**PEACEMAKING, PEACEKEEPING 1918-36**



1. Aims of the participants and peacemakers: Wilson and the fourteen points

**The United States**:

* Woodrow Wilson gave a speech to Congress in January 1918 in which he presented his aims for a peace settlement. These aims became known as Wilson's 14 points.
* The aims were idealistic. Wilson wanted to create world peace by eliminating what he thought had caused the war.
* Freedom of navigation
* Democracy and national self-determination
* Free trade
* Stop treaties that were being made in secrecy
* General disarmament
* Create the League of Nations
* Wilson wanted to make Germany pay to some extent for causing the war and establish a period of probation after which Germany would be able to join the League of Nations.

**France**:

* Had suffered disastrous losses during the war and feared that Germany would attack again in the future once it had rebuilt a strong economy. Georges Clemenceau was premier of France.
* Wanted to weaken Germany by placing many restrictions on it
* Extensive demilitarisation of Germany
* German territorial reductions
* Reparations to weaken the German economy and also to pay for the damage Germany had caused.
* The Rhineland to be taken from Germany and to be set up as an independent state
* Take the Saar region from Germany as financial compensation
* Control Luxemburg and Belgium
* Regain Alsace-Lorraine which had been by Germany in 1871
* Make the West area of the Rhine a French puppet state in case of future German attack
* Wanted a guaranteed agreement with the United States and the United Kingdom to form a firm alliance in case of a future German attack.

**Britain**:

* Promises were made by politicians in the December 1918 General Elections about making Germany pay for all the loss and damage it had caused.
* Germany to pay extensive reparations
* Stop Germany from tacking control of Europe
* Stop Germany from becoming a potential source of conflict
* Get ride of the German fleet
* Germany to return the territories it had taken during the war
* Self-Government for the nations of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and for the non-Turkish people within the Ottoman Empire
* The creation of an independent Polish state
* However, Britain wanted to rebuild a strong economy by restoring European relations and trade. Unlike France, Britain wanted German economic recovery as Britain would benefit greatly from the trade with Germany who before 1914 was a very important buyer of British goods.
* Wanted to keep the balance of power within Europe stable
* Did not want France to expand beyond Alsace-Lorraine and did not support France in the domination of Europe
* Did not want to form a guaranteed alliance with France. Believed in freedom of action
* Only wanted to intervene if the balance of power was threatened

**Italy**:

* Wanted the territories that had been promised to it in the Treaty of London
* These included South Tyrol, Trentino, the Dodecanese Islands and Trieste
* Did not take into account national self-determination
* When Italy was denied these territories it walked out of the Versailles Conference.

**Japan**:

* Wanted to be recognised for its dominant position in China
* Wanted possession of the former German territories in China and the Pacific
* Wanted to secure a larger empire for security and economic strength
* Did not support self-determination
* Wanted to be one of the major powers
* Wanted racial equality in the peace settlement

# 2. Terms of the Paris Peace Treaties 1919-20: Versailles, St Germain, Trianon, Neuilly, Sevre

## 1.2.1 The Paris Peace Settlement

* The representatives of 32 countries met in 1919 in Paris to draw up the peace settlement.
* The "Big Three" (France, USA and Britain) leaders were mostly in command of the decision makings and so was Italy but to a lesser extent.
* The settlement was created from five treaties; the Treaty of Versailles, St Germain, Trianon, Neuilly, Sevres/Lausanne.
* The Treaty of Versailles dealt specifically with Germany and was the major discussion during the draw up of the peace settlement whereas the other treaties dealt with the geo-political and economic future of Europe.
* The agreement containing the principles on which the League of Nations was to operate on took into account all five treaties.

## 1.2.2 The Treaty of Versailles

* June 1919
* Treaty with Germany
* Was signed in the Palace of Versailles
* Germany had to agree to accept full responsibility for the outbreak of the First World War

**Territorial loses**:

* The Saar administered by the League of Nations
* The creation of an independent Polish state
* West Prussia and Posen were given to Poland
* Alsace-Lorraine was given back to France
* Danzig was appointed as an international city
* Plebiscites in Upper Silesia, West Prussia and Schleswig
* Germany lost colonies and investments

**Military Restrictions on Germany**:

* Was only allowed a regular army that was limited to 100,000 military personnel
* Was not allowed an air force and only a very small fleet
* End of compulsory enlistment into the armed forces
* Rhineland to be occupied for 15 years by the allied military forces
* All commissions in Germany controlled by the allies until 1927

**Reparations**:

* ‘Blank Cheque’ – received badly by Germany who were not told the extent of reparations – seen to be unfair and inspired fear and resentment. The Reparations commission eventually decided upon £6,600 million (132 billion gold marks) in 1921
* Reparations where to be paid in regular instalments, some in gold and some in goods
* The Allies struggled to get payments from Germany from 1921 to 1923
* Dawes Commission 1924
* France took over Ruhr in 1923

**League of Nations**:

* The USA refused to join which weakened the league
* Collective security
* New mandate principles
* Germany and the defeated nations were at first left out

## 1.2.3 The Treaty of St Germain

* September 1919
* Treaty with Austria
* Dalmatia, Slovenia and Bosnia were given to Yugoslavia
* South Tyrol, Trentino, Trieste and Istria were given to Italy
* Bohemia and Moravia were given to Czechoslovakia
* Galicia was given to Poland
* Bukovina was given to Romania
* Austria was not allowed to unify with Germany

## 1.2.4 The Treaty of Trianon

* June 1920
* Treaty with Hungary
* Hungary losses 2/3 of its territory
* Slovakia and Ruthenia were given to Czechoslovakia
* Transylvania was given to Romania
* Burgenland was given to Austria
* Slovenia and Croatia were given to Yugoslavia

## 1.2.5 The Treaty of Neuilly

* November 1919
* Treaty with Bulgaria
* Western Thrace was given to Greece
* Dobrudja was given to Romania
* Northern Macedonia was given to Yugoslavia

## 1.2.6 The Treaty of Sevres

* 1920
* Treaty with Turkey
* The Straits of the Dardanelles to be controlled by the allies
* Saudi Arabia became independent
* Turkey lost the rights to Sudan and Libya
* Eastern Thrace and some Turkish Aegean Islands were given to Greece
* Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria became League of Nation mandates and were to be run by France and Britain.

## 1.2.7 The Treaty of Lausanne

* 1923
* Treaty of Sevres was altered at Lausanne
* The Greeks were expelled
* Constantinople was given back to Turkey

## 1.2.8 Paris peace settlement issues

* Germany, Russia and none of the other defeated countries were allowed to take part of the discussions nor attended the Versailles conference
* All the big decisions were made by the Council of four (United States, France, United Kingdom and Italy)
* The aims of the major powers were often contradictory and so compromises had to be made within the treaties
* Terms of the Treaty of Versailles were not soft enough to allow for reconciliation with Germany but not harsh enough to weaken Germany's power

## 1.2.9 German Response

* Germany had hoped for a softer punishment as it had thought the treaty would have taken in much more of Wilson's Fourteen Points
* Did not think it was fair to have to accept responsibility for the start of the First World War
* Did not think it was fair that it had no say or that it was not part of the discussions
* Did not like the fact that it was forced to sign the treaty without any negotiations of the terms
* It disagreed with the reparations and especially the territorial losses
* It was also angered by the exclusion from the principle of self-determination
* The German population was angered by the treaty and wanted to see it revoked

## 1.2.10 Discussion and disagreements between the allies

* Some thought the treaty was too harsh, others that it was too lenient
* Those who supported Wilson's Fourteen Points argued that the treaty had failed to create a peaceful world
* John Maynard Keynes argued that Europe would become weaker and poorer as a result of the restrictions, territorial losses and the economic weakening of Germany
* The British people started to recognise that the treaty may have to be reviewed
* The US refused to agree with the treaty as it opposed to Article X of the League of Nations. This was an article under which members of the League agreed to use their powers to resist aggression wherever it might occur.
* The US did not sign the Treaty of Versailles which had a big impact on the League of Nations

# The geopolitical and economic impact of the treaties on Europe and the mandate system

## 1.3.1 The Geo-Political Impacts of the Treaties

**Central and Eastern Europe**

* Western Europe remained quite similar to what is had been in 1914, only a few territorial changes where made
* Central and Eastern Europe where changed to a great extent. Before the First World War these regions where made up of large multinational empires. (Germany, Russia, Austro-Hungarian and the Ottoman Turks)
* Some of the states that where created: Austria, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia and Yugoslavia
* Self-determination was taken into account in most cases however it was sometimes difficult as different nationalities, racial groups and linguistic groups where scattered across many different areas
* Self-determination abled common ethnic back rounds and languages to decide the nature of the state however in some cases this was ignored such as South Tyrol, Sudetenland and the Polish Corridor. A major problem at the time was to create states which were capable of working successfully in terms of communication, economics and security.
* In some cases the ethnic groups were so intermixed that it was impossible to separate them. There was no point in creating an ethnically homogenous state which then could not survive due to lack of trade routes, natural resources, oceans and rivers. Therefore choices had to be made by the allies about whether self-determination was more important or if it was the economic stability of each state.
* Each state needed to survive and so needed access to natural resources, trade routes, oceans and rivers. This could be complicated as borders sometimes had to be extended which would unite another ethnic group and in doing so it would go against self-determination
* An independent Polish state was created
* The Polish Corridor was created to give Poland access to the Baltic Sea.
* Danzig became a free city to maximize trade opportunities
* Some states contained minorities which could be vulnerable and so the allies asked the new nations to protect the rights of the minorities that resided in their borders
* Also minorities could appeal to the League of Nations which provided a Minorities Commission
* Many problems started to arise straight away with the division of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Before the war, it had been one big economic unit. After the war this no longer existed. Instead there was lots of small states all struggling to survive. There was now trade barriers which beforehand had not existed and this was a serious issue for these states. It also went against the Fourteen Points which stated the removal of trade barriers.
* With the creation of many small states Europe became less stable as it created vulnerable countries that lacked political and economic stability
* Internal tension started to build up within the states and between these states. So many factors were taken into account in the design of these states which could make things complicated. The states were created in a way that where possible they would include same ethnic, cultural and linguistic groups. However this was not the case for many states.
* Poland and Czechoslovakia fought over the Teschen area as it had important rail connections and coal resources
* The tension between these states led to a lack of economic co-operation which made these states weak and vulnerable to Germany and Russia in the future
* Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia realised their vulnerability and so decided to form the Little Entente in 1921
* Originally the Little Entente was created to protect these countries from Hungary which was angry over its territorial losses and wanted to recover some of it. The Little Entente formed economic and military co-operation between these countries.
* The Little Entente could have become a strong area if it had expanded and in the process made all the small states less vulnerable to Russia and Germany. However this never happened due to the tension between these small states. Poland which would have been a good addition to the Little Entente refused to join due to its disagreements with Czechoslovakia over the Teschen area.

**Germany**

* The Germans where very unhappy about the fact that they were denied self-determination and wanted the treaty revoked
* There were many German  minorities outside of Germany that where now part of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Austria
* Germany lost 12% of its population and 13% of its territory
* Alsace-Lorraine which was taken back by France was one of the biggest losses
* Germany was split into two with the creation of the Polish Corridor which gave Poland access to the Baltic sea
* However, Germany was actually stronger now than it was before the war. The creation of many small states eliminated one big empire and since these small states where weak, once Germany regained its strength it could easily take over these

**The USSR**

* Bolshevik regime
* Russia was very weak after the war as it had suffered civil war and political revolution
* It had lost in the war against Poland and so had also lost significant territory to Poland
* Therefore it did not represent an immediate threat to the small newly founded nations but like Germany could do so in the future

**The Treaty of Rapallo**

* Treaty between the USSR and Germany in 1922
* Germany and the USSR who both where denied to join the League of Nations got together
* They decided to financially co-operate and trade with each other
* Form a union against Poland as they both had lost territory to it
* Secret military agreements, Germany could test its military equipment on the Russian territory and in doing so it avoided the restrictions placed upon it in the Treaty of Versailles

## 1.3.2 The Economic Impacts

* It was what the Treaty of Versailles did not do that affected the European economic situation most
* No economic questions where dealt with directly apart from reparations
* It did not find a solution for the problems of allied war debts
* Countries where struggling to pay off their debts and this created bad relations between the debtors and the United States
* This resulted in economic instability and tension
* The debt situation helped contribute to the Ruhr crisis
* A number of international meetings had taken place to try and resolve the debt issue however these had no impact as the United States did not want the debts of its allies cancelled.
* This weakened the allied countries as they had to keep demanding reparations from Germany to pay these debts
* After the Ruhr Crisis the United States offered financial help to Germany (Dawes Plan) so that Germany could then pay its reparations to the allied countries which in turn could then pay off their loans to the United States.
* JM Keynes was particularly against the economic terms of the Versailles Treaty. He maintained that by punishing Germany the allies where only punishing themselves. He claimed that the high reparations, territorial losses and loss of resources on Germany would affect Europe negatively as Germany was the economic engine of Europe.
* The United States and Britain started to see the need to revise the treaty
* This created tension between France and Britain as France did not want the German economy to strengthen again and demanded the high reparations that had been imposed on Germany
* Another issue was that the treaty did not create an organization to introduce and promote international trade. Trade barriers where a big issue for the newly created European states. This added to the catastrophic impact of the Great Depression of 1929

## 1.3.3 The Mandate System

* There was an agreement amongst the allies to create a mandatory system to distribute the colonies of the defeated powers
* This would be supervised by the League of Nations
* The main priority of the mandate system was to ensure the well-being of the people and the development of these territories
* The League of Nations was also responsible for making sure that trade was possible for each territory and that no slavery occurred
* The main purpose was to create independent democratic states and help improve the populations education and ways of life
* Three classes of mandates existed; mandates A, B and C. Each territory was put into a class according to its stage of development and to which extent it was ready to becoming independent.
* The territories which in the near future would be ready for independence where placed in "mandates A". This included Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq and Transjordan.
* The territories that where less advanced and where not going to become independent for quite some time where placed in "mandates B". This included the German colonies in Africa which were distributed to Britain, France and Belgium.
* The territories which had a low population and where underdeveloped fell into "mandates C" and where handed over directly to the countries that had conquered them. Japan, New Zealand and Australia received the German colonies in the Pacific and South Africa received Southwest Africa.
* Some countries like Japan treated its new colonies as an addition to its territory which went against the system
* The mandate system did however create a system in which the countries in power of these colonies had responsibilities to the people who lived them and if these countries actions went against the system they could be subjected to an international body.
* There was a lot of controversy around the distribution of the mandates especially because most of them went to France and the UK which were already in possession of the world’s largest empires
* The Italians where very unhappy as they had been promised territories which they had not received and in addition they were not given any mandates even though they were on the winning side of the war
* The Arabs in the Middle East where also very unhappy about the mandate system as they wanted land and independent status which they were not given despite the fact that they helped the UK conquer the Ottoman Empire
* Another controversy emerged when the British decided to go ahead with the Balfour Declaration of 1917

# Enforcement of the provisions of the treaties: US isolationism, the retreat from the Anglo-American Guarantee, Disarmament-Washington, London and Geneva Conferences

## 1.4.1 Problems with Enforcing of the Treaties

* The United States never joined the League of Nations which weakened the League
* The Anglo-American guarantee never happened
* Germany was angry as it thought the Treaty of Versailles was unfair and harsh and so wanted the treaty revoked
* Italy was angry as it was on the winning side, however it did not receive much territory and so the Italians wanted to revise the treaty in favour of Italy
* Japan was only interested in issues concerning itself and not the issues concerned with the European aspects of the peace settlement
* The United States retreated into isolationism
* The USSR was isolated throughout the1920's (with the exception of the Treaty of Rapallo with Germany)
* France and Britain disagreed on the strategies concerning Germany

## 1.4.2 US Isolationism

* The United States never accept the Treaty of Versailles because they did not agree with Article X and could not accept the agreement of the League of Nations and so it was never part of the League
* The United States did not approve of the Anglo-American Guarantee which was a measure of protection for France if Germany was to attack again
* Isolationism was not new to the United States. It had been a big part of its history
* After the war it returned to its isolationism and did not want to intervene outside its own areas of interest

## 1.4.3 The Anglo-American Guarantee

* Security was very important to France, was very afraid of another attack from Germany once Germany regained its strength
* France wanted the Rhineland area of Germany to be an independent state to protect itself. This state could either be neutral or under French influence. Wilson and George did not agree with this however they new that France would not give up unless it got a firm guarantee of military support from the United States and Britain.
* The Anglo-French agreement was signed on the 28 of June 1919
* Wilson campaigned vigorously in the United States between 1919 and 1920 to win support for the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and for the United States to join the League of Nations
* However the Anglo-American Guarantee was not accepted by the US Senate and so never took place
* When the United States did not accept the Guarantee, Britain withdrew from the agreement as well
* France no longer had a guaranteed military support from the United States and Britain

## 1.4.4 Rising Tension between Japan and the United States

* Japan wanted to expand its territory and wanted to dominate China
* This could ruin the trade relations China had with other countries
* The United States was not happy about this as it did not want to lose its trade with China and it had possessions in the Philippines that where threatened by Japan
* Japan was unhappy about the fact that the United States did not recognise Japan's position in Asia and it felt threatened by the increasing US fleet
* As tension grew there was talk of a possible war between the two
* The UK was very concerned about this as it had a defensive alliance with Japan
* For this reason the UK supported the Washington Conference on disarmament

## 1.4.5 Disarmament

* A major contributor to the First World War was the **arms race**
* Reducing the armaments was mentioned in Wilson's Fourteen Points and it was an important target for the League of Nations
* In doing so the goal was to reduce the threat of a future war
* A permanent advisory commission on armaments was appointed

**Support for disarmament**

* The belief that the arms race was a major cause of the war and so reducing arms would reduce the threat of a future war
* A lot of countries where in debt, the costs of the arms where high, countries wanted to focus on rebuilding their economy

**The Washington Conference**

* 1921-1922
* It was the most successful of the disarmament conferences
* The major naval powers met in Washington in November 1921
* A number of treaties where signed between December 1921 and February 1922
* There were two reason for which the conference was called. Firstly, Japan and the UK could not afford the costs of the arms race and the United States wanted to reduce its own costs. Secondly there was growing tension between Japan and the United States in Asia and the United States wanted to avoid conflict which could involve many countries

**Terms of the Washington Treaties**

* **The Four Power Treaty**

1. USA, Japan, France and Britain
2. The Anglo-Japanese alliance was ended
3. An agreement to recognise each other’s possessions in the Pacific and if problems arose there was an agreement to reach a  
   diplomatic solution

* The Five Power Treaty

1. USA, Japan, France, Britain and Italy
2. Agreed to maintain a fixed constant ratio of naval armaments
3. No new naval armaments where to be constructed for the next ten years
4. The United States and Britain were not allowed to build new fortresses or naval bases in the western Pacific

* The Nine Power Treaty

1. USA, Japan, France, Britain, Italy, China, Belgium, Netherlands and Portugal
2. An open door for trade on China was agreed on so that all countries had equal trading rights with China
3. Agreed to respect China's authority
4. An agreement was also made to discuss problems of common interest

**The London Naval Conference 1930**

* It was a revision and an extension of the Washington treaty
* US, Japan, Britain, Italy and France met in London
* Ratio of capital ships moved from 5:5:3 for the US, Britain and Japan respectively to 10:10:7
* France and Italy did not take part in this agreement however they did agree to continue to not build new naval armaments for the next five years
* Agreements on the numbers of submarines, cruisers and destroyers that each country could have where made
* Submarine warfare rules where made more strict
* The Treaty was to remain valid until 1936

**The London Naval Conference 1935-1936**

* The major powers met again in 1935 to discuss the treaty of London (1930) as it was to expire the following year
* Japan wanted equality in terms of ratio of fleets with the US and Britain but this was denied and so Japan walked out of the conference, as did Italy
* France, Britain and the US did agree on limiting the size and number of their naval armament however this collapsed in 1936 with the Japanese and German rearmament programs and the increasing conflicts arising in the world
* All in all, the conference was a failure

**The Geneva Conference 1932-1934**

* There was an increased demand to revise the Paris Peace Settlement
* A number of crises had occurred in the last few years
* The Great Depression of 1929 had reduced the optimistic outlook and international co-operation
* The United states wanted the elimination of offensive weapons, however there where disagreements to what weapons where offensive and which were defensive
* France was worried about German regaining its strength and so it did not want to reduce its military spending unless it got a guaranteed agreement with the other major powers to support France
* The other major powers were not interested in a guaranteed agreement and so France refused to reduce its military spending
* Germany wanted the major powers to either reduce their military spending to Germanys level or Germany should be allowed to increase its military spending to their level
* This was not accepted by the major powers and so Germany walked out of the conference in 1932
* Germany re-joined the conference in 1933
* Adolf Hitler was now chancellor and wanted Germany to have equal treatment to the major powers
* Once again this was denied and so Germany walked out of the conference
* This caused Germany to embark on a rearmament scheme
* France had no choice but to increase its military spending as it did not gain the military guarantee from either the United States nor the UK. It was well aware of Germany's larger population and industrial capacity. Decreasing its military spending was not an option for France
* Italy was also not interested in reducing its military spending
* The conference was a failure as no agreement was reached
* Tension was rising in Europe and countries where starting to consider what was best for themselves
* Disarmament was not possible at this point as tension started to rise and there was a potential source of conflict

The League of Nations: effects of the absence of major powers, the principles of collective responsibility, and early attempts at peacekeeping (1920-25)

## 1.5.1 The League of Nations

* The goal was to create an organisation that would prevent war and resolve conflict by discussing issues in a peaceful manner
* Woodrow Wilson had talked about the League of Nations in his Fourteen Points
* The formation of the League was one of Wilson's most important goals
* Many people supported the idea as they believed it could keep peace between nations
* The League Covenant was written into the Versailles Treaty and so all those who signed the treaty would become members of the League
* The Covenant was made up of 26 articles
* The most important one was Article X which stated that "all members undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of all members of the League"
* This was the idea of collective security. If one nation was under threat, the others would have to defend it even if it was of no interest to themselves and regardless of the outcome
* This meant that money and military staff would have to be sacrificed if ever one nation was under threat.
* The main goal of the League was to prevent further conflict but it also dealt with humanitarian and economic problems
* There was the mandate commissions, the refugee department, the slavery commission, the drugs department as well as an International Court of Justice and an International Labour Organisation

## 1.5.2 Effects of the absence of major powers

* USA never joined, USSR and Germany excluded
* USSR and Germany did not support the Versailles Treaty nor the League as they had been excluded from these and Germany was blamed for starting the war. This created tension instead of a reconciliation that Wilson had proposed.
* The USSR was weak after the war but once it regained it strength it would potentially become a major threat due to its exclusion from the League and wanting to recover the territory it had lost
* Since Germany and the USSR were excluded from the League, once they regained strength and sought to recover their lost territory, it excluded the possibility to discuss the terms of the settlement and negotiate a compromise, instead it would lead to an inevitable conflict.
* As soon as the USSR and Germany regained their strength, the new small states in Europe would be under threat
* The exclusion of both of these countries also lead to the Treaty of Rapallo which represented a major threat for the League as these two where both major powers that now where co-operating economically and militarily. It also undermined the terms of the Treaty of Versailles as Germany could increase its armament and train military staff in the USSR without the League knowing.
* Since Germany was not producing arms in the USSR, the effectiveness of the disarmament process that the League had worked on was greatly reduced
* Because the League excluded the defeated nations it angered the USSR and Germany and both of these saw the League as an enemy which undermined the goal of peace keeping
* The most important loss for the League was the USA
* The USA was the only country which had emerged stronger after the end of the war
* All other countries where in debt while the USA was wealthy
* The USA had the greatest power to intervene in case of tension between countries which could lead to possible conflicts
* Affected the purpose and power of the League
* Collective security depended on collective action
* The status of the league was greatly diminished
* When the USA refused to be part of the League and provide guaranteed military support to France, Britain also withdrew from the military guarantee
* The USA and Britain went back into isolationism
* France and Britain had very different mind sets about the treaty and Germany, Britain wanted Germany to rebuild its economy for the purpose of trade and France wanted to make it as hard as possible for Germany to recover economically as it was worried about a German attack in the future. This created conflict within the League.
* More important countries dropped out of the League between 1919 and 1939, this included Italy and Japan
* This weakened the League even further

## 1.5.3 Collective Security

* Article X stated that all members had to protect other members in the event of an aggression
* The idea of collective security was a new one
* In the past alliances had been made between countries with similar interests
* By agreeing to article X, each nation was being forced to defend the other nations from aggression no matter what the costs where and had to do so even if they had no interest in it for themselves
* This was a big sacrifice especially to South American nations who would have little interest in having to go to war for a dispute occurring in central Europe
* The major problems of collective security where that it obliged nations to give up their freedom of action and also nations might be forced to go to war against other nations with whom they might have a good relationship with, profit from their trade or then nations which could be much stronger than themselves and cause a lot of damage
* The absence of three major powers, USA, Germany and USSR meant that collective security had little chance of succeeding
* Also France and Britain who where both part of the League where growing further apart due to disagreement on how to deal with Germany. In an event of an attack there was the possibility that they would disagree on how to react

## 1.5.4 Early Attempts at Peacekeeping 1920-1925

* The League had a mandate to resolve conflicts between nations so that peace could be maintained
* The League intervened in many conflicts, some in which it did so successfully, others in which it failed to resolve conflict
* The successful interventions include the Greco-Bulgarian War of 1925 and Upper Silesia
* The failed interventions include Vilna, the Russo-Polish War, the Seizure Fiume and the Ruhr invasion
* The successes of the League usually involved small or medium powered nations which wanted to avoid war and so the League managed to enforce a settlement on these disputes
* The failures of the League usually involved major powers who were not interested in keeping the peace or did not agree with the League's settlement and would not submit to it
* Disputes arose within the League itself
* In the conflict between Turkey and Greece of 1920-1923 Britain and France took opposite sides
* France and Britain disagreed on how to deal with Germany which made tension grow between these two members of the League
* Peacekeeping was made increasingly difficult when the members of the League themselves could not resolve their own conflicts

The Ruhr Crisis (1923), Locarno and the Locarno Spring

## 1.6.1 The Ruhr Crisis

* France was afraid for its security after the Anglo-American Guarantee was denied and disagreed with Britain about how to deal with Germany. Britain wanted Germany to be able to rebuild its economy so that it could benefit from the trade.
* France's goal was to weaken the German economy has much as possible through reparations
* France also needed these reparations to pay its debts to the USA
* When Germany missed a delivery of timber as part of her reparations, France and Belgium invaded the Ruhr region
* Britain was strongly against this
* The goal of France was to collect the missed payment from the Germans by taking the goods from the mines and factories and shipping them to France
* The German workers did not co-operate with the French, instead they protested by destroying the goods, the mines and the factories
* The event broke out into a violent conflict and resulted in inflation
* The Weimar Government which already had a serious inflation problem made things worse by printing more money to help support the workers which resulted in disastrous inflation

## 1.6.2 The Locarno and the Locarno Spring 1925

* The appointment of Gustav Stresemann as chancellor of Germany changed everything
* Stresemann called off the resistance in the Ruhr and announced that Germany would agree to the obligations set by the Treaty of Versailles, it would also accept its current borders with France and Belgium
* This resulted in the Locarno Treaty which was signed in 1925
* The Locarno Treaty was an agreement made between Belgium, France, the UK and Germany in which Germany agreed to accept its western boundaries as it was agreed in the Versailles Treaty
* Germany accepted its borders with France and Belgium and these borders where guaranteed by the UK and Italy. In addition, Germany would become a member of the League of Nations.
* This was a step towards Franco-German reconciliation and it meant that Germany could start to grow economically again without being a threat to Western Europe
* It also meant that France and Britain could reconcile over the differences that drove these two apart (how to deal with Germany)
* The Eastern borders of Germany had not been fixed however as Britain refused to guarantee the countries to the east of Germany. This lead Germany to believe that it could change its eastern borders with little objection from the Allies.

## 1.6.3 The Results of the Locarno Treaty

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| * The Locarno Treaty resulted in a sense of excitement and optimism * Tension between the Allies and Germany was finally resolving which meant that a sense of peace was present * Germany obtained a permanent seat on the League council * The Allied troops from the left bank the Rhine where removed * The supervision of Germany's disarmament stopped in 1927 * By 1930 Germany was an independent state again * However Germany was still in co-operation with the USSR in the Treaty of Rapallo * This meant that Germany could still avoid the disarmament that had been imposed on it * Germany had not agreed on its eastern borders and it was co-operating with the USSR who's goal was to redraw the map of Europe * This meant that even though the Locarno Treaty had been successful in bringing about peace, the League of Nations was not strengthened and the collective security remained uncertain |

Depression and threats to international peace and collective security, Manchuria (1931 to 1933) and Abyssinia (1935 to 1936)

## 1.7.1 The Great Depression and Threat to International Peace

* Many nations had been greatly weakened after the First World War, especially Germany and Britain which prior to the war where the economic powerhouses of Europe
* The world markets and trade had suffered greatly due to the disorder in Russia and Eastern Europe
* Political and social turmoil, war debts and government deficits which where a result of the First World War played a major role in the depression
* Since nations where struggling to survive, this lead to a new mentality. Nations stopped co-operating with trade and cut themselves off from their neighbours.
* Nations started to care only about themselves, spending all the money and resources they had on domestic problems and no longer cared about word problems
* International agreements where no longer the focus
* The sense of excitement and optimism which had resulted from the Locarno Treaty was gone
* The result was the production of many aggressive states, it was no longer about helping each other out but rather an attitude of survival of the fittest
* The Great Depression bought Hitler into power in Germany. Hitler's main goal was to destroy the Versailles Treaty as he argued that the only solution to Germany's economic problems was to expand its territory to get more resources. This was a great threat to peacekeeping.
* The nations who had previously supported collective security could no longer afford to do so and lost interest in the idea

## 1.7.2 Manchuria 1931-1933

* Japan was the largest industrial power in Asia due its large exports with the rest of the world. Its wealth depended heavily on its exports of manufactured goods with the USA
* Japan had few natural resources and had a huge population growth which lead to the country being unable to feed itself
* When the American markets collapsed it had disastrous consequences for Japan, massive unemployment and starvation resulted
* The nationalist groups in Japan wanted the government to take action in order to save its population.
* The main goal of these nationalist groups was to take over Manchuria, a Chinese province which had many different natural resources. Manchuria had become an independent region as a result of the civil war in China.
* The fact that Japan had greatly invested economically in Manchuria and had kept troops in the city of Port Arthur to protect its interests made the decision to invade the province easy
* Japan invaded Manchuria under the pretext that her population and property had been attacked by the Chinese, although this was made up by the radical nationalists
* Japan already had quite a lot of control over China as throughout the 20th century Japan had sought to increase its power in China
* Since China was in civil war and the government was weak, it could not prevent the Japanese from taking over Manchuria
* Due to the agreement in the Washington conference in 1922, none of the major powers had bases in Asia to stop Japan from taking over Manchuria and even if they could they probably would not have been interested to intervene due to their own economic situations
* The Chinese were quickly defeated and in 1932 Japan established the puppet state of Manchukuo
* The League of Nations asked Japan to withdraw its troops from Manchuria and when Japan refused to do so it dropped out of the League

## 1.7.3 Italy

* Until the rise of Hitler Italy had an important role in Europe
* It had been part of the League of Nations
* It had signed the Locarno Treaty
* It had also defended the Versailles Treaty
* However with the rise of Hitler Italy started to realise that it could lose the power it had within Europe
* Furthermore, Germany wanted South Tyrol back. It had been given to Italy in the Treaty of Versailles but it was an all-German speaking region and this went against self-determination.
* Mussolini decided to meet with France and the UK as these were also nations worried about the power Germany could potentially have on Europe.
* The three countries agreed to resist any German attempt to modify the terms of the Versailles settlement by force
* If this agreement had continued, it may have been able to restrain Hitler

## 1.7.4 Abyssinia 1935-1936

* With the rise of Hitler Mussolini realised that Italy had no longer an important role within Europe
* Mussolini had always wanted Italy to have a big role in world affairs
* When Italy started to lose its power in Europe, Mussolini wanted to conquer more territory else where
* One of his ambitions was to have Italian colonies within Africa
* Abyssinia was the only unclaimed African territory left and so Mussolini set out to conquer it
* In addition Mussolini was interested economically in the region as he believed that there were oil deposits within it
* The economic benefits and the creation of  a new Italian Empire was enough to convince Mussolini to attack
* The invasion started in October 1935
* 51 States voted to impose economic sanctions on Italy
* However these were largely ineffective as these sanctions did not include oil nor stele and the UK did not close the Suez Canal to Italian shipping, furthermore Germany and the USA did not impose any sanctions
* France and Britain found themselves in a complex situation. The League was supposed to make peace its main priority which would involve making the sanctions a lot more harsh however it also had to consider the fact that they needed Italy to keep the Stresa Front (this was an agreement made in 1935 by Britain, France and Italy to maintain the Locarno agreement and support the independence of Austria)
* The big threat to Britain and France was Germany and the support of Italy was vital and therefore the need to stay in good terms with Italy was important
* In the end they accomplished neither
* France and Britain tried to compromise in the Hoare-Level Pact (named after the French prime minister and the British foreign secretary)
* The compromise involved giving Italy two thirds of Abyssinia including the most fertile land and leave the rest as an independent state
* However the compromise never took place as it was leaked to the press and was greatly criticised and protested by the public
* To stop Italy, France and Britain would have had to use force and neither France nor Britain was prepared to start a conflict to that level with Italy
* The war ended in May 1936 with Italy taking over the all of Abyssinia
* This was damaged the idea of collective security and of the League itself. It was a sign that the League had lost its power.

**Answering each type of question:**

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| **Question 1 a): worth 3 marks, spend max *5 minutes* on. Understanding historical sources - reading comprehension.**  For 3 marks, give at least 3 clear points from the source (you can write four in case, to be on the safe side). Paraphrase from the source - i.e. put things in your own words (you can quote but you don't have to do so, and you should avoid just copying large parts of the source).  *How to write the answer?*  *"The first reason given by the source is .......The second reason given by the source is ........ The third reason given by the source is ..........*"  **Question 1 b): worth 2 marks, spend max *5 minutes* on. Understanding historical sources - political cartoon/image analysis.**  For 2 marks, give two clear (and separate) points about the 'message' conveyed in the source, supporting each point with evidence from the source.  If it is a cartoon you are analysing, make sure you have fully understood the key figures and symbols **before** you start to write about its messages!  *How to write the answer?*  *"One message conveyed by the source is that ..........., because the source shows. A second message conveyed by the source is that ....... because the source shows."* |
| **Question 2: worth 6 marks, spend max *13 - 14 minutes* on. Compare and contrast sources - source contents.**  For 6 marks, you need to write two paragraphs that include a **running comparison/contrast** of the two sources, carefully **supported by quotes**. Make sure that you focus on **answering the terms of the question** - ie. it might be asking you to compare/contrast in relation to a very specific topic, not just the sources in general.  Ideally you will be able to find two clear points of comparison and two clear points of contrast, but don't worry if you end up having two of one and one of the other - it depends a little on the sources you are given to compare! Write the first paragraph on points of comparison, and the second on points of contrast.  Before writing your answer read through the sources carefully and underline key quotes you plan to use. If needs be, you can use the scrap paper given to jot down briefly what your key points will be - even it is just key words, this might help you when it comes to writing the answer!  *How to write the answer?*  ***Two separate paragraphs:****"Both sources agree that ..... Source C says that ......... and Source D says that ....The sources also agree that ......* *Source C says that ......... and Source D says that ....*  *"The sources contrast in .......... While Source C says .........., Source D says ............."* |
| **Question 3: worth 6 marks, spend max 13 - 14 minutes on. Evaluating sources based on origin and purpose.**  Evaluate the sources separately, with one paragraph for each explaining their **origin** (if a primary source has been reprinted in another book, look at the original source not where it was re-printed!) and **purpose** (of the source as a whole, not just the specific extract) and what **values** and **limitations** these provide for a historian studying the given topic.  Before writing your answer read through the sources carefully, paying particular attention to the italicized 'origin' text above the source. Though your answer should focus on the provenance of the source (O,P) not its content, look carefully at what the source is saying and see if there are any signs of emotional language, etc, that might be useful in your response.  Ideally you will find two clear values and two clear limitations per source, but it might turn out you find two values but only one limitation - don't worry if this happens, it is determined by the sources you are given, Indeed, make sure that you concentrate on giving values and limitations that are **specific to the sources** and **not general comments** (i.e. it is useful as it is a primary source; it is limited as it is a secondary source and the author wasn't there, etc etc.)  *How to write the answer?*  ***Two separate paragraphs, each following this structure:***  "*The origin of this source is ....... (*what, who, when, where - take from the source details*) The purpose of this source is ...... (*why it was made, for whom*). The source is valuable because ...........(*refer to origin*). The source is also valuable because ......... (*refer to purpos*e).* *The source is limited because ...........(*refer to origin*). The source is also limited because .........* (refer to purpose*)."* |
| **Question 4: worth 8 marks, spend all the time left on this, *at least 22 minute*s. Mini-essay, using *a synthesis of all* sources *and* own knowledge!**  This is the most challenging question, and the one worth the most marks, which is why you need to allow enough time to produce a decent answer here. Crucial to remember is that you must, must, must use both **all the sources** and **your own *detailed* and *specific* knowledge** in your answer - if you use only the sources (and no own knowledge), or only own knowledge (and no sources), the maximum you can score is 5 marks. You must use a **synthesis** of sources and own knowledge to**produce a clear response to the question!** In this sense, it is just like a full essay: you need to focus on clearly addressing the question, developing a clear argument, and challenging any assumptions in the question if you can.  *How to approach this mini-essay?*  Spend a couple of minutes re-reading the sources and planning your argument. As this question often asks you how far you agree with a particular statement, I recommend that you might want to draw a quick chart structuring how you are going to use all the sources and include your own knowledge. Obviously, you do not want to spend a lot of time doing this, and how you order it depends on the question given, but it can be a useful planning tool to help you write your answer. An example is as follows:   |  |  |  |  | | --- | --- | --- | --- | |  | Agrees with statement | Disagrees with statement | Both agrees and disagrees | | Sources | A, E | B, D | C | | Own knowledge | Clemeceau wanted revenge because… | etc | etc |   When it comes to writing your answer, you *may* include a brief introduction to define the question, but **you do not need to do so** - it can be a *waste of words and time*. It is therefore ok to go straight into your first paragraph, which should include a clear point directed at answering the question, which is then supported by **QUOTES from the sources** ("as Source A states......") and your **own detailed knowledge** ("from background knowledge I know that .......).  Have a second paragraph which uses sources and own knowledge to present the other side of the argument, according to the same model as above, and don't forget that when discussing different sources and interpretations you *can* show an awareness of the source evaluation (OPVL) you carried out in Q3 - i.e. "Source B argues that Israel was completely responsible for the 1967 conflict, but of course this is written from an Egyptian perspective..... etc etc". On the other hand, do not let this distract you from the main task of **ANSWERING THE QUESTION!** If you have time, and the sources allow it, there might be scope for a third paragraph as well, but it depends a little on the particulars of the exam.  When you have finished your main body, write a clear conclusion that offers a *balanced response* to the essay question. Remember that challenging the question in the conclusion can be about disagreeing with particularly loaded words in the question statement - i.e. "brutal", "overwhelming", "mainly", "to a large extent" etc etc. If you run out of time before you manage to complete your answer to this question - :( - you can try and get your points down in bullet points in the last minute or so to see if you might be capable of getting some credit for your ideas from the examiner. |

**Extended advice on answering question 3 (Evaluating)**

**Rule number one for source evaluation = focus on the *specific* details of the given source,** and avoid making very general comments about the source.   
  
To evaluate each source just focus on thinking about the 5 simple Ws:  
  
  
  
**Who?** Who produced the source (origin)?  
  
**When?** When was it produced (origin)?  
  
**Where?** Where was it produced (origin)?  
  
**Why?** What is the source's purpose (purpose)?  
  
**For Whom?** Who was the intended audience of the source (purpose)?  
  
  
  
Below is a table reviewing key points to think about for the various types of source you are likely to encounter in this question. Though do remember that come the exam you need to focus on the **specific sources provided**. As you are likely to be asked to evaluate one primary and one secondary source in the exam, please take care to read especially carefully the points below about **academic historians** and **freelance writers** as sources. 

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| **Source Type** | **Possible Values** | **Possible Limitations** | **Questions that we might ask of the source** |
| **Statistics** | Government information about economics/military performance etc - factual details. | Government origin - possible distortions. trying to convince people of a certain situation (ie. success of Stalin's industrialisation drive etc). | Purpose? |
| **Memoirs/ personal recollections/ diaries** | Personal insight into a key event based on first-hand experience.  Important people in the events might give their perspective on what happened - key actors give their views. | Subjective experience of one aspect of events - caught up in the moment, no overview of events. Political opinions of the viewer can impact their judgement - not a balanced view. Emotionally partisan.  Recalling from a later date means that the person's views might have been affected by knowledge of later events, new interpretations of what happened. Memory as unreliable! Motives in producing memoirs etc - i.e. trying to justify actions or policies (politicians and statesmen aware that their diaries will be read later!) | Is this a person who was important to the events?   Has there been a big time gap between the events and the person describing their account of them? |
| **Maps** | Show how producers of the map want you to see that part of the world - what is the Israeli view of the territories in the region? Visually show any historic changes in the territorial boundaries of the region. | Politically motivated not just 'showing things as they are'. | Who made the map and why? Are there significant place names - how are these detailed? |
| **Diplomatic documents - official government records** | Insight into government decision making, and views of leaders/key players, in important events.**Intentions of leaders!** | Only selected documents are published - government are unlikely to release things that make them look bad! Often intended to defend and justify any actions or policies taken. | Purpose of document! Why did the government publish them? |
| **Cartoons (and *possibly*art)** | Firsthand reactions to events as they are happening and unfolding - contemporary insight into a particular country's response. | Tend to oversimplify events they describe - can only use images and limited amount of text! Subjective response to events - not representative - only gives views of one cartoonist/newspaper, not the whole population!  Tend to exaggerate and ridicule - propaganda? | Who produced it? When? Other events that might have influenced the portrayal in the cartoon? |
| **Newspapers** | Firsthand reactions to events as they are happening and unfolding - contemporary insight into a particular country's response. Journalists who witnessed events? | No hindsight or overview - just short-term view, no larger perspective.  Very partial and politically subjective - only gives account based on perspective of country/ political viewpoint of paper. | Where is the newspaper based? When was the article published - directly after events? Who is the target audience of the paper? |
| **Photographs** | Documents events at first-hand - communicates powerfully in a visual format. | Photos can be staged for propaganda purposes! They can also be clipped and edited (i.e. removal of Trotsky). | Why was it taken? etc etc |
| **Speech** | Clear insight into a leader's intentions or opinions on a particular issue.  Shows how leaders try to communicate and persuade people of their point-of-view - i.e. style and strategies of persuasion. | Propaganda and unbalanced: purpose to persuade, can any of it be trusted really? How far were these policies actually put into practice? | Purpose and context of the speech: who is the audience? |
| **Freelance Writer** | "*It is written in 2005 and is therefore up-to-date and has the benefit of hindsight having access to many sources."* From IB markscheme, Nov 2010. | *"It is written by a Western freelance writer and (researcher who may not read or speak Arabic or Hebrew). The writer is not an academic historian and there is no information given about his professional background, which may make his account less objective."* From IB markscheme, Nov 2010. Non-historian - might lack skills to produce a detailed account based on evidence, etc. | What are the credentials of the author on this subject? Do they have the skills/background/authority to speak on the topic?  Where and when was the source published? Are there language issues - i.e. access to foreign documents, translations etc? Does the title of the book reveal anything about its range and scope? |
| **Academic historian** | "*It was published very recently by an acknowledged expert. It is an in-depth study of the history of the region*." From IB markscheme, May 2010. Title could be very specifically focused on the topic in question - look carefully at the **title**! Could provide a new perspective on the events, based on new evidence or new ideas on what happened - look at title and contents of the source. | Can favour a particular side in the events, depending on background and perspective of the historian!  Perhaps the **title** of the work indicates it is more general, and will not focus in specific detail on topic involved. Does the date of the work suggest it might be slightly 'out-of-date' now - i.e. more recent events might have made the argument less relevant, or newer interpretations might have challenged the historian's views. | Academic credentials of the historian? Background of the historian - politically, nationally, etc? Are there language issues - i.e. access to foreign documents, translations etc? Does the title of the book reveal anything about its range and scope? |
| **School textbook** | Can provide an accessible overview to a topic, if written by teaching experts with academic training in the subject. If a textbook from a single-party state or belligerent nation, can show how government want children to view a particular event. | Aimed at school children, lacks thererfore in-depth analysis and serious academic discussion.    If from an SPS/belligerent (i.e. Israel or Egypt etc), extremely unbalanced sources as propaganda - unlikely to give both sides of any argument etc etc. | Where is it from? Title of the textbook? |

**Try your skills on the following practice papers… remember to use this advice and the sentence starters.**