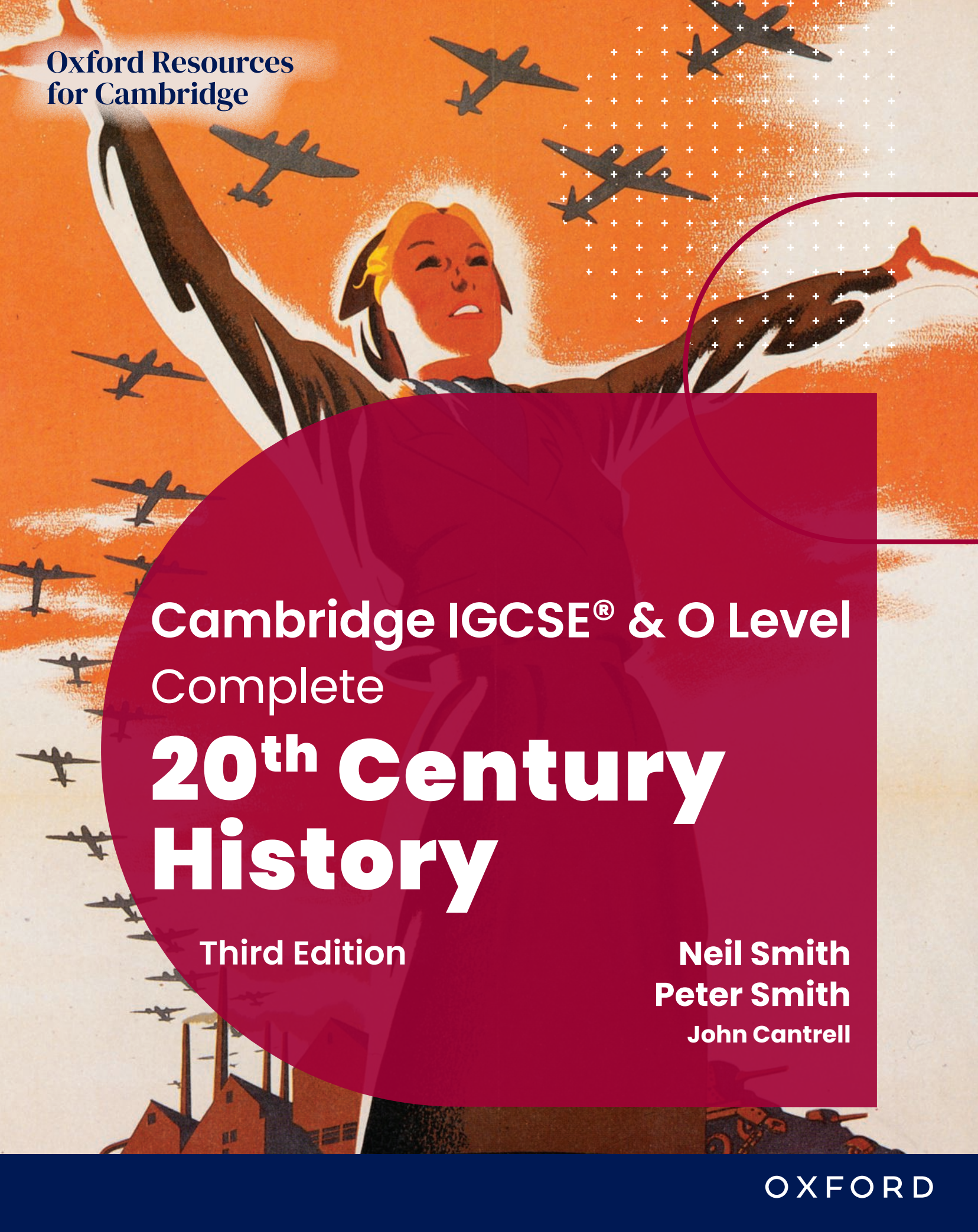


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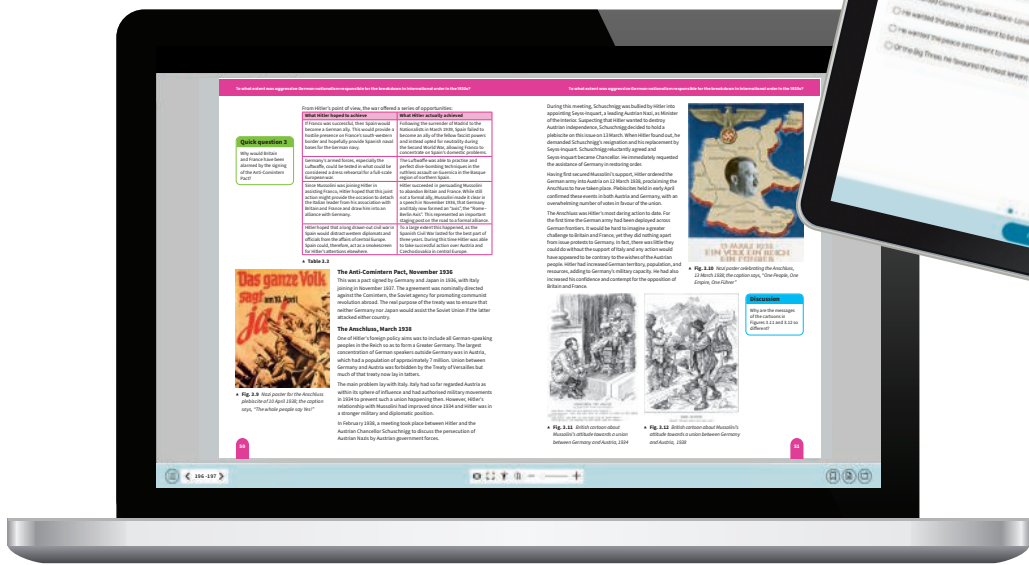
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# Introduction

History is an exciting subject, driven by a strong narrative and populated by dynamic characters. Equally important, however, is the process of analysis—looking at how and why this narrative was created. History is constructed from a series of questions which help us to explore how, why, when, and with what results, events in the past took place.

*20th Century History for Cambridge IGCSE® and O Level* focuses on the major international issues of the twentieth century and provides a detailed study of the regions which dominated the period. This book aims to provide an in-depth account of major events, and help students to develop the skills required to be successful at Cambridge IGCSE® (0470 syllabus) and Cambridge O Level (2147 syllabus).

The chapters follow the curriculum content for the twentieth century topics offered by the Cambridge IGCSE® and O Level History courses. Each chapter reflects the structure of the different options in the syllabus and throughout each chapter you will find descriptions of key terms, mini-biographies of the major historical figures, short structured tasks, as well as exam-style questions.

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Additional support can be found on Kerboodle. There are resources for every chapter, including interactive quizzes and tests, revision checklists, revision timelines, study skills, exam-style questions and sample questions with answers. You can also access the digital book.

Sample Material

## Introduction

The First World War was described by British Prime Minister David Lloyd George as “the cruellest and most terrible war that has ever scourged mankind”. In its simplest form it was a bid by the Central Powers—Germany assisted by Austria–Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria—to achieve supremacy or domination in Europe. When this bid failed in the autumn of 1918, the initiative lay with Germany’s opponents, the Allies—principally Britain, France, and the United States—to bring about a new peace in Europe.



▲ Fig. 1.1 San Francisco Examiner, 1918

### Versailles Settlement

A term used to describe the entire peace settlement of 1919–23. The phrase does not mean the same as Treaty of Versailles, which is just one part of the Versailles Settlement.

### Objectives

- consider the roles of individuals such as the “Big 3”
- examine the impact of the treaty on Germany
- look at contemporary opinions about the Treaty of Versailles

As soon as the First World War came to an end in November 1918, plans were immediately made for a peace conference to take place in Paris during 1919. This conference produced a number of peace treaties that are referred to collectively as the **Versailles Settlement**.

| The Versailles Settlement |                |                  |
|---------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| Treaty                    | Date           | Country affected |
| Versailles                | June 1919      | Germany          |
| Saint Germain             | September 1919 | Austria          |
| Neuilly                   | November 1919  | Bulgaria         |
| Trianon                   | June 1920      | Hungary          |
| Sèvres                    | August 1920    | Turkey           |
| Lausanne                  | June 1923      | Turkey           |

▲ Table 1.1

The Versailles Settlement was the result of discussions held between the victorious countries. Every country concerned wanted a peace settlement that would last and prevent a repeat of the slaughter of the First World War. The problem was that this could be achieved in a variety of ways. This led to strong disagreement among the peacemakers on a number of key issues, such as the extent to which the defeated countries should be punished or the victorious countries rewarded. Disagreement led to compromise with the result that the Versailles Settlement, and especially the Treaty of Versailles, soon becoming the focus of fierce criticism and debate.

## Clemenceau, Lloyd-George, Wilson: the aims of the “Big Three”

The Paris Peace Conference was attended by 32 states representing more than two-thirds of the world’s population. Soviet Russia was not invited, following the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 and the defeated powers were also excluded from the negotiations. The main peacemakers were the countries primarily responsible for the defeat of Germany and its allies: France, Italy, the United States, Britain, and Japan. Within this group the major players were France, the United States, and Britain. These countries were represented by Prime Minister Clemenceau, President Wilson, and Prime Minister Lloyd George respectively. The aims and motives of the three statesmen, the “Big Three”, were to determine the nature of the peace settlement.

### France

#### George Clemenceau (1841–1929)

Nicknamed “The Tiger”.

#### Pre-political career

Medical doctor, journalist, schoolteacher, newspaper proprietor.

#### Political positions

Minister of the Interior (1906); Prime Minister of France (1906–9 and 1917–20); President of the Paris Peace Conference (1919–20).

#### Character and outlook

A hard-headed, tough, and uncompromising politician. His unforgiving attitude towards Germany developed following the German invasions of France in 1870 and 1914. He wanted a harsh peace to be imposed on Germany.



French Prime Minister George Clemenceau’s primary concern at Paris was to achieve a peace that would ensure the future security of France. He thought that if Germany was sufficiently weakened it would be unable to threaten the peace of Europe again. There were a number of reasons why Clemenceau thought that his country was open to future attack across its eastern frontier:

- France shared a common border with Germany
- this border was not defined by a natural frontier such as a major river
- the invasion of France in August 1914 was the second time in 50 years that France had been invaded by Germany. On the first occasion in 1870, during the Franco–Prussian War, France had lost the province of Alsace-Lorraine.

### Quick question 1

How would photographs such as that in Figure 1.2 have affected Clemenceau’s approach to the peace settlement with Germany?

### Source 1

Extract from a speech by Georges Clemenceau to the Paris Peace Conference, 16 June 1919.

*The conduct of Germany is almost unexampled in human history... not less than seven million dead lie buried in Europe, while more than twenty million others carry upon them the evidence of wounds and sufferings, because Germany saw fit to gratify her lust for tyranny by resort to war. ... Justice, therefore, is the only possible basis for the settlement of the accounts of this terrible war.*



▲ **Fig. 1.2** Aerial view of the war damage to the French town of Albert, 1914–18

In addition to this, France had made a much greater sacrifice during the course of the war than either Britain or the United States and there was a national desire for revenge against Germany. This was bolstered by the behaviour of the German army as it retreated across north-eastern France during the final stages of the war, causing deliberate damage by flooding mines and destroying bridges, railways, small towns, and villages.

As a result of his desire to increase the security of his country, Clemenceau went into the conference chamber with a series of demands designed to weaken Germany. These demands included:

- permanent disarmament involving disbanding most of Germany's army, navy, and air force
- a very high level of **reparations** with a definite figure to be named in the treaty
- the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France
- a significant portion of Germany's colonies to be handed over to France
- the Rhineland area to be formed into an independent state so that France no longer shared a common border with Germany
- the Saar Basin to be transferred to France.

### Reparations

The name given to the compensation that the defeated powers had to pay the Allies for damage caused and for war pensions. Reparations could be paid in cash or in goods such as coal or timber.

|                      | Military deaths | Civilian deaths | Wounded |
|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------|
| <b>France</b>        | 1.4             | 0.3             | 4.3     |
| <b>Britain</b>       | 0.9             | 0.1             | 1.7     |
| <b>United States</b> | 0.1             | 0.001           | 0.2     |
| <b>Italy</b>         | 0.6             | 0.6             | 0.9     |

▲ **Table 1.2** First World War casualties (in millions)

In total, these demands represented an extremely stern form of justice, though not as extreme as recommended by the French President Poincaré. He wanted Germany to be broken up into a collection of smaller states. If Germany had been dismembered and crippled absolutely by the peace terms as France insisted, then it would not have been in a position to challenge the peace of Europe 20 years later.

### Task

How far does Source 1 agree with Source 2 about the motives behind the peace settlement?

## The United States

### Thomas Woodrow Wilson (1856–1924)

#### Pre-political career

Lawyer, academic (political science), President of Princeton University.

#### Political career

Governor of New Jersey (1911–13); President of the United States (1913–21).

#### Character and outlook

An idealist who took the United States into the First World War to make the world "safe for democracy". He devised the Fourteen Points in early 1918, which he hoped would form the basis for a peace settlement. He was the main inspiration behind the League of Nations.



## Source 2

Extract from a speech by President Woodrow Wilson to a joint session of Congress, 2 April 1917.

*The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind.*

President Woodrow Wilson's hopes and expectations from the peace settlement were very different from those of France; but the United States' experience of the war was also very different.

- The United States had not declared war on Germany until April 1917 and was not fully involved in the war until more than a year later.
- At no point was US territory invaded and relatively few US lives were lost with civilian fatalities of less than 800.
- The war had provided profitable trading and business opportunities for US manufacturers, merchants, and financiers.

The lack of a national grievance meant that Wilson could stand back and take a more detached view of the peace proceedings. He was determined to earn his place in history as the guiding spirit behind what he hoped would be a "fair and lasting peace". This objective could be achieved, so Wilson believed, by making his Fourteen Points the basis of the peace settlement.

The Fourteen Points had been drawn up during the later stages of the war. They resulted from Wilson trying to identify the general causes of the conflict and then devising remedies for each cause. Here are three examples.

- Wilson believed that secret treaties had led to misunderstandings and suspicion between the most important countries before the war. He therefore recommended that there should be open diplomacy and no secret treaties (see Point 1).
- He decided that one of the causes of the war had been the build-up of armaments—naval ships, aircraft, and weaponry for the army. Wilson therefore recommended that all states should disarm, maintaining just what was needed for basic defence (see Point 4).
- Wilson hoped to promote the long-term stability of Europe by recognising the principle of **self-determination**. In practice, this meant allowing national groups such as Slovaks, Czechs, and Poles to form independent national states (see Points 9, 10, 12, and 13).

Wilson's approach to the peace was based on ideals and high principles and he inevitably clashed with the self-interested ambitions of Britain and France, especially with regard to acquiring Germany's colonies. Nevertheless, several aspects of his Fourteen Points were incorporated into the peace settlement.

### Self-determination

Allowing an area to decide its own political future, usually by means of a vote.

**Task**

To what extent were Points 1, 4, 8, and 14 of Wilson's Fourteen Points reflected in the Treaty of Versailles?

| Wilson's Fourteen Points |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1                        | No more secret treaties.   |
| 2                        | Free navigation of the seas in peacetime and wartime.  |
| 3                        | Removal of economic trade barriers.  |
| 4                        | Reduction of armaments for all countries.  |
| 5                        | Impartial settlement of colonial disputes, taking into account the interests of both the colonial populations and the governing countries. |
| 6                        | German troops to leave Russia.   |
| 7                        | Independence for Belgium.  |
| 8                        | Return of Alsace-Lorraine to France.   |
| 9                        | Readjustment of Italian frontiers in line with nationality.  |
| 10                       | Self-determination for peoples of Austria-Hungary.   |
| 11                       | Evacuation and restoration of invaded Balkan countries.  |
| 12                       | Self-determination for peoples in the Turkish Empire.  |
| 13                       | Establishment of an independent Poland with access to the sea.   |
| 14                       | Establishment of a general association of nations.   |

▲ Table 1.3

## Britain

### Lloyd George's views in November/December 1918

**David Lloyd George (1863–1945)**

#### Pre-political career

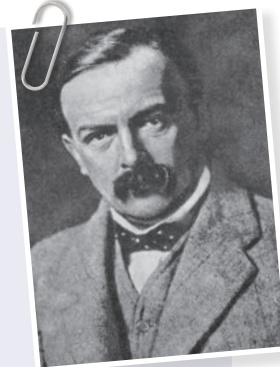
Lawyer.

#### Political career

Entered national politics as a Liberal in 1890. Held various Cabinet positions (1906–16), including Chancellor of the Exchequer and Minister for Munitions; Prime Minister (1916–22).

#### Character and outlook

A dynamic, persuasive, and unconventional politician, he was acclaimed as the man who won the war. As more of a realist than an idealist, he wanted a peace that would punish Germany but not too harshly.



Before the Paris Peace Conference began, it looked as if Britain shared the French desire for a harsh peace settlement to be imposed on Germany. This was quite understandable given Britain's experience of the war.

- Unlike the United States, Britain had suffered direct attacks on its mainland both in 1914, when German naval ships bombarded a number of Yorkshire coastal towns, and during the Zeppelin raids of 1915–18 when London, Edinburgh, and other towns were attacked.
- Britain had sustained heavy casualties during the war.
- Britain's economy had been severely disrupted, especially the export sectors.
- Britain was concerned about the security of France's eastern frontier because if that were to be crossed by hostile troops it would only be a matter of time before Britain was directly threatened also. France's eastern frontier was effectively Britain's outer defence.

Britain was as concerned as France that Germany's war-making potential be reduced. Furthermore, the British public demanded vengeance against Germany immediately after the war. In the general election of November 1918, Prime Minister Lloyd George knew that if he was to be re-elected then he would have to reflect these views. Accordingly, he insisted that Germany should pay for the full cost of the war. Lloyd George also wanted a sizeable share of Germany's colonies.

### Lloyd George's views from January 1919

Yet, despite every indication that Lloyd George would unite with France against the high principles of President Wilson, he soon changed his outlook. By the time that he had arrived in Paris in January 1919, Lloyd George had decided that a more moderate peace settlement was in British interests. What had caused Lloyd George to change his mind?

- Lloyd George came to realise that the future economic well-being of Britain depended largely upon the economic revival of Europe. This, in turn, depended upon the revival of the German economy. Germany was Britain's most important European customer prior to 1914.
- If Germany was deprived of the Rhineland, where much of its industry was located, it would not be wealthy enough to buy British goods on the same scale as before the war.
- A very high reparations figure would also check Germany's economic recovery since it would take away money that could otherwise be used for investment.
- A weak Germany would provide an inadequate barrier against the spread of communism from the east. Communism was regarded by many as a much greater threat to Europe than the revival of German military power.
- Lloyd George was also anxious that the treaty should not be regarded as excessively harsh by Germany as he was convinced that this would give rise to a sense of intense grievance. This might lead to attempts to overturn the treaty.

### Lloyd George's impact on Clemenceau

Because of these factors, Lloyd George managed to persuade Clemenceau to make a number of key concessions:

- to abandon the idea of an independent Rhineland state
- to abandon the idea of naming a definite and very high figure for reparations in the treaty
- to abandon the idea that the Saar Basin on the border shared by Germany and France be transferred to France
- to abandon the idea that Danzig be handed over to Poland.

These concessions by France had the added advantage for Britain that German domination in Europe would not be replaced by French domination. It was in Britain's interest to maintain a balance of power in Europe, for this would help preserve Britain's position as a world power.

## What were the main terms of the Treaty of Versailles?

There were a number of key points in the treaty.

1. War Guilt Clause (Article 231)—Germany and its allies had to accept total responsibility for starting the war.

### Source 3

Extract from an election speech by Lloyd George given in Bristol, 11 December 1918.

*We propose to demand the whole cost of the war from Germany. Germany must pay to the last penny.*

### Source 4

Extract from a speech by Lloyd George to the House of Commons, 16 April 1919.

*We want a peace which will be just, but not vindictive. We want a stern peace because the occasion demands it. The crime demands it. But its severity must be designed, not to gratify vengeance, but to vindicate justice. ... Above all, we want to protect the future against a repetition of the horrors of this War.*

### Discussion

How far do Sources 3 and 4 suggest that Lloyd George wanted a harsh peace to be imposed on Germany?

**Demilitarised**

Without troops, armaments or fortifications.

**Plebiscite**

A vote on a single issue in the manner of a referendum. Plebiscites were held after 1918 in areas of uncertain nationality to establish which country the populations wished to be governed by.

**Why was Danzig important?**

- There were heated discussions about the status of Danzig during the peace negotiations.
- Before the war Danzig was a flourishing German sea port. With the creation of an independent Poland, Germany was set to lose West Prussia and Danzig.
- The population of Danzig was overwhelmingly German and its transfer to Poland might have created an unstable situation. Yet Poland needed a sea port from which to trade with the outside world.
- A compromise was reached whereby Danzig was made a Free City and placed under League of Nations control.

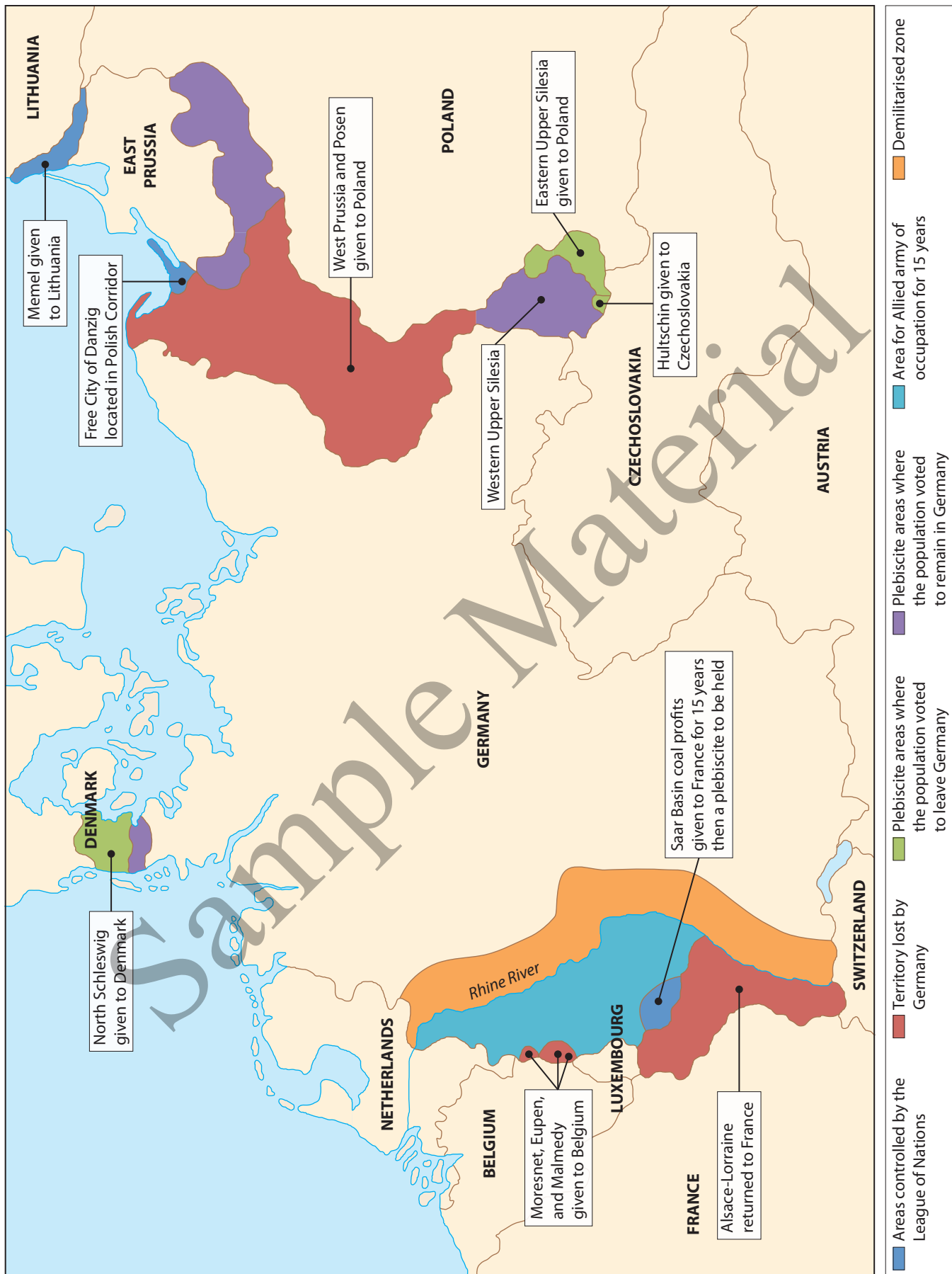
2. Reparations—Germany had to accept liability for reparations, the amount of which would be decided by a Reparations Commission.
3. Disarmament—this restricted Germany’s ability to wage war in the future.
  - The German army was to be restricted to 100 000 with no conscription.
  - No tanks, armoured vehicles or heavy artillery were permitted.
  - No military or naval air force was permitted.
  - The navy was to be restricted to 6 battleships, 12 destroyers, six light cruisers, 12 torpedo boats, and no submarines.
  - The Rhineland was to become a **demilitarised** zone with no German troops or fortifications allowed in the area. In addition, there was to be an Allied army of occupation on the west bank of the Rhine for 15 years.
4. Territory—German territory was taken away.
  - Germany was to lose all its colonies in Africa and the Far East (see Table 1.5).
  - Alsace-Lorraine was to be returned to France.
  - Eupen, Malmédy, and Moresnet were to be transferred to Belgium.
  - North Schleswig was to be transferred to Denmark.
  - West Prussia, Posen, and parts of Upper Silesia were to be transferred to Poland.
  - Hultschin was to be transferred to Czechoslovakia.
  - The Saar Basin was to be administered by the League of Nations for 15 years when a **plebiscite** would decide whether it should belong to France, to Germany or remain under League control. During the period of League administration, the profits of the coal mines were to go to France.
  - Memel was to be transferred to Lithuania.
  - Danzig was to become a Free City administered by the League of Nations. Poland could use the port for its external trade.
  - The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was to be cancelled, with Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania taken away from Germany and set up as independent states.
  - Union between Germany and Austria was forbidden.
5. The Covenant of the League of Nations—Germany had to accept the Covenant or constitution of the League of Nations even though it was excluded from the original membership.

**Task**

Copy and complete the table, summarising the aims of each of the Big 3 nations in your workbook. You will not be able to complete the final column until later in the chapter.

|               | Leader | Main aims | Reason for these aims | How far were their aims achieved? |
|---------------|--------|-----------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| France        |        |           |                       |                                   |
| United States |        |           |                       |                                   |
| Britain       |        |           |                       |                                   |

▲ Table 1.4



▲ Fig. 1.3 The Treaty of Versailles: territorial changes, 1919

**Source 5**

Extract from *A History of Germany, 1815–1945* by William Carr, published in 1972.

*If Clemenceau had had his way, instead of being restrained by Britain and America, the Rhineland would have become an independent state, France would have taken over the Saarland and Danzig would have become part of Poland.*

**Quick question 2**

How important was the proposed Anglo-American Treaty of Guarantee for France in the Paris peace negotiations?

## The terms of the Treaty

Since the “Big Three” wanted such very different outcomes regarding the treatment of Germany, with Clemenceau wanting a harsh peace, Wilson a lenient peace, and Lloyd George a relatively moderate peace, it was virtually impossible to devise a settlement that would please all parties. Nevertheless, each of the main negotiators still received much of what they wanted.

### France

The Versailles Treaty satisfied a number of Clemenceau’s specific demands with regard to Alsace-Lorraine and the transfer of some of Germany’s former colonies (see Table 1.5). France was also likely to become the major recipient of German reparations. Of course, Clemenceau’s main concern was the defence and security of France and it was clear that the treaty also went some way towards achieving this.

- France would be secure on its eastern frontier providing Germany kept to, or was forced to keep to, the military terms of the treaty. It was also necessary that the Rhineland remained free of German troops and fortifications.
- Versailles deprived Germany of a significant proportion of its land, population, and resources (see Table 1.6), which reduced its economic power and military capacity.

### The proposed Anglo-American Treaty of Guarantee for France

Clemenceau was worried, however, that this might not be enough. He feared that Germany would recover its strength and seek changes to the treaty. To protect against this, he wanted a Treaty of Guarantee with his Allied partners. This would mean that Britain and the United States would be committed to coming to France’s assistance in the event of future German aggression. Unfortunately for France, such a treaty failed to materialise. This was because the US Congress refused to approve the peace settlement and the United States withdrew into diplomatic isolation. Britain was unwilling to provide any guarantees to France on its own.



▲ **Fig. 1.4** The signing of the Treaty of Versailles in the Hall of Mirrors, Palace of Versailles, 28 June 1919

This meant that despite all the positive features of the Versailles Treaty, France still felt dangerously exposed on its eastern frontier. Clemenceau's relative failure led to his defeat in the presidential elections of January 1920 and resignation from the office of Prime Minister shortly afterwards.

| Versailles Settlement: distribution of major German and Turkish colonies |         |        |       |
|--|---------|--------|-------|
| German colonies  | Britain | France | Japan |
| Togoland   | •       | •      |       |
| Cameroon   | •       | •      |       |
| German south-west Africa   | •       |        |       |
| German east Africa   | •       |        |       |
| Mariana Islands  |         |        | •     |
| Caroline Islands   |         |        | •     |
| Marshall Islands   |         |        | •     |
| German New Guinea  | •       |        |       |
| Turkish colonies   |         |        |       |
| Iraq   | •       |        |       |
| Transjordan  | •       |        |       |
| Palestine  | •       |        |       |
| Syria  |         | •      |       |
| Lebanon  |         | •      |       |

▲ **Table 1.5**

### Source 6

Extract from *The Kings Depart: The German Revolution and the Treaty of Versailles* by Richard M. Watt, published in 1969.

*Woodrow Wilson had first come to Paris with great hopes – the conference represented the opportunity he had always dreamed of – to completely remake the world according to the liberal and democratic ideas to which he had dedicated his life. But he had found the task so dominated with conflicting claims, hatreds, fears and greeds, that he was forced to settle for a compromise that satisfied no one.*

## The United States

President Wilson had mixed feelings about the peace settlement. The positive features were as follows.

- He was pleased that he had successfully persuaded his partners to accept that the Covenant or constitution of the League of Nations should be included in all the peace treaties; this would help to make the new peacekeeping organisation become a reality.
- Wilson was also partly satisfied by the requirement in all the peace treaties that the defeated powers should disarm. This represented at least some movement towards his objective of disarmament for all countries.
- Wilson was relieved that the Rhineland was not going to be made into a separate state and was going to remain part of Germany. Not only did this reduce the potential harshness of the peace, it made it much more likely that Germany would remain a major economic power able to do business with the United States.

|                   |      |
|-------------------|------|
| Colonies          | 100% |
| European land     | 13%  |
| Population        | 10%  |
| Coal resources    | 26%  |
| Iron ore deposits | 75%  |

▲ **Table 1.6** Versailles Settlement: Germany's loss of resources



▲ **Fig. 1.5** A Parisian newspaper claims that the Treaty of Versailles has avenged France for its defeat in the Franco-Prussian War