of this lethal gas being shipped, you felt no need to request a visit?

TESCH. No.

MAJOR DRAPER. Did any company official visit any of the concentration camps where Zyklon B was being used in gas chambers?

TESCH. Yes. Dr. Drosihn went on inspection trips, by request, to Ravensbrück, Sachsenhausen, and—*(nervously)* I think—yes, he went to Neuengamme, too.

MAJOR DRAPER. Did he report to you about his findings on these trips?

TESCH. Yes, he filed a written report. I think that is available.

MAJOR DRAPER. No, that was not my question, Dr. Tesch. Did he ever talk to you, you personally, about the horrible conditions he witnessed at the camps?

DR. ZIPPEL. Objection, your honor. The defense sympathizes with the awful conditions of these camps; however, that is irrelevant to the issue. The use of gas for human extermination is the sole nature of this case.

MAJOR DRAPER. I am trying to determine, sir, whether Dr. Tesch was truly aware of the barbarity of the SS in their detention of prisoners-of-war and civilians in these camps, the capability of these men to use a lethal gas like Zyklon B for murderous purposes.

GENERAL PERSSE. Objection overruled.

MAJOR DRAPER. Did Dr. Drosihn ever discuss with you, personally, these camps?

TESCH. He only said that the conditions were horrible. In fact, I assumed that the gas chambers—the delousing, killing the vermin with Zyklon B—was helping. I never knew . . . he never said anything about seeing these chambers used to kill humans.

MAJOR DRAPER. If he had told you that they were being used to kill humans, would you have stopped the shipments of this gas?

TESCH. Of course.

MAJOR DRAPER. No further questions.

GENERAL PERSSE. Witness may step down. Dr. Zippel, you may call your next witness.

DR. ZIPPEL. The defense rests, your honor.

GENERAL PERSSE. I am calling a recess until tomorrow at 10 a.m., at which time the court will hear closing remarks.

CLERK. All rise.

ACT III

Scene 1

NARRATOR. All the characters are present in the courtroom, anxiously awaiting the summary remarks.

GENERAL PERSSE. Major Draper, will you please make your closing remarks to the court.

MAJOR DRAPER. There are three clearly inescapable facts that emerge from the evidence presented in this case. First, citizens of many countries occupied by the Nazis, including allied prisoners of war, were gassed by means of Zyklon B. Second, this highly toxic gas was primarily supplied

by the company of Tesch and Stabenow, owned and operated by Dr. Bruno Tesch. Third, the defendant knew that this horrible gas was being used to exterminate human beings. By supplying lethal gas, knowing full well that it was to be used for cold-blooded murder, the defendant made himself an accessory before the fact to mass murder. Nearly one million, *one million*, men, women, and children were exterminated in the concentration camp known as Auschwitz, and millions of others in additional large camps scattered across war-torn Europe. It is impossible to believe that any company other than Tesch and Stabenow could have supplied Zyklon B to the Auschwitz concentration camp. The captured SS records indicate that this firm had what can only be described as a monopoly in the distribution of this dreadful gas. Three witnesses—Emil Sehm, Erna Biagini, and Anna Uenzelmann—have testified that the defendant knew that this lethal gas was being used to murder innocent human beings. It is unbelievable that the defendant did not know that horrible things were going on in the concentration camps. Even his trusted science technician told him he had witnessed horrible conditions unworthy of human dignity. It is also unbelievable that Dr. Tesch had no knowledge of the amounts of Zyklon B gas being supplied to the SS, and to Auschwitz in particular. This was his company. He was the sole operator and owner. And why would he consider Auschwitz, or any other concentration camp, as merely a transit camp needing huge supplies of gas for delousing? In 1942, Auschwitz was the company's second largest customer for Zyklon B. By 1944, he was delivering nearly two tons of this chemical per month—enough to gas to death thousands of innocent victims every day—and certainly far too much to be used as a disinfectant.

Was Dr. Tesch an effective businessman? Yes. Is it possible to believe that he thought such large deliveries of this gas were going to camps like Auschwitz for the sole purpose of delousing clothing or disinfecting buildings? No. Was Dr. Tesch's company making a high profit from this lucrative business in Zyklon B gas? Yes. Did this illicit gain result in the ghastly death of millions throughout war-torn Europe? Yes. And did Dr. Tesch, at any time, attempt to stop, or even restrict, the sale of this product to the SS monsters using it for extermination of millions of human beings? No. Sirs, the prosecution believes that the defendant knowingly and willingly supplied the means for mass execution to Nazi murderers. He is just as guilty as the men who turned on the gas in the chambers of death in Auschwitz, Ravensbrück, and Sachsenhausen and should be punished accordingly. He should be hanged by the neck until dead.

GENERAL PERSSE. Dr. Zippel, will you please come forward and make your closing remarks to the court.

DR. ZIPPEL. I would like to begin, sir, with what I consider the point of law involved in this case. My client, Dr. Bruno Tesch, has not been charged with destroying human life, only with supplying the means of doing so. This action is only rendered contrary to the laws and usages of war if, and this is the crucial part, if the means supplied were deliberately intended to kill human beings. It is not a war crime, honorable sirs, to supply a material—no matter how dangerous, no matter how toxic—if it has a legitimate purpose. Yes, the defense agrees that the supplies of Zyklon B gas shipped to the SS were indeed great; but, the supplies were not disproportionate to the legitimate need. It was the official duty of the SS to see that

standards of health in the occupied parts of Europe were kept at a high level; and, since the beginning of 1944, the SS had unlimited permission to use the gas for the destruction of vermin and the prevention of epidemics. It is a matter of record that Zyklon B gas was used in the early part of 1942 solely for legitimate purposes. Clearly, there is some question as to whether the Zyklon B gas used at Auschwitz for killing human beings even came from the company of Tesch and Stabenow. So many people were gassed at this concentration camp the SS must have acquired supplies from other firms. Despite the claims of the prosecution, SS procuring agents used many companies in purchasing supplies like Zyklon B, and there is ample evidence of the falsification of documents. The witnesses for the prosecution who testified before this court have given so many different versions of how Dr. Tesch must have known about the unlawful use of this gas as to render their statements wholly contradictable. Emil Sehm claimed that the company reports were kept under lock and key, whereas both Erna Biagini and Anna Uenzelmann both testified that they simply read company documents from unsecured files. Erna Biagini merely testified that the document she read said that Zyklon B could be used to kill humans—it did not say it should be, or was ever, used in that manner. It is inconceivable that under the existing wartime regulations of secrecy a man as careful as Dr. Tesch would dictate a report about gassing activities in concentration camps—including gassing human beings—place the report where anyone in the office could read it and then openly discuss the matter with junior employees of the firm. Dr. Tesch is a hardworking, fair, and honest man. His total concentration on his work probably explains why he had not even heard the rumors—which may or may not have been circulating throughout Germany—concerning the gassing of human beings. He was simply too busy to be concerned with what individual customers—including the SS—bought. Finally, Dr. Tesch always viewed Auschwitz as a transit camp and, therefore, in need of unusually frequent delousing. We ask you to dismiss the charges against this man.

GENERAL PERSSE. Thank you, Dr. Zippel. The court will now stand in recess, pending deliberation of the verdict.

CLERK. All rise.

Scene 2

NARRATOR. All the characters are present in the courtroom. There is a hushed silence as General Persse renders the decision of the court.

GENERAL PERSSE. We have reached a decision in this difficult case. Difficult because clearly this man never personally murdered anyone. He never pulled the levers in the gas chambers at Auschwitz and other concentration camps throughout Europe; never heard the screams of the dying, their begs of mercy, their last gasps; never saw their bodies or the mass graves. He was, by his own admission, a German businessman distributing a legal product to whomever would purchase it. We have, however, heard convincing testimony, beyond a reasonable doubt, that the defendant knew that the SS was using this gas, Zyklon B, supplied by his company, to exterminate thousands of men, women, and children daily and did nothing to stop the shipment of this deadly product. What is important here, then, is that Germans, and

the world, understand that this man must be held responsible for his actions. Any person who influences another to commit a crime, or furnishes the weapon, is an accessory to the crime and shares in the guilt. The defendant was a willing participant and abettor in a state-sponsored plan of murder that resulted in the death of millions of human beings by means of a gas developed to exterminate insects and other vermin. *(nods in the Clerk's direction)*

CLERK. Will the defendant rise to hear the sentence of the court?

GENERAL PERSSE. It is the decision of this court that you be taken to a place of execution, at such time determined by His Majesty's government, and hanged by the neck until dead. God have mercy on your soul.

END

Glossary and Brief Chronology

accessory: A person who assists in the commission of a crime but who does not actually participate in the commission of the crime.

accessory before the fact: A person who procures, advises, or commands the commission of a crime but who is not present at its perpetration.

accessory after the fact: A person, knowing that a crime has been committed, who receives, relieves, comforts, or assists the offender in order to hinder or prevent the offender's apprehension, trial, or punishment.

kommandantur: Commandant's office.

rottenführer: A Nazi Party paramilitary rank.

1907	Hague Convention occurs.
1919	Treaty of Versailles is signed.
1924	The company of Tesch and Stabenow is formed.
1925	Tesch and Stabenow acquire exclusive rights to distribute the pesticide Zyklon B.
1927	Kellogg-Briand Pact is signed.
1933	Hitler becomes chancellor of Germany.
1939	Poland is invaded, starting World War II in Europe.
1941	Tesch's company begins supplying Zyklon B to concentration camps.
1945	Hitler commits suicide, and World War II ends.
1946	Tesch is accused of war crimes and is placed on trial by a British military court.

Aftermath



A pile of empty Zyklon B cans found in Auschwitz by the Allies at the end of World War II

On May 16, 1946, Bruno Tesch and Karl Weinbacker (the firm's general representative) were executed by hanging at Hamelin Prison in Germany. Joachim Drosihn, the firm's primary gassing technician, was acquitted.

The Nuremberg trials, and the various other trials of Nazi collaborators like Bruno Tesch, propelled the world's nations to establish a permanent international criminal court at The Hague charged with the indictment and prosecution of war criminals.

Image source: Canisters. By unknown artist, via Wikimedia Commons.

Discussion Questions

1. Do you think that Bruno Tesch should have been placed on trial?
2. Do you think that Tesch received a fair trial? Do you agree with the verdict? Does the underlining principle of this verdict still apply today?
3. Can you think of any contemporary cases that are similar to the Tesch case?
4. At the Yalta Conference, Winston Churchill proposed that all German war criminals should be shot without trial "after they were caught and their identity was established."⁶² Had his view prevailed, do you think Bruno Tesch would have been executed without a trial? Why or why not?
5. The recent conviction of a ninety-three-year-old former guard at the Auschwitz concentration camp highlights the debate about whether we should continue to prosecute Nazi war criminals. Some say that it should never end, while others say that old age, and the difficulty of providing evidence and proving the crimes, make it impossible to effectively prosecute the accused. What do you think?
6. A few years ago, German prosecutors accused Oskar Gröning, a former member of the SS, of more than three hundred thousand counts of accessory to murder while he was stationed at the Auschwitz concentration camp. His job was to collect money and other personal property from the arriving prisoners. At his trial, he expressed remorse for his actions, but the court found him guilty and sentenced him to four years in prison. Eva Mozes Kor, an Auschwitz survivor, wrote when she heard the sentence that "they are trying to teach a lesson that if you commit such a crime, you will be punished. But I do not think the court has acted properly in sentencing him to four years in jail. . . . My preference would have been to sentence him to community service by speaking out against neo-Nazis. I would like the court to prove to me, a survivor, how four years in jail will benefit anybody."⁶³ Was the sentence appropriate, or do you agree that community service would have been better?
7. In 1961, at the trial of Adolf Eichmann, a defense attorney challenged Israel's right to try Eichmann under the 1950 law for the punishment of Nazis and Nazi collaborators. He argued that this law provided punishments—including the death penalty—for actions committed before the State of Israel was founded in 1948, for people outside the country's borders, and against people who were not Israeli citizens. The prosecution, however, argued that retroactive legislation was the only law applicable to Nazi actions, because, by a series of crimes without precedent, Nazi Germany created a vacuum of legal chaos, abdicating from the rule of law, and that, in the face of this legal chaos, humanity had no alternative but to create new legal principles and to declare that they were valid retroactively. Who makes the stronger argument? Discuss.

⁶² Kochavi, *Prelude to Nuremberg*, 213.

⁶³ Eva Mozes Kor, quoted in "Bookkeeper of Auchwitz."

Document A: Statement of Hans Stark

Statement of Hans Stark, registrar of new arrivals at the Auschwitz Concentration Camp

At another, later gassing—also in autumn 1941—[Maximillian] Grabner [Head of the Political Department, Auschwitz] ordered me to pour Zyklon B into the opening because only one medical orderly had shown up. During a gassing Zyklon B had to be poured through both openings of the gas-chamber room at the same time. This gassing was also a transport of 200–250 Jews, once again men, women and children. As the Zyklon B—as already mentioned—was in granular form, it trickled down over the people as it was being poured in. They then started to cry out terribly for they now knew what was happening to them. I did not look through the opening because it had to be closed as soon as the Zyklon B had been poured in. After a few minutes there was silence. After some time had passed, it may have been ten to fifteen minutes, the gas chamber was opened. The dead lay higgledy-piggledy all over the place. It was a dreadful sight.

Source: Klee, Ernst, Willi Dressen, and Volker Riss, eds. *The Good Old Days: The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders*. Old Saybrook, CT: Konecky and Konecky, 1988.

Question

1. Would this statement have been used by the prosecution in the trial of Bruno Tesch? Why or why not?

Extension Activities

1. Research and write an essay about one of the top Nazis accused of war crimes and placed on trial at Nuremburg. With what was the Nazi specifically charged, how was he or she prosecuted, what was his or her defense, and what was the outcome of the trial?
2. Alfred Krupp was an industrialist who supplied armaments to the German Army during the war. Like Bruno Tesch, he was placed on trial after the war, accused of crimes against humanity for the way he operated his factories—among other things, by using slave labor. He only served three years in prison. Do you think that he deserved a harsher sentence? Write an essay comparing Krupp's actions during the war with those of Bruno Tesch.
3. The world was shocked in 1993 when people found out that horrific war crimes had been committed in the war-torn former Yugoslavia. The United Nations created an international court, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, to put on trial and punish those individuals found guilty of violating the post-1945 international conventions and protocols known collectively as the 1946 Nuremburg Principles and the Genocide Convention of 1948. Write an essay or create a multimedia presentation about these crimes and how those associated were prosecuted.
4. As a class, watch the film *Judgment at Nuremburg* (there are two versions) and discuss the issues raised and how they are related to the trial of Bruno Tesch.
5. Consider reading or producing the play *The Investigation* by Peter Weiss, which depicts the Frankfurt trials of 1963–1965. In this play twenty-two mid- to lower-level Germans were tried for war crimes associated with the Auschwitz concentration camp. This play raises questions about a citizen's relationship with his or her society. To what extent are citizens accountable for their actions? Does conformity with a prevailing social or political code of behavior absolve them of individual responsibility? If their government enacts and enforces laws that conflict with their own convictions, should they resist? And, if so, when and how?
6. Have students actually produce the play for a wider audience. A good production technique is to have the witnesses be in the audience and come up to the witness box from there.

Helsinki Accords



Lesson

Overview

The Helsinki Accords were the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe held in Helsinki, Finland, in the summer of 1975. Thirty-five nations, including most of Europe and the superpowers of the United States and the USSR, signed this nonbinding declaration that addressed the effort to improve relations between the Western nations and the Communist bloc.

Objectives

1. Students will understand the significant political, economic, and social differences that divided the Western democracies from the Communist nations.
2. Students will appreciate the efforts made by the world leaders to ease the tension that existed during the Cold War.
3. Students will understand the implications of the human rights articles of the Helsinki Accords and how they influenced the eventual end of the Cold War.

Notes to the Teacher/Duration

Day One

- Read and discuss the “Background for Teachers and Students.”
- Tell students that they will be recreating the historic meeting in the capital of Finland that led to the Helsinki Accords.
- Divide the class into two groups.
- Assign one group to be the Western nations (NATO) and one group to represent the Communist bloc nations (Warsaw Pact).
- Distribute the “Instructions” to each group.
- Assign each student within the two groups a nation and role (Head of Delegation or Assistant).
- Separate the groups within the classroom or, ideally, in two different rooms.
- Meet separately with each group and tell the students that first they will need to separate the agenda items into three baskets. The agenda items should be sorted like the following:
 - **Basket one:** Postwar European frontiers and the exchange of military information (1, 2, 3, 4, and 5)

- **Basket two:** Economic, scientific, and technological cooperation (9)
- **Basket three:** Closer contacts between peoples and human rights (6, 7, 8, and 10)
- Next, they will need to prioritize cooperatively the ten agenda items from most important to least important.
- They will then need to select the top two or three items on the agenda and frame specific resolutions regarding those items.
- Tell students that they will need to agree on a nation (or nations) that will submit their resolutions at the coming meeting. The leaders and assistants of that nation (or those nations) should be prepared to give a brief presentation supporting the resolution.

Day Two

- Give students time to continue meeting as a group to work on the resolutions.

Day Three

- Set up the classroom with labels for each nation. Having the desks or tables arranged in a circle around the classroom works best.
- Students should sit in the place labeled with their nation.
- Begin the meeting with a reading of the agenda, and then call for a resolution on any of the items on the agenda.
- Allow debate and amendments to the agenda item under discussion.
- Encourage compromise to reach a consensus.
- Call for a vote and, if the resolution is adopted, move on to another agenda item.
- If there is not consensus on the item, table the resolution and move on to another item.

Day Four

- Continue working on agenda items for about half of the class period.
- Call a halt to the conference. Debrief by having students compare their accomplishments at the conference with the final agreement.
- Continue debriefing using discussion questions.

Day Five

- Debrief using document analysis and extension activities.



Teaching tip

If you have the ability to spend more class time on this activity, you can expand the time for direct testimony and cross-examination.

Roles Assignment Chart

Western Bloc Countries	Head of State	Student Name	Diplomatic Assistants	Student Name
Austria	Bruno Kreisky, chancellor		Dr. Erich Bielka-Karltreu, secretary general	
			Dr. Ludwig Steiner, political director	
Canada	Pierre Elliot Trudeau, prime minister		Eymard Geroges Corbin, member of the House of Commons	
			Francine Courtemanche, foreign service officer	
France	Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, president		Jean Sauvagnargues, minister for foreign affairs	
			Claude Pierre- Brossolette, secretary general	
Italy	Aldo Romeo Luigi Moro, president		Mariano Rumor, foreign service officer	
			Raimondo Manzini, secretary general	
Turkey	Sami Süleyman Gündoğdu Demirel, prime minister		İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil, foreign minister	
			Mustafa Şükrü Elekdağ, undersecretary of the foreign minister	
United Kingdom	James Harold Wilson, prime minister		Leonard James Callaghan, secretary of state	
			Janet Hewlett-Davis, foreign service officer	
United States	Gerald Rudolph Ford Jr., president		Dr. Henry Alfred Kissinger, secretary of state	
			Arthur Adair Hartman, ambassador to France	
West Germany	Helmut Henrich Waldemar Schmidt, chancellor		Klaus Bolling, foreign service officer	
			Dr. Renate Finke- Osiander, ambassador	

Eastern Bloc Countries	Head of State	Student Name	Diplomatic Assistants	Student Name
Bulgaria	Todor Hristov Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party		Petar Toshev Mladenov, foreign minister	
			Konstantin Tellalov, deputy head of foreign policy	
Czechoslovakia	Gustáv Husák, president		Dr. Lubomír Štrougal, prime minister	
			Oldrich Pavlovsky, ambassador to Yugoslavia	
East Germany	Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party and chairman of the state council		Hermann Axen, foreign service officer	
			Margit Jäger, foreign service officer	
Hungary	János Kádár, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party		György Lázár, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers	
			István Barta, foreign service officer	
Poland	Edward Gierek, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party		Piotr Jaroszewicz, prime minister	
			Stefan Olszowski, foreign minister	
Romania	Nicolae Ceaușescu, president		Ștefan Andrei, foreign minister	
			George Macovescu, foreign minister	
USSR	Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, general secretary of the Communist Party		Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko, foreign minister	
			A. G. Kovalev, first deputy foreign minister	
Yugoslavia	Josip Broz Tito, president		Edvard Kardelj, foreign service officer	
			Milos Minie, foreign service officer	

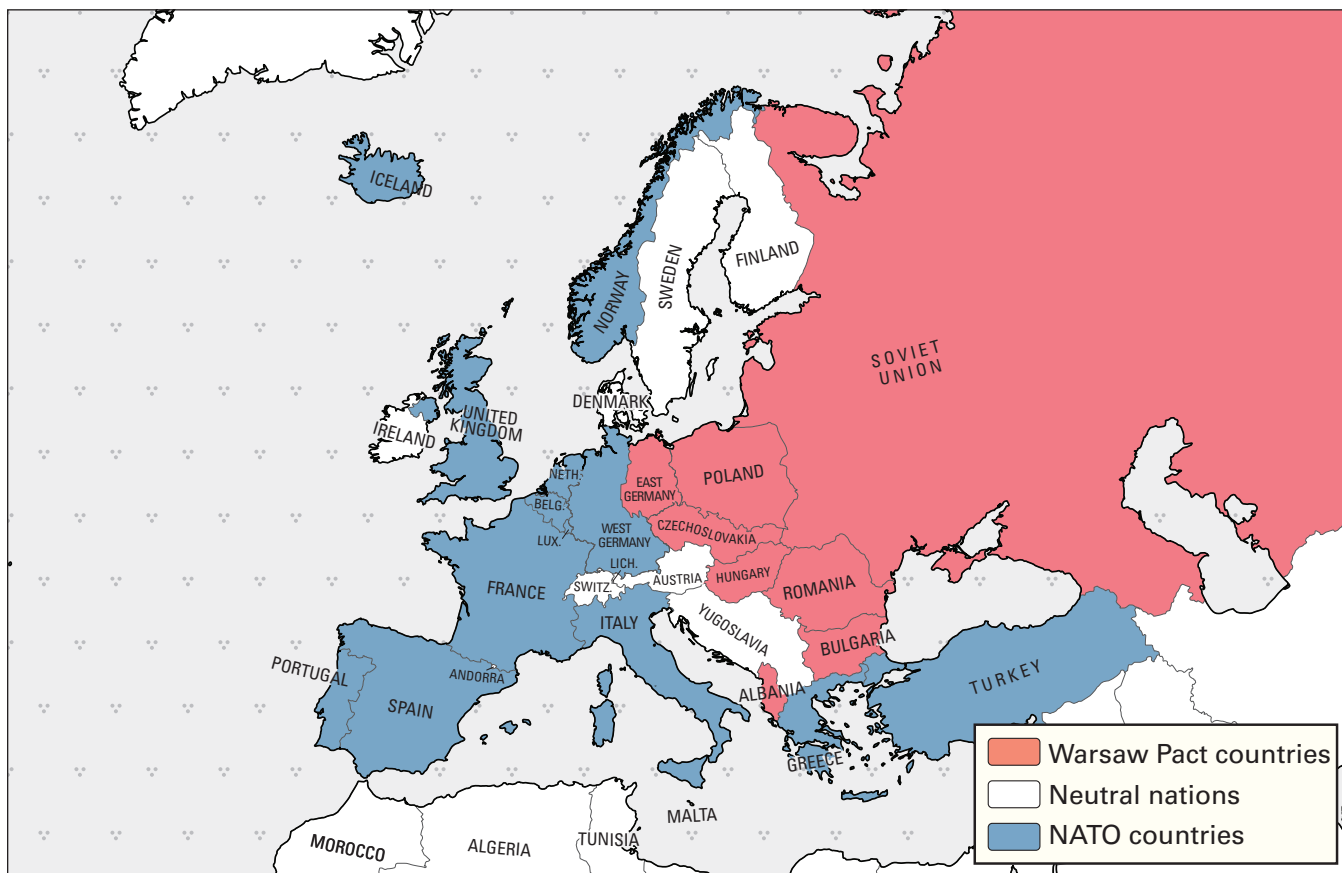
Other attending countries and leaders: Belgium (Prime Minister Leonard Clemence “Leo” Tindermans), Cyprus (President Archbishop Makarios II), Denmark (Prime Minister Anker Jørgensen), Finland (President Urho Kaleva Kekkonen), Greece (President Konstantinos G. Karamanlis), Iceland (Prime Minister Geir Hallgrímsson), Ireland (Prime Minister Liam Cosgrave), Liechtenstein (Prime Minister Walter Kieber), Luxembourg (Prime Minister Gaston Egmond Thorn), Malta (Prime Minister Dominic “Dom” Mintoff), Monaco (Minister of State André Saint-Mleux), Netherlands (Prime Minister Joop den Uyl), Norway (Prime Minister Trygve Martin Bratteli), Portugal (President Francisco da Costa Gomes), San Marino (Captain Regent Gian Luigi Berti), Spain (President Carlos Arias Navarro), Sweden (Prime Minister Sven Olof Joachim Palme), Switzerland (President of the Swiss Federal Council Pierre Graber), and the Vatican (Cardinal Secretary of State Agostino Casaroli).

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Background for Teachers and Students



The need for a European security agreement arose in the 1950s with the Soviet Union's wish to legitimize its integration of previously sovereign nations, such as Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia into its domain. The United States and the other Western nations opposed this integration and were actively seeking ways to influence the power struggle that divided Europe. They were also looking for ways to improve the human rights situation in Eastern European countries and allow people and ideas to move freely throughout Europe. (For example, when I worked for the Anglo-American School of Moscow in the 1980s, I saw, up close and personal, the repression of ideas and movement in the former Soviet Union. As an American, I was never able to form the kinds of personal and professional associations we take for granted in a free society.) A European security agreement would seemingly

provide such an opportunity. Diplomatic work from both the Eastern and Western blocs soon began in earnest.

The Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe (CSCE)—which opened at Helsinki in July 1973 and continued at Geneva from September 1973 to July 1975—was concluded at Helsinki in August 1975 by the High Representatives of Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, the Holy See, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Monaco, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and Yugoslavia.

The heads of state and diplomats who attended this conference expressed a motivation to frame an agreement that would contribute to moving Europe into a new era of peace, security, justice, and cooperation. They sought to move their nations away from the Cold War era into what was termed *détente*. In addition, during the opening and closing stages of the Conference, Kurt Waldheim (the secretary-general of the United Nations) referred to the participants, many of whom did not actually actively participate in the months of tough negotiations, as “guests of honor.”

The final act of the CSCE, signed in Helsinki on August 1, 1975, embodied more than two and a half years of arduous negotiation. To achieve agreement on the wording of just the ten principles had required 337 official negotiating sessions and thousands of hours of work, innumerable unofficial sessions, and consultations and meetings at all levels; in addition, it required considerable exercise of diplomatic expertise.⁶⁴ One country that played a significant role in the negotiations was France. The French president, Charles de Gaulle, often repeated the catchphrase “*détente, entente, cooperation.*” This slogan caught on with the West and resonated well in the socialist countries, too.⁶⁵

The Helsinki Accords’ “Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States” is sometimes referred to as the Decalogue, because there were ten key points listed covering such issues as sovereign equality, territorial integrity, peaceful settlements of international disputes, nonintervention in the internal affairs of a country, human rights, and the honoring of international law.

Although the Accords did not have treaty status, and were thus “nonbinding,” they included a follow-up mechanism that developed into an

international organization, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). The OSCE still plays a significant role in monitoring human-rights issues and environmental cooperation.

The Helsinki Final Act, as the agreement is officially known, reached consensus on three broad areas, called, at the time, “baskets.” In basket one, they discussed the postwar European frontiers and the exchange of mutually beneficial military information. In basket two, they debated the benefits of fuller economic, scientific, and technological cooperation. In basket three, they talked about the need for closer contacts between peoples and greater respect for human rights.

Ambassador Jaakko Itoniemi of Finland summed up the significance of the Final Act of the Accords when he said during an interview:

I think it is fair to say that the Final Act was published in all the participating countries—not in a token way, but in a very real way. Pravda [the major Soviet newspaper] carried the whole text, and it was made readily available to ordinary people and to all the dissidents and to everybody who was really interested in it. For instance, up until the signing of the Final Act, it was possible in Moscow to find foreign newspapers such as *L’Humanite* or other communist papers, but apart from that it was impossible. But after the signing of the Final Act, they opened the door a little bit, so that at least in the international hotels you could find newspapers which were not necessarily well-disposed to the Soviet system.⁶⁶

You will now have the chance to participate in this historic conference and to debate and frame resolutions that, with luck, will help thaw the Cold War.

⁶⁴ Thomas, *The Helsinki Effect*, 88.

⁶⁵ Němcová, *CSCS Testimonies*, 48.

⁶⁶ Němcová, *CSCS Testimonies*, 29.

Name _____

Roles Chart

Western Bloc Countries	Head of State	Diplomatic Assistants
Austria	Bruno Kreisky, chancellor	Dr. Erich Bielka-Karltreu, secretary general
		Dr. Ludwig Steiner, political director
Canada	Pierre Elliot Trudeau, prime minister	Eymard Geroges Corbin, member of the House of Commons
		Francine Courtemanche, foreign service officer
France	Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, president	Jean Sauvagnargues, minister for foreign affairs
		Claude Pierre-Brossolette, secretary general
Italy	Aldo Romeo Luigi Moro, president	Mariano Rumor, foreign service officer
		Raimondo Manzini, secretary general
Turkey	Sami Süleyman Gündoğdu Demirel, prime minister	İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil, foreign minister
		Mustafa Şükrü Elekdağ, undersecretary of the foreign minister
United Kingdom	James Harold Wilson, prime minister	Leonard James Callaghan, secretary of state
		Janet Hewlett-Davis, foreign service officer
United States	Gerald Rudolph Ford Jr., president	Dr. Henry Alfred Kissinger, secretary of state
		Arthur Adair Hartman, ambassador to France
West Germany	Helmut Henrich Waldemar Schmidt, chancellor	Klaus Bolling, foreign service officer
		Dr. Renate Finke-Osiander, ambassador

Eastern Bloc Countries	Head of State	Diplomatic Assistants
Bulgaria	Todor Hristov Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party	Petar Toshev Mladenov, foreign minister
		Konstantin Tellalov, deputy head of foreign policy
Czechoslovakia	Gustáv Husák, president	Dr. Lubomír Štrougal, prime minister
		Oldrich Pavlovsky, ambassador to Yugoslavia
East Germany	Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party and chairman of the state council	Hermann Axen, foreign service officer
		Margit Jäger, foreign service officer
Hungary	János Kádár, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party	György Lázár, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers
		István Barta, foreign service officer
Poland	Edward Gierek, first secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party	Piotr Jaroszewicz, prime minister
		Stefan Olszowski, foreign minister
Romania	Nicolae Ceaușescu, president	Ștefan Andrei, foreign minister
		George Macovescu, foreign minister
USSR	Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, general secretary of the Communist Party	Andrei Andreyevich Gromyko, foreign minister
		A. G. Kovalev, first deputy foreign minister
Yugoslavia	Josip Broz Tito, president	Edvard Kardelj, foreign service officer
		Milos Minie, foreign service officer

Your Character Role _____

Instructions

- You will be recreating the Helsinki Conference of 1975 that led to the Helsinki Accords.
- The agenda items will be prioritized and categorized into one of the three “baskets” listed below.
- You will then frame resolutions based on your national priorities.

Procedure

- Meet as a group (Western bloc nations and Eastern bloc nations), and put each agenda item into what you think is the appropriate “basket” (see below).
- Then, based on your group’s interests, prioritize the items in each basket from most important to least important.
- Frame one or two resolutions from each of the three baskets. For example, if you are dealing with the issue of human rights, which you have placed in basket three, you might suggest the following resolution, “Resolved that all individuals from the nations in both Western and Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union should be free to express in writing opinions that differ from the official policies of their particular nation.”
- Representatives from each of the nations should prepare speeches and arguments supporting your nation’s position on these proposed resolutions.
- Discuss your likely response to what you suspect will be resolutions for the opposing group.

Baskets

- Basket one: postwar European frontiers and the exchange of military information.
- Basket two: economic, scientific, and technological cooperation.
- Basket three: human rights and promoting more cultural exchanges between the people of the various nations in Europe and the Soviet Union.

Agenda Items

1. Sovereign equality
2. Refraining from the threat or use of force
3. Inviolability of frontiers
4. Territorial integrity of states
5. Peaceful settlement of disputes
6. Nonintervention in the internal affairs of another state
7. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms
8. Equal rights and self-determination of peoples
9. Cooperation among states
10. Fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law

Glossary and Brief Chronology

accords: An official agreement or treaty.

Cold War: The political and military tension that existed between the Western bloc (NATO) and the Eastern bloc (Warsaw Pact) following World War II.

détente: The easing of strained relations between two or more nations. It especially applied to the relations between the United States and the USSR during the Cold War.

dissidents: Individuals in both Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union who openly demanded basic human rights, including freedom of expression.

NATO: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is a Western military alliance based on the North Atlantic Treaty signed in 1949. Its members, which include the United States and Great Britain, agreed to mutual defense in response to an attack by any external nation.

realpolitik: Diplomatic policy based on power, not ideals.

Warsaw Pact: A collective defense treaty formed in 1955 between the USSR and its satellite nations in Eastern Europe to counter the perceived threat posed by NATO.

1945	World War II ends.
1947	The USSR detonates a nuclear bomb.
1956	Hungarian rebellion occurs.
1968	Prague Spring begins.
1973	Talks begin, leading to the Helsinki Accords.
1975	Helsinki Conference is held.

Aftermath

For the USSR, the Helsinki Accords were something of a two-edged sword. The KGB Chief, Yuri Andropov, noted that the, "Principle of sacredness of [national] borders [was] of course good [for us]," but he was concerned that the borders would become "see-through" from the resulting "flow of information" and the "expansion of contacts."⁶⁷ Dissident activity shortly proved the latter comment prophetic.

Many Western critics viewed the Accords as a major diplomatic coup for the USSR because of the clauses that sited the inviolability of national borders and the respect for territorial integrity. They were also viewed at the time as legitimizing Soviet control over the countries in Eastern Europe, including Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. Finally, the United States and the leaders of NATO particularly objected to the fact that the Baltic nations of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia were being forced into the Soviet Union. Interestingly, the civil rights aspects of the agreement were not viewed at the time as being significant, but they later proved to be the most important determinant in the erosion of Communist control over the Soviet satellite states in Europe.



Left to right, Schmidt, Honecker, Ford, and Kreisky

U.S. congressman Dante Fascell said in 1978 that "when the long negotiations ended at the Helsinki summit, most Western observers thought that the Soviets had gotten the best of the bargain. . . . What happened, instead, was a remarkable turning of the tables. It was accomplished not by any brilliant strategic analysts in Washington or NATO, but by a small band of intrepid Soviet citizens who began to say aloud . . . that the Soviet Union must make good on its laws and its Helsinki commitments. Their demands made us respond."⁶⁸ President Carter, as soon as he entered office, made human rights concerns a central element in U.S. foreign policy, not only in Europe, but also throughout the world. At the 1977 and 1978 follow-up meetings in Belgrade, American diplomats made it clear that human rights would remain an important aspect of U.S. foreign policy, and the CSCE would become an ongoing process to hold participants accountable. Thus, "International sanction for human rights undid much of what the Soviets had wanted from the other baskets of the Helsinki Act, for the increasingly vocal and global movement gave cover to those Eastern Europeans, 'dissidents' in Soviet eyes, who wanted to stand for individual and national rights."⁶⁹

British writer John le Carré's fictional intelligence agent George Smiley said about the Cold War, "It was *man* who ended the Cold War in case you didn't notice. It wasn't weaponry, or technology, or armies or campaigns. . . . Our sworn enemy in the East . . . went into the streets, faced the bullets and the batons and said: 'we've had enough.'"⁷⁰ The brave and determined dissidents, armed with a tacit agreement to respect human rights, undermined Soviet dominance in Eastern Europe and eventually caused the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Cold War.

⁶⁷ Simms, *Europe*, 466–467.

⁶⁸ Dante Fascell, in the CSCE, *The Belgrade Follow-Up*.

⁶⁹ Prados, *How the Cold War Ended*, 5.

⁷⁰ le Carré, *The Secret Pilgrim*, 321.

Image source: Signing the Helsinki Accords. By Horst Sturm, 1975, Helsinki, German Federal Archives, Koblenz, Bild 183-P0801-026

Discussion Questions

1. Compare your agreement with the actual Helsinki Accords (see Document A). How were they similar? Different?
2. Do you think the leaders at the Helsinki Conference should have been more aggressive in their demands for the right of self-determination for nations under Soviet domination?
3. Why do you think that certain items on the agenda seemed more important than others?
4. Were the Helsinki Accords an example of pragmatic diplomatic decisions based on power not ideals (realpolitik)?
5. In 1978, a member of the Czech secret police said to Martin Palouš, a dissident, that “we’re ready to arrest you, but the Foreign Ministry won’t let us.”⁷¹ Why do you think the Soviet Union, and the other Eastern European countries like Czechoslovakia, were reluctant to crack-down on dissidents when clearly the provisions of the Helsinki Accords were “nonbinding”?
6. The Helsinki Accords directly led to more aggressive protests against Soviet dominance in Eastern Europe. What forms of protest do you think were acceptable within the parameter of this agreement: (a) public speeches denouncing communism, (b) public rallies arguing for a more democratic system, (c) pamphlets and books about the evils of the Soviet Union, (d) listening to *Voice of America* and other Western news sources, (e) picketing Soviet embassies in the countries in Eastern Europe, (f) boycotting the purchase of all goods coming from the UDDR, and (g) blockading roads and bridges used by Warsaw Pact troop movements?
7. In 1991, as the USSR was fragmenting, one of President Bush’s senior advisers told Michael Beschloss, a historian and writer, that “you historians are going to have a hard time explaining to Americans of the future why we thought the Cold War was so dangerous for 45 years.”⁷² Was he right? Why or why not?
8. The United States congratulated itself for prodding the USSR into signing the Helsinki Accords, pledging both countries to encourage freer movement of people and ideas. While this had a profound effect in shattering the ideological hold of the Soviets in Eastern Europe, ironically, it also affected the United States. The McCarran-Walter Act, passed early in the 1950s during the so-called McCarthy Era, had a provision that barred foreigners from entering the United States, because of not only what they might do, but also what they might say. No serious legislative challenges had been mounted in the first twenty-five years of this act despite the fact that it had been used to block the entry of many well-known individuals, including the writer Gabriel García Márquez, the actor Yves Montand, and even the naturalist Farley Mowat. Congress, led by Representative Barney Frank from Massachusetts, finally overturned this legislation. Frank argued successfully that the United States should only prevent foreigners from entering the country for their deeds, not for their words. To what extent was it right to overturn this legislation, especially given the terrorist threats that we are experiencing in our times?

⁷¹ Thomas, *The Helsinki Effect*, 159.

⁷² Gaddis, “Look Back in Relief.”

9. The Soviet government published 20 million copies of the Helsinki Final Act in Moscow's two most prominent newspapers (*Pravda* and *Izvestia*), and it was widely disseminated throughout the entire Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Why do you think the Soviets chose to publish and promote an agreement with such radical commitments?
10. Urho Kekkonen, the Finnish president, remarked that "security is not gained by erecting fences . . . but by opening gates."⁷³ Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet foreign minister countered by saying that "détente was based fundamentally on the recognition of the political and territorial status quo."⁷⁴ Did the Helsinki Accords, specifically the Final Act, support or disprove either statement? Discuss.

⁷³ Urho Kekkonen, in Thomas, *The Helsinki Effect*, 64.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

Document A: The Helsinki Accords

I. Sovereign equality, respect for the rights inherent in sovereignty

The participating States will respect each other's sovereign equality and individuality as well as all the rights inherent in and encompassed by its sovereignty, including in particular the right of every State to juridical equality, to territorial integrity and to freedom and political independence. They will also respect each other's right freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems as well as its right to determine its laws and regulations. . . .

II. Refraining from the threat or use of force

The participating States will refrain in their mutual relations, as well as in their international relations in general, from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations and with the present Declaration. No consideration may be invoked to serve to warrant resort to the threat or use of force in contravention of this principle.

Accordingly, the participating States will refrain from any acts constituting a threat of force or direct or indirect use of force against another participating State. . . .

III. Inviolability of frontiers

The participating States regard as inviolable all one another's frontiers as well as the frontiers of all States in Europe and therefore they will refrain now and in the future from assaulting these frontiers.

Accordingly, they will also refrain from any demand for, or act of, seizure and usurpation of part or all of the territory of any participating State.

IV. Territorial integrity of States

The participating States will respect the territorial integrity of each of the participating States.

Accordingly, they will refrain from any action inconsistent with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations against the territorial integrity, political independence or the unity of any participating State, and in particular from any such action constituting a threat or use of force.

The participating States will likewise refrain from making each other's territory the object of military occupation or other direct or indirect measures of force in contravention of international law, or the object of acquisition by means of such measures or the threat of them. No such occupation or acquisition will be recognized as legal.

V. Peaceful settlement of disputes

The participating States will settle disputes among them by peaceful means in such a manner as not to endanger international peace and security, and justice.

They will endeavor in good faith and a spirit of cooperation to reach a rapid and equitable solution on the basis of international law.

For this purpose they will use such means as negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement or other peaceful means of their own choice including any settlement procedure agreed to in advance of disputes to which they are parties.

In the event of failure to reach a solution by any of the above peaceful means, the parties to a dispute will continue to seek a mutually agreed way to settle the dispute peacefully. . . .

VI. Non-intervention in internal affairs

The participating States will refrain from any intervention, direct or indirect, individual or collective, in the internal or external affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of another participating State, regardless of their mutual relations.

They will accordingly refrain from any form of armed intervention or threat of such intervention against another participating State.

VII. Respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief

The participating States will respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief, for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

They will promote and encourage the effective exercise of civil, political, economic, social, cultural and other rights and freedoms all of which derive from the inherent dignity of the human person and are essential for his free and full development. . . .

VIII. Equal rights and self-determination of peoples

The participating States will respect the equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination, acting at all times in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the relevant norms of international law, including those relating to territorial integrity of States.

By virtue of the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, all peoples always have the right, in full freedom, to determine, when and as they wish, their internal and external political status, without external interference, and to pursue as they wish their political, economic, social and cultural development. . . .

IX. Cooperation among States

. . . They will endeavor, in developing their cooperation as equals, to promote mutual understanding and confidence, friendly and good-neighborly relations among themselves, international peace, security and justice. They will equally endeavor, in developing their cooperation, to improve the well-being of peoples and contribute to the fulfilment of their aspirations through, inter alia, the benefits resulting from increased mutual knowledge and from progress and achievement in the economic, scientific, technological, social, cultural and humanitarian fields. They will take steps to promote conditions favorable to making these benefits available to all; they will take into account the interest of all in the narrowing of differences in the levels of economic development, and in particular the interest of developing countries throughout the world.

X. Fulfillment in good faith of obligations under international law

The participating States will fulfil in good faith their obligations under international law, both those obligations arising from the generally recognized principles and rules of international law and those obligations arising from treaties or other agreements, in conformity with international law, to which they are parties.

In exercising their sovereign rights, including the right to determine their laws and regulations, they will conform with their legal obligations under international law; they will furthermore pay due regard to and implement the provisions in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. . . .

The participating States express the conviction that respect for these principles will encourage the development of normal and friendly relations and the progress of cooperation among them in all fields. They also express the conviction that respect for these principles will encourage the development of political contacts among them which in time would contribute to better mutual understanding of their positions and views.

Source: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. Helsinki Final Act. August 11 1975. <http://www.osce.org/helsinki-final-act>.

Extension Activities

1. It is common to view history through the lens of rulers and other “famous” people, but it is perhaps the “un-famous” men and women of Europe that had the most influence in fueling the revolutions in Eastern Europe and the Soviet republics. Research a specific “dissident” from either the Soviet Union or one of the Eastern bloc countries, and either write an essay or prepare a multimedia presentation showing how this person’s activities affected a revolution in his or her country and the end of the Cold War.
2. Research other efforts after 1975 to buttress détente between the West and the East, especially regarding arms reduction and nuclear proliferation. Write an essay or create a multimedia presentation demonstrating the success or failure of these efforts.
3. When World War II ended, and the world began to see the full horrors of Nazi Germany, African American leaders sensed the opportunity was right to begin a campaign against segregation and racial inequality in the United States. As historian Carol Anderson suggests in *Eyes off the Prize*, the “prize” African Americans wanted was not merely civil rights but human rights. She submits that only the term “human rights” held the language and the, “moral power to address not only the political and legal inequality, but also the education, health care, housing, and unemployment that plagued the African American community.”⁷⁵ The Cold War, however, spawned a powerful anticommunist movement in the United States that allowed white Southerners to cast those rights as Soviet inspired. Thus the civil rights movement was launched, with neither the language nor the mission it needed to be truly effective. Write an essay or create a media presentation comparing the American civil and human rights initiative during the 1950s through the 1970s with those in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. How were they similar? Different?
4. Historian Sarah Snyder notes in her book *Human Rights Activism and the End of the Cold War* that one of the most significant ways the Helsinki Accords enabled the revolutions in Eastern Europe was through the “development of a second society in the Soviet Union, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and elsewhere.”⁷⁶ She suggests that this so-called second society, which became formally linked with monitoring agencies, laid the foundation for substantial political change. Those individuals who were part of this second society were committed to a wide range of political, social, and cultural changes that ultimately prepared them to replace the crumbling influence of the Communist Party. Write an essay or create a media presentation comparing the influences of this “second society” in Eastern Europe with the emerging “second society” in America during the civil rights movement. Despite the failure of the United States to ratify most human rights treaties, Congress has repeatedly tried to ensure that human rights become a vital element in U.S. foreign policy. Write an essay explaining this paradox.
5. Most political analysts at the time did not focus on the significance of the human rights provisions of this nonbinding agreement. Research the 2015 UN Climate Change Conference, and prepare a media presentation or write an essay highlighting provisions of this nonbinding agreement that might have a similar impact on the community of nations.

⁷⁵ Anderson, *Eyes off the Prize*, i.

⁷⁶ Snyder, *Human Rights Activism*.

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A list of specific sources and suggested reading can be found at the end of each lesson.

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