



THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

# PRESS KIT

THE PARIS 1919 PEACE CONFERENCE IN NEW PERSPECTIVE  
MAY 24-26 2019

**THE AMERICAN  
UNIVERSITY 55  
of PARIS YEARS**

# The 1919 Paris Peace Conference in New Perspective

The American University of Paris is partnering with the Belfer Center at Harvard Kennedy School on a pair of conferences marking the 100th anniversary of the Treaty of Versailles and the Paris Peace Conference. The first conference will be in Paris over from May 24-6th and will focus on the history and context in which these historic decisions were made; the second will be at Harvard in the spring of 2020 and will focus on the global public policy implications stemming from the decisions made in 1919.

## PARIS 1919: SIX MONTHS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD

“For six months in 1919, Paris was the capital of the world,” wrote Margaret MacMillan of Oxford University in her 2001 seminal book, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World*. The leaders of the United States, France and Great Britain - Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George, representing an extraordinary concentration of power – presided over a conference in Paris that redrew the maps of Europe, the Middle East and Africa following the defeat or collapse of the German, Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman and Russian Empires. Countries ranging from Iraq to Yugoslavia were created, setting the stage for future wars and conflicts well into the 21st century. Supplicants who came to Paris included a colorful cast of characters from Queen Marie of Romania to Paderewski, the Polish pianist turned politician, Ho Chi Minh, who left disillusioned with the West, to T.E. Lawrence, “wrapped in mystery and Arab robes,” according to MacMillan.

**Margaret MacMillan**, Professor of History at Oxford University and author of the best-selling book, *Paris 1919: Six Months That Changed the World*, will be joined by the preeminent First World War scholars and authors who are specialists in Europe, Asia, the Middle East and the United States, including **Priya Satia**, Professor of Modern British History at Stanford University, **Tze-ki Hon**, Professor of History at City University of Hong Kong, and **Adam Tooze**, the Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Professor of History at Columbia University.

Leading and emerging scholars engaged in a new examination of the 1919 Paris Peace Conference will delve into important new perspectives on how the decisions made in 1919 impacted the events of the rest of the 20th century and indeed current debates on the global world order in this first of the conference organized by The American University of Paris.

## THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

Founded in 1962, The American University of Paris is an independent university, a global center for interdisciplinary research and teaching and the only foreign-accredited, comprehensive BA/MA university on French soil. Our mission is to provide students from all over the globe with a life-changing education that crosses disciplines, cultures and borders. One of the most culturally diverse institutions in the world, the University welcomes 1,200 students from 107 different nationalities, speaking 70 different languages and dialects, and provides them with opportunities to learn from world-class faculty members and from one another. Bedrock to AUP’s mission is our founder’s probing question, never more relevant than today: “how do we transcend the bounds of narrow nationalisms?” Answering that question has been our historical educational project. Today, AUP’s alumni live and work in 145 countries across the globe.

# Working Conference Program

The Making of a World Order:

A Reappraisal of the Paris Peace Conference and the Treaty of Versailles

**MAY 24, 2019** (LOCATION: CERCLE DE L'UNION INTERALLIÉE)

---

08:00            **Registration/Refreshments/Breakfast**

08:30 – 09:00    **Welcome and Opening Remarks**

Celeste Schenck (President, The American University of Paris) and Nicholas Burns (Ambassador (Ret.), Harvard University)

Stephen Sawyer (The American University of Paris), Albert Wu (The American University of Paris)

09:00 – 10:45    **The Paris Peace Conference and Central Europe**

Erik Grimmer-Solem (Wesleyan University) “The Paris Peace and the German Imperial Mindscape.”

Philip Zelikow (University of Virginia): Title TBD

Sean Wempe (California State University—Bakersfield) “Fear-mongers of Imperial Decline: Colonial German Responses to “Colonial Guilt” & the League of Nations Mandates System.”

Ryan Gesme (University of Tennessee-Knoxville) “The Tragedy of Schleswig? Danish Agitation and Application of Self-Determination in Schleswig-Holstein.”

10:45 – 11:00    **Break**

11:00 – 12:00    **Plenary: Adam Tooze (Columbia University) “Versailles and the Interwar Crisis: The Problem of Hegemony Revisited.”**

Already by the late 19th century the question of international order was posed in a new way. The war heightened it to a dramatic degree. With that question came the question of hegemony. That question is pointed above all at the United States. Revisionist histories from the 1960s onwards did much to blunt the force of the point, revising our views of isolationism and the functioning of the international monetary system. In this lecture I will argue for bringing the hegemony question back to the center of the discussion. I will seek show how America's "absent presence" shaped a fragile order, vulnerable in particular to the kind of shock delivered by the Great Depression after 1929.

12:00 – 14:00    **Lunch**

14:00 – 15:45    **Versailles in China, May Fourth in the World: Intellectuals, Protests, and Networks**

Rachel Leow (Cambridge University) “Weeping Qingdao tears abroad: Distorted echoes of May Fourth in Southeast Asia.”

Sebastien Veg (EHESS) “Local networks with global reach: Sichuanese journalists reporting from the Paris peace conference and their echoes in Chengdu.”

Peter Zarrow (University of Connecticut) “Hopes Dashed: Chinese interpretations of the Great War, 1917-1919.”

Jeffrey Wasserstrom (UC Irvine) “The Road to May 4, 1919: Chinese Patriotic Passions during 1918.”

15:45 – 17:15 **The Middle East and the Paris Peace Conference**

Hans Lukas Kieser (University of Newcastle, NSW) “Where Kemal Atatürk and Talaat Pasha met: Rejecting the Paris system, fighting for “sovereignty”

John Boonstra (European University Institute) “Imagining Martyrdom, Envisioning Lebanon: Maronite Patriarch Elias Hoyek at the Paris Peace Conference”

Carolin Liebisch-Gümüs (Kiel University) “Pamphlet Wars for Asia Minor. Ottoman Activists, Ethno-Nationalism, and the Meaning of the Mandate System in Turkey”

17:15 – 17:30 **Break**

17:30 – 18:30 **Plenary: Priya Satia (Stanford University) “The Unsettling Settlement: 1919 in the Middle East.”**

Abstract: Europeans started out thinking of the Middle Eastern theater of the war as a "side-show" to the main event on the Western front. But by the end of the war, British success in destroying the Ottoman Empire encouraged many to pin their hopes for cultural, political, and economic redemption on the region. The imperious attempt to impose a new order on the region in age of intensifying anticolonialism produced perpetual crisis rather than the desired "settlement" of Great Power interests. Putting the Middle East at the center of our analysis of the peace of 1919 subverts the very narrative of peace in 1919. There, World War One went on, adapting new military tactics and technologies to a state of permanent war in the region.

**MAY 25, 2019 (LOCATION: FRANCE-AMERIQUES)**

---

08:30 – 10:15 **International Law in the Wake of Versailles**

Noah Rosenblum (Columbia University) “The Antiparliamentary Origins of Modern Presidentialism: Losing Faith in Representative Assemblies in the Interwar Atlantic.”

Christopher Casey (New York University School of Law) “Sovereign Commerce.”

Benjamin Brady (United States Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit) “The Higher Legalism of Woodrow Wilson.”

Katharina Isabel Schmidt (Princeton University) “‘The Weaver Knows Not What He Weaves’: Max Rumpf, World War I, and the Rise of Economic Legal Science, 1912-1927.”

10:15 – 10:30 **Break**

10:30 – 12:00 **Global Governance in the Wake of Versailles**

Hagen Shulz-Forberg and Martin Beddeleem (Aarhus University) “From Versailles to the Palais-Royal: A Genealogy of Early Neoliberalism”

Chris Szabla (Cornell University) “Peace (Re)settlement: The Treaty of Versailles as a Transitional Document for Global Migration Governance.”

Patryk Labuda (New York University School of Law) “The Paris Peace Conference and the Emergence of International Criminal Justice.”

12:00 – 13:00 **Lunch**

13:00 – 14:30 **Asia and the Paris Peace Conference**

Kevin Pham (UC Riverside) “From Reformer to Vietnamese Revolutionary: the Fruits of Frustration at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference.”

Ke Ren (College of the Holy Cross) “Between Beiping and Geneva: The Chinese League of Nations Union and Interwar Internationalism”

Thomas Burkman (SUNY Buffalo) “The Contest between Regional Order and World Order in Japan’s Interface with the Paris Peace Conference and the Formation of the League of Nations.”

14:30 – 14:45 **Break**

14:45 – 15:45 **Plenary: Tze-ki Hon (City University Hong Kong) “The Meanings of the 1919 Moment in China: Sovereignty, Connectivity, and National Awakening.”**

The “1919 moment”—particularly the decisions that the Allies made to give Qingdao to Japan—is full of ambiguity and tension to the Chinese. On the one hand, it is remembered as a spark of anti-imperialist nationalism, directly causing a day of student unrest in Beijing on May Fourth of 1919 to protest the Allies’ decision. On the other hand, the “1919 moment” is considered a part of a decade-long cultural movement, from 1915 to 1925, to introduce western values such as “democracy” and “science” into China. Clearly these two images of the “1919 moment” are quite different. In the former, it is heroic because the Chinese—especially the young generation—joined other peoples around the world after WWI in demanding national self-determination. In the latter, it is melancholic because the Chinese—especially the cultural elites—continued to westernize their country after the Versailles Settlement even though they had doubt about the supremacy of the West. In this talk, I will examine the long-term and short-term causes of these conflicting images of the “1919 moment.” I will argue that the conflicting images reveal a deep-seated tension between two opposing views of China’s role in the world—China as part of the collective enterprise of humankind to create global networks of production, circulation and consumption, and China as a nation-state with clear territorial boundaries and explicit markers of sovereignty. These two

competing views underscored the dilemma that the Chinese leaders faced during the first half of the twentieth century. For them, while the nation-state system encouraged global connectivity and self-determination (as shown in the Wilson's Fourteen Points), it also privileged the strong nations over the weak (as evident in the Paris peace talks). To this day, this dilemma—connectivity or geobody—is still affecting the Chinese leaders' decisions as they struggle to come to grips with the conflicting natures of the system of nation-states.

15:45 – 16:00 **Break**

16:00 – 17:45 **French Roundtable**

Alain Chatriot (History, Sciences-Po Paris)

George Henri Soutou (Institut de France) "A Peace Falling Between Two Stools."

At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, the Peacemakers had a World to restore. They understood there were responsible for that, even if they all had their particular motives and followed their national interests. They could not escape the fact that three multi-national Empires (Russian, Austro-Hungarian, and Ottoman) had collapsed even before the Armistice, bringing down with them the former model of European Statecraft and international order which had been established since the Westphalian peace, and that Germany, the linchpin of the pre-war European system, was defeated and in turmoil... But they did not just react to events: they realized that the former Concert of Europe could not be resurrected, even if amended.

17:45 – 18:00 **Break**

18:00 – 19:30 **Plenary: Margaret MacMillan (Oxford University) "Assessing the Paris Peace Conference a Century Later"**

The peace made at the end of the First World War is often blamed for creating the conditions which sent nations such as Germany and Japan down the road towards dictatorship and led Europe and the world towards the Second World War. The lecture will ask whether the accepted view, that the Paris peace settlements of 1919 doomed the world to another war is a fair one. It will examine the difficulties of making peace at the end of great wars and the particular challenges before the leaders who met in Paris in 1919. It will look at controversies such as the one over the German peace but also point to achievements such as the League of Nations. Finally the lecture will also suggest ways we might learn from the past as we face a turbulent and uncertain present.

**MAY 26, 2019 (LOCATION: AUP, COMBES STUDENT LIFE CENTER)**

---

09:00 – 10:30 **Central/Eastern Europe**

Gennadii Korolov (Institute of Ukrainian History of the National Academy of Sciences) "Between 'Intermarium' and 'New Europe': Ukrainian and Belarusian federative projects, national territories, and ethnographical determinism."

Andrea Feldman (University of Zagreb) "The New Woman in the New State: The feminist expectations from the Yugoslav Unification."

Marijana Kardum (Central European University) "'The Truth Will Prevail': Little Entente of Women and Women's Peacemaking in the Interwar Period."

10:30 – 10:45 **Break**

10:45 – 12:15 **Iberia/Latin America**

Georgy Filatov (Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences) “The Paris Peace Conference and the Rise of Catalan Separatism.”

Thomas Fischer (Catholic University Eichstätt) “The Monroe Doctrine and the New World Order in Paris”

Christy Thornton (Johns Hopkins University) “Mexico is our Balkan Peninsula”: The United States Confronts the Mexican Revolution in the League of Nations Debate

12:15 – 13:00 **Concluding discussion**

**THE CENTER FOR  
CRITICAL DEMOCRACY STUDIES,  
THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF PARIS**

The Center for Critical Democracy Studies at The American University of Paris is led by global historians and social scientists who aim to foster, in both teaching and research, an interdisciplinary approach to questions of democracy. Purposely aligned with AUP's global liberal arts curriculum, the Center encourages all fields from the natural and environmental sciences to the social sciences and humanities to explore democracy as a social state, a political regime or a form of agency. The Center publishes the prestigious journal, *The Tocqueville Review/La Revue Tocqueville*, and organizes conferences and events around key themes of democracy's past, present and future. The Center sponsors scholars-in-residence, pedagogy seminars for faculty and student workshops. It regularly develops pedagogical initiatives designed to encourage critical thinking on the history, theory and practice of democracy — notably a freshman learning community focused on democracy studies, a Democracy Lab and a Summer Democracy Institute, each of which will be engaged with the Centennial Conference.

**THE BELFER CENTER FOR SCIENCE  
AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS,  
HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL**

The Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs is the hub of Harvard Kennedy School's research, teaching, and training in international security and diplomacy, environmental and resource issues, and science and technology policy. In 2019, for the sixth year in a row, the Belfer Center was ranked the world's #1 University Affiliated Think Tank by University of Pennsylvania's Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program.

The Center – directed by former U.S. Secretary of Defense Ash Carter and former Pentagon “Cyber Czar” Eric Rosenbach – has a dual mission: (1) to provide leadership in advancing policy-relevant knowledge about the most important challenges of international security and other critical issues in an inter-disciplinary manner to include science and technology and (2) to prepare future generations of leaders for these arenas.

The heart of the Belfer Center is its resident research community of more than 150 scholars, including Harvard faculty, researchers, practitioners, and each year a new, international group of research fellows. Through publications and policy discussions, workshops, seminars, and conferences, the Center promotes innovative solutions to significant national and international challenges.

VERSAILLES ✦ 1919–2019

THE PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE AT 100

**THE AMERICAN  
UNIVERSITY 55  
of PARIS YEARS**