

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

RESEARCH ACTIVITY

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

The economic impact of the treaties

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

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

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

The impact of the treaties on diplomatic relations

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

The Little Entente and France

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

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

SOURCE C

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

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

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QUESTION

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

● Examiner's hint

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

The mandate system

Background information

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

SOURCE D

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

From Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations

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QUESTION

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

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

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

Case study: The mandate system in Africa

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

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

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

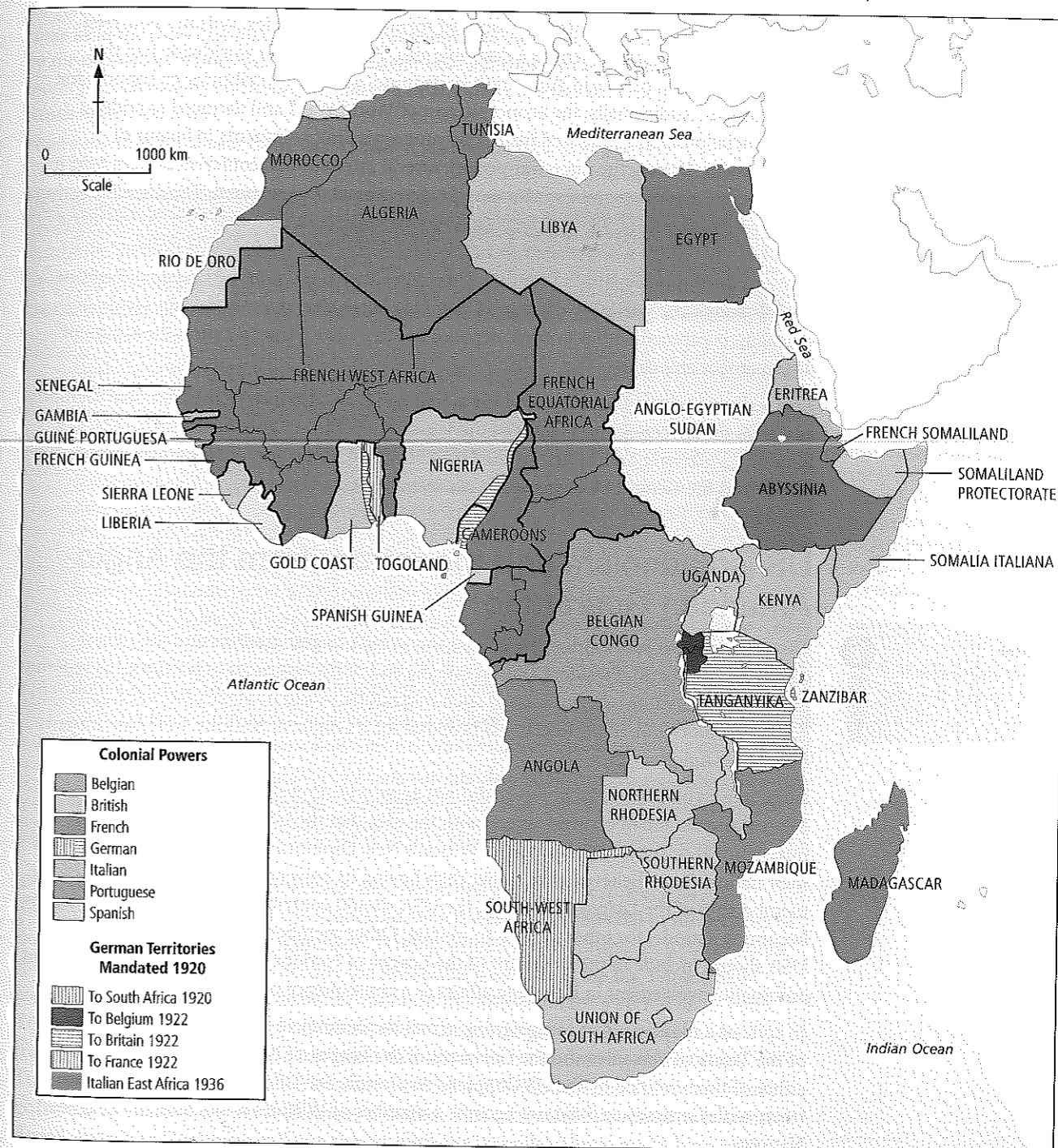
STUDENT STUDY SECTION

RESEARCH ACTIVITY

'The mandate system was imperialism in disguise.'

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

Map 4
Africa 1920-32
Study the map below and analyze the territorial distribution of the continent.



Section IV:

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

Background information

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

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

US isolationism and the retreat from the Anglo- American Guarantee

Creditor

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

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

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

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

SOURCE A

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

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

SOURCE B

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

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

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QUESTION

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

Student Answer – Ingrid

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

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

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

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

Examiner's comments

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

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

Examiner's hint

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

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

The impact of the retreat of the Anglo-American Guarantee

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

Disarmament: Washington, London, Geneva conferences

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

Washington Naval Agreements (1921–22)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

To what extent were the Washington Naval Agreements successful?

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

SOURCE C

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

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

Open Door Policy

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

Shantung Peninsula

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

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SOURCE D

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

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

SOURCE E

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

Examiner's hint

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

STUDENT STUDY SECTION**QUESTION**

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

QUESTION

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

Student Answer – Chang

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Examiner's comments

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

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

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

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

Geneva Disarmament Conference (1932–34)

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

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

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

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

SOURCE F

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

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

SOURCE G

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

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

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTIONS

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

REVIEW SECTION

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

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

QUESTIONS

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

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