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**European Secondary School Students' Conference:
The Paris Peace Conference, 1919, and the Treaty of Versailles**

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Report

Re-running the Past: European Student Simulations in History

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Introduction

A few years ago I received a letter from a Hungarian gentleman living in London. He had picked up a copy of a textbook I had helped write some years before and had been outraged by the brief summary which it accorded to the 1919 Treaty of Trianon. I replied politely, pointing out that I had not myself written the offending section, but also explaining that the pupils the book was aimed at would be concentrating their efforts on the Treaty of Versailles with Germany, and that, regrettably but realistically, it would be futile to expect them to give much attention to events in Hungary. My correspondent was mollified in part, but he responded by sending me for some weeks afterwards a series of pamphlets and newsletters, all on the theme of the injustice done to Hungary at Trianon and why it should be redressed.

It was a thought-provoking correspondence. That the Treaty of Versailles provoked outrage in Germany in the 1920s I both knew and could, to some extent, understand; that the Treaty of Trianon should provoke such strong feelings into the 1990s was something of a revelation to me. Later events were to reveal a similar feeling among Bulgarians about the Treaty of Neuilly. I felt that as a history teacher, British in background and European in outlook, I still had much to learn about the significance of the treaties drawn up in Paris in 1919. And if that were true of me, how much more true must it be of my pupils?

History teachers and the Paris Peace Settlement of 1919

The 1919 Peace Treaties, particularly the Treaty of Versailles with Germany, are an important feature of history curricula across the continent of Europe. This is partly because older pupils commonly tend to concentrate on 20th century history, and partly because of the significance of the 1919 settlement in the shaping of European and world history. Historians often blame the peacemakers of 1919 for the second world war, and many current ethnic and national issues in Europe, particularly in central and eastern Europe, have their origins in the settlement as well. Small wonder that it still arouses such passions.

For this reason, the Paris Peace Settlement lends itself particularly well to being viewed from different European perspectives. However, not only do most history textbooks, like the one my Hungarian correspondent took exception to, tend to concentrate on the Treaty of Versailles, but they also concentrate on what was actually decided in Paris: what lands were handed over to whom, how large the German army could be, and so on. What most books do not go into is the process by which the decisions were reached. This is not entirely surprising, since few of us (and even fewer students) have experience of high-level international gatherings; on the other hand, these settlements were not arrived at in classrooms or debating chambers, but in the atmosphere and ambience of an international conference. It is easy to point the finger of blame at the peacemakers of 1919, but until we have experienced the circumstances in which they were working, can we really judge what they achieved? This is what the project was designed to address, through the technique of historical simulation.

Simulation of negotiations is not in itself a new technique: although some teachers will be unfamiliar with it, in many schools in different European countries it is commonly used to inject a bit of life into what can be dry material. The idea of an extensive simulation, recreating as closely as possible the atmosphere and structure of the real thing, has been around for some years now in the form of model United Nations exercises, as well as other "model" exercises based upon local or national government, the European Parliament, or law courts. The scale of these exercises varies immensely, from small projects within a single classroom, to the huge model United Nations gathering held each year in the Hague, with delegates from all around the world. However, simulating an historical event, where the role-playing aspect is inevitably complicated by the need to keep events within some sort of bounds of historical credibility, would inevitably pose different problems. How these problems were tackled, and how other teachers might tackle them in undertaking simulations on other historical topics, is the subject of this report.

1. Preparation

Choosing a theme

Any historical event can be simulated in one way or another, but some are much easier to approach than others. The advantages of the Paris Peace Conference lay first of all in the importance of its subject matter. As an international conference it had its own internal structure (even though we had to adjust it for the purposes of the simulation). Treaties, parliamentary and international debates, trials and negotiations all lend themselves relatively easily to this sort of simulation; less structured events, such as battles, riots or confrontations, can be simulated but they need to have a structure devised specially for them, and this can be quite a complex thing to design. (To see this in practice, look at the detailed rules which govern historical war games or battle re-enactments).

There are plenty of other possible themes for simulation which also carry an internal structure: it would be perfectly possible, for example, to devise a very powerful simulation based upon trading relationships, and indeed a number of charities and non-governmental organisations have done exactly that as part of their educational work. However, a negotiation-based simulation has the added advantage of an obvious end-product: either an agreement is reached or the talks break down. In this case it was decided to run a simulation of as much of the peace conference as possible, following a clear set of procedures, and with a set of definite outcomes in the shape of a series of treaties between the defeated and the victorious powers.

Sponsorship

It is important to think about money from the outset. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that you will find a sponsor for the whole exercise. It is often more practical to seek sponsorship for a specific aspect of the exercise. A major expense is travel, but it may be possible to attract sponsorship for a smaller expense, such as photocopying or an excursion.

This outline of approximate costs of the Burwell House conference gives an idea of the sort of figures to anticipate. All figures are in £ sterling:

	£
Burwell House (accommodation, all facilities, all food):	4 000.00
Hospitality (meals for participants outside Burwell House):	600.00
Administration (photocopying, resources, research, etc)	300.00
Petrol, taxis, coaches	600.00
Outside speaker	100.00
Travel expenses:	
Germans	850.00
Bulgarians (inc. visas)	1 470.00
Slovenes	100.00
French	470.00
Danes	730.00
Total	10 520.00

I first started contacting possible sponsors for the 1997 Paris Peace Conference simulation in 1994. The UK Historical Association made a grant of £3 500.00 but it proved difficult to raise any more money until the Council of Europe took the idea up as part of its Project on The Teaching and Learning of the History of Europe in the 20th Century. Once it was clear that the project would actually go ahead, it proved possible to negotiate sponsorship, or particular deals, with various bodies. For example, we managed to negotiate for the host college to provide flags for the conference chamber (which would otherwise have been surprisingly expensive), and we arranged with a local cinema to screen a film for the delegates at a low cost on a Sunday morning, when it would not normally expect a large audience.

In general terms, the rule to follow in terms of sponsorship is "ask". The worst they can say is "no" - and sometimes the answer is "yes". A meeting of representatives of various international projects in history met in 1995 in Strasbourg and produced a handbook for teachers, *History Without Frontiers* (Council of Europe: Strasbourg 1996), which includes a section on sponsorship. Some ideas include:

- Local or regional authorities
- National governments
- National history teacher associations
- Euroclio
- The European Youth Foundation
- The European Union
- The Soros Foundation
- Higher education institutions
- The press, especially the educational press
- Local businesses

In addition, practical advice is to be found in *School links and exchanges in Europe: a practical guide* (Strasbourg 1992), *How to apply for a grant from the European Youth Foundation* (Strasbourg 1993), *List of useful addresses on history teaching in Europe* (Strasbourg 1995), and *School exchanges: Cultural Diversity, Conflict and Co-operation* (Strasbourg 1996) which contains the report on the 7th Conference of the Council of Europe's Network on School Links and Exchanges.

In each and every case, time spent researching the details of grant or sponsorship applications is never wasted. Deadlines for applications may be months before the project is due to take place; in some cases there may be stipulations attached to grants which, if known about in time, can be incorporated into the project. For example, the grant may depend on the number of countries involved, or on the balance between west and east European countries. Some of the grants available from the European Union stipulate that the project should last a particular length of time. In one case in Italy, it proved possible to get some extra funding for a history exchange by incorporating a day following one of the Council of Europe's "cultural routes" into the programme.

It is certainly well worth recruiting professional help to oversee the financial side of the project. We involved the bursary of the host college from an early stage of the planning of the project, since they would have to handle all the payments coming in and out of the account we set up. It is in the nature of such exercises that the transactions can get complicated, and involving the college's financial staff ensured that they were handled smoothly.

Remember: it is impossible to overestimate the length of time taken up by administrative procedures!

Choosing a venue

The venue needs to be booked well in advance, not only because good venues get booked up, but because the nature of the venue will, to a considerable degree, determine the final nature of the project. There are many factors to consider when choosing a venue, but the three most important, in order of importance, are probably:

- i. the personnel at the venue;
- ii. the facilities at the venue;
- iii. cost.

The reason for putting personnel at the top is quite simply because they can make or break the project. If the staff understand your needs are flexible enough to accommodate your changes of plan (and there will be changes of plan, right up to the last minute and beyond), and have the imagination to suggest ways of making the best use of the venue, then you have a very good

chance of running a successful project. It is vital to involve the staff at the venue in planning the project from as early on as possible. You will need to discuss everything from the logistics of each day, to the sleeping arrangements and what to do if someone forgets to bring a toothbrush (someone will!). If there are issues of security or students' behaviour and conduct, these too need to be settled from the outset. Although in our case the venue was not too expensive, in general terms good staff are probably worth paying a bit extra for.

The venue we chose for the Paris Peace Conference simulation was Burwell House, a handsome 19th century building, originally built as a private residence for a wealthy family but now owned by Cambridgeshire County Council and used for educational residential courses. I had run history courses at Burwell House before, so I knew both the facilities and the very high standard of support I could expect from the staff. For this project, we needed a number of meeting rooms for committees, a larger room where all the delegates could meet together for formal sessions, a computing base for word processing, photocopying and fax facilities. Burwell House also has a fully equipped television studio, so we took the opportunity to incorporate this into the programme. Again, it is important to inspect these in advance, and in the case of the television studio we had an extra session specifically on how to operate it.

Accommodation at the house was always going to be cramped, especially with the numbers we were expecting. There are different views on this. Our own students are used to "roughing it" on educational trips and took this in their stride, but some students might have higher expectations. To avoid any possible disappointment, it is probably worth making the accommodation situation absolutely clear to participants from the outset.

A secondary, but important, consideration in choosing the venue was that Burwell is country village without the sort of distractions provided in a large city. This was important because we found, given the relatively short time available, that the students needed to spend as much time as possible working on their negotiations, sometimes continuing well into the evening. We found that this added immensely to the rewards of the exercise, and helped to build up a strong sense of shared experience and common identity among participants. It also helped to solve the perennial problem facing organisers of residential events for students of how to keep them safely and harmlessly occupied in the evenings.

Choosing and communicating with participants: schools

The Council of Europe publishes a number of helpful handbooks on how to find other schools in Europe for projects of this sort, including *School links and exchanges in Europe* (Strasbourg 1991), *The educational theory and practice of school links and exchanges* (Strasbourg 1992), *School links and exchanges in Europe: a practical guide* (Strasbourg 1992), *History without frontiers* (Strasbourg 1996). In our own case, time was limited so we began by approaching schools with which the college already had links. These were spread over France, Germany, Italy and Greece. I made use of contacts through the Council of Europe to involve schools in Denmark and Bulgaria, and the Council of Europe itself put us in contact with the Ministry of Education in Slovenia. Other possible means of making contact are the institutions that make up the Council of Europe's Network for School Links and Exchanges, and Euroclio, the European Standing Conference of History Teachers' Associations.

It is very difficult to judge when and how best to make the initial contact with potential participants. Naturally, they want to know as much as possible about the project, and they need to be contacted well in advance so they can prepare for it; on the other hand, it is not necessarily possible to finalise the sort of details they require until you know exactly who will be taking part. For example, both financial support and prices might well depend on the exact numbers taking part. In addition, we found we had to invite people to take part before we knew for certain whether we would have any sponsorship. We took the view that, while we would certainly inform participants of our plans, we would not make any promises or guarantees until we knew whether or not we would be in a position to honour them. This inevitably added to the difficulties of organising the project, but we thought it preferable to risking bringing people over without the money to do so.

Clear communication with participants is important. We drew up a set of simple forms (see Appendix 1) firstly to register initial interest, then to register the school (particularly important if, as was the case with two delegations, the students come from more than one school), and finally to register the teachers and students. The staff at the venue needed to know in advance about any special Dietary or medical requirements, and to know the balance in the numbers of boys and girls. In order to avoid last minute complications, it is worth drawing up a full hour-by-hour itinerary for each group of participants, from their departure from home to their return. This can alert you to any gaps in the schedule and to arrange for any extra accommodation or travel that might be needed.

It is worth adding that every care needs to be taken to ensure that instructions are absolutely clear. A simple linguistic misreading led us to think one school was intending to come when in fact the teachers thought they had made it clear that they could not!

Choosing participants: students

The procedure for selecting the students differed from country to country. In some cases students were simply selected by their teacher. In our own case, students volunteered. In the case of the Slovenes, each student came from a different school, and was chosen by a form of competition; similarly, the Bulgarian students came from two different schools and were selected by arrangement between the teachers at the schools.

There are a number of different criteria to bear in mind when selecting students. Clearly, they need to be familiar with the period and the issues which are the subjects of the simulation. They also need to have the social skills and confidence required of a successful negotiator. Non-native speakers will need to maintain discussions at a high level of linguistic complexity with native speakers, possibly for long periods; native speakers need to be able to speak clearly and comprehensibly, with due consideration for others. If students are to be chairing committees, they need to have the firmness of purpose to keep the discussions under control, while ensuring that everyone has a chance to speak. Having said all this, one of the pleasures of the project was to find that the students often discovered these qualities in themselves without ever having suspected themselves of possessing them!

Research and resources

Much of the success of the project will depend on the quality of the research that goes into the preparation. In our own case, we were fortunate to have Cambridge University Library close at hand, where we had access to the printed correspondence of the British Foreign Office from the period. The Historical Section of the Foreign Office in 1919 prepared for the British delegation a series of immensely detailed handbooks on all the major areas of the world to be discussed at the conference; these were published in 1920, and we came across an extensive collection of them in the library of the Imperial War Museum in London. The problem was that not only were they very detailed, with extensive sections on the history, political systems, geography, economy and population of each area they dealt with, but they were written for the most part in continuous prose, so that it would be difficult for the students to make good use of them in the circumstances, particularly those who were not native English speakers. (It is only fair to add that it seems that the original books posed similar problems to the original delegates!) We found that the best way was to draw up a table of categories, and arrange the information in a schematic way, so that it would be easy for anyone to find the required information very quickly. This information would then be put together in a pack which would be distributed to every participant.

The task of actually reading through the books and extracting the relevant information was undertaken by some of our students as part of their preparation for the project itself. It was their first experience of "proper" historical research, looking through original historical material with a specific brief, and they found it tiring but rewarding. An example of the sort of information produced is shown in Appendix 6.

A conference on the Paris Peace Conference cannot get away from the need for good maps. We scoured every history books and historical atlas for maps relevant to the period. Where possible we got hold of large maps, but we also compiled a sort of atlas of useful maps which was available in each committee room. A lot of the work in committees was spend hunched over maps, drawing lines and boundaries, so it is important that maps should be large and detailed enough for his. On the other hand, due consideration has to be paid to the strict copyright rules governing the reproduction of maps. It might be worth approaching the copyright holder for permission to reproduce, or else a map might be laminated, to allow for coloured lines to be drawn on it and erased without difficulty.

To turn our discussions into treaties, we needed a word processing centre. This would also be needed for compiling reports and correspondence. As with the financial aspects, we found it was worth getting professional advice rather than trying to do everything ourselves: Burwell House does not have a computer suite, so we consulted the College's computer technician, who installed a number of laptop computers and printers.

Follow-up work

It is worth thinking in advance about how best to build on the results of the conference. Some ideas about this are discussed at the end of this report.

2. Description of the project

The purpose of the project

The aim of the simulation is not to reconstruct the conference, in the sense of re-enacting everything exactly as it happened, but rather to simulate, as far as possible, the conditions in which it was held, and then to let events run their own course. If the project is to work, this must be understood by everyone taking part. One delegation arrived full of goodwill for other countries in a way which reflected modern attitudes towards Europe, but did not reflect the historical situation in 1919; consequently, they were taken aback to encounter a more hostile and intransigent attitude in other delegations. To avoid this problem, it is worth putting the situation across in terms like this:

*It is January 1919. You are here to represent your country, which has just come through the horrors of the first world war. You know as much as you can find out about up to this date. You do **not** know, nor can you find out about, anything which will happen in future months or years (though you are, of course, free to speculate). You are here to get a settlement which will be satisfactory to your government and people.*

Participants must not start employing hindsight, since this removes the basis for the whole exercise. They are not there to "improve upon" or "change" the original settlement. Some people might fear that, put in the same position as the original peacemakers, the students will inevitably come up with the same settlement. This fear is quite unfounded. If they do, it gives them a good insight into why the original delegates drew up the settlement that they did; if they do not, it shows up some possible and realistic alternatives to what actually happened. Experience suggests, however, that the role play experience is powerful enough for the participants to forget their previous knowledge. It is most unlikely that they will come up with a settlement that either slavishly follows or studiously avoids the actual settlement of 1919.

The programme

The programme of the project is laid out in Appendix 2. The dates were dictated by the availability of the venue. Although the original dates were from Sunday 16 to Wednesday 19 February 1997, the staff at Burwell House were happy to accommodate some participants on Saturday 15 so they could take advantage of APEX air fares. (This illustrates the importance placed above on the quality of personnel at the venue).

The activities in the programme were of three types:

- in role
- out of role
- leisure

In-role activities

These were discussion in committee, formal sessions of the whole conference, and the bulletins put together by the press corps. These are discussed in more detail below.

Out-of-role activities

There is a danger that the simulation exercise itself takes over so completely that it becomes divorced from the reality of what is being discussed. This can happen even when contemporary events are being discussed; it is even more of a danger when the discussion is on historical topics. We therefore inserted a number of activities into the programme which were related to the theme but conducted out of role. These included the formal opening, the showings of film and video material, a talk from a guest speaker, presentations on how different countries present the events of 1919 in school, and a formal evaluation session.

The formal opening helped to set the tone for the conference. At one level it was a formal and courteous welcome to the participants from the principal of the college; however, we also used it underline the reality of the events the conference would focus on. In particular, we reminded participants of the tragic losses incurred during the war, and invited them to observe a minute's silence in memory of those who lost their lives.

The film showings were designed to remind the delegates of the context of 1919, in particular the immediate impact of the losses and destruction of the first world war. *All quiet on the western front* was chosen because of its contemporary significance, because it presents events from a German standpoint, and because we thought - rightly, as it turned out - that few of the students would have seen it. The documentary on *The Battle of the Somme* was chosen because, although it was made in 1976, it still puts across the impact of the war very effectively. The two films were obviously different, and provided some useful material for discussion about the presentation of the war in different media, in different countries, and at different times.

Choosing a visiting speaker needs to be done with care. We wanted someone to set the scene for the conference, pointing out the questions and dilemmas that faced the statesmen in 1919; we did not want a set-piece lecture on the settlement they reached. The quality of presentation is always important, but it is even more so for an international audience. Many lecturers are used to speaking for an hour, but this is probably too long: it is better to set a strict maximum length of forty-five minutes for the talk, with time for questions. If at all possible, someone should hear the guest speaker lecture before issuing an invitation, and once the invitation has been issued, the speaker needs to be told as precisely as possible what issues to cover and what questions to leave open.

The "National Presentations" gave the participants a chance to get out of role and to talk about their own countries. The idea here was to take advantage of the international character of the gathering, so students explained something of how they encountered the events under discussion in their own school systems, and how the events are remembered or commemorated in their various countries. This brought out some fascinating differences of perspective: the Bulgarians explained how they still feel bitter about how their country was treated in 1919, the Germans exhibited a similar feeling, though perhaps more of a tendency to see the chapter as closed; the western Europeans were certainly made to feel rather uncomfortable about their ignorance of events in eastern and central Europe. I think this session was one of the most valuable parts of the conference, and it is worth thinking carefully about how to conduct it to best advantage. The "National Presentations" gave it a structure without having to run it as a formal debate, as we had originally intended; on the other hand, it can help to have a deliberately provocative presentation to

stimulate discussion. However it is done, this exercise helps to counter-act the danger of the simulation departing from historical reality, or of the role play obscuring the benefits of the international contact.

A formal evaluation session is an important part of any conference. We tried to arrange it to fulfil two roles. As well as inviting the participants to comment on the organisation of the conference, the accompanying teachers were invited to give an historical evaluation of the treaties that had resulted from the discussions, commenting on how and why their deliberations differed from or coincided with what happened in 1919. This helped to steer the discussion back to the present day, and to bring the conference to a satisfactory conclusion.

Leisure activities

Although time will always be limited, it is important to allow some time for participants to relax and get to know each other. A formal social event at the beginning or end of the conference can be useful; a visit to the town should always be included if at all possible. We found pizza restaurants went down well with teachers and students alike, and a general knowledge quiz, of the sort that has become very popular in the United Kingdom in recent years, gave our visitors a taste of the local culture.

The role play

Students fulfilled three roles:

- i. delegates
- ii. secretariat
- iii. press corps

It proved impossible to persuade students to volunteer for the secretariat, so in the end we simply doubled the size of the home delegation and gave it the task of running the conference secretariat. With this exception, for reasons of space delegations were limited to four students.

Should participants represent their own countries or not?

The original intention was for students to play the role of countries other than their own. For example, the German students played the role of the British, the Bulgarians played the Greeks, the Danes played the Americans, and so on. When schools dropped out their roles tended to be taken up by the host school, which ended up providing three delegations, the Poles, the Czechs and the French. Because schools replied at different times, it was not possible to allocate all the roles at the same time, which meant that the major roles tended to go to those who replied early. Because of this, the Slovenes were offered the role of the Serbs which, since Serbia in 1919 was subsumed into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, meant that they were in effect playing their own country. This enabled us to consider the question of whether or not it is a good idea for participants to represent their own countries.

There are many strong arguments for not encouraging it. It adds considerably to the "empathetic" aspect of the project if participants represent a different country (it is standard practice, for example, in model United Nations exercises). The Bulgarian students spoke of how stimulating they found it to take the role of the Greeks, a nation with whom they said they would not normally feel much sympathy! The German participants found that playing the British revealed aspects of the 1919 conference which they simply had not realised before. In the specific case of the 1919 conference, to have participants playing their own country would, of course, simply disqualify any schools from Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria or Turkey from taking part. It also raises questions about getting students from across the Atlantic to play the Americans.

On the other hand, the project revealed some strong reasons for giving serious consideration to the case for allowing participants to represent their own countries. Participants obviously have a deeper understanding of their own countries, and can represent them most accurately: this avoids

the problem which occasionally arose when participants felt their own countries were not being represented entirely accurately. The Slovene participants reported feeling particularly glad to be able to present their country's point of view, and they felt it added to their effectiveness in debate. It also helps with the inevitable problem that some countries' history is easier to find out about than others.

On balance, I think it is probably better to encourage participants to take the role of other countries, but with two qualifications: firstly, this need not be a hard-and-fast rule, and secondly, there is a useful advisory role here for the accompanying teachers from the relevant schools. This is discussed in more detail below.

Dress

In keeping with established conventions in other negotiation-based simulations, we operated a strict dress code for all in-role activities: jackets and ties for men, smart outfits for women. This helps immediately to convey a proper sense of dignity and seriousness to the proceedings. The dress code was relaxed for all out-of-role activities, especially the "National Presentations". This too was important, as it emphasised the difference between the role play and the out-of-role parts of the conference.

The conference structure

The 1919 Conference had a relatively fluid structure. Most discussion went on in the Supreme Council, chaired by Clémenceau. Its deliberations were informed by reports from committees dealing with specific aspects, such as disarmament and economics. Most delegates from countries other than the "Big Four", the United States, France, Great Britain and Italy, attended meetings of the Supreme Council when their concerns came up for discussion, and were left cooling their heels in the intervals. This fluid structure allowed proceedings to be dominated by Clémenceau, Wilson and Lloyd George, and was one of the features of the conference singled out by the British diplomat Harold Nicolson for criticism in his analysis of the peace conference, *Peacemaking 1919*¹.

Committees

This is an example of where the simulation needed to depart from historical reality. Although we could have allowed three students to dominate the conference as their 1919 counterparts had done, this would simply have resulted in a lot of students feeling frustrated that they were not having an opportunity to contribute to the conference. We therefore decided to establish a different structure entirely: instead of one committee discussing everything, with specialist committees reporting on details, we set up four committees, each dealing with one defeated nation: Germany, Austria, Hungary and Turkey. Each committee was chaired by two members of the host delegation, France, who also took minutes and wrote up the reports on discussions. Each country represented at the conference sat on each committee.

This structure worked well. It meant that proper consideration was given to those aspects of the settlement which tend to get neglected in the history books, and it allowed all participants to play a full part in the conference. However, there is room for improvement to the structure. The decision to have four committees was dictated by the space available; it had the disadvantage of excluding one of the defeated countries, in this case Bulgaria, from consideration. On reflection, it might have been better to have given one of the committees two countries to consider, so as to cover all of the countries dealt with in 1919. We might, for example, have designated the four committees as follows:

- Germany
- Austria and Hungary

1. Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919*, London 1944.

- Bulgaria
- Turkey

or else Bulgaria could have been combined with Turkey for one committee to consider.

Secondly, it was probably not necessary for every country to be represented on every committee. It meant, for example, that Greece was represented on the committees dealing with Germany and Austria, where it had little national interest at stake, while other countries, like Belgium or Romania, were not represented at all. On reflection, we would not necessarily make each delegation the same size. It would be quite possible for one school to provide delegates representing different countries: say, one for Belgium (to sit on the Germany Committee), three for Romania (to sit on the Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey committees) and so on. Larger powers would continue to be represented on all committees.

Conducting committee business

According to Harold Nicolson, the 1919 conference did not work to a set agenda, and this was another major weakness that he identified. Here too, it was necessary for the purposes of the simulation to depart from strict historical reality. Students are not generally used to operating committees, and they need as much guidance as possible, and a clear agenda should be a virtual *sine qua non*. In addition, the British Foreign Office handbooks contained a clear and concise set of procedures for conducting international conferences. We included a digest of these rules for procedures in each participant's pack of materials. (These rules, and a set of committee agendas, are included in Appendices 5 and 6).

The basic rule for each committee was that it should always have a set of clear tasks to fulfil. Each agenda item required a definite decision (which, in the interests of expediting business, could be postponed no later than the next scheduled meeting); a separate agenda was provided for each committee session, and each committee meeting concentrated on a different theme, such as borders, war crimes, reparations, disarmament, and so on. The committee's discussions and decisions were recorded by the secretariat, and these records had to be formally agreed by the committee before they could be translated into draft treaty form. When all items had been discussed and decided upon, the secretariat drew up a draft treaty, which was then debated and voted on clause by clause by the committee before it was presented to the defeated powers in the final session.

This system generally worked extremely successfully; however one weakness to be aware of is that unless sufficient time is allowed for consultation between delegates on different committees, contradictions can creep into the final treaties, especially where they deal separately with the same regions. It seems wisest to allocate specific time for this consultation to take place after each committee session. It should certainly be one of the duties of the Secretariat to highlight any potential contradictions in the treaties as soon as they appear.

Nevertheless, the rules did allow considerable freedom of manoeuvre. A peace conference has rules, but it is not a meeting of an institution, like a parliament or the United Nations; the details of its procedures are not laid down, and can be left to the delegates to work out. They might, for example, decide to base decisions on a majority vote, but they are under no obligation to do so. Harold Nicolson gives a useful picture of how the 1919 conference was chaired:

January 18, Saturday

The conference opened officially by Poincaré. Plenary session at Quai d'Orsay at 3.15. Clémenceau rather high handed with the smaller powers. "*Y a-t-il des objections? Non? (...) Adopté.*" Like a machine gun.

A fluid procedure for committee business reflects very effectively the historical situation, but it also gives a pivotal importance to the role of the host delegation. One of the major weaknesses of the 1919 conference was that it was not held on neutral territory, but in the capital of one of the major protagonists. For the purposes of the simulation, this aspect was stressed as much as possible.

Place cards and badges were in French, and delegates were greeted with a huge French *tricolore* on arriving at Burwell House. The students playing the role of the French delegation were told that, while they should chair committees with all due courtesy and consideration, they were not there in a neutral guise, but as the representatives of one of the most strongly anti-German powers in 1919. The result was very interesting to observe. Other delegates were taken aback by what seemed to be (and was) an assertive and intransigent style of chairmanship by the French delegation, and at first were inclined to complain to the organisers. When they realised that their hosts were merely playing their role to the full, the other participants began to respond in kind, so that by the end those who had complained about the intransigence of the host delegation were showing themselves just as intransigent in defence of their own interests as anyone else!

This probably gave the participants the strongest indication of the nature of the exercise they were undertaking - no cool, detached consideration of the problem from all angles, but a highly partisan approach undertaken, in some quarters, in a spirit of revenge. However, it is certainly worth ensuring that the accompanying teachers are aware of this aspect, in order to avoid any misunderstandings.

Opening statements

A formal opening statement to the conference from each delegation, setting out its aims and aspirations, makes a useful starting point. These statements should be short (five minutes maximum) and need to be delivered in role. Opening statements are also a good way to start off business in committees.

Correspondence

The 1919 conference did not take place in a vacuum, but rather in a developing crisis. This is one of the aspects of the historical conference perhaps least appreciated by students. While the delegates were gathered in Paris, the Bolsheviks were consolidating their power in Russia in the face of "white" and allied armies in the civil war; Bela Kun's Bolshevik Government seized control in Budapest, while Romanian and Czech forces entered Hungary; the Spartakists launched their ill-fated *coup* in Berlin while a short-lived Soviet Government took control in Bavaria; Sinn Fein set up an Irish Parliament in Dublin in defiance of the British Government; and throughout all of this there were urgent problems of starvation across huge areas of Europe, as well as the devastation of Spanish Influenza. These problems, and many others, had to be dealt with quickly by the leaders at the Paris conference, and no simulation can really give an adequate idea of how the conference operated unless it conveys something of the sense of crisis and urgency which these outside events gave to the proceedings.

In addition to the agendas, therefore, each committee, in each of its sessions, was also given a set of correspondence to deal with. These were based upon real letters received by the statesmen in Paris in 1919 and included in the published documentary collections of the British Foreign Office¹. To help speedy comprehension, they were extensively edited to get them into a much shorter memorandum format. The organisers decided which letters should go to which committees, and which should go to all. The rule was very simple: committees must reply to each and every communication they received, and it was the job of the Secretariat to draft a full response. The only drawback was the lack of any reply to letters that were drafted by the committees, and this is another area where the accompanying teachers might have a role to play (see below). Some examples of this correspondence, with replies drafted by one committee, are included at Appendix 7.

1. *Documents on British Foreign Policy 1919-1939*, ed. E.L. Woodward and R. Butler, First Series Vol. 1: 1919 (London, 1947).

Home governments

At all stages during the conference, delegates were able to contact their "home governments". In most cases these consisted of fellow-students who had not come to the conference, but who could be contacted by fax. Delegates submitted reports on the progress of negotiations to their home governments, and received instructions. This added to the verisimilitude of the conference - at one point the French students were dismayed to receive instructions from their home government which threatened to disrupt the amicable relations they had established with other delegates. This obviously helped to make clear the influence on the original delegates of political pressures at home, and in that sense it was a major contribution to the overall success of the simulation.

The logistics, on the other hand, presented more problems than I think we had anticipated. We had originally considered using e-mail, but fax proved easier to arrange, and the arrival of impressive-looking documents certainly added to the drama on a number of occasions. However, the time difference between different parts of Europe, and the dates of the conference (which coincided with half-term holidays for a number of participating schools) meant that it was not practical for all schools to operate a home government. It was also an odd experience for those who were playing the role of the home governments. They were not involved in the simulation, yet they were required to play a role within it. On balance, I think it is worth retaining the home government role, but operating a central service, to provide all delegations with a home government to report to. This is another area where there might be a role for the accompanying teachers (see below).

Signing ceremony

The climax of the conference was the signing ceremony. The delegates were invited to think about how best to stage this, to create the appropriate atmosphere. On the whole this worked well, with the relevant committee ranged around a table at the far end of the room and all others standing in silence as single delegate from the appropriate committee approached the empty chair facing the committee to read and sign the treaty. The defeated delegates were drawn from the press corps - it was important to have someone, and it needed to be someone on a par with the other delegates (it would have been quite wrong, for example, to use teachers). The chairman of each committee said a few appropriate words and read out the most important clauses. The defeated delegates rose to the occasion, donning black armbands and signing the treaties with appropriate flourishes of distaste or defiance.

The treaties themselves were drawn up according to the procedures outlined in the British Foreign Office handbooks, which stipulated that each delegate should sign each copy of the treaty. This proved time consuming, and it can detract from the atmosphere of the occasion: it is probably better to get all the delegates to sign the copies beforehand, so that only the defeated delegates need to sign during the ceremony.

Press corps

Throughout the conference, a group of students played the role of a press corps, filming and editing a series of four short television bulletins reporting on the progress of the conference. For practical reasons, all these students came from the host school. They filmed committees in session (one committee, indeed, met in the television studio and was therefore filmed extensively); they also conducted interviews with delegates in role. With a view to reporting on the conference later, they also conducted some interviews with students and teachers out of role. All the participants greatly appreciated this aspect of the conference. The press corps themselves entered into the spirit of it very quickly. They were allowed most of the first day to familiarise themselves with the equipment; thereafter, they had to meet some very tight deadlines. This injected a sense of urgency and a ruthless search for a headline. "All very interesting. Where's the story?" they would say, and delegates soon found that their smallest difference of opinion would be seized on by eager reporters and blown into a big headline in the next news report.

The press role does not need to be conducted through television: it can just as easily be done as a printed news sheet. However it is done, it needs to be made clear that the press are part of the role play. Ideally, one would want to have at least two different press "products", perhaps two newspapers, or a newspaper and a television service, or else a taped "radio" service (which could be relayed to delegates while committees are still in session). Having more than one press outlet would allow the press to be identified more obviously with one or other of the countries represented at the conference - a German press service would have a very different angle on the stories emerging from the discussions from a French one.

Accompanying teachers

For the most part, the accompanying teachers acted as observers. Delegates were at liberty to consult teachers, and many did; teachers were asked to limit their advice to what could be given at the date of the conference - in other words, they were not to inject any element of hindsight into the project. As already mentioned, the teachers were involved in the discussion on "National Presentations", and they gave an historical evaluation on the treaties at the end of the conference.

There are a number of other ways in which teachers can contribute to the conference:

- a) Their main role needs to be one of adviser to their own students, but they might act instead as advisers to the students representing their countries. This would help to increase and deepen the international contacts which should lie at the heart of the project;
- a) They might play the role of home governments, receiving and replying to delegates' reports on progress. They might also respond to the replies drafted by committees to their diplomatic correspondence;
- c) It is very important that the final forms of the treaties should make grammatical and legal sense. The extracts from the final treaties reproduced in Appendix 8 demonstrate this. Teachers might therefore form a panel of legal advisers to comment on the draft forms of the treaties. (Teachers play a similar role in model United Nations exercises;

Avoiding problems

This is just a selection of some considerations which we found helped to make the organisation run more smoothly.

- a) Make sure it is absolutely clear who is responsible for what, and delegate responsibility as necessary. This needs to include disciplinary matters: you need to be absolutely clear as to who is responsible for participants' conduct. Above all, do not try to do everything yourself. For example, arranging the computing room and running the press corps are both tasks which can sensibly be delegated to colleagues to oversee.
- b) There is more than enough to do in preparing the conference: it is probably a good idea to get another colleague to prepare your own students for the role play.
- c) Find out in advance what the arrangements are for summoning medical help.
- d) Have a system for running errands, ferrying people to and from stations and generally dealing with small problems. A car, a cash float and a mobile phone are fairly essential for this. It is also a good idea to keep a stock of emergency materials - first aid kit, towels, toothbrushes, soap, electrical adapters, etc.
- e) Have a contingency plan for providing extra accommodation at short notice
- f) Keep to the scheduled timings as far as possible, but be prepared to be flexible if these prove unrealistic.

- g) Have a system, whether it is a notice board or a signal for gathering participants together, for communicating quickly with everyone. This is particularly important if there are likely to be changes to the programme or timings.
- h) A single language for the conference gets rid of the need for interpreters, but makes it tiring for non-native speakers. Remember to allow participants time to relax in their own language. Committee chairs in particular need to practise speaking clearly, without using phrases and idioms which others are unlikely to understand.

Evaluation

Time for formal evaluation was limited. We did have a very useful session, to which both the students and their teachers contributed, which included the teachers' initial reactions to the treaties; the major points raised in that session have been included in this report. The different schools built on the conference in different ways: at one school the students reported back to their fellows and mounted a large display about the conference; many participants built their experiences into their classroom work.

In the light of experience, I think it is worth drawing up a planned strategy for follow-up work as part of the preparation work for the conference. Once participants return home, inevitably other more pressing concerns take over, and unless there is an agreed process for follow-up work, it will be difficult for this to happen. Some ideas for this include:

- i. compiling a joint report on the conference;
- ii. exchanging, whether by post or by e-mail, the reactions at the different schools to the treaties;
- iii. exchanging essay work on a common theme or question inspired by the conference.

Overall, I think the conference worked even better than I had hoped, and the possible improvements identified here are relatively minor. It certainly provides a model which could be adapted for use in relation to other historical events. The student reaction was immensely enthusiastic both during and after the conference. Both as an historical exercise and as a forum for international contact it was very successful, and this dual role was well summarised in this letter from a Slovene student, which can usefully conclude this report:

“I remember how awfully worried I had been a few weeks before the Conference! I was quite sure that I knew absolutely nothing and that I'll make a complete fool of myself up there, surrounded by geniuses (...) But then the conference turned out to be not only interesting but also an amazing way of learning - history, English, and appearing in "public". It helped me understand historical events better, and to picture myself in a role of a politician - something I never thought I'd try!”

Appendix 1: Registration Forms

**1919 Peace Conference Simulation
Burwell House, Sunday 16-Wednesday 19 February 1997**

INITIAL REPLY FORM

School.....
School address:.....
Telephone:.....
Fax:.....

Please delete as appropriate:

- a) I have received details of the above conference, and it is my intention to send a delegation.
- b) I have received details of the above conference, but unfortunately it will not be possible for us to take part.

(signed).....
Date:

Please return this form AS SOON AS POSSIBLE to:
Sean Lang, Head of History, Hills Road Sixth Form College, CAMBRIDGE, CB2 2PE,
United Kingdom, Fax: 44 12 23 41 69 79

**1919 Peace Conference Simulation
Burwell House, Sunday 16-Wednesday 19 February 1997**

SCHOOL REGISTRATION FORM

Name of School:
Address:.....
Telephone:.....
Fax:.....
E-Mail.....
Working language:.....

Names of students:..... Age: M/F
..... Age: M/F
..... Age: M/F
..... Age: M/F
Name of accompanying teacher M/F

Bank Details

Name of Bank:.....
Account Name:
Account Number:.....
Bank Sort Code:

Payment

(No.)..... students at £105.00 each Total: £

Payment must be in £ Sterling. Please pay in ONE payment by bank transfer to the following account:

ABC Bank	Account no: 1234567
2 Street	Sort Code: 11-22-33
Anytown	

Please sign and date here to confirm that payment has been authorised and attach copies of any authenticating documentation.

(signed)..... Position.....
Date:

**1919 Peace Conference Simulation
Burwell House, Sunday 16-Wednesday 19 February 1997**

STUDENT REGISTRATION FORM

Please copy this form and send ONE form for EACH student

Surname:
First name(s):.....
Address:.....
Telephone:.....
Date of Birth:.....
School:.....
School Telephone:.....
Subjects and Level Studied:
Religious Observance (if any):.....
Medical or Dietary requirements:.....

Parental declaration:

I/We give our consent to our son/daughter taking part in this conference.

Name of Parent/Guardian:.....
Signature of Parent/Guardian:.....
Date:

**1919 Peace Conference Simulation
Burwell House, Sunday 16-Wednesday 19 February 1997**

TEACHER REGISTRATION FORM

Surname
First name(s):.....
Address:.....
Telephone:.....
School:.....
School Address:.....
School Telephone:.....
School Fax:.....
Medical or Dietary requirements:.....

Smoker? (Yes/No)

Should it prove impossible to accommodate all accompanying teachers at Burwell House, are you prepared to be accommodated separately from your students? YES/NO

I have read the details of the conference and communicated them to my students and to their parents/guardians.

Signature
Date:

Appendix 2: Conference programme and briefing notes for teachers

European Secondary Students' Conference The Treaty of Versailles and the Paris Peace Conference 1919 Burwell House, Cambridge 16-19 February 1997

Conference programme

Saturday 15 February

Afternoon	Some participants arrive in Cambridge
04h00	Rendezvous at Hills Road Sixth Form College
05h00	Evening meal in Cambridge
08h00	Coach transfer to Burwell House
	Arrival at Burwell
	Room allocation
	Briefing for teachers
	Fire drill
	Games

Sunday 16 February

09h00	Breakfast
10h15	Coach transfer to Cambridge
11h00	Special film showing: <i>All quiet on the western front</i> , Arts Cinema, Cambridge
01h00	Lunch in Cambridge
During afternoon	Other participants arrive in Cambridge
04h00	Formal welcome at Hills Road Sixth Form College
04h30	Coach transfer to Burwell House
	Room allocations
	Fire drill
05h30	Tea
06h00	Opening session and statements
06h30	Dinner
07h15	Visiting speaker: Dr David Weigall, Anglia Polytechnic University
followed by	Video: <i>The battle of the Somme</i>

Monday 17 February

08h00	Breakfast
09h00	Committee session 1: War guilt and League of Nations
	Press corps work with technician
10h30	Coffee
11h00	Committee session 2: Reparations, war crimes and prisoners of war
12h45	Lunch
01h30	Coach transfer to Cambridge for tour of the city
05h00	Coach transfer to Burwell
06h45	First TV bulletin
07h00	Dinner
08h00	Committee session 3: borders

Tuesday 18 February

08h00	Breakfast
09h00	Committee Session 4: armaments and colonies
10h30	Coffee
11h00	Treaty drafting/first report to home governments
12h30	Second TV bulletin
12h45	Lunch
01h30	Committees debate draft treaties
04h00	Tea
	Second report to home governments
	Preparation of "National Presentations"
07h00	Conference dinner
08h00	Third TV bulletin, followed by "National Presentations" and Debate Quiz

Wednesday 19 February

08h00	Breakfast
09h00	Home governments' response to draft treaties Planning of formal ceremony
10h00	Signing ceremony
10h30	Coffee
11h00	Teachers' response to the treaties Evaluation of the conference
12h30	Fourth TV bulletin
12h45	Lunch
01h30	Departure: coach to Cambridge

Committees

Each delegate will work in one of these four committees:

- i. Germany Committee
- ii. Austria Committee
- iii. Hungary Committee
- iv. Turkey Committee

All committees will be chaired by a member of the host French delegation. Each committee will have an agenda for discussion, and minutes will be taken. These minutes will form the basis for each committee's draft treaty.

Conference sessions

a) Opening statements

Each delegation makes a 10-minute presentation about its country, its experiences in the first world war, and what it is hoping for from the conference.

b) Committee sessions

War guilt and League of Nations

Committees discuss the viability of the concept of war guilt in the light of pre-1914 precedents. They will need to consider how accurately the concept can be applied to the particular country they are discussing. They will also need to discuss the proposal for establishing a League of Nations. How ought it to operate? How might it be financed? Who should be eligible to join?

Reparations, war crimes and prisoners of war

Committees discuss the principle of imposing indemnities or reparations payments on defeated countries. How might such sums be calculated? What might be a reasonable sum to demand, and how should it be enforced? What is a war crime? Should the issue be raised, and are the defeated powers guilty? If so, what might be done about it? Committees will also discuss the issue of prisoners of war, and how their exchange might be organised.

Borders

Committees will be expected to draw up detailed proposals for the borders of new states, or else proposals for how these borders might be determined. They will need to take evidence from the various interested national groups represented at the conference in order to do this.

Armaments and colonies

What arrangements should be followed with regard to the defeated powers' armed forces and empires? How should these arrangements be enforced? How will these arrangements affect the European balance of power?

Treaty drafting/report to home governments

Once each committee has discussed all the above issues and minutes have been taken of the discussion, these discussions need to be turned into treaty form. The secretariat will need some time to do this. While this is being done, delegations will draft a report on proceedings so far to be faxed to their home governments.

Committees debate draft treaties

Once the secretariat has drafted the treaties, these treaties need to be debated and voted on by the committees clause by clause. The drafts can be amended or reworded as each committee wishes. When each draft treaty has been fully debated and voted on, it will be passed to the secretariat for presentation at the formal signing ceremony.

b) *TV bulletins*

These will be put together by the press corps in modern style, but as if they were made at the time.

c) *“National Presentations” and debate*

This is an opportunity for the students to come out of role. Each school prepares a short (five-minute maximum) presentation on what the (real) 1919 settlement meant for its (real) country, and how it tends to be regarded nowadays. Hills Road staff will give a short response to this, which will be the basis for a debate and discussion.

d) *Home governments*

Although a delegation may communicate with its home government at any point in the conference (and vice-versa), there are three specific points for this built into the conference programme. This enables those playing the role of the home governments to know when to expect messages. These points are:

Tuesday 11.00-12.00 a.m.

Delegations report on how debate in committees has progressed.
Home governments issue instructions to delegates.

Tuesday 4.00-5.00 p.m.

Delegations report on the text of the draft treaties as amended and voted on in committees. Home governments consider their instructions to delegates.

Wednesday 9.00-10.00 a.m.

Home governments issue instructions to delegates on whether or not to sign the treaties, and on what points they should make in their addresses at the signing ceremony.

e) *Signing ceremony*

The precise form of this will be discussed and decided by the delegates themselves. We will have people to play the part of representatives of the defeated powers. The treaties will be signed and sealed, and each delegation will make a statement to the assembled conference (including the representatives of the defeated powers).

f) *Teachers' response*

The teachers at the conference have the chance to comment on the treaties which have been drawn up, to compare them with how they view the real settlement, and to comment on how these treaties were arrived at.

Appendix 3: Instructions to delegates

How to prepare for the conference

Which country will I represent?

No school will represent its own country. When we receive replies, we will inform each school which country it will be representing at the conference.

What do I do once I hear which country I am representing?

Decide which students will be in your delegation, and decide who is to be the delegation leader. You should also put together a "home government", consisting of students who will not be coming to Burwell. It is the responsibility of the Home Government to:

- i. draw up instructions for its delegation
- ii. keep in touch with the negotiations via e-mail and/or fax
- iii. issue instructions to the delegation during the conference
- iv. approve the final draft of the treaty

At Burwell, the delegates will be divided into separate committees dealing with the defeated powers, as follows:

- i. Germany
- ii. Austria-Hungary
- iii. Turkey
- iv. Bulgaria

Delegates should therefore be divided between these four committees, and should prepare accordingly.

What do I need to prepare?

1. At the start of the conference, the delegation leaders will be asked to give an initial presentation of their countries' political, military, economic and social positions by 1919. This statement should make clear what policy the delegation will be pursuing in the course of the conference (though, of course, delegates are at liberty to be as open or as misleading as they like!). Delegates may like to make use of visual resources, such as maps, or overhead projector transparencies.
2. Each delegate will also be expected to make an initial statement to his or her committee, outlining each country's attitude towards the relevant defeated nation.
3. Delegates should also bring drafts of clauses for inclusion in the final form of the treaty. These should be paper and on disc (using WORKS if possible), so they can be scrutinised by other delegates, and easily amended in the light of discussion.

Can I communicate with other delegations before the conference?

Yes! We will circulate each participating school's address, telephone and fax numbers, and e-mail addresses. You are positively encouraged to engage in negotiation with other delegations beforehand.

What will my committee do?

Each committee will be responsible for drawing up a full list of clauses, constituting a settlement dealing with its particular defeated nation. These clauses will then be put together to form the full settlement. Committees must agree on their settlements before these are passed to the full

conference. Agreed settlements will then be submitted to the full conference for approval. All settlements must take full account of the relevant economic, political, cultural, social, demographic and historical factors affecting the regions under discussion.

What if I do not know enough relevant historical information?

It would be very useful if each delegation could bring any reference materials that would be useful either to it or to the whole conference. Also, each school is asked to provide beforehand the following details about your **actual** country's position in 1919:

- i. population
- ii. ethnic mix
- iii. war losses
- iv. economic situation
- v. political situation
- vi. any other information which might be relevant

If you have any further queries, please contact us.

Appendix 4: Congress procedures

1. Each power represented may appoint as many plenipotentiaries as is convenient. They may be assisted by technical delegates, naval, economic, military, legal experts and by secretaries. The names and number of all delegates must be announced to all states involved.

2. President

This post is usually held by the principal delegate of the host country. The resolution to elect a president is usually moved by the principal delegate of the country which comes first in French alphabetical order. The principal delegate may yield precedence to the oldest delegate. After taking the chair, the President delivers an address which outlines, in general terms, the task and aims of the Congress. The President's address may refer to preliminary discussions. At the end of the Congress, the President makes a closing speech, after a motion of thanks has been carried, and declares the Congress closed. The President's function is to direct discussions. He should not attempt to influence matters in which his country has an interest.

3. Secretariat

The Secretariat is appointed by the President from a list agreed upon beforehand. Each chief delegate is entitled to be consulted about the selection of the secretariat. The President appoints a member of his own staff to head the secretariat.

4. Precedence among members

This is determined by the French alphabetical order of countries' names. Thus, for example:

On right of the President:	Germany, United States, Great Britain, Japan (<i>Allemagne, Etats-Unis, Grande-Bretagne, Japon</i>)
On left of the President:	Austria-Hungary, France, Italy, Russia (<i>Autriche-Hongrie, France, Italie, Russie</i>)

5. Records

Records kept by the secretariat should contain:

- i. statement of conclusions reached in the discussion
- ii. opinions on matters expressed by each speaker
- iii. all proposals and documents produced by members

Records should be printed and circulated among delegates before the next meeting. Records of the previous meeting should be read at the beginning of each meeting. If there is no change or comment on them, then the text is approved. The record should then be signed by all delegates at once.

6. Treaty

The final result is a treaty, an *acte final*, *acte général*, or a declaration. The essential parts of a peace treaty, in order, are:

- a) enumeration of the High Contracting Parties
- b) a preamble, stating the purpose of the treaty
- c) the names and designations of the delegates
- d) a statement that they have produced, communicated and exchanged their full-powers, which were found to be in good and due form

- e) A statement that they have agreed upon the following articles, with the most general articles first, then particular ones, then articles, if any, providing for the execution of the preceding articles
- f) An article providing for ratification, and the time and place of ratification
- g) A clause similar to:
"In witness whereof, the respective delegates have affixed their signatures and seals"

7. Order of the articles

Articles dealing with:

- a) peace between the contracting parties (in perpetuity, if this is desired);
- b) occupied territories;
- c) amnesty to subjects compromised by participation in favour of the enemy;
- d) liberation of prisoners of war;
- e) war indemnities, including amount and the mode(s) of payment;
- f) previous treaties and whether or not they are to be revived with the belligerents;
- g) commercial agreements;
- h) emigration and immigration;
- i) share of public debt.

8. Order of signature

Delegates (one from each country) sign their own copy first, and then:

- a) a master copy;
- b) other copies, in French alphabetical order of countries.

Appendix 5: Examples of committee agendas

Committee on: Germany
Committee session: War guilt; League of Nations

1. Opening statements
2. Correspondence:
to consider correspondence received and draw up the framework for reply
2. Matters for discussion and decision:
 - . War guilt: did Germany cause the war?
 - . Can the present German Government be held responsible for causing the war?
 - . What is the legal basis for declaring war guilt?
 - . What should be the aims and objectives of a League of Nations?
 - . What powers should a League of Nations have?
 - . How should a League of Nations be organised?
 - . How should a League of Nations be financed?
 - . Which nations should be included in a League of Nations?
4. Other points raised by delegates (please notify the Chairholder of these at the start of the meeting)

Committee on: Austria
Committee session: Reparations; war crimes; prisoners of war

1. Report from last meeting
Draft correspondence from last meeting
2. Correspondence:
to consider correspondence received and draw up the framework for reply
3. Matters for discussion and decision:
 - . Is Austria legally liable to pay reparations?
 - . To whom should Austria pay reparations?
 - . What sort of war damage should Austria pay for?
 - . How is the sum owed to be calculated, and by whom?
 - . Should the sum be calculated now, or left for future discussion? (If it is left for future discussion, who is to discuss it?)
 - . How are reparations payments to be monitored?
 - . How did Austria treat its prisoners of war?
 - . Who is to be responsible for prisoners of war?
 - . How are prisoners of war to be transported home, and at whose expense?
 - . What steps are to be taken about prisoners of war who do not wish to return home (in particular, Russian prisoners of war)
 - . May prisoners of war be used in the war against the Russian Bolsheviks?
 - . Is there a satisfactory definition of a war crime?
 - . What charges (if any) are to be brought?
 - . Who is to be charged with war crimes?
 - . Which courts should be used to try cases of war crimes?

4. Other points raised by delegates (please notify the Chairholder of these at the start of the meeting)

Committee on: Hungary
Committee session: Borders

1. Report from last meeting
Draft correspondence from last meeting
2. Correspondence:
to consider correspondence received and draw up the framework for reply

3. Matters for discussion and decision:

Hungary's borders with:

- . Romania (and the Romanian invasion of Hungary)
- . Czecho-Slovakia
- . The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes
- . Austria
- . Poland
- . Other border issues

4. Other points raised by delegates (please notify the Chairholder of these at the start of the meeting)

Committee on: Turkey
Committee session: Armaments, colonies and other matters

1. Report from last meeting
Draft correspondence from last meeting
2. Correspondence:
to consider correspondence received and draw up the framework for reply

3. Matters for discussion and decision:

- . Syria and Palestine
- . Egypt
- . Arabia (the Hijaz)
- . The Aegean and east Mediterranean islands
- . Size and equipment of Turkish armed forces
- . Internal disorder in Turkey - what armed forces are required to keep order?
- . The Turkish navy
- . The Turkish air force
- . Supervision of Turkish military installations and institutions

4. Other points raised by delegates (please notify the Chairholder of these at the start of the meeting)

Appendix 6: Examples of resource pack information

Armenia

The area of Armenia straddles Turkey and Russia. In the 19th century a nationalist movement in Turkish Armenia tried to win independence, but was suppressed with great severity by the Turks. Although there was widespread sympathy for the Armenians in Europe, and the British even threatened military action to force the Sultan to grant reforms to the Armenians, the Great Powers have not supported the idea of an independent Armenia. This is largely because of Russian opposition to the idea: Russia fears that nationalism could spread to her own Armenian and Caucasian peoples.

In 1909 the Turks carried out systematic massacres in Cilicia on the orders of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, and they only stopped after protests from the United States and other Great Powers. In 1915 Armenian nationalists seized the Turkish fortress of Van and held it with Russian help for five months. The young Turks then declared that the Armenian people were a dangerous, pro-Russian element, and ordered savage reprisals against them. In the massacres that followed, about 1 million Armenians were killed, and 600 000 were murdered or died of disease or exhaustion during forced marches across the desert.

Belgium

The modern-day area of Belgium belonged historically to the Duchy of Burgundy, and then to the Habsburg rulers of Spain, when it was known as the Spanish Netherlands. After the War of the Spanish Succession, the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) gave the area to Austria, and it became known as the Austrian Netherlands. At the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815), largely at British insistence, it was incorporated with the United Provinces (the modern-day Kingdom of the Netherlands) into a united Kingdom of the Netherlands under the Dutch House of Orange.

In 1830, the Belgians rose in revolt against the Dutch, and won their independence in 1831. Belgian neutrality was guaranteed by the Treaty of London, 1831, which was signed by Britain, France, Prussia, Russia and Austria. This treaty was reaffirmed by the newly united state of Germany during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871. The German invasion of Belgium in August 1914 was in clear violation of this treaty.

Most of Belgium was occupied by Germany during the war, and a small part of the country, around the town of Ypres, was the scene of extremely heavy trench warfare.

Belgium is heavily industrialised and densely populated. Its population is made up of Flemish-speaking Flemings in the north and French-speaking Walloons in the south. It is ruled by King Albert I. Its major overseas colony is the Belgian Congo.

The territory of Eupen-Malmedy lies within Germany. Its population is largely German-speaking, with a French-speaking minority. It formed part of the Austrian Netherlands, but was ceded to Prussia at the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

Czecho-Slovakia

Czecho-Slovakia is made up of two main regions. The north-western half of the country is made up of the territories of Bohemia, Moravia and the Sudetenland, the south-eastern half of Slovakia. The majority of the population is made up of 7 million Czechs and 2 million Slovaks, but there are significant minorities of 3.25 million Germans, 700 000 Hungarians and 450 000 Ruthenes.

These areas all formed part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but in 1916 a national council was set up by Tomas Masaryk and contacted the Allies, to get their support for an independent Czecho-Slovakia. On 14 November 1918 a revolutionary National Assembly was set up, which declared independence and elected Masaryk President.

The Czecho-Slovak Government is eager to establish defensible borders and a cohesive economic structure for its new state.

450	Slav tribes settle in Bohemia
11th century	Moravia incorporated into Bohemia
1620	Protestants expelled from Bohemia
1848	Revolution in Bohemia - attempt to set up independent state fails
1860	Bohemian Diet restored
1883	Czechs win majority in Bohemian Diet
1907	Universal suffrage in Boehmia
1913	Bohemian Diet suspended

Population

Total	8 563 231	
Bohemia	Czechs	63%
	Germans	37%
Moravia	Czechs	72%
	Germans	28%

Religion	Roman Catholic	96%
	Protestant	23 in 1000

The Protestant community is also almost entirely German.

Politics

The Habsburg Emperor was represented in both Bohemia and Moravia by Viceroy

Bohemian Diet:

- 1 Archbishop
- 3 Catholic bishops
- 2 university rectors
- 242 representatives of great landowners, towns, commerce and rural communities

Moravian Diet:

- 1 Archbishop
- 1 Bishop
- Class representing all males over 24
- Classes of landowners and commerce elected by proportional representation

Diets' powers were local.

Economy

Resources	Coal, lignite, iron, graphite Copper, tin, gold, silver Mineral waters
Major products	Sugar, beer, spirits, paper, porcelain, glass, cement, textiles, chemicals, hops, fruit, wine
Main Imports	Lignite from Lower Silesia Iron from Sweden, Spain and Hungary Machinery from Britain

Hungary

Hungary has a long history as a major European kingdom. By the 19th century it was ruled from Vienna as part of the Austrian Empire, but the Hungarian nobility put continual pressure on Vienna

to allow Hungary more self-government. In 1848 Hungarian nationalists led by Lajos Kossuth staged a revolution to establish Hungarian independence, but the revolution was defeated by the Austrians with Russian help.

In 1868, however, the Hungarians seized the opportunity of Austria's humiliating defeat at the hands of the Prussians the year before to force Vienna to agree to a compromise (*Ausgleich*) which established Hungary as a separate kingdom under the Dual Monarchy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Under this arrangement, Croatia was ruled by Hungary; the Hungarians also regarded their other neighbours, notably the Romanians, Slovaks and Bohemians (Czechs) as their subject peoples.

During the war, Count Karolyi led the Independent Party, which called for an independent Hungary, and demanded that Hungary should support the allies. In 1918 King-Emperor Karl appointed Karolyi Prime Minister, and it was Karolyi who signed the armistice with the allies for Hungary. Karolyi also established a provisional government after King-Emperor Karl abdicated. However, at the start of 1919 Karolyi was overthrown by a Communist coup led by Bela Kun.

Since Bela Kun's *coup* in March 1919, Hungary has been invaded by Czech and Romanian forces; there is also an anti-communist Hungarian alternative government sitting at Szeged, chaired by Admiral Miklos Horthy. Bela Kun's government has not been recognised by the allies.

Population and religion	Catholic	9 010 305
	Greek Catholic	2 007 916
	Orthodox	2 333 979
	Lutheran	1 306 384
	Calvinist	2 333 979
	Jewish	911 227

Languages: Magyar, German, Croatian. Main racial groups are Magyar and Germanic

Politics

King chooses Prime Minister and appoints cabinet on Prime Minister's proposal

Chamber of Magnates: 300 members, includes ecclesiastics and hereditary peers. Two thirds of the remaining members are nominated by King and the remainder by the Chamber itself

Chamber of Deputies: 453 members, chosen for three years, on a complex, property-based franchise

Romania

Romania (also spelt Rumania and Roumania in some textbooks) consists of four main regions, Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania and the Banat. Moldavia and Wallachia (the Danubian Principalities) tried in the 19th century to win their independence from the Turks; however, this was difficult because the Great Powers were concerned that their independence might destabilise the region. In 1862, however, Moldavia and Wallachia joined together as Romania, and in 1877, during the Bulgarian crisis, they declared full independence under King Carol I. In 1913 Romania joined in the attack on Bulgaria in the second Balkan War, and gained southern Dobruja in the 1913 Treaty of Bucharest.

In 1914 Romania was allied to Germany and Austria-Hungary, but remained neutral. The allies promised substantial land gains in Transylvania, Hungary and Dobruja to Romania if she were to join them, and in 1916 Romania declared war on Germany and the Central Powers. Romania did badly in the war, and was forced to make peace with Germany in March 1918. On 9 November 1918, however Romania declared war on Germany again, and so was at war with Germany at the end of the war.

Appendix 7: Examples of diplomatic correspondence with replies from the Austria Committee

From: Supreme Economic Council
To: The Entente and Associated Powers in Conference, Paris
Subject: SERBIA

Serbia has asked for Fiume to be opened to Serbian commerce, as well as the port of Gravosa. The Italians argue that Fiume is not essential to Serbia, which can also use the ports of Salonika, Cuttaro, and the Dalmatian coast.

From: Austria Committee
To: Supreme Economic Council
Subject: SERBIA

Since the area around Fiume and Gravosa is predominantly inhabited by Slavs, it was decided to integrate this area into Slovenia. The city of Itriest receives special status under the mandate of the League of Nations, and its harbour will be open to all surrounding nations, Italy as well as the Kingdom of Serbia.

From: Allied Commissioners in Vienna
To: The Entente and Associated Powers in Conference, Paris
Subject: ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN AUSTRIA

Economic conditions are bad in Austria generally, and in Vienna they are desperate. The city is bankrupt. Half the city's tramways have been destroyed, and the other half is therefore useless. Theatres and restaurants are beginning to close, as the city starts to run out of food. To make matters worse, farmers are not sending their produce into the city to sell. We have heard reports of children swallowing coal dust and wood shaving, simply to have something to fill their stomachs. 100,000 Viennese men are out of work; including their dependants, that means a total of some 500,000 people are destitute - one quarter of the population of the city. What steps will the conference take to address these problems?

From: Austria Committee
To: Allied Commissioners in Vienna
Subject: ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN AUSTRIA

Concerning the problem with transportation of food from rural areas to the cities of Austria, we suggest that you press the Austrian government to use the 100 000 unemployed to help with this. We must avoid intervention by foreign powers at all costs, because we simply do not have the resources which would be needed. Our economies are also in tatters, and we too have those who are homeless and starving. We cannot provide military help, since we do not have enough men. If there is no other option, and only in the case of greatest need, we will send means of transportation for the food, but that is all.

From: The Foreign Ministry, Vienna
To: The Entente and Associated Powers in Conference, Paris
Subject: ART TREASURES

Italian troops under General Sègres have entered the Imperial Gallery, the Court Library and the Court Archives buildings in Vienna, and there they have begun to take away a vast number of paintings and other works of art. They claim these belong to Italy, but in reality they are Austrian, some of them the personal property of the Habsburg family. At the Imperial Gallery, the director protested to General Sègres that the paintings he was removing were Austrian property, properly bought and paid for, and produced documentary evidence to support his claim. In reply, General Sègres threatened to stop food deliveries to Vienna. Will the powers in conference disown the actions of General Sègres, or is Austria to be robbed in this manner?

From: Austria Committee
To: Foreign Ministry, Vienna
Subject: ART TREASURES

It has been discussed, and decided that the paintings should be returned to Austria, if the Austrians can provide documentary evidence to support their claims. By taking this action, General Sègres has apparently taken a liberty; however, it was felt that we would take further action only if the paintings have been destroyed or defaced in any way. The United States Government will put pressure on Italy about the continued supply of food to Vienna.

From: President Wilson
To: The Entente and Associated Powers in Conference, Paris
Subject: BLOCKADE OF RUSSIA

I am extremely concerned about the legality of the blockade of Russian ports. Although there is conflict in Russia, and allied and associated troops are fighting there, we are none of us actually at war with Russia, so what is the legal basis for our blockade? Unless the allied and associated powers can provide a suitable answer to this query, I cannot authorise American participation in the blockade.

From: Austria Committee
To: President Wilson
Subject: BLOCKADE OF RUSSIA

It was felt that the blockade is necessary for the security of our countries, and that in our current state we are under threat from communist Russia. The troops would be in place purely as a military precaution, and non-interference in the normal running of the ports is important. We would be very grateful for your help, and we hope that you can assist.

From: The Austrian Delegation
To: The Entente and Associated Powers in Conference, Paris
Subject: AUSTRIA

We cannot accept being addressed as "the Republic of Austria". When we negotiated the cease-fire, we were addressed as "German Austria", and that is the term we prefer and wish you to continue to use.

From: Austria Committee
To: The Austrian Delegation
Subject: AUSTRIA

Unfortunately we are unable to grant your request to be addressed as "German Austria" during the peace talks. We feel unanimously that this title implies too close a link between Germany and yourselves. We appreciate that Austria is partly German-speaking, but we cannot be seen to condone a title that implies an alliance between Germany and Austria. Therefore, we will continue to refer to Austria as "the Republic of Austria".

Appendix 8: Extracts from treaties

a) Treaty of Versailles

From the minutes of the Germany Committee

War guilt:

France and Serbia believe that the Germans are completely responsible. GB blames German militarism and suggest disarmament. GB does not believe current German state should be blamed. USA accuses imperialism of France, GB and Germany of causing the war. Greece advises caution over use of the word "guilt".

Decision: Germany "responsible" for outbreak of world war. Legal basis: invasion of Belgium. France disagrees.

League of Nations:

All delegates in favour of establishing a League. USA wants a global League. Britain alone disagrees with the League having a standing army, on the grounds that it is too expensive. France objects to Germany being included.

Decision: Germany to be a given special member status within the League, with no power of veto and with reduced voting powers. In particular, Germany will have no vote on military matters. Germany's position to be reviewed in four years' time.

From the treaty:

- Article 2: The borders of Belgium are to be restored to the pre-1914 situation.
- Article 5: Germany will be charged with the costs of the Great War as payment for the damage caused and costs incurred by the countries she has invaded and damaged.
- Article 6: The way in which this amount will be paid will be determined by an international committee of economic experts who will assess and determine Germany's ability to pay. The Central Powers will be permitted to make representations to the committee.
- Article 7: Part-payment of this figure will be in profits from the removal of coal from the Saarland coal fields. This area will be a de-militarised German territory, with raw materials alone going to France. The total sum of profits calculated as coming from this venture will be deducted from the total reparations bill.
- Article 12: Germany will surrender its High Command to the Hague International Court to stand trial. Also to stand trial will be submarine captains, cruel Prisoner of War camp commanders, and others...
- Article 16: There will be plebiscites in East Prussia, Pozen and Upper Silesia. Poland will be granted substantial territories in the Ukraine, to be determined at a future date. It will be guaranteed West Prussia, pending a plebiscite.
- Article 23: The rivers Elbe, Oder, Rhine and Danube will be internationalised ...
- Article 29: The German armed forces will be reduced to a size sufficient only for self protection. The exact size will be decided on by a committee which will study her defence needs.

b) Treaty of Trianon

- Article 1.3 Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia will receive reparation payments from Hungary to pay for the damage caused to their industries, farmland and armed forces.
- Article 1.4 The level of reparations is to be decided on by an independent commission, including representatives from independent countries, within 180 days.

- Article 4.1 All territorial demands by Yugoslavia have been accepted, as set out in the attached memorandum.
- Article 4.2 An area of South Slovakia around Bratislava is to be handed over to Czechoslovakia.
- Article 4.3 The remainder of South Slovakia is to be divided into North and South by plebiscite in both areas.
- Article 4.4 Bukovina is to be handed over to Romania.
- Article 4.5 A plebiscite is to be held in Ruthenia...
- Article 4.6 A plebiscite is to be held in Transylvania...
- Article 4.7 All new borders will be guaranteed by troops from the League of Nations...

c) **Treaty of St-Germain**

Draft:

- Article 2 Austria will be allowed immediate entry into the League of Nations, provided that France has adequate guarantees of security from other members. Austria will have no veto for the first four years, after which time their international relations will be assessed.

Final Version:

- Article 2 Austria will be allowed immediate entry into the League of Nations, provided that France has adequate guarantees of security from other members. Austria will have no veto for the first four years, after which time their international relations will be assessed; neither, in the first two years, can Austria have any say in matters referring to the treaties of Versailles, St-Germain, Sevres or Trianon.

Draft:

- Article 14 A plebiscite will be held in Eastern Galicia to decide whether it will become part of Poland or Czechoslovakia.

Final Version:

- Article 14 In Eastern Galicia, the river Dniester will form the Czecho-Polish border; the area up to the boundary with Western Galicia is to go to Czechoslovakia, the area to the north is to go to Poland. The Committee agrees to Polish claims to parts of White Russia.

d) **Treaty of Sèvres**

- Article 1 Turkey is guilty of waging aggressive war.
- Article 2 Turkey shall pay fully for her war guilt.
- Article 7 The treatment of prisoners of war by the Turkish military has been brutal and unacceptable. The Turkish government shall bear the full cost of the transportation and rehabilitation of the aforementioned prisoners of war.
- Article 9 A scheme to reduce trade barriers into Turkey shall be established in order to encourage the expansion of trade.
- Article 10 The Greek government shall take responsibility for the administration of Smyrna. The Greek administration shall last for a maximum of five years, after which a plebiscite shall decide the final status of the area.
- Article 11 The land bordering on the Straits shall be demilitarised to a depth of 35 kilometres.
- Article 12 The City of Constantinople and its region are to become independent of the Turkish government. The city and its environs are to be administered by its own inhabitants.
- Article 13 An independent and democratic Armenian state is to be established, with full support and advice from the League of Nations.
- Article 14 A plebiscite shall be held in two years' time to determine the status of Thrace.

Appendix 9: List of Participants

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