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AQA
GCSE
History

UNDERSTANDING THE MODERN WORLD



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How this book will help you in AQA GCSE History

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SOURCE 11

King Oliver's Creole Jazz Band, 1920. Louis Armstrong is kneeling at the front.



● Social and cultural developments

During the 1920s the USA rapidly developed a cultural style that was recognisable across the western world. More than half the population now lived in towns and cities, with skyscrapers punctuating the skyline. And with such huge changes came a cultural struggle between the traditional American way of life and the newer forces of modernity.

Entertainment

The 1920s in the USA are often called the **ROARING TWENTIES**. The name suggests a time of riotous fun, loud music and wild enjoyment when everyone was having a good time. Perhaps this was not true for all Americans, but it certainly seemed to be true for a lot of them. Important social changes, especially the growth of cities, changed the way many Americans lived. The growing prosperity gave many of them the spare time and money to go out and enjoy themselves. One of the most obvious examples of this new attitude was the growth of entertainment.

During the 1920s the entertainment industry blossomed. The average working week dropped from 47.4 to 44.2 hours so people had more leisure time. Average wages rose by 11 per cent (in real terms) so workers also had more disposable income. A lot of this spare time and money was channelled into entertainment.

Radio

Almost everyone in the USA listened to the radio. Most households had their own set. People who could not afford to buy one outright could purchase one in instalments. The choice of programmes grew quickly. In August 1921 there was only one licensed radio station in America. By the end of 1922 there were 508 of them. By 1929 the new network NBC was making \$150 million a year.

Jazz

The radio gave much greater access to new music. Jazz music became an obsession among young people. African Americans who moved from the country to the cities had brought jazz and blues music with them. Blues music was particularly popular among the African American population, while jazz captured the imagination of young white and African Americans.

Such was the power of jazz music that the 1920s became known as the **Jazz Age**, with new dances such as the Charleston. The older generation saw jazz and everything associated with it as a corrupting influence on the young.

Sport

Sport was another boom area. Baseball became a big money sport with legendary teams like the New York Yankees and Boston Red Sox. Prominent figures such as Al Capone (see page 161) were baseball fans. Boxing was also a very popular sport, with heroes like world heavyweight champion Jack Dempsey.

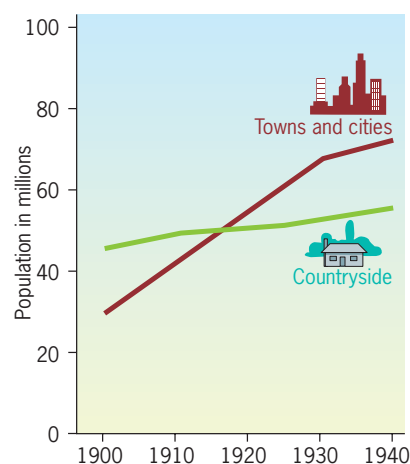
Cinema

In a small suburb outside Los Angeles, called Hollywood, a major film industry was developing. All-year-round sunshine meant that the studios could produce large numbers of films or 'movies'. New stars like Charlie Chaplin and Buster Keaton made audiences roar with laughter, while Douglas Fairbanks thrilled them in daring adventure films. Until 1927 all movies were silent. In 1927 the first 'talkie' was made.

During the 1920s movies became a multi-billion dollar business and it was estimated that, by the end of the decade, a hundred million cinema tickets were being sold each week. That's as many as are sold in a year in Britain today.

FIGURE 12

The change in the USA's urban and rural populations, 1900–40.



The car

The motor car was one of the major factors leading to change and made these other features possible. Cars helped the cities to grow by opening up the suburbs. They carried their owners to and from their entertainments and to an increasing range of sporting events, beach holidays, shopping trips, picnics in the country, or simply on visits to their family and friends, and boyfriends and girlfriends beyond the moral gaze of their parents.

The position of women in society

Women's lives changed considerably during the 1920s – but the changes were greater for some than others. Before the First World War middle-class women were expected to wear very restrictive clothes and behave politely. They were expected not to wear make-up. Their relationships with men were strictly controlled. They had to have a chaperone with them when they went out with a boyfriend. They were expected not to take part in sport or to smoke in public. In most states they could not vote. Most women were expected to be housewives. Very few paid jobs were open to women. Most working women were in lower-paid jobs such as cleaning, dressmaking and secretarial work.

In rural America there were particularly tight restrictions owing to the Churches' traditional attitude to the role of women.

In the 1920s, many of these things began to change, especially for urban and middle-class women. When the USA joined the war in 1917, some women were taken into the war industries, giving them experience of skilled factory work for the first time. In 1920 they got the right to vote in all states. (Some states had introduced women voting before the First World War.) Through the 1920s they shared the liberating effects of the car, and their domestic work was made easier (in theory) by new electrical goods such as vacuum cleaners and washing machines.

For younger urban women many of the traditional rules of behaviour were eased as well. Women wore more daring clothes. They smoked in public and drank with men, in public. They went out with men, in cars, without a chaperone. They kissed in public.

These new styles of behaviour were summed up in the image of the 'FLAPPER', a woman who wore short dresses and make-up and who smoked in public. One writer said that the ideal flapper was 'expensive and about nineteen'.

In urban areas more women took on jobs – particularly middle-class women. They typically took on jobs created by the new industries. There were 10 million women in jobs in 1929, 24 per cent more than in 1920.

Films and novels also exposed women to a much wider range of role models. Millions of women a week saw films with sexy or daring heroines, as well as other films that showed women in a more traditional role. The newspaper, magazine and film industries found that sex sold much better than anything else.

PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- 1 Describe two ways in which the motor car encouraged social change.
- 2 In what ways did the development of jazz lead to changes in society?

SOURCE 13

A schoolteacher in 1905.



SOURCE 14

Young flappers in the 1920s.



SOURCE 15

Gloria Swanson in *The Trespasser* (1929). Gloria Swanson was one of the most successful film stars of the 1920s and *The Trespasser* was her first 'talkie'.

**THINK**

How does Source 15 contrast with the image of women given by Source 16? How do you explain the differences?

However, the changes were only partial. There was a strong conservative element in American society. A combination of traditional religion and old country values kept most American women in a much more restricted role than young urban women enjoyed. Take work, for example. Women were still paid less than men, even when they did the same job. In politics as well, women in no way achieved EQUALITY with men. They may have been given the vote but it did not give them access to political power. Political parties wanted women's votes, but they didn't particularly want women as political candidates as they considered them 'unelectable'. There was only a handful of women elected by 1929.

SOURCE 16

Doris E. Fleischman, *America as Americans See It*, F. J. Ringel (ed.), 1932.

It is wholly confusing to read the advertisements in the magazines that feature the enticing qualities of vacuum cleaners, mechanical refrigerators and hundreds of other devices which should lighten the chores of women in the home. On the whole these large middle classes do their own housework with few of the mechanical aids.

Women who live on farms – and they form the largest group in the United States – do a great deal of work besides the labour of caring for their children, washing the clothes, caring for the home and cooking ... thousands still labour in the fields ... help milk the cows...

The other largest group of American women comprise the families of the labourers of the miners, the steel workers ... the vast army of unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers. The wages of these men are on the whole so small [that] wives must do double duty – that is, caring for the children and the home and toil on the outside as wage earners.

FOCUS TASK**How did life change for women in 1920s America?**

- Using the information and sources on pages 157–58 make notes on the changes to women's lives under two headings:
 - Employment and status
 - Culture and entertainment.
- Using your notes, imagine you are a mother living in a city in 1920s America, who has an 18 year-old daughter who is a flapper. Write a letter home to your own mother describing how your daughter has changed, and your own views on her new-found 'freedom'.

PRACTICE QUESTIONS

Read Interpretations A and B and answer Questions 1–3.

Interpretation A Changes in society after the First World War. From the book, *The Perils of Prosperity* by W. E. Leuchtenberg, 1958.

There was never a time in American history when youth had such a special sense of importance as in the years after the First World War. There was a gulf between the generations. Young men who had fought in the trenches felt that they knew a reality their elders could not even imagine. Younger girls no longer consciously modelled themselves on their mothers, whose attitudes seemed irrelevant in the 1920s.

Interpretation B Another view of American society after the First World War. From the book, *America in the Twentieth Century*, by J. T. Patterson, 1988.

Though a few young upper middle-class women in the cities talked about throwing off the older conventions – they were the flappers – most women stuck to more traditional attitudes concerning 'their place'. Most concentrated on managing the home. Their daughters were likely to prepare for careers as mothers and housewives.

- How does Interpretation B differ from Interpretation A about the lives of women in the USA in the 1920s? Explain your answer using Interpretations A and B.
- Why might the authors of Interpretations A and B have a different interpretation about women in the 1920s? Explain your answer using Interpretations A and B and your contextual knowledge.
- Which interpretation do you find more convincing? Explain your answer using Interpretations A and B and your contextual knowledge.

● A divided society: The causes and consequences of tension

The USA was divided not just in terms of wealth and poverty, but also in attitudes – towards alcohol and the PROHIBITION laws, towards immigrants who spoke different languages and had different cultures and beliefs, and towards African Americans who were often regarded as an inferior race.

Prohibition

In the nineteenth century, in rural areas of the USA, there was a very strong ‘temperance’ movement. Members of temperance movements agreed not to drink alcohol and also campaigned to get others to give up alcohol. Most members of these movements were devout Christians who saw what damage alcohol did to family life. They wanted to stop that damage. By 1916, 21 states had banned saloons.

Supporters of Prohibition (the campaign to prohibit alcohol throughout the country) became known as ‘dries’. The dries brought some powerful arguments to their case. They claimed that ‘3,000 infants are smothered yearly in bed, by drunken parents’. The USA’s entry into the First World War in 1917 boosted the dries. Drinkers were accused of being unpatriotic cowards. Most of the big breweries were run by German immigrants who were portrayed as the enemy. Drink was linked to other evils as well. After the Russian Revolution, the dries claimed that BOLSHEVISM thrived on drink and that alcohol led to lawlessness in the cities, particularly in immigrant communities. Saloons were seen as dens of vice that destroyed family life. The campaign became one of country values against city values.

In 1917 the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution was passed. This ‘prohibited the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors’. It became law in January 1920 and is known as the Volstead Act.

How was Prohibition enforced?

FIGURE 17

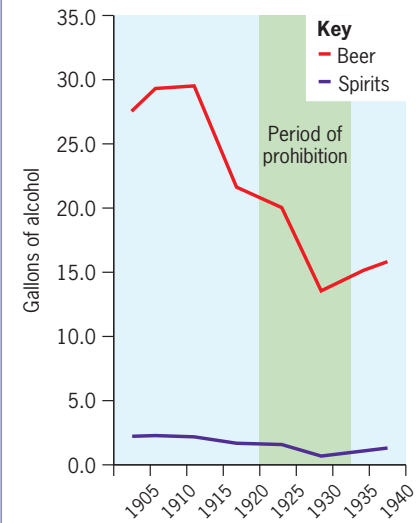
Activities of federal Prohibition agents.

	1921	1925	1929
Illegal distilleries seized	9,746	12,023	15,794
Gallons (US) of spirit seized	414,000	11,030,000	11,860,000
Arrests	34,175	62,747	66,878

Prohibition lasted from 1920 until 1933. It is often said that Prohibition was a total failure. This is not entirely correct. Levels of alcohol consumption fell by about 30 per cent in the early 1920s (see Figure 18). Prohibition gained widespread approval in some states, particularly the rural areas in the Midwest, although in urban states it was not popular (Maryland never even introduced Prohibition). The government ran information campaigns and Prohibition agents arrested offenders (see Figure 17). Two of the most famous agents were Isadore Einstein and his deputy Moe Smith (see Source 20, page 160). They made 4,392 arrests. Their raids were always low key. They would enter speakeasies (illegal bars) and simply order a drink. Einstein had a special flask hidden inside his waistcoat with a funnel attached. He preserved the evidence by pouring his drink down the funnel and the criminals were caught!

FIGURE 18

Average alcohol consumption (in US gallons) per year of Americans, 1905–40.



SOURCE 19

E. Mandeville, in *Outlook* magazine, 1925.

Statistics in the Detroit police court of 1924 show 7391 arrests for violations of the prohibition law, but only 458 convictions. Ten years ago a dishonest policeman was a rarity ... Now the honest ones are pointed out as rarities ... Their relationship with the bootleggers is perfectly friendly. They have to pinch two out of five once in a while, but they choose the ones who are least willing to pay bribes.

THINK

- 1 Read Source 19. How has Prohibition affected the police in Detroit?
- 2 Which of Figures 17 and 18 and Source 19 is the most useful to the historian investigating Prohibition?

SOURCE 20

Isadore Einstein and Moe Smith, US federal police agents of the Prohibition Unit.

**What were the effects of Prohibition?**

Despite the work of the agents, Prohibition proved impossible to enforce effectively in the cities. Enforcement was underfinanced. There were not enough agents – each agent was poorly paid and was responsible for a huge area. By far the biggest drawback was that millions of Americans, particularly in urban areas, were simply not prepared to obey this law. So bootleggers (suppliers of illegal alcohol) made vast fortunes. Al Capone (see page 161) made around \$60 million a year from his speakeasies. His view was that 'Prohibition is a business. All I do is supply a public demand.' And the demand was huge. By 1925 there were more speakeasies in American cities than there had been saloons in 1919. Izzy Einstein filed a report to his superiors on how easy it was to find alcohol after arriving in a new city. Here are the results:

- Chicago: 21 minutes
- Atlanta: 17 minutes
- Pittsburgh: 11 minutes
- New Orleans: 35 seconds (he was offered a bottle of whisky by his taxi driver when he asked where he could get a drink!)

Illegal 'stills' (short for 'distilleries') sprang up all over the USA as people made their own illegal whisky – moonshine. The stills were a major fire hazard and the alcohol they produced was frequently poisonous. Agents seized over 280,000 of these stills, but we have no clear way of knowing how many were not seized. Most Americans had no need for their own still. They simply went to their favourite speakeasy. The speakeasies were well supplied by bootleggers. About two-thirds of the illegal alcohol came from Canada. The vast border between the USA and Canada was virtually impossible to patrol. Other bootleggers brought in alcohol by sea. They would simply wait in the waters outside US control until an opportunity to land their cargo presented itself. One of the most famous was Captain McCoy, who specialised in the finest Scotch whisky. This is where the phrase 'the real McCoy' comes from.

Corruption

Prohibition led to massive corruption. Many of the law enforcement officers were themselves involved with the liquor trade. Big breweries stayed in business throughout the Prohibition era. This is not an easy business to hide! But the breweries stayed in operation by bribing local government officials, Prohibition agents and the police to leave them alone.

In some cities, police officers were quite prepared to direct people to speakeasies. Even when arrests were made, it was difficult to get convictions because more senior officers or even judges were in the pay of the criminals. One in twelve Prohibition agents was dismissed for corruption. The New York FBI boss, Don Chaplin, once ordered his 200 agents: 'Put your hands on the table, both of them. Every son of a bitch wearing a diamond is fired.'

Organised crime

The most common image people have of the Prohibition era is the gangster. Estimates suggest that organised gangs made about \$2 billion out of the sale of illegal alcohol.

The gangs fought viciously with each other to control the liquor trade and also the prostitution, gambling and protection rackets that were centred on the speakeasies. They made use of new technology, especially automobiles and the Thompson sub-machine gun, which was devastatingly powerful but could be carried around and hidden under an overcoat. In Chicago alone, there were 130 gangland murders

in 1926 and 1927 and not one arrest. By the late 1920s fear and bribery made law enforcement ineffective.

The gangsters operated all over the USA, but they were most closely associated with Chicago. Perhaps the best example of the power of the gangsters is Chicago gangster boss Al Capone. He arrived in Chicago in 1919, on the run from a murder investigation in New York. He built up a huge network of corrupt officials among Chicago's police, local government workers, judges, lawyers and Prohibition agents. He even controlled Chicago's mayor, William Hale Thompson. Surprisingly, he was a high-profile and even popular figure in the city. He was a regular at baseball and American football games and was cheered by the crowd when he took his seat. He was well known for giving generous tips (over \$100) to waiters and shop girls and spent \$30,000 on a soup kitchen for the unemployed.

Capone was supported by a ruthless gang, hand-picked for their loyalty to him. By 1929 he had destroyed the power of the other Chicago gangs, committing at least 300 murders in the process. The peak of his violent reign came with the St Valentine's Day Massacre in 1929. Capone's men murdered seven of his rival Bugs Moran's gang, using a false police car and two gangsters in police uniform to put Moran's men off their guard.

Why was Prohibition ended?

The St Valentine's Day Massacre was a turning point. The papers screamed that the gangsters had graduated from murder to massacre. It seemed that Prohibition, often called 'The Noble Experiment', had failed. It had made the USA lawless, the police corrupt and the gangsters rich and powerful. When the WALL STREET CRASH was followed by the DEPRESSION in the early 1930s, there were sound economic arguments for getting rid of it. Legalising alcohol would create jobs, raise tax revenue and free up resources tied up in the impossible task of enforcing Prohibition. The Democrat President Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected in 1932 and Prohibition was repealed in December 1933.

SOURCE 21

Al Capone in 1930. Everyone knew of his activities, but it was impossible to convict him because of his control of the police.



FOCUS TASK

What was the impact of Prohibition?

- 1 Imagine you are an advisor to Franklin D. Roosevelt who is running in the presidential election in 1932. Create a dossier of evidence on the effects of Prohibition on American society. Use pages 159–61 and your own research to create your dossier.
- 2 Now, using evidence from your dossier, write a summary for Roosevelt to persuade him that Prohibition should be repealed if he becomes President.

PRACTICE QUESTION

Which of the following reasons was the more important for the ending of Prohibition in 1933?

- The failure of law enforcement against illegal speakeasies
- The violence of the gangsters controlling the illegal trade in alcohol.

Explain your answer with reference to both reasons.

FIGURE 11

The Rhineland.



● The escalation of tension, 1936–38

A sequence of events escalated tension while Hitler used his opportunities to destroy aspects of the Treaty of Versailles. As you go through this section, pay close attention to *why* Hitler was able to succeed and why Britain and France followed a policy of **APPEASEMENT** – that is, giving in to many of what seemed at the time to be Hitler's reasonable demands.

The remilitarisation of the Rhineland

In March 1936, Hitler took his first really big risk by moving troops into the Rhineland area of Germany.

The **DEMILITARISATION** of the Rhineland was one of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. It had also been accepted by Germany in the Locarno Treaties of 1925. Hitler was taking a huge gamble. If he had been forced to withdraw, he would have faced humiliation and would have lost the support of the German army (many of the generals were unsure about him, anyway). Hitler knew the risks, but he had chosen the time and place well.

France had just signed a treaty with the USSR to protect each other against attack from Germany (see Source 13). Hitler used the agreement to claim that Germany was under threat. He argued that in the face of such a threat he should be allowed to place troops on his own frontier.

Hitler knew that many people in Britain felt that he had a right to **REMILITARISE** the Rhineland and he was fairly confident that Britain would not intervene. His gamble was over France. Would France let him get away with it?

SOURCE 12

Hitler looks back on his gamble over the Rhineland some years after the event.

At that time we had no army worth mentioning ... If the French had taken any action we would have been easily defeated; our resistance would have been over in a few days. And the Air Force we had then was ridiculous – a few Junkers 52s from Lufthansa and not even enough bombs for them ...

SOURCE 13

An American cartoon published in March 1936 showing the encirclement of Germany by France and the USSR.



SOURCE 14

German troops marching through the city of Cologne in March 1936. This style of marching with high steps was known as goose-stepping.



As the troops moved into the Rhineland, Hitler and his generals sweated nervously. They had orders to pull out if the French acted against them. Despite the rearmament programme, Germany's army was no match for the French army. It lacked essential equipment and air support. In the end, however, Hitler's luck held.

The attention of the League of Nations was on the Abyssinian crisis which was happening at exactly the same time (see pages 262–66). The League condemned Hitler's action but had no power to do anything else. Even the French, who were most directly threatened by the move, were divided over what to do. They were about to hold an election and none of the French leaders was prepared to take responsibility for plunging France into a war. Of course, they did not know how weak the German army was. In the end, France refused to act without British support and so Hitler's big gamble paid off. Maybe next time he would risk more!

SOURCE 15

A British cartoon about the reoccupation of the Rhineland, 1936. *Pax Germanica* is Latin and means 'Peace, German style'.



THE GOOSE-STEP

"GOOSEY GOOSEY GANDER,
WHITHER DOST THOU WANDER?"
"ONLY THROUGH THE RHINELAND—
PRAY EXCUSE MY BLUNDER!"

SOURCE 16

Written by William Shirer in 1936. He was an American journalist in Germany during the 1930s. He was a critic of the Nazi regime and had to flee from Germany in 1940.

Hitler has got away with it. France is not marching. No wonder the faces of Göring and Blomberg [Nazi leaders] were all smiles. Oh, the stupidity (or is it the paralysis?) of the French. I learnt today that the German troops had orders to beat a hasty retreat if the French army opposed them in any way.

THINK

- 1 Does Source 13 support or contradict Hitler's argument that Germany was under threat? Explain your answer.
- 2 Study Sources 12 and 16. Do they agree or disagree with one another?
- 3 Would you regard reoccupation of the Rhineland as a success for Hitler or as a failure for the French and the British? Explain your answer by referring to the sources.
- 4 Why has the cartoonist in Source 15 shown Germany as a goose?
- 5 Look at the equipment being carried by the goose. What does this tell you about how the cartoonist saw the new Germany?

PRACTICE QUESTION

Write an account of how Hitler's remilitarisation of the Rhineland in March 1936 became a success for his foreign policy.

The Spanish Civil War

These early successes seemed to give Hitler confidence. In 1936 a civil war broke out in Spain between Communists, who were supporters of the Republican government, and right-wing rebels under General Franco. Hitler saw this as an opportunity to fight against Communism and at the same time to try out his new armed forces.

In 1937, as the League of Nations looked on helplessly, German aircraft made devastating bombing raids on civilian populations in various Spanish cities. The destruction at Guernica was terrible. The world looked on in horror at the suffering that modern weapons could cause.

Mussolini, the Anti-Comintern Pact, 1936–37 and the Axis

The Italian leader Mussolini was also heavily involved in the Spanish Civil War. Hitler and Mussolini saw that they had much in common also with the military dictatorship in Japan. In 1936, Germany and Japan signed an Anti-Comintern Pact. In 1937, Italy also signed it. Anti-Comintern means 'Anti-Communist International'. The aim of the pact was to limit Communist influence around the world. It was particularly aimed at the USSR. The new alliance was called the Axis alliance.

SOURCE 17

A postcard published in France to mark the bombing of Guernica in 1937. The text reads 'The Basque people murdered by German planes. Guernica martyred 26 April 1937'.



Anschluss with Austria, March 1938

With the successes of 1936 and 1937 to boost him, Hitler turned his attention to his homeland of Austria. The Austrian people were mainly German, and in *Mein Kampf* Hitler had made it clear that he felt that the two states belonged together as one German nation. Many in Austria supported the idea of union with Germany, since their country was so economically weak. Hitler was confident that he could bring them together into a 'greater Germany'. In fact, he had tried to take over Austria in 1934, but on that occasion Mussolini had stopped him. Four years later, in 1938, the situation was different. Hitler and Mussolini were now allies.

There was a strong Nazi Party in Austria. Hitler encouraged the Nazis to stir up trouble for the government. They staged demonstrations calling for union with Germany. They caused riots. Hitler then told the Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg that only *ANSCHLUSS* (political union) could sort out these problems. He pressurised Schuschnigg to agree to *Anschluss*. Schuschnigg asked for help from France and Britain but was refused it. So he called a plebiscite (a referendum), to see what the Austrian people wanted. Hitler was not prepared to risk this – he might lose! He simply sent his troops into Austria in March 1938, supposedly to guarantee a trouble-free plebiscite. Under the watchful eye of the Nazi troops, 99.75 per cent voted for *Anschluss*. *Anschluss* was completed without any military confrontation with France and Britain. Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, felt that Austrians and Germans had a right to be united and that the Treaty of Versailles was wrong to separate them. Britain's Lord Halifax had even suggested to Hitler before the *Anschluss* that Britain would not resist Germany uniting with Austria.

THINK

Explain what each of the cartoons in Source 18 is saying about the *Anschluss*.

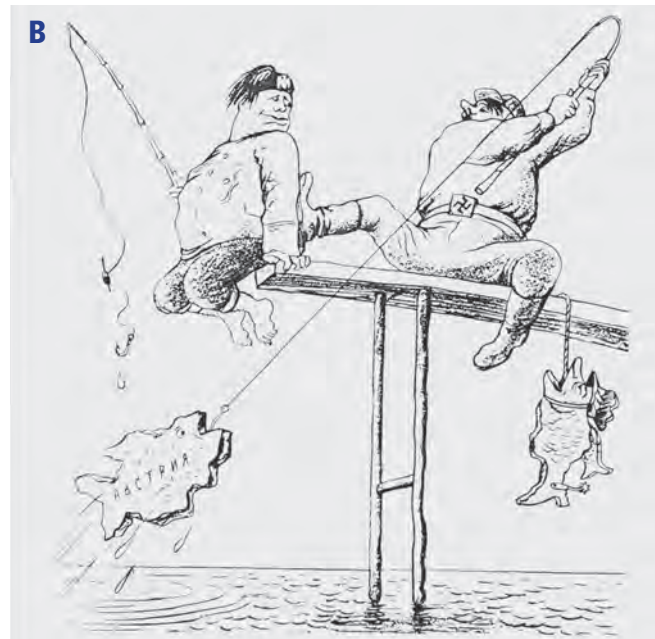
SOURCE 18

Two cartoons commenting on the *Anschluss*, 1938. A is from *Punch*. B is a Soviet cartoon showing Hitler catching Austria.



GOOD HUNTING

Mention: "All right, Hitler—I never found a shot!"



Once again, Hitler's risky but decisive action had reaped a rich reward – Austria's soldiers, weapons and its rich deposits of gold and iron ore were added to Germany's increasingly strong army and industry. Hitler was breaking yet another condition of the Treaty of Versailles, but the pattern was becoming clear. The treaty itself was seen as suspect. Britain and France were not prepared to go to war to defend a flawed treaty. Where would Hitler go next and how would Britain and France react?

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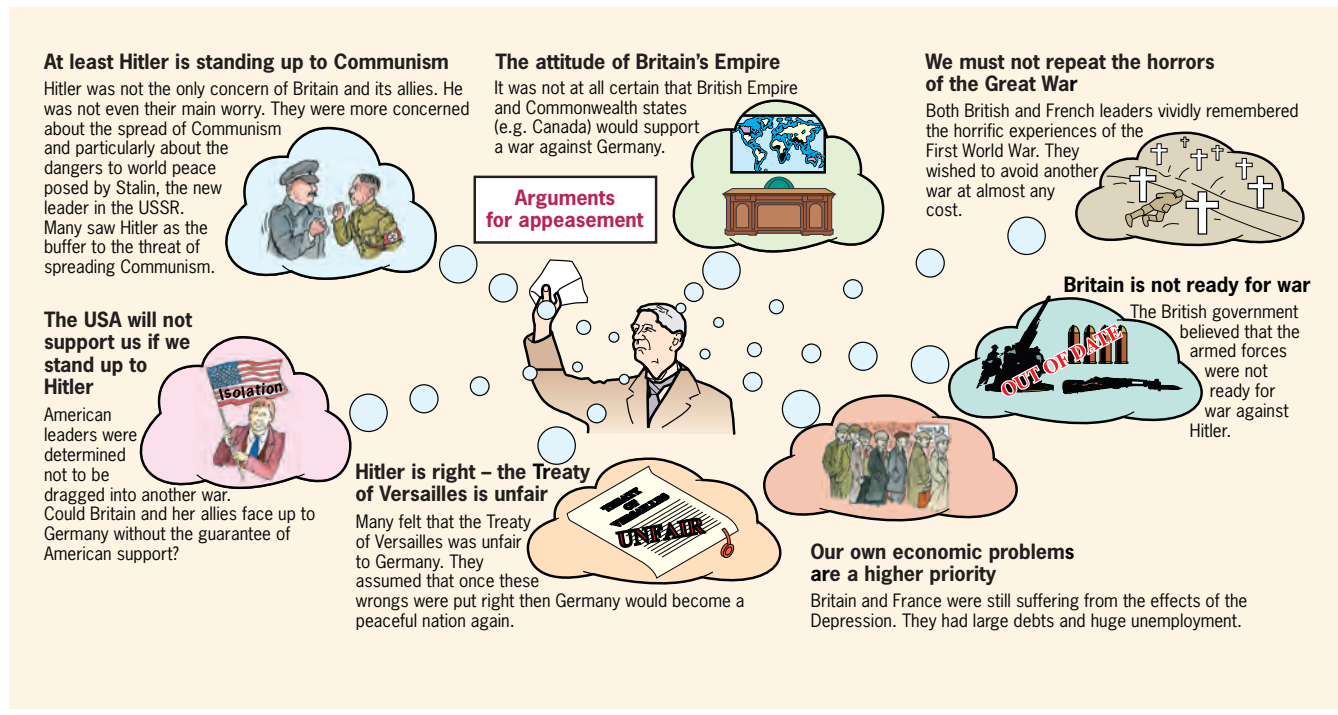
Appeasement

Britain signed a naval agreement with Germany in 1935. For the next three years, Britain followed a policy of giving Hitler what he wanted – a policy that became known as 'APPEASEMENT'. Neville Chamberlain is the man most

associated with this policy (see Profile, page 279), although he did not become Prime Minister until 1937. Many other British people, including many politicians, were also in favour of this policy. See Figure 19 for their reasons.

Reasons for the policy of appeasement

FIGURE 19



What was wrong with appeasement?

Britain's leaders may have felt that they had no option but to appease Hitler, but there were obvious risks to such a policy.

Some of these were stated at the time (see Sources 21 and 22). Others became obvious with hindsight (Figure 20).

FIGURE 20



SOURCE 21

A cartoon by David Low from the *London Evening Standard*, 1936. This was a popular newspaper with a large readership in Britain. In this image the stepping stones are labelled from bottom right to top left: Rearmament; Rhineland fortification; Danzig; ?; ??; !!; !!!; Boss of the Universe.



THINK

- 1 Look at Source 21. What does the cartoonist think appeasement will lead to?
- 2 Most people in Britain supported appeasement. Write a letter to the *London Evening Standard* justifying appeasement and pointing out why the cartoonist in Source 21 is mistaken. Use the points given in Figure 19.

SOURCE 22

A cartoon from *Punch*, November 1937. *Punch* was deeply critical of the British government's policies that allowed Hitler to achieve what he wanted in the 1930s. The magazine was an important influence on public opinion, particularly among educated and influential people. It had a circulation of about 120,000 copies per week during the 1930s.



THE BLESSINGS OF PEACE
OR
MR. EVERYMAN'S IDEAL HOME.

ACTIVITY

Why appeasement?

- 1 Read the explanations in Figure 19 of why Britain followed a policy of appeasement.
- 2 Make notes under the following headings to summarise why Britain followed a policy of appeasement:
 - Military reasons
 - Economic reasons
 - Fear
 - Public opinion
 - Other.
- 3 Use your notes to help you to write a paragraph to explain in your own words how each of these reasons influenced the policy of appeasement.

The Sudeten crisis, September 1938

After the Austrian *Anschluss*, Hitler was beginning to feel that he could not put a foot wrong. But his growing confidence was putting the peace of Europe in increasing danger.

FIGURE 23

Central Europe after the *Anschluss*.



SOURCE 24

Hitler speaking to Chamberlain in 1938.

I give you my word of honour that Czechoslovakia has nothing to fear from the Reich.

SOURCE 25

From a radio broadcast by Neville Chamberlain, September 1938.

How horrible, fantastic, incredible it is that we should be digging trenches and trying on gas masks here because of a quarrel in a far away country between people of whom we know nothing. I am myself a man of peace to the depths of my soul.

Unlike the leaders of Britain and France, Edward Beneš, the leader of Czechoslovakia, was horrified by the *Anschluss*. He realised that Czechoslovakia would be the next country on Hitler's list for takeover. It seemed that Britain and France were not prepared to stand up to Hitler. Beneš sought guarantees from the British and French that they would honour their commitment to defend Czechoslovakia if Hitler invaded. The French were bound by a treaty and reluctantly said they would. The British felt bound to support the French. However, Chamberlain asked Hitler whether he had designs on Czechoslovakia and was reassured by Hitler's promise (Source 24).

Despite what he said to Chamberlain, Hitler did have designs on Czechoslovakia. This new state, created by the Treaty of Versailles, included a large number of Germans – former subjects of Austria–Hungary's empire – in the Sudetenland area. Henlein, who was the leader of the Nazis in the Sudetenland, stirred up trouble among the Sudetenland Germans and they demanded to be part of Germany. In May 1938, Hitler made it clear that he intended to fight Czechoslovakia if necessary. Historians disagree as to whether Hitler really meant what he said. There is considerable evidence that the German army was not at all ready for war. Even so the news put Europe on full war alert.

Unlike Austria, Czechoslovakia would be no walk-over for Hitler. Britain, France and the USSR had all promised to support Czechoslovakia if it came to war. The Czechs themselves had a modern army. The Czechoslovak leader, Beneš, was prepared to fight. He knew that without the Sudetenland and its forts, railways and industries, Czechoslovakia would be defenceless.

All through the summer the tension rose in Europe. If there was a war, people expected that it would bring heavy bombing of civilians as had happened in the Spanish Civil War, and in cities around Britain councils began digging air raid shelters. Magazines carried advertisements for air raid protection and gas masks.

SOURCE 26

Digging air raid defences in London, September 1938.



In September the problem reached crisis point. In a last-ditch effort to avert war, Chamberlain flew to meet Hitler on 15 September. The meeting appeared to go well. Hitler moderated his demands, saying he was only interested in parts of the Sudetenland – and then only if a plebiscite showed that the Sudeten Germans wanted to join Germany. Chamberlain thought this was reasonable. He felt it was yet another of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles that needed to be addressed. Chamberlain seemed convinced that, if Hitler got what he wanted, he would at last be satisfied.

On 19 September Chamberlain and the French leader Edward Daladier put to the Czechs their plans to give Hitler the parts of the Sudetenland that he wanted. However, three days later at a second meeting, Hitler increased his demands. He said he ‘regretted’ that the previously arranged terms were not enough. He wanted all the Sudetenland.

SOURCE 27

Hitler speaking in Berlin, September 1938.

The Sudetenland is the last problem that must be solved and it will be solved. It is the last territorial claim which I have to make in Europe.

The aims of our foreign policy are not unlimited ... They are grounded on the determination to save the German people alone ... Ten million Germans found themselves beyond the frontiers of the Reich ... Germans who wished to return to the Reich as their homeland.

To justify his demands, he claimed that the Czech government was mistreating the Germans in the Sudetenland and that he intended to ‘rescue’ them by 1 October. Chamberlain told Hitler that his demands were unreasonable. The British navy was mobilised. War seemed imminent.

PROFILE

Neville Chamberlain



- Born in 1869.
- He was the son of the famous radical politician Joseph Chamberlain.
- He was a successful businessman in the Midlands before entering politics.
- During the First World War he served in the Cabinet as Director General of National Service. During this time he saw the full horrors of war.
- After the war he was Health Minister and then Chancellor. He was noted for his careful work and his attention to detail. However, he was not good at listening to advice.
- He was part of the government throughout the 1920s and supported the policy of appeasement towards Hitler. He became Prime Minister in 1937, although he had little experience of foreign affairs.
- He believed that Germany had real grievances – this was the basis for his policy of appeasement.
- He became a national hero after the Munich Conference of 1938 averted war.
- In 1940 Chamberlain resigned as Prime Minister and Winston Churchill took over.

The Munich Agreement, September 1938

With Mussolini's help, a final meeting was held in Munich on 29 September. While Europe held its breath, the leaders of Britain, Germany, France and Italy decided on the fate of Czechoslovakia. On 29 September they decided to give Hitler what he wanted. They announced that Czechoslovakia was to lose the Sudetenland. They did not consult the Czechs, nor did they consult the USSR. This is known as the Munich Agreement. The following morning Chamberlain and Hitler published a joint declaration (Source 28) which Chamberlain said would bring 'peace for our time'.

SOURCE 28

The joint declaration of Chamberlain and Hitler, 30 September 1938.

We regard the Agreement signed last night ... as symbolic of the desire of our two peoples never to go to war with one another again. We are resolved that we shall use consultation to deal with any other questions that may concern our two countries, and we are determined to continue our efforts to assure the peace of Europe.

SOURCE 29

The *Daily Express* comments on the Munich Agreement, 30 September 1938.

People of Britain, your children are safe. Your husbands and your sons will not march to war. Peace is a victory for all mankind. If we must have a victor, let us choose Chamberlain, for the Prime Minister's conquests are mighty and enduring – millions of happy homes and hearts relieved of their burden.

Hitler had gambled that the British would not risk war. He spoke of the Munich Agreement as 'an undreamt-of triumph, so great that you can scarcely imagine it'. The prize of the Sudetenland had been given to him without a shot being fired. On 1 October German troops marched into the Sudetenland. At the same time, Hungary and Poland helped themselves to Czech territory where Hungarians and Poles were living.

The Czechs had been betrayed. Beneš resigned. But the rest of Europe breathed a sigh of relief. Chamberlain received a hero's welcome back in Britain, when he returned with the 'piece of paper' – the agreement – signed by Hitler.

What do you think of the Munich Agreement? Was it a good move or a poor one? Most people in Britain were relieved that it had averted war, but many were now openly questioning the whole policy of appeasement. Even the public relief may have been overstated. Opinion polls in September 1938 show that the British people did not think appeasement would stop Hitler. It simply delayed a war, rather than preventing it. Even while Chamberlain was signing the Munich Agreement, he was approving a massive increase in arms spending in preparation for war.

ACTIVITY

Write extracts from the diaries of some of the main parties affected by the Sudetenland crisis, e.g. Chamberlain, Hitler, Beneš or one of the diplomats who was involved in making the agreement, or of an ordinary Briton or an ordinary Czech.

SOURCE 30

The *Yorkshire Post*, December 1938.

By repeatedly surrendering to force, Chamberlain has encouraged aggression ... our central contention, therefore, is that Mr Chamberlain's policy has throughout been based on a fatal misunderstanding of the psychology of dictatorship.

THINK

- Study Sources 28–33. Sort them into the following categories:
 - Those that support the Munich Agreement
 - Those that criticise the Munich Agreement.
- List the reasons why each source supports or criticises the agreement.

SOURCE 31

Winston Churchill speaking in October 1938. He felt that Britain should resist the demands of Hitler. However, he was an isolated figure in the 1930s.

We have suffered a total defeat ... I think you will find that in a period of time Czechoslovakia will be engulfed in the Nazi regime. We have passed an awful milestone in our history. This is only the beginning of the reckoning.

SOURCE 32

A British cartoon by David Low, 18 July 1938. The caption on the cartoon reads 'What's Czechoslovakia to me anyway?' The rocks poised to fall read: Anglo-French security; French Alliances; Rumania; Poland; Czecho.



SOURCE 33

The front page of the *Daily Sketch*, 1 October 1938.



FOCUS TASK

Hitler and the Treaty of Versailles

- 1 Draw up a table like this one to show some of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles that affected Germany.

Terms of the Treaty of Versailles	What Hitler did and when	The reasons Hitler gave for his action	The response from Britain and France
Germany's armed forces to be severely limited			
Saar to be run by the League of Nations for 15 years			
The Rhineland to be a demilitarised zone			
Germany forbidden to unite with Austria			
The Sudetenland taken into the new state of Czechoslovakia			
The Polish Corridor given to Poland			

- 2 Now you have studied Hitler's foreign policy to 1938, look back at the events and complete the chart – except for the row on Poland which you can complete later.

PRACTICE QUESTIONS

- 1 Study Sources 29 (page 282) and 32. How useful are Sources 29 and 32 for understanding attitudes towards the policy of appeasement? Explain your answer using Sources 29 and 32 and your contextual knowledge.
- 2 Study Source 33. Source 33 supports the British policy of appeasement in September to October 1938. How do you know? Explain your answer by using Source 33 and your contextual knowledge.

ASSESSMENT FOCUS

Your exam will include four questions on this topic. The question types will be the same every year, but the questions could be on any content from the specification, so you need to know it all!

We have provided one example of each kind of question. For questions based on sources we have used sources that you have already come across in this chapter. We have analysed each of the questions to highlight what you are being asked to do and written a sample answer with comments on how it could be improved.

KEY

Focus words

Command words

Source/knowledge reminder words

Study Source A. Source A is Source 3, page 252.

Q1 Study Source 3. Source 3 is **very doubtful** about whether the League of Nations will succeed in keeping the peace. **How do you know?**

Explain your answer by using **Source A** and your **contextual knowledge**. (4 marks)

Sample answer

The dove of peace is being given a huge olive branch to hold – much too large for it to succeed. This suggests that the League that is being created is being asked to take on too big a task in maintaining world peace.

Source B is Source 12, page 261. Source C is Source 13, page 261.

Q2 Study Sources B and C. **How useful** are these **two sources** to a historian studying the crisis in Manchuria, **1931–1933**?

Explain your answer using **Sources B and C** and your **contextual knowledge**. (12 marks)

Sample answer

Source B is a cartoon showing the Japanese walking all over the League of Nations who is lying there lifeless. It is showing that the Manchurian Crisis was a disaster for the League. The cartoonist, David Low, is biased in showing how weak the League was and ignores its achievements in earlier years.

Source C is from a British politician. He is saying, from first-hand evidence, that people at the League of Nations were dejected. They thought that the League was in a hopeless mess. This is useful because it was a first-hand account from someone at the time, and written in a letter.

Q3 Write an **account** of the German reoccupation of the Rhineland in **March 1936** and its **significance** in Hitler's foreign policy aims. (8 marks)

Sample answer

In March 1936, Hitler gambled. It was his first big step since starting rearmament. The Treaty of Versailles had said that German troops should not be stationed in the Rhineland area of Germany – the area that bordered France. This was so that France could feel more secure from German invasion in the future. Hitler argued that it was fine for him to put troops in his own territory in order to protect Germany from a possible invasion in the future by France.

Hitler was very nervous. He told his commanders to withdraw the troops if the French made any move against them. In France, the French were more concerned about an election that was about to take place, and the League was busy dealing with Abyssinia.

The move by Hitler showed European leaders that he meant business in getting Germany back as a powerful country.

– This answer shows a clear understanding of the cartoon's intention, but it should include some knowledge to support its statements. For example, you could explain who Wilson was. You can also look at the source to explain any other features of the cartoon, for example, look at President Wilson's face.

– Study Source 4 on page 253. Attempt the same question with that source.

– The answer provides some basic comments on each of the two sources, but it needs more in-depth analysis of the content and some examination of the provenance. There is very little contextual knowledge shown. This could be improved substantially.

– For each of the two sources, make a list of what you know about the provenance, and whether or not you think this makes the source more or less reliable.

– Then think about the context of the period in which the sources were created. What were people's attitudes in general at that time? What was the League doing?

– Now look at the content of each source. Using your knowledge, think how useful the content is for studying the crisis in Manchuria.

– The answer provides some details of the event – it needs more precise details such as the troops crossing into the Rhineland and the reactions of those living there.

– The end of the answer mentions why France and the League did nothing, but it could then go on to explain the significance of this.

– List two main reasons why this action by Hitler over the Rhineland was significant. To help you:

– think about what the event had shown Hitler

– think what Hitler would be able to assume about the League in the future.

Q4 'The **main reason** for the failure of the League of Nations was the **rise of Hitler**'. **How far** do you agree with this statement?

Explain your answer.

(16 marks)

Sample answer

- This is a clearly argued answer. It develops an explanation of the stated factor and puts this alongside other factors.
- It demonstrates a range of accurate knowledge and understanding, and the answer is organised in a way that is totally focused on the question.
- The answer contains accurate spelling and punctuation, the meaning is clearly expressed and a range of specialist terms are used to explain arguments.
- *Are there any more details of evidence that you would add to this answer?*

The League of Nations was set up with high hopes in 1919. Unfortunately these hopes were dashed with the start of the Second World War in 1939, and the League having been shown to be useless several years before.

Hitler was partly to blame. It was he who tested the League's determination to uphold the Treaty of Versailles. The Covenant of the League, which all members signed, stated that they were bound to do this. Hitler started rearmament, firstly in secret and then openly, including reintroducing conscription. He even got Britain to sign a Naval Agreement in 1935 which said Germany could increase the size of its fleet. In 1936, he put troops in the Rhineland – and again the League did nothing. He ignored the Treaty of Versailles when he annexed Austria in March 1938. By then the League was totally weak and useless.

However, it was not just Hitler who had caused this. He had merely utilised existing weaknesses and situations to Germany's advantage. The League had fundamental flaws in its make-up. It had little power; it relied on moral persuasion; it had no standing army; the world's most powerful country, the USA, had opted not to join.

Other countries contributed to the failure of the League, including two of the original permanent members of the Council. Japan had invaded Manchuria in 1931, and when the League voted in support of China, Japan simply continued to occupy Manchuria and left the League. Italy invaded Abyssinia in 1935, and ignored the League's wish, backed up by weak sanctions, for a withdrawal. Italy, too, left the League after this.

In the atmosphere of the Depression of the 1930s Britain and France, the two remaining powerful member states, bear some responsibility as well. Neither was prepared to provide an army or armaments to enforce the decisions of the League. They weakly gave in to Hitler's demands – as seen in 1938 in Munich. Both countries were far more concerned with the huge numbers of unemployed and the problems of providing benefits for them.

Therefore, the League of Nations failed for many reasons. However, it was the weaknesses and inaction of the League in the early and mid-1930s that convinced Hitler he could act without fear of conflict. The League had become useless politically long before its official death.

Now write your own answers to the questions on pages 289–90 using the teacher's feedback to help you.