BRITISH COUNCIL

REMEMBER THE WORLD AS WELL AS THE WAR

Why the global reach and enduring legacy of the First World War still matter today

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Authors
Dr Anne Bostanci, John Dubber

Historical Consultant
Dr Catriona Pennell, University of Exeter

The British Council has prepared this publication on the occasion of the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War.

This report explores how the war and its legacy continue to affect the UK and its place in the world today. By highlighting the global reach of the conflict and the power of its international legacy, we hope to make a contribution to the global commemorations. As an organisation that has its own roots in the interwar period, we aim to share insights to support a deeper understanding of the conflict and its legacy for the UK and the world.

YouGov What the world thinks

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

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The British Council is the UK's international organisation for cultural relations and educational opportunities. We create international opportunities for the people of the UK and other countries and build trust between them worldwide.

We work in more than 100 countries and our 7,000 staff – including 2,000 teachers – work with thousands of professionals and policy makers and millions of young people every year teaching English, sharing the arts and in education and society programmes.

We are a UK charity governed by Royal Charter. A publically-funded grant-in-aid provides less than a quarter of our turnover which last year was £781 million. The rest we earn from English teaching, UK exams and services which customers around the world pay for, through education and development contracts and from partnerships with other institutions, brands and companies. All our work is in pursuit of our charitable purpose and creates prosperity and security for the UK and the countries we work in all around the world.

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FOREWORD

The First World War raged from the fields of Flanders to the waters of the South Pacific, from Mozambique to the Falkland Islands and Persia to the Baltic.

It touched the lives not just of the soldiers at the front but Congolese porters and miners, legions of Chinese labourers, women who filled the jobs of the men who left to fight. It raged across oceans and continents costing at least 17 million lives, and ruining many, many more.

It fundamentally reshaped the status quo. Many of the big European empires – Russia, Germany, the Ottoman Turks and Austria Hungary – were eclipsed and many of their possessions fell away. The successor states like Yugoslavia, Syria, Israel and many others would be at the heart of many of the 20th century's conflicts and often remain so to this day. We are still wrestling with the fallout of the war. Even empires like the French and British that were on the winning side were irrevocably changed and weakened. Anti-colonial movements gained traction. The appetite for war and imperialism was reduced as electorates swung in the direction of pacifism and solving domestic problems. World leaders made the first steps towards global governance rather than foreign conquest.

My great grandfather, born in a slate mining village in North Wales, served in the Indian Army as it fought up through Iraq from the Persian Gulf and again as it fought on the infamous Gallipoli peninsula. My other great grandpa was a poor farmer's son from rural Ontario who found himself in the maelstrom of violence on the Western Front. Two men, serving far from home, alongside comrades from five continents, on farmland, in deserts, hills and forests.

The First World War shook the status quo so vigorously that some pieces are yet to settle into place. I write this from India where in 1914 the world's biggest volunteer army was ready to play its part. During the course of the war over one million men volunteered for service. Over 100,000 Indians were killed or wounded by the war's end. The legacy of that war, its effect on the independence movement and how the conflict should be remembered are all subject to lively debate here. The Indian experience is mirrored across the globe. It was a war that mobilised soldiers, factory workers, sailors, miners and farmers as never before, no matter how close they were to the fighting at the many different fronts.

It is important that we all seize the opportunity to remember the war and, as this report urges, the role of people around the world who were affected by it. We should search out its lessons and above all, do everything in our power as individuals, voters, leaders and communities to avoid another. If we forget, we are more likely to repeat.

Dan Snow
Historian and Broadcaster

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

International research by the British Council shows that while public knowledge about the First World War in the UK and other countries rarely goes beyond the experience of European soldiers on the Western Front, respondents around the world also feel the effects of the war to this day.

Our survey also shows that over half of people in the UK would like the commemorations to acknowledge the lasting implications of the First World War for today's world; and almost one third state that the involvement of different countries should be an important element of the centenary commemorations.

In order to assess levels of knowledge about the global reach of the war and the subsequent peace negotiations, and understand how they still affect people's views of the UK today, this report draws on new research carried out for the British Council by YouGov in seven countries: Egypt, France, Germany, India, Russia, Turkey and the UK. It also considers historical events and analysis, and offers insights that will enable people in the UK and beyond to learn more about the global nature of the conflict.

The report highlights that:

- The First World War was a *global conflict* and has an important and lasting *global legacy*.
- The UK public's knowledge of both these aspects of the war and its aftermath is limited.
- People in the countries surveyed around the world feel that their nations are still affected by the consequences of the First World War and the subsequent peace settlements in a number of important ways.
- The UK's role in the war and its aftermath continues to colour international perceptions of the UK.
- Many people in the UK may be unaware that historical events, including those of the First World War and its aftermath, might determine others' attitudes towards them today – be it in political, business, or cultural relationships.
- By learning about the events of 1914–18 and the subsequent peace negotiations, people in the UK will better understand the world they live in today. Enhanced knowledge and sensitivity regarding the events and impact of the war can also be important factors in building positive relationships with people around the world.
- The centenary is an occasion to share a new, more sophisticated understanding of the conflict in public commemorations and educational programmes.

The centenary provides an opportunity to enhance trust and understanding between the UK and countries around the world. As well as remembering the events of the Western Front, it needs to include the contributions, experiences and trauma of many more countries. It also needs to acknowledge the legacy of the conflict with which the world still grapples today.

THE BRITISH COUNCIL'S PROGRAMME TO MARK THE CENTENARY OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The British Council, in partnership with the BBC World Service and BBC Radio 3, will explore the global impact of the conflict in a series of programmes recorded in countries around the world. The series will introduce local cultural figures who will deliver lectures on the war's significance and meaning.

The British Council and a range of partner organisations are also running a major education project linked to the centenary of the Christmas truce.

INTRODUCTION

We call it 'the First World War' out of habit, without thinking much about what that means. We all understand the 'war' bit. We use the word 'first' thanks to the superior knowledge of hindsight after the experience of a 'second' world war. But we often neglect the middle bit: the 'world'.

This report aims to highlight the global dimensions of the First World War (where it took place, who was, and is, affected by it, and how). It also explores how this conflict still shapes views of the UK today. It asks the question '100 years on, what should we remember about the First World War?' and argues that we should remember the world as well as the war – its involvement, contributions, experiences, trauma, and the legacy of the conflict, with which we still grapple.

Recent research by British Future showed that knowledge and understanding of the First World War is limited in the UK. It highlighted that the centenary is seen as a significant event for the country as well as an important opportunity to enhance levels of knowledge and pass on 'lessons from history' to a younger generation.[1]

While it would be too simplistic to claim that the First World War is the single root cause, some of today's most significant international problems are linked to its global reach and legacy. For those who want to understand the past century and those who want to understand the contemporary world and engage internationally, the First World War is an important starting point.

This report is informed by international research, which the British Council commissioned YouGov to undertake in Egypt, France, Germany, India, Russia, Turkey, and the UK. It set out to ascertain people's knowledge and perceptions of the First World War. It also explored the war's continuing significance today.[2]

Conventional representations and popular understanding of the war focus largely on the Western Front. They therefore often neglect the conflict's broader international dimensions. This report focuses on the wider global reach and impact of the war. The intention is not to discount the importance of the events in France and Flanders, but to emphasise the need for remembrance and commemoration to also include the many wider international elements of the conflict that are often overlooked.

The results of the British Council's research confirm low levels of knowledge about the international aspects of the First World War and its long-term significance and lasting legacy. Few respondents across the seven countries surveyed knew that some recent conflicts as well as some of the world's most pressing ongoing problems are linked to the First World War and its aftermath. Illustrative examples are the 1990s wars in the former Yugoslavia and the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians in the Middle East.

The more positive aspects of the legacy of the First World War are often overlooked as well. Many current institutions and organisations that promote international co-operation have their origin in the aftermath of this traumatic period. The United Nations (UN) – the successor of the League of Nations – is perhaps the most well-known example. Others include the International Labour Organisation, which, following its foundation under the League of Nations, now operates under the auspices of the UN;[3] the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, better known as UNESCO, which can trace its roots to the League of Nations' 1921 decision to establish an International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation;[4] the International Chamber of Commerce, founded on the belief that trade co-operation would minimise the risk of further global conflict;[5] the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, which carries out international development work, humanitarian and disaster relief, and health and care activities;[6] and Chatham House (the Royal Institute for International Affairs), which was founded following the inspiration of British and American delegates at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference to study international problems with a view to preventing future wars.[7] After deliberations in the 1920s and early 1930s, the British Council itself was also established in the interwar years.[8] Finally, the academic study of international relations goes back to the experience of the First World War, with the first dedicated chair in the subject established at the University of Aberystwyth in 1919.[9]

The conflict between Israel and the Palestinians has strong links to the First World War and the peace settlement that followed it

The lack of knowledge highlighted by our research contrasts with the desire of over half of UK respondents to make the lasting legacy a key focus of the centenary commemorations and the wish of almost a third of them to pay particular attention to the contributions of different countries (see Chart 1).

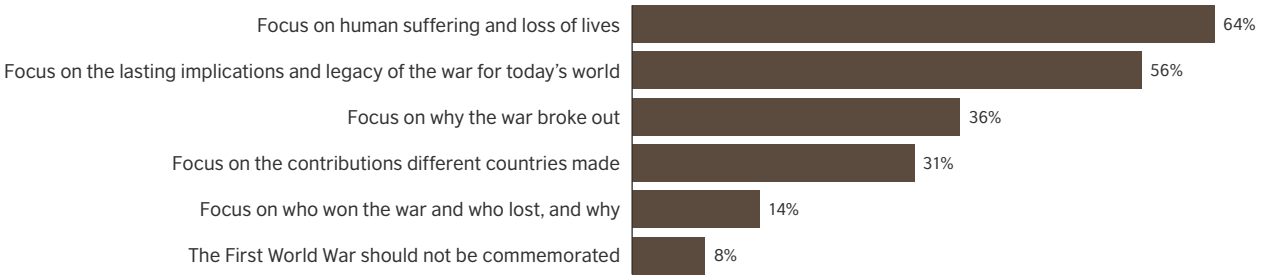
The lack of knowledge is also significant because the UK's role in the conflict and its aftermath continues to influence how the UK is viewed abroad. In the British Council's research, in four of the countries surveyed over half of the population reported that the UK's role in the First World War and the peace negotiations that followed it affected their view of the UK either in a positive or negative way. Respondents in India were the most likely to report that their view of the UK was positively influenced (35 per cent). Respondents in Turkey and Egypt were the most likely to say that their views of the UK were negatively influenced (34 and 22 per cent respectively). It is worth noting, however, that even in countries like India, which have positive ratings on this count and even more positive general attitude ratings, ten per cent of the public reported negative sentiments when asked how the role of the UK in the First World War and its aftermath affected their views of the country today.

This finding may come as a surprise to many. However, we believe it is important to take this finding seriously as the issue affects the UK's standing and our ability to develop the international relationships we need for the future. We believe that it is, therefore, necessary to develop a better knowledge of the UK's role in the conflict and its aftermath.

This report draws on data and knowledge that is often neglected in public accounts of the war but which will be invaluable for those who want to engage internationally. It will allow policy makers, international educational and cultural institutions, businesses, as well as individuals – particularly those travelling for business or leisure – to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the UK's role in the conflict and therefore be better able to navigate international relationships.

Chart 1: How UK respondents think the First World War should be commemorated

Question: How should the First World War be commemorated over the next four years? Please choose all that apply.



Source: YouGov survey carried out for the British Council in September 2013 (see appendix for details)

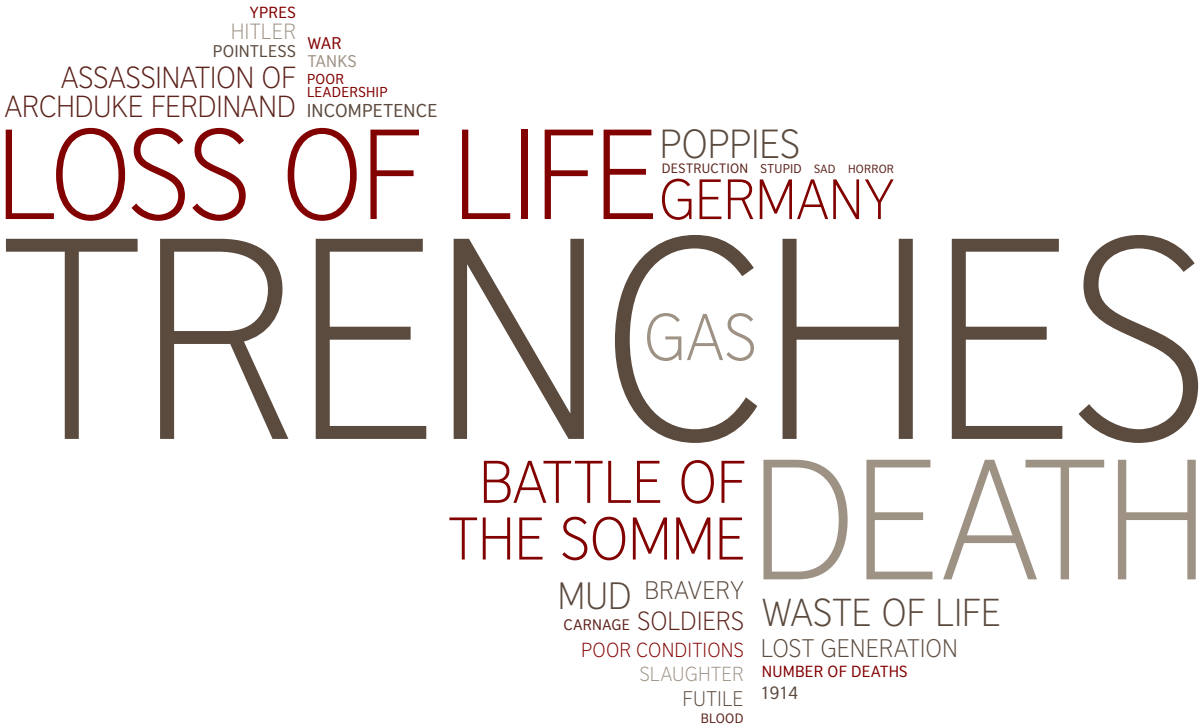
1. This was found in the same research that also forms the basis of British Future/YouGov (2013) *Do Mention the War*, available from www.britishfuture.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/BRF_Declaration-of-war-report_P2_Web-1.pdf. We would like to thank British Future for giving us access to their more extensive research findings in addition to the report.
2. Please refer to the appendix for details of the methodology of this research.
3. www.ilo.org/global/about-the-ilo/history/lang--en/index.htm
4. League of Nations (1921) *Records of the Second Assembly. Plenary Meetings.* 5 September – 5 October: p.313.
5. www.iccwbo.org/about-icc/history
6. www.ifrc.org/en/who-we-are/history
7. www.chathamhouse.org/about/history
8. www.britishcouncil.org/organisation/history
9. www.aber.ac.uk/en/interpol/about

KNOWLEDGE OF THE WAR – PERCEPTIONS OF THE UK

In the UK, trenches are the most common image that comes to mind when people think about the First World War. They also associate the war with death, a number of iconic events and abstract notions of loss, futility, and devastation.

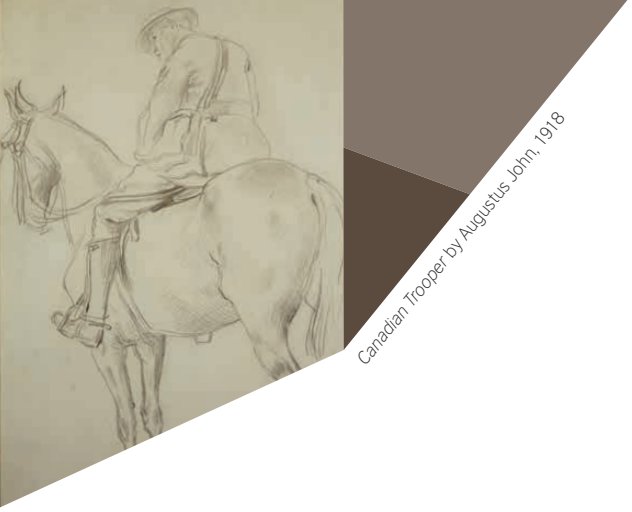
Chart 2: Associations the UK public holds about the First World War

Question: When you think about the First World War, what are the first three things that come to mind?



Source: YouGov survey carried out for the British Council in September 2013 (see appendix for details)

These collective memories owe their dominance partly to the reality of the events they refer to in one of the decisive locations of fighting, namely the Western Front. They may also persist because of the popularisation of the work of famous soldier-poets such as Siegfried Sassoon and Wilfred Owen as well as later works of fiction and popular entertainment. Examples of the latter include the 1963 anti-war musical *Oh! What a Lovely War!* (adapted for the big screen in 1969) and the 1989 BBC sitcom *Blackadder Goes Forth*. In literature, *Birdsong* by Sebastian Faulks (1993), the *Regeneration* trilogy by Pat Barker (1991, 1993, 1995) and the children's book *War Horse* by Michael Morpurgo (1982) – later made into a successful West End play and film – are among some of the best-known English language depictions of the First World War.



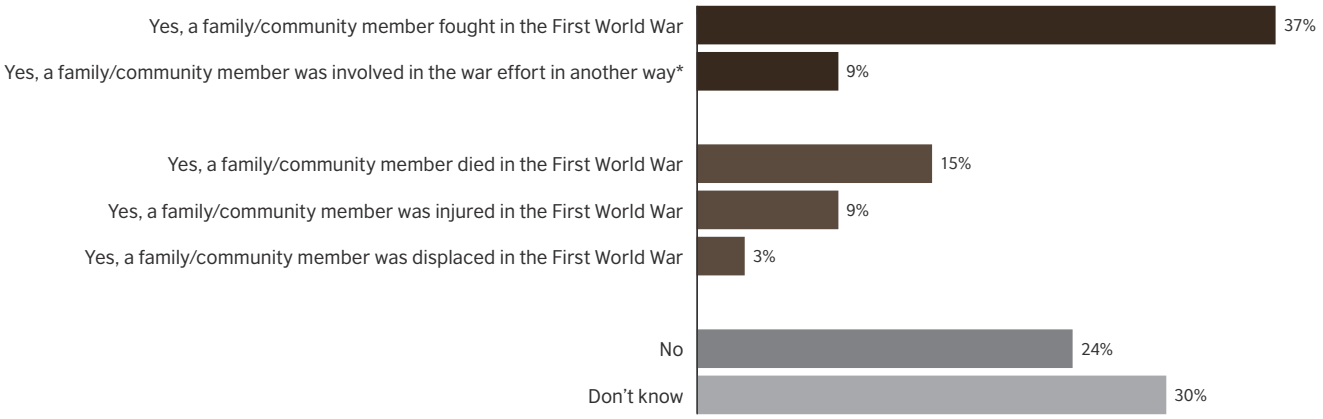
Canadian Trooper by Augustus John, 1918

Beyond popular accounts, people also have direct personal links to the war. In the British Council's survey, 46 per cent of UK respondents stated that a member of their family or local community was involved in the First World War in a combat or auxiliary role;[10] 27 per cent knew about casualties in their family or local community;[11] while 24 per cent stated that no family or community member was involved. Almost 30 per cent of the UK public reported that they do not know if a family or community member was involved in the conflict.

Despite the wide range of experiences at the time, and differences in people's personal links to the conflict (see Chart 3), depictions of the First World War have gradually been reduced to a standardised set of representations. It has a recognisable visual identity: grainy black and white newsreel footage and photographs of trenches in France or Flanders, or perhaps the iconic image of Lord Kitchener on a recruitment poster saying 'Your country needs you'. References to battles such as the Somme, Passchendaele and Verdun have established themselves as a – necessarily selective – narrative of milestone events.

Chart 3: Involvement of family and community members in the First World War (UK figures)

Question: Were members of your family/your local community involved in, or directly affected by, the First World War?



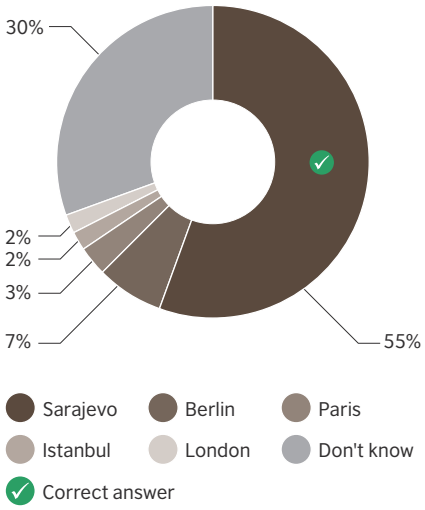
*as a carrier, labourer or other support staff (for example munitions support or digging trenches); as medical staff; on the home front (for example in factories) etc.

Source: YouGov survey carried out for the British Council in September 2013 (see appendix for details)

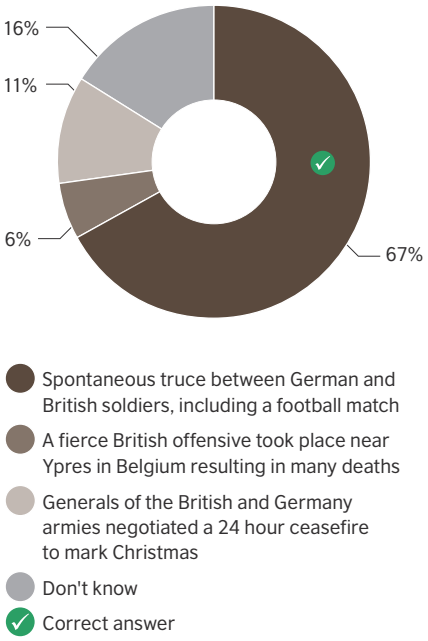
10. This figure is an aggregate of the figures resulting from two separate questions about involvement in fighting (37 per cent) and involvement in an auxiliary role (nine per cent).
11. This figure is an aggregate of the figures resulting from three separate questions about deaths (15 per cent), injuries (nine per cent) and displacements (three per cent).

Chart 4: What people in the UK know about the First World War

Question: In which city were the Austro-Hungarian heir Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie shot, sparking the outbreak of war in 1914?



Question: Which one of the following happened in Belgium at Christmas 1914?



Source: YouGov survey carried out for the British Council in September 2013 (see appendix for details)

Recent research by British Future shows that two thirds of the UK public can correctly identify the year the UK entered the war as 1914.[12] In the British Council's survey, 55 per cent of UK respondents answered correctly that the location of the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie, which sparked the war, was Sarajevo, and 67 per cent knew about the evocative event of the Christmas truce involving a football match between German and British soldiers in 1914 (see Chart 4).

The correct identification of Sarajevo as the location of the assassination varied considerably across the seven countries. The numbers of correct answers were highest in Germany and Russia at 69 per cent in each. In Turkey and France the figures were 57 and 54 per cent respectively. They were lowest in India and Egypt at 34 and 32 per cent. Knowledge of the Christmas truce was much lower outside the UK and also varied widely, from 15 per cent in Turkey and 13 per cent in Egypt, through to 26 per cent in Russia and India, 30 per cent in Germany and 38 per cent in France. This suggests that remembrance focuses on different experiences in different countries. Perhaps the way the conflict is communicated in education systems and popular culture plays a role in this.

In the UK, for example, history lessons have typically focused on the familiar images and narratives of the Western Front identified above. The history curricula – and the English literature curricula, too – may account to some extent for the gap in public knowledge about the global scale of the conflict.[13] The revised national curriculum for history to be implemented in England from 2014 does not include the First World War as a statutory requirement, but as an option for 11–14 year olds.[14] Some pupils have the opportunity to visit battlefields and war graves, usually those of the Western Front, for instance in Flanders. Such visits have been undertaken by some schools for many years and a new national programme for pupils from English state schools forms part of the government's plans for the centenary commemoration programme.

Alongside the national preparations for the commemoration in the UK, there has been a renewed public interest in the war – with articles appearing in the popular press, television programmes being scheduled and books published that focus on the conflict.

The results of the British Council's survey showed that many people in all seven countries regard the First World War as a key global event. The fact that over a third of them include the First World War in the top three most significant events since the start of the 20th century (despite an apparent tendency to assign importance to more recent events such as 11 September 2001 and the overwhelming dominance of other events such as the Second World War in most countries[15]) is striking. The figure is even more pronounced in the UK, where 52 per cent include the First World War among the top three (see Chart 5).

Perhaps the high ratings for the First World War can be explained by the fact that 72 per cent of people across the seven countries surveyed feel that their country is still affected by its consequences. When asked to what extent they felt their country is still affected by the consequences of the First World War:

- 19 per cent of respondents answered 'a great deal'
- 28 per cent of respondents answered 'to some extent'
- 25 per cent of respondents answered 'a little'.

Victory Medal of British soldier Corporal NM Bacon (service number 017654) of the Army Ordnance Corps

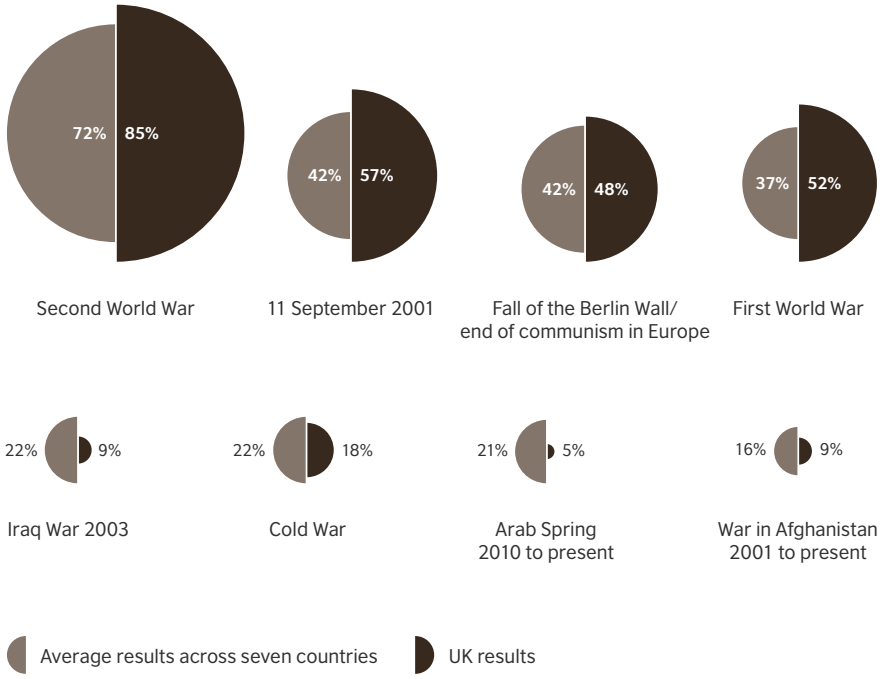
When asked how their country was still affected by the conflict, answers commonly selected were (as shown in Chart 6):

- the conflict and its outcomes were only the beginning of further conflict, which still has consequences for their country today (31 per cent)
- the experience of the war contributes strongly to their country's identity (28 per cent)
- the war and its outcomes have had a lasting impact on their country's international relations and how it is viewed by other countries today (28 per cent)
- their country's role in the First World War is often misrepresented and misinterpreted in global history (20 per cent).

These results suggest that an improved understanding of different views of the war around the world, and its global reach and legacy, might help people from different countries understand each other better both in terms of their shared history and contemporary relationships.

Chart 5: Top three international events of the last 100 years, average figures across all seven countries surveyed compared to UK figures

Question: Please choose the three most important international events from the past 100 years in terms of how they shaped the world today. Please tick up to three answers.

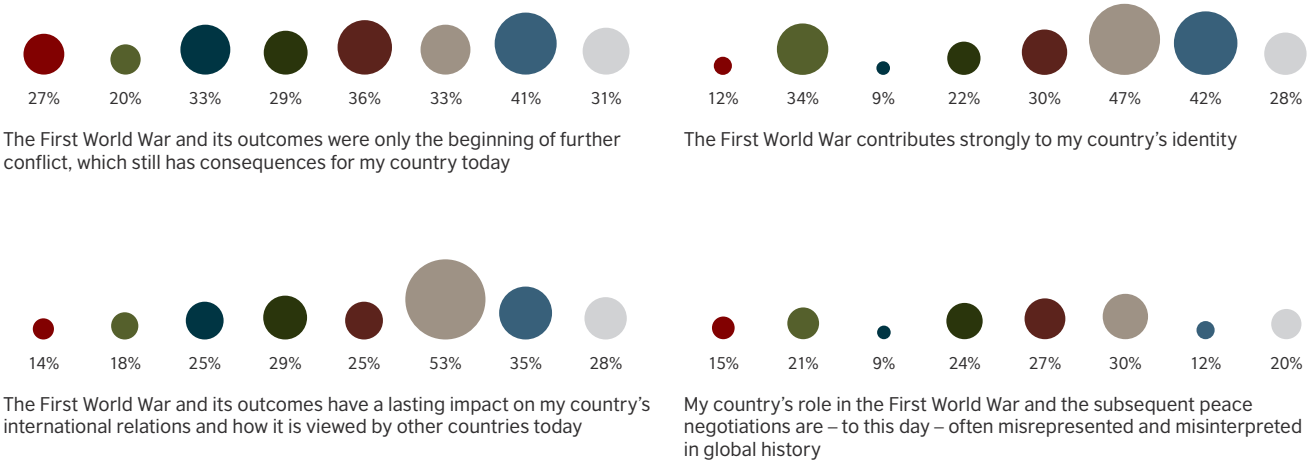


Source: YouGov survey carried out for the British Council in September 2013 (see appendix for details)

12. British Future/YouGov (2013) *Do Mention the War.* Available from www.britishfuture.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/BRF_Declaration-of-war-report_P2_Web-1.pdf
13. The Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) is currently funding an exploratory research project, led by the University of Exeter and Northumbria University, investigating precisely this question of how the First World War is taught in English classrooms, the results of which will be published in 2014. See http://ww1intheclassroom.exeter.ac.uk for more details.
14. www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-curriculum-in-england-history-programmes-of-study/national-curriculum-in-england-history-programmes-of-study#contents
15. Seventy-two per cent of respondents rated the Second World War as one of the top three events of the past 100 years.

Chart 6: Ways in which people feel that their country is affected by the First World War and its aftermath today

Question: In which ways, if any, is your country still affected by the consequences of the First World War and the subsequent peace negotiations?

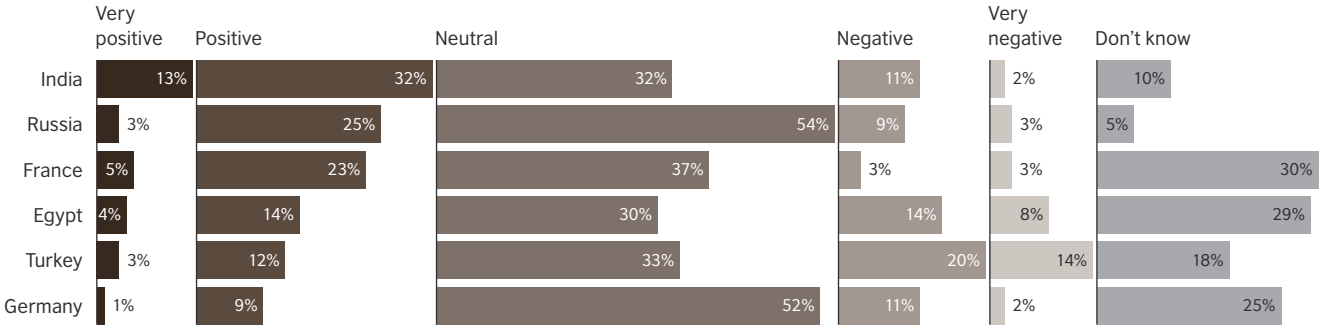


Source: YouGov survey carried out for the British Council in September 2013 (see appendix for details)

An improved understanding also helps explain and, ultimately, could help address negative perceptions of the UK that are linked to the country's role in the First World War and its aftermath. Despite the fact that the majority of people in the British Council survey saw the UK's role in the war and the peace negotiations that followed either as positive or neutral, every one of the countries surveyed had a considerable proportion of respondents stating that their views of the UK were negatively affected by its role in the First World War and its aftermath. For instance, about one in three of respondents in Turkey and about one in five of the Egyptian respondents stated that the UK's role in the conflict had a broadly negative effect on their views of it today. More than one in ten in India, Germany and Russia, and six per cent in France selected either of these options (see Chart 7).

Chart 7: How perceptions of the UK around the world are influenced by its role in the First World War

Question: Does the UK's role in the First World War and the peace negotiations that followed it have a positive or negative effect on your views of the UK today?



Source: YouGov survey carried out for the British Council in September 2013 (see appendix for details)

Any deviation from a total of 100 per cent is due to the rounding of individual figures.

It is worth drawing attention to the example of India. As Chart 8 shows, when asked in general terms, a large majority of the public here (75 per cent) feel broadly positive towards the UK. In contrast, when asked about their attitudes with reference to the UK's role in the First World War and the peace negotiations that followed, over one in ten respondents state that these have a negative (11 per cent) or very negative (two per cent) effect on their views of the country today.

This may come as a surprise to many in the UK who are unfamiliar with the UK's role beyond the Western Front and the way in which the peace negotiations, rather than producing stability and peace, in many cases led to further conflict and division. It is important that people in the UK are aware of these issues in order to better understand others' perceptions of the UK and reduce mistrust.

The UK's future success depends more and more on its citizens' relationships with people in countries around the world. This affects the UK's trade and prosperity, security and international influence. For citizens, business, political, education and creative leaders to be able to engage and partner internationally, they need to be equipped with the intercultural understanding and skills to form lasting and trusting relationships with others around the world. An understanding of the historical context in which they are operating and the way this influences perceptions of the UK is an important contribution to this.

Chart 8: Indian respondents' general perceptions of the UK compared to how views are affected by the UK's role in the First World War and its aftermath

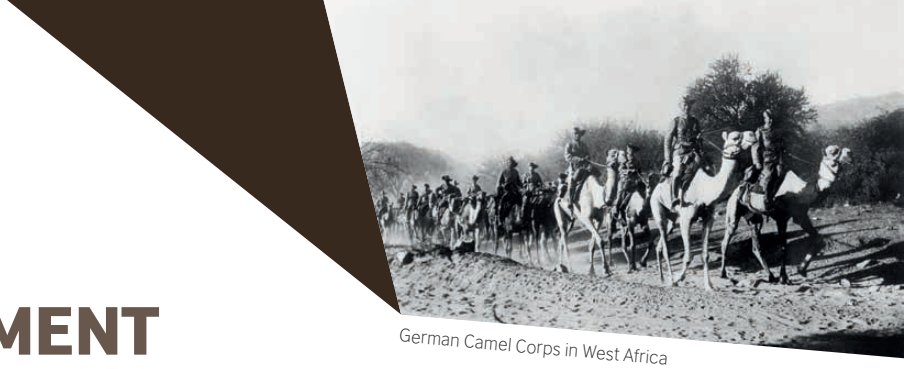
Question: To what extent do you feel positively or negatively towards the UK (per cent)?

Very positive or positive

Question: Does the UK's role in the First World War and the peace negotiations that followed it have a positive or negative effect on your views of the UK today (per cent)?

Negative or very negative

Source: YouGov survey carried out for the British Council in September 2013 (see appendix for details)



German Camel Corps in West Africa

GLOBAL INVOLVEMENT IN THE WAR

It is true that the majority of the war was fought in Europe and its outcome was largely decided on the Western Front. The greatest weight of casualties, as well as devastation to land and infrastructure, was also borne within Europe.[16] In terms of its origins, the war can be understood as a European civil war. Contemporaries in 1914 referred to the 'Great European War' or simply the 'Great War'.[17] But such views mean that the global nature of the conflict is often forgotten.

The war 'was also fought out in the icy waters of the south Atlantic and the North Sea; in the burning deserts of Arabia and Iraq; the snow-capped Alps; the coasts of China and Turkey; and in the sweltering jungles … of East Africa.'[18] Over 40 per cent of the world's population in 1914 lived in countries involved in the conflict from the outset. Because of the reach of empires, soldiers and labourers were enlisted from all parts of the globe.

More than 1.4 million Indians fought as part of the British forces;[19] over 200,000 volunteers came from the island of Ireland and just under 50,000 names are listed on the official Irish war memorial in Dublin; New Zealand, with one in every five men serving, had a higher proportion of citizens under arms than the UK, France or Germany;[20] nearly half a million North and West Africans served in the French army;[21] volunteers from Jamaica and other parts of the Caribbean played an important role.[22] Yet the focus of public discussion and debate is firmly on Europe.

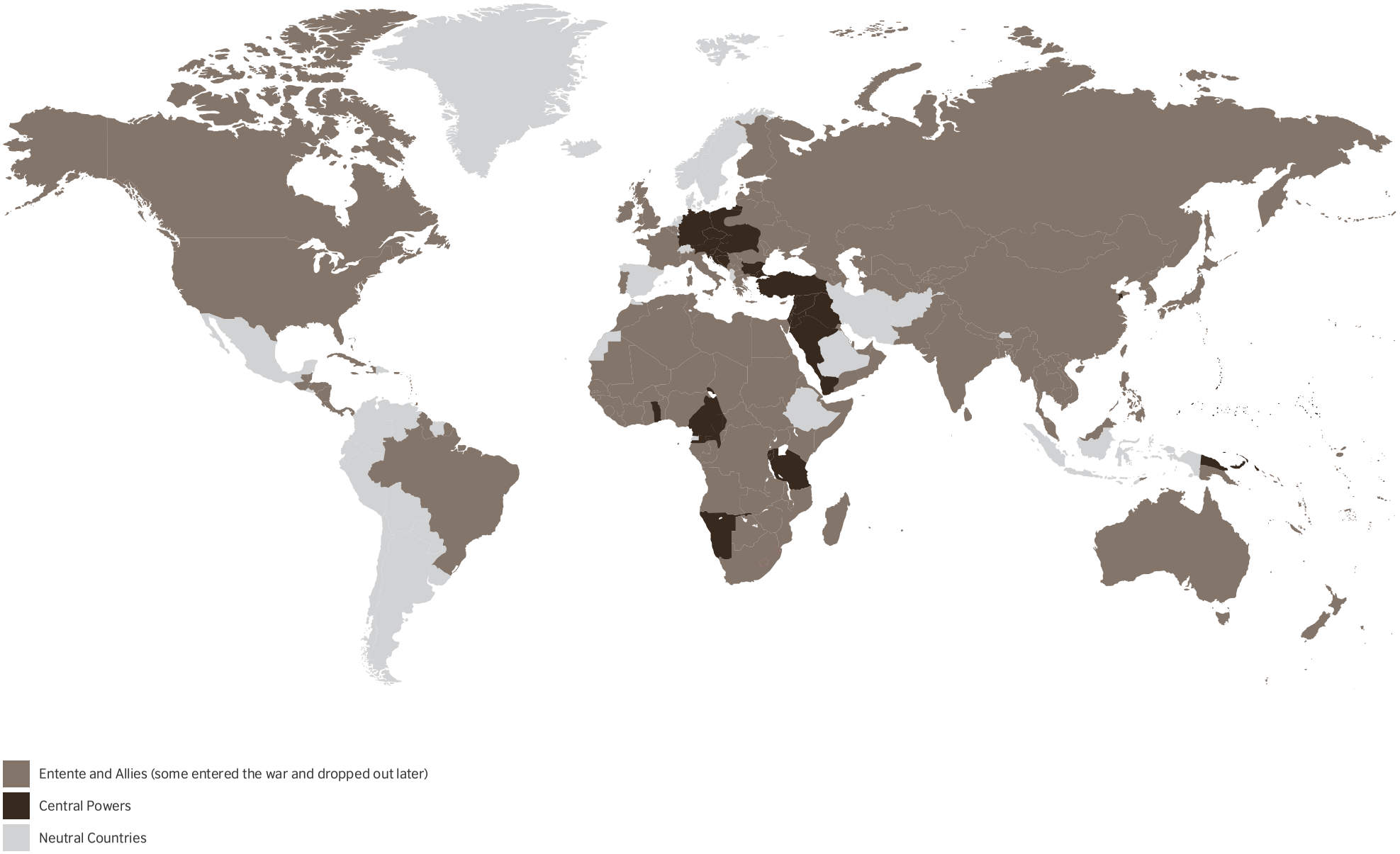
FROM LOCAL WAR TO WORLD WAR

The war certainly started in Europe. On 28 June 1914 in Sarajevo, Gavrilo Princip, a Bosnian Serb student, assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Habsburg throne, and his wife Sophie, hoping to end Austria-Hungary's rule over Bosnia-Herzegovina. Exactly one month later, Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, which it deemed responsible for failing to control sub-state actors in its territory. A series of alliances rapidly brought Germany, France, Belgium, Russia and the UK into the conflict, which – within a week – became what we now know as the First World War.[23] Over the next months and years, most countries of the world became involved.

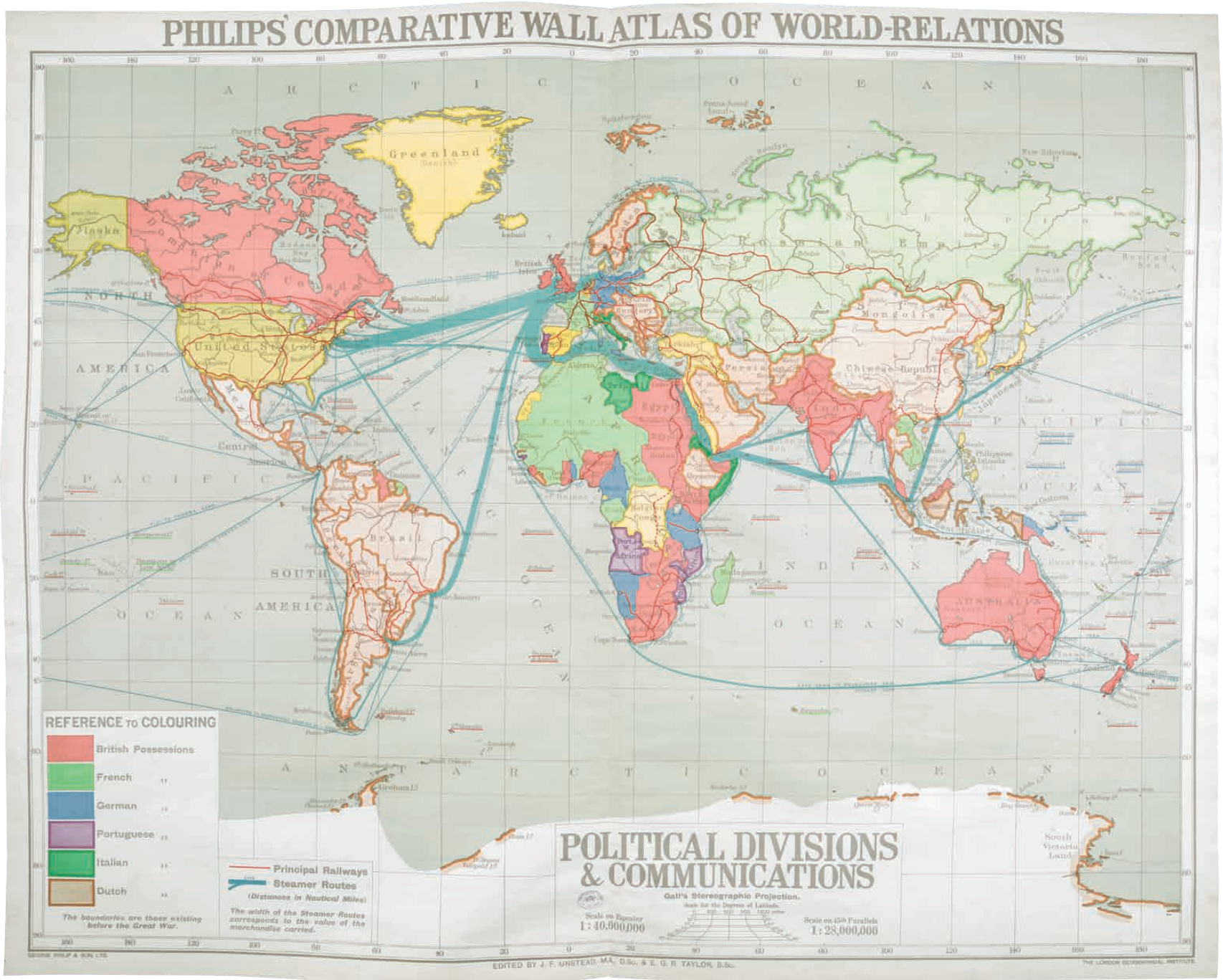
16. Nicolson, C (2001) *The Longman Companion to the First World War, Europe 1914–1918*. Harlow: Pearson: p.250.
17. Pennell, C (2012) *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Strachan, H (2010) 'The First World War as a global war', in *First World War Studies*. 1 (1). p.3–14.
18. Jones, N (2007) 'The Great War in Africa' in *The Telegraph*. Available online: www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/3662965/the-great-war-in-africa.html
19. War Office (1922) *Statistics of the Military Effort of the British Empire During the Great War 1914–1920*, London HMSO cited in Das (2011) *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: p.27.
20. Andrews, EM (1993) *The Anzac Illusion: Anglo–Australian Relations during World War 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
21. Michel, M (1982) *L'Appel à L'Afrique, contributions et reactions à l'effort de guerre en AOF 1914–1918*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.
22. Smith, R (2004) *Jamaican Volunteers in the First World War: Race, masculinity, and the development of national consciousness*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
23. Williamson Jr, SR, (1998) 'The Origins of the War', in Strachan, H (ed) *The Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Australian soldier in the Alps

Map 1: Countries involved in the First World War



Map 2: Empires and major transport routes in 1914



BRITISH COUNCIL CASE STUDY

One year ago, senior figures from politics, business, civil society and the arts in the UK and North Africa gathered in Hammamet, Tunisia, to discuss challenges arising from the Arab Spring.[24] The opening speaker of the conference, a senior adviser to the Tunisian prime minister, talked of the need to build trust and understanding between his region and the UK. But he did not start with the here and now. Instead, he went back 100 years, when millions of people became embroiled in a global conflict that would come to be known as the First World War. He focused on two events in particular. Firstly, the 1916 Sykes–Picot Agreement, which proposed the division of much of the Middle East into British and French spheres of influence. Secondly, the 1917 Balfour Declaration: a letter by the British Foreign Secretary which paved the way for the creation of the state of Israel and the associated ongoing conflict with the Palestinians.

So, to their surprise, many of the UK delegates in Tunisia last year found that these two documents – almost forgotten in the UK – hold strong currency in a region they were visiting with the intention of forming relationships. As in this example, these historical events can in some circumstances fuel the opposite: resentment and distrust. Therefore, a better knowledge of the First World War and its outcomes can sometimes help us understand others' views of the UK, which is a precondition of reducing mistrust.

Most of the belligerents were empires (see Map 2 for the extent of different empires at the time). The European empires – Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and the Netherlands – alone controlled 84 per cent of the globe's land surface.[25] The implications were significant. For instance, as 'a result of [Britain] entering the war, all Africa, save Ethiopia and Liberia, much of Asia, effectively all of Australasia, and parts of the Americas also found themselves at war'[26] – whether they liked it or not.

Just as empires played a role in globalising the war, so too did international finance. Economies were intertwined, running through London, which had emerged as the world's financial capital at the time. This made Britain's entry into the First World War particularly important. Even nominally neutral countries were affected by the conflict although they had no 'active' role in it.[27] For instance, in Central and Latin America shipping was disrupted, credit dried up, banks closed, and commerce came almost to a standstill. Governments were unable to generate sufficient import duties, while food prices and unemployment rose.[28]

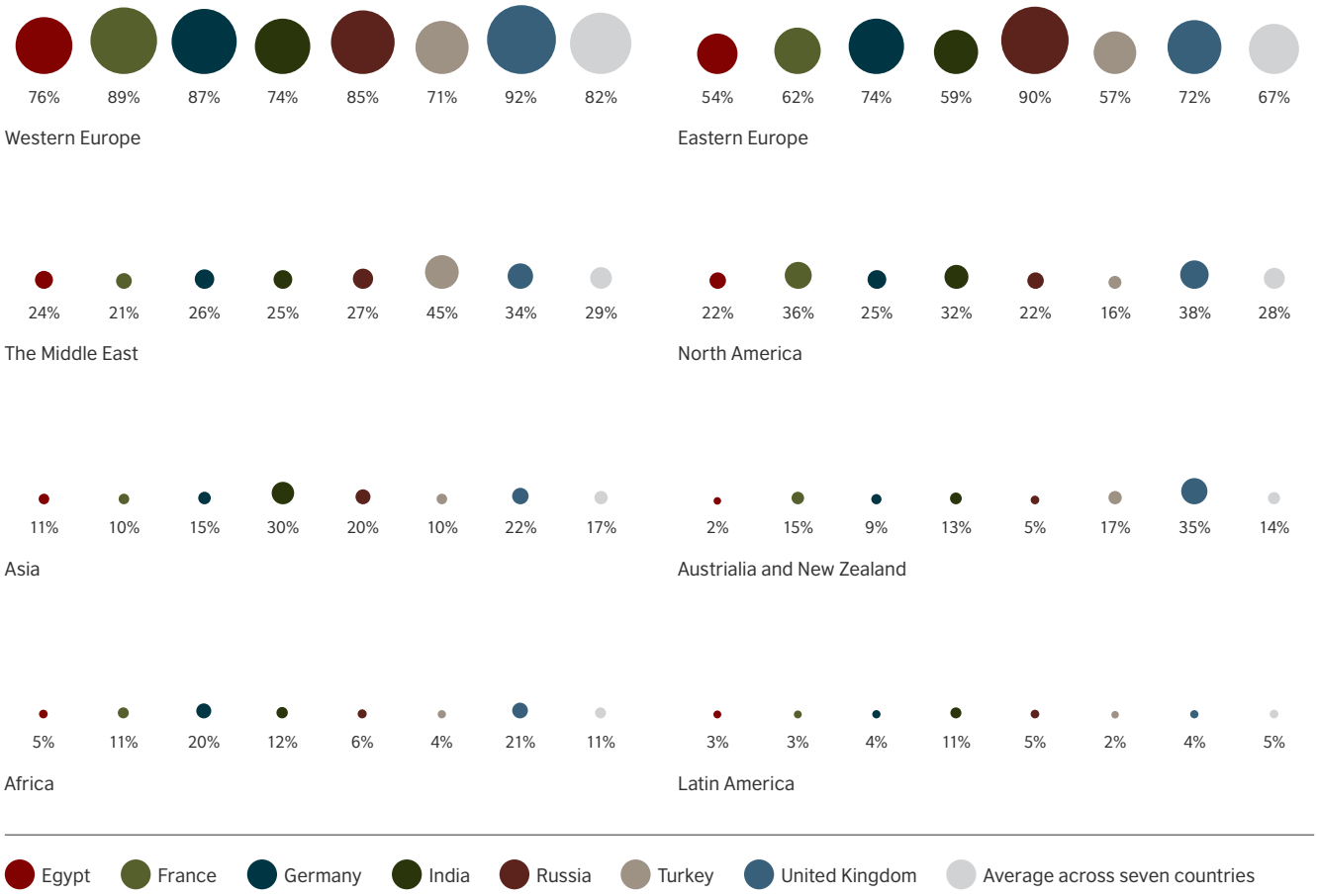
But popular understanding of the wide reach of the war and its implications is limited. The British Council's survey asked people in seven countries if they thought the following regions and countries were involved in the conflict: Western Europe, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Africa, North America, Australia and New Zealand, Asia, and Latin America. In reality, all these regions were involved in some way, but the survey findings clearly illustrate the dominance of Europe in people's minds. Eighty-two per cent across the seven countries identified Western Europe and 67 per cent identified Eastern Europe as involved in the war.

Even in countries that are located in or closely linked to the Middle East or Asia, knowledge of the involvement of Western and Eastern Europe is greater than of other parts of the world. For example, 45 per cent of respondents in Turkey and 24 per cent of respondents in Egypt identified Middle Eastern involvement. This compared to 71 and 76 per cent in these two countries who identified Western European and 58 and 54 per cent who identified Eastern European involvement. Thirty per cent in India and 20 per cent in Russia identified Asian involvement compared to 74 per cent and 85 per cent of people in these countries knowing about Western European and 59 per cent and 90 per cent about Eastern European involvement. This is shown in Chart 9.

24. McCarthy, R/British Council (2012) *Hammamet Conference 2012. The Leadership Challenge: Responding to Rapid Change in the 21st Century.*
25. Storey, WK (2009) *The First World War: A Concise Global History.* Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
26. Strachan, H (2010) 'The First World War as a global war'. In *First World War Studies.* 1 (1). p.3–14: p.7.
27. Strachan, H (2010) 'The First World War as a global war'. In *First World War Studies.* 1 (1). p.3–14; Winter, JM (1988) *The Experience of World War I.* London: Greenwich Editions.
28. Albert, B (2002) *South America and the First World War: The Impact of the War on Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Chile.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chart 9: Knowledge of different world regions' involvement in the First World War

Question: Select all the regions, which, in your view, were involved in the First World War.



Source: YouGov survey carried out for the British Council in September 2013 (see appendix for details)

The highest level of knowledge of African involvement among the countries polled was approximately one in five people in the UK and Germany. In France (which had direct colonial links in Africa at the time and relied heavily on colonial troops) it was only about one in ten. In the other countries surveyed knowledge of African countries' involvement in the conflict was about one in 20.

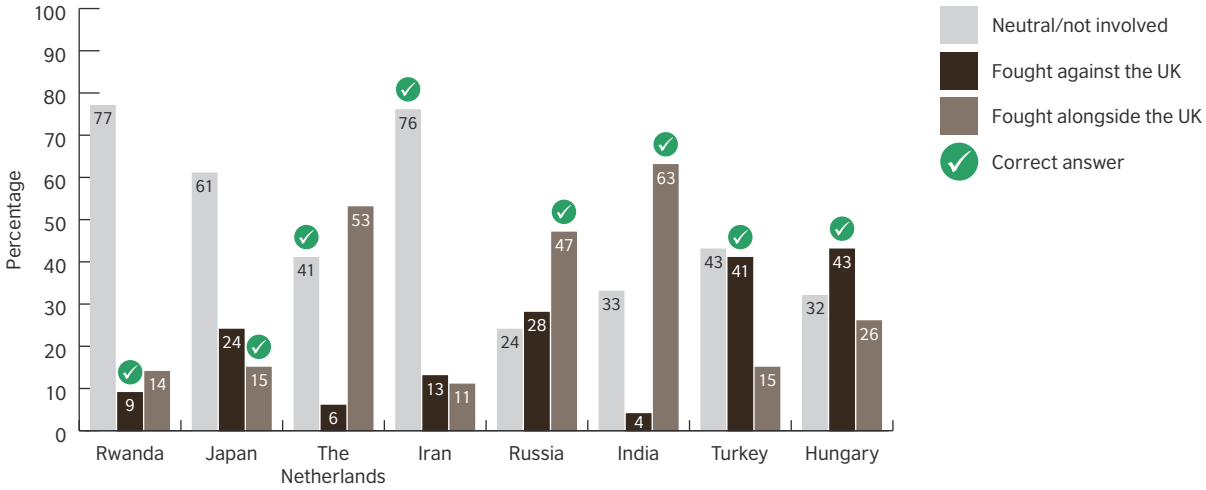
For Australia and New Zealand, a mixed picture emerges: just over one third of the UK public know about these countries' involvement. Between one in five and one in ten respondents in Turkey, France, India and Germany are aware of it, and under one in 20 in Russia and Egypt.

There is also much confusion about the sides on which different countries fought. People in all seven countries were asked to indicate whether each

29. It is acknowledged that questions like this are complicated by the fact that historical developments, such as the emergence of new states, may put the accuracy of their phrasing into question. An example of this is Rwanda, which was part of the German Empire at the start of the conflict until it was occupied by Belgian troops. It is also acknowledged that some countries were fought over and therefore knowledge of which side they were on can easily be confused. An example of this is Iran (Persia as it was then known), which was officially neutral even though fighting took place on its territory. However, the responses do give an indication of the lack of knowledge around different countries' involvement.

Chart 10: UK public perceptions of different countries' role in the First World War

Question: Which of these present-day countries were involved in the First World War on the side of the UK, against the UK, or not involved/neutral?



Source: YouGov survey carried out for the British Council in September 2013 (see appendix for details)

of a list of eight countries had either fought alongside or against their country or whether these countries had remained uninvolved or neutral.[29]

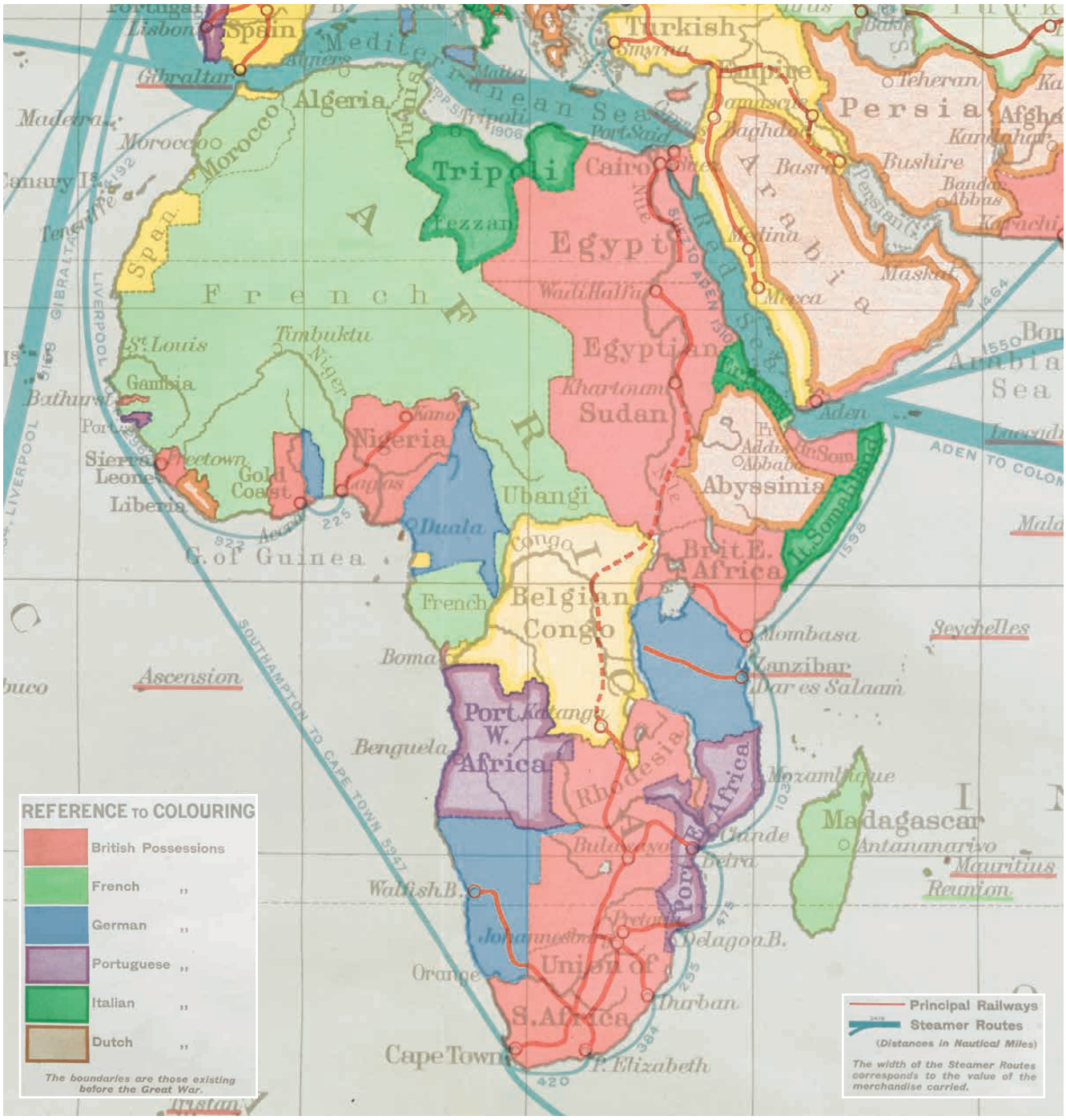
Almost 60 per cent of the UK were unaware that the Netherlands maintained a policy of neutrality during the First World War – with over half (53 per cent) believing that it had fought alongside the UK. Only a small minority of UK respondents correctly identified that Japan fought alongside the Allied Powers (15 per cent), while almost a quarter mistakenly believed it had fought against them. Similarly, more people in the UK thought that both Turkey and Rwanda were neutral than the number which correctly identified the side on which they fought (see Chart 10 for the full UK findings).

Survey findings elsewhere showed similar confusion. In India for example, 27 per cent of the public assumed that the country was fighting against the UK when, at that time, India was part of the British Empire. Seventy-eight per cent of French respondents assumed India was neutral, when, in fact, India provided over 1.4 million soldiers – many of them to defend French soil. In Germany 53 per cent believed that Turkey was neutral, although in reality, as the Ottoman Empire, it was fighting alongside Germany. Seventy-nine per cent of German respondents thought Rwanda was either not involved or neutral when it actually began the war as a German colony and was involved in fierce fighting against French forces until Germany's eventual surrender.

Such a lack of knowledge makes appreciation of another country's sacrifice and trauma difficult, which is hardly conducive to building and maintaining strong international relationships.

Wounded Indian soldiers in a French village

Map 3: Africa in 1914



While this map refers to the Turkish Empire, this report uses the official name, Ottoman Empire.

WHAT THE FIRST WORLD WAR MEANS FOR TODAY

On average, across the seven countries surveyed for the British Council, only 11 per cent of respondents knew of African involvement in the First World War. However, the continent was very much involved because, on the outbreak of war, the Allied Powers attempted to seize German colonies. Togo was quickly captured; Cameroon and South-West Africa took longer. The war in East Africa became a drawn-out campaign, requiring troops and labour from all parts of the continent. German forces there only surrendered in November 1918.[30]

Under a third of respondents (29 per cent) identified the Middle East's involvement in the First World War. Yet, the Ottoman Empire's entry into the war on the side of the Central Powers in November 1914 meant that the region was brought into the conflict. The Ottoman Empire was the most important entrant to the war until the United States of America joined the conflict in 1917, because of its population of over 20 million and its strategic position – geographically across Russia's south and close to the Suez Canal (the main communications route of the British Empire) and culturally as the world's most significant Muslim power.[31] The Ottoman Empire's army, composed primarily of (Turkish, Arab, Kurdish and other) conscripts, fought the British in Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Mesopotamia (modern-day Iraq) and Persia (today's Iran). The British ended the war victorious in the territories that were to become Iraq, Palestine (now Israel and the Occupied Palestinian Territories), Trans-Jordan (now Jordan), Syria and Lebanon. In the peace settlement, the UK's role in the Middle East was confirmed and these events continue to colour perceptions of the UK in the region to this day.

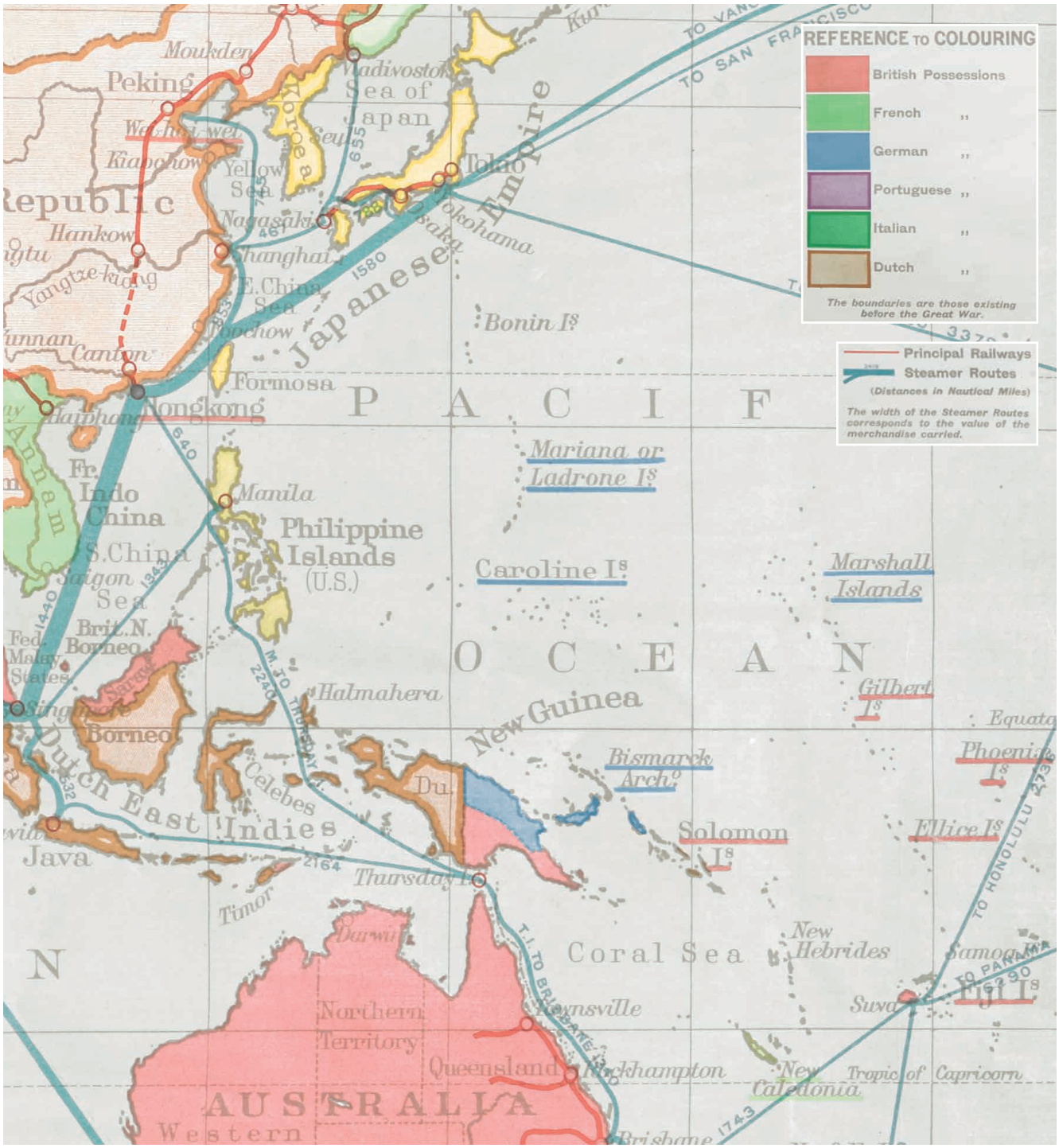
British involvement in fighting against Ottoman forces also had lasting consequences in other regions of the world. The heavy losses incurred and the defeat at Gallipoli, in particular, had a profound impact in solidifying the developing national identities of Australia and New Zealand.[32] This period therefore was an important milestone in the development of these countries' questioning of the imperial connection with Britain.

Japan entered the war on the side of the Allies yet with an additional interest in containing Russian expansion. It rapidly received help from New Zealand and Australian troops as well as two British regiments, which invaded Germany's small Pacific island territories. After a two-month siege involving 50,000 Japanese troops, Tsingtao (modern-day Qingdao), on the Chinese mainland, was captured.[33] On average, across the seven countries surveyed for the British Council, just 17 per cent of people knew that Asia as a region was involved in the war.

30. Samson, A (2006) *Britain, South Africa and the East African Campaign*. London: I.B. Tauris.
31. Yapp, ME (1987) *The Making of the Modern Near East*, 1792–1923. London: Longman.
32. Thomson, A (1994) *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
33. Wesseling, HL (2004) *The European Colonial Empires, 1815–1919*. Harlow: Pearson.

The Landing in Suvla Bay [Turkey], Early Morning, 7th August 1915 by Norman Wilkinson

Map 4: German territories in China and the Pacific in 1914



German territories in Asia: Mariana or Ladrone Islands, Caroline Islands, Marshall Islands, Bismarck Archipelago, German New Guinea. Although not marked on this map, Kiaochow (later Tsingtao, today Qingdao) on the Shantung (today Shandong) Peninsula in the top left corner of the map was also a German territory in 1914.

German ring 'Vaterlandsdank 1914', which was awarded for the donation of precious metals to the war effort

Russian female soldiers during the First World War

Japan then presented the '21 Demands' to the Chinese government, which forced them to acknowledge their weakness in the face of Japanese military strength. While of little immediate military or political effect as far as the First World War was concerned, these actions set a pattern that was to be repeated during the Second World War[34] and fuelled ongoing tensions between the two countries that continue to this day.

Russia's decision to embark on military operations in mid-August 1914 opened up the Eastern Front and bought its Western allies welcome breathing space in Belgium and France. The Eastern Front encompassed the entire frontier between the Russian Empire and Romania on one side and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Bulgaria and Germany on the other. It has been described as 'a theatre [of war] of paradoxes' owing to the number of short and decisive campaigns generally leading, despite heavy losses, nowhere in terms of strategic outcomes.[35] Russia then exited the war early,[36] following internal crises caused in part by the economic and military strain of the conflict. This led to the abdication of Tsar Nicolas II and the two Russian revolutions of 1917 that eventually brought the Bolsheviks to power, marking the start of a prolonged period of suspicion between Russia and the West. Sixty-seven per cent of respondents across the seven countries of the British Council's research knew about Eastern European involvement in the First World War.

There was also an Italian Front, which was more localised geographically and refers to a series of battles fought between 1915 and 1918 in northern Italy between the armies of Austria-Hungary and Germany against Italy. What began as a war of movement soon descended into trench stalemate, similar to that on the Western Front. While, on average, 82 per cent of the British Council's survey respondents knew about Western European involvement in the First World War, the dominance of the Western Front in the public imagination makes it unlikely that this reflects knowledge of the Italian Front.

THE ROLE OF THE WORLD

When thinking about the global dimensions of the First World War and aiming to establish an internationally sensitive tone of commemoration and remembrance, it is important not only to remember where fighting took place, but also to acknowledge other ways in which the whole world was involved and affected.

Economically, the contributions from different parts of empires were crucial. In the British case, some of the colonies, Dominions and other countries made direct grants of money. But more significant were the material goods they supplied. The United States of America contributed by far the most, and made large profits as a result, helping the country develop its role as a major new global power and financial centre. This was to become significant, amongst other things, in the impact of the Wall Street Crash a decade later. But the colonies played an important part as well.[37] By 1917, Canada provided Britain with half its shrapnel, 42 per cent of its 4.5-inch shells and 25 per cent of its 6-inch shells; 97 per cent of Australia's meat was consumed in Britain during the war; New Zealand supplied frozen meat, wool, dairy produce and minerals; India's jute supply was turned into sandbags. Britain's war economy gobbled up imports at unprecedented rates.

34. Dickinson, F (1999) *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914–1919*. Cambridge, MT: Harvard University. Press; Strachan, H (2003) *The First World War: A New Illustrated History*. London: Simon & Schuster.
35. Showalter, D (2010) 'War in the East and Balkans, 1914–1918'. In Horne, J (ed) *A Companion to World War I*. Oxford: Blackwell: p.66.
36. Under the Treaty of Brest Litovsk.
37. Porter, B (2004) *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism, 1850–1995*, 4th ed Harlow: Pearson.

French Colonial Marine Infantry from Cochin China, Salonika 1916

In addition, large numbers of soldiers and labourers were recruited from the colonies. Britain, unlike Germany and France, relied on volunteers – at least until January 1916, when conscription was introduced. At this point, the question of conscription also became a major issue in the Dominions. In Canada, in the French-speaking city of Québec, riots broke out in March 1917 over this issue. New Zealand complied without difficulty but Australia held two unsuccessful referendums in 1916 and 1918.[38] Conscription was always too politically sensitive to be introduced in Ireland.[39]

Estimates vary regarding the number of colonial troops fighting in the British and French armies during the war.[40] Over 15,600 West Indian volunteers (both black and white) served overseas.[41] Canada supplied a large contingent (13.48 per cent of its male population), as did Australia (13.43 per cent). Proportionally, New Zealand made the largest contribution: 19.35 per cent of the male population; or to put it another way, one in every five men – a higher proportion than in Britain itself (where one in seven men served).[42] A further 4,000 First Nation Canadians volunteered[43] as well as 580 Aboriginal Australians.[44] South Africa also made an important contribution: 136,000 white South Africans went to war against German forces, first in Africa and later on the Western Front. In addition, more than 44,000 black South Africans were deployed as auxiliaries in non-combat duty.[45] Newfoundland contributed 12,000 men[46] and over 200,000 Irish men served in the British army.[47] But by far the largest contribution to Britain's war effort came from India. The total number of Indian troops amounted to some 1.4–1.5 million men, serving in France, East Africa, Mesopotamia and Egypt.[48]

38. Wesseling, HL (2004) *The European Colonial Empires, 1815–1919*. Harlow: Pearson.
39. Hennessey, T (1998) *Dividing Ireland: World War I and Partition*. London: Routledge.
40. For comprehensive breakdowns cf. Aldrich, R and Hilliard, C (2010) 'The French and British Empires'. In Horne, J (ed) *A Companion to World War I*. Oxford: Blackwell; Das, S (ed) (2011) *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Holland, R (1999) 'The British Empire and the Great War, 1914–1918', in Brown, JM and Louis, WR (eds) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*. Vol 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Koller, C (2001) '*Von Wilden aller Rassen niedergemetzelt': Die Diskussion um die Verwendung von Kolonialtruppen in Europa zwischen Rassismus, Kolonial- und Militärpolitik (1914–1930)*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag; Koller, C (2008) 'The Recruitment of Colonial Troops in Africa and Asia and Their Deployment in Europe During the First World War'. *Immigrants & Minorities*. 26 (1/2). p.111–33; Michel, M (1982) *L'Appel à L'Afrique, contributions et reactions à l'effort de guerre en AOF 1914–1918*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.
41. Smith, R (2004) *Jamaican Volunteers in the First World War: Race, masculinity, and the development of national consciousness*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
42. Andrews, EM (1993) *The Anzac Illusion: Anglo–Australian Relations during World War I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
43 Barrett, M (2011) 'Afterword: Death and the afterlife: Britain's colonies and dominions', in Das, S (ed) *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
44. Winegard, TE (2012) *Indigenous Peoples of the British Dominions and the First World War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
45. Holland, R (1999) 'The British Empire and the Great War, 1914–1918', in Brown, JM and Louis, WR (eds) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*. Vol 4. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
46. Wesseling, HL (2004) *The European Colonial Empires, 1815–1919*. Harlow: Pearson.
47. Pennell, C (2012) *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
48. Koller, C (2008) 'The Recruitment of Colonial Troops in Africa and Asia and Their Deployment in Europe During the First World War'. *Immigrants & Minorities*. 26 (1/2). p.111–33; Stadtler, F (2012) 'Britain's forgotten volunteers: South Asian contributions in the two world wars', in Ranasinha, R et al. (eds.). *South Asians and the Shaping of Britain, 1870–1950: A Sourcebook*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. India sent some 150,000 men to the Western Front, including 50,000 labourers (Corrigan, G (2006) *Sepoys in the Trenches: The Indian Corps on the Western Front, 1914–1915*, Staplehurst: Spellmount Ltd; Koller, C (2008) 'The Recruitment of Colonial Troops in Africa and Asia and Their Deployment in Europe During the First World War'. *Immigrants & Minorities*. 26 (1/2). p.111–33).
49. Michel, M (1982) *L'Appel à L'Afrique, contributions et reactions à l'effort de guerre en AOF 1914–1918*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.
50. Koller, C (2008) 'The Recruitment of Colonial Troops in Africa and Asia and Their Deployment in Europe During the First World War'. *Immigrants & Minorities*. 26 (1/2). p.111–33.
51. Aldrich, R and Hilliard, C (2010) 'The French and British Empires', in Horne, J (ed) *A Companion to World War I*. Oxford: Blackwell; Horne, J (1985) 'Immigrant Workers in France during World War I'. *French Historical Studies*. 14 (1). p.57–88.
52. Das, S (ed) (2011) *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Guoqi, X (2011) *Strangers on the Western Front: Chinese Workers in the Great War*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.
53. Das, S (ed) (2011) *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: p.27, footnote 13. Das arrives at this figure by adding up the: 1.4 million Indians, two million Africans, 400,000 African Americans, 100,000 Indochinese, and 140,000 Chinese labourers. To this should be added, among other groups, the numbers of Maori, Aboriginal Australians, First Nations Canadians, West Indians and Amerindians.
54. Sheffield, G (2001) *Forgotten Victory: The First World War, Myths and Realities*. London: Headline.
55. Das, S (ed) (2011) *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

A total of 170,000 West Africans and nearly 300,000 North Africans served in the French army, together with 41,000 Malagasy (from Madagascar), 48,000 Indochinese, and 60,000 soldiers from the remaining colonies, altogether amounting to over 600,000 men.[49] Germany did not deploy any colonial troops outside the colonies themselves. Even in German South-West Africa (today's Namibia), the German army did not include African combatants. Italy tried to deploy African colonial troops in Europe, sending 2,700 soldiers from Libya to Sicily in August 1915. They did not enter the front line because many died from pneumonia soon after their arrival and survivors were shipped home after a short time. However, Italy did deploy Eritrean, Libyan and Somali soldiers in Africa.[50]

France introduced immigrant workers to the home front, to staff essential industries such as armaments and munitions factories, and to work on farms and in vineyards replacing labourers serving at the front. Over 220,000 people from the French colonial spheres and beyond (for instance, places such as Algeria, Indochina and China) as well as 230,000 Spaniards came to France during the war.[51] Nearly 140,000 Chinese contract labourers were hired by the British and French governments[52] and served in France, Egypt, Fiji, India, Malta, Mauritius, Seychelles and the British West Indies.

As, 'even by conservative estimates, the total number of non-white men, combatants and non-combatants, mobilised into the European and American armies during the First World War comes to well over four million, though not all of them saw active service,'[53] the First World War was a significant moment of interracial encounter. For the first time, for example, a man from Cornwall could find himself in a trench with a Punjabi Muslim man.

This global reach and the multi-faceted nature of the conflict has yet to make a significant impact on the established British 'vision' of the First World War.[54] The war looks very different when the memories of an Indian *sepoy* (Indian soldier serving under British orders), a Chinese worker or an African *askari* (local soldier serving in European imperial armies in Africa) are examined as an alternative to the well-documented writings of a small number of European soldiers.[55] Acknowledging the global reach, the diversity of experiences and the magnitude of the sacrifices made by peoples beyond Europe will allow people in the UK to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the conflict – a first step towards overcoming mistrust.

First World War recruitment poster 'The Empire Needs Men' by Arthur Wardle

THE INTERNATIONAL LEGACY OF THE WAR

The First World War and its aftermath had a profound effect on many societies and on the international order. It accelerated the decline of empires and the rise of nation states, and led to the formation of new structures of global governance. This legacy can be found not only in the impact of the war itself but also in the effects of the peace negotiations that followed. Together, the two still have the power to affect how people around the world see the UK.

THE GLOBAL IMPACT OF THE WAR

Casualties

No one will ever know how many people died in the First World War. Ascertaining with any precision the number of military and civilian casualties is impossible. Exact figures are in dispute because of different definitions used, the questionable accuracy of the recording systems, and the loss or destruction of official sources. Some countries kept comprehensive records, while others kept virtually none.

An estimate of over nine million servicemen killed overall gives some idea of the magnitude of the catastrophe. Table 1 lists the combatant participation and casualty figures for the conflict.

Table 1: Military participation and losses[56]

COUNTRY	TOTAL MOBILISED FORCES	DEAD	WOUNDED	PRISONERS AND MISSING	TOTAL CASUALTIES	CASUALTIES AS % OF FORCES
Austria-Hungary	9,000,000	1,100,000	3,620,000	2,200,000	6,920,000	77
Belgium	365,000	38,716	44,686	34,659	118,061	34.9
British Empire and Dominions	8,904,467	908,371	2,090,212	191,652	3,190,235	36
Bulgaria	400,000	87,500	152,390	27,029	266,919	67
France	7,891,000	1,357,800	4,266,000	537,000	6,178,800	78
Germany	13,200,000	2,037,000	4,216,058	1,152,800	7,405,858	56
Greece	353,000	26,000	21,000	1,000	48,000	14
Italy	5,615,000	578,000	947,000	600,000	2,125,000	38
Japan	800,000	300	907	3	1,210	0.2
Montenegro	50,000	3,000	10,000	7,000	20,000	40
Ottoman Empire	2,998,000	804,000	400,000	250,000	1,454,000	48
Portugal	100,000	7,222	13,751	12,318	33,291	33
Romania	1,000,000	250,706	120,000	80,000	450,706	45
Russia	15,798,000	1,800,000	4,950,000	2,500,000	9,250,000	59
Serbia	750,000	278,000	133,148	15,958	427,106	32
United States of America	4,273,000	114,000	234,000	4,526	352,526	8
TOTAL	**71,497,467**	**9,408,615**	**21,219,152**	**7,613,945**	**38,241,712**	**53**

Stretcher bearers of the 3rd Battalion, King's African Rifles, Longido, September 1915

The number of civilian deaths is even harder to estimate. The figure of 6.5 million has been quoted[57] although estimates vary depending on whether 'excess' civilian deaths are included: for instance, those that were the result of war-related malnutrition and disease rather than direct military action. At least 750,000 German civilians died of starvation as a result of the Allied blockade, many of them after the armistice was signed in 1918. Another question is whether statistics should take account of atrocities and massacres;[58] of civilian deaths due to the 'Spanish' flu pandemic spread from 1918 to 1920 by the large-scale wartime movement of soldiers and civilians; or of casualties incurred as a result of the wars that continued after the armistice in 1918.[59]

Civilian experience

Non-combatant experience of the war varied across different regions and countries. The chances of facing real hunger, famine or death depended largely on proximity to the locations of fighting and on each state's ability to mobilise and control its civilian populations.[60]

In Russia, Austria-Hungary and Italy the war was a disaster for the civilian population. Pollution of the water supply, and requisitioning of livestock and food supplies brought devastating consequences to civilians. Rudimentary medicine and unsanitary conditions in military encampments spread disease among populations in and around areas of military operation. Consequently death rates among civilians on the Eastern, Balkan, and Italian fronts soared during the war.[61]

The First World War broke new ground when it comes to the way civilians – such as ethnic groups perceived to be subversive – were targeted by their own side. Four out of every five Ottoman citizens who died were non-combatants. Many succumbed to famine and disease, but others died as a result of population transfer and massacres. Notable are the deaths of at least one million Ottoman Armenians,[62] the nature of which is still subject to significant debate in Turkey and internationally today.

In Africa the war severely dislocated communities and families. At least 80,000 black Africans fought for one side or the other, and over 10,000 died. In a continent which in 1914 had little in the way of railways or paved roads, over one million Africans were employed – sometimes forcibly – to carry the weapons and supplies without which the soldiers they served could not fight. Perhaps 100,000 of these 'bearers' did not survive the war.[63]

These were casualty rates comparable to the Western Front – albeit disease was the big killer, rather than shells or bullets, together with the acute food shortages and famine that came with the war. Wartime disruption also resulted in serious ecological consequences as populations moved, disease spread, and the land was devastated.[64]

The war's impact on race relations[65]

The mobilisation of troops and workers from different parts of the world also had a significant impact on societies that helped shape the world the UK finds itself in today. Amongst other things, it led to an immense range of interracial encounters,[66] the legacy of which extended well beyond the war itself.

56. Winter, J (2010) *Demography*, in Horne, J (ed) *A Companion to World War I*. Oxford: Blackwell: p.249.
57. This figure includes direct civilian deaths (due to military action) and 'excess' civilian deaths (famine, disease, accidents, and ethnic cleansing, including the Armenian massacre of 1915). It excludes the 'Spanish' flu, deaths during the Turkish War of Independence, and the Russian Civil War (Clodfelter, M (2002) *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Reference to Casualty and Other Figures*, 1500–2000. 2nd ed Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company: p.479).
58. Kramer, A (2010) 'Combatants and Noncombatants: Atrocities, Massacres and War Crimes' in Horne, J (ed) *A Companion to World War I*. Oxford: Blackwell.
59. The 1918 flu pandemic infected 500 million people across the world, killing between 50 and 100 million of them, cf. Johnson, N.P.A.S. and Mueller, J (2002) 'Updating the Accounts: Global Mortality of the 1918–1920 "Spanish" Influenza Pandemic', in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. 76 (1). p.105–115.
60. Proctor, TM (2010) *Civilians in a World at War, 1914–1918*. New York, NY: New York University Press.
61. Winter, J (2010) *Demography*, in Horne, J (ed) *A Companion to World War I*. Oxford: Blackwell.
62. Kramer, A (2010) 'Combatants and Noncombatants: Atrocities, Massacres and War Crimes', in Horne, J (ed) *A Companion to World War I*. Oxford: Blackwell.
63. Stevenson, D (2004) *1914–1918: The History of the First World War*. London: Allen Lane.
64. Killingray, D (1998) 'The War in Africa', in Strachan, H (ed) *The Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
65. It is acknowledged here that the war had complex effects on other societal matters, such as gender and the role of women in society, too. On the one hand, women had to move into previously male domains of labour and it promoted pre-existing movements in favour of women's political empowerment. On the other hand, however, many changes in practices and attitudes were reversed after the war and, to some extent, long-standing ideas of femininity and gender roles became more entrenched. The present report cannot, unfortunately, do this important topic justice. Interested readers are referred to these exemplary references: Storey, NR and Housego, M (2010) *Women in the First World War*. Oxford and Long Island City, NY: Shire Publications; Grayzel, SR (2002) *Women and the First World War*. Edinburgh and London: Pearson Education Ltd; essays by Braybon, Grayzel and McMillan in Braybon, G (ed) (2003) *Evidence, History and the Great War: Historians and the Impact of 1914–1918*. Oxford: Berghahn.
66. Das, S (ed) (2011) *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jazz was born in the context of the 'Harlem Renaissance' and the push for real equality of African Americans that was invigorated by the experience of the First World War

Experiences of racial prejudice were common. Within the French army, for example, although there were opportunities for indigenous soldiers to ascend through the ranks, there were significant restraints on how quickly and how far they could rise.[67]

350,000–400,000 African Americans, accounted – at 13 per cent of all men inducted[68] – for the largest group among the racial minorities of the American Expeditionary Force (in which about 10,000 Native Americans served as well).[69] For them, the war provided plenty of reminders about their second-class status. Despite being expected to lay down their lives for the nation, they were subjected to segregation and discrimination.[70]

This was to have a dramatic effect on race relations in the United States of America. Earlier in the century a migration from the Southern states had begun, gathering impetus as the flow of immigrants from Europe virtually ceased during the war. This was precisely the point at which the war effort was creating a massive demand for industrial workers. Hundreds of thousands of African Americans moved north to cities like Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit, Washington DC and New York. Increased contact between African Americans and white Americans in the workplace and on city streets forced a new awareness of the disparity between the constitutional principle of equality and the reality of segregation and inequality.

While the achievements of the civil rights movement were still decades away, the war breathed new life into the ambitions of reformers, who were able to frame the domestic struggle in the light of overseas events. This attracted tens of thousands of newly committed activists. Founded in 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had become, by 1920, a national organisation and the undisputed leader in the struggle for racial equality.[71]

This connection between the civil rights movement in the US and the First World War is a little known fact: only ten per cent of respondents who took part in the British Council's survey identified it (see Chart 12).

The war's impact on culture

These developments also had an impact on American culture. With the migration from the South and the experience of black soldiers fighting in Europe, came the Harlem Renaissance – the cultural, social, and artistic explosion that formed the intellectual centre of debate about the future of African American people. The music, art and literature of African Americans began to be absorbed into mainstream American culture. Jazz was born, developing from its roots of blues, Negro spiritual music and ragtime; writers such as Langston Hughes paved the way for Ralph Ellison, Richard Wright and James Baldwin in the 1940s and 1950s, and they in turn held open the door for Alice Walker, the Nobel laureate Toni Morrison and others in the 1980s and 1990s. While they were not the first to describe the reality of black life in America, the post-war urban circumstances enabled them to reach a new African American middle class readership and to access mainstream periodicals and publishing houses.

In Europe, in the years leading up to the First World War, a growing tension and unease with the social order, already seen in the Russian Revolution of 1905 and the agitation of 'radical' parties, was becoming apparent in artistic practice, and the experience of the conflict redoubled some of these trends.

In the 19th century, the public had seen artists – such as George Eliot, Charles Dickens, Leo Tolstoy, and Johannes Brahms – as interpreters and representatives of bourgeois culture and ideas. They produced art that added to society even when critiquing its less desirable aspects. Early in the 20th century, a new generation – notably Arnold Schoenberg, Wassily Kandinsky, Igor Stravinsky, Paul Cezanne, and Henri Matisse – increasingly saw such traditional social arrangements as outdated in the emerging industrialised world.

John McDowell, an African American soldier in First World War uniform

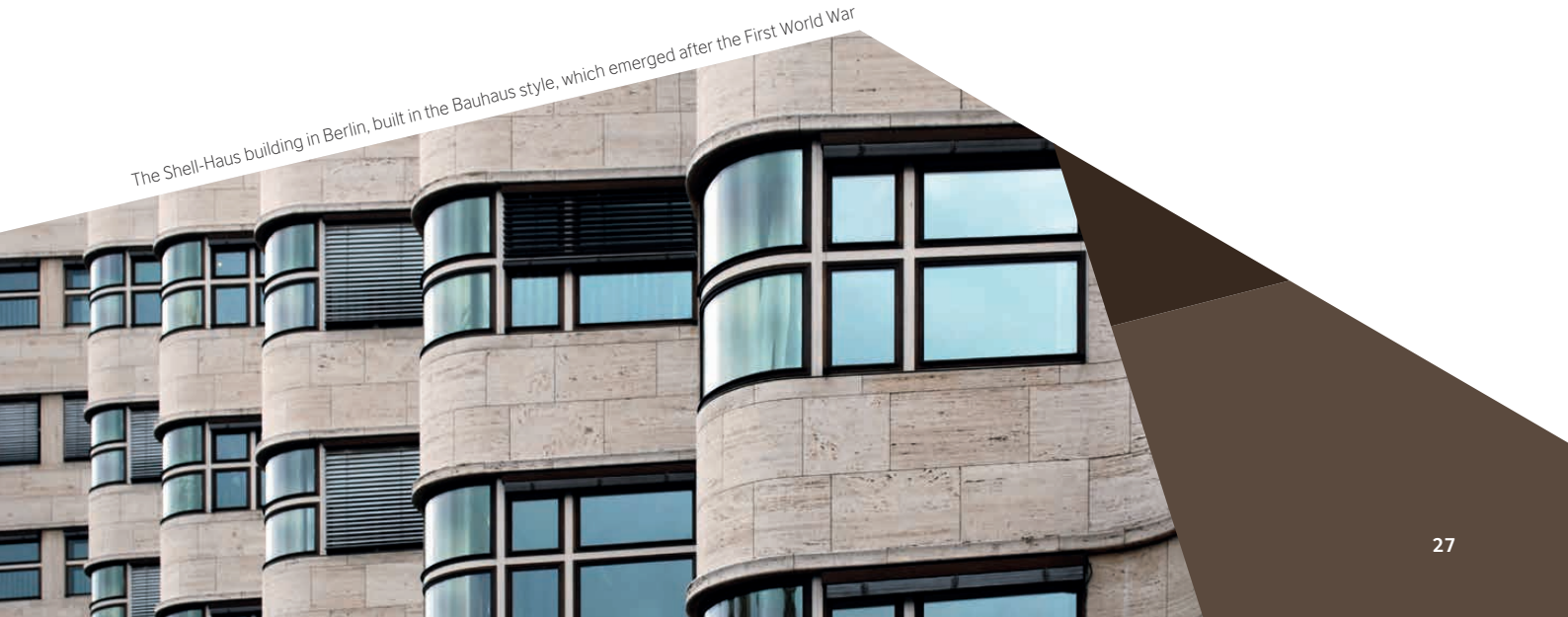
Monet responded to the war on his doorstep by painting his highly symbolic weeping willows

By the outbreak of war, the spread of European modernism in its many forms – including Cubism, Futurism, German Expressionism, Dadaism and Surrealism – was well underway. The destruction and upheaval that followed allowed it to gain momentum. The ordered, stable and inherently 'meaningful' worldview of the 19th century could not accord, wrote TS Eliot, with 'the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history'.[72]

But the experience of the war had a widely different effect on different artists. Ralph Vaughan Williams' musical style was irrevocably altered, moving from pastoral folk tunes to intense statements on the nature of violence and peace. Claude Monet, in his 70s, with failing eyesight and the war on his doorstep, was energised, creating the huge murals of his lily pond and its highly symbolic weeping willows.[73] The aggressive patriotism of popular writers such as Sapper, John Buchan and Dornford Yates appealed to a nostalgic view of the past, to the certainties of clan and privilege, the righting of wrongs by vigilantes, to pre-war Edwardian England and the myth of empire. JRR Tolkien, who had fought in the Battle of the Somme, chose to use his mythic imagination to keep enchantment alive and to focus on the redemptive power of individual human action.

In Germany, the fall of the monarchy and the abolition of censorship under the new, liberal Weimar Republic allowed an upsurge of radical experiments in the arts. Many Germans of left-wing views were influenced by the cultural experimentation that followed the Russian Revolution in 1917, such as constructivism (which was to become hugely influential in the design of political posters, architecture, cinema and photography). The Bauhaus movement began in 1919, when architect Walter Gropius founded a school in Weimar that emphasised the combination of crafts and fine arts, and created a new type of art education, in which the artist would be trained to work with industry. From this emerged the Bauhaus style, characterised by economic sensibility, simplicity and a focus on mass production. The lasting appeal of this style is illustrated by cultural forms as diverse as Swedish furniture store IKEA and exhibitions in established arts venues, such as the Modernism exhibition at the London Barbican in 2012.

67. Fogarty, R (2008) *Race and War in France: Colonial Subjects in the French Army, 1914–1918*. Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press.
68. Sondhaus, L (2011) *World War One: The Global Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
69. Britten, T (1999) *American Indians in World War I*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
70. Whalan, M (2011) 'Not only war: the First World War and African American literature', in Das, S (ed) *Race, Empire and First World War Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
71. Rosenberg, J (1999) 'For Democracy, Not Hypocrisy: World War and Race Relations in the United States, 1914–1919'. *The International History Review*. 21 (3). p.592–625.
72. Eliot, TS (November 1923) 'Review of James Joyce's Ulysses'. *The Dial*.
73. Russell, V (1998) *Monet's Water Lilies*. London: Frances Lincoln Limited.



The Shell-Haus building in Berlin, built in the Bauhaus style, which emerged after the First World War

THE GLOBAL IMPACT OF THE PEACE

The Treaty of Versailles

In terms of the political impact of the First World War and its consequences for future international relations, the common starting point is the Paris Peace Conference, convened on 18 January 1919. Thirty-two states were represented but Britain, France, and the USA were the most influential.[74] The resulting settlement – the Treaty of Versailles – was signed five months later on 28 June 1919.

The treaty dealt primarily with the cessation of hostilities between Germany and the Allied powers.[75] Its terms were harsh, forcing Germany to accept sole responsibility for the war, excessive economic reparations (imposed on both Germany and its allies), and the redistribution of the colonies and overseas territories of the Central Powers amongst the victors.[76] Combined with the impact of the Wall Street Crash in 1929, it certainly contributed to German economic woes and the sense of national betrayal that helped create circumstances favourable to the rise of the National Socialist Party in the 1930s and ultimately to the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939. However, while it undoubtedly contributed to its causes, the Versailles Treaty did not make the Second World War inevitable.[77]

Promises as war-time strategy

Negotiations about the peace settlement that was to follow the war began long before the Paris conference. Promises regarding the control of territory after the war were used to mobilise support during the war.

Even before the war, Britain and France had begun to stake their claims on Ottoman territory, in anticipation of the Empire's perceived decline. With the onset of the war, the 'Eastern Question' (concerning the regions that would emerge from the collapse of the Ottoman Empire) had become particularly significant. France pursued its strategic interests in modern-day Syria and Lebanon. Britain had interests in Egypt, Palestine and Iraq, linked to their strategic importance for its route to, and protection of, India and, to a lesser extent, because of the discovery of oil. When, following the Ottoman entry into the conflict, Britain's attempts to make headway in the region failed, a new tactic was required. With pressures mounting on the Western Front, it could not spare troops. Instead, the British military had to rely on help from local people. But these people had to be promised something in return.

Britain initially supported the creation of an independent Arab state in return for an undertaking by the ruler of Mecca, Sherif Hussein,[78] to galvanise Arab rebels against their Ottoman rulers.[79] In 1916, encouraged by the British government, the Arab citizens of the Ottoman Empire mounted a rebellion,[80] laying a foundation for resentment of the UK in what was to become Turkey.

However, Britain had other, irreconcilable interests as well. While allied with France against the Central Powers, it also competed against France for territorial control of as much land of the Ottoman Empire as possible. The Sykes–Picot Agreement of 1916 saw Britain and France, with the assent of Russia, agreeing to partition the Middle East between them, at the expense of territory which Sherif Hussein believed to be part of his independent Arab state (see Map 5).[81] Following the Russian Revolution of October 1917, details of the agreement were leaked to Turkey and then on to Arab leadership, resulting in lasting Arab distrust of the British. This distrust, in some cases, continues to this day – a fact that UK citizens who might wish to engage in the Middle East and North

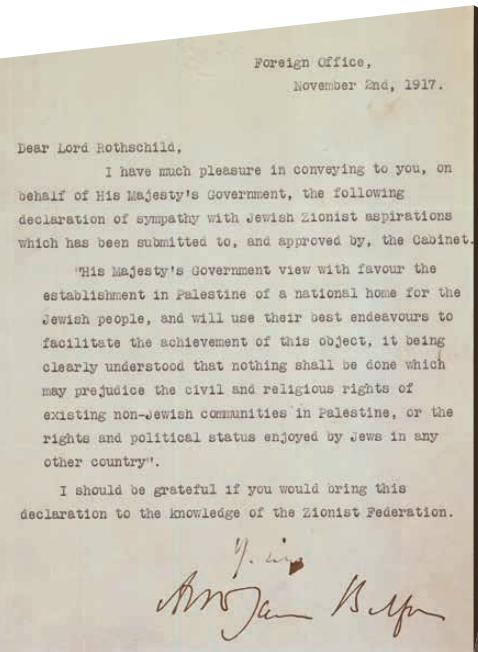
74. Macmillan, M (2001) *Peacemakers: The Paris Peace Conference of 1919 and its Attempt to End War*. London: John Murray.
75. The familiar story of German *revanchism* after 1919 should not overshadow less widely known stories of the treaties' repercussions beyond Western Europe. For example, at the conclusion of the war, Japanese delegates sat as equals in the councils of the 'Big Five' victors of the war (alongside Britain, France, Italy and the United States of America). However, Japan was left dissatisfied by certain territorial arrangements and the Allies' unwillingness to include a statement opposing racial discrimination in the League of Nations' covenant. This simmering feeling of being victimised on the international stage in part helps to explain its defiance of the world order in the 1930s (Dickinson, F (1999) *War and National Reinvention: Japan in the Great War, 1914–1919*. Cambridge, MT: Harvard University Press).
76. Henig, R (1995) *Versailles and After, 1919–1933*. London: Routledge.
77. Stevenson, D (2004) *1914–1918: The History of the First World War*. London: Allen Lane.
78. Hussein bin Ali GCB was the Sherif and Emir of Mecca from 1908 until 1917.
79. This was articulated in the Hussein-McMahon correspondence (July 1915 to January 1916).
80. Barr, RJ (2007) *Setting the Desert on Fire: T.E. Lawrence and Britain's Secret War in Arabia, 1916–1919*. London: Bloomsbury; Westrate, B (1992) *The Arab Bureau: British Policy in the Middle East, 1916–1920*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.
81. Barr, J (2011) *A Line in the Sand: Britain, France and the Struggle that Shaped the Middle East*. London: Simon & Schuster; Cleveland, WL (2012) *A History of the Modern Middle East*, 5th ed Boulder: Westview Press; Monroe, E (1981) *Britain's Moment in the Middle East, 1914–1956*. London: Chatto and Windus; Yapp, ME (1987) *The Making of the Modern Near East, 1792–1923*. London: Longman.
82. Mansfield, P (1991) *A History of the Middle East*, London: Viking.
83. Pappé, I (2006) *A History of Modern Palestine: One Land, Two Peoples*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Schneer, J (2011) *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*. London: Bloomsbury.

Africa would benefit from remembering.[82] In addition, Britain simultaneously courted prominent advocates of the establishment of a Jewish homeland in the Middle East. The result was the Balfour Declaration of 1917, issued by the British Foreign Secretary, which stated a British goal of establishing, after the war, a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. However, any attempt to achieve this goal would be incompatible with the wartime pledges made to Sherif Hussein.[83]

Despite the enormous significance of these elements of the war's legacy – the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians is probably the greatest destabilising factor in modern international relations – the results of the British Council's survey show considerable variations in knowledge about them (see Chart 11). In Egypt, the vast majority of people had heard of the Balfour Declaration, while in the UK, Turkey, Russia and France the majority had not: only 25 per cent each in the UK and Turkey, 24 per cent in Russia, and 15 per cent in France (see Chart 11).

Map 5: The Middle East divided under the Sykes–Picot Agreement

This map depicts the Middle East as it was divided between the French and the British under the Sykes–Picot Agreement. It shows the areas under French direct control (blue), under French influence (A), under British influence (B), and British direct control (pink).



Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

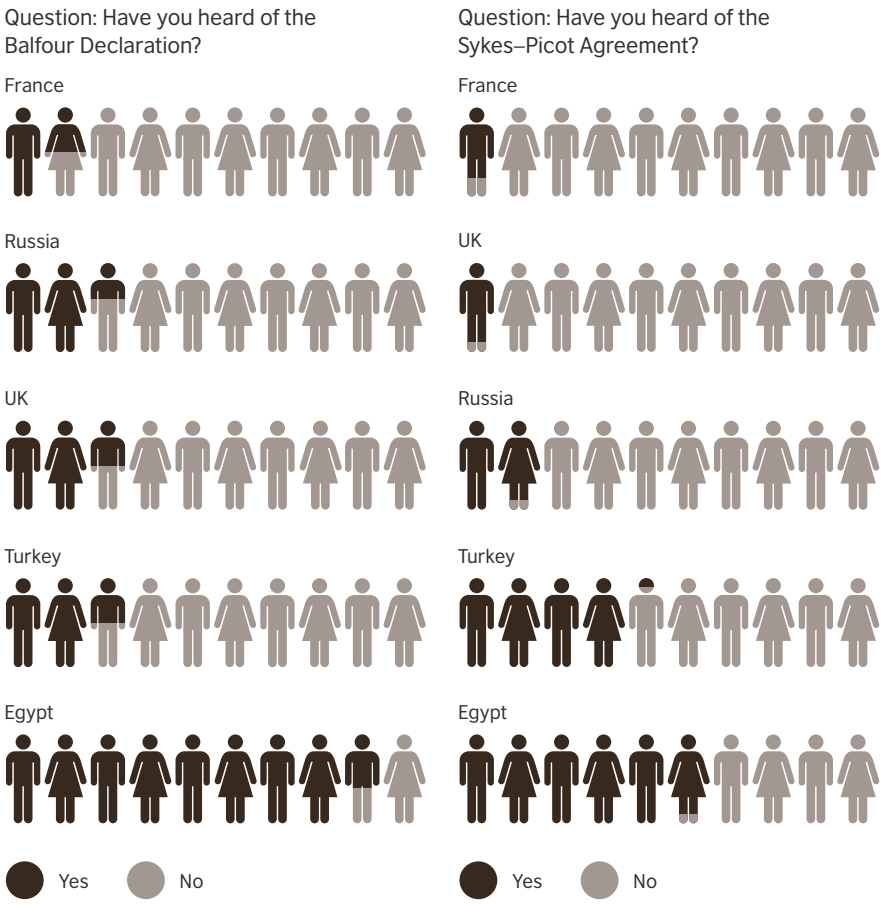
I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

'His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country'.

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

The letter by British Foreign Secretary, Lord Balfour, that came to be known as the 'Balfour Declaration'

Chart 11: Public knowledge of the Balfour Declaration and the Sykes–Picot Agreement across five countries (per cent)



Source: YouGov survey carried out for the British Council in September 2013 (see appendix for details)

Forty-one per cent of Turkish respondents and 59 per cent of Egyptian respondents had heard of the Sykes–Picot Agreement, compared to only nine per cent of respondents in the UK and eight per cent in France – the two countries which made the agreement. In Russia, 19 per cent of the public reported knowledge of the Sykes–Picot Agreement (see Chart 11).

Driven by its wartime strategy, Britain also made promises and concessions to emerging nationalist movements in other parts of its Empire: in particular, in India and Ireland. Reform proposals were announced at various times during the course of the war, all seemingly moving in the direction of limited self-government. However, the war had simultaneously made it less likely that promises of reforms would suffice to stem the nationalist tide. It had stimulated nationalist ideas and encouraged ambitions to throw off colonial rule.[84] Many wondered how the British government could expect to repay 'blood sacrifice' on the battlefield with anything less than independent citizenship. In this way, the First World War set in motion the process of decolonisation that was to come to full fruition only after the Second World War.

84. Porter, B (2004) *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism, 1850–1995*, 4th ed Harlow: Pearson.
85. Manela, E (2007) *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
86. Andelman, DA (2008) *A Shattered Peace: Versailles 1919 and the Price We Pay Today*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
87. For instance, in the case of Syria, by means of the so-called King-Crane Commission, which raised considerable expectations amongst the population only for its findings to be ignored by the peacemakers Rogan, E (2009) *The Arabs: A History*. London: Penguin.
88. Manela, E (2007) *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
89. The roots of European co-operation also lie in the First World War and interwar period (Armstrong, D, Lloyd, L, and Redmond, J (1996) *From Versailles to Maastricht: International Organisation in the Twentieth Century*. Basingstoke: Macmillan; Mazower, M (2012) *Governing the World: The History of an Idea*. London: Allen Lane; Stirk, PMR and Weigall, D (eds) (1999) *The Origins and Development of European Integration: A Reader and Commentary*. London: Pinter).

Global governance

Hopes for full recognition of the colonial contribution were to be disappointed on the conclusion of the war, despite the fact that US President Woodrow Wilson arrived at the peace conference with an ambitious vision for the post-war world: a peace based on government by consent, equality of nations, and international co-operation.[85] He set out his proposals in his *Fourteen Points*, which emphasised self-determination and contained a 'no annexations' clause that made a simple repartitioning of colonies impossible, giving rise to much hope among many of the delegations at the Paris Peace Conference.

Table 2: Woodrow Wilson's vision for the post-war world

WILSON'S FOURTEEN POINTS	
1	Open covenants, openly arrived at. (No more secret agreements.)
2	Free navigation of all seas.
3	An end to all economic barriers between countries.
4	Countries to reduce weapon numbers.
5	All decisions regarding the colonies should be impartial.
6	The German Army is to be removed from Russia. Russia should be left to develop her own political set-up.
7	Belgium should be independent like before the war.
8	France should be fully liberated and allowed to recover Alsace-Lorraine.
9	All Italians are to be allowed to live in Italy. Italy's borders are to be 'along clearly recognisable lines of nationality'.
10	Self-determination should be allowed for all those living in Austria-Hungary.
11	Self-determination and guarantees of independence should be allowed for the Balkan states.
12	The Turkish people should be governed by the Turkish government. Non-Turks in the old Turkish Empire should govern themselves.
13	An independent Poland should be created which should have access to the sea.
14	A League of Nations should be set up to guarantee the political and territorial independence of all states.

While this table refers to the Turkish Empire, this report uses the official name, Ottoman Empire.

Today, the principle of self-determination is often taken for granted. At the time, however, many of the hopes founded on Wilson's *Fourteen Points*, including those for an independent and self-governing Arab state, were left unfulfilled.[86] Wilson envisaged non-European peoples attaining self-determination through an evolutionary process under the benevolent supervision of a Western Power. Despite wanting to understand the wishes of the people,[87] he was not prepared to challenge the entire imperialist system with a call for the immediate independence of all colonial peoples.[88]

Wilson's biggest achievement was the formation of the League of Nations, an early attempt at formalised global governance structures. This new international body helped establish the idea that global governance was an important function that could be provided via institutions, a formal legal framework, and mechanisms for the resolution of international disputes. These principles underpin the work of the UN and other institutions such as the International Criminal Court to this day.[89] The UN's link to the era of the First World War was known by about a quarter (24 per cent) of respondents across the seven countries polled in the British Council's research. In the UK the figure was 27 per cent, as Chart 12 shows.

Ban Ki-moon, the eighth Secretary-General of the United Nations

Mustafa Kemal, founder and first president of Turkey

The mandates

After the war, the losers' overseas possessions were turned into 'mandate' territories under the League of Nations.[90] They would be governed under its supervision by the principal victors, who were given the task of preparing these countries for independence.

The Ottoman Empire was reduced to its Anatolian heartland. A sense of national failure engendered by defeat in the war triggered the rise of a Turkish nationalist movement, led by Mustafa Kemal, who had gained fame as a commander of the Ottoman forces during the allied landing on the Gallipoli peninsula and the costly Turkish War of Independence, which was one of the many follow-on conflicts after the official conclusion of the First World War. Thirty-five per cent of respondents across the seven countries surveyed correctly identified the link between the First World War and the fall of the Ottoman Empire (see Chart 12).

In 1923, Mustafa Kemal founded and became the first president of modern, secular Turkey and became known as Atatürk ('father of the Turks').[91] The creation of modern Turkey would be particularly significant for the West later in the 20th century when Turkey sided with the US and Western Europe in the Cold War and became a full member of NATO, solidifying the country's international outlook that continues to this day. In fact, a Soviet concern about the presence of US nuclear missiles in Turkey was a factor in the development of the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.[92]

The remainder of the Ottoman Empire was divided into British and French mandates in 1920. Britain and France determined almost all of the new boundaries, decided who should rule, and what form of government should be established. In association with the United States of America, Britain had a major say in how access to the region's natural resources should be allocated, particularly the oil fields that were just beginning to be discovered along the Persian Gulf and in northern Iraq.[93]

In line with the Sykes–Picot Agreement, France acquired Syria and Lebanon; Britain took Palestine, Trans-Jordan and Iraq.[94] However, Palestine was unique. Under British control, the Balfour Declaration was integrated into the mandatory agreement. Palestine was therefore the only mandate set up in the post-war period not required to prepare the indigenous population for self-determination but instead to create a Jewish state.[95]

Problems quickly emerged. Britain suppressed persistent insurrections in Iraq[96] and the British administration in Palestine was faced with increasing violence between the Arab and Jewish populations. In 1947, trapped in an ongoing cycle of violence that persists to this day, Britain handed control of Palestine over to the United Nations, leading to the creation of the state of Israel in May 1948.[97]

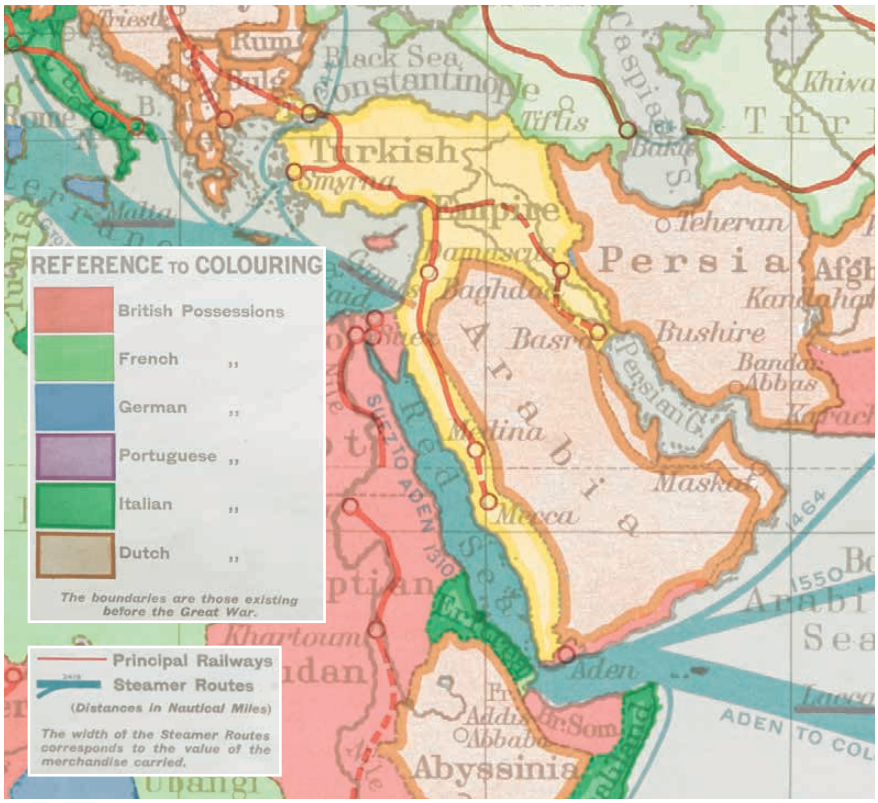
Before 1918, the inhabitants of the Middle East had lived as subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and the region had encompassed provinces in which peoples of various ethnic and religious backgrounds had co-existed in relative harmony. The map that emerged in the 1920s featured new, artificially created states, to which its citizens felt little or no sense of loyalty or identity.[98] This imposition of politically determined boundaries and the resulting creation of stateless national minorities including the Palestinians and the Kurds, continues to fuel conflict in the region today. Not for nothing has the post-war settlement been described as a 'peace to end all peace',[99] in a bitter word play on the common phrase referring to the First World War as 'a war to end all wars'.

90. Louis, WR (1967) *Great Britain and Germany's Lost Colonies, 1914–1919*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
91. Macfie, AL (1998) *The End of the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1923*. London: Longman; Zürcher, E (2004) *Turkey: A Modern History*. London: IB Tauris.
92. Allison, G (1971) *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. Boston: Little Brown.
93. Owen, R (2009) *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Middle East*. 3rd ed London: Routledge.
94. Fieldhouse, DK (2008) *Western Imperialism in the Middle East, 1914–1958*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Sluglett, P and Méouchy, N (2004) *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspectives*. Leiden: Brill.
95. Segev, T (2000) *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs Under the British Mandate*. London: Abacus.
96. Sluglett, P (2007) *Britain in Iraq: Contriving King and Country*. London: I.B. Tauris.
97. Schulze, K (2008) *The Arab-Israeli Conflict*. London: Longman; Shlaim, A (1996) *War and Peace in the Middle East: A Concise History*. London: Penguin.
98. Bromley, S (2008) 'The States-System in the Middle East: Origins, Development and Prospects', in Choueiri, YM (ed) *A Companion to the History of the Middle East*. Oxford: Blackwell.
99. Fromkin, D (1989) *A Peace to End All Peace? The Fall of the Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Middle East*. New York, NY: Henry Holtown; Owen, R (2009) *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Middle East*. 3rd ed London: Routledge.
100. Louis, WR (1967) *Great Britain and Germany's Lost Colonies, 1914–1919*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
101. Apartheid means 'separate development'.
102. Nasson, B (2007) *Springboks on the Somme*. London: Penguin.
103. Darwin, J (2009) *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830–1970*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
104. Sondhaus, L (2011) *World War One: The Global Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
105. Newbury, C (1998) 'Ethnicity and the Politics of History in Rwanda'. *Africa Today*. 45 (1). p.7–24; Prunier, G (1995) *The Rwanda Crisis, 1954–1994: The History of a Genocide*. London: Hurst.

The German colonies in Africa were also designated as mandates.[100] The mandate for German South-West Africa was handed to South Africa, which after the Second World War fell under the control of an apartheid[101] regime whose evolution was partly influenced by the First World War.

Amongst the white South African population, the Dutch-speaking Afrikaners formed a clear majority. They had reacted ambivalently to the outbreak of war.[102] There was little sense of obligation to the British Empire, whose conquest of the Boer republics in 1902 was a recent and painful memory.[103] Not dissimilar to the impact of the First World War on the national identities of other Dominions, such as Australia, Afrikaner experience of the war boosted a sense of national prestige and led to the questioning of the imperial connection with Britain. After the First World War, several Afrikaner leaders continued their struggle for independence within the South African political system, using the National Party, which they had founded in 1914, as their vehicle. Following the Second World War, this emerged as the majority party of the whites-only electorate, eventually breaking all ties with Britain to establish the Republic of South Africa (1961) and enforcing the apartheid policy until 1994.[104] In the British Council's survey, seven per cent of respondents across all countries identified a link between the development of apartheid and the First World War (see Chart 12).

Map 6: The Ottoman Empire in 1914



While this map refers to the Turkish Empire, this report uses the official name, Ottoman Empire.

Control of present-day Rwanda, which had formed part of German East Africa, was given to Belgium. During German colonial rule a process categorising the local population of *Tutsis* and *Hutus* had started. In the 1930s, the Belgian administration issued identity cards that, although not intended for this purpose and only one factor amongst many in the intervening years, helped to solidify these categories which were to become so significant in Rwanda's devastating genocide in 1994.[105] Seven per cent of respondents across the seven countries surveyed for the British Council's research see a link between the First World War and this event (see Chart 12).

The policy of apartheid was introduced by the National Party, which was founded in 1914

Of the remaining German colonies, New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago were assigned to Australia. New Zealand was given responsibility for Samoa. Japan also got a slice of the German possessions in the Far East.[106]

A new world order?

Not only the lands of the Ottoman Empire and former German colonies were being reconfigured along new lines of power, control and identity. Two other empires lay in fragments: Russia and Austria-Hungary. From their ashes emerged nation-states and further conflict. 'Revolutions, counter-revolutions, ethnic strife, pogroms, wars of independence, civil conflict, and inter-state violence continued from 1917 to 1923'.[107] These affected Russia, the Ukraine, Finland, the Baltic States, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Germany, Italy, Anatolia, the Caucasus, and Ireland. The First World War did not single-handedly cause all these but it played a major role in creating the circumstances where such events were possible, even likely.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire splintered into a myriad of different states, divided along ethnic lines but with German-speaking minorities in most of them.[108] This contributed to the tensions which preceded the German annexation of many of these areas in the build-up to the Second World War.

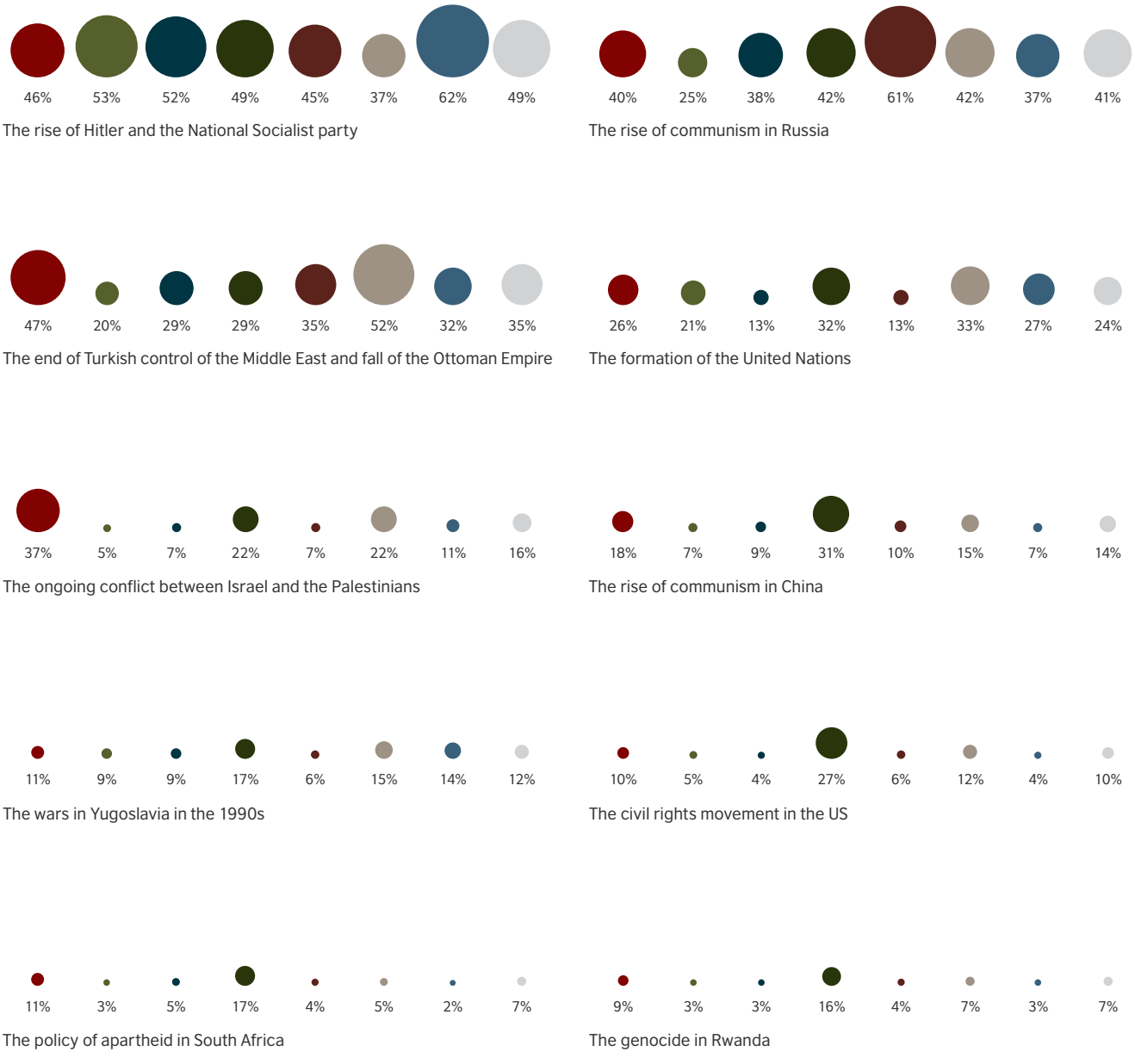
One of the countries formed, in December 1918, was the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which would eventually evolve into Yugoslavia. In order to achieve this independent country, South Slav leaders down-played differences and stressed the uniform character and purpose of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The wars of 1991 to 1999 demonstrated the fragility and cost of such an experiment.[109] Twelve per cent of the public in the seven countries surveyed recognised a link between these wars and the First World War (see Chart 12).

The Russian Empire was destroyed by revolutions in 1917. It ceded to Germany all of Russian Poland, the Ukraine and other border areas.[110] The defeat of Germany six months later annulled this arrangement but left a vacuum of power in the westernmost regions of the former Russian Empire. Although some national groups managed to successfully break away (the creation of Finland is an example), Russian Central Asia rapidly descended into civil war.

106. Wesseling, HL (2004) *The European Colonial Empires, 1815–1919*. Harlow: Pearson.
107. Horne, J (2013) 'Ireland and the Wars After the War, 1917–1923', in Horne, J and Madigan, E (eds) *Towards Commemoration: Ireland in War and Revolution, 1912–1923*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy: p.54.
108. Storey, WK (2009) *The First World War: A Concise Global History*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
109. Glenny, M (1996) *The Fall of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War*. London: Penguin.
110. Under the Treaty of Brest Litovsk.

Chart 12: Perceptions of the First World War's impact on other world-political events of the past 100 years

Question: Please tick the events that you think are linked to the First World War.



Source: YouGov survey carried out for the British Council in September 2013 (see appendix for details)

The rise of communism in Russia is closely linked to the events of the First World War

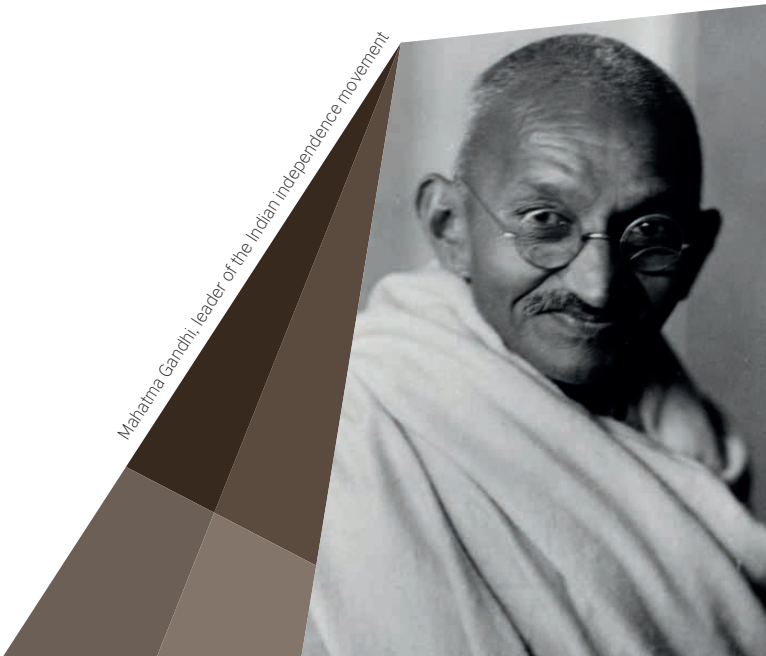
The Russian Civil War (1917–22) was fought mainly between the Bolsheviks (the 'Reds') and other political parties (the 'Whites'). The Red Army defeated the White forces over several years, at great human and economic cost.[111] By 1921, the Soviet Union was born and with it the seeds of the Cold War between communism and capitalism that would dominate international relations until the 1990s. This connection between the First World War and the rise of communism in Russia is identified by 41 per cent of respondents in the British Council survey (see Chart 12).

The Allied decision, post-First World War, to endorse Japan's claim to the Shantung (Shandong) Peninsula sparked protests in China. Students demonstrated in Beijing on 4 May 1919 against their government's weak response to the Treaty of Versailles, which was viewed as a betrayal of China's interests. These demonstrations sparked more widespread national protests and marked an upsurge in nationalism, and a shift towards political mobilisation. The May 4th Movement was seen by many as a catalyst for the founding of the Chinese Communist Party.[112] The proportion of people who knew about this connection between the First World War and the rise of communism in China is substantially smaller than in the Russian case: 14 per cent of people across the seven countries surveyed for the British Council identified it (see Chart 12).

The British and French empires did not remain unaffected. While expansion was taking place in the territories of the former Ottoman Empire, the war had undermined the ability of the major powers to maintain control of their empires elsewhere.[113] From Korea and China to India, Egypt and Algeria, nationalist leaders were spurred on by the contribution their country had made to the war and the 'Wilsonian moment' that had emerged in its aftermath.[114] However, the realisation that national self-determination was not being applied equally spawned anti-colonial movements in North Africa and fed existing ones in India and Ireland.

Egyptian nationalism grew in response to British military control and by 1919 the Wafd party led the country in open revolt against British rule. Egypt gained limited independence but Britain retained control of the strategic Suez Canal. A Moroccan nationalist Rif Republic, proclaimed in 1922, was crushed by joint Spanish–French action.[115] Brutal repression was not an uncommon response, as seen in the case of the British massacre at Amritsar in the Punjab in April 1919.[116]

Leaders of Indian nationalism, notably Mahatma Gandhi and Muhammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, assumed that Britain would honour India's contribution to the war with a transition to self-government shortly afterwards. Their expectations were dashed in November 1918 with the extension of martial law. In February 1919, Gandhi launched his first India-wide campaign of civil disobedience against British authority. By the outbreak of the Second World War, resistance efforts redoubled. Indian nationalists, under the auspices of the 'Quit India' movement, were not going to risk their lives in a British war effort twice with little tangible return.[117] This perhaps explains the way in which the First World War gives rise to negative perceptions of the UK for some in India (see Charts 7 and 8).



Mahatma Gandhi, leader of the Indian independence movement

Mao Zedong, leader of the Chinese Communist Party 1949–76

Developments during the First World War aggravated the already delicate state of Anglo–Irish relations. Amongst other factors, the threat of conscription in 1918 helped turn the republican separatism of Sinn Féin into a popular movement and it secured an electoral triumph (outside Ulster) in December 1918. The leaders immediately declared an independent Irish state, leading to war with Britain.

The British government passed the Government of Ireland Act (1920), which partitioned Ireland into the six north-eastern counties of Northern Ireland, with the remainder of the island forming the Irish Free State in southern Ireland. This was a significant source of antagonism that fed into the Northern Ireland conflict. This erupted in the late 1960s and is still to be fully resolved, despite the great political strides made since the 1990s.[118]

The Anglo–Irish War (or War of Independence) was brought to an end in July 1921 with a truce, followed by the signing of the Anglo–Irish Treaty in December 1921. The split in opinion between those 'for' and 'against' the treaty soon became violent, resulting in the Irish Civil War, 1922–23. As with most civil wars, the conflict left a bitter legacy, which continues to influence Irish politics to this day.[119]

PERCEPTIONS OF THE UK THEN AND NOW

The nationalist leaders who emerged from the war with a desire to challenge the international order were not anti-Western or anti-British. Rather, they were driven by an anti-colonial agenda and the pursuit of self-determination. Many had a Western education and wanted to remake their societies along the lines of liberal democratic models. However, their hopes and attempts to gain independence met with crushing resistance from the victorious imperial powers. As a result, they quickly became disillusioned with Woodrow Wilson's liberal internationalism and sought alternative ideological models and sources of practical support.

The so-called 'revolt against the West' that began in 1919 emerged not from the experiences of the war, but from the failure of the peace to break the power of imperialism and give colonial peoples an equal voice in international society.[120] Such struggles for recognition as equals in international relations and for self-determination continue to this day, not least in the Arab world. It is likely that some of the negative views of the UK, which people around the world hold on the basis of its role in the First World War and its aftermath (see Chart 7), arise from this issue.

111. Again, death toll estimates vary but the figure of seven to ten million is often cited, four times those the country lost in the First World War. Most Russian victims died from the dreadful epidemics of typhus and typhoid as well as cholera, dysentery and the 'Spanish' flu pandemic. The effects of hunger were also tremendous. (Mawdsley, E (2007) *The Russian Civil War.* New York, NY: Pegasus Books).
112. Sondhaus, L (2011) *World War One: The Global Revolution.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
113. Winter, JM (1988) *The Experience of World War I.* London: Greenwich Editions.
114. Horne, J (2013) 'Ireland and the Wars After the War, 1917–1923', in Horne, J and Madigan, E (eds) *Towards Commemoration: Ireland in War and Revolution, 1912–1923.* Dublin: Royal Irish Academy; Manela, E (2007) *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
115. Killingray, D (1998) 'The War in Africa', in Strachan, H (ed) *The Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
116. Lloyd, N (2011) *The Amritsar Massacre: The Untold Story of One Fateful Day.* London: I.B. Tauris.
117. Sondhaus, L (2011) *World War One: The Global Revolution.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
118. See www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/local-national/northern-ireland/bombs-thrown-at-police-in-fourth-night-of-violence-across-belfast-29421383.html
119. The two largest political parties in the Republic through most of its history (until the 2011 Irish General Election) were Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael, the descendants respectively of the anti-treaty and pro-treaty forces of 1922. Until the 1970s, almost all of Ireland's prominent politicians were veterans of the Civil War, a fact that poisoned the relationship between the two parties. (Lee, JJ (1989) *Ireland 1912–1985, Politics and Society.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Mckittrick, D and Mcvea, D (2012) *Making Sense of the Troubles: A History of the Northern Ireland Conflict.* Rev. ed London: Viking).
120. Manela, E (2007) *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

CONCLUSION

In view of the global reach and lasting legacy of the First World War, and the significance of that period in shaping views of the UK today, it is important that we all become more aware of the events of the conflict and its aftermath.

An enhanced understanding of the topic will benefit UK citizens and organisations in their interactions with individuals, institutions, businesses and governments around the world.

It is encouraging that, in addition to a focus on the loss of life and suffering the conflict caused, over half of the people in the UK want to see the commemorations focus on the lasting implications and legacy of the First World War for today's world and almost one third of them say that the contributions of different countries should be remembered.

As this report has shown, the First World War was a truly global conflict and has an important and lasting international legacy. Knowledge of both these aspects of the war and its subsequent peace negotiations is limited among people in the UK and other countries. Yet, many people around the world feel that their countries are still affected by the consequences of the war and Britain's role in it continues to have an impact on perceptions of the UK today.

Many in the UK may be unaware that historical events might determine others' attitudes towards them, whether in international politics, business transactions, or cultural interactions. By accepting and learning from the events and the UK's role in the war and subsequent peace negotiations, people in the UK will better understand the world they live in today.

The centenary is an opportunity to share a fuller understanding of the war and, in the words of Professor Sir Hew Strachan, create 'a new legacy from the conflict's legacy'.[121] Involvement and suffering in the First World War were global, going far beyond the Western Front, and many people around the world grapple with the legacy of both the conflict and the peace that followed it to this day. We should, therefore, remember the *world* as well as the *war*: all those involved, all the contributions, all the experiences, all the trauma, and the lasting legacy.

121. Professor Sir Hew Strachan, presentation at the Belgo-British Conference, Lancaster House, 11 October 2013.

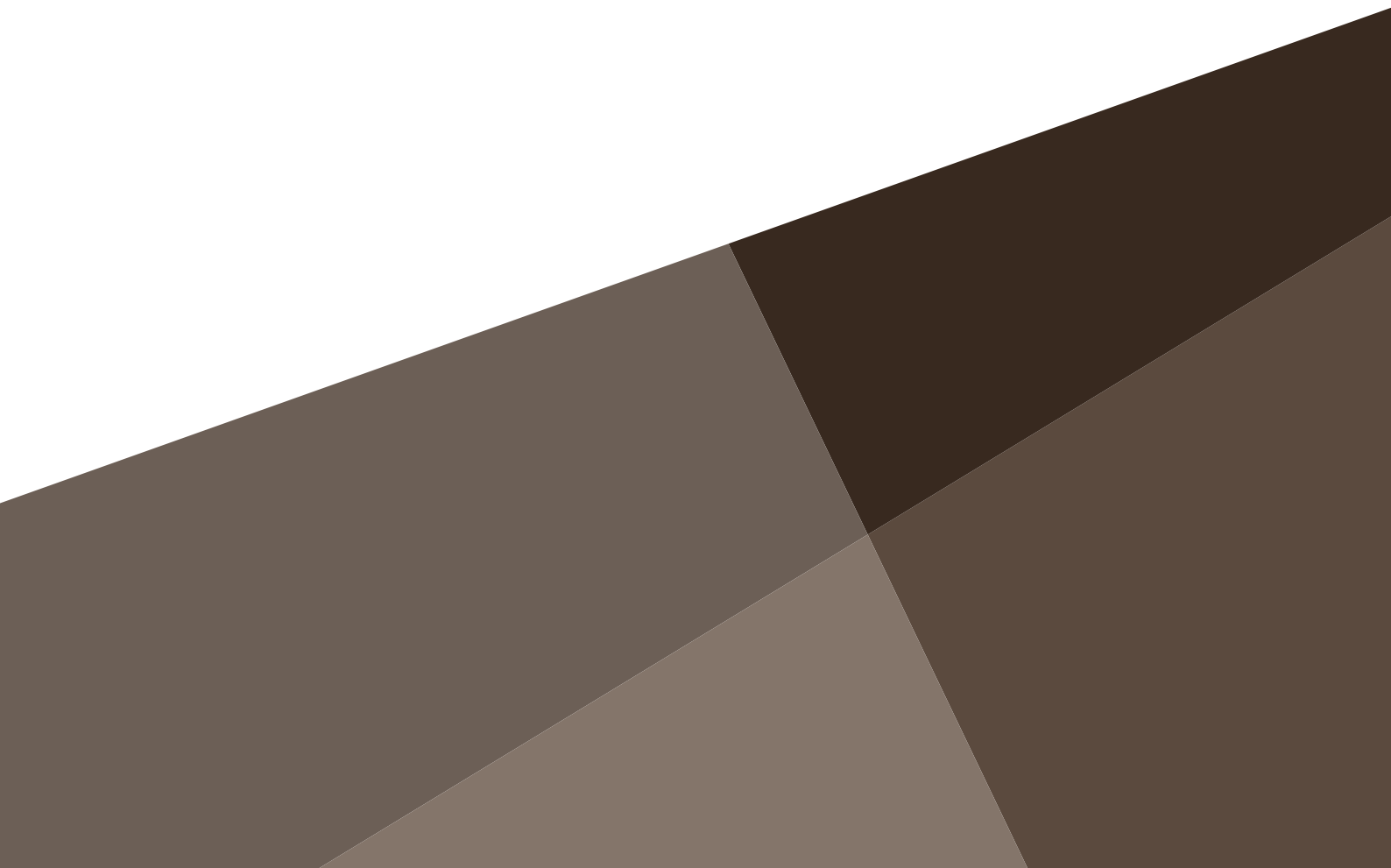
APPENDIX: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The British Council commissioned YouGov to carry out an online survey among the adult (over 18) populations of Egypt, France, Germany, India, Russia, Turkey and the UK.

All surveys were launched simultaneously in September 2013 to minimise the risk of external international events affecting responses. The results were weighted to be nationally representative of age, gender and region.

COUNTRY	SAMPLE
Egypt	1,081
France	1,029
Germany	1,070
India	1,022
Russia	1,019
Turkey	1,052
UK	1,215
TOTAL	**7,488**

Combatant and non-combatant military personnel from around the world served and died in the First World War



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