

## Paper 1 B6 A World Divided: International Relations between the Wars 1919-1939

### Versailles:

**GARGLE** (Main clauses of Versailles)  
**U GARGLER** (how Germans felt about it)  
**BOLMA** (importance of Versailles)  
**SAINTS** (Post-war Treaties)  
**APES** (Problems with self determination)  
**NAME** (Successes)  
**CHAPY FELL** (nations established)  
**GAMES** (Failures)

### League:

**SIDE** (four aims of league)  
**SCACHIRMS** (structure of league)  
**SUM** (three strengths of league)  
**SAMBOK** (Six successes of the League in the 1920s)  
**VIMCOD** (Six failures of the league in the 1920s)  
**WAS DUMB** (reasons for the league's failure)  
**BUSTED UP** (eight reasons for league's failure)

### Road to War:

**CRAMCUP** [Hitler's steps to war]  
**A GANG** [Appeasement – what it meant in practice]  
**SCAB** [Why Britain failed to make a treaty with the Soviets]  
**THUG** [Why the Soviets and the Nazis reached an agreement]

Best thought about as falling into 3 sections – A. Versailles; B. League of Nations and C. Road to War.

#### A. Versailles

##### AIMS OF THE BIG THREE

1. **Georges Clemenceau, President of France** – blamed Germany = punishment/ 'hard justice'/ angry = revenge/ wanted to 'make Germany pay' for the Damage/ felt threatened = wanted independent Rhineland/ get Alsace-Lorraine/ peace = wanted Germany weak and crippled .
2. **Woodrow Wilson, President of America** – 14 Points/ a better world 'safe for democracy'/ fair peace/ self-determination/ International Co-operation (League of Nations)
3. **David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Britain** – compromise/ punish & make Germany pay, but not revenge like France/ protect British Empire/ trade/ peace: did not want to create anger in Germany which would lead to war in the future.

##### SIX TERMS OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES [memory word: **GARGLE**]

**Guilt** – clause 231: Germany accepted blame 'for causing all the loss and damage' of the war.  
**Army** – army: 100,000/ no submarines/ no aeroplanes/ 6 battleships/ Rhineland de-militarised  
**Reparations** – £6,600 million – in instalments, until 1984).  
**Germany lost land** – Alsace-Lorraine to France/ Saar to France (15 years)/ Malmedy to Belgium/ North Schleswig to Denmark/ West Prussia and Upper Silesia to Poland/ Danzig a 'free city'/ Memel to Lithuania/ German colonies became 'mandates' of the League of Nations.  
**League of Nations** set up.  
**Extra points** – forbade Anschluss/ Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania independent states.

##### HOW THE GERMANS FELT [memory word: **U GARGLER**]

**Unfairly treated** – no part in Conference talks/ forced to sign/ few of 14 Points in the Treaty.  
**Guilt** – 'Such a confession in my mouth would be a lie', said Count Brockdorff-Rantzau.  
**Armed forces** – meant Germany could not defend itself against even small countries (the Dungervolker - Dung people).  
**Reparations** – starved German children.

**Germany lost territory** – a humiliation/ contrary to self-determination/ made Germany poorer - took farm land (W Prussia) and industrial land (Saar).

**League of Nations** – an insult/ meant Germany couldn't defend itself in the League of Nations.

**Extra** – forbidding Anschluss was against the principle of self-determination.

**Results** – riots in Berlin/the *Deutsche Zeitung* attacked 'the disgraceful treaty'/ Kapp Putsch (1920) to try to overturn the Treaty.

### **WHY WAS THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES MORE IMPORTANT? [memory word: BOLMA].**

**B**ig Three negotiated Versailles - other treaties designed by officials.

**O**utlined principles (self-determination/Guilt/Army reduced/Reparations/loss of land) - other treaties simply applied them.

**L**League of Nations was set up by Versailles.

**M**ajor Powers were involved: how Britain and France dealt with Germany; not scared of Austria or Turkey.

**A**fterwards, Versailles led to Hitler and World War II

### **WHAT THE ALLIES THOUGHT ABOUT THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES**

#### 1. Clemenceau

- **LIKED** Clause 231/ disarmament/ Reparations/ Getting back Alsace-Lorraine & mandates
- **DISLIKED** Saar (only for 15 years)/ wanted an independent Rhineland, not just demilitarised.

#### 2. Wilson

- **GOT** League of Nations/ self-determination for Poland, Czechoslovakia etc,
- **DISLIKED** many of his 14 points were ignored/ Britain opposed freedom of seas/ only defeated powers were made to disarm/ colonies were given no say in their future/ American Senate refused to sign Treaty or join League of Nations.

#### 3. Lloyd George

- **LIKED** reducing German navy/ getting German colonies as British mandates
- **DISLIKED** Wilson's ideas about colonies and freedom of the seas/ Clemenceau's harshness
- JM Keynes said that reparations would cause another war
- Harold Nicolson thought the Treaty 'neither just nor wise'.

### **THE FOUR OTHER TREATIES OF 1919-20 [memory word: SaiNTS]**

**Saint** Germain (with Austria, 1919), in which Austria – had to give land to Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, and Italy/ was allowed only a volunteer force of 30,000 men and no navy/ was forbidden to unite with Germany (Article 88)/ had to pay reparations.

**Neuilly** (with Bulgaria, 1919), in which Bulgaria – had to give land to Yugoslavia and Greece/ was allowed an army of only 20,000 men/ had to pay reparations.

**Trianon** (with Hungary, 1920), in which Hungary – had to give land to Poland, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia/ was allowed an army of only 35,000/ had to pay reparations.

**Sèvres** (with Turkey, 1920) dismantled the Turkish Empire – Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco became independent/ Syria became a French mandate/ Iraq, Jordan, Palestine, Suez canal became British mandates/ Turkey lost Smyrna to Greece, control of the Straits into the Black Sea/ Turkey had to disarm and pay reparations.

### **SELF-DETERMINATION (= the right to rule yourself)**

#### **Problems [memory word: APES]**

**A**reas are sometimes very mixed racially

**P**hysical frontiers are not the same as racial areas

**E**conomic areas are not the same as racial areas

**S**uspicion: Germans not allowed self-determination

#### **Successes [memory word: NAME]**

**N**ine nations set up – CHAPY FELL – Czechoslovakia, Austria, Poland, Yugoslavia; Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania.

**M**inorities: countries had to treat minorities fairly

**E**lections (plebiscites) in 3 places – Schleswig, Upper Silesia and the Saar.

#### **Failures [memory word: GAMES]**

**G**ermans in Sudetenland to Czechoslovakia

**A**nschluss forbidden

**M**inorities existed

**E**mpires stayed

**S**pecific violations – 1919 d'Annunzio captured Fiume/ 1920: Poland conquered land from Russia and Lithuania

#### **AFTER 1919: DATES LIST**

28 Jun 1919	Treaty of Versailles signed.
19 Feb 1920	US Senate refuses to sign the Treaty of Versailles.
17 Mar 1920	Kapp Putsch (rebellion) in Germany, against the peace treaty, fails.
6 Apr 1920	French troops invade Ruhr in Germany after the German govt had sent troops into the Rhineland to stop rioting.
8 Mar 1921	French, British and Belgian troops invade the Ruhr to force Germany to agree to reparations.
11 Jan 1923	French and Belgian troops invade the Ruhr to force Germany to pay reparations.
9 Apr 1924	Dawes Plan: gives Germany longer to pay reparations, and grants huge loans to get the German economy going.
16 Oct 1925	Locarno Pact: peace agreement between Fr., Br., Belgium, Italy & Germany.
8 Sep 1926	Germany admitted to the League of Nations.
27 Aug 1928	Kellogg-Briand Pact: 65 nations (inc. Fr/Br/USA/Ger) promise to abolish war.
7 Jun 1929	The Young Plan reduces reparations.
9 Jul 1932	Lausanne Agreement: USA, France and Britain suspend reparations payments.

## 2. The League of Nations

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

**Stop war** – (Article 10 of the Covenant = ‘collective security’)

**Improve people's lives and Jobs** – Encourage co-operation in trade/ Economic and social agencies.

**Disarmament**

**Enforce the Treaty of Versailles**

### MEMBERSHIP OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

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

### THE STRUCTURE OF THE LEAGUE [memory word: **SCACHIRMS**]

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

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

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

+ the **Committees**: **C**ourt of international justice/ **H**earth committee/ **I**nternational labour

organization/ **R**efugees committee/ **M**andates commission/ **S**lavery commission

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

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

- **Set up** by the Treaty of Versailles
- **Universal membership**, all of which had signed the Covenant promising to support the League.
- **Means of Influence** – Covenant (26 promises which every member agreed to follow)/ Moral condemnation (public opinion)/ Arbitration (act as a referee)/ Sanctions (refuse to trade)/ Military Force (send an army)/ ‘Community of Power’ (acting together).

### SIX SUCCESSES OF THE LEAGUE IN THE 1920s [memory word: **SAMBOK**]

**Silesia, 1921** – Germany and Poland agreed to partition after a plebiscite.

**Aaland Islands, 1921** – said the islands should belong to Finland; Sweden and Finland agreed.

**Mosul, 1924** – the Turks demanded Mosul, Iraq. The League supported Iraq; Turkey agreed.

**Bulgaria, 1925** – Greece invaded Bulgaria, but withdrew when Bulgaria appealed to the League.

**Other**: 400,000 Prisoners of War repatriated/ Turkish refugee camps (1922)/ Leprosy/ Drugs companies closed down/ Attacked slave owners in Sierra Leone and Burma/ Economic advice to Austria and Hungary

**Kellogg-Briand Pact, 1928** – signed by 23 nations and supported by 65, to outlaw war.

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

**Vilna, 1920** – Poland refused the League orders to withdraw from Vilna.

**Invasion of the Ruhr, 1923** – by France; the League was not even consulted, and Britain disagreed.

**Memel, 1923** – The League told Lithuania to leave, but the Conference of Ambassadors agreed.

**Corfu, 1923** – General Tellini murdered, so Italy occupied Corfu. The Conference of Ambassadors overruled the League's order to Mussolini to leave – forced Greece to pay compensation to Italy.

**Other Treaties**: Washington, 1921/ Dawes Plan, 1924/ Locarno Pact, 1925/ The Geneva Protocol, 1924 (to support the League of Nations) failed because Britain refused to sign it

**Disarmament** – Britain objected to the 1923 conference/ 1932-1934 conference was wrecked when Hitler demanded parity with France.

## TWO FAILURES OF THE LEAGUE IN THE 1930s

- **Manchuria, 1931:** The League sent officials (took a year)/ voted that Japan return Manchuria (Feb 1933 - Japan resigned from the League)/ could not agree economic sanctions or arms sales ban.
- **Abyssinia, 1935:** Mussolini invaded (October 1935) Haile Selassie's Abyssinia/ Britain and France secretly agreed to give Abyssinia to Italy (Hoare-Laval Pact, 1935)/ The League tried sanctions on arms sales, rubber and metals, but they did not close the Suez Canal or ban oil sales.
- **These failures killed the League** – Mussolini gained prestige/ Britain, France and the League were weakened - countries decided it was a 'sham', left and began to prepare for war instead.

## REASONS THE LEAGUE FAILED: [Memory word: WAS DUMB]

**W**eak from the beginning –League's powers were nothing more than 'tut tut'; sanctions did not work and it had no army

**A**merica – the strongest nation was missing, along with the USSR (before 1934); and Germany before 1926 or after 1933)

**S**tructure - the League's organisation was muddled, so it took ages to do anything (e.g. Lytton commission in 1931); members couldn't agree, but decisions had to be unanimous - this paralysed the League

**D**epression: Caused member states to worry more about themselves than about collective security; contributed to the rise of dictatorship in Germany, Italy and Japan; and to appeasement on the part of Britain and France.

**U**nsuccessful – every time the league was unsuccessful – e.g. Manchuria and Abyssinia, it weakened its reputation so that other nations – particularly Germany – felt able to flout the Treaty it was supposed to protect.

**M**embers – the league's members failed it – Italy and Japan openly defied it; Britain and France betrayed it.

**B**ig bullies – in the 1920s, the League had been quite successful with small, weak countries; in the 1930s, powerful countries like Germany, Italy and Japan defied the League - they were too strong for the League to stop them

## AND/OR:

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

**B**ritain and France – were not prepared to use their armies and had other priorities.

**U**SA, **U**SSR and **G**ermany – USA was never a member/ USSR not until 1934/ Germany not until 1926, and Hitler left the League in 1933.

**S**tructure – its organisation [**SCACHIRMS**] was cumbersome so decisions were very slow.

**T**reaty of Versailles set up the League – so it was hated because the Treaty was hateful.

**E**conomic Depression – countries acted to save their own interests, and ignored the League.

**D**ictators – dictators like Mussolini and Hitler would not compromise.

**U**nsuccessful – the League's failures damaged its reputation, so members left/ignored it.

**P**owerless: moral condemnation was just ignored by powerful nations/ the League had no armies/ people found ways round sanctions.

- **Road to World War II Revision**

CRAMCUP [Hitler's steps to war]

A GANG [Appeasement – what it meant in practice]

SCAB [Why Britain failed to make a treaty with the Soviets]

THUG [Why the Soviets and the Nazis reached an agreement]

## HITLER'S AIMS

- **Abolish the Treaty of Versailles** – Thought it was unjust and humiliating/ didn't like Tiny armed forces, Rhineland demilitarised, *Anschluss* with Austria forbidden, Germans forced to live in Czechoslovakia (Sudetenland) and Poland (including Danzig).
- **Lebensraum - Expand German territory** – To unite Austria with Germany/ To get extra *lebensraum* [living space] for Germans.
- **Defeat Communism** – Believed Bolsheviks helped cause German defeat in WW1/ Feared Bolshevik takeover.

## HITLER'S STEPS TO WAR [memory phrase: CRAMCUP]

1. **C**onscription & **R**earmament – Began in secret/ Took Germany out of League of Nations/ **1935** – Introduced conscription, Increased spending on arms, Huge rearmament rally, Naval agreement with Britain allowed German navy of 35% of British navy/ Increased airforce to 8,250 by 1939.
2. **R**hineland – 7 March 1936: moved troops in, breaking Treaty of Versailles and Locarno Treaty/ Justified it by claiming that USSR + France agreement threatened Germany/ German army (only 22000 soldiers) had orders to withdraw if opposed/ France and Britain did not stop him/ League of Nations powerless, didn't want to risk war.
3. **A**nschluss – **1934**: Failed attempt/ **Feb 1938**: Hitler encouraged Austrian Nazis to stir up trouble, Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg sought British and French help, but was refused/ **9 March 1938**: Schuschnigg called for a plebiscite on union/ **11 March 1938**: Hitler sent in troops, then held a plebiscite/ **10 April 1938**: 99.7% voted for union.
4. **M**unich – **April 1938**: Many Germans Nazis lived in the Sudetenland – stirred up trouble  
**15 Sept 1938 Berchtesgaden**: Hitler agreed to the parts of the Sudetenland which voted that they wanted to unite with Germany. He promised that the rest of Czech. was safe.  
**27 Sept 1938 Bad Godesberg**: Hitler demands immediate control of all Sudetenland  
**29 Sept 1938 Munich Agreement**: Britain, France & Italy gave the Sudetenland to Hitler  
**30 September**: Chamberlain calls Munich: "Peace for our time".
5. **C**zechoslovakia – 15 March 1939: German troops took over the rest of the country. No Czech resistance. Britain and France abandoned appeasement.
6. **U**SSR/ **N**azi Germany Pact –  
23 August 1939, Nazi-Soviet Pact shocked world; frees Hitler to attack Poland.
7. **P**oland –  
1 Sept 1939 Hitler invaded Poland – Britain and France declared war on Germany.

## APPEASEMENT – Britain and France [A GANG]

1. Accepted:  
German re-armament (e.g. Anglo-German Naval agreement 1935) and occupation of the Rhineland accepted
2. Allowed Hitler to use German bombers in Spanish Civil War (1937–39)
3. No action over Anschluss (1938).
4. Gave in over Sudetenland at Munich (1938).

## WHY APPEASEMENT?

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

6. **Fear of Communism** so people let Hitler grow strong because they thought a strong Germany could stop Russia.

### **APPEASEMENT WAS ABANDONED February-September 1939**

- **Feb: Franco (a Fascist) won the Spanish Civil War** so it seemed Fascism was on the increase everywhere.
- **15 March: Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia** so people realised that only a war would stop him.
- **March: Chamberlain promised to defend Poland** which made war inevitable when Hitler invaded Poland.
- **April: Mussolini conquers Albania** which made it seem that Fascism was wanting to take over the world
- **May: Pact of Steel [Hitler and Mussolini]** which showed Hitler was building up his forces for war.
- **Aug: British alliance with USSR failed, but 23 August Nazi-Soviet Pact** so Hitler was free to invade Poland.
- **Aug: Hitler stirred up trouble in Danzig and demanded the Polish corridor, then**
- **Sept: Hitler invaded Poland.**

### **AUG 1939: ANGLO-SOVIET TALKS FAIL [memory word: SCAB]**

**Suspicion** – Chamberlain didn't trust Stalin – Communist & dictator. Stalin didn't trust the British [thought

they wanted to trick him into war with Germany]. Poland didn't trust USSR.

**Choice** – If Stalin allied with Britain, he would end up fighting in Poland on Britain's behalf  
Hitler was promising half of Poland for doing nothing.

**Appeasement** – Stalin didn't think Britain would honour its promise to Poland. He thought he would be left fighting Hitler alone.

**Britain delayed, Aug 1939** – Britain sent an official (Plunkett-Erle-Drax) to USSR by boat - too slow. An

admiral, he was not important enough to make decisions.

### **WHY A NAZI-SOVIET PACT [memory word: THUG]**

In August 1939 the USSR signed an agreement with Germany.

**Time to prepare for war** – It gave Russia 18 months to make military preparations.

**Hope to gain** – Stalin hoped Germany, Britain and France would wear themselves out in a long war.

**Unhappy with Britain** – Stalin turned to Germany when Britain was too slow - SCAB

**Germany's Motives** – Hitler thought it would make Britain back down over Poland.