

Prescribed Subject 1: Peacemaking, Peacekeeping – International Relations 1918–36

TREATIES AND MANDATES 1918–32

Introduction

World War I (1914–18) was the first war of its kind. Billions were spent on fighting a war that no one had anticipated in its scale and length, as countries from all continents became involved in the conflict. It produced unparalleled levels of casualties and displaced people both among the military forces and the civilian populations. The post-war world was faced with many crises. European economies were confronted with having to pay the cost of war and of reconstruction. National economies, which had been organized around wartime production, had to return to peacetime production; international trade needed to be re-established. Roads and railway lines needed relaying, hospitals and houses had to be rebuilt and vast amounts of arable land returned to their former condition by the removal of unexploded shells. During the war, birth rates had dropped dramatically and agricultural productivity fallen. Famine, poverty and the consequent spread of diseases – aggravated by the devastating influenza epidemic of 1918–19 – led to many more casualties.

But it was not only World War I that had shaken the world. The **Russian Revolution** of October 1917 had brought the first communist government to power. The inter-war period (1918–39) was heavily influenced by events in Bolshevik Russia, as decision-making countries were torn between punishing those nations they considered responsible for the outbreak of war and, at the same time, keeping the world safe from communism.

This chapter analyzes the aims of the peacemakers attending the Paris Peace Conference as they drafted the treaties to end World War I, the extent to which such aims were reflected in the different peace treaties produced, and the impact of the treaties on Europe. It also explores different events that both contributed to and conspired against the enforcement of the treaties in the next 20 years.

Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution of October/November 1917 led to the establishment of a Bolshevik government led by Vladimir Lenin (1870–1924), which meant the rise of the first government ruled by Marxist ideas.

Timeline – 1918–32

1918	World War I Armistice
1919	Paris Peace Conference Treaty of Versailles with Germany Treaty of St Germain with Austria Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria
1920	Treaty of Trianon with Hungary Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey
1921–22	Washington Naval Conference
1923	Treaty of Lausanne
1930	London Conference
1932	Geneva Disarmament Conference

Section I:

Aims of the participants and peacemakers: Wilson and the Fourteen Points

Background information

World War I ended on 11 November 1918. The German agreement to an armistice was based on a proposal drafted by US President Woodrow Wilson known as the Fourteen Points. The end of confrontations, however, did not mean the end of conflict. The war had brought about many changes on both the defeated and victorious sides. New systems of government were installed, replacing traditional monarchic, autocratic rule. The 1917 Russian Revolution had transformed the political map of Europe; Germany was no longer an empire ruled by the Kaiser, but had adopted a Republican system; this was also the case with Austria and with – now separated – Hungary. The Turkish government concluded an armistice, which acknowledged the loss of much of its territory to British and French administrations. In time, this loss would also contribute to the collapse of the Turkish Sultanate (rule by a Sultan). There was fear that revolutions might spread across the European continent as a result of the collapse of traditional empires, unrest in Russia and the resurgence of demands for **self-determination**.

The end of World War I had brought new hope to different ethnic groups which, by the time the Paris Peace Conference started, had already begun to make moves towards forming nations. Such was the case – among others – of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia, who separated from the collapsing Austro-Hungarian Empire between October and December 1918 to form a South Slav state.

An additional factor that made the work of the peacemakers difficult was related to the expectations of the citizens in the victorious nations. The unparalleled scale of World War I had led many European governments to apply policies to encourage commitment to the war. Four years of nationalist propaganda in the participating nations had established firm roots. By the end of the war, the United Kingdom, France and the United States needed to respond to electorates demanding security, stability and compensation for the war efforts.

The political transformations, combined with the economic and social cost of war, all created a difficult context in which to draft a peace initially aimed at ending all wars and shaping a 'New Europe'. To this end, representatives of 32 nations met in Paris in January 1919, but there had been little time for anyone to become fully aware of the complexity of this new order.

The following section analyzes the aims of the main participants of the Paris Peace Conference and the extent to which they became a source of conflict during the negotiations leading to the Peace Treaties.



Self-determination

The aspiration of racial groups sharing territory, language or religion to form their own national state.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

RESEARCH ACTIVITY

Individually or in pairs, find additional information on the background against which the Paris Peace Conference took place. Include economic factors, the demands of minority groups, the relationship among the most influential participants, the reasons behind the decision to hold the Conference in Paris, etc. Discuss the ways in which these factors may have influenced the development and the agenda of the Conference.

In your view, why was the Conference held so soon after the end of the war?

Wilson and the Fourteen Points

The Paris Peace Conference started on 18 January 1919. It was closely watched by millions of citizens around the world, who hoped it would resolve their issues and who demanded that those responsible for the outbreak of war be made to pay.

● Examiner's hint

Paper 1 exams include at least one visual source, which may be a photograph, cartoon, map or statistics table. It is therefore useful for you to familiarize yourself with some of the most important characters of the period so that you can recognize them in exams.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

What do you think about the choice of location and opening date of the Paris Peace Conference? Discuss with your class the implications of such choices.

The leading statesmen attending the Versailles Conference were US President Woodrow Wilson, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George and French Premier Georges Clemenceau. Together they were known as the 'Big Three'. With Vittorio Orlando, the Italian Prime Minister, the group was known as the 'Big Four'.

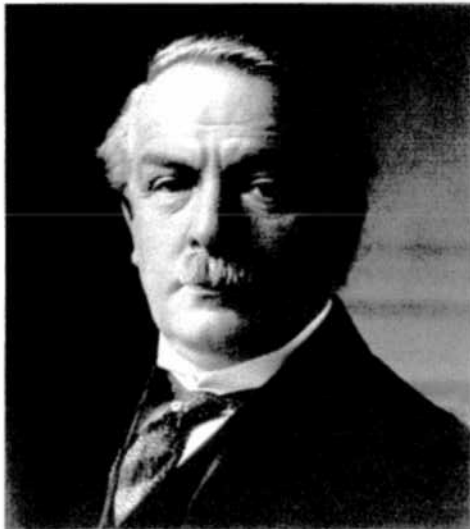
US President Woodrow Wilson



French Premier Georges Clemenceau



British Prime Minister David Lloyd George



'The Big Three', Paris 1919



President Wilson's Fourteen Points aimed at eliminating the causes which, in his view, had led to the outbreak of war in 1914. They represented a proposal for a new political and international world order (New Diplomacy) in which open diplomacy, world disarmament, economic integration and – above all – a League of Nations were to guarantee that a tragedy such as World War I would not be repeated. They were based on territorial adjustments meant to solve the problems created by the collapse of the traditional empires of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey and on the recognition of the desire for self-determination. Although they had played a fundamental role in bringing about the end of the war in 1918, the treaty concluded in 1919 differed from the Fourteen Points in many aspects.

The following is a summary of Wilson's Fourteen Points:

SOURCE A

- I. *Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind.*
 - II. *Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, in peace and in war.*
 - III. *The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations.*
 - IV. *Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.*
 - V. *A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.*
 - VI. *The evacuation of all Russian territory for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and for a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing.*
 - VII. *Belgium must be evacuated and restored.*
 - VIII. *All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine should be righted.*
 - IX. *A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.*
 - X. *The peoples of Austria-Hungary should be accorded the freest opportunity to autonomous development.*
 - XI. *Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.*
 - XII. *The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.*
 - XIII. *An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea.*
 - XIV. *A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.*
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STUDENT STUDY SECTION

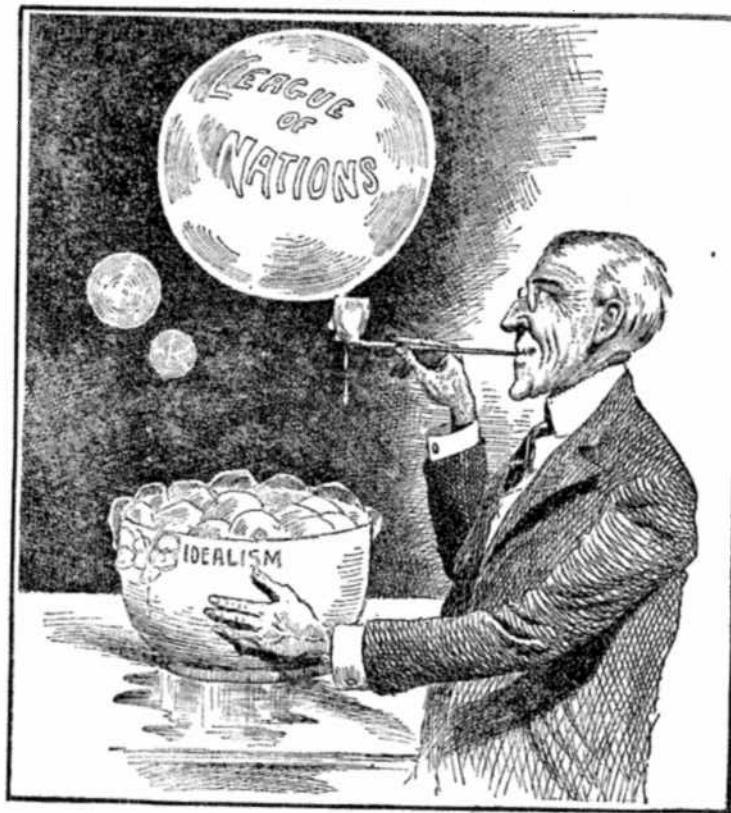
QUESTION

How was President Wilson hoping to ensure the causes of World War I would not cause a major international conflict?

Revise your knowledge of the causes of the outbreak of World War I and make a list of the causes. Then, analyze the Fourteen Points and explain how you think these addressed the different causes of the war. Note which of the Fourteen Points you think relate to each cause identified on your list. This way you should clearly see how Wilson was hoping his points would contribute to preventing another major war.

SOURCE B

Cartoon published in *Literary Digest*, September 1920.



BLOWING BUBBLES.

● **Examiner's hint**

(Question a) Cartoons often include political figures of the time. It is very helpful to start your interpretation by identifying them. This information is often, but not always, given to you. Therefore, throughout your study of the Prescribed Subject of your choice, you should become familiar with photographs and images of the main players. Question (b): here is a comparison/contrast question. Consider starting by explaining the message in Source B. Then discuss whether Source C supports or refutes the message in B. This type of question requires two important things: a) that you identify the points of comparison and contrast between the two sources, and b) that you include material from each source to illustrate your points.

SOURCE C

It must be a peace without victory... Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victory imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, resentment, a bitter memory upon which no peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last.

From a speech by President Wilson, January 1917

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTIONS

- What is the message conveyed by Source B?
- Compare and contrast the messages expressed by Sources B and C.

Student Answer (Question b) – Tom

Source B shows President Wilson blowing bubbles from a pot labelled 'Idealism'. The bubble before him is the 'League of Nations', which is therefore viewed by the cartoonist as an idealistic thought – bubbles do not last long. Source C agrees with the idea of idealism because it says that World War I must end without victory. It is hard to think that victorious countries would accept this proposal and treat defeated nations as 'equals'. Both sources relate to how Wilson viewed the world. B shows him as the maker of the League of Nations and C is an address in which he explains his views himself. Both sources focus on the idea of an integrated world by the reference to the League of Nations in B and the idea of a world of equals in C.

However, C focuses on how to ensure peace in the future whereas B focuses on the League of Nations as an element to preserve peace. Another difference, linked to the above statement is that Source C was produced at a time when the war was being fought and before the USA formally entered the conflict but Source B was published at the end of the war, after the Treaty of Versailles had been signed by the Germans.

Examiner's comments

The candidate shows understanding of both sources and presents both comparisons and contrasts. The answer refers to specific elements in each source, although some direct quotation of C would have been more effective. A very perceptive comment is that which says that Source B was published at the end of the war, whereas Source C was produced while World War I was still being fought. Make sure you look at the caption of the sources and pay attention to the context in which each of the sources was produced. Candidates very often do not consider this type of information and many would have missed the point. This information will help you understand the sources more fully.

Reactions to the Fourteen Points

The proposals for free trade, the end of imperialism, the adoption of open diplomacy and the creation of a League of Nations clashed with the realist approach of those who wanted to ensure their countries were well prepared for the possibility of another war. Putting the resolution of conflicts in the hands of the League of Nations, for example, was viewed as a mechanism that would not always be compatible with the protection of national interests. As a result, the Fourteen Points were met with reservations by the British and French.

SOURCE D

The Allied Governments have given careful consideration to the correspondence which has passed between the President of the United States and the German Government. Subject to the qualifications which follow they declare their willingness to make peace with the Government of Germany on the terms of peace laid down in the President's address to Congress of January, 1918, and the principles of settlement enunciated in his subsequent addresses. In the conditions of peace laid down in his address to Congress of January 8, 1918, the President declared that invaded territories must be restored as well as evacuated and freed, the Allies feel that no doubt ought to be allowed to exist as to what this provision implies. By it they understand that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea and from the air.

A statement issued by the Allied governments after the German government had indicated its willingness to consider signing an Armistice based on President Wilson's Fourteen Points, 1918.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

What, according to Source D, was the Allies' attitude to Germany in 1918?

French aims

Clemenceau, the French Premier, saw it as essential that the peace treaties protected France from any future German aggression. French territory had been one of the major battle zones of World War I and in 1919 France did not believe it could defend its frontiers against Germany again. France aimed at preventing German recovery by the use of reparation, redrawing frontiers in continental Europe, limiting the size of the German armed forces and excluding Germany from the League of Nations.

Among the territorial claims France presented in Paris were the immediate return of Alsace and Lorraine and the annexations of the region of the Saar (to provide coal for the French industries) and of the left bank of the Rhine. Regarding its relationship to the Rhineland, France had historically aspired to control this region, which it felt would complete its natural border. France saw control of the Rhineland as a necessary part of security against Germany and therefore one of its fundamental objectives. The Rhineland, though, was thoroughly German and to annex it would violate Wilsonian principles. The solution ultimately arrived at was to leave the Rhineland as a part of Germany, but to make it a demilitarized zone in which Germany could not maintain or deploy its forces (Erik Goldstein, *The First World War Peace Settlements 1919–1925*, 2002). In other words, annexation of the Rhineland was a separate French demand that was not granted, but demilitarization of the Rhineland was offered instead.

To guarantee further protection against a possible German invasion, Clemenceau supported the restoration of an independent Belgium, which would not be tied to neutrality treaties. The French support for the independence of Poland and Czechoslovakia revealed the aim to set up strong nations to the east of Germany as additional protection, since Russia could no longer be relied on for that task.

Examiner's hint

A good starting point to answering the last question is to show the examiner you have understood MacMillan's quotation by explaining it briefly in your own words. Next, you can structure your answer by looking at how the sources and your own knowledge show that France aimed at punishing Germany for having caused World War I, how France was expecting to make Germany pay and how it hoped to prevent further German aggression. Provide evidence from the sources and your knowledge for each of the three points, i.e. punishment, payment, prevention.

SOURCE E

America is very far from Germany, but France is very near and I have preoccupations which do not affect President Wilson as they do a man who has seen the Germans for four years in his own country. There are wrongs to be righted.

Georges Clemenceau comments on Franco-German relations, January 1919

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTIONS

- What is the message conveyed by the following?:
 'America is very far from Germany, but France is very near.'
 'There are wrongs to be righted.'
- Explain the motivations behind the following French demands:
 The return of Alsace and Lorraine
 The occupation of the Rhineland
- Historian Margaret MacMillan describes the French aims at Versailles as 'punishment, payment, prevention'. Using the sources and your own knowledge, explain how France was hoping to achieve these aims.

British aims

It is debatable how much of the philosophy of the Fourteen Points was shared by the British representatives. Britain desired peace and understood it as a return to a balance of power in Europe, which would ensure that neither Germany nor France dominated the continent. It was in British economic interests to see a relatively rapid German economic recovery. Germany was an important market for British goods and, in the need to reactivate its own economy, one that Britain did not want to lose. Prime Minister Lloyd George also had to deal with the fact that expressions such as 'Hang the Kaiser' and 'we propose to demand the whole cost of the war from Germany' – which had been used in the last stages of the war – had contributed to his coming to power. Consequently, many sectors of British society expected their government to support hard punishment of Germany and considered that to be more important than fast European economic recovery.

Lloyd George's main concern was to avoid German feelings of revenge for an excessively hard treaty, thinking that could cause another war in the near future. He was also worried about events in Russia, where civil war against the Bolsheviks was being fought, and about how the expansion of **Bolshevism** could benefit from an unstable Germany. In March 1919, he produced the Fontainebleau Memorandum calling for reconciliation in Europe. The importance of this document is that it exposes the view that, unless the Germans perceived the treaty as fair, there was little hope it would succeed in preserving peace.

SOURCE F

To achieve redress our terms may be severe, they may be stern and even ruthless, but at the same time they can be so just that the country on which they are imposed will feel in its heart that it has no right to complain. But injustice, arrogance, displayed in the hour of triumph, will never be forgotten or forgiven.

From the Fontainebleau Memorandum by David Lloyd George, 25 March 1919

SOURCE G

M. Clemenceau: 'I said yesterday that I entirely agree with Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson on how Germany should be treated; we cannot take unfair advantage of our victory; we must deal tolerantly with peoples for fear of provoking a surge of national feeling. But permit me to make a fundamental objection... Every effort must be made to be just toward the Germans; but when it comes to persuading them that we are just to them, that is another matter... Do not believe that these principles of justice that satisfy us will also satisfy the Germans.'

From a conversation between Wilson, Clemenceau and Lloyd George on the content of the Fontainebleau Memorandum, 27 March 1919

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTIONS

- On what grounds do you think Clemenceau made his objection?
- Compare and contrast Sources F and G on the treatment to be given to Germany.
- With reference to their origin and purpose, discuss the value and limitations of Source F and Source G for historians studying the aims of the participants of the Paris Peace Conference.

1903

Bolshevism

The Bolshevik Party, formed in 1903 and led by Vladimir Lenin, was responsible for the revolution of October 1917. The Bolsheviks promoted a form of communism based on the writings of Karl Marx aiming at a violent revolution to overthrow capitalism.

● Examiner's hint

For Question C, consider the context in which these two sources were produced. Do you think the fact that F is a written document and that G is an extract of a conversation has any influence on the value and limitations of the sources?

ToK Time

'When you want to believe in something you also have to believe in everything that's necessary for believing in it.'

Explain how this quotation relates to the ways Clemenceau and Lloyd George believed Germany would react to the treaty.



It soon became clear that it would be difficult to reach a balance between the desire to achieve lasting peace while also punishing those held responsible for the outbreak of war. Finally, Clemenceau decided not to push all of the French views harder. The lack of support from the United States and Great Britain for France's extreme measures explains why the Versailles Treaty was not drafted on French terms; France needed both its allies in the aftermath of war. However, as will be discussed later, the French also became more flexible in their demands, as they were promised British and American support to guarantee French security.

SOURCE H

The whole existing order in its political, social, and economic aspects is questioned by the masses of the population from one end of Europe to the other... The greatest danger that I see in the present situation is that Germany may throw in her lot with Bolshevism and place her resources, her brains, her vast organizing power at the disposal of the revolutionary fanatics whose dream is to conquer the world for Bolshevism by force of arms. This danger is no mere chimera.

From the Fontainebleau Memorandum by David Lloyd George, 25 March 1919

Examiner's hint

For Question C, when evaluating the value and limitations of Source H, you should consider the historical context in which it was produced: how does the fact that Source H was written at the time of the Paris Peace Conference influence its value and limitations?

STUDENT STUDY SECTION**QUESTIONS**

- What reasons does Source H give for a fair treatment of Germany at the Paris Peace Conference?
- What other reasons do you think Lloyd George may have had in mind to write the Fontainebleau Memorandum?
- With reference to its origin and purpose, discuss the value and limitations of Source H for an historian studying the course of negotiations at the Paris Peace Conference.

Central Powers

Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, who fought World War I against the Entente Powers of Great Britain, France, Russia and the allies that joined them during the course of the war.

Treaty of London (1915)

Secret pact signed in April 1915 between Italy and the Triple Entente which brought Italy into World War I in exchange for the promise of extensive territorial gains.

Italian aims

During the war, the Allies had made promises to different countries in order to obtain cooperation against the **Central Powers**. Italy, Romania and Greece, among other countries, had received territorial promises during the war that were now impossible to honour while, at the same time, respecting the Fourteen Points. The Italian demands for territory promised by the **Treaty of London** in 1915 – which included the northern part of the Dalmatian coast on the Adriatic Sea, Trieste and South Tyrol as well as a protectorate over Albania – clearly opposed the spirit of self-determination of the Fourteen Points. This situation was made more serious by the fact that in April 1919 the Italian representative presented before the Council of Four additional demands, which included territory that had not been promised by the Treaty of London, such as the port of Fiume.

The Italian representatives were under intense pressure from home to produce a satisfactory treaty. The economic effort to fight the war had seriously affected the Italian economy. The country was suffering political problems and social unrest. Obtaining territory was considered essential to the recovery of the economy and to help strengthen the shaky political system.

The problem with the Italian demands was also that there was little sympathy for the nation – partly due to its association with Germany at the start of the war as well as too little consideration for their contribution to World War I. Italy was dissatisfied not only about the fact that the terms of the Treaty of London would not be honoured, but also with the treatment the Italian delegation received during the Conference as a 'lesser power'.

REVIEW SECTION**Review questions**

- 1 Draw a chart comparing and contrasting the aims of the Big Three.
- 2 Start by listing the issues in one column (e.g. headed 'territorial changes'). Then name the other columns after each of the Big Four and explain what the aims of each were in relation to each listed issue.
- 3 Find points of conflict among the different issues.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION**QUESTIONS**

- a) How does creating this chart help you anticipate the problems in the making of the Treaty of Versailles?
- b) 'Talking to Wilson is something like talking to Jesus Christ.' What are the implications of Clemenceau's opinion of US President Woodrow Wilson? Which of Wilson's ideas do you think were more likely to produce this statement?

Section II:

The terms of the Paris Peace Treaties 1919–20: Versailles, St Germain, Trianon, Neuilly, Sèvres/ Lausanne 1923

Background information

Fundamental decisions at the Conference were taken mainly by US President Woodrow Wilson, French Premier Georges Clemenceau and British Prime Minister David Lloyd George. The defeated nations of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary and Turkey were not allowed to take part in the negotiations leading to the drafting of the treaty. Russia did not attend the conference and Italy, which had fought alongside the Allies, soon felt it had been relegated to a secondary role.

Most discussions did not take place in sessions with the full attendance of the 32 participating countries. Instead, special commissions on different matters were established to speed up the decision-making process. France, Britain, the USA, Japan and Italy formed a Supreme Council represented by the leaders and foreign ministers of these nations. This was later replaced by a smaller version, the Council of Four (France, Britain, the USA and Italy). When the conference officially ended with the signing of the Treaty of Versailles with Germany, a Conference of Ambassadors was left to supervise the peace treaties with the other defeated nations.

Four separate treaties were signed:

- Treaty of St Germain with Austria (1919)
- Treaty of Trianon with Hungary (1920)
- Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria (1919)
- Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey (1920), later revised by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923)

These treaties were produced using the Treaty of Versailles with Germany as a template: all four defeated countries were to disarm, pay reparations and lose territory. Following the principle of self-determination, new nation states were set up.

This section analyzes the terms of the different peace treaties, the redistribution of territories in Europe and the problems that emerged as a result.

Treaty of Versailles

Wilson's Fourteen Points had been approved in 1918 as the basis for the peace treaty. However, as seen in the previous section, the conflicting aims of the three nations soon proved an obstacle to both the application of the Fourteen Points, as well as to the establishment of peace treaties that would ensure long-lasting peace.

The main areas of discussion at Paris were:

- Responsibility for the outbreak of war
- Reparations for the cost of and damage caused by the war
- The redistribution of territories in Europe and the colonies
- Disarmament
- The formation of an international organization with the aim of preventing conflicts such as World War I occurring again (the League of Nations will be treated separately in Chapter 3).

Responsibility for the outbreak of war

In 1918 few nations – apart from the Germans and their allies – believed that anyone other than Germany was responsible for starting the war. Not only was this the position of the leaders of the victorious nations at Versailles, but also the view of public opinion in many of these countries. Consequently, any representative of the victorious nations who might have even considered other views on responsibility for the outbreak of World War I would not have dared suggest them openly.

Establishing war responsibility was directly linked to determining who was to pay for the cost of war. The Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties was given the task of establishing and assigning responsibility for the outbreak of war. The Commission was formed by representatives from Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Greece, Poland, Romania and Serbia.

SOURCE A

Responsibility [for the outbreak of World War I] rests first on Germany and Austria, second on Turkey and Bulgaria. The responsibility is made all the graver by reason of the violation by Germany and Austria of the neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg, which they themselves had guaranteed. It is increased, with regard to both France and Serbia, by the violation of their frontiers before the declaration of war.

From Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and on Enforcement of Penalties report, 1919

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

According to Source A, why did the Commission consider Germany and Austria to bear more responsibility than Turkey and Bulgaria? To what extent do you agree with this view?

Reparations for the cost and damage of the war

SOURCE B

The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles (later to be known as 'War Guilt Clause')

The significance of this article at the time was that it provided the legal arguments to make Germany pay for World War I. Three important questions to be discussed at Versailles included:

- What type of damage and cost would compose reparations? This refers to what would be included in the final sum for reparations: what type of damage would Germany be accountable for? Would indemnities be included? Or just property damage?
- What final figure would Germany have to pay?
- In what ways was Germany to pay? In gold, goods, etc.?

Article 232 of the peace treaty demanded that Germany compensated the Allies for 'all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers'. This extended responsibility and implied Germany was accountable for the war pensions the Allied governments would have to pay, causing the total figure of reparations, still to be determined, to rise significantly. Compensation for the violation of the **Treaty of London (1839)**, leading to destruction in Belgium, was also included in the Treaty of Versailles.

It was still too early in 1919 to have an estimate of how much damage had been caused and how much reconstruction would cost. The issue led to heated debates in the Reparations Committee, mostly between France, Britain and the USA. Such disagreements were based on the fact that each country looked at reparations as instruments for different purposes:

- France prioritized security and worried about a quick German recovery and remilitarization. With that in mind, reparations were an economic burden to prevent Germany from threatening France in the future.
- Lloyd George hoped for a balance of power in continental Europe between the French and the Germans together with an economic recovery of Europe that would benefit the British **balance of trade**. Such recovery depended partly on the revival of Germany as a market for British goods. The challenge was to achieve this while satisfying the many in Britain who hoped reparations would reduce the financial burden on the country, which also owed money to the USA. This was not exclusive to Britain, but was also true of many countries that needed to find the means for reconstruction.
- US views on German reparations were more in line with those of the British and helped moderate French demands.

When trying to establish the figure for reparations, the dilemma arose about how much Germany theoretically owed and how much it could effectively pay. The disagreements over this explain why the final figure was not established until 1921. British economist **John Maynard Keynes** explained why this was so in *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*.

SOURCE C

If this round sum [reparations] had been named in the Treaty, the settlement would have been placed on a more business-like basis. But this was impossible for two reasons. Two different kinds of false statements had been widely promulgated, one as to Germany's capacity to pay,

Treaty of London (1839)

Treaty signed by European nations which, in Article 7, recognized the independence and neutrality of Belgium. In 1914, the Germans referred to it as a 'scrap of paper' and asked Britain to ignore it, which Britain refused to do. When Germany invaded Belgium, Britain considered itself at war with the aggressor.

Balance of trade

The difference in value between the total exports and total imports of a country during a specified period of time.

John M. Keynes

Keynes was the representative of the British Treasury at the Peace Conference until June 1919. He opposed reparations as discussed at Versailles on the grounds that they would bankrupt Germany and thereby compromise international stability and security.

the other as to the amount of the Allies' claims in respect of the devastated areas. The fixing of either of these figures presented a dilemma. A figure for Germany's prospective capacity to pay ... would have fallen hopelessly short of popular expectations both in England and in France. On the other hand, a definitive figure for damage done which would not disastrously disappoint the expectations which had been raised in France and Belgium might have been open to damaging criticism on the part of the Germans.

From John M. Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*, 1919

Not establishing a definite figure for German reparations during the Peace Conference created problems about the legitimacy of reparations in the future. The fact that the Reparations Commission reached a final figure of 6,600 million British pounds only in 1921 implied that when Germany signed the Treaty of Versailles in June 1919, it signed 'blank cheque' for reparations.

Blank cheque

A cheque bearing a signature but no stated amount.

In what ways was Germany to pay?

The third issue related to reparations was to determine how Germany was going to pay. The gold reserves in the Reichsbank (German Central Bank) were insufficient and it was determined that Germany would also pay in kind, with goods that included coal, cattle, even fishing boats.

Examiner's hint

Paper 1 asks that you evaluate two sources. You are expected to comment on their origins and purpose and explain how these contribute to their value and limitations for historians studying the issues to which the sources refer. An effective structure to this answer is to treat the sources separately, as opposed to what you are required to do for questions when sources are compared and contrasted. This way you can check that you have approached all four aspects of the evaluation for each source more easily.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

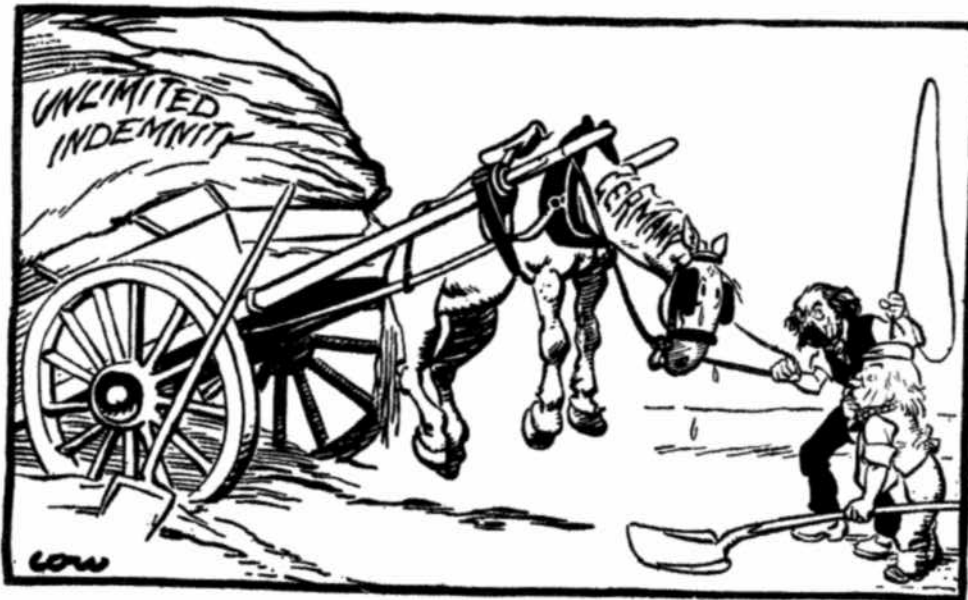
With reference to their origins and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source B and Source C for an historian studying the discussions on reparations held at Versailles.

SOURCE D



The Reckoning – German: 'Monstrous, I call it. Why it's fully a quarter of what we should have made them pay, if we'd won.' Cartoon by Bernard Partridge, *Punch*, 1919.

SOURCE E



◀ 'Perhaps it would gee-up better if we let it touch earth.'
Cartoon by David Low, drawn for a British newspaper, 1921.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTIONS

- What message is conveyed by Source D?
- What is the message conveyed by Source E? In what ways is the message different to that in Source D? Why do you think this is the case?

● Examiner's hint

For Question (a), read the caption carefully. Make sure you consider the date and place where the source was originally published. Whose point of view is the cartoon representing?

For Question (b), ask yourself what situation the cartoon is representing. Look for elements to support your answer. Starting your answer by stating 'The message in this cartoon is...' will help you keep focused on the demands of the question. Then, you can proceed to explain how the elements in the cartoon help express the message; in other words, you will be supporting your explanation of the message with evidence from the source.

The redistribution of territories in Europe

Negotiations of the peace terms to be presented to Germany included territorial changes affecting most of continental Europe. The collapse of empires was seen as an opportunity to create, out of such multi-racial political units, a map of Europe that would allow each nationality to live within its own borders. Wilson's Fourteen Points proposed respect for the principle of self-determination. This became – as many other ideals of the Fourteen Points – desirable but not always possible. The desire to respect self-determination was limited in several ways. For example, it was necessary to ensure that the new nations emerging had the economic resources (arable land, minerals, outlet to the sea) to make their independence sustainable. The consideration of such factors led to some nationals being left in countries where they constituted (large or small) minorities, such as Germans and Magyars in Czechoslovakia.

The Treaty of Versailles imposed several changes on German territory. Map 2 shows Europe at the outbreak of World War I. Map 3 details the territorial changes affecting Europe as a consequence of the Treaty of Versailles.

Map 2
Europe in 1914



Map 3
Europe 1919 - New States

- ① **Alsace and Lorraine**
▶ handed back to France
- ② **Rhineland**
▶ demilitarized zone
- ③ **Saar**
▶ under League of Nations for 15 years
- ④ **Polish Corridor**
▶ gave Poland an outlet to the sea
- ⑤ **Danzig**
▶ free city under League of Nations
- ⑥ **East Prussia**
▶ separated from the rest of Germany
- ⑦ **Bosphorus Strait**
- ⑧ **Dardanelles Strait**
- ⑨ **Eupen-Malmedy**
▶ to Belgium
- ⑩ **Memel**
▶ to Lithuania
- ⑪ **Upper Silesia**
▶ to Poland
- ⑫ **Northern Schleswig**
▶ to Denmark
- ⑬ **Macedonia**



Alsace and Lorraine, which had been seized by Germany from France after the Franco-Prussian War (1871), were returned to France. Although France wanted the Rhineland, the treaty limited the French claim to making the area a demilitarized zone in which Germany would not be allowed to deploy military forces. An army of occupation was to be stationed west of the Rhine and in the bridgeheads at Cologne, Coblenz and Mainz.

The French demanded to be compensated for the coal mines destroyed by Germany in the war and claimed the coal-rich region of the Saarland as compensation. Rather than being given to France, the Saar was put under the administration of the League of Nations for 15 years, after which a **plebiscite** was to allow the inhabitants to decide whether they wished to return to Germany. In the meantime, the coal extracted was to go to France.

The creation of **Poland** to the east of Germany was a matter that Wilson had contemplated in his Fourteen Points, based on the principle of self-determination and which France related to its national security. The policy required providing Poland with the means to be economically independent to consolidate its position between Germany and the USSR. As a result, parts of Upper Silesia, Poznan and West Prussia formed part of the new Poland, which gained an outlet to the Baltic Sea. The major German port of Danzig (Gdansk) became a free city under the mandate of the League of Nations. The German province of East Prussia was separated from the rest of the country by a strip of land given to Poland to guarantee her access to the sea, creating what was known as the 'Polish Corridor'.

Other effects of the treaty included:

- The territories of Eupen and Malmedy were claimed by and given to Belgium.
- The German territory of North Schleswig, won by Germany from Denmark in 1864, became Danish.
- Memel was put under Allied control and later became Lithuanian.
- All territory received by Germany from Russia under the **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** was to be returned; Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were made independent states in line with the principle of self-determination.
- As another measure to limit her capacity for economic recovery, Germany was forbidden to unite with Austria (a move called *Anschluss* in German), now a separate nation from Hungary.
- Germany lost all her overseas colonies, which became mandates of the League of Nations, as well as trading rights in countries such as China and Egypt.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTIONS

- With your class, discuss how significant you consider the territorial changes were for Germany.
- If you were then told Germany lost 13 per cent of its territory in Europe and 7 million inhabitants but retained a population of 60 million (against, for example, 40 million inhabitants in France), would your answer to the question above be any different? If so, on what grounds?

Disarmament

It was believed that one of the causes leading to World War I had been the arms race prevailing in Europe from the 1870s. Consequently, the Treaty of Versailles addressed disarmament in an attempt to eradicate another of the causes of World War I. The treaty obliged Germany to disarm to the lowest point compatible with internal security, while making reference to the promotion of international disarmament in the future.

Plebiscite

A vote by which the people of an entire country or district express an opinion for or against a proposal.

Poland

The Congress of Vienna (1815) partitioned Poland between Russia, Austria, and Prussia and created the Kingdom of Poland with the Russian Tsar as King. Although Poles were forced to assimilate into the new countries, Polish nationalism continued to exist and encouraged revolts throughout the 19th century up to the eve of World War I. Drafted into the armies of Russia and the Central Powers, Poles fought against Poles during the war. The withdrawal of Russia and the defeat of Austria-Hungary and Germany contributed to the resurgence of the idea that a free, independent Poland was possible at the end of World War I.

Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918)

Treaty signed in March 1918 between Germany and Bolshevik Russia, ending the latter's participation in the war and leading to its loss of the Baltic States, Poland, the Ukraine, Finland and territory in the Caucasus. The terms of the treaty have often been used to show how harshly Germany would have treated its enemies if it had won the war.

ToK Time

'The map is not the territory. To what extent can maps help us understand the reasons for and results of conflict? Study the maps opposite and assess to what extent they can contribute to understand the problems arising from the need to redraw the map of Europe.'

The following measures were taken to disarm Germany:

- German wartime weapons were to be destroyed.
- Germany was forbidden to have submarines, an air force, armoured cars or tanks. It was allowed to keep six battleships and an army of 100,000 men to provide internal security. An Allied army of occupation on the west bank of the Rhine was to be stationed in the area for 15 years.
- In the east of the Rhine, Germany had to respect a 50km exclusion zone (in which Germany was not allowed to send troops or keep military installations) and armies of occupation were stationed in bridgeheads (Cologne, Coblenz and Mainz).
- German **conscription** was banned.

Conscription

Compulsory enlistment in the armed forces.

Cartoon by David Low, published in *The Star* newspaper, July 1920.

SOURCE F



DAVID THE SPOKESMAN: "Off with the spiked hat! What d'you think we fought for if not to abolish militarism?"

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

What is the message conveyed by Source F?

Student Answer – Katrina

The cartoon, published in 1920, refers to the disarmament of Germany. David Lloyd George is demanding that Germany disarms to the maximum level. This is shown by the fact that the man representing Germany, who is not carrying any weapons and is on his knees, is asked to remove his spiked hat, a symbol of the Army. The fact that there is a cannon beside Lloyd George and that he is escorted by armed soldiers shows that the Allies had not disarmed, and did not seem to be ready even to consider this. Therefore, the tone of the cartoon is critical of their policy toward Germany.

Examiner's comments

This answer shows a clear understanding of the message of the cartoon in several ways. In the first place, it identifies the topic of the cartoon – German disarmament – in the opening line. Then, it identifies Lloyd George as the central character in the cartoon and discusses his role in the scene. The bag next to the man on his knees helps identify that he represents the German nation. All elements: the standing soldiers, their weapons, the cannon are commented on and explanations are linked to the message of the question, German disarmament. This answer would receive full marks.

German reaction to Versailles

A draft of the treaty was handed to the German delegation at Versailles on 7 May 1919. Having been unable to participate in the negotiations, the Germans were shocked by the terms and denounced the treaty as a betrayal of the Fourteen Points and as a **diktat** to the German nation. The main objections, as we have already seen, were that they were being asked to sign a 'blank cheque' for reparations on the grounds of Article 231 – which they soon named the 'war guilt clause'. They also opposed the new frontiers to the east of Germany, especially the territory lost to Poland, which divided Germany into two. German disarmament and the exclusion of the country from the new League of Nations were also matters of resentment.

The Germans demanded a revision of the treaty but, although some minor issues were taken up, the treaty remained in essence much the same. Finally, on 16 June, they were again presented with the treaty and given five days to sign it while the Allies revised military plans to attack Germany should it refuse to sign.

The problem for Germany was not restricted to the terms of the treaty, but also to the fact that no one in the country wanted to pay the political price of signing it. Many politicians associated with the regime, among them those responsible for signing the Armistice in November 1918, were soon renamed the 'November criminals'. Political turmoil ruled Germany. Finally, on 28 June 1919, under a new government that President Ebert had been able to form, the German delegation signed the Treaty of Versailles, which in the words of Marshal Ferdinand Foch (a leading French Army commander) was to be 'an armistice for twenty years'. The German newspaper *Deutsche Zeitung* wrote: 'THE TREATY IS ONLY A SCRAP OF PAPER! We will seek vengeance for the shame of 1919.'

But the Germans were not the only ones dissatisfied with the treaty. Many French argued that Germany had not been crippled to the extent of providing France with long-term security and Clemenceau was the object of bitter criticism for what was viewed as a compromise to French security. He lost the election in January 1920 and retired from political life.

The treaty was also met with opposition in the USA. The US Congress refused to ratify it and join the League of Nations for fear of being dragged into European conflicts in the future. In Britain, the view that the treaty had been too hard on Germany was shared by many, such as John M. Keynes (see above, pages 29–30). The Italians, for their part, argued that the nation had been betrayed as 'they had won the war but lost the peace.'

Diktat

A harsh unilateral settlement imposed by the victors on the defeated.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

How different were the terms of the Treaty of Versailles to Wilson's Fourteen Points and how significant, if at all, was the difference?

Cartoon first published in the *Daily Express*, London, 10 May 1919.

SOURCE G



THEIR TURN NEXT.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

What is the message conveyed by Source G?

Student's Answer - Alex

The cartoon shows Germany coming out of a dental treatment room, after having teeth (territory). The man representing Germany seems to be in pain. The dentists were the Big Four: USA, France, Britain and Italy who are imposing painful terms on Germany. The other defeated nations are waiting for their turn and look very scared at the sight of how Germany was treated.

Examiner's comments

The answer above identifies several elements of the cartoon. The student could have also commented on the gag over the mouth of the character representing Germany, which could be interpreted as a sign of the fact that it was not allowed to complain about the terms of Treaty. Also, some of the men waiting for their turn are in military uniform; Germany is not. This can be taken as an indication of German disarmament. During an examination, there may not be time to comment on all of these elements, but it is good practice to try to explain as many of them as you can when revising.

ToK Time

Discuss the idea that 'Until the lion has an historian of his own, the tale of the hunt will always glorify the hunter' (African proverb). What do you understand by this view? Does this view help you understand the conflicts between victorious and defeated nations in World War I any better? Are there other historical events which you have studied to which this view could be applied?

The Treaty of St Germain (1919)

Following World War I, the Austro-Hungarian Empire was split and Austria and Hungary became separate republics. This division led to the signing of separate treaties with Austria (St Germain, 1919) and Hungary (Trianon, 1920). The treaties aimed at the recognition of this new situation by the Austrian and Hungarian governments.

- The Treaty of St Germain implied formal Austrian recognition of the establishment of Czechoslovakia as an independent republic and of its annexation of Bohemia and Moravia. These territories included nearly three million German citizens, but they made Czechoslovakia a stronger country, a situation that France promoted.
- The creation of an independent state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (which would become known as Yugoslavia) was also contemplated by the Treaty of St Germain. This led to Austria's loss of Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina.

- Poland gained Galicia from former Austria-Hungary while Italy received the South Tyrol, Trentino and Istria. Romania obtained Transylvania.
- Austria was forbidden to unite with any other country without the approval of the League of Nations.
- As with Germany, Austria was made to accept certain responsibility for war damage and, consequently, was subjected to arms limitations. The Treaty of St Germain also ordered the payment of reparations in kind (payment with goods or services).

The Austrians had many complaints about how the treaty overruled the principle of self-determination. Not only did they make reference to the fact that the terms of the treaty forbade union with Germany – which was the strongest of the complaints – but also that Austrian nationals were put under Italian (South Tyrol) and Czech (Sudetenland) rule, ignoring the principle of self-determination. The loss of industrially rich regions to Czechoslovakia and Poland and of more than 15 million citizens weakened Austria, which soon came to face severe economic problems.

The Treaty of Neuilly (1919)

Bulgaria joined World War I in 1915 in support of the Central Powers. This choice led to its being treated as a defeated nation and to the loss of territory. The toughest clause in the Treaty of Neuilly in 1919 was the loss of Bulgarian access to the Aegean Sea. Greece benefited by the weakening of Bulgaria in the region.

- Macedonia was returned to Greece, which also received West Thrace, causing Bulgaria to lose its access to the Aegean Sea.
- Bulgaria recognized the independence of Yugoslavia and their boundaries were adjusted.
- The treaty included clauses on reparations and limitations on the armed forces of Bulgaria.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

Refer back to Maps 2 and 3. How significant do you consider the territorial losses for Austria to have been? Identify the countries that emerged in the former Austro-Hungarian territory as a result of the Treaty of St Germain. Identify the territory lost by Bulgaria and gained by Greece.

The Treaty of Trianon (1920)

The Treaty of Trianon signed with Hungary formally accepted the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, as Austria had done in 1919 through the Treaty of St Germain. The treaty was signed only in 1920 because of political unrest in Hungary and the establishment of a communist state under the leader of the Hungarian Communist Party, Bela Kun, which collapsed in August 1919.

Bitter complaints by the Hungarians were based on the fact that the newly formed Hungary had lost much territory in comparison to the Kingdom of Hungary, which had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. More than three million Magyars (an ethnic group associated with Hungary) had been put under foreign rule, halving the size of the Hungarian population.

Other effects of the treaty were:

- Newly formed Czechoslovakia received Ruthenia and Slovakia.

- Croatia and Slovenia joined what would become known as Yugoslavia.
- Romania received Transylvania.

As in the Austrian case, the Treaty of Trianon contemplated the issue of relative Hungarian responsibility for the outbreak of the war and imposed reparations and limitations on its armed forces.

One of the beneficiaries of the treaty was Romania, who had joined the war on the Allied side in 1916. However, it could be said that the reason why Romania received territory was the Allied interest in its becoming a buffer state between Russia and the Dardanelles Straits to prevent Russian access to the Mediterranean Sea.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

Before the outbreak of World War I, the Kingdom of Hungary was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Refer back to Maps 2 and 3 to understand the reasons why Hungary, now a separate country, objected to the territorial changes. Consider how other countries benefited at the expense of Hungary.

RESEARCH ACTIVITY

Individually or in pairs, find additional information on Bela Kun. How did he come to power in Hungary and why was he overthrown? How do you think the events impacted on the fear of expansion of Bolshevism in Europe?

The Treaty of Sèvres (1920)

The disintegration of the Ottoman Empire had long been expected and the fact that the empire had fought World War I on the side of the Central Powers accelerated events. The aims of the peacemakers were to set up new borders for Turkey in line with the principle of self-determination and to make certain that Turkey would be unable to cause fresh confrontations in the Balkans.

The decision to apply the principle of self-determination meant a serious revision of the territorial composition of Turkey. It was time to decide the fate of all the territories that did not have a Turkish ethnic majority. The weakening of Turkey meant the strengthening of other nations in the region such as Greece, which benefited from Sèvres.

The terms of the Treaty of Sèvres:

- The treaty ended Turkish control over North Africa and the Arab territories. Britain gained influence in the region by controlling **mandates** in Palestine and Iraq, with its oil resources (Mosul), while France received the Lebanon and Syria as mandates.
- Greece gained East Thrace, Smyrna and many Aegean islands. The treaty contemplated a plebiscite to take place in five years for Smyrna. The Turks were outraged at this decision which ignored the principle of self-determination.
- Cyprus, under British occupation since 1878, became officially British.
- Germany's shares of the Turkish Petroleum Company were given to France.
- Italy acquired Adalia, Rhodes and the Dodecanese islands.
- Armenia and Kurdistan were to become independent states.
- Land was also lost to Bulgaria, leaving only the region around Constantinople (Istanbul) as Turkish territory in Europe.
- Under the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres, Britain, France and Italy kept troops in Turkey.
- Both the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus Straits were open to shipping and put under the supervision of an international commission formed by Britain, France, Italy and Japan.
- Turkey was forced to pay reparations and its army was limited to 50,000 men.

Mandated territories

Mandated territories formerly belonged to the German and Ottoman Empires and were placed under the administration of another country. The aim of this system was to help them reach the conditions that could guarantee they could operate as independent countries. The mandate system will be studied in detail in Chapter 4.

The Treaty of Sèvres soon proved to be difficult to implement. Nationalist opposition aimed to repudiate Sèvres and prevent the disintegration of the Turkish-speaking regions of the empire, led by Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk). War broke out between Greece and Turkey, and Greece was defeated. The political impact of the Greco-Turkish War brought the abdication of Greek King Constantine and the abolition of the Sultanate in Turkey, with Mustafa Kemal as the new leader of Turkey. By imposing such harsh terms on Turkey, the Allies had weakened the position of the Sultan, whose regime guaranteed observance of the treaty. The terms of Sèvres were revised and in 1923 the Treaty of Lausanne was drafted.

The Treaty of Lausanne (1923)

The Treaty of Sèvres had been too harsh on Turkey and had contributed to much of what had happened in the country since 1920. However, there was doubt among the Great Powers as to whether it was sensible to revise a treaty mostly as a result of its having been challenged by force.

The most significant changes in relation to Sèvres were:

- The return to Turkey of East Thrace (including Constantinople, Smyrna, some territory along the Syrian border and several Aegean islands).
- Turkish sovereignty over the Bosphorus and Dardanelles **Straits** was recognized, although the area was to remain demilitarized and subject to international conventions.
- The withdrawal of foreign troops from Turkish territory.
- Reparation and demilitarization clauses were removed.

In return, Turkey renounced all claims on territories outside its new boundaries and undertook to guarantee the rights of its minorities. A separate agreement between Greece and Turkey provided for the compulsory exchange of minorities.

Lausanne contributed little to reducing the tension between Greece and Turkey, as future clashes in Cyprus would prove, and was heavily criticized in Britain, France and the USA. The Arabs, who had hoped for support for their independence after their participation against Turkey in World War I, were disappointed and preoccupied by the proposal of establishing a Jewish state in Palestine.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

Using the sources in this section (including the maps) and your own knowledge, examine the view that none of the peace treaties laid the basis for a stable peace in Europe.

The Straits

The Bosphorus and Dardanelles Straits connect the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Sèvres demilitarized them and put the area under the control of the International Straits Commission of the League of Nations. Lausanne returned the zone to Turkey, but kept it demilitarized and open to free navigation. In 1936 the Montreux Convention abolished the International Straits Commission and gave Turkey control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles Straits, allowing Turkey to remilitarize them. Fear of the aggressive policies of Germany and Italy led to the convention that authorized Turkey to close the Straits to warships of all countries when at war or threatened by aggression.

Examiner's hint

The multiple sources type of question is the final one on the exam paper and it is good practice to do it last. It requires that you carefully analyze all five sources included, and that you relate them to the specific question asked. Answering Questions 1, 2 and 3 first should have helped you gain insight into the meaning and significance of each source in relation to Question 4. Remember it is important that you include knowledge of your own, which can either be new arguments in response to the question or additional material that may help you expand points offered by the sources. No matter how good your answer is, if it is only based on the sources or on your own knowledge you will only be able to obtain a maximum of 5 out of the 8 available marks.

Section III:

The geopolitical and economic impact of the Treaty of Versailles on Europe; the establishment and impact of the mandate system

The new frontiers drawn by the treaties impacted on the social, political and economic structures of both new and existing countries. They transformed the composition of the populations, redistributed natural resources and changed diplomatic relations among nations. This section aims at explaining how these **geopolitical factors** – combined with economic ones – affected Europe and played a part in the need to revise decisions taken in 1919.

Geopolitical factors

The combination of geographic, demographic and political factors in any society or state.

Weimar Republic (1919–33)

The first federal parliamentary democratic government proclaimed in Germany, in November 1918. The Weimar Constitution made all men and women from the age of 20 eligible to vote. Faced with many internal and international crises, it came to an end in 1933 with the appointment of Hitler as Chancellor and the subsequent passing of the Enabling Act.

The Treaty of Versailles and Germany

Background information

World War I brought about the collapse of the German Empire in November 1918, when the Kaiser fled the country. In February 1919, the **Weimar Republic** was proclaimed, with Friedrich Ebert as its first President. One of the most challenging responsibilities ahead was the signing of the treaty to end the war. Despite having thought that negotiations would result in a treaty based on the Fourteen Points, the Germans had been presented with what they considered to be a dictated peace. This peace laid full responsibility for the war on Germany and her allies and demanded the handing over of German territory in Europe and overseas, as well as demilitarization and the payment of reparations. As we have seen, those responsible for signing the Armistice in November 1918 soon became known as the 'November criminals', and the association of the Weimar Republic with the Treaty of Versailles contributed to many of the political and economic problems faced by the new government.

What was the impact of the Treaty of Versailles on Germany?

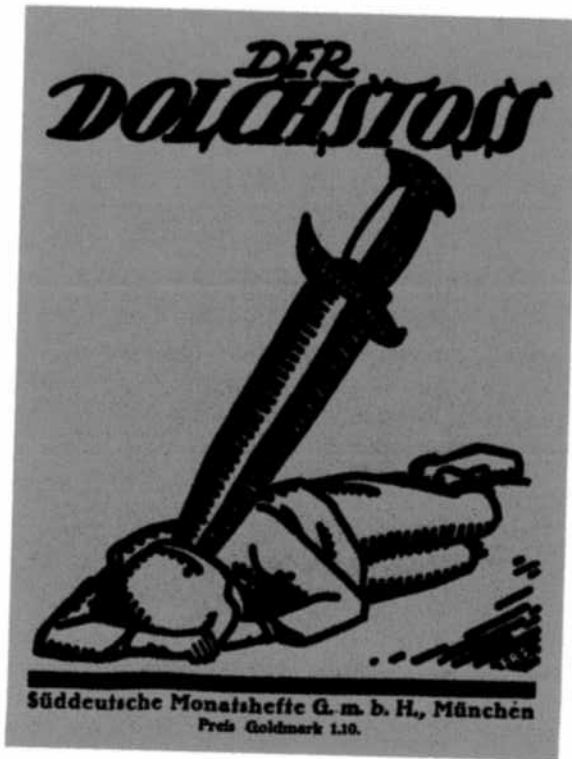
Germany lost approximately 12 per cent of its population and 13 per cent of its territory. This penalty included the loss of 48 per cent of its iron ore, 15 per cent of its agricultural production and 16 per cent of its coal. As shown in Map 3, Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France, the borders with Denmark and Belgium were adjusted, the Saarland put under Allied military occupation and the Polish Corridor was carved out of German territory with one and a half million Germans living then under Poland. The *Anschluss* conditions prohibited the union with Austria and territory was lost to the formation of Czechoslovakia. These measures, combined with the war guilt clause, the loss of colonial territory overseas, reparations and demilitarization all created deep resentment of Versailles among the Germans. It also impacted negatively on the new Weimar Republic, which was held responsible for accepting such terms and played a part in the origin of the idea that the German Army had been 'stabbed in the back' by politicians.

The Weimar Republic inherited a heavy financial burden from World War I increased by the imposition of reparations by the Treaty of Versailles. Defeat forced Germany to pay rather than collect reparations. It was not long before Germany met financial difficulties making the payments.

Although the Treaty of Versailles was harder on Germany than the Germans had expected, it could be argued that Germany was not totally weakened as a result of it. The collapse

of the Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Ottoman Empires led to the establishment of new, smaller and weaker nations to the east of Germany. Geopolitically, Germany could be said to have gained from this.

SOURCE A



◀ 'The generic dagger', published on the cover of the magazine *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, Munich, May 1924.

SOURCE B

The chaotic conditions in Germany over the winter of 1918–19, and the demobilisation of the army left hundreds of thousands of young men disorientated and thirsting for some sort of action. They found it in fighting on the streets against political opponents, joining in national fraternities or enlisting in irregular units which continued to fight after 1919 in the Baltic area and onto the Polish borders. Successive governments faced great difficulties in trying to retract German military force to 100,000, and in giving assurance to the allies that Germany was disarming to the limits stipulated by the Versailles Treaty. Large sections of the population resented the military restrictions and needed little encouragement to flout [disobey] them.

From Ruth Henig, *The Weimar Republic 1919–33*, 1998

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

What is the message conveyed by Source A?

Student Answer – Raj

This cartoon represents the idea that Germany was betrayed during World War I. We can see a German person stabbed with a knife in the back. It represents the German myth that the country had been betrayed and lost World War I not due to military defeat but to sabotage by sectors of the German society. The size of the knife, in relation to that of the person, can be taken as an indicator of how big the betrayal was thought to be.

● Examiner's hint

Some sources can offer many relevant points to the question being asked. However, because you are working within a time limit, it is useful to look at the marks awarded for a particular question to decide how many points you will make. If a source does not appear to offer a number of points equivalent to the marks awarded to the question, then consider the possibility that the examiner may be expecting you to develop the points offered for full marks.

ToK Time

'In history, truth is not as important as what is believed to be true.' To what extent does this quotation apply to the German situation in 1918–20?



QUESTION

According to Source B, what was the impact of the Treaty of Versailles on Germany?

QUESTION

With reference to their origins and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source A and Source B for an historian studying the impact of the Treaty of Versailles on Germany.

Student Answer – Angela

Source A is a cartoon published in Germany in 1924 showing a German citizen who has been stabbed in the back. Its value is that it shows the opinion of the German media at the time, one of disapproval of Versailles. The fact that the cartoon featured on the cover of the publication shows this was an important issue in Germany still in 1924. The limitation of Source A is that we do not know the political orientation of the publication.

Source B is an extract from a book written by a contemporary historian. Its value lies in the hindsight which the author has benefited from. Because it only seems to focus on the military, Source B may have limited usefulness to a historian who is researching the impact of Versailles in all aspects of German life.

Examiner's comments

This answer comments on the origins, purpose, value and limitations of both sources. However, most of the points made could be developed further. For example, the limitation of Source A can be expanded. We may not know the political orientation, but the fact that the cartoon featured on the cover of the magazine may be suggesting a high degree of approval of its message. Consequently, it may be viewed as propaganda against the Weimar government and, as such, it should not be taken at face value by an historian.

QUESTION

Compare and contrast Maps 2 and 3 (page 32). How did Germany's eastern frontiers change after World War I? Explain why it could be argued that Germany benefited from these new frontiers in 1919.

The readjustments of frontiers in Europe following the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires

Background information

The post-war settlements created or restored states such as Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Austria, Finland, Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania. Albania, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece emerged from World War I with changed borders. It could be argued that with the post-war treaties Eastern Europe did not gain political stability, as new sources of conflict emerged. These were based on ethnic and cultural differences within these countries and on the consequent rivalries between them. The treaties imposed an additional challenge on the European countries. The new geopolitical situation was not only about learning to live as new or different national units, but also about re-establishing diplomatic relations among them.

The following section will analyze:

- Minorities and the impact of the principle of self-determination
- The political challenges for successor states

- The economic impact of the treaties
- The impact of the treaties on the diplomatic relations of the nations in the region.

The impact of the principle of self-determination and the issue of minorities

Many factors came into play in the design of post-war Europe. In the first place, there was the question of minorities. It had not always been possible to draw territorial boundaries that fully respected the principle of self-determination and – as a result of this – the peace treaties left millions of people as ethnic minorities under foreign rule. The cases of the South Tyrol becoming part of Italy, the establishment of the Polish Corridor (former German territory), which divided Germany into two, and that of the Sudetenland becoming part of the new state of Czechoslovakia are some of the examples of this point.

One of the reasons for what some saw as a disregard for the principle of self-determination was the fact that nations needed to be provided with the economic means to guarantee their stability and independence. The Polish Corridor, for example, was created to provide Poland with an outlet to the sea, both to strengthen its economy as well as for defence purposes. A landlocked Poland, trapped between Germany and Russia – who both resented their new neighbour – would have had limited chances of survival. In the meantime, the Polish Corridor separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany and put more than two million Germans under Polish rule, which created its own problems.

In many cases, minorities resented their new condition and conflicts emerged. Some of these conflicts were handled by plebiscites after 1919, while others remained unresolved and led to crises in the inter-war years. The new states signed minority treaties by which they committed themselves to a fair treatment of the minorities in their territories. The minority treaties were in turn supervised by the League of Nations.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

RESEARCH ACTIVITY

Find out about one other region or territory in which the principle of self-determination was difficult to implement. Explain the nature and significance of that potential conflict.

Look for information about a plebiscite held after Versailles. What issues of self-determination did it address and how satisfactory was its outcome to the parties involved?

The political challenges for successor states

President Wilson had hoped the new successor states would adopt democratic forms of government, in the belief that democracy helped the preservation of peace. Although successor states often adopted democratic constitutions, the political systems emerging in many of these states could not really be considered democracies.

Why was it difficult for democracy to be enforced after World War I? As previous members of empires, the citizenship and their leaders lacked democratic tradition and experience. The racial tensions between ethnic groups were reflected in different political parties, contributing to political dissent and the destabilization of parliamentary governments. Underdeveloped industries, inefficient agricultural systems and trade barriers limited the development of the national economies, affecting standards of living and the expectations of the people.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

RESEARCH ACTIVITY

Individually or in pairs, choose one European country formed after World War I and research its political system in the inter-war years. Was the country of your choice able to adopt a truly democratic system? If not, explain the reason and results of the failure to establish democracy. Share your findings with the rest of the class and take notes of the information you receive about other countries from your peers.

The economic impact of the treaties

World War I left a heavy burden on the European economies: low levels of production, shortages of food and of raw materials, debt, inflation. With the enforcement of treaties new economic problems emerged. In the same way as it had been difficult to find a way to respect the principle of self-determination for all national groups, it had become equally difficult to distribute natural resources in a way acceptable to all.

The differences in economic resources between regions within the same country were a source of conflict, as the case of Poland shows. Prussian Poland (territory gained from Germany) was economically more advanced than Russian Poland, whose economy was based on agriculture. Some countries, like Austria, found they had lost significant industrial resources and needed to transform their economies to the production of agricultural goods.

Rather than forming part of a larger economic unit – such as an empire – each successor state now had its own currency and set up economic tariffs and barriers, all of which impacted negatively on their economic relations by making imported goods more expensive and trade slower. Also, trade with Bolshevik Russia was largely discontinued. Eastern European countries started looking for trading partners outside their region and became more dependent on the world economy.

The impact of the treaties on diplomatic relations

The changes imposed by the treaties on Europe affected relations between the nations. Either due to fear of losing the gains made through the treaties or to resentment of what were believed to be unfair terms, the treaties forced many countries to review their alliances. In order to understand how the peace treaties impacted on the diplomatic relations in Europe, here we will focus on the formation of the 'Little Entente' and the relations between some Eastern European nations and France. In the next chapter, you will find out about relations between two countries that had been diplomatically isolated after Versailles: Germany and Russia.

The Little Entente and France

Some successor states were fearful of losing their newly acquired status. Between 1920 and 1921 Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia formed alliances with the aim of protecting one another from any Hungarian or Italian attempt to regain control over their territories and to secure the terms of the Treaty of Trianon. France supported these alliances, as it viewed them as useful for providing a check on Germany from the east, now that Russia could not be relied on for that purpose. The French government began to seek agreements with the Little Entente nations, as well as with Poland. France promised assistance against any attempt to alter the 1919 boundaries.

However, it was clear that none of these alliances would give France the security from Germany it had before World War I with Russia as an ally. Moreover, French commitment to Poland particularly worried some diplomats in Paris, who feared that potential clashes between Poland, on one side, and either Russia or Germany on the other could end up dragging France into war. The balance to be achieved in the name of French security was certainly a very delicate one, and one that in the long term would be difficult to sustain.

SOURCE C

Fear of Hungarian revisionism resulted in the formation of the Little Entente between Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia in a series of alliances in 1920 and 1921. This alliance system was extended with the conclusion of the Romanian-Polish pact in March 1921, which was specifically aimed against the Soviet Union, and the Polish-Czechoslovakian Neutrality Pact in November. From the outset the Little Entente was closely linked to France... France sent weapons and military missions to the Little Entente and there was a clear understanding that all four states would work together to uphold the treaties. France was now committed to defend Poland against both Germany and Russia, to thwart Hungary's revisionist ambition and support Yugoslavia against Italy. France thus undertook not only to be the principal guarantor of the Treaty of Versailles but also of the entire peace settlement.

From Martin Kitchen, *Europe between the Wars*, 1988

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

According to Source C, how were European relations transformed by the Little Entente?

● Examiner's hint

Do not comment on everything the source says, but only on what is relevant to the question. You can help yourself by underlining in the source points that relate to the question.

The mandate system

Background information

Wilson's Point Five demanded 'a free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.' This point acknowledged that colonialism had been a major cause in the outbreak of World War I and, as such, it needed to be addressed. Given that distributing the colonies of the defeated nations among the victors would have gone against Point Five, it was decided that the territories were to be put under a mandate system of international administration supervised by the League of Nations. The mandatory nations had a responsibility for the wellbeing of those living in the mandated territories and were accountable to the League's Mandate Commission.

SOURCE D

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant... The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage [guarding or supervising] of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility.

From Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

According to Source D, what were the reasons for the establishment of the mandate system?

Mandates were classified into A, B or C categories according to their level of development. Territories of the former Ottoman Empire in the Middle East were considered to be among the most developed, and were therefore to be supervised by France and Britain for a limited period of time only. These territories were Mandates A. Most of former German African colonies and some of Germany's Pacific colonies were Mandates B, and were considered to need more time before they could become independent. Finally, Mandates C, comprising other former German possessions in the Pacific, were regarded as needing closer supervision and were administered by the mandatory states as an integral part of their territories.

Though in principle the nature and establishment of the mandate system was discussed at Versailles, in practice the allocation of the colonies of the defeated nations had been agreed earlier. The beneficiaries were Britain, France, South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Japan and Belgium. Italy received no colonies, increasing its frustration about the treaty.

Case study: The mandate system in Africa

In the years before World War I, there was a race among European nations to obtain colonies in Africa. The 'scramble for Africa', as it became known, was about imperialism and power for the European nations who wished to extend their dominions. A vastly unexplored continent at the time, Africa also offered valuable raw materials for the growing European industries. In 1884 the Berlin Colonial Conference divided the continent into spheres of influence among the major European powers, but in spite of this friction became inevitable. Conflict in Africa contributed to the tension leading up to the outbreak of war in 1914.

Following the spirit of the Fourteen Points, it was decided that African colonies would become mandates. The former German colonies, of which Germany had been stripped, needed to be put under the mandate of a European nation. Britain took control of former German East Africa and split Togoland and Cameroons with France. German South-West Africa was put under South African supervision.

In spite of the efforts of the League of Nations to ensure fair conditions in the mandates, the question is whether the mandate system was a continuation of imperialism under a different name. One of the arguments to support this view was the fact that although the League of Nations was given responsibility to supervise the administration of mandates, it had no legal power to transfer such administration if a country failed to fulfil its responsibilities as mandatory. Also, the term 'mandate' did not erase the gap between the 'advanced' and 'backward' people and equality between the races was not achieved. However limited, the mandate system became a system for accountability, a definite improvement from the colonial system.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

RESEARCH ACTIVITY

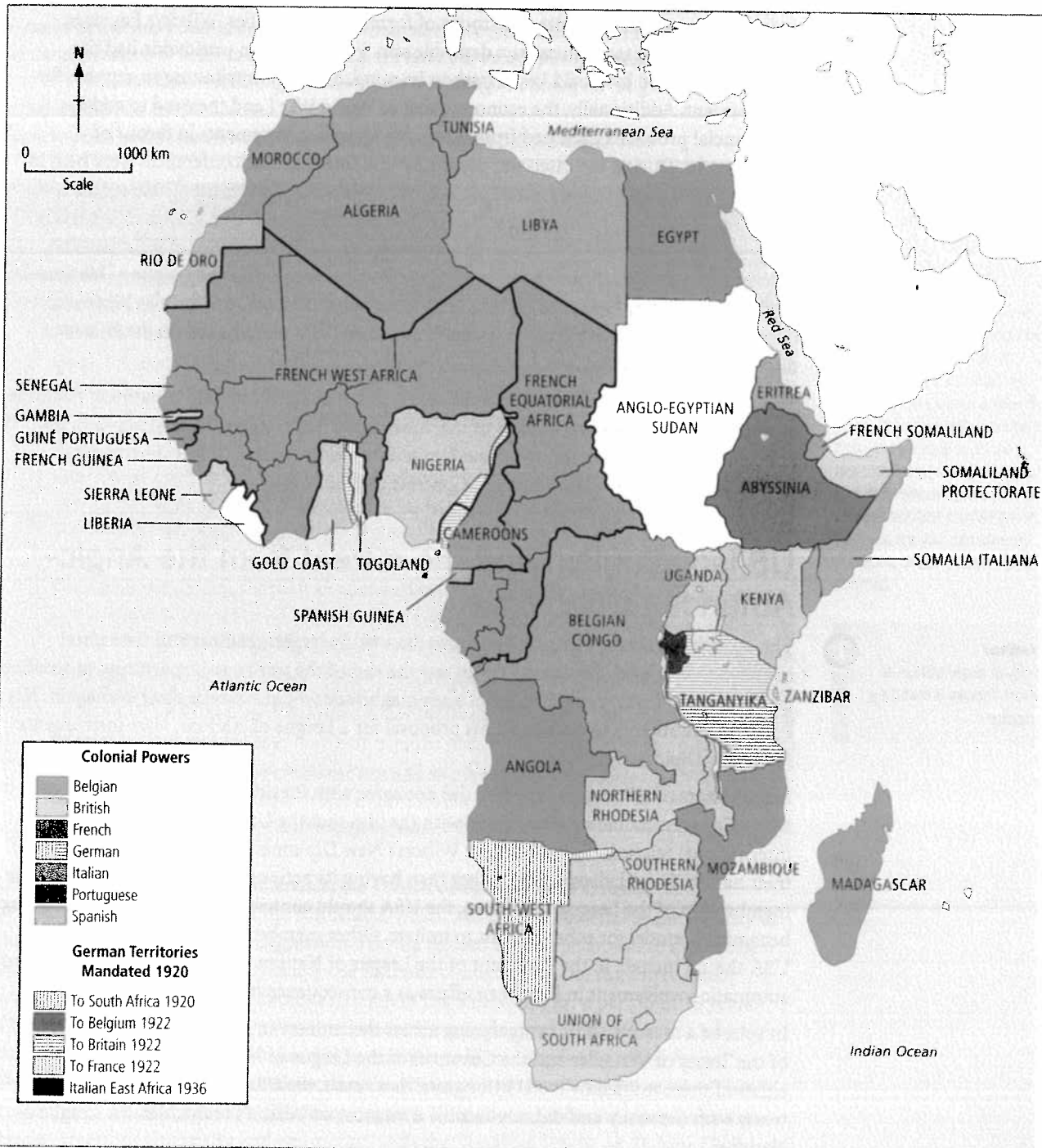
'The mandate system was imperialism in disguise.'

Individually or in pairs, research the history of one of the mandated territories chosen from the map below during the inter-war years. Assess the extent to which the mandate system contributed to the development of the territory of your choice. You can help yourself by drawing a timeline of the most significant events.

Map 4

Africa 1920–32

Study the map below and analyze the territorial distribution of the continent



Section IV:

Enforcement of the provisions of the treaties: US isolationism – the retreat from the Anglo- American Guarantee; disarmament – Washington London, Geneva Conferences

Background information

The Paris Peace Settlement imposed severe disarmament clauses on Germany and restrictions on the armaments and troops of former German allies. Wilson's Fourteen Points saw world disarmament as a desirable aim. Public opinion worldwide had the destruction caused by World War I fresh in its mind, a factor contributing to support for disarmament. Additionally, the economic cost of World War I and the need to address the financial problems inherited from it became appealing arguments in favour of disarmament. During the inter-war period, several international conferences were held in an attempt to make progress on the aim of international disarmament. These ended with mixed results, however. Among the reasons why countries refused to disarm to the levels hoped for by Wilson was the fear for their own security. The US policy of isolation that followed the nation's refusal to ratify the Versailles Treaty and join the League of Nations contributed to the sense of insecurity. The rise of nationalist regimes in Italy, Japan and Germany, combined with economic depression after 1929, played a role in the failure of disarmament ambitions.

This section analyzes the causes and the extent of US isolationism in international relations as well as the successes and failures of the Washington Naval Agreements (1921–22), the London Conference and Treaty for the Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armament (1930) and the Geneva Disarmament Conference (1932–34).

US isolationism and the retreat from the Anglo- American Guarantee

The end of World War I found the USA as the world's largest **creditor** and the richest country in the world. President Wilson saw the end of the war as an opportunity to redefine international relations so that wars of such magnitude would not take place ever again. His Fourteen Points and, in particular, his proposal for a League of Nations, were instruments for a New Diplomacy.

Large sectors of US society, however, did not agree with President Wilson's views. Many Congress members who agreed with the idea that the USA had a role to play in international relations did not believe Wilson's New Diplomacy was in the best interests of their nation. Some believed that, rather than having its national sovereignty affected by the membership of the League of Nations, the USA should contribute to international peace by becoming a model for other nations to imitate. Other members of Congress believed the USA should include in the Covenant of the League of Nations some reservations to prevent automatic involvement in European affairs as a consequence of US membership.

In spite of a massive effort campaigning across the country in support of the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League of Nations, Wilson did not see either of them ratified by the US Congress. As a result, the USA signed a separate peace treaty with Germany and did not become a member of Wilson's brainchild, the League of Nations.

Creditor

Entity or organization to whom money is owed by a debtor.

SOURCE A

The Americans had a complicated attitude towards the Europeans: a mixture of admiration for their past accomplishments, a conviction that the Allies would have been lost without the United States and a suspicion that, if the Americans were not careful, the wily Europeans would pull them into their toils again.

From Margaret MacMillan, *Peacemakers – Six Months that Changed the World*, 2001

SOURCE B

The United States is the world's best hope, but if you fetter [tie, bind] her in the interests and quarrels of other nations, if you tangle her in the intrigues of Europe, you will destroy her power for good and endanger her very existence. Leave her to march freely through the centuries to come as in the years that have gone... We would not have our politics distracted and embittered by the dissensions of other lands. We would not have our country's vigour exhausted or her moral force abated, by everlasting meddling and muddling in every quarrel, great and small, which afflicts the world.

From a speech by US Senator Henry Cabot Lodge in Washington D.C., 12 August 1919

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTION

Compare and contrast the views expressed by Sources A and B about the role of the USA in the world after World War I.

Student Answer – Ingrid

Both Source A and Source B refer to the relations between the USA and Europe after World War I. Source A explains how the USA views Europe at this point in time and Source B explains the aims of US foreign policy towards the European nations.

Both sources reflect the fear USA had of becoming involved in European confrontations in the future. Source A refers to 'a suspicion' that the USA had to be careful not to be 'pulled into' European 'toils again'. Source B conveys a similar idea by expressing that if 'you tangle her in the intrigues of Europe, you will... endanger her very existence'.

Both sources identify the USA as an important partner for Europe. Source B says that 'the United States is the world's best hope' while Source A mentions that the Americans have 'a conviction that the Allies would have been lost without the United States'.

However, while Source A mentions that the USA admires Europe, Source B is highly critical of the European nations and views them as intriguing, dissenting and quarrelling.

Examiner's comments

The answer clearly identifies similarities and differences between the sources. Each of these is dealt with in a separate paragraph and evidence is drawn from the sources to support each point offered. This is one of the strongest aspects of the answer.

● Examiner's hint

Source questions test not only whether you have understood the sources, but they go one step further to assess whether you can apply your understanding of the sources to a specific task – that of comparing and contrasting what they say about a specific issue. Therefore it is important that you are able to show not only what the similarities and differences between the sources are, but also where in each source you can identify the point of comparison and contrast.

Often during the Versailles Conference, the French delegation had expressed its preoccupation with the fate of the Rhineland, which was considered vital to the security of their country against German aggression. Having refused French proposals to incorporate the region to its territory or to occupy the Rhineland indefinitely, the Big Three finally compromised on the German demilitarization of the Rhineland for a period of 15 years. This option meant the territory remained under the sovereignty of Germany, but no troops could be stationed in it, a condition that was to be monitored by Allied forces. The agreement was partly reached because the USA and Britain offered France a military guarantee to come to her aid if Germany attacked. This guarantee became known as the Anglo-American Guarantee and was signed, with the Versailles Treaty, on 28 June 1919.

Wilson hoped that if it ever became necessary to honour the guarantee – after the end of the demilitarization period – the League of Nations would be able to take care of the aggression. The British, on the other hand, counted on the USA. The fact that neither the Treaty of Versailles nor any of the associated documents (which included the Anglo-American Guarantee) was ratified by the US Congress meant the guarantee never became binding for the USA and, consequently, not mandatory for Britain.

The impact of the retreat of the Anglo-American Guarantee

The retreat from the Anglo-American Guarantee needs to be understood not only in the light of the American policy of isolationism, but also in relation to the political atmosphere in Britain in the 1920s. There was little evidence that public opinion would support commitment to military alliances to maintain peace. The British feared being dragged into a conflict in the continent because of France. In an attempt to strengthen the containment of Germany, France had strengthened its ties with the Little Entente nations and with Poland (see pages 44–45). There was fear among British diplomats that these French commitments might lead to a confrontation with Germany which would force Britain to enter in defence of France.

Disarmament: Washington, London, Geneva conferences

The peace treaties had imposed disarmament on the defeated nations and it was hoped that the League of Nations would encourage disarmament at an international level. Several disarmament conferences took place in the inter-war period, with mixed results.

Washington Naval Agreements (1921–22)

Despite the policy of isolationism, in 1921 US President Warren Harding called for a conference to take place in Washington to discuss two issues: naval disarmament and the developments in the Far East. The Conference was attended by delegations of the USA, Britain, France, Japan and Italy and, for matters related to the Far East, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal and China joined the meeting.

The desire to discuss naval disarmament emerged from a need to avoid an expensive naval arms race among the powers. Even if the USA held the position of the strongest naval power in the world, there was little support in Congress to pass the Navy's proposal for further naval expansion. Britain hoped that a one-to-one ratio agreement (equality) with the USA would allow it to focus on other important matters, which depended on government investment and expenditure, without the risk of falling behind in naval terms. As for Japan, the nation had made significant progress in developing its navy, but it was clear to the government that further investment in the field would harm other sectors of the economy.

In relation to disarmament, the Washington Naval Conference produced several agreements:

The Four Power Agreement signed between the USA, Britain, France and Japan guaranteed the territorial rights of the signatories in their respective possessions in the Pacific. They also agreed to defend one another if such rights were threatened by third parties.

The Five Power Agreement (USA, Great Britain, France, Japan and Italy) asked signatories to limit their naval forces by the establishment of a ratio for the size of the fleets. The ratio

was of 5:5:3 for the USA, Britain and Japan respectively, while France and Italy were allowed to have fleets half the size of the Japanese navy. In addition, the signatory nations promised not to build battleships and cruisers for a period of 10 years and to destroy ships (should they be above the ratio) until the ratio was reached.

The second issue on the agenda at Washington was the Far East and, in particular, China. The political instability in the country led to common fears that China might become the new international 'sick man' – as the Ottoman Empire had been in the past – and contribute to rivalries among nations with interests in the Pacific region. The result of these negotiations was the Nine Power Agreement.

The Nine Power Agreement (USA, Japan, China, France, Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Netherlands and Portugal) reaffirmed the **Open Door Policy** and guaranteed the territorial integrity of China. Measures were also taken to assist China financially by giving her greater control over customs income. Japan also agreed to give back the Chinese territory of **Shantung Peninsula** to China.

To what extent were the Washington Naval Agreements successful?

- The Washington Naval Conference was the first step towards the application of a disarmament policy at an international level.
- The agreements included limitations on the use of submarines in war and a ban on the use of poison gas in warfare.
- At a national level, all countries involved avoided the economic costs of a naval race.
- France, though dissatisfied with her ratio, was allowed to build light ships and submarines for protection. In spite of this, the French considered they had been relegated to a second-class naval power and that, given the threat Germany posed, they were entitled to a special treatment that they did not receive.
- Italy, for its part, was satisfied with having gained parity with France.
- Members agreed not to build new fortifications in the Pacific.
- Although some progress was made on issues related to the Far East, critics of the Nine Power Agreement claim that it made no provisions for enforcement and failed to prevent crises like the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931.
- An evaluation of the Washington Conference should acknowledge that the relative success of disarmament discussions may also be attributed to the fact that the number of nations involved was very small. Also, naval armaments can hardly be produced secretly and the assembling of vessels is a much slower process than the production of most other types of armaments. In other words, the successes in Washington did not necessarily point to success for disarmament conferences involving other technical areas or a greater number of countries.

Open Door Policy

A policy giving opportunity for commercial relations with a country to all nations on equal terms.

Shantung Peninsula

German-leased territory (1898) which Japan seized in 1914. At Versailles, Japan was granted the right to station troops in Shantung if it signed the treaty and joined the League.

SOURCE C

At the time the Washington Conference was widely hailed as a significant step towards international stability. The prospect of a financially crippling naval arms race had been prevented, the first substantive arms control treaty had been agreed, the navies of the great powers were to be limited, a clash between the major powers for dominance in east Asia and the Pacific had been avoided, and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance that had filled other states with such unease had been replaced by a broader agreement. It would prove to be only a short term solution. Within ten years, the Washington system had collapsed, largely due to the renewed Japanese bid for regional hegemony.

From Erik Goldstein, *The First World War Peace Settlements 1919–25*, 2002

SOURCE D

Together, the treaties signed at the Washington Conference served to uphold the status quo in the Pacific: they recognized existing interests and did not make fundamental changes to them. At the same time, the United States secured agreements that reinforced its existing policy in the Pacific, including the Open Door in China and the protection of the Philippines, while limiting the scope of Japanese imperial expansion as much as possible.

From the US Department of State, Office of the Historian,
<http://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/NavalConference>

SOURCE E

Cartoon published by
 British newspaper *The Star*,
 December 1921

**Examiner's hint**

One of the most frequent problems with the first type of question here is that students answer on issues related to reliability rather than focusing on usefulness (value and limitations). Usefulness is assessed in terms of how much a particular source can help us understand the topic better. You could consider reading the sources with the following question in mind: 'What could an historian learn from this source about the significance of the Washington Conference?' This approach should help you focus on the value of the source regardless of whether it is reliable.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION**QUESTION**

With reference to their origin and purpose, discuss the value and limitations of Source C and Source D for an historian assessing the significance of the Washington Naval Conference.

QUESTION

Using these sources and your own knowledge, assess the successes and failures of the Washington Naval Conference.

Student Answer - Chang

The Washington Naval Conference was called by the United States and attended by the USA, Britain, France, Japan and Italy among others. It aimed at reducing the pressure to continue investing in enlarging navies by reaching an agreement on the sizes of national navies based on a ratio system to be established among the countries. It also hoped to address some of the problems in the Far East.

One could argue that an important success of the Conference was the conference itself. After the withdrawal of the USA from European politics, this renewed will to

discuss matters collectively and with the presence of the USA was welcome, so was American commitment to the Conference shown by its readiness to destroy ships in order to achieve the agreed ratio. This can be supported by Source D, which describes America's role in securing agreements in the Pacific that contributed to the Open Door Policy, as well as limiting Japanese expansion.

Washington did reduce the pressure to expand navies and therefore achieved its aim of allowing countries to focus their efforts on other areas of more urgent need. As stated in Source C: 'The prospect of a financially crippling naval arms race had been prevented'.

Washington helped to ease relations by enlarging the limited Anglo-Japanese Alliance – obsolete now after the collapse of the Russian and German Empires – to include France and Italy. This view is supported by Source C which mentions 'the Anglo-Japanese Alliance that had filled other states with such unease had been replaced by a broader agreement'.

The Nine Power Treaty to protect the integrity of China was not very successful and would soon collapse 'largely due to the renewed Japanese bid for regional hegemony', as stated in Source C. This can be explained as a failure of the Washington Conference to organize the means to enforce its terms.

Source E illustrates the failure to reach further agreements as a French responsibility and depicts the country as a very threatening force to naval peace. The country was unhappy with the ratio established at Washington and claimed it had rights to a larger navy than Italy because France had more overseas territories to look after.

The Washington Conference was a combination of successes and failures. It paved the way for future negotiations on disarmament; it was able to produce a policy on naval forces which was accepted by all participants. Although a step forward, Washington also demonstrated how difficult reaching an agreement on disarmament at an international level would become.

Examiner's comments

This answer has a solid structure and the candidate has made clear and relevant use of the sources, identifying successes and failures of the Washington Conference. However, there is no clear evidence of the use of supporting knowledge from outside the sources (own knowledge). This is a serious weakness in the answer. It is important to remember that own knowledge does not necessarily need to come in as additional arguments. Any of the arguments expressed above, which are supported by evidence from the sources, could have been further discussed with reference to outside knowledge.

London Conference and Treaty for the Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armament (1930)

The conference held in London in 1930 aimed at taking some further steps in naval disarmament by including submarines and smaller warships, which had not been contemplated by the Washington Agreements. At an international level, the world was undergoing one of the most severe economic crises and living under the period known as the 'Great Depression'.

One of the explanations given for the agreements reached in London is that all nations involved were suffering the effects of the economic depression and did not wish to divert resources into a naval race. The Treaty for the Limitation and Reduction of Naval Armament modified the naval ratio between the USA, Britain and Japan, benefiting the latter (who obtained parity in submarines). However, the treaty did not reduce the likelihood of war, as it allowed naval escalation in the event of an act of aggression by a non-signatory country.

Geneva Disarmament Conference (1932–34)

The League of Nations' Disarmament Commission began preparations for the Conference for the Reduction and Limitation of Armaments in 1926, with the Conference finally opening in Geneva in February 1932. The conference aimed at addressing not only naval disarmament, but arms reduction as a whole. It opened against a complex background of economic and political crises. Against this background, the aim of disarming to the lowest point compatible with internal security was viewed as idealistic – if not dangerous – by many statesmen and diplomats. Several issues related to how disarmament was to be agreed upon and put into practice were raised at Geneva, but overall results were disappointing.

One of the first difficulties diplomats faced at Geneva was that of how to reach an agreement on the meaning of the word 'disarmament'. The challenge involved distinguishing between offensive and defensive weapons to help decide which armaments were to be included in the disarmament and which would be allowed for defensive purposes. Negotiations on this issue led to friction and little was accomplished.

Yet the issue of disarmament was not limited to theoretical discussions. It was also extremely difficult to decide how it would be implemented and controlled. Who was to verify whether nations disarmed? Even German disarmament had been hard to control – negotiations carried out between Moscow and Berlin in the 1920s had allowed German military development in spite of the restrictions imposed by Versailles. Even if an international organization was appointed to enforce disarmament, how was it to operate without affecting the principle of sovereignty? What would be the limits to the rights of this organization? Finally, if a disarmed nation became victim of an act of aggression, what would come to its defence?

The conference failed to produce disarmament largely because the views of the participating nations on most of these issues were incompatible. Such incompatibility is best illustrated by analyzing the clashes between France and Germany. The former placed security ahead of disarmament and expressed its reluctance to disarm until it was offered more specific guarantees against German aggression. Germany (a member of the League of Nations since 1926), whose disarmament had been imposed by the Treaty of Versailles, demanded 'equality of rights'. Germany argued that either the other countries disarmed or Germany was allowed to rearm to their level, which was nothing less than a request for rearmament in the eyes of the French. Disarmament became a more idealistic objective after Adolf Hitler rose to power in January 1933 – he withdrew Germany from both the conference and from the League of Nations.

SOURCE F

For years Germany has been waiting in vain for the fulfilment of the promise of disarmament made to her by the others. It is the sincere desire of the national Government to be able to refrain from increasing our army and our weapons, insofar as the rest of the world is now also ready to fulfil its obligations in the matter of radical disarmament. For Germany desires nothing except an equal right to live and equal freedom... We are unfortunately faced by the fact that the Geneva Conference, in spite of lengthy negotiations, has so far reached no practical result. The decision regarding the securing of a real measure of disarmament has been constantly delayed by the raising of questions of technical detail and by the introduction of problems that have nothing to do with disarmament. This procedure is useless. The illegal state of one-sided disarmament and the resulting national insecurity of Germany cannot continue any longer. For fourteen years we have been disarmed, and for fourteen months we have been waiting for the results of the Disarmament Conference.

From a speech by Adolf Hitler to the German Reichstag, March 1933

SOURCE G

I am very glad that the Disarmament Conference is passing out of life into history. It is the greatest mistake to mix up disarmament with peace. When you have peace you will have disarmament. But there has been during these recent years a steady deterioration in the relations between different countries, a steady growth of ill-will, and a steady, indeed a rapid increase in armaments that has gone on through all these years in spite of the endless flow of oratory, of perorations, of well-meaning sentiments, of banquets, which have marked this epoch. Europe will be secure when the nations no longer feel themselves in great danger, as many of them do now.

From a speech by Winston Churchill, July 1934. Source: *The Gathering Storm*, 1948

STUDENT STUDY SECTION**QUESTIONS**

- a) Assess the value and limitations of Source F and Source G for an historian studying the reasons for the failure of the Geneva Disarmament Conference.
- b) Using your own knowledge and the sources, explain to what extent you agree with the view that 'disarmament was a political and not a technical process'.

REVIEW SECTION

This chapter has explained the context in which the Paris Peace Conference developed by looking at the aims and roles of the peacemakers in their efforts to solve the problems faced in the aftermath of World War I. It has analyzed the Paris Peace Treaties and their impact on Europe, the problems solved and those created when enforcing the terms of the treaties. It has considered the reasons for the establishment of the mandate system. It has explored the effect of US isolationism on European affairs and examined the successes and failures of the attempts to disarm in the Washington, London and Geneva Conferences.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION**QUESTIONS**

Write answers to the following questions, supporting your arguments with information both from the text and the sources.

- a) 'The peace settlements after World War I were an unhappy compromise between fear and revenge.' How far do you agree with the statement?
- b) Explain the attempts made to achieve disarmament in the inter-war period and analyze why results were limited.
- c) To what extent did the peace treaties bring about a 'New Europe'?