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Was the Treaty of Versailles fair?

1.1 What were the motives and aims of the Big Three at Versailles?

REVISED

At the end of the First World War the Paris Peace Conference was held

- An armistice was signed on 11 November 1918 between the Allies (principally Britain, France and the USA) and the Central Powers of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria.
- There was great optimism for a lasting peace, especially from US President Woodrow Wilson who outlined his Fourteen Points in a speech in 1918.
- Thirty-two nations representing over two-thirds of the world's population met at the Paris Peace Conference in January 1919 to prepare five peace treaties collectively known as the Versailles settlement. The most important of these was the Treaty of Versailles which dealt with Germany.

The Big Three had different aims and motives for the Treaty terms

- The **Big Three** of David Lloyd George (British prime minister), Georges Clemenceau (French prime minister) and Woodrow Wilson (US president) were the main peacemakers.
- The Big Three had different aims and motives and clashed on many of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

Key point

The peacemakers at the **Paris Peace Conference** had different aims and motives. Wilson was an **idealist** who wanted future peace in Europe; Clemenceau wanted revenge for the huge war damage inflicted on France: Lloyd George was a **realist** who wanted to punish Germany, but not too harshly, to prevent a future conflict. These leaders would have to find common ground in order to agree on the Treaty of Versailles.

Big Three	Aims	Motives
Britain - Lloyd George ('the realist')	To punish Germany but not too harshly; wanted Britain and Germany to be trading partners; Germany to lose its naval power and colonies	Didn't want Germany to seek revenge or have a communist revolution as in Russia if the Treaty was too harsh BUT wanted to appease anti-German feelings at home; wanted jobs for people in Britain; wanted to protect the British Empire
France – Clemenceau ('the uncompromising')	To incapacitate Germany economically and territorially; ensure France's borders were secure against future attack; demand Germany takes blame for starting the war and pays reparations	For Germany not to be able to build up its armed forces again and threaten France, which had been invaded twice (in 1870 and 1914); French people had suffered huge casualties (1.4 million killed) and had lost farmland and industry in north-east France
USA – Wilson ('the idealist')	To create a 'fair and lasting peace' in Europe by implementing his Fourteen Points, which included disarmament for all European nations, no secret treaties and a League of Nations	To remove the causes of conflict in Europe to prevent future wars; increase trade between Europe and the USA to prevent the spread of communism; strengthen democracy and self-determination to break up empires

The result was a compromise

Terms of the Treaty of Versailles

Military: The German army was reduced to 100,000 soldiers; no conscription; no tanks; no air force; only six battleships; the Rhineland was to be demilitarised and the west bank of the Rhine occupied by an Allied army for 15 years. **Financial:** Reparations for war damage to be paid to the Allies, agreed in 1921 at £6.6 billion; the coal in the Saar region went to France for 15 years.

League of Nations: The League was set up in 1920 to enforce the Treaty and keep international peace. Germany was not allowed to join until 1926.

Territory: All of Germany's colonies were taken away and controlled by the League of Nations (run by Britain and France); Alsace-Lorraine returned to France; Poland to be given access to the sea by the creation of a Polish Corridor; land given to Denmark, Belgium, Lithuania and Czechoslovakia; Danzig to become a free city; union between Germany and Austria forbidden (*Anschluss*).

War guilt: Article 231 said Germany had to take full responsibility for starting the war.

Practice question, Paper 2

Study Source A.

What is the message of the cartoonist? Explain your answer using source details and your own knowledge. [8 marks]

Task

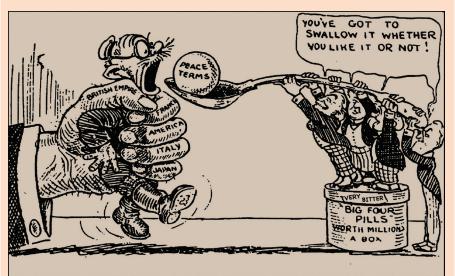
Study Source A.

Draw a line from the annotation next to the cartoon to the relevant detail in the image then add some more notes.

SOURCE A A cartoon published in 1919 by an anonymous artist.

The Big Four Pills refer to ...

The spoon with the pill labelled "Peace Terms" refers to ...



"You've got to swallow it whether you like it or not" suggests that ...

The mouselike character being squeezed by the giant hand suggests that ...

Tip

For interpretation questions that ask you to work out the cartoonist's message, make sure that you think about whether it is supporting, criticising or commenting on a particular event at a particular time. Use the provenance, the source details and your own knowledge to explain the message.

- 1 Who were the Big Three and what problems did they face at the Conference?
- 2 Give three examples of Wilson's Fourteen Points.
- 3 List two aims and motives of the Big Three.
- 4 List what you think were the three harshest terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

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1.2 Why did the victors not get everything they wanted?

REVISED

The British and French leaders were influenced by **public opinion** in their home countries

- Britain had suffered hugely in the First World War. Lloyd George had won the 1918 general election by promising to 'make Germany pay'.
- The French public wanted a treaty that would severely punish Germany.
 Over two-thirds of the men who had served in the French army had been killed or wounded.
- America had not suffered as much as Britain or France in the war and Wilson had a more generous attitude towards Germany.

The Big Three's aims for the Treaty terms were too different to be reconciled

- Clemenceau and Wilson clashed over what to do about the Rhineland and Germany's coalfields in the Saar. Wilson gave in, and in return Clemenceau and Lloyd George conceded over eastern European self-determination.
- Clemenceau and Lloyd George also disagreed. Clemenceau argued that Britain was happy to treat Germany fairly in Europe, against France's interests, but stricter when it came to Germany's navy and colonies, which threatened British power.
- Wilson's views on self-determination threatened the British Empire, which ruled millions of people across the world.

As a result, each leader had to compromise Clemenceau

- Clemenceau was content with the return of Alsace-Lorraine, which helped secure France's border with Germany.
- He also received two of Germany's overseas colonies (Togoland and the Cameroons), which expanded the French Empire.
- The reparations helped pay for the war damage France suffered and the military terms helped reduce the threat of a future invasion.
- But Clemenceau wanted the reparations to be higher and was concerned that Germany would recover its economic and military strength, especially as the Rhineland was only demilitarised and not given to France.
- He was also concerned that the French people would not think the Treaty was harsh enough – this led to his defeat in the French presidential elections in 1920 and his resignation soon afterwards.

Key point

The Big Three were forced to compromise over the terms of the Treaty. Each achieved some of their aims but were forced to make concessions in order to get everyone to sign.

Lloyd George

- British imperial interests were helped as a result of the Treaty its empire in Africa gained an additional 13 million new subjects. The reduction of the German navy also secured Britain's rule of the seas.
- The German economy had not been totally destroyed by the Treaty, which allowed Britain and Germany to trade again. This would help stop the spread of communism and promote British businesses.
- But Lloyd George did not like the fact that German-speaking people
 were now under the control of countries such as Poland and France he
 thought this would lead to resentment and future conflict.
- He was also under public pressure to punish Germany after Britain had suffered over 1 million casualties in the First World War, meaning he would have to balance his desire for a fair treaty with demands at home for harsher terms.

Wilson

- Wilson had managed to get some of his Fourteen Points into the Treaty
 of Versailles, such as the requirement to disarm and the setting up of a
 League of Nations.
- He also managed to get concessions from France such as lowering the reparations figure and only demilitarising the Rhineland.
- Wilson achieved self-determination for countries in eastern Europe such as Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia.
- But France and Britain had increased the size of their overseas empires at the expense of Germany.
- Britain had also increased its control of the seas by reducing Germany's navy, which went against Wilson's principle of free navigation of the seas.

Test yourself

- 1 How did France benefit from the terms of the Treaty of Versailles?
- 2 Why might the French people not have been satisfied with the Treaty?
- 3 How did Lloyd George manage to increase British international power?
- 4 What were Wilson's most significant achievements in the terms of the Treaty of Versailles?

Practice question, Paper 1

What aims did Clemenceau achieve in the Treaty of Versailles?

[4 marks]

Task

Write the names of the Big Three at the top of three separate cards. On one side of each card draw a + sign and on the other a – sign. On each card, make a list of the terms with which each of the Big Three would have been satisfied (+) and unsatisfied (–).

Tip

Four-mark questions don't require you to explain, but to demonstrate your knowledge. Make sure you give sufficient factual details but keep your answer relatively short.

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1.3 What was the impact of the Treaty on Germany up to 1923?

REVISED

The German people resented the terms of the Treaty of Versailles

- Many Germans hated the war guilt clause and believed other countries were as much to blame as them for starting the war.
- Germans felt the disarmament terms were too harsh. The army had been a source of German pride and none of the Allies were forced to disarm. Germany was now left defenceless and surrounded by countries with far superior armies to its own.
- Germans were bitter at the reparations and territorial losses: 10 per cent of its land in Europe; all overseas colonies; 12.5 per cent of its population; 16 per cent of its coalfields. This was a major blow to the German economy.
- Many Germans, including politicians and soldiers, saw the Treaty as
 a dictated peace or 'diktat'. Germany was not allowed to attend the
 peace conference and was forced to accept the terms of the Treaty or
 face occupation.

Political opposition threatened to destabilise the Weimar Government

- Right-wing nationalists opposed the Treaty and the new Weimar Government by attempting several coups.
- The anti-communist Freikorps, made up of ex-soldiers, under the command of Wolfgang Kapp, launched the Kapp Putsch in 1920 and managed to seize Berlin. The army refused to fire on them, and it was only defeated when the workers called a general strike.
- In 1922, the foreign minister Walter Rathenau was murdered by rightwing extremists.
- In November 1923, Hitler's Nazi Party attempted to seize control during the Munich Putsch. Motivated by his hatred towards the Treaty of Versailles and the Weimar government's decision to continue paying reparations, Hitler tried to establish a nationalist government by marching on the Bavarian government. The putsch failed and Hitler was arrested.
- Left-wing extremists (communists), inspired by the Spartacists' failed uprising in January 1919 and taking advantage of anti-Weimar feeling, attempted a rebellion in the Ruhr in 1920.

The Treaty led to economic instability in Germany

- Many Germans claimed that the reparations bill of £6.6 billion would be impossible to pay and together with the other harsh economic terms would lead to instability.
- Germany paid its first instalment of the reparations bill in 1921 but claimed it could not make the 1922 payment.
- France and Belgium decided to occupy the Ruhr region in January 1923 to take its raw materials and goods as payment. This occupation was legal under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, so the League of Nations did nothing to stop the French and Belgian forces. The occupation of the Ruhr was a disaster for Germany.

Key point

The Treaty was deeply unpopular with most Germans and led to resentment and hatred towards the new Weimar Government. This caused instability, political extremism, violence and huge economic problems.

- Ebert ordered German workers to use passive resistance so the French could take nothing. France reacted by killing over 100 workers and expelling over 100,000 strikers.
- The Weimar Government printed money to pay the nearly 2 million striking workers, which contributed to a period of hyperinflation in Germany.
- The prices of goods rocketed, making the currency worthless one US dollar was worth over 4 trillion marks by November 1923. Many Germans used worthless banknotes as wallpaper or burnt them as fuel. Those with debts and mortgages were able to pay off their debts easily, but trade was made impossible, people had to be paid daily, and the middle classes and pensioners lost their savings.
- The Ruhr occupation impacted Germany's economy as valuable resources and factories were seized. Hyperinflation meant trade was heavily impacted and many resorted to bartering.
- The Ruhr occupation and the period of hyperinflation allowed political extremists to point the finger of blame towards the Weimar politicians and the Treaty of Versailles. Right-wing nationalists infiltrated the Ruhr and carried out acts of sabotage, such as derailing trains carrying supplies to the French soldiers. In Munich, Hitler's Nazi Party attempted the Munich Putsch to seize power from the Weimar government.

Task

Complete a table like the one below to summarise and explain the impact of the Treaty on Germany up to 1923.

Impact	Details	Effect on Germany by 1923
Social		
Political		
Economic		

Practice question, Paper 1

Why did the Treaty of Versailles make Weimar Germany unstable up to 1923?

[6 marks]

Test yourself

- 1 What terms of the Treaty caused the most resentment in Germany?
- 2 Give one example of a right-wing uprising up to 1923.
- 3 How did the occupation of the Ruhr help lead to hyperinflation?
- 4 Who lost out and who benefited from German hyperinflation in 1923?

Tip

Six-mark questions require you to explain your reasons using your own knowledge to support your answer. Make sure you use full paragraphs and explain more than one reason in your answer.

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1.4 Could the Treaty be justified at the time?

REVISED

In Germany, the Treaty was seen as unfair and too harsh

- The German public resented the reparation payments which weakened the economy when Germany was trying to rebuild its finances and trade after the war. The severe military restrictions were unpopular as it left Germany defenceless and encircled by powerful foreign armies. The territorial losses left many Germans living outside of their borders. The War Guilt Clause led to a prevailing feeling of humiliation.
- The terms of the Treaty caused economic problems and political instability, including nationalist uprisings and violence.
- In Britain, some politicians and journalists criticised the harshness of the Treaty of Versailles and claimed it would lead to a future war with Germany.

However, some onlookers thought the Treaty let the defeated nations off too easily

- Many in France took this view and claimed that when Germany had imposed the **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** on Russia in 1918, its terms were far harsher than those in the Treaty of Versailles.
- Marshal Foch of the French army claimed Versailles was merely a twenty-year ceasefire and did not protect France sufficiently from future invasion.
- Some members of the British and French public wanted revenge on Germany for the casualties of the war and thought Germany should have been completely incapacitated by the Treaty so it could not be a threat in the future.

Some believed that the Treaty of Versailles was fair and the best that could have been achieved

- Some journalists in Britain commented that Germany got off relatively lightly and would be able to afford the economic and territorial costs of the Treaty.
- Some in the USA saw the Treaty as the only possible compromise that could be made between the Allies after the war.

Test yourself

- 1 What were the most damaging terms of the Treaty of Versailles for Germany's economy?
- 2 What terms of the Treaty might have led to some Germans feeling vulnerable?
- 3 Why might France have viewed the Treaty as not harsh enough?
- 4 Make a list of some of the compromises in the Treaty of Versailles.

Task

Draw a table with two columns. Put the heading 'Too harsh' at the top of the first column and the heading 'Not harsh enough' at the top of the second column. Use the information in Chapter 1 to find examples to support each heading. Then, write a short conclusion to reach an overall judgement about whether you think the Treaty could be justified or not.

Key point

Many in Germany viewed the Treaty of Versailles as overly harsh and unfair. Germany had not been part of the peace talks and had been forced to accept the terms or face occupation. In contrast, many among the victorious powers saw their terms as fair and much of the public even believed it was not harsh enough after the devastation of the First World War.

Practice question, Paper 1

'The Treaty of Versailles was too harsh on Germany.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. [10 marks]

Tip

Ten-mark questions require a balanced and structured response supported by your own knowledge. Try to think of a counter-argument to the one given in the question.

Key terms

Make sure you know these terms, people or events and can use them or describe them confidently.

Anschluss Joining of Austria and Germany as one state – forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles 1919 but carried out by Hitler in 1938.

Big Three Three main leaders at the Paris Peace Conference 1919 – Lloyd George (Britain), Wilson (USA), Clemenceau (France).

Conscription Compulsory service in the armed forces.

Demilitarised zone Area of land where troops cannot be stationed, e.g. Rhineland area of Germany after the First World War.

Democracy Political system in which the population votes for its government in elections held on a regular basis.

Diktat Term used in Germany to describe the Treaty of Versailles because Germany had no say in the terms of the Treaty.

Disarmament Process of scrapping land, sea or air weapons.

Fourteen Points The statement of principles for the peace negotiations after the First World War, made by Woodrow Wilson.

General strike Large-scale co-ordinated strike by workers designed to stop essential services like power, transport, etc.

Hyperinflation Process of money becoming worthless; most notable instance was in Germany in 1923.

Idealist/realist An idealist is motivated by particular beliefs, e.g. commitment to right of peoples to rule themselves. A realist is a politician who accepts a particular course of action even though it is not what they would prefer to do.

Kapp Putsch Attempt to overthrow democratically elected government in Germany in 1920.

League of Nations Organisation set up to manage international disputes and prevent wars after the First World War. Brainchild of US President Woodrow Wilson.

Paris Peace Conference

Conference which ran 1919–23 to decide how to officially end the First World War. Resulted in Treaty of Versailles with Germany and three other treaties.

Public opinion View of majority or large section of population on an issue, most important in democracies where politicians often must win over public opinion.

Reparations Compensation to be paid by Germany to France, Belgium, Britain and other states as a result of the First World War. Rhineland Area of Germany that bordered France. Under Treaty of Versailles it was demilitarised – no German forces were allowed there.

Right-wing Political groups or individuals with beliefs in national pride, authoritarian government and opposed to communism.

Ruhr Main industrial area of Germany.

Saar Region on the border between France and Germany. Run by League of Nations from 1920 to 1935 when its people voted to become part of Germany.

Secret treaties International agreements between countries that are not made public to other nations.

Self-determination The right for people to choose which nation they belong to, often by vote.

Territory An area of land or country controlled by another nation.

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk Treaty between Germany and Russia in 1918 which ended war between the two. Germany took massive amounts of land and reparations.

Treaty of Versailles Treaty that officially ended war between Allies and Germany in 1919. Controversial because of the terms, which Germany claimed were excessively harsh.

War guilt Clause in Treaty of Versailles which forced Germany to accept blame for the First World War.

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To what extent was the League of Nations a success?

2.1 How far did weaknesses in the League's organisation and membership make failure inevitable?

REVISED

Leaders did not agree on the role of the League

- British leaders like Lloyd George thought the League should only meet in emergencies.
- France wanted a strong League with its own army.
- Wilson wanted an organisation that would try to solve international issues, like a world parliament.

The absence of the USA was a serious blow

- Despite Wilson's plans, many members of the US Congress opposed the League. They did not want the USA to be involved in international affairs.
- Republican candidate Warren Harding campaigned for isolationism and a 'return to normalcy' and won a landslide victory. The USA never joined the League.

The League was limited by its membership

- The USA, the most powerful and wealthy country in the world, never joined, which severely reduced the League's ability to deal with aggressive nations (see Factfile).
- The Treaty of Versailles forbade Germany to join (until 1926).
- The communist Soviet Union was refused membership, for ideological reasons, until 1934.
- Britain and France were the most powerful countries in the League.
 Both were severely weakened by the First World War, and both had other priorities: for Britain, its empire; for France, the threat of Germany.
- Both Britain and France felt only the USA had enough influence and resources to head up the League. This would lead both countries to bypass the League when it suited them.

The League's structure was democratic, but it had weaknesses

- The League's Covenant set up three main bodies: the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat.
- A Permanent Court of Justice and International Labour Organization (ILO) were also attached to the League along with various agencies, committees and commissions (see table on page 10).
- The League was funded by member states and budgets were set by the Assembly.

Key point

Wilson had envisaged the League to be a world parliament that could stop conflict before it started, but without the USA it was dominated by Britain and France. The League's organisation and structure also meant it was often slow to act on international disputes.

Test yourself

- 1 Why did the USA not want to join the League in 1920?
- Was the League too idealistic to fulfil its own Covenant?

Factfile

League of Nations' sanctions

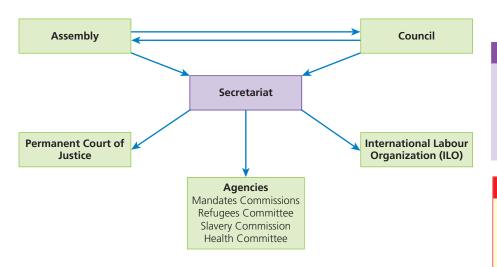
Moral condemnation:

The Council could use the might of world opinion to condemn aggressive actions.

Trade sanctions: The Council could impose trade boycotts on the aggressor (but the USA could continue to trade with them).

Military force: Member countries could raise a force against the aggressor (difficult without the USA's military might).

Key body	Roles and functions	Strengths	Weaknesses
Assembly	The League's 'parliament'; each country had one representative in the assembly (there were 42 founding members); could admit new members; discussed and decided general policies	Very democratic – each member had one vote so no one country could dominate decisions	Only met once per year and decisions had to be unanimous, meaning it was slow to act
Council	Smaller 'executive' (government) body that met more often and in emergencies to resolve disputes. Had a variety of powers to stop aggressive nations (see Factfile on page 9)	Met up to five times per year and could react more quickly than the Assembly	Permanent members (Britain, France, Italy and Japan) could dominate the Council's decisions; each member had a veto so one member could stop a decisive action
Secretariat	Civil service of the League – kept records and administered all the different bodies	Lots of experts brought together	Expensive to run and grew larger as the League's roles expanded over time
Permanent Court of International Justice	Based in The Hague in the Netherlands. Judges settled disputes and provided legal advice to the Council	Made up of legal experts from member states; held in high regard by many	Lacked the power to follow up its rulings
International Labour Organization	Brought together employers, employees and governments to improve working conditions	See focus point 2.2 (page 11)	See focus point 2.2 (page 11)
Agencies	Commissions and committees set up to deal with social and economic issues caused by the First World War and peace settlements	See focus point 2.3 (pages 12–13)	See focus point 2.3 (pages 12–13)



Task

Use each letter of the word LEAGUE below to write a sentence about the League's organisation and membership. Try to write three strengths and three weaknesses. The first has been done for you.

League of Nations' members each had a vote in the Assembly meaning it was very representative.

E	
A	
G	
U	
_ _	

Practice question, Paper 1

Describe the main features of the organisation and structure of the League of Nations. [4 marks]

Tip

Four-mark questions require you to give accurate and relevant detail. You do not need to write long answers or explanations. Save more of your time for the questions that carry higher marks.

- 1 Which were the most important bodies in the League's organisation?
- 2 In what ways was the League a representative organisation?

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2.2 How successful were the League's attempts at peacekeeping in the 1920s?

REVISED

The League had mixed results with border disputes

- The Covenant of the League had four main aims: to discourage aggression from any nation and act together to prevent war (Article 10: collective security); to promote international co-operation and trade; to encourage disarmament; and to improve people's living and working conditions.
- The League's 42 members began work in 1920.

Aaland Islands, 1921 These islands in the Baltic Sea were claimed by both Finland and Sweden. The League ruled in favour of Finland, and Sweden accepted the decision. Rating: Total success

Bulgaria, 1925 Greece was ordered to pay £45,000 in compensation after an incident on the Bulgarian border. Greece accepted the ruling, but felt it had been treated unfairly when compared to Italy during the Corfu incident, 1923. **Rating:** Partial success

Corfu, 1923 In response to the murder of an Italian officer, Mussolini occupied the Greek island of Corfu. Greece appealed to the League, which at first condemned the invasion. Mussolini then demanded that the Conference of Ambassadors should decide, rather than the League. Mussolini got his way: Britain and France did not act against Italy and made the League change its ruling, forcing Greece to pay compensation. Mussolini's bullying tactics had worked. Rating: Complete failure

Key point

The League was the dreamchild of Woodrow Wilson, who hoped international disputes could be solved by diplomacy and goodwill. However, the League was fatally weakened by the absence of the USA and had varying success throughout the 1920s.

Vilna, 1920–29 Poland took control of Vilna in Lithuania. Lithuania appealed to the League and the League asked Poland to pull out. Poland refused the League's ruling and Britain and France refused to act against Poland. Rating: Complete failure

Complete a table like the one below to compare Sources A and B.

	Source A	Source B
What event is the source referring to?		
What details in the sources are similar?		
What details in the sources are different?		
What is the main message/attitude of the author?		

Practice question, Paper 2

Study Sources A and B.

Task

How similar are these two sources? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8 m

[8 marks]

SOURCE A Adapted from Peter J. Yearwood's Article 'Consistently with honour' taken from the *Journal of Contemporary History*, 1986, making reference to the Corfu crisis.

The Italian occupation of Corfu on 31 August 1923 confronted the League of Nations with what was recognised as its first major test. Many people thought, both then and later, that the League failed this test and that this was also a failure for the policy of Great Britain, which had appeared as the strongest champion of the League during the crisis.

SOURCE B Adapted from E. Wright's A Dictionary of World History (2.ed), 2006. Following the bombardment by Italy in which 16 people were killed, Mussolini issued an ultimatum, demanding a heavy indemnity [compensation]. Greece appealed to the League of Nations, which referred the dispute to the Council of Ambassadors. The Council ordered Greece to pay 50 million lire. Under pressure from Britain and France, Italian troops withdrew. The outcome of the dispute raised serious doubts about the strength and efficiency of the League.

Tip

Some Paper 2 questions will ask you to compare the details in two sources. You need to make sure that you can compare the similarities and differences between the sources and the attitudes or messages of the authors. Make sure you understand what event/s they are referring to!

- 1 What successes did the League have in solving border disputes in the 1920s?
- 2 What failures did the League have in dealing with border disputes in the 1920s?
- 3 What were the main reasons the League failed in the border disputes in Corfu and Vilna?

2.3 How important was the League's humanitarian work?

REVISED

The League attempted to tackle major problems in the world after the war

- Many former colonies that were part of the German and Ottoman empires were run as mandates by Britain and France on behalf of the League. The Mandates Commission was set up to ensure that these mandates were run properly, and that the interests of the people of that territory were being protected.
- Hundreds of thousands of refugees had fled from areas of conflict during the war. The Refugees Committee was set up to help repatriate them or provide temporary clean shelter in refugee camps.
- The Slavery Commission worked to abolish slavery, particularly in East Africa, but also in other parts of the world.
- The Health Committee worked to educate people about health and sanitation. It also worked with health organisations around the world to stop the spread of dangerous diseases such as malaria.

The International Labour Organization aimed to address working conditions around the world

- The ILO worked with employers, trade union representatives and governments to improve working conditions.
- It investigated working conditions in different countries and proposed ways to improve them. However, the ILO could only persuade member states to adopt their ideas – they could not be mandated.
- Many at the Paris Peace Conference hoped that better pay and conditions for workers would reduce support for communist parties after the war.

Key point

One of the League's greatest successes in the 1920s was its humanitarian work. which aimed to improve living and working conditions for people around the world. This was largely achieved through the work of the League's agencies, which included various permanent and temporary committees and commissions that each dealt with specific social issues.

The League's agencies had some successes

Agency	Successes	Failures
International Labour Organization	Improved health and safety by banning poisonous white lead from paint and limited hours for child labour. Campaigned for the introduction of an eight-hour day and 48-hour week.	It lacked funds to implement the changes and members refused to adopt the changes.
Refugees Committee	Helped 425,000 displaced people return to their homes or find new ones; helped stamp out diseases like cholera in the refugee camps.	It was plagued by a constant lack of funds.
Health Committee	Spread good medical practices and helped introduce vaccines for diseases like malaria; became the World Health Organization in 1948.	The Health Committee's work was seriously affected by the Depression of the 1930s.
Slavery Commission	Freed 200,000 enslaved people in Sierra Leone and organised raids against slave traders in Burma.	Failed to establish procedures for reviewing the incidence of slavery in member states.
Economic and Financial Organisation	Financial reconstruction in Austria (1922) and Hungary (1923). The League oversaw the economic assistance to both countries in the form of loans.	The work was cut short by the Depression of the 1930s.
Disarmament Commission	Washington Naval Conference, 1921 limited the navies of France, Britain, Japan and the USA. Locarno Treaty, 1925 saw Germany accept its western borders, as set out in the Treaty of Versailles.	The League's reputation was damaged as Germany was the only country to be forced to disarm. The Disarmament Conference was not held until 1932.

Practice question, Paper 1

Describe the humanitarian work of the League of Nations in the 1920s.

[4 marks]

Task

Use the mnemonic below to provide four more pieces of factual information about the humanitarian work of the League of Nations in the 1920s. The first one has been done for you as an example:

Hundreds of thousands of refugees were given temporary shelter by the Refugees Committee.

М

Α

N

Test yourself

- In your opinion, which agency of the League was the most successful? Explain your answer.
- 2 In your opinion, which agency of the League was the least successful? Explain your answer.
- 3 What issue affected the ILO's ability to improve working conditions?

2.4 How far did the Depression make the work of the League more difficult in the 1930s?

In October 1929, the Wall Street Crash occurred

- The 1920s had been a period of economic recovery and the USA had grown wealthy.
- As a result, US loans had been made to many countries, including Germany.
- The Wall Street Crash had a massive effect on the US economy, leading to bankruptcies and high unemployment.

A worldwide depression followed

- The USA saw unemployment rise by over 600 per cent between 1929 and 1932, meaning 30 per cent of the working population were without jobs and US loans were called back as banks collapsed.
- In Germany, unemployment reached nearly 6 million in 1932, which led to chaos on the streets and a surge in support for extremist parties like the Nazis and Communists.
- In Japan, the Depression led to a drop in its main export, silk. Japan was unable to buy important raw materials and food.
- Britain and France, the League's two leading powers, were unwilling to help sort out international disputes while their economies were suffering.
- Many countries cut expenditure as worldwide trade dropped over 50 per cent between the world's major powers. Some countries put up tariffs on imports and this made things worse.
- The spirit of international co-operation was lost.

Key point

The Depression of the 1930s swept away much of the goodwill of the 1920s. League members started to focus on their own economies and ignore the growing militarism around the world.

Some countries turned to extremism and militarism

- Britain, Germany, Japan and Italy all started to rearm to help solve their unemployment problems.
- In Japan, the military wanted to expand Japan's overseas empire to access the raw materials and food it needed.
- In Italy, the fascist government under Mussolini believed that an empire in the Mediterranean and Africa would help solve economic problems.
- In Germany, the Nazis came to power under Hitler in 1933. He promised to solve Germany's economic problems by rearming and winning back territory lost in the Treaty of Versailles.

Many nations were now weak and aggressive

- The League had failed in the 1920s when more aggressive nations had used force now leading members like Japan, Italy and Germany were threatening military expansion.
- Britain and France had been weakened by the Depression and were not willing to spend money or send forces to stop international aggression.
- Nationalism was on the rise in many countries leading to dictatorships that were preparing their countries for war – the League lacked an army or the might of the USA to stop them.

The League, weakened by the Depression, faced its first crisis when Japan invaded Manchuria

Why Manchuria?

- **Economic:** Japan lacked food and raw materials and the Depression had ruined its silk trade with the USA. Manchuria had rich natural resources and links to Asian markets.
- 2 Military: China's military was inferior to Japan's modern armed forces.
- 3 **Geographical:** Japan had controlled Korea, which was on the border of Manchuria, since 1905, and controlled the South Manchurian Railway which carried food and fuel to Japan.

Task

Draw a spider diagram with 'How the Depression impacted the League' in the centre and 'Unemployment', 'Extremism' and 'Militarism' as branches. Add some facts.

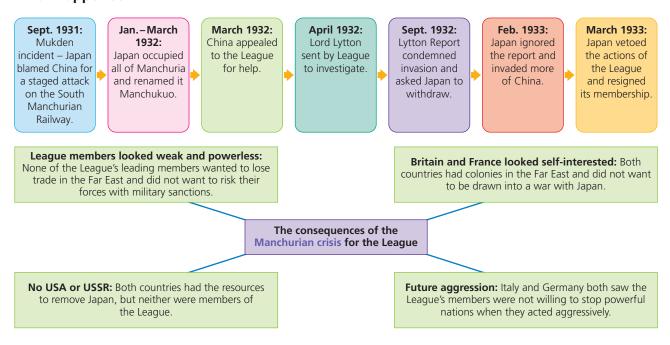
Test yourself

- 1 How did the Wall Street Crash lead to worldwide depression?
- 2 Why did Germany, Italy and Japan believe military expansion would solve their problems?
- 3 Why would the League's ability to solve international disputes be made more difficult?

Practice question, Paper 1

Explain why the
Depression led to
problems for the League
of Nations. [6 marks]

What happened?



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The League also failed in its aim to disarm countries

- The League's Covenant was committed to disarmament, but only Germany was forced to disarm.
- In 1932, the Disarmament Conference was convened in Geneva.
- Germany proposed that all nations disarm to its level. The Conference failed to agree.
- In 1933, Hitler started to rearm Germany in secret. He left the Conference and the League.
- France was concerned over its security with Germany and refused to disarm. Poland and Czechoslovakia were also concerned as they bordered Germany.
- By 1934, the major countries had failed to reach any agreement and many countries began to rearm.

Italy's invasion of Abyssinia was the final blow to the League's reputation

Why Abyssinia?

- **1** Historical: In 1896, the Italian army had been defeated by a poorly equipped Abyssinian army. Mussolini wanted revenge and a military victory to boost his prestige at home.
- **2 Economic:** Abyssinia had rich mineral deposits and fertile land that could be added to Italy's empire.
- 3 Geographical: Abyssinia was bordered by two other Italian colonies -Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. This would give Mussolini a stronger foothold in East Africa, which was dominated by British colonies.

What happened? Dec. 1934:

Mussolini claimed Abyssinia after a border dispute at the Wal-Wal oasis.

Jan.-Oct. 1935:

Italy prepared for invasion while negotiating with the League to settle the dispute; Mussolini rejected the League's iudaements.

Oct. 1935:

Italy invaded Abvssinia in a ruthless attack that included the use of chemical weapons.

Nov.-Dec. 1935:

The League condemned the invasion and imposed economic sanctions, except on oil.

Dec. 1935:

Hoare-Laval Pact signed but it was leaked to the French press and Britain and France were blamed.

Test yourself

- How similar were the causes of the Manchurian and Abyssinian invasions?
- 2 Why did Britain and France fail to act against Japan?
- 3 What were the main reasons for the failure of the Disarmament Conference?
- 4 Were Britain and France the main reason why the League failed over the Abyssinian crisis?

Practice question, Paper 1

'The weak leadership of France and Britain was the main reason the League failed in Manchuria and Abyssinia.'

How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

[10 marks]

May 1936: Abyssinian capital,

Addis Ababa, captured.

Britain and France: The Hoare–Laval Pact was a secret deal to give Mussolini two-thirds of Abyssinia in return for ending the war. When it was leaked it looked like the League's leading members were following their own interests rather than the League's.

Stresa Pact, 1935: Britain and France wanted Italy as an ally against Hitler and did not take the situation seriously enough. They didn't even close the Suez Canal, so Italy was able to continue to supply its troops. They were prepared to ignore the League, which weakened its authority.

The consequences of the Abyssinian crisis for the League

No USA: The League had banned arms sales and loans to Italy but not oil over fear the USA would not support the sanctions. The delays in a decision were fatal for Abyssinia. The League's sanctions were ineffective without the membership of the USA.

Hitler's actions: Hitler saw the League was preoccupied and launched an invasion of the Rhineland in 1936, which broke the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. In November, angered by Britain and France, Mussolini allied himself with Hitler to form the Rome-Berlin Axis and Italy left the League in 1937.

Tip

Remember, ten-mark questions require you to write a balanced, essay-style response. It is worth spending a few minutes planning your answer. To plan for this question you could draw up a table with evidence and explanations for three factors: 'The weak leadership of France

and Britain'; 'No USA in the League'; 'The League's weak structure and organisation'. Make sure you use relevant examples in your paragraphs to explain the different factors and write a conclusion to make an overall judgement.

Key terms

Make sure you know these terms, people or events and can use them or describe them confidently.

Abyssinian crisis International tensions resulting from invasion of Abyssinia (present-day Ethiopia) by Italy in 1935.

Article 10 Article of League of Nations Covenant which promised security to League members from attack by other states.

Assembly Main forum of the League of Nations for discussing important issues.

Collective security Key principle of the League of Nations that all members could expect to be secure because the other members of the League would defend them from attack.

Commissions Organisations set up by the League of Nations to tackle economic, social and health problems.

Conference of Ambassadors

Organisation involving Britain, France, Italy and Japan which met to sort out international disputes. Worked alongside League of Nations. Council Influential body within the League of Nations which contained the most powerful members of the League.

Covenant Agreement or set of rules.

Depression Period of economic downturn where trade between countries and inside countries declines, often leading to unemployment.

Dictatorship System in which one person runs a country.

Disarmament Process of scrapping land, sea or air weapons.

Isolationism Policy in the USA in the 1920s which argued that the USA should not get involved in international disputes.

Manchurian crisis International crisis sparked off when Japan invaded the Chinese province of Manchuria in 1931. Despite investigating, the League of Nations failed to stop Japanese aggression.

Mandate Territory assigned to another nation to run on behalf of the League of Nations.

Military force Use of armed force (e.g. troops, bombing by aircraft) as opposed to political or economic methods.

Moral condemnation Criticism of a state for actions against another state – prelude to stronger action such as economic sanctions or military force.

Normalcy Term used by US
President Warren Harding in the
1920s to describe the return to
normal life after the First World
War.

Secretariat The section of the League of Nations which carried out administrative tasks and also the agencies of the League.

Tariffs Taxes on imported goods which made them more expensive – often designed to protect makers of homeproduced goods

Trade sanctions Restricting sale of goods to a nation or sales from a nation.

Unanimous Agreed by all.
Wall Street Crash Collapse in

value of US companies in October 1929, which led to widespread economic distress.

3.1 What were the long-term consequences of the Treaty of Versailles?

REVISED

The Versailles settlement left many major powers dissatisfied

- Italy had hoped to gain more out of the peace settlement, especially more colonies from Germany and Turkey.
- Japan had its racial equality clause rejected at the Paris Peace Conference.
- Germany resented the Treaty of Versailles. It opposed the harsh territorial, military and financial terms. Since the end of the First World War, Weimar politicians had been accused of stabbing Germany in the back for signing the armistice and the Treaty and were referred to as the 'November Criminals' by right-wing nationalists like Hitler.
- Germans had been split apart by the Treaty which led to nationalism:
 East Prussia had been separated by the Polish Corridor and nearly
 4 million Germans lived in the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia.
- Many in Britain began to feel that the Treaty was too harsh on Germany.
 They wanted to see Germany return as a defence against the threat of the Soviet Union.
- In France, the public felt the Treaty was not harsh enough and wanted reassurances, especially from Britain, that their borders would remain secure.

Hitler became the German Chancellor in 1933 and promised to break the terms of the Treaty

- Hitler laid out his plans to overturn the terms of the Treaty in Mein Kampf (1925).
- Some terms of the Treaty were already being ignored; for example reparation payments had already ceased.
- Hitler wanted to rearm and felt it was unfair that Germany was surrounded by countries with more powerful armies, while Germany was defenceless with only 100,000 soldiers and no air force.
- Hitler's desire to reunite all German-speaking people, create living space in the East (*Lebensraum*) and destroy communism would mean the terms of the Treaty would be violated.

Hitler breaks the terms of the Treaty of Versailles

1933: 1934: 1937: 1938: Germany leaves the Hitler tries to annex Hitler reintroduces Hitler tests new Hitler annexes League of Nations Austria but is conscription and air force in Spanish Austria (Anschluss) occupies the Civil War. and takes over and begins to stopped by secretly rearm. Mussolini. Rhineland. the Sudetenland.

Key point

The peace settlement had been a compromise and left many parties dissatisfied. In Germany, in particular, the Treaty of Versailles had bred resentment and Hitler promised to overturn its terms and make Germany a world power again.

Task

Create a spider diagram with 'Hitler breaks the Treaty of Versailles' in the centre and the branches labelled: Rearmament, League of Nations, Anschluss, German territory. Add dates and examples.

Practice question, Paper 1

Describe how Hitler broke the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

[4 marks]

1939: Hitler takes over all

of Czechoslovakia

and invades Poland

– war begins!

Tip

Four-mark questions should have short answers. Only spend a few minutes answering them and do not waste time writing lots of background information.

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3.2 What were the consequences of the failures of the League of Nations in the 1930s?

REVISED

The League was supposed to uphold collective security and stop aggressive nations, but ...

- The League had been seriously weakened by the effects of the worldwide depression. Member states, including Britain and France, concentrated on solving their own economic problems rather than concerning themselves with collective security.
- Britain increasingly viewed the Treaty as unfair and too harsh. The League was supposed to enforce the Treaty of Versailles but failed to stop Germany when it reoccupied the Rhineland in 1936.
- The League failed to stop Hitler rearming. Britain, France and Italy had formed the Stresa Pact in 1935 to try to condemn Hitler, but they were not prepared to go to war. Britain, France and Italy all began to rearm.
- The crises in Manchuria and Abyssinia had shown the world the League was powerless to stop aggressive nations and that Britain and France were not prepared to use military force. This encouraged Japan, Italy and Germany to take further actions.

The Saar region of Germany had been run by the League since 1919, but ...

- In 1935, the League held a plebiscite for people in the Saar region to vote on whether they wanted to be run by Germany again. Many opponents of Hitler were living in the Saar region and he was fearful of a negative result.
- Hitler allowed the plebiscite to take place and over 90 per cent of the population voted to return to German rule. This was a great propaganda success for Hitler and another blow to the League.
- Hitler promised to make no further claims to French territory, but it encouraged him to take further gambles in the future – the Rhineland would be next in 1936.

Task

The factors in the first column of the table are reasons why the League failed. Use the second column to explain the impact this would have on Hitler's foreign policy. Remember to add examples. The first one has been done for you.

Factor	Explanation
Depression	The Depression caused high unemployment in many countries, especially Germany where it reached nearly 6 million in 1932. This led to Hitler promising to rearm Germany and expand its borders to help solve the unemployment problem. The League members were too focused on problems in their own countries to effectively oppose Hitler.
Treaty of Versailles	
Disarmament	
Manchuria and Abyssinia	
Saar	

Key point

The League of Nations was supposed to maintain world peace through its system of collective security, but the Depression made its work almost impossible as leading members looked inwards to solve their countries' problems. This gave Hitler the opportunity to begin his aggressive foreign policy unopposed.

Practice question, Paper 1

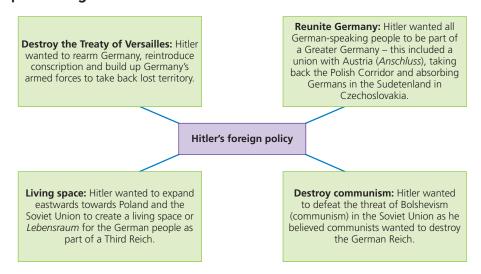
Explain why the League of Nations' failures encouraged Hitler's aggressive foreign policy. [6 marks]

Tip

Remember that for six-mark questions you need to explain the reasons you give. Use full paragraphs and provide relevant knowledge to support your explanations.

- 1 How far was the Depression the cause of all the League's problems in the 1930s?
- 2 Do you think the Manchurian and Abyssinian crises would have encouraged Hitler?
- 3 How was the Saar plebiscite a body blow for the League?

As Chancellor, Hitler wanted to make Germany a great power again



Hitler's initial foreign policy moves were seen as reasonable

- Hitler began rearming Germany in secret. After withdrawing Germany from the League of Nations, he staged a military rally in 1935 and reintroduced conscription in the same year.
- Nothing was done in response as other countries were rearming and Britain believed the Treaty had punished Germany too severely.
- Hitler didn't achieve everything he wanted. In 1934, Mussolini moved Italian troops to the Austrian border, which forced Hitler to back down in his attempt to annex Austria.

Hitler's first foreign policy gamble was the Rhineland

- The Rhineland had been demilitarised as part of the terms of the Treaty
 of Versailles and accepted by Germany as part of the 1925 Locarno
 Treaties. It was designed to protect France from German invasions.
- Hitler used the alliance between France and Russia in 1935 as an excuse to invade. He said Germany was surrounded by hostile forces.
- Germany's invasion went unimpeded the League of Nations was busy
 with the Abyssinian crisis, Britain believed Germany had a right to the
 Rhineland and France was about to hold an election so politicians did
 not want to start a conflict with Germany.

In 1936, Germany tried out its weapons in the Spanish Civil War

- The Spanish Civil War was fought between the left-wing Republican Government and the right-wing nationalist rebels led by General Franco.
- The Soviet leader, Stalin, sent weapons and aircraft to support the Republicans and Mussolini and Hitler declared their support for Franco.
- Britain and France refused to get directly involved.
- Germany sent pilots and aircraft from the new *Luftwaffe* (air force) to take part in bombing raids on civilian populations.

- 1 Did Hitler's foreign policy aims suggest war was inevitable?
- Why do you think Hitler's early foreign policy was not as aggressive as later on?
- 3 How did the success of the Rhineland invasion encourage Hitler to become more aggressive in his foreign policy?
- 4 How did Hitler manipulate events in Austria to his advantage in 1938?

- The bonds between Mussolini and Hitler strengthened and Britain and France increased the scale and speed of their **rearmament**.
- At the same time, in 1936, Germany allied itself with Japan to form the anti-communist Anti-Comintern Pact and then made an alliance with Italy in 1937 called the Rome-Berlin Axis alliance.

Hitler, spurred on by his success and good luck, turned his attention to Austria again in 1938

- Many in Austria supported the idea of a union with Germany and there
 was already a strong Nazi Party there. Hitler told the Nazis to stir up
 trouble in Austria and demand the union.
- The Austrian Chancellor, Schuschnigg, appealed to Britain and France for help. No help was offered, and Schuschnigg held a plebiscite. Hitler feared losing the vote so demanded Schuschnigg's resignation. He was replaced by the Nazi leader Seyss-Inquart who requested help from Germany to restore order. Hitler's troops marched into Austria unopposed in March 1938.
- The plebiscite was held and over 99 per cent voted in favour of a union.
- The British prime minister, Neville Chamberlain, said it had been wrong to not allow a union in the Treaty of Versailles in the first place. Hitler's gamble had paid off again.

Practice question, Paper 2

Why was this photo published in 1937? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge.

[7 marks]

SOURCE A 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'.

What year was the photograph published? What event is it referring to?



What message is the photograph giving the audience? How is it achieving this?

How does the photographer want the audience to react? What does the photographer want to persuade or convince the audience to do or to think?

Task

Source-based exam questions in Paper 2 sometimes ask you to explain 'why' a source was made at a certain time. This means you need to work out the purpose of the source. Study Source A (below) and read the provenance. You will need to use your own knowledge of events on the date it was published to help you explain. Answer the questions around the image to help you analyse the photograph.

Tip

Paper 2 questions that ask you 'why' something was published or made are asking you to work out the *purpose* rather than the *message* of the source. This means you need to think about the impact the source would have had on its intended audience. Is it trying to persuade or convince them to feel a certain emotion, change their attitudes towards something or encourage them to support or oppose a particular group, person, policy or action? Always look at the date of the source in the provenance so you can use your own knowledge to support your answer.

Is the photo supportive or critical of the event? What details suggest this? Reinforce knowledge and skills using a concise summary of the syllabus content and step-by-step support from an experienced author.

- >> Target revision on the issues, with Key Points for each section within a topic.
- >> Build history vocabulary with a Key Terms glossary for each topic.
- >> Check your understanding and progress with Test Yourself questions.
- Reinforce knowledge and exam skills with exam-style Practice questions and model answers.
- >> Clarify key points and ensure common mistakes are avoided with advice and tips.

This Study and Revision Guide is designed for examination from 2024.

Benjamin Harrison has taught IGCSE, GCSE and A Level History for 23 years in the state and private sectors. He has 8 years of experience as a Head of History and a Humanities Faculty Director and is currently an Assistant Headteacher. He has 20 years examining experience with major awarding bodies and is currently a principal examiner for History who writes papers and mark schemes, leads online training presentations, and reports on past exams.

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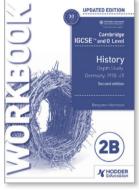
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