

AQA GCSE History




Conflict and Tension

1918-1939

Workbook

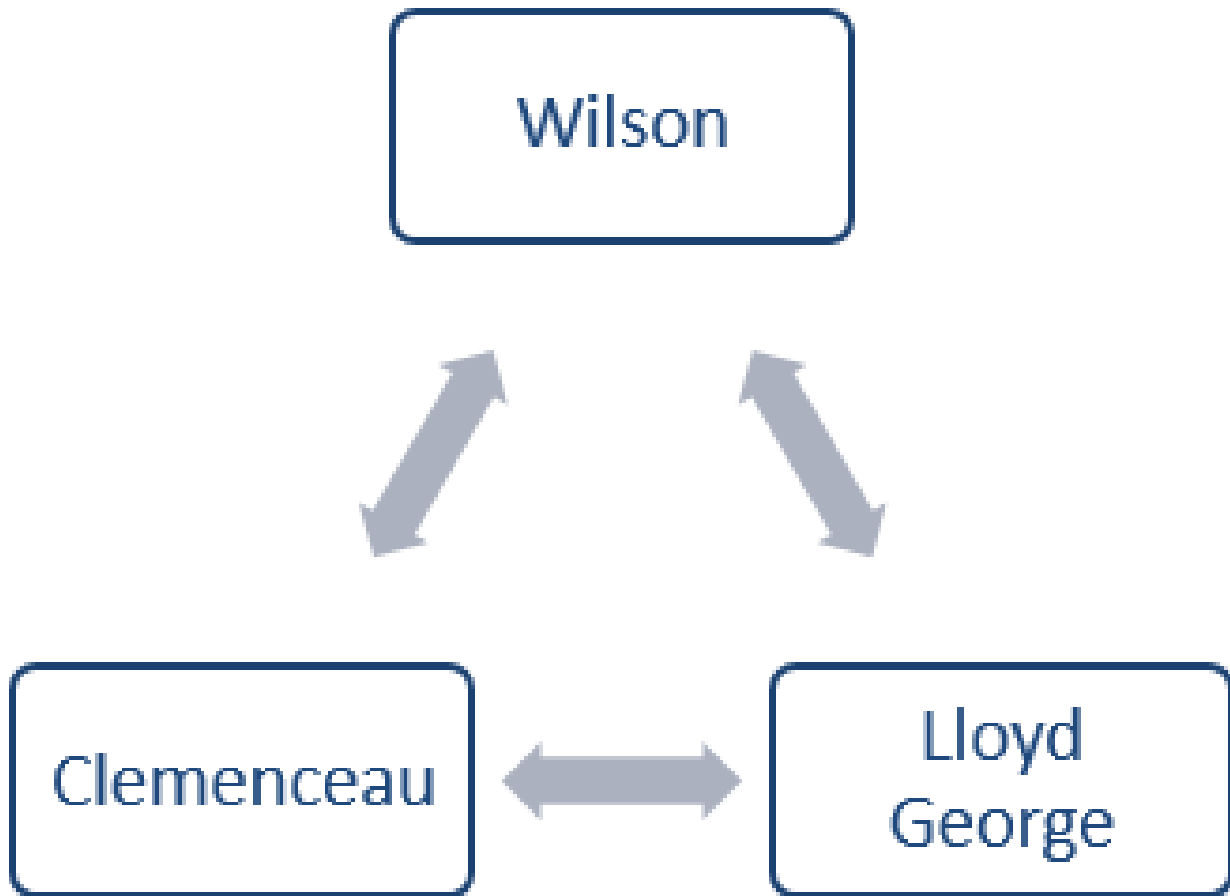
Germany listening to the terms of the Treaty of Versailles



Leader	Country	Background and character	Attitude towards Germany	Main Aims
 <u>Georges Clemenceau</u>				
 <u>David Lloyd George</u>				
 <u>Woodrow Wilson</u>				

TASK 2

Add to the arms of this diagram points of agreement and disagreement between each pair. Any that are between all three place in the middle.



OPEN YOUR EXAM BOOKS!



Write an account of how the Versailles peace settlement was affected by the fact that the war was mainly fought in France.

Summarise this topic in 5 bullet points:

- _____

- _____

- _____

- _____

- _____

HOMEWORK

German territorial loses would be kept to a minimum, with German border areas being allowed to decide which country to be part of.

I want a fair settlement that will guarantee future peace. I have come up with Fourteen Points to guarantee this.

All 32 nations should debate every decision made at Versailles.

The German fleet should be sunk!

Different nations should be allowed to rule themselves.

Germany should be forced to pay 'reparations' to the countries that suffered and were damaged in the war.

Pushing the German frontier back to the Rhine is unrealistic - we should simply demilitarise the Rhine so that Germany cannot keep an army near the French border.

Germany should be shrunk. The frontier should be pushed back to the Rhine.

Our people want Germany to be punished harshly!

We need to make sure that Germany can never attack us again. They purposely ruined our land and industry!

We will form a 'League of Nations' to make sure we never have another war like this one!

We must protect our status as the greatest naval power!

I'm worried that if we treat Germany too harshly it will lead to another war. But my people expect me to 'squeeze the German lemon until the pips squeak!'

We suffered more than any other country in the war. My people want the right to punish the Germans!

Task

Match the speech bubbles to the person you think might have said it by colour coding. Remember that more than one of the Big Three could have said some of these statements.



Woodrow Wilson (USA)

☐

David Lloyd George (Britain)

☐

Georges Clemenceau (France)

☐

The Treaty of Versailles

L/O: To know the key terms of the TOV and how these affected Germany.

The Paris Peace Conference

The Paris Peace Conference took place between 1919 and 1920. It was an international meeting at which the peace agreements which were placed upon those who had lost World War One were decided. The conference itself took place at the Palace of Versailles in Paris. Although it was supposed to be about secured peace at the end of World War One, none of those countries from defeated powers such as Germany or Austria-Hungary were invited to join in.

During the conference, there were several peace treaties drawn up for different countries who were involved in the war. The most significant treaty which came out of the Paris Peace Conference was the Treaty of Versailles. The Treaty of Versailles established peace with Germany. Other treaties such as the Treaty of Saint-Germain provided for peace with Austria Hungary.

Among the 32 countries who were involved in the Treaty of Versailles, the Big Three (Britain, France and the USA) were mostly involved in deciding what to do with Germany. The conference contained many civil servants and officials to attempt to make a peace agreement which was acceptable to all, however the leaders of the Big Three would more often than not ignore the advice of their advisors. To add to this, the Big Three did not get on with each other. This made decision making difficult, which led to extended negotiations and relationships between the three powers get worse.

Recap

France: Throughout World War One, France suffered greatly throughout World War One. Over half of the soldiers which France sent to the front were wounded and over an eighth were killed. France has been invaded by Germany a number of times in the preceding decades and many French people were incredibly weary of the Germans and their military ambitions. With this in mind there was a significant feeling among the French that they could use the Treaty of Versailles as an opportunity to weaken Germany severely.

The French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau wanted to weaken Germany as much as possible to ensure that Germany could not mount an attack against France again. However, Clemenceau, did realise that he would have to compromise at some point on this. He did not want to look weak in front of the French people, so decided that the treaty should punish Germany as much as possible.

USA: Going into Versailles the United States, in the form of their President, Woodrow Wilson had a set of ideas about how the Treaty of Versailles should deal with Germany. Wilson wanted to build a better world in which to live which would not need to resort to war to deal with problems. Wilson was determined to work to get a fairer world, and would use all different kinds of leverage to get his way. This included using Britain and France's debts as a bargaining tool to get what he wanted.

Wilson did not think that Germany should be punished for the war, and therefore he did not want the treaty on Germany to be too harsh. It was a worry of Wilson that if Germany was treated particularly badly then it could provoke another war. Wilson believed that countries should be working together to solve problems and that

democracy should be the prevailing ideas in running countries. He stated that a League of Nations, a meeting place for all countries to talk about their problems and solve them, should be created.

In the spirit of democracy, Wilson wanted countries to be able to rule themselves. He detested the idea of Empire and wanted countries and colonies to be able to control their own futures. This idea was known as self determination. He wanted to see an end to the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish Empires.

Wilson's ideas were not universally popular. Britain and France in particular disagreed with Wilson's views on self determination and an end of empire. They argued it would be almost impossible to allow this to happen.

The points were:

1. No secret treaties between countries
2. Free access for all nations to the sea in both peacetime and wartime.
3. There should be free trade between all countries
4. All countries should work towards disarmament
5. Colonies in empires should have a say in their own future governance
6. German soldiers should leave Russia.
7. Belgium shall regain its independence
8. France is to regain the region of Alsace-Lorraine.
9. The border between Austria and Italy should be changed slightly
10. The people of east Europe should be able to rule themselves. (Self Determination)
11. Serbia must have access to the sea.
12. People within the Ottoman Empire should have self determination
13. Poland should have access to the sea and be an independent nation
14. There should be a League of Nations created

Britain: Britain's Prime Minister was David Lloyd George. He was a Liberal MP who wanted to tread a middle ground between the competing ideas of France and America. He had several motivations for his wishes at the Versailles Peace Conference. He had campaigned in the 1918, British election, promising to make Germany pay. He also wanted to stop German threats to the British Empire, and wanted to also protect British jobs in manufacturing.

Lloyd George, wished for the British Empire to remain supreme across the world, and saw Germany's navy and overseas colonies as a threat to the British Empire. However, despite this loss of territory overseas, Lloyd George, knew that the treaty shouldn't punish Germany too much as this may provoke another war.

Lloyd George also had another reason for ensuring that Germany wasn't punished too harshly. Many British jobs depended on trade with Germany. Before the war, Germany was Britain's biggest trading partner. He did not want British people to lose their jobs, which might cause him to lose an election. Lloyd George faced a difficult challenge as the British public wanted to punish Germany harshly for the war in the Peace Treaty.

TASK

On the next page, you have information sheets with the Key Terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

Read them and discuss the following:

What trends can you identify in these terms?

Key Terms of the Treaty of Versailles

Article number	Description
1-26:	The Covenant of the League of Nations - Germany was not allowed to join.
42:	The Rhineland was demilitarised - the German army was not allowed to go there.
45:	The Saar, with its rich coalfields , given to France for 15 years.
51:	Alsace-Lorraine returned to France.
80:	Germany forbidden to unite with Austria.
87:	Lands in eastern Germany - the rich farmlands of Posen and the Polish corridor between Germany and East Prussia - given to Poland.
100:	Danzig made a free city under League of Nations control.
119:	All Germany's colonies taken and given to France and Britain as ' mandates '.
160:	The German army restricted to 100,000 men.
181:	The German navy restricted to six battleships and no submarines.
198:	Germany not allowed to have an air force.
231:	Germany was responsible for causing all the loss and damage caused by the war.
232:	Germany would have to pay reparations , to be decided later - eventually set at 132 billion gold marks.

Key Words

League of Nations: The body set up after WWI to make sure that any future disagreements would be sorted out through negotiation, not war.

Demilitarised: The military being taken away or banned.

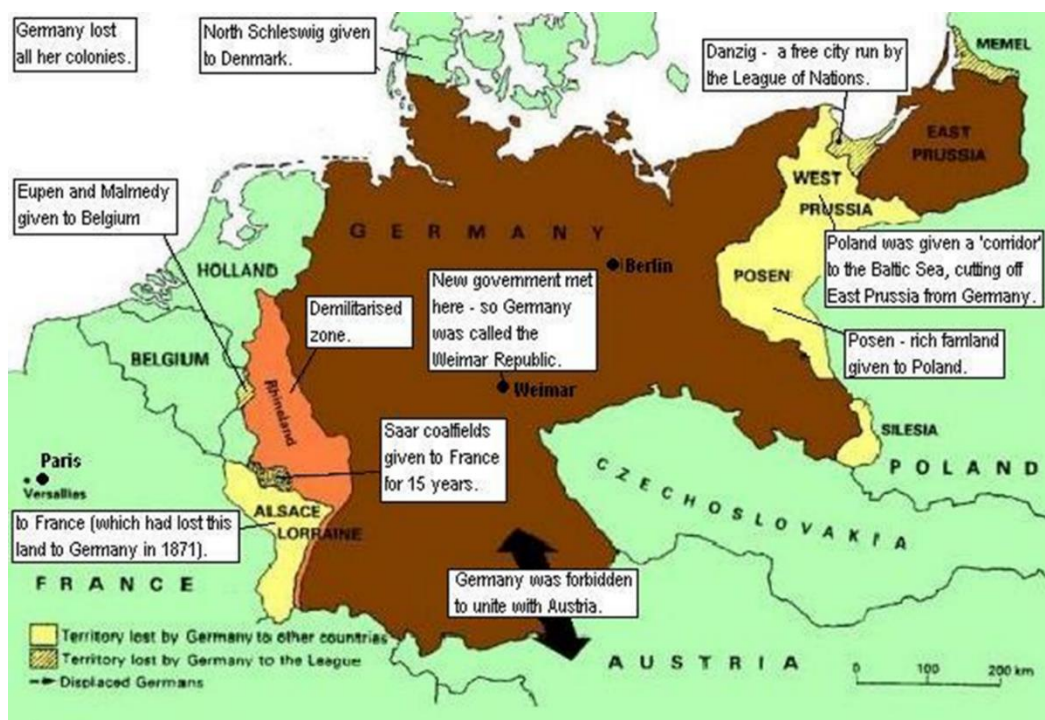
Mandates: An official order.

Reparations: The money being paid by Germany to the winning countries of WWI so that they can rebuild their countries.

L and A rmy M oney B lame



Map of the land Germany was forced to give up dictated by the Treaty:



In all, Germany lost:

1. 10% of its land
2. All of its colonies
3. 12% of its population
4. 16% of its coalfields
5. Half its iron and steel industry
6. Most of its army and navy
7. All its air force
8. The Kaiser
9. All alliances with other countries

TASK

Rank the 9 outcomes of the Treaty above in order of which will have the biggest effect on Germany. 1= Biggest impact 9=Smallest impact

Reason 1	<i>This is the most important factor because...</i>	
Reason 2	Reason 3	<i>These two factors are less important than the one above because...</i>
Reason 4	Reason 5	Reason 6
Reason 7	Reason 8	<i>These two factors are more important than the one below because...</i>
Reason 9	<i>This is the least important factor overall because...</i>	

How did Germany and the Allies react to the ToV?

L/O: To know which of the allies was the most satisfied with the Treaty and why.

KEY WORD:

Diktat- a dictated peace.



David Lloyd George

Many British people wanted to 'make Germany pay', and Lloyd George liked:

1. The fact that Britain got some German colonies (expanded the British Empire),
2. The small German navy (helped Britain to continue to 'rule the waves').

But Lloyd George hated the Treaty:

- a. He thought that the Treaty was far too harsh and would ruin Germany,
- b. He thought it would cause another war in 25 years time (see Source A)



Georges Clemenceau

liked the harsh things that were in the Treaty:

1. Reparations (would repair the damage to France),
2. The tiny German army, and
3. The demilitarised zone in the Rhineland (would both protect France),
4. France got Alsace-Lorraine, and German colonies.

But he was disappointed with the Treaty:

- a. He wanted the Treaty to be harsher
- b. He wanted Germany to be split up into smaller countries.



Woodrow Wilson

Wilson got:

1. A League of Nations,
2. Self-determination for the peoples of Eastern Europe,

But he was disappointed with the Treaty:

- a. Some of his 'Fourteen Points' did not get into the Treaty,
- b. When Wilson went back to America, the Senate refused to join the League of Nations, and even refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles.

TASK

Use the information above to complete the table:

Country	What they wanted	What they got	How much they liked the ToV /5
France			
Britain			
America			

Areas of compromise

The Big Three all had different ideas about how they wanted to Treaty of Versailles to look when it was finally signed. One notable disagreement came between France and the United States. Clemenceau and Wilson were furthest apart on their ideas about Germany. There was intense disagreement about the Rhineland and the Saar. The United States ultimately gave up on these issues, but did allow US progress in Eastern Europe.

The French and British also disagreed about what to do with Germany. France wanted to punish Germany harshly, whereas Lloyd George did not want to punish Germany too harshly. This often came down to disagreements about how strong Germany should be in Europe. France in particular felt more threatened by Germany in Europe than Britain did.

Disagreement continued with the United States and Britain disagreeing over what should be done with the Treaty of Versailles. Britain did not agree with Wilson's ideas on self determination for countries as this would lead towards many countries in the British Empire wanting to be independent.

1. Which of the Big Three was the most satisfied with the outcome of the Treaty?

2. How do you think Germany felt about this settlement?

SCC: What potential problems can you foresee arising based on the Treaty?

Summarise this topic in 5 bullet points:

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HOMEWORK

In preparation for next lesson, you are going to build up an argument on whether the Treaty of Versailles was justified or not. **You need to plan for potential points the other side may raise and how you can counter their arguments.** Next lesson we will have a debate on the question:

Was the Treaty of Versailles justified?

I expect to see everyone with preparation notes and every person in your group must contribute to the debate!

GROUP A- The Treaty WAS justified.

GROUP B- The Treaty WAS NOT justified.

The Treaty was justified

In some ways it could be argued to have been a very fair treaty. First of all it was only natural that somebody be punished for the great damage caused in the war. Farming and industry had been halted in many towns where the fighting took place across the Western Front and a generation of young men had been butchered. The German **Kaiser Wilhelm II** had been aggressive in pursuing his aims pre-1914 and the **September programme** suggested the war was indeed Germany's fault. So, at the time, it made sense to blame the '**villainous Hun**' for the war and to punish Germany accordingly.



Moreover, at **Brest-Litovsk** Germany had been exceptionally hard on a defeated Russia and many felt it was nothing less than they should expect. Russia had lost **54%** of its industry and so it was felt that Germany would have imposed a similar set of harsh terms, perhaps harsher still, on the Allies had she been victorious. In short, Germany had set the tone for what was to take place at Versailles.

The Treaty could be justified militarily also. Remember France had been invaded by Germany twice, in **1870 and 1914**, and so many, especially in France, felt that the German war machine simply could not be trusted and that geopolitical reasons meant Germany was simply a natural aggressor – it had, after all, been formed out of conquest and Germany had been exceptionally cruel in quelling the **Boxer Rebellion** in China. Fuelled by wartime **propaganda** of the Hun many felt it was correct to crush the German army to avoid History repeating itself. Thus the reduction of the army to a puny **100,000**, the banning of both **conscription** and the **Anschluss**, and the removal of all armoured vehicles, submarines, and aircraft all seemed reasonable at the time, if not today. The **Rhineland** was **demilitarized** for this reason also – it was on the west of the country and thus a crucial **buffer** area between France and Germany. The German navy was **scuttled** off the coast of **Scapa Flow** and only six battleships remained.

The Treaty was not justified



However, many people have argued that the Treaty was not fair and could not be justified at the time. One reason for this is in the obvious hatred it generated in Germany which, many believe, laid the seeds for the Second World War. Many people in Germany believed in the **Dolchstoß** theory – the ‘stab in the back’ – this was the idea that the German army had not lost the war at all (after all, they were still in France at the end of the war, not in Germany!) and that Germany had been betrayed by Jews and **Social Democrats**, the so-called ‘**November Criminals**’, during the **armistice**. Moreover, when **Gustav Bauer** signed the Treaty of Versailles in June 1919 on behalf of the new Republic’s President, **Friedrich Ebert**, this was seen as a

continuation of this. President Wilson himself said if he were a German he would not sign it. Numerous cartoons from Germany at the time portrayed this feeling and in this sense it could be argued that the peace settlement could not be justified at the time. One newspaper, **Die Deutsche Zeitung**, stated “Today in the Hall of Mirrors the disgraceful Treaty is being signed. Do not forget it!”.

Germans had expected kinder treatment (remember Wilson’s 14 Points were regarded by many Germans as a blueprint to peace and they were issued 10 months prior, in January 1918). Wilson was an idealist. However, many of his points such as the second (**freedom of the seas**) and the tenth (**self-determination**) went wholly against British interests and some regarded him as unlikely to realistically push through his agenda. Nevertheless, it can be argued that because of his tone and the admiration which was lavished upon Wilson and the USA at Versailles that the peace settlement could not be justified at the time.

At the time many in Britain felt the war was wholly caused by Germany. However, it could be argued that this was double standards and that Germany was not the only nation to cause war. Britain had been growing militarily (64 submarines compared to Germany’s 23 and 122 warships compared to Germany’s 85 – including the **Dreadnought**). Moreover, Britain had alliances (**Triple Entente**, 1907). Britain was imperialistic (at one point two thirds of the world’s land surface was ruled by Britain. And Britain had strong nationalism, as viewed in the **euphoria** with which the outbreak of war was greeted in 1914. As such, if the traditional views of the causes of the war are accepted (**militarism, alliances, imperialism, and nationalism**) it can be argued that Britain should share at least some of the blame with Germany. Therefore **Article 231**, the so-called **War Guilt Clause**, seemed very unfair to many Germans at the time. As Historian LCF Turner states “none of the rulers of the Great

Powers really knew what they were fighting about” and so it could be argued that if blame should be shared then so too should the punishments.

Finally, when considering how fair or justified the Treaty was we should consider the economic and political stability it was to lead to. The new post-war German government faced massive problems from the start and many regard the Treaty of Versailles as a **millstone** around the neck of the new Weimar Republic. The government was attacked by both the left and right wing (**Wolfgang Kapp, Adolf Hitler, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg**) and **reparations**, which were set at the incredible sum of **6.6 billion GBP** in 1921, created terrible problems which led to France and Belgium invading the **Ruhr** in 1923 and to ensuing **hyperinflation**. In short, it could be argued that the victors at Versailles should have had the foresight to prevent this and to impose a more favourable peace. Instead, Germany lost 10% of its land, 12.5% of its population, 16% of its coalfields, and 50% of its iron and steel industry. As such Germany was faced with seemingly insurmountable problems which would effect not just Germany but Britain and France also.

To conclude, a British diplomat who was at Versailles, **Harold Nicolson**, wrote in his memoirs that the Treaty was “neither just nor wise”. However, many at the time saw it as justifiable and some such as **Raymond Poincare** thought it too soft.



Additional notes:

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Your opinion after the debate:

OPEN YOUR EXAM BOOKS!



“The Treaty of Versailles was justified”

How far do you agree?

Summarise this topic in 5 bullet points:

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How was the Treaty of Versailles interpreted?

L/O: To examine a range of sources and to see whether they support or oppose the Treaty.

Recap

1. Which country was the worst off after the ToV?

2. Why was Germany not totally crushed?

3. Which of the Big Three will have been most happy with the final outcome of the Treaty?

The German Reaction:

Germany had not been present at the Versailles Treaty which meant that when the Treaty was announced, many in Germany were shocked and appalled by what had been agreed by the Allies. German losses as a result of the treaty were severe. Germany lost all her imperial possessions, 10 percent of her land, and an eighth of her population. In addition to the military restrictions which were placed upon Germany, the war guilt clause was perhaps the biggest source of outrage.

Ordinary Germans were furious with the government for agreeing to the ceasefire. Many of the German citizens had not been aware of the dire state of the German armed forces in the war, so when the harsh terms were announced the citizens of Germany were caught off guard and surprised by the harsh nature of the treaty. Many believed that Germany should have been at the Paris Peace Conference.

Reparations were also seen as unfair as the economy of Germany was not strong enough after the war to sustain such levels of reparations. There was a worry that the payment of reparations would ruin Germany significantly.

Initially, the German government would not sign the peace treaty and the remnants of the German Navy sank their own battle ships. Ebert, the leader of Germany signed the Treaty on 28th June 1919.

Thinking point:

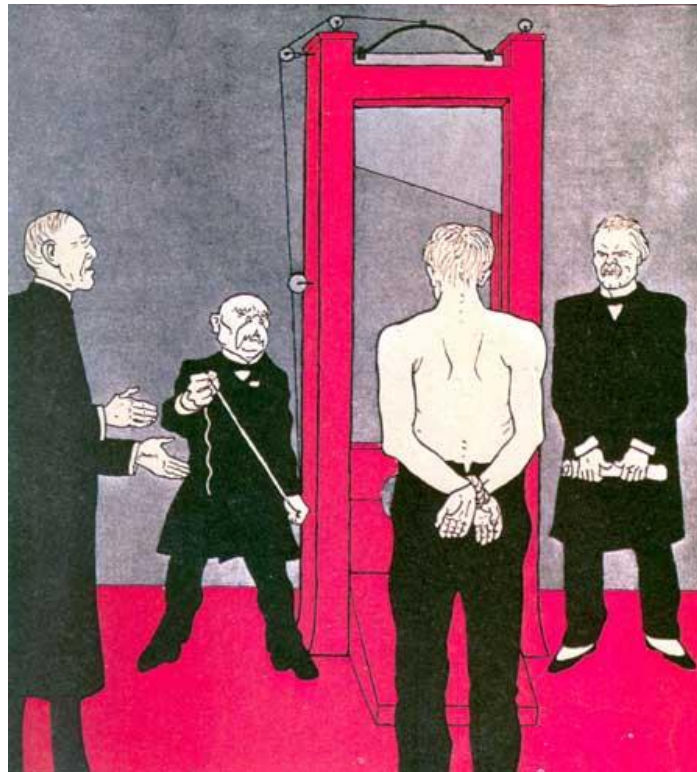
Was the German government likely to remain in power for long after signing the ToV?

Justify your response.

Source analysis

Things to look for in the source-

- Does it support or go against the treaty?
- HOW DO YOU KNOW?





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SCC-

Which country (not just leader) do you think is the most likely to support the treaty, and which (not Germany!) is the least? Justify your answer.

Most: _____

Least: _____

Summarise this topic in 5 bullet points:

- _____

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What was the League of Nations?

L/O: To know what the aims and powers of the League of Nations were

The League of Nations was a international organisation devised by President Wilson. Wilson wished to have an organisation which would act as some form of global parliament. The idea would be that countries would send representatives and they would debate and discuss, before coming to an agreement. However, Wilson's view was contested by Britain and France.

Britain wanted the League to only work in global emergencies, acting as a crisis management organisation. France on the other hand wanted the League to be a strong international organisation, complete with their own army. Wilson's view of the League was the one which won out and became a personal project for him.

Wilson's view was that all nations would be members of the league and that all countries who were members would be committed to disarmament. If there was a situation whereby countries disagreed, they would appeal to the League of Nations who would resolve it. Countries were to respect the decisions made by League.

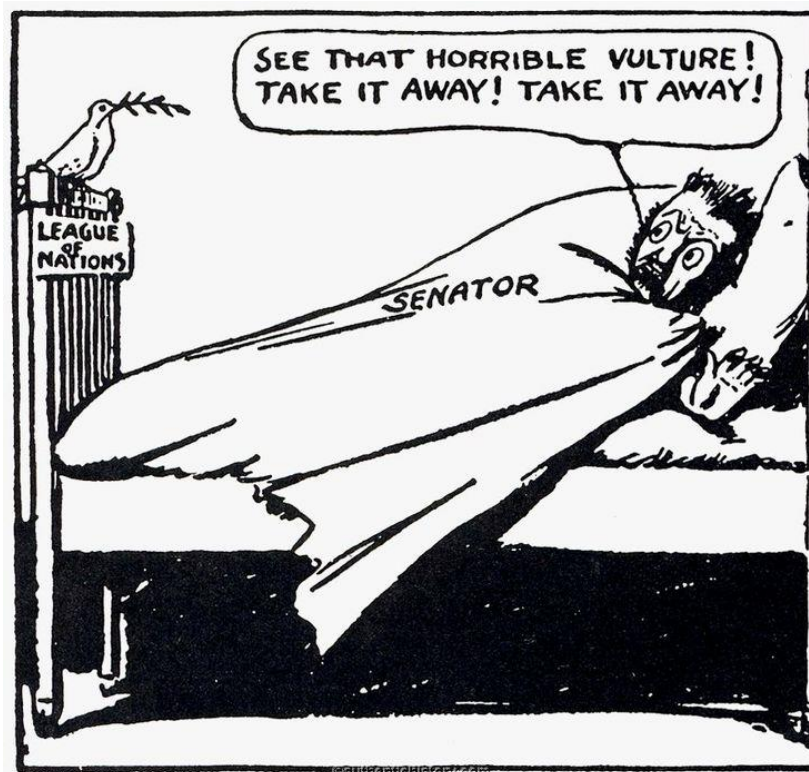
Despite the commitment to disarm, countries should come to each others aid if a country was ever invaded by another. Should a country break these agreements then the other members would stop trading and if necessary use military force to stop any further military action.

The idea of a League was one which was very popular. The idea of a global community where disputes could be solved and backed up by the threat of military force from the USA was appealing to many members.

Source analysis

What does this image suggest about America's attitude to the League of Nations?

Annotate the source:



The League was formed with these main aims

- Prevent aggression to any Nation
- Encourage Cooperation between Nations
- Work Towards international disarmament
- Improve working and living conditions of all peoples
- Uphold the Treaty of Versailles

Are these aims realistic? Why/ why not?

Powers of the League

The first was **moral condemnation** – the League would declare in public that a country was wrong, and public opinion would force it to stop. The League called this the ‘Community of Power’.

The second was that **the League could offer arbitration** – acting a referee between quarrelling nations.

Thirdly, the League could apply **trading sanctions**.

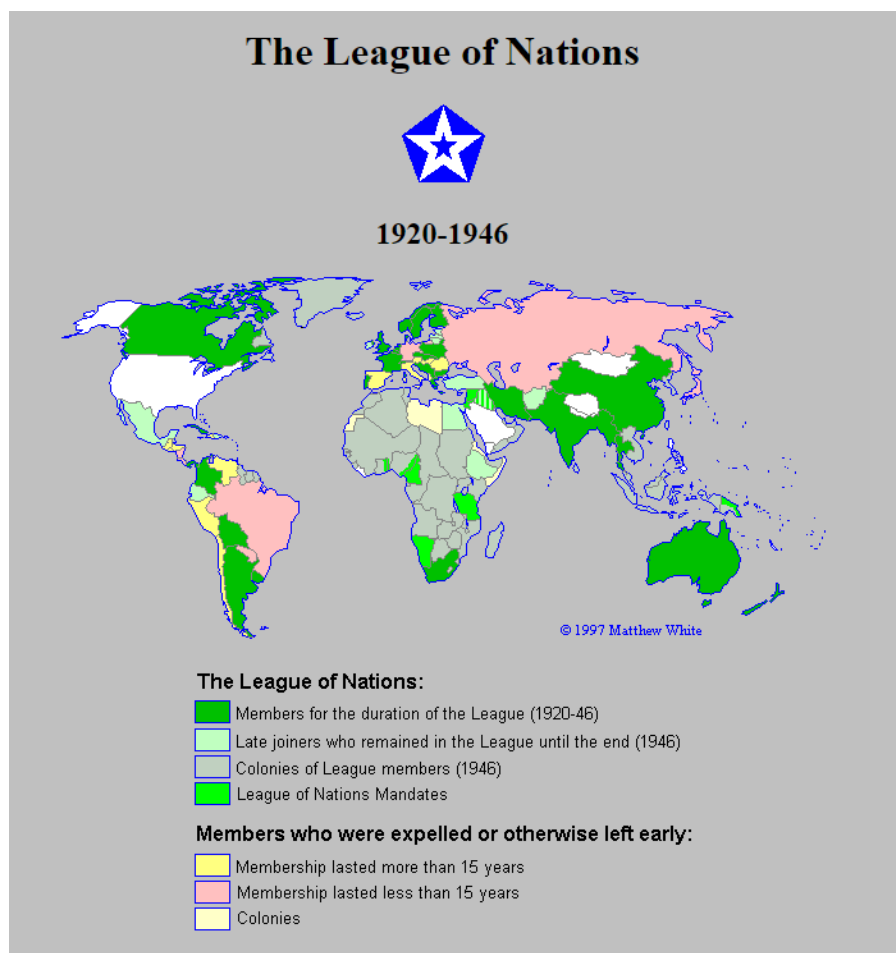
Finally, the League could agree to **military force**, although it had no army of its own.

Task:

For each of these powers, make a decision and write down whether you think they would be effective or not. Explain your answers.

Membership

- At the start the League had four major world powers as members – Japan, Italy, France and the British Empire (including Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa as well as the United Kingdom). These countries truly gave the League ‘clout’.
- During the 1920s, more countries joined the League. The enemy powers were admitted (Austria and Bulgaria in 1920, Hungary in 1922 and Germany in 1926) when they were judged to be fit and responsible members of the global community. The newly-created states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were admitted together in 1921. Some other small states such as Albania and Costa Rica joined.
- By the end of 1934 it had its greatest number of members: 58.
- The strength of the League lay not *how many*, but in *WHO* was a member. The admission of the enemy powers – most especially Germany – was a major step forward in the idea of ‘collective security’, and Germany was genuinely a world power, so its admission really did strengthen the League.
- Secondly, the USSR joined the League in 1934, hoping that the League might be able to restrain Hitler. The acceptance of the communist USSR into the international community was another huge step forward in international relations and the concept of ‘collective security’.



The idea of the League of Nations was one where all countries joined in order to promote peace across the world. It was hoped that the United States would lead the way in the League and promote the ideas of peace and security across the world.

However, the idea of the League of Nations was very unpopular in the United States and President Wilson faced a tough sell to get support for the idea. In order to join the League of Nations, the US Congress, had to agree to join. The sell was difficult as many in the US felt that after the First World War, that the US should not get involved with European affairs. They did not believe that America should become the world's policeman. Despite repeated attempts by Wilson to get the United States to join in with the League, each attempt was thwarted by the United States Congress.

Without the United States, the remaining powerful countries were Britain and France. As a result of this anything that the League of Nations did must have the approval of Britain and France. Despite being the most powerful nations in the League, the First World War damaged their capability to act. Both countries were military depleted and financially ruined. Without the United States their ability to act was severely restricted. A particular aspect which was difficult to apply was economic sanctions on other countries, as the United States was one of the most powerful economic nations.

To top off the difficulties in membership, both Britain and France had different international priorities. Britain was preoccupied with the maintenance of the Empire and France was more interested in Germany and making sure they paid their reparations. France worried that Britain would not support her if she had problems with Germany so would often go ahead without the League.

Source analysis

What does this image suggest was the League's main weakness?



Summarise this topic in 5 bullet points:

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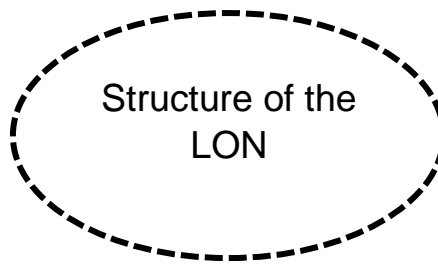
How was the League of Nations Structured?

L.O: To know how the League was structured and to evaluate whether this was a strength or a weakness

The Assembly

The Council

The Secretariat



International Court of Justice

Special Commissions

How successful were the LON agencies?

L.O: To know how the LON improves people's lives.

Recap

What were the 5 main aims of the LON?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

TASK

Read the information on pages 32-33 of the Conflict and Tension books.

1. Summarise the main achievements of the agencies.

2. Rank the agencies from most successful to least successful.

3. Write a paragraph explaining which was the most successful and why.

SCC- Did the LON achieve its aim?

Discussion

Source A supports the LON. How do you know? Explain your answer using Source A and your own knowledge.



Summarise this topic in 5 bullet points:

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Successes and Failures of the League in the 1920s

L/O: To assess each conflict the league faced in the 1920s.

Background

As part of the 1919 Peace Settlement, many countries lost land and newly independent nations were formed. However, these nations argued over where the boundaries of their land lay. Some of them threatened to go to war over the disputes. When this happened they turned to the League of Nations.

But how successful were they at solving these issues?

TASK: Using pages 34-37 in the Conflict and Tension books, fill in the table.

Success/Failure?					
What happened:					
Event:					
Date:					

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Was the League successful?

Did its powers work? Give examples.

Summarise this topic in 5 bullet points:

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How important were the League's efforts to encourage conciliation and peace?

L/O: To use your knowledge so far to compile a report on the effectiveness of the LON

Recap

You have 5 minutes to read through your notes from the last 3 lessons with the focus:

- What has the league achieved?

- What are its prospects?

TASK

Read the information on the Locarno treaties and the Kellogg-Briand Pact.

Kellogg-Briand Pact.

The Kellogg-Briand Pact was an international agreement between 62 countries. This also included Germany as an equal partner. The overall aim of the agreement was for countries to agree not to use war as a method of ending international disputes. Crucially the agreement included the United States, who were not members of the League of Nations. The view in the United States was that even though they were not in the League of Nations they could help with peace.

For Germany, the Kellogg-Briand Pact could be seen as significant. Firstly, Germany was included as an equal partner to the other 61 countries, unlike the Treaty of Versailles.

Secondly, it showed that Germany was viewed as serious power that could be respected and trusted. Finally, as with the Locarno Pact and League of Nations membership, it was supported by moderate Germans, but despised by extremist parties. Those who hated the Pact detested it because it did not reverse any of the sanctions placed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles.

Locarno treaties

The Locarno Treaties were a series of agreements which were produced in Locarno, a town in Switzerland. They were agreed in London in December 1925. The agreements mainly focussed on the European nations. The main treaty focussed on Germany, France and Belgium.

There was an agreement which set the borders of these nations. It therefore, seemed like Germany was accepting the Treaty of Versailles, as they agreed to the new borders in Europe. Germany also reaffirmed that they would keep the Rhineland demilitarised.

SCC- Describe relations between the USSR and the rest of the world during the 1920s

Summarise this topic in 5 bullet points:

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The Depression in Germany

L/O: To analyse the effects of the depression on Germany and how it effects international relations.

What was America like in the 1920s?

Write a list of 5 words to describe life and the economy.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____

TASK

Read the information on Page 41 and jot down some ways in which the depression led to the rise of extremist parties.

The Manchurian Crisis, 1931-1933

L.O: To know the events of the Manchurian crisis and how the LON reacted.

The Big Picture

- Japan was suffering in the Great Depression. A lot of its economy was based on silk.
- Silk, however, was a luxury item and since times were hard, people were saving their money.
- Many people in Japan were unemployed and starving.
- By 1932 silk was worth 1/5 of what it had been worth in the early 1920s.
- Production and employment had fallen by 30 percent in 1931.
- The Japanese people were desperate.

Where is Manchuria?



TASK

Colour code the information on the next page into:

- Events
- What the league did
- Why it did not get involved

Overview

In 1931, the Japanese Empire controlled the South Manchuria Railway. In the September the Japanese claimed that the Chinese had sabotaged the railway. Using this pretense the Japanese army invaded and over ran Manchuria with Japanese forces. They removed the Chinese defensive forces and renamed the area Manchukuo. In Manchukuo they created a puppet government which would do as Japan commanded.

China appealed directly to the League of Nations for support in the matter, as part of their territory had been invaded by Japan. The League sent Lord Lytton to Manchuria, but the journey was long, it took a significant amount of time for the officials to arrive. It was therefore, an entire year before the League was able to publish the Lytton report in to the situation in Manchuria. The report itself was detailed and declared that Japan was in the wrong and the league imposed moral condemnation.

Japan should have then withdrawn from Manchuria, but instead decided it was going to continue the invasion of China. Japan's argument was still one of self defence, and argued that it was necessary to protect itself from China. After the League voted to approve the report against Japan, Japan left the League, withdrawing its support. This removal of Japan was a major blow to the League. What remained attempted to enforce economic sanctions against Japan, but were hampered by the fact that the biggest trading partner was the United States, who were not in the League. Britain also undermined the efforts of the League in punishing Japan as it wanted to keep good relations with the Japanese. Every time the League came close to decision it would be averted as the members did not want a war to happen.

The only countries who could do something about Japan were the Soviet Union or America, as neither of those were in the League, it was unlikely to happen. The Manchurian Crisis proved to international observers such as Italy and Germany that the League was powerless to stop international aggression.

SCC- Do you think that this could be the end of the League? Why/why not?

Summarise this topic in 5 bullet points:

- ---

- ---

- ---

- ---

- ---

HOMEWORK

Fill in the boxes below the pictures summarising the events in each one:



LEAGUE OF NATIONS



The Abyssinian Crisis

L.O: To evaluate the effect of the Abyssinian crisis on the success of the League of Nations

Events

1. Mussolini directed Italian soldiers to attack Abyssinians at Wal Wal in December 1934. 150 Abyssinians and 2 Italians were killed	2. The League tried to stop him but Mussolini was intent on war.	3. January 1935- Pierre Laval (French foreign minister) met with Mussolini and made some secret agreements.	4. On 30 th June, Haile Selassie, asked the League for help against Mussolini.
5. The League implemented moral condemnation but Mussolini invaded Abyssinia anyway on 3 rd October 1935	6. Italy used chemical weapons and were only met with little resistance from the small Abyssinian army	7. On 5 th May 1936, Italian troops took the Abyssinian capital, Addis Ababa	8. The League had, again, failed to prevent one of its members from violating the Covenant.

Why did the League fail at solving the Abyssinian Crisis?

1. Suez Canal	2. Trading Sanctions	3. The Hoare-Laval Pact

Use the information on the following page to fill in the table below:

1. Failure to close the Suez Canal:

- The Suez canal was built to connect the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.
- It was owned by the British and French.
- It meant that they could get to Africa and Asia without having to go all the way around the Cape of Africa.
- They could have closed the canal to stop Mussolini moving supplies. However, they didn't want to upset Mussolini.
- They were worried that he would unite with Hitler so they wanted him on side.

SCC- Were Britain and France acting in their own interest, or in the interest of the LON and its aims?

2. Trade sanctions against Italy:

- Members of the League were forbidden from importing Italian goods and from selling weapons to Italy.
- Trade sanctions DID NOT include oil, steel, iron or coal.
- Britain didn't want to lose money on coal.
- Banning oil was pointless as Italy could trade this with the **USA and Russia**.
- Members were also banned from selling weapons to Abyssinia so they could not defend themselves against Mussolini's army.
- *Mussolini later said that if coal and oil had been banned he would have had to have stopped his invasion because he needed them to fuel his war machines.*

SCC- What was the main reason for the League's failure in this example?

3. The Hoare-Laval Pact

- Britain and France sent their foreign ministers (Hoare and Laval) to come up with a settlement to offer Italy.
- They met in secret in December 1935 and agreed to give Italy some areas in Abyssinia.
- This land was not theirs to give and they did not discuss the plan with Italy or Abyssinia.
- Details were leaked to the press and the two politicians were forced to resign.

SCC- What did this pact prove about Britain and France's commitment to the league?

ITALY LEAVES LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Mussolini's Attack on Geneva.

DECLAMATORY SPEECH TO CROWD IN ROME.

News Received Calmly in Britain.

LONDON, Dec. 12.

Italy left the League of Nations on Saturday. The decision to take this step was announced in theatrical fashion to 100,000 persons in the Piazza di Venezia in Rome last night.

In a declamatory speech, Signor Mussolini explained the withdrawal and, in doing so, attacked the League. He repeatedly appealed to the crowd, which cheered and groaned at appropriate moments.

Referring to the League's imposition of sanctions against Italy during the Abyssinian war, Signor Mussolini declared that Italy would never forget this "shameful attempt at the strangulation of the Italian people" for which reparation had never been made.

"It is grotesque," he said, "to believe that pressure was exerted on us to decide. Our comrades of the Berlin-Tokyo axis have shown absolute discretion.

There is no undue concern in Britain about the Italian decision, which was expected. In fact, the Dictator's speech, which followed a meeting of the Fascist Grand Council, made less impression than had been anticipated, as it had been believed that he might have announced other decisions calculated more to complicate the international situation.

Apparently Germany had previously been informed of the decision, for the newspapers in Berlin wholeheartedly agree with it.

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The British historian A. J. P. Taylor writing in 1961 about the League's failure during the Abyssinian crisis:

The real death of the League was 1935, not 1939 or 1945. One day it was a powerful body imposing sanctions, seemingly more effective before; the next day it was an empty sham, everyone scuttling from it as quickly as possible. What killed the League was the publication of the Hoare-Laval pact.

Summarise this topic in 5 bullet points:

- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

Was the League of Nations doomed to fail?

L.O: To make a evaluate the causes of the failure of the LON



Self
assessed

Source A suggests that the main reason for the failure of the League of Nations was the absence of America.

How do you know?



THE GAP IN THE BRIDGE.

WWW:

EBI:

MAP:

TASK

Using the information on page 50, pick 9 of the reasons for the failure of the LON.

1= Biggest impact 9=Smallest impact

Reason 1	<i>This is the most important factor because...</i>	
Reason 2	Reason 3	<i>These two factors are less important than the one above because...</i>
Reason 4	Reason 5	Reason 6
Reason 7	Reason 8	<i>These two factors are more important than the one below because...</i>
Reason 9	<i>This is the least important factor overall because...</i>	

“The League of Nations was doomed to fail.” How far do you agree? Explain your answer.

<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
<u>Conclusion</u>	

Summarise this topic in 5 bullet points:

- _____

- _____

- _____

- _____

- _____

HOMEWORK: REVISE EVERYTHING SO FAR FOR END OF TOPIC ASSESSMENT (Completed in exam books)

Hitler's Foreign Policy Aims

How important were early moves by Hitler in creating tension in the 1930s?

Considering what you know already about Hitler and his intentions, including what state Germany is currently in (in 1930s), what do you think will be on Hitler's 'to do' list?

SCC- Which will be his priority?

Hitler speaking in November 1923:

"Now I am going to carry out the promise I made five years ago... to neither rest nor sleep until the November Criminals have been hurled to the ground, until on the ruins of the pitiful Germany of today has risen a Germany of power and greatness."



Complete the table below using p.55 in the green textbooks:

<u>Policy</u>	<u>Why would this lead to war?</u>
Lebensraum	
Rearmament	
Reunite German speaking people	
Destroy communism	

SCC- If all of these are successful, what will be the benefits to Germany?



Summarise this topic in 5 bullet points:

- ---

- ---

- ---

- ---

- ---

How did Hitler create tension in the early 1930s?

L.O: To evaluate how the early actions of Hitler set the scene for war

Use p.58-59 to complete the table:

Date:	Event:	What happened?	How did this break the ToV?

[illegible]

WWW:

EBI:

MAP:

Summarise this topic in 5 bullet points:

- ---

- ---

- ---

- ---

- ---

PROJECT- The Road to WWII

L.O: To gain an understanding of the key events which led to the outbreak of WWII

The Project

- You are going to have 3 weeks (9 lessons and all homework's) to create a 'Road to WWII'.
- This road needs to have 16 events on it- all explained in detail.
- For each event you need to consider how the shape of the road may change, and choose some road signs to go with it (examples to follow).
- The road should start at Versailles in 1919 and end at the declaration of war in September 1939.

Topics to include:

1. ToV
2. Manchuria
3. The Depression
4. Hitler's foreign policy
5. Disarmament- Geneva
6. Rearmament
7. Abyssinia
8. Anglo-German naval agreement
9. Rhineland
10. Anschluss
11. Sudeten Crisis
12. Munich agreement
13. Appeasement
14. Czechoslovakia
15. Nazi-Soviet Pact
16. Invasion of Poland



Group leaders- 'This led to WWII because...'

We have already covered some of the events above. Below are BRIEF notes on the other events. You must use these AND conduct your own research too add to your roads!

Withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference 1933

Meeting in 1932, the conference was already floundering before Hitler came to power, because Germany demanded gleichberechtigung ("equality of armaments") with other countries – as the Treaty of Versailles had virtually disbanded Germany's armed forces, parity would have meant that where others were reducing their armaments, the Germans would have in fact been increasing theirs. Hitler, however, had no intention of having anything to do with disarmament, and in October 1933 he withdrew from the Conference and the League, blaming the French.

The British delegation made number of attempts were made to try to persuade Germany to return to the conference, but these only angered France (who saw them as an attempted 'sell-out'), ending in April 1934 with the so-called 'Barthou note' in which French Foreign Minister Louis Barthou announced that France would no longer play any part in the Conference, but would look after its own security in whatever way was necessary.

This was a success for Hitler because:

- a. it wrecked the conference
- b. it left him free to rearm however he wanted
- c. it drove a wedge between the French and the British
- d. British politicians, while they were trying to persuade Germany to stay in the Conference, had agreed in principle that the arms clauses of the Treaty of Versailles were too harsh.

German rearmament

The rearmament of Germany was clearly against the Treaty of Versailles, yet neither Britain nor France, nor any of the other great powers, engaged in any meaningful opposition to it.

The only opposition came with the formation of the short-lived Stresa Front to protest against the introduction of conscription in Germany.

Many British people accepted German re-armament because they thought that the Treaty of Versailles had been too harsh and because they wanted a strong Germany as a buffer against communism. On the other hand, the French were afraid of German rearmament and wanted to see the Treaty strengthened, not weakened, but they did not feel they could act alone.

Differences between Britain and France had emerged because Britain started to sympathise with Germany rather than France. Hitler took advantage of these differences between Britain and France to further his aims in foreign policy.

Another reason why Hitler got away with re-arming was that the League of Nations, the organisation set up in 1919 to keep peace, settle disputes and enforce the Treaty of Versailles, was powerless to stop him because it did not have an army with which to enforce its rulings.

Anglo-German Naval Agreement

After the collapse of the Disarmament Conference in 1934, Hitler continued rearming. This caught the British government in a quandary, because – by the Washington Naval Conference of 1921-22 and the London Naval Conference of 1930 – the Royal Navy was fixed proportionally (10-10-7) to the navies of the USA, France and Japan. So the British could not set about increasing their navy to match the increases in the German navy.

There was little point in continuing to support the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles when Germany was blatantly disregarding them and nobody was prepared to go to war to stop him. In 1934 the British Foreign Office issued a memo stating that: 'Part V of the Treaty of Versailles is, for practical purposes, dead'. Soon after, in January 1935, British Foreign Secretary John Simon wrote that it was wiser to make an agreement which accepted German rearmament but limited it by treaty, than to condemn it and watch while Germany rearmed without any regulation. Thus, the British government had already accepted the principle of a treaty with Germany when Hitler offered them a naval agreement in May 1935.

Meanwhile, it was not just the fact of German rearmament that frightened the British, but its nature. The German navy wanted to grow until it was equal to the French navy, with an emphasis on cruisers and submarines; this particularly frightened the British Admiralty, who thought it would be difficult to defend against in the event of a war. The Admiralty favoured a naval agreement with Germany which fixed the German navy to that of Britain's, because it thought a German navy which was like-Britain's-only-smaller would be easier to defeat.

Hitler overruled his Admirals and agreed to a percentages agreement. In June 1935, therefore, a Treaty was signed by which the British agreed to allow the Germans to build their tonnage up to 35% of whatever the British tonnage was in the various categories of warship.

Hitler called the day of the signing of the treaty 'the happiest day of his life' – it was yet another of those successful bi-lateral agreements:

- a. it secured and validated his breaking of the Treaty of Versailles.
- b. it continued the undermining of the principle of collective security of the League.
- c. Britain signed the treaty without consulting the French, who were furious.
- d. it gave him power over Britain, because he could threaten to cancel the treaty whenever the British questioned his actions in Europe.
- e. he hoped that the A.G.N.A marked the beginning of an Anglo-German alliance, but, when it came to it, he was able simply to cancel it in 1939.

Appeasement

Appeasement was the tactic used by the British Government when dealing with Hitler. In essence, Appeasement is the giving into demands of an aggressor in the hope that they will eventually be satisfied and content with what they have. This is the strategy Britain used with Hitler, ignored or satisfying demands for territory and rearmament in the hope that one day Hitler would simply stop.

It was a controversial policy and many have disagreed about whether Britain was right to follow such a policy or not. Appeasement had its critics and supporters. Appeasement is also closely associated with the British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain.

There are a number of arguments in favour of the policy:

1. Britain was afraid of Communism and Hitler was standing up to it, therefore many in Britain supported Hitler's actions in this way.
2. No one wanted another world war after the devastation of the First World War, therefore, appeasement was a method to avoid a war.
3. Britain could not fight another war, the equipment Britain had was out of date and Britain did not have sufficient numbers to keep up a long war against Germany.
4. Britain could not count on the support of the Empire, Commonwealth or USA against Hitler, therefore a war would likely result in Britain losing.
5. Britain was dealing with economic problems linked to the Great Depression and a war would be a costly distraction therefore appeasement would allow governments to focus on the problems at home.
6. Many Britons felt that the Treaty of Versailles was unfair and that what Hitler was doing was justified. Public opinion tended to support the British Government's position.

There are also a number of arguments against the policy:

1. The more Hitler succeeded the more he demanded, which kept encouraging him. For every victory Hitler had, he was able to demand more next time. Appeasement enabled Hitler to become aggressive.
2. Appeasement meant that Britain trusted Hitler completely that he would be satisfied with his gains. Appeasement, therefore, was a gamble based on believing that Hitler was trustworthy.
3. Appeasement also allowed Germany to grow into a strong nation with a strong army, which was more powerful than Britain, something the Treaty of Versailles had attempted to stop.
4. Appeasement showed that Britain and France would not stand up to Hitler against Communism, which worried those in the Soviet Union significantly.

Remilitarisation of the Rhineland

- In 1936 Hitler boldly marched 22,000 German troops into the Rhineland, in a direct contravention of the Treaty of Versailles.
- Hitler offered France and Britain a 25 year non-aggression pact and claimed 'Germany had no territorial demands to make in Europe'.
- Hitler had significantly improved his status. Over the next two years the Germans built defences and within 18 months their rate of rearmament passed that of Britain and France. He did not agree to an Air Force Pact with Britain. He began to think he was infallible.
- France continued to strengthen the Maginot Line in an attempt to safeguard against future German aggression.
- France's alliance with Britain became strained due to Britain's refusal to stand up to Germany.
- French alliances with eastern European countries were undermined as France concentrated solely on defence against possible German aggression.
- Italy formed the Rome-Berlin Axis in July 1936.
- Hitler signed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan in November 1936 which formed an anti-Communist alliance between the two nations.
- Britain promised France and Belgium help if they were invaded (reaffirming Locarno).
- Austria now came under more German pressure.
- Britain began rearming its military forces.

Anschluss

The Austrian Chancellor, Dollfuss, tried to crack down on the Socialists and Nazis - political factions that he thought were tearing the country apart. Dollfuss banned the Nazi party.

In 1934, Hitler ordered the Austrian Nazis to create havoc in Austria. This turned into an attempt to overthrow the government. Chancellor Dollfuss was murdered but the attempted coup failed because the Austrian military intervened to back up the government.

In 1934, Italy had an agreement with Austria that it would protect Austria from outside aggression. The Italian dictator, Mussolini, honoured the agreement and moved Italian troops to the Austrian border to deter Hitler from invading.

The new Austrian Chancellor, Schuschnigg tried to preserve the country from German invasion by trying not to give Hitler an excuse for aggression. He tried to co-operate with Hitler as much as possible.

Schuschnigg signed the German-Austrian Agreement of 1936. This pact recognised the independence of Austria but the price was that Austria's foreign policy had to be consistent with Germany's. The agreement also allowed Nazis to hold official posts in Austria. Schuschnigg hoped this would appease Hitler. He was wrong.

Schuschnigg's position was undermined in 1936 when Hitler and Mussolini formalised the Rome-Berlin Axis during their joint involvement in the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). With Germany and Italy now firm allies, Austria had lost the protection of Italy and was vulnerable to German attack.

In 1938 Schuschnigg visited Hitler at his summer retreat at Berchtesgaden, near the Austrian border. Hitler demanded that Nazis be given key government posts in Austria. Schuschnigg compromised and the Nazi member, Seyss-Inquart, was made Minister of the Interior.

Hitler ordered Austrian Nazis to create as much trouble and destruction as possible in order to put pressure on Schuschnigg. If Hitler could claim that Austrian law and order had broken down he could justify marching German troops into Vienna to restore peace - despite the fact that he was responsible for the chaos in the first place.

Wednesday 9th March 1938

On the 9 March 1938, in a desperate act, Schuschnigg announced a referendum whereby the Austrian people would decide for themselves if they wanted to be a part of Hitler's Germany. Hitler was furious. If the Austrians voted against joining Germany his excuse for invasion would be ruined.

Thursday 10th March 1938

Hitler told his generals to prepare for the invasion of Austria. He ordered Schuschnigg to call off the referendum. Knowing he would receive no help from Italy, and that France and Britain would not interfere in Hitler's plans, Schuschnigg conceded. He called off the referendum and resigned.

The Nazi Austrian Interior Minister, Seyss-Inquart, was ordered by Hitler to ask for German help in restoring order in Austria.

Friday 11th March 1938

Hitler reassured Czechoslovakia that they had nothing to fear.

Saturday 12th March 1938

German troops marched into Austria unopposed. Hitler now had control of Austria. A month later, Hitler held a rigged referendum. The results showed that the Austrian people approved of German control of their country.

Munich agreement

- 15 September 1938, Neville Chamberlain met Hitler at his summer retreat on the Austrian border, Berchtesgaden. With German invasion of Czechoslovakia looking imminent and a future European war a very real possibility, Chamberlain agreed in principle that Hitler could claim the Sudetenland without reprisal from Britain. On his return to Britain, Chamberlain managed to persuade his Cabinet and the French (who were allies of the Czechoslovakians) to accept the deal.
- 22 September 1938, Chamberlain met Hitler again at Godesberg. With the reluctant agreement of the Czechoslovakian government, Chamberlain offered Hitler control of the Sudetenland. Hitler demanded that the Czechoslovakian army leave the Sudetenland by 1 October. This was a demand designed to provoke the Czechs and provide an excuse for invasion of the whole country.
- 29 and 30 of September 1938, representatives of France, Britain, Italy and Germany met at **Munich** to discuss the Sudetenland problem. Neither the Czechs, nor their allies Russia, were consulted. Hitler traded the promise of peace in Europe for the Sudetenland. The Czechs had to either accept or face the might of the German army alone. They accepted.

Nazi-Soviet Pact

Britain and Russia

Stalin knew that Hitler's ultimate aim was to attack Russia. In 1939, he invited Lord Halifax, the British Foreign Secretary to go to Russia to discuss an alliance against Germany. The British feared Russian Communism, and they believed that the Russian army was too weak to be of any use against Hitler.

In August 1939, with war in Poland looming, the British eventually sent a minor official called Reginald Ranfurly Plunkett-Ernele-Drax. He travelled by slow boat, not by plane. He did not have authority to make any decisions, and had to refer every question back to London. The talks dragged on.

The Russians asked if they could send troops into Poland if Hitler invaded. The British refused. The talks broke down.

Hitler and Russia

In August 1939, Hitler sent Ribbentrop, a senior Nazi, to Russia. He offered a Nazi-Soviet alliance – Russia and Germany would not go to war, but would divide Poland between them. Germany would allow Russia to annex Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland.

Stalin knew Hitler was lying, but he did not trust the British either – the Munich Agreement had convinced him that Britain and France would never dare to go to war with Hitler.

Stalin had two choices:

- if he made an alliance with Britain, he would end up fighting a war with Hitler over Poland.
- if he made an alliance with Germany, he would get half of Poland, and time to prepare for the coming war with Germany.

He chose the latter. On 23 August 1939, he signed the Pact with Hitler.

Historians have argued that the Nazi-Soviet Pact was instrumental in causing the Second World War, inasmuch as it:

1. Freed up Hitler to invade Poland - he knew that Britain couldn't do anything to defend Poland (he invaded 9 days later).
2. Ended Britain's hopes of an alliance with Russia to stop Hitler - people in Britain realised that nothing would stop Hitler now but war.
3. Improved morale of British people for war - showed Hitler as an opportunist and a trickster, who could never be trusted.

The invasion of Poland

On 1st September 1939 Hitler invaded Poland. the British Government issued an ultimatum asking the German forces to leave by 11 am on 3rd September. This was ignored and Britain immediately declared war on Germany. Hitler was apparently taken by surprise. He had not expected Britain to react in this way. He did not understand that once the British government had made a promise, it was bound to keep it.

Your conclusion: Which was the main cause of the war?

The Origins of the Second World War

by Dr Ruth Henig. University of Lancaster

new perspective. Volume 3. Number 1. September 1997

Summary: *There is now general agreement amongst historians that the chief responsibility for unleashing war in Europe, in 1939, rests on Hitler and the Nazis. While there are still debates about the role of Hitler vis-...-vis other Nazi leaders, and about the extent of influence of army leaders and of industrialists working in partnership with the Nazis, Taylor's contention that the outbreak of war owed as much to 'the faults and failures of European statesmen' as it did to Hitler's ambitions, has been firmly repudiated. The consensus now is that it was Hitler's determination to transform the basis of European society which brought war to Europe in 1939. It was not necessarily the war he was planning for; the evidence suggests that Hitler was aiming to prepare Germany for a massive conflict with Russia in the early 1940s. Unquestionably, however, it was a war provoked by his relentless pursuit of policies based on 'race' and on 'space'.*

THE DEBATE ABOUT the aims of Nazi foreign policy and about the extent to which they were responsible for the war, which broke out over Poland in 1939, continues as vigorously as ever. This article aims to summarise some of the most recent interpretations about the causes of the war, by considering the ideology or set of beliefs which lay at the heart of Nazi foreign policy and outlining the ways in which Nazi foreign policy differed from that pursued by previous German governments. It will then examine whether the Nazis pursued any consistent set of foreign policy objectives between 1933 and 1939 and to what extent they were preparing for war by the late 1930s.

Nazi Ideology

Historians are now generally in agreement that Nazi foreign policy cannot be assessed without a clear understanding of the set of beliefs and strong convictions which shaped it. Historians, such as Professor Norman Rich (in *Hitler's War Aims*) and Professor Gerald Weinberg (in *The Foreign Policy of Hitler's Germany*), point to the fact that in writings, in speeches and in policy pronouncements throughout the 1920s and 1930s, leading Nazis identified a set of concerns relating to 'race and space' which ran as a consistent thread through their policies. These concerns centred on the importance of racial purity and on the need for a nation to be prepared to compete with its neighbours in a brutal, uncompromising and ceaseless struggle to survive and to expand. In *Mein Kampf*, Hitler emphasised his belief in a 'healthy and natural relationship between the number and growth of the population, on the one hand, and the extent and quality of its soil, on the other.' He argued that 'only a sufficiently large space on this earth can ensure the independent existence of a nation' and that, therefore, 'the aim of our political activity must be ... the acquisition of land and soil as the objective of our foreign policy'. More specifically, he wrote that 'when we speak of new land in Europe today we must principally bear in mind Russia and the border states subject to her'. These themes, of racial purity and the need for constant struggle to secure 'living space' or *lebensraum* in the East

are echoed again and again in speeches to the faithful, at election meetings, in addresses to specific interest groups and in party literature.

A.J.P. Taylor and The Debate

While there is no dispute that such themes run through Nazi speeches and writings of the 1920s and early 1930s, the argument was advanced, in the 1960s, that they did not materially shape Nazi foreign policy once Hitler actually became Chancellor. In his controversial 1961 publication *The Origins of the Second World War*, A.J.P. Taylor argued that Hitler's foreign policies after 1933 were shaped much more by the international situation and by the responses of other European leaders than by his previously-expressed convictions. Taylor dismissed *Mein Kampf* as consisting of 'fantasies from behind bars', a rambling and turgid collection of half-baked ideas which Hitler dictated to his prison cronies in 1924 to while away the long months in prison. Once in power, however, Hitler had to temper his views to the prevailing international situation, and acted as a typical German statesman pursuing traditional German objectives. He was not driven by any underlying ideology or timetable for aggressive expansion in eastern Europe, and it was not his fault if other European leaders failed to make a stand against his predictable re-assertion of German power. Having acquiesced in the remilitarisation of the Rhineland, Anschluss (union) with Austria and the incorporation into Germany of the Sudeten Germans of Czechoslovakia, how was Hitler to know that British and French leaders would actually be serious in making a stand over the Polish Corridor and Danzig?

Taylor's book unleashed a hail of criticism. Many historians were incensed at what they saw as an attempt to 'whitewash' Hitler by suggesting that he was a typical German leader when, in fact, he was anything but typical, an Austrian German mob orator of limited education and few social connections. Furthermore, Taylor's critics were not prepared to ignore *Mein Kampf* as he had. Some saw it as a 'blue-print for aggression' which set out in a fair amount of detail Hitler's foreign policy ambitions after 1933. While some historians were prepared to acknowledge that Hitler was an opportunist in the way he approached crises after 1933, most agreed with Professor Alan Bullock that this merely demonstrated Hitler's 'flexibility of method' which was allied to a 'consistency of aim'. Indeed, a German historian, Eberhard Jäckel, has asserted: 'Perhaps never in history did a ruler write down before he came to power what he was to do afterwards as precisely as did Adolf Hitler'.

Wide Agreement on the Dominance of Ideology

In recent years, there has been considerable agreement amongst historians of the Third Reich that ideology was fundamental to the shaping of Nazi policies after 1933. They argue that it was the basic ingredients of Nazi ideology - a belief in racial purity, in the importance of balancing population, resources and soil, and the necessity of acquiring 'living space' in the East - which made Hitler's foreign policy so dynamic and so difficult to combat. Taylor's interpretation of Hitler's foreign policy aims after 1933 is now seen as fatally flawed because it completely ignores the dynamic ingredient of Nazi ideology. In a chapter in *Modern Germany Reconsidered* (ed. Martel, 1993) Professor David Kaiser has argued that Taylor's views, that Hitler did not intend war to break out in September 1939, that he lacked any real plan for the conquest of Europe or the world, and that other governments played a crucial role in

unleashing German expansion, 'are no longer regarded as valid'. Instead, the domestic and foreign policies of the Third Reich are now seen as two sides of the same coin. The main aim of domestic policies - which involved strengthening and purifying the German race - was to secure the successful implementation of an expansionist foreign policy. As Hitler instructed a group of Reichswehr commanders soon after coming to power, in January 1933, it was necessary for them all to work together for 'the conquest and ruthless Germanisation of new living space in the East.'

The Debate about Continuity

While historians accept that there are some similarities between the foreign ambitions of Wilhelmine Germany, the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich, recent studies (such as *Germany and Europe 1919-39* by Professor John Hiden) place more emphasis on those characteristics which made Nazi foreign policy objectives so different from those of preceding regimes. We can identify four areas of policy which clearly illustrate a change of policy after 1933 rather than a continuity of aim.

Lack of Continuity. 1 The Racial Element

While Germany's geographical position made it inevitable that she would seek to exert power in eastern Europe, it was only the Nazi regime which sought to establish in the East and in Russia an empire based on race, in which those of Aryan descent would rule over lesser Slav subject races. As John Hiden has pointed out, German leaders during the First World War 'followed an expansionist policy in the East primarily to help them preserve a conservative reactionary *status quo*, not a racially-driven revolution of German, then European and, ultimately, world society!' In this sense, Hitler's aims were truly revolutionary. As he wrote in *Mein Kampf*:

We National Socialists have intentionally drawn a line under the foreign policy of prewar Germany. We are taking up where we left off six hundred years ago. We are putting an end to the perpetual German march towards the South and West of Europe and turning our eyes towards the land in the East. We are finally putting a stop to the colonial and trade policy of the prewar period and passing over to the territorial policy of the future.

The change was to have far-reaching implications, as Hitler later declared: 'with the concept of race, National Socialism will carry its revolution abroad and recast the world'.

Lack of Continuity. 2 Colonial and Trade Policy

Hitler himself pointed out in *Mein Kampf* that, whereas the aim of German governments before 1914 was to secure colonies overseas and to acquire markets worldwide, the objectives of the Third Reich would be very different: to expand Germany's living space in the East and to try to make the country economically as self-sufficient as possible. Hitler was not greatly interested in the return of the pre-1914 German colonies; what he sought was the productive soil of eastern Europe which could support an expansionist Aryan state and enable it to become one of the world's dominant powers. He was convinced that Germany's former dependence on

international trade had laid it open to the malign influence of external enemies, particularly scheming Jewish financiers. Thus, his aim was to ensure that through bilateral trade agreements and the manufacture of synthetic materials, Germany could be in full control of its economic development and therefore master of its political and military destiny.

Lack of Continuity. 3 The Role of Russia

Russo-German relations were a central element in European history from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Both Bismarck, after 1870, and Weimar governments of the 1920s recognised the importance of cultivating good relations with Russia, to prevent Germany from becoming encircled by a ring of hostile powers and to allow some freedom to manoeuvre within the European diplomatic system. Even in the period between 1892 and 1914, when Russia and France were in alliance against Germany, there were dynastic ties between the Kaiser and the Tsar, and the recognition of similar domestic social and political goals.

Hitler's attitude to Bolshevik Russia was very different. He viewed it as an ideological enemy, a monstrous regime based on Communist doctrines of class division and led by racially-unfit Jews. His hostility to Russia was, therefore, based not on its potential strategic threat or military power but on its capacity to undermine Germany's social and political foundations and contaminate its Aryan race. In the long run, there could be no compromise between the Third Reich and Bolshevik Russia. The Russian regime had to be defeated and dismantled to make way for the establishment of an enlarged Aryan empire.

Lack of Continuity. 4 The International System

It has sometimes been argued that, as Foreign Secretary in the 1920s, Stresemann pursued aims similar to those of Hitler, centred on the removal of the shackles of Versailles and revision of frontiers in eastern Europe which would allow for the recovery of German power and for substantial expansion eastwards. There is no doubt that Stresemann, like all Weimar leaders, and like Bismarck before him, aimed to restore Germany's power within the existing international system, working through the League of Nations and through the conference diplomacy of Locarno. Like Bismarck, he sought a pivotal and possibly dominating role in European diplomacy, but he did not aim to overturn the whole system.

Hitler, however, viewed alliances and diplomatic agreements as tactical ploys, which would protect Germany from attack while she was still relatively unarmed and vulnerable, but which could be repudiated later on. His overriding aim was to build up Germany's power to the point where he would be in a position to challenge and to overthrow the existing international system, replacing it with a racially-based global order. Whereas Stresemann and Bismarck worked through diplomacy and negotiated agreement to achieve defined goals, Hitler emphasised the importance of ceaseless struggle to achieve his aims. As he wrote in 1928: 'Wherever our success may end, that will always be only the starting-point of a new fight'.

Thus, Hitler's approach to international affairs was very different from that of his predecessors or, indeed, from that of the foreign leaders with whom he was dealing

after 1933. They sought to negotiate with him and were agreeable to the restoration of a considerable degree of German power, so long as it was negotiated within the existing European order. Hitler's aim was to destroy that order but, in the short term, he was prepared to work through it to achieve his long-term goals. It was both the revolutionary nature of Hitler's ultimate objectives and the accommodating flexibility of his methods which made him so different from previous German leaders and so dangerous to Europe.

Was there a Foreign Policy 'Programme' which Hitler Pursued after 1933?

One cannot help but be struck by the consistency between Hitler's words and his actions. Running through all his writings, speeches, addresses and private conversations was a set of racist and expansionist aims which began to be carried out after 1933 in a number of domestic and foreign policies. While the actions did not always follow the exact sequence of the words, they embodied the substance, and both pointed inexorably eastwards, towards *lebensraum* and the establishment of a racial empire on east European and Russian soil.

Most historians would not accept the notion of a detailed 'programme' for expansion, fully worked-out before 1933, but they do believe that Hitler had a clear strategy for transforming the Germany of 1933 into a dominant racial state vying for world power. The strategy was to concentrate first on rearmament and on the removal of the remaining Versailles restrictions. Success in these areas, together with the pursuit of racial purity policies within Germany, would enable the Third Reich to embark on an ambitious programme of eastern expansion.

A Consistent Policy. 1 Rearmament

Rearmament was, unquestionably, Hitler's first priority in 1933 and dominated the first two years of his foreign policy. He was painfully aware that Germany's military forces were no match for those of its neighbours and rivals - France, Poland, Czechoslovakia - who, between them, could mobilise armies of well over a million compared to Germany's 100,000. He told his first cabinet meeting on 8 February 1933 that rearmament was to have top priority for the next four to five years, and to this end the services, particularly the army and air force, were mobilised for rapid expansion. While the rearmament process was under way and Germany was still, to some extent, at the mercy of other powers, Hitler's diplomacy was cautious and even included a non-aggression treaty with the despised upstart, Poland. However, as German military strength grew, so did the pace and scope of Hitler's diplomatic demands.

A Consistent Policy. 2 The Struggle against Versailles

The rejection of the military restrictions of the Versailles treaty marked the first stage of Hitler's 'struggle against Versailles'. Rearmament was accompanied by Hitler's dramatic departure from the League of Nations Disarmament Conference in October 1933 and then from the League itself. In 1935, the inhabitants of the Saar region voted to return to Germany, and conscription was introduced, in flagrant defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. Remilitarisation of the Rhineland, in 1936, in contravention of the treaties of both Versailles and Locarno, was followed, in March 1938,

by *Anschluss* with Austria. The Sudeten Germans of Czechoslovakia were incorporated into Germany as a result of the Munich conference of October 1938 and, by the following March, German troops were in Prague, and Czechoslovakia had disappeared from the map of Europe. Hitler now turned his attention to Danzig and the Polish Corridor, and it was his demand for the return of these areas, heavily populated by Germans, which finally provoked the opposition of Britain and France. Hitler's response to their guarantee of support to Poland was to sign a pact with the Soviet Union in August of 1939 and to declare war on Poland.

A Consistent Policy. 3 Preparing for War

There can be no doubt whatever that, by the late 1930s, the Third Reich was mobilising for war. The meticulous research which has been carried out in the last two decades, notably by Richard Overy, has revealed the full extent of German rearmament between 1936 and 1939. The Four Year Plan of 1936 aimed to put Germany on a war footing by the end of the decade, and heavy industry, iron and steel and chemical works expanded enormously. There were growing labour shortages, as military spending soared to about 23 per cent of gross national product (as against 3 per cent in 1913). By 1939 a quarter of the German workforce were working on direct orders for the armed forces. In addition, Germany was stockpiling synthetic materials and building up its supplies of aluminium for aircraft construction. By 1939 it had become the world's largest producer of aluminium, surpassing the USA. Professor Overy has calculated that a half or more of the German economy by 1939 was devoted to war or war-related products. We should not, therefore, be surprised that a war broke out in eastern Europe in 1939. The only surprise, perhaps, was that the invasion of Poland in 1939 found Nazi Germany and communist Russia for the time being fighting on the same side. Does this suggest any major inconsistency or change of strategy on Hitler's part?

A Consistent Policy. 4 Establishment of a Racial Empire in the East

The evidence suggests that the invasion of Poland, followed by war in northern and western Europe, represented a tactical switch by Hitler rather than a retreat from his long-term objectives. He told his army commanders, in May 1939, that:

It is not Danzig that is at stake. For us it is a matter of expanding our living space in the East and making food supplies secure and also solving the problem of the Baltic states.

At this point, however, spirited opposition on the part of Britain and France necessitated a change in tactics. In the midst of a lengthy tirade directed at the League of Nations High Commissioner in Danzig in August, Hitler declared:

Everything I undertake is directed against the Russians; if the West is too stupid and blind to grasp this, then I shall be compelled to come to an agreement with the Russians, beat the West, and then after their defeat turn against the Soviet Union with all my forces. I need the Ukraine so they can't starve us out like in the last war.

And, as had happened before, the words were followed in due course by the actions.

Words and concepts to note

contravention: contrary to a law or treaty.

turgid: pompous or pretentious.

status quo: the existing position.

strategy: plans on a large scale or for a longer period.

tactic: plans on a smaller scale for more immediate aims.

pivotal: something on which other matters depend.

Questions to consider

What is the connection between Hitler's ideology and the details of Hitler's expansionist foreign policy plans?

Why have some historians found *Mein Kampf* forwarded their understanding of Hitler's policy while others see the book as an obstruction to that understanding?

Why did Hitler launch attacks on Western Europe (in 1940)?

What were the major discontinuities between Hitler's foreign policy and those of his predecessors?

Which were the assumptions, which Hitler ignored, behind the existing European order if he was to achieve his foreign policy aims?

Causes of WWII Source Analysis:



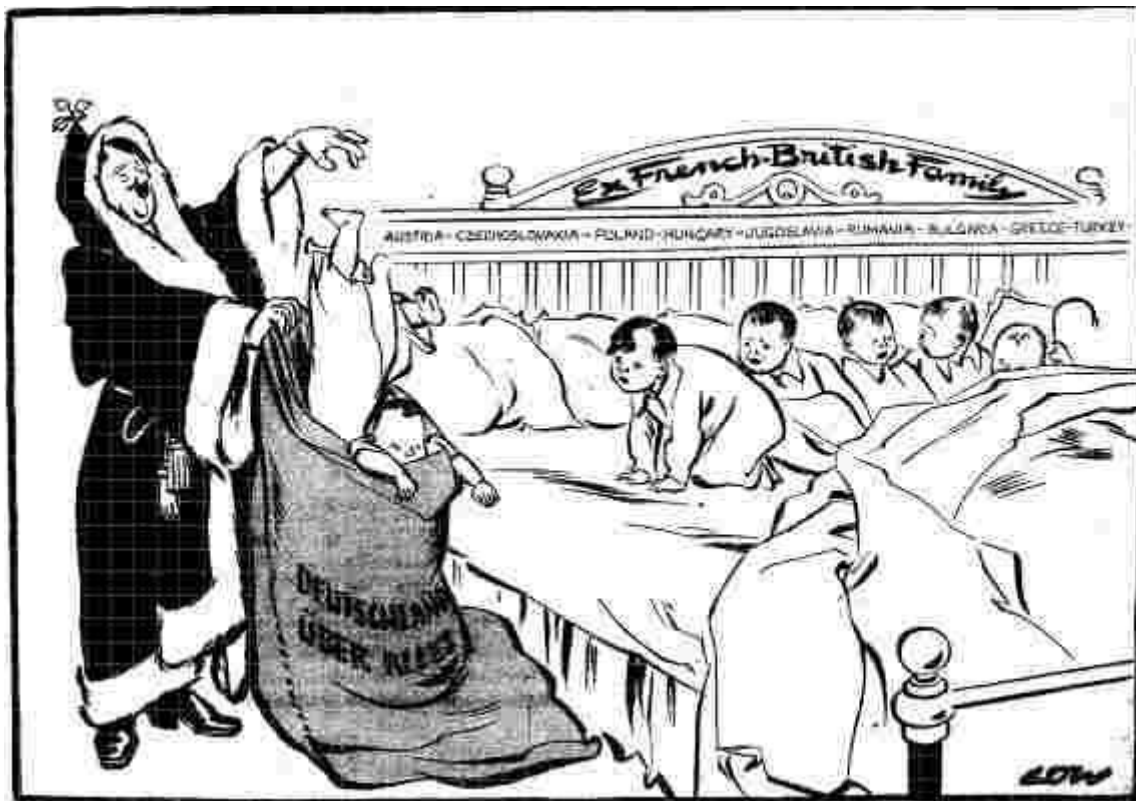
This drawing by the British cartoonist David Low (20 March 1935) is titled 'Cause comes before effect'. (Four days earlier Hitler had held his 'Freedom to Rearm' military rally where he denounced the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty and announced the reinstatement of conscription in Germany.)



This drawing by the British cartoonist Sidney 'George' Strube (2 September 1939) is titled 'Juggernaut'.



This cartoon was drawn by the British cartoonist Bernard Partridge for the satirical magazine *Punch* in February 1938. It shows Hitler as a poacher, stealing Austria. Mussolini is shown as a bad game-keeper, failing to stop him; 'I never heard a shot, Adolf', he is saying.



This British cartoon from October 1938 (by Low, who hated Nazi Germany) shows Hitler as Santa, popping into his sack, one-by-one, little countries – who had got into bed with the 'French-British family'. His sack says: *Deutschland Uber Alles* ('Germany over all').
 The caption reads: 'Europe can look forward to a Christmas of peace' (Hitler).

My good friends, this is the second time in our history that there has come back from Germany to Downing Street peace with honour. I believe it is peace for our time... And now I recommend you to go home and sleep quietly in your beds.

Chamberlain, speaking to the crowds outside 10 Downing Street after the Munich Agreement in 1938.

Thus we begin our march into the great German future.

Hitler, speaking after the Munich Agreement in 1938.



This cartoon by the British cartoonist Sidney 'George' Strube appeared in the Daily Express on 3 October 1938 (shortly after the Munich Agreement). Chamberlain (on the right, with nothing but a hat and umbrella), confronts Mars (the God of War).

We, the German Fuhrer and Chancellor and the British Prime Minister, have had a further meeting today and are agreed in recognising the question of Anglo-German relations as of the first importance for the two countries and for Europe.

We regard the agreement signed last night and the Anglo-German naval agreement as symbolic of the desire of our two people never to go to war with one another again.

We are resolved that the method of consultation shall be the method adopted to deal with any other questions that may concern our two countries, and we are determined to continue our efforts to remove probable sources of difference and thus contribute to assure the peace of Europe.

Joint communiqué issued on 30 September 1938 in Munich by Chamberlain and Hitler
(the famous 'piece of paper')

