

CONFLICT AND CO-OPERATION 1918–1939

THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES:

David Lord George: Prime Minister of Great Britain

What did he want?

- 1) He wanted to preserve Britain's position as the greatest naval power. He wanted the German naval fleet sunk
- 2) Britain wanted to protect its Empire and trading interests.
- 3) Wanted a 'just' peace that would be tough enough to please the electors who wanted to 'make Germany pay', but would leave Germany strong enough to trade.

French Prime Minister: Georges Clemenceau

What did he want?

1. Revenge and to punish Germany.
2. To return Alsace-Lorraine to France.
3. No League of Nations.
4. An independent Rhineland.
5. Huge reparations.
6. To disband the German army so that Germany would never be strong enough to attack France again.

US President Woodrow Wilson

What did he want?

1. To end war by creating a League of Nations based on his Fourteen Points.
2. To ensure Germany was not destroyed.
3. Not to blame Germany for the war - he hated the Guilt Clause.
4. No more secret treaties
5. Countries must seek to reduce their weapons and their armed forces
6. National self-determination should allow people of the same nationality to govern themselves and one nationality should not have the power to govern another

The main points of the Treaty [**MEMORY WORD: BRAT**]

The first 26 Articles of the Treaty set out the Covenant of the [League of Nations](#); the rest of the 440 Articles detailed Germany's punishment:

1. Germany had to accept the **Blame** for starting the war (Clause 231). This was vital because it provided the justification for...
2. Germany had to pay £6,600 million (called **Reparations**) for the damage done during the war.
3. Germany was forbidden to have submarines or an air force. She could have a navy of only six battleships, and an **Army** of just 100,000 men. In addition, Germany was not allowed to place any troops in the Rhineland, the strip of land, 50 miles wide, next to France.
4. Germany lost **Territory** (land) in Europe (see map, below). Germany's colonies were given to Britain and France.

(Also, Germany was forbidden to join the League of Nations, or unite with Austria.)

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: WHAT WAS IT AND HOW EFFECTIVE WAS IT?

FOUR AIMS OF THE LEAGUE [memory word: **SIDE**]

1. **S**top war – (Article 10 of the Covenant = 'collective security')
2. **I**mprove people's lives and **J**obs – Encourage co-operation in trade/ Economic and social agencies.
3. **D**isarmament
4. **E**nforce the Treaty of Versailles

MEMBERSHIP OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

1. 42 countries joined at the start. By the 1930s this had risen to 60.
2. May 1920, the US Senate voted against Versailles.
3. The USSR did not join the League. In 1919 it set up the Comintern to cause revolution.
4. Germany was not allowed to join the League as a punishment for causing WWI.
5. The leading members were Britain and France, helped by Japan and Italy.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE LEAGUE



Secretariat: supposed to co-ordinate the different functions of the League/ too few secretaries to do the work - slow and inefficient

Council: met 4-5 times a year/ 5 permanent members - Br, Fr, It, Jap & Ger - with a veto.

Assembly: the League's main meeting, held once a year/ decisions only by unanimous vote

+ the Committees: **C**ourt of international justice/ **H**ealth committee/ **I**nternational labour organization/ **R**efugees committee/ **M**andates commission/ **S**lavery commission

ALSO Conference of ambassadors (not really part of the League's organisation).

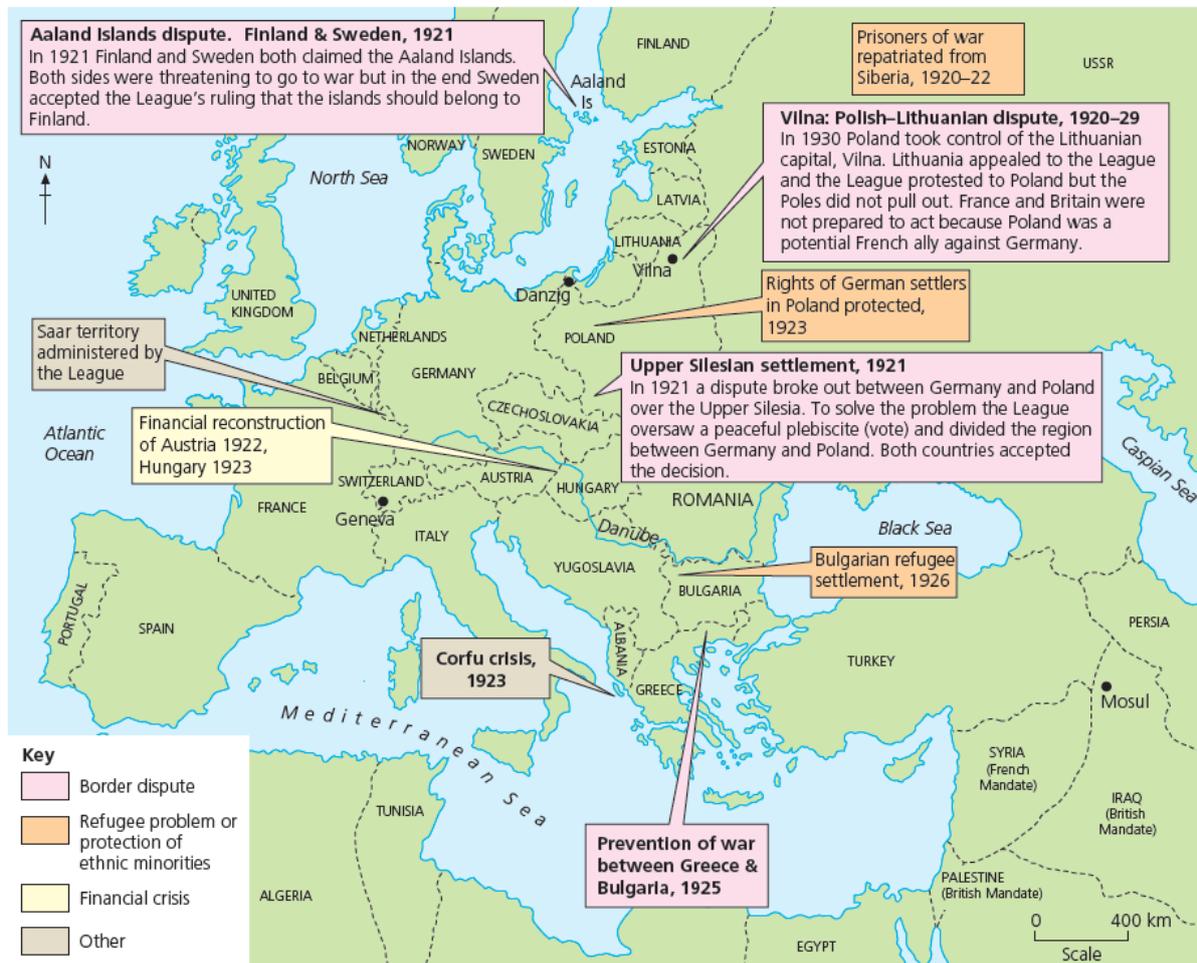
THREE STRENGTHS OF THE LEAGUE [memory Word: **SUM**]

1. **S**et up by the Treaty of Versailles
2. **U**niversal membership, all of which had signed the Covenant promising to support the League.
3. **M**eans of Influence – Covenant (26 promises which every member agreed to follow)/ Moral condemnation (public opinion)/ Arbitration (act as a referee)/

Sanctions (refuse to trade)/ Military Force (send an army)/ 'Community of Power' (acting together).

SIX SUCCESSES OF THE LEAGUE IN THE 1920s

1. **Silesia, 1921** – Germany and Poland agreed to partition after a plebiscite.
2. **Aaland Islands, 1921** – said the islands should belong to Finland; Sweden and Finland agreed.
3. **Mosul, 1924** – the Turks demanded Mosul, Iraq. The League supported Iraq; Turkey agreed.
4. **Bulgaria, 1925** – Greece invaded Bulgaria, but withdrew when Bulgaria appealed to the League. The League got their way and Greece obeyed them.
5. **Other:** 400,000 Prisoners of War repatriated/ Turkish refugee camps (1922)/ Leprosy/ Drugs companies closed down/ Attacked slave owners in Sierra Leone and Burma/ Economic advice to Austria and Hungary
6. **Kellogg-Briand Pact, 1928** – signed by 23 nations and supported by 65, to outlaw war. This CLEARLY did not work and no-one listened to it in reality.
7. **Locarno Treaties, 1925- Fixed borders** of Belgium, France, & Germany/ *Provided French security.* French happy/ Hailed as big success – 1926 Germany join the League, & was treated equally.
8. **The Slavery Commission**
9. **Commission for refugees-** Oversaw repatriation and when necessary, resettlement/ Up to 1920, it helped **425,000 refugees return home**/ It established camps in Turkey in 1922 to deal with a refugee crisis and to help prevent disease and hunger.



SIX FAILURES OF THE LEAGUE IN THE 1920s [memory word: VIMCOD]

1. **Vilna, 1920** – Poland refused the League orders to withdraw from Vilna.
2. **Invasion of the Ruhr, 1923** – by France; the League was not even consulted, and Britain disagreed.
3. **Memel, 1923** – The League told Lithuania to leave, but the Conference of Ambassadors agreed.
4. **Corfu, 1923** – General Tellini murdered, so Italy occupied Corfu. The Conference of Ambassadors overruled the League's order to Mussolini to leave – forced Greece to pay compensation to Italy. Mussolini basically got his way and overruled the league. Its own members had undermined the league.
5. **Other Treaties:** Washington, 1921/ Dawes Plan, 1924/ Locarno Pact, 1925/ The Geneva Protocol, 1924 (to support the League of Nations) failed because Britain refused to sign it
6. **Disarmament** – Britain objected to the 1923 conference/ 1932-1934 conference was wrecked when Hitler demanded parity with France. The League could do NOTHING to stop re-armament.

TWO FAILURES OF THE LEAGUE IN THE 1930s

1. **Manchuria, 1931:** Japan invaded Manchuria as they wanted to expand their power. Manchuria appealed to the league to help. The League sent officials (took a year)/ voted that Japan return Manchuria (Feb 1933 - Japan resigned from the League)/ could not agree economic sanctions or arms sales ban. League could do nothing to stop them and Japan effectively showed the League had no powers of enforcement.
2. **Abyssinia, 1935:** Mussolini invaded (October 1935) Haile Selassie's Abyssinia/ Britain and France secretly agreed to give Abyssinia to Italy (Hoare-Laval Pact, 1935)/ The League tried sanctions on arms sales, rubber and metals, but they did not close the Suez Canal or ban oil sales. Again, this showed the League had no powers of enforcement.
3. **These failures killed the League** – Mussolini gained prestige/ Britain, France and the League were weakened - countries decided it was a 'sham', left and began to prepare for war instead. Hitler saw how the league did NOTHING to stop Mussolini and Japan and this fueled him. In 1936 Hitler went on to occupy the Rhineland.

EIGHT REASONS THE LEAGUE FAILED [memory word: BUSTED UP]

1. **Britain and France** – were not prepared to use their armies and had other priorities.
2. **USA, USSR and Germany** – USA was never a member/ USSR not until 1934/ Germany not until 1926, and Hitler left the League in 1933.
3. **Structure** – its organisation was cumbersome so decisions were very slow.
4. **Treaty of Versailles set up the League** – so it was hated because the Treaty was hateful.
5. **Economic Depression** – countries acted to save their own interests, and ignored the League.
6. **Dictators** – dictators like Mussolini and Hitler would not compromise.
7. **Unsuccessful** – the League's failures damaged its reputation, so members left/ignored it.
8. **Powerless:** moral condemnation was just ignored by powerful nations/ the League had no armies/ people found ways round sanctions.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION: WHAT WAS IT AND WHAT WAS ITS IMPACT?

Main Event: Wall Street Crash 1929 in America

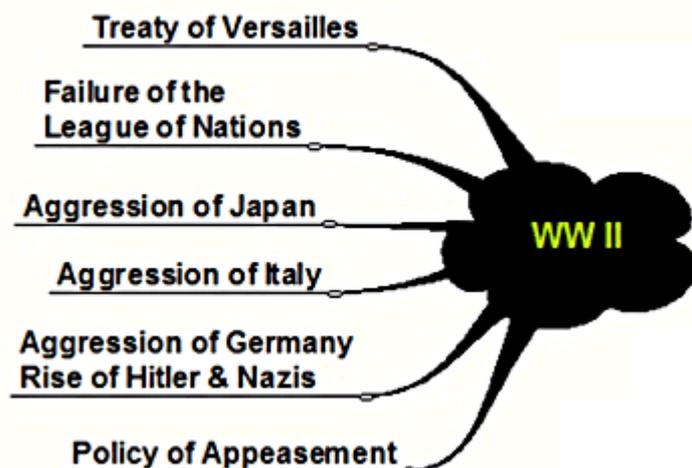
Economic nationalism

As the Depression hit, the internationalist spirit of the 1920s was replaced by a more selfish, nationalist approach:

- **Protectionism:** Some countries (including Britain, France and the USA) tried to protect their own industries. Countries began looking INWARD and not OUTWARD.
- **Rearmament:** Many countries (including Germany, Japan, Italy and Britain) began the process of REARMAMENT as a way of boosting industry and finding jobs for the unemployed. Afraid of being left weak while other states built up their armed forces, more and more countries did the same.
- **Rise in Extremist Parties in Germany and Italy.**
- Ideas of **NATIONALISM** and **NOT INTERNATIONALISM** become prominent.

American loans called in

- At the end of the First World War, Europe's economies were in ruins. Loans from US banks had helped Europe to recover in the 1920s. Most of the loans had gone to help rebuild the German economy (Dawes Plan 1924 and Young Plan 1929), but the USA had also provided financial assistance to new states in central and Eastern Europe, including Poland and Czechoslovakia. When the Depression hit, many US banks started to run out of money. As a result, they called in their loans, asking European banks to pay back the money they had borrowed.
- Britain and France suffered great hardship, but the effects in Germany and other central European states were disastrous. Unemployment rocketed. By 1933 over 6 million were unemployed in Germany. When the USA, Britain and France also introduced tariffs and refused to lend money to Germany, the Germans felt bitter and betrayed.



**ROAD TO WORLD
WAR TWO:**

Hitler's Foreign Policy Aims

<u>Destroy Treaty of Versailles</u> Hitler's main aim was to destroy the Treaty of Versailles. He wanted to take back German land and build up his army.	<u>To unite all German people</u> Hitler wanted to bring the 11 million Germans in Poland, Austria and Czechoslovakia back into one Greater Germany.
<u>To conquer Lebensraum in the East</u> Hitler wanted Lebensraum (Living Space) for the growing German population in the East (Poland and Russia)/	<u>Defeat Communism</u> Hitler hated communism and he made it clear that Germany would eventually go to war to defeat communist Russia.

Early Agreements/Rearmament

1933 World Disarmament Conference Hitler withdrew Germany from on grounds no other country would disarm to German level

1934 Germany signed a non aggression Pact with Poland. Sign of lack of faith in League of Nations, Hitler not interested yet in Eastern border .

1935 Germany introduced conscription – against Treaty of Versailles

Rearmament

Began in secret took Germany out of League of Nations in 1933. 1935 introduced conscription, Increased spending on arms, huge rearmament rally. Increased airforce to 8,250 by 1939.

1935 Naval Agreement between Britain and Germany. Allowed Germany to build up to 35% of size of British navy. Against Treaty of Versailles, but signed as no general agreement from all countries on disarmament.

Assessment

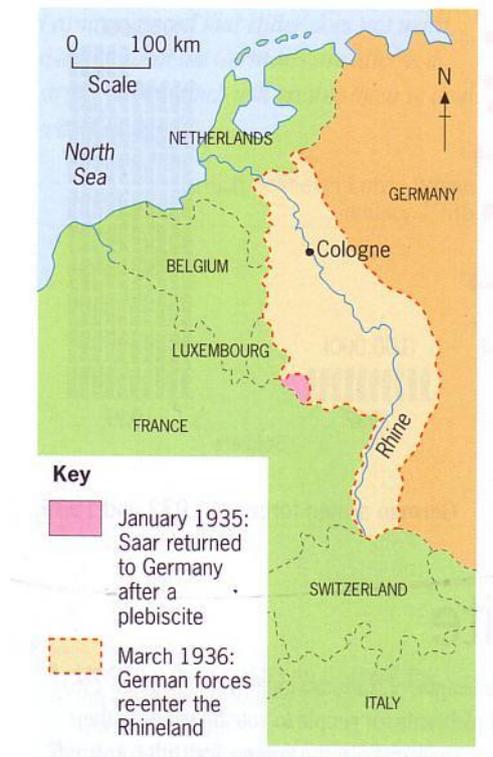
Showed Britain and France not prepared to defend Treaty of Versailles so encouraged Hitler/ Made him stronger and more likely to have the strength to take over other countries.

Saar 1935

Treaty of Versailles had removed this industrial area and placed under League of Nations control for 15 years. Nazis had stirred up trouble and violence and intimidation was part of campaign. However this was called off in November 1934 as Nazis feared French intervention. When plebiscite (vote) was to be held in Saar January 1935 voted 90% in favour of returning to Germany

Assessment

First victory of regaining land lost at Versailles, Hitler gained in confidence. Hitler beginning to rise in power.



Remilitarisation of Rhineland of 1936

March 1936-German troops marched into Rhineland, breaking Treaty of Versailles and Locarno Treaty. France and Britain did not stop him/ League of Nations powerless, didn't want to risk war.

Assessment

Showed Treaty of Versailles could be broken without any action from Britain and France.
First big test of a territorial term of Treaty of Versailles and encouraged Hitler that no-one would do anything if he broke TOV.
Showed weakness of Britain and France.
Hitler admitted secretly he could have been stopped as not strong enough army yet.

Anschluss (Union) with Austria 1938

Why did Hitler want Austria?

Austria was Hitler's homeland, held many German speaking people and key resources.

Also it was banned by the Treaty of Versailles

What Happened?

Hitler encouraged the Nazis in Austria to stir up trouble and call for the union of the Germany and Austria

The Austrian leader asked the people to vote on whether they wanted a union, Hitler did not want this as they might vote no!

Hitler sent German troops in Austria to ensure the vote was 'peaceful' but they intimidated the voters and the Austrian leader is replaced by a Nazi

99.75% of people voted yes for the Anschluss and Hitler succeeds.

Assessment

First territorial gain of an independent country showed Treaty of Versailles could be broken without any action from Allies.

Showed weakness of Britain and France-they did not take action as "German speaking people". To a certain extent Britain and France thought Hitler had a point. Important as made Germany stronger with more manpower and resources

However, little could be done by Britain and France as many Austrians supported Anschluss



APPEASEMENT – Britain and France

1. Accepted re-arming of Germany (British naval agreement, 1935)
2. No action over re-occupation of Rhineland (1936)
3. Allowed Hitler to use German bombers in Spanish Civil War (1937–39)
4. No action over Anschluss (1938).
5. Gave in over Sudetenland at Munich (1938)

Neville Chamberlain followed the policy of appeasement in the 1930s. Chamberlain had a number of reasons for giving into Hitler's demands:

WHY APPEASEMENT?

1. Chamberlain feared another war. People wanted peace so not enough public support to go to war.
2. Belief in the League of Nations to solve problems so they did not threaten Hitler with war.
3. Britain too weak for war in 1938, needed time to re-arm so appeasement bought Britain a year to re-arm.
4. Treaty of Versailles was considered unfair so many British people sympathised with Hitler's demands.
5. Chamberlain misjudged Hitler so he trusted Hitler's promises that Sudetenland was the last thing he wanted
6. Fear of Communism so people let Hitler grow strong because they thought a strong Germany could stop Russia.

Appeasement : Why Chamberlain CANT fight Hitler.

Why Chamberlain appeased Hitler / Reasons to justify Appeasement			
C haracter of Chamberlain	A lone	N o to Communism	T ime
 Chamberlain was a peaceful man.	 The USA had become isolationist	 Chamberlain feared communism more than fascism.	 Chamberlain needed time. His policy was of APPEASEMENT AND REARMAMENT.
 He had seen the horrors of World War 1 and didn't want another war.	 France was weak from the Depression and political change.	 He trusted Stalin less than Hitler.	 Britain was weak from the GLOBAL DEPRESSION.
 He also felt the Treaty of Versailles was too severe.	 The League of Nations had failed and collective security was gone.	 Chamberlain thought a strong Germany could help hold back the USSR.	 In 1938 his generals warned Chamberlain that Britain could NOT fight a war Germany.
 He believed Hitler's promises. <i>"War wins nothing cures nothing, ends nothing"</i>	 Even parts of the British Empire refused to support Britain against Hitler: EG Australia/South Africa.	 Chamberlain hoped Germany could act as a BUFFER state against the Soviet Union.	 Before the Munich Crisis in 1938 Germany's air force was X 3 times larger than Britain's. <i>Hitler later admitted he should have gone to war in 1938.</i>

Arguments to confront Hitler / Reasons to not justify Appeasement.			
M ein Kampf	U pper hand	G ambler	S acrificed the Czechs
 Hitler's aims were clear to see for anyone who read his book Mein Kampf.	 Chamberlain's policy of appeasement allowed Hitler to become more powerful.	 Appeasement encouraged Hitler to take risks.	 Benes was an ally of Chamberlain.
 It outlined his desire to make Germany great again by taking back lost land.	 He took new land and resources to help achieve Lebensraum.	 As each gamble paid off he became more greedy.	 The Munich Agreement was seen as stabbing Benes and the Czechs in the back.
 Chamberlain was naive in believing Hitler's promises.	 The Germany army was much stronger than Britain or France by 1938.	 His demands became increasingly impossible.	 Chamberlain washed his hands of the problem.
 Hitler saw appeasement as a sign of cowardice and weakness. <i>"My enemies are little worms. I saw them at Munich"</i>	 Appeasement allowed Hitler to build alliances that increased his power.	 Hitler gambled too far and his invasion of Poland was the trigger for WW2.	 It was morally wrong and not in-keeping with British sense of fairness. <i>"A quarrel in a far away land about...."</i>

- **How did Appeasement increase the chance of war?**
- It encouraged Hitler to be more aggressive to get what he wanted
- It made Britain look scared and weak, making Hitler more confident
- It did not directly cause war in 1939, but it made it more likely!

CONSEQUENCES:

Sudetenland 1938

Events

- Hitler demands a union between the Sudetenland and Germany, he again gets the Nazis in the area started to stir up trouble.
- Chamberlain offers Hitler some parts of the Sudetenland, but wanted all of the Sudetenland. It builds tension as Britain, France and USSR promised to support the Czechs after Hitler threatens war.
- At a meeting in Munich, Britain and France betray Czechoslovakia and give all the Sudetenland to Germany. Chamberlain thinks Hitler can be reasonable and thinks Czechoslovakia is not worth fighting for.
- Hitler promises peace and says he has no more wishes, he and Chamberlain sign a peace agreement 'peace in our time'

Assessment

Munich Agreement weakened Czechoslovakia and made Germany stronger. Stirred up trouble with other nationalities . Made further trouble more likely.

Munich agreement made Hitler see Chamberlain as weak so encouraged more aggression from Hitler.
Showed to USSR that Britain and France were weak so later USSR did their own deal called the Nazi Soviet Pact.

Czechoslovakia March 1939

In March 1939, Hitler took the rest of Czechoslovakia

This was a huge turning point – Hitler could not justify taking Czechoslovakia as there were no German people there.

Hitler had broken the Munich Agreement and his promises to Britain, he could no longer be trusted.

Assessment

Made Germany even stronger.

Made Chamberlain finally realise Hitler could not be trusted so Britain and France then made an agreement with Poland to defend if attacked. Thus, this made war inevitable if Hitler invaded Poland

Britain began seriously preparing for war eg conscription introduced in peace time for first time. Re-armament increased.

Nazi Soviet Pact

On 23 August 1939, Russia and Germany signed a **non-aggression pact. They were two sworn enemies and this surprised everyone!**

Why?

1. Stalin was unhappy that Britain delayed in signing an alliance with them.
2. Hitler thought an alliance with Russia, would stop Britain/France opposing his invasion of Poland

How did they benefit?

- Hitler could invade Poland without being stopped
- Stalin would get Poland and also time to prepare for war with Germany which he knew was coming
- **Importance:**
- As a direct result the German army invaded Poland on 1st September 1939 – this brought Britain into protecting Poland
- Therefore the Nazi-Soviet Pact directly led to World War 2

The Outbreak of World War Two:

1 September 1939: Hitler invades Poland.

3 September 1939: Britain and France declare war on Germany.

ABBREVIATION TO REMEMBER ON CAUSES OF WW2 IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER:

Conscription & Rearmament

Remilitarisation of the Rhineland

Anschluss

Munich Conference

Czechoslovakia

USSR and Nazi Pact

Poland



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