Source D
Germany is going to pay. We will get everything you can squeeze out of a lemon, and a bit more. The Germans should hand over everything they own.
From a speech in 1918 by Sir Eric Geddes, a British politician standing for election as an MP.

Source E
We have assembled here for two purposes - to make the peace settlements, and also to secure the future peace of the world.
Woodrow Wilson, speaking at the Versailles Conference (January 1919).

Source F
Out of the horror of the War came a belief that nations should join together to keep the peace.

This cartoon by a British artist appeared in Punch on 19 February 1919. The caption read: 'German Criminal to Allied Police: Here, I say, stop! You're insulting me!' (And: 'If only whine enough I may be able to wriggle out of this yet!')
The Big Three and Versailles

The three most important men at the Versailles Conference - the "Big Three" - were:

- Georges Clemenceau, the Prime Minister of France (2nd right).
- Woodrow Wilson, the President of America (far right).
- David Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Britain (far left, talking to Orlando, the Prime Minister of Italy).

All three men wanted to stop a war ever happening again, but they did not agree about how to do this. They wanted different things from the peace, and they did not get on well.

**Georges Clemenceau**
- Prime Minister of France
- Known as "The Tiger". He wanted to make Germany pay for all of the damage that France had suffered during the four years of fighting. He also wanted to make sure that a war like this would never happen again. He had three main demands:
  - Germany must return Alsace-Lorraine to France; this had been taken by Germany in 1871.
  - Germany must pay reparations to France to cover the cost of rebuilding the parts of France that had been destroyed during the war (75,000 houses and 23,000 factories had been destroyed).
  - France should be allowed to take possession of the Rhineland (the area near the River Rhine); this was to stop Germany attacking France in the future.

**Woodrow Wilson**
- President of the USA
- The USA had only declared war on Germany in April 1917 and it had suffered no damage whatsoever. Wilson arrived in Europe with the "Fourteen Points", which he hoped would help prevent wars in the future.
  - The peoples of Europe should be allowed to decide their own future; he called this "self-determination" and he wanted an end to the empires which European countries had built up. He was not prepared to allow Italy to take the Adriatic coast.
  - A League of Nations should be set up to settle disputes between countries in the future.

**Vittorio Orlando**
- Prime Minister of Italy
- Italy had declared war on Germany in 1915 after the Secret Treaty of London. In the treaty France and Britain had agreed that Italy would be given the Adriatic coast at the end of the war.
  - When Orlando arrived at Versailles he expected France and Britain to keep their promise.
  - Orlando wanted his fair share of the spoils of war for changing sides during the war.

**David Lloyd George**
- Prime Minister of Great Britain
- In Britain most people wanted Germany to be punished. "Make Germany Pay" and "Squeeze them until the pips squeak" were popular slogans, but Lloyd George believed that:
  - Germany should not be treated too harshly; it would only lead to more trouble in the future.
  - Germany should be allowed to recover.
  - France should not be allowed to take the Rhineland. Lloyd George was only prepared to make the Rhineland "demilitarised".
One of the few safe comments to make about the Treaty of Versailles is that nobody ever loved it.

The Germans denounced it as a fraud and a cheat which barely had a nodding acquaintance with the 14 Points.

The French cursed the treaty because they had been led to exchange solid advantages — particularly German territory — for British and US security guarantees — guarantees which then fell through when the US did not ratify the treaty.

By the 1920s most Britons deplored the Treaty as well, both for being unfair to Germany and for being so harsh economically that it kept the economy of Europe from fully recovering from the War.

The US, of course, rejected the Treaty fairly massively. US citizens saw it as a document which — particularly through the League of Nations, whose Charter was written right into the Treaty — tried to embroil them in the corrupt politics and quarrels of old Europe — which the USA had supposedly been designed as an escape from!

Once another Great War broke out, only 20 years later, the discredit of the Treaty of Versailles was complete. There are scholars who speak of the time between the wars as a 20 years armistice and nothing more.

George Kennan, the diplomat who designed the US’s “containment” strategy after World War II, has said that neither the Treaty itself, nor the 25 or so international conferences that subsequently played around with it, are even worth studying, because they were boring and ultimately sterile — a very tempting argument indeed!

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This passage was taken from an article (for University students - VERY difficult) at http://www.yorku.ca/dwileman/1010Par.htm (now unavailable)
Describe the aims and work of the League of Nations in the 1920s.

The League of Nations had four main aims:

1. **Prevent War:** It aimed to discourage aggression and deal with disputes by negotiation. The League planned to provide collective security by a community of power. In Article 10 of the Covenant of the League, members promised to defend the territory and independence of other members and to take action in case of danger. The League had mixed success in doing this, but during the 1920s, it worked to stop wars—primarily:
   - **Sillesco** (where the League settled a dispute between Germany and Poland in 1921 by holding a plebiscite).
   - **Arran Islands** (where a League investigation settled a dispute between Sweden and Finland in 1921).
   - **Morilo** (where the League arbitrated in favor of British Iraq and against Turkey in 1921).
   - **Bulgaria** (where Greece stopped its invasion when condemned by the League in 1925).
   - and, even though it was unsuccessful, it also tried to stop a war in Corfu (but Italy refused a League order to leave in 1923).

2. **Second aim of the League was to improve the lives and jobs of people around the world**—both by direct action to improve health and welfare, and also by encouraging trade and business—and it also worked to do this during the 1920s:
   - It repatriated 400,000 World War One prisoners of war.
   - It helped refugees in Turkish camps (1922).
   - It worked to prevent leprosy, and took steps to kill mosquitoes to prevent malaria.
   - It closed down four Swiss companies which were selling illegal drugs.
   - It obtained slave owners in Sierra Leone and Burma at set free 100,000 slaves.
   - Its economic experts helped Austria (1922) and Hungary (1923).
   - Another League agency striving to improve people's lives was the International Labour Organisation, but it did not persuade member countries to accept a 40-hour week.

3. **A third aim of the League was disarmament** and, although it failed in this, it organised one disarmament conference in 1923 (which failed because Britain objected) and another in 1921 (which was wrecked by Germany). However, in 1925, the League did arrange the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which was an Act of the League Assembly, signed by 23 nations and supported by 65, and which outlawed war.

4. The fourth aim of the League was to uphold and enforce the Treaty of Versailles, although it was not very successful in this. Over Vilsa, the League ordered the Poles to leave in 1920, but was ignored and over Memel, the League tried unsuccessfully to make the Lithuanians leave in 1923.

The League's Aims

The League of Nations was set up because President Wilson wanted this more than anything else.

He wanted the League to be a kind of 'world parliament', where nations would sort out their arguments. He hoped this would **stop wars**. But Wilson wanted to do more than just stop war; he wanted to make the world a better place. He wanted the League to do things to **improve people's lives and jobs**. He wanted to improve public health, and to end slavery.

Wilson also hoped that the League would persuade the nations to agree to disarmament—to put down their weapons. That would make war impossible.

Finally, Wilson thought that the League of Nations could **enforce the Treaty of Versailles**, and persuade countries to keep the promises they had made.

Source:

I can predict with absolute certainty that within another generation there will be another world war if the nations of the world do not work together to prevent it.

from a statement by the American President, Woodrow Wilson, made during the peace negotiations in 1919.
International relations between the two world wars can be divided into 4 phases:

1) 1919-23

In the aftermath of the First World War problems were arising from the peace settlement, the objectives and disappointments of the victor states, the rage, misery and division of the defeated nations. The new, democratic but weak states of continental Europe were torn apart by civil wars, economic disaster and internal division.

The newborn League of Nations struggled to sort things out but was itself weakened by the absence of US, Germany and Russia. The League got the label of ‘a victors club’.

-Turkey and Italy were dissatisfied with their treatment;

a) Turkey was prepared to defy the settlement. Led by Mustafa Kemal, the turks rejected the treaty of Sèvres and chased the greeks out of Smyrna (on the Turkish mainland). Eventually a compromise was reached and the settlement was revised by the treaty of Lausanne (1923), by which Turkey regained eastern Thrace including Constantinople and Smyrna. Turkey was therefore the first state to challenge the settlement successfully.
b) The Italians showed their resentment by the seizure of the Yugoslavian town Fiume. As a consequence of the disappointment Mussolini could march on Rome and become P.M in 1922. The following year he assaulted Greece and occupied the island of Corfu.

The inhabitants of Fiume greet D'Annunzio and his raiders.

-The problems of German reparations caused strained relations between Britain and France, because of their different attitudes towards German recovery. Relations deteriorated further in 1923 when French troops occupied the Ruhr (resulting in hyperinflation).

A German poster urges passive resistance during the Ruhr crisis, under the motto “No! You won't subdue me!”
USA pulled back to political isolation but exercised considerable economic influence on Europe insisting on full payment of European debts.

The relations between the former Entente Powers and Soviet-Russia on the brink to war. Russia forced to isolation and both partners regarded each other with hostile suspicion (the west compared bolshevism with the plague).

Polish poster warning of the lethal conspiracy between bolshevism and Jews here illustrated by L. Trotsky. The anti-semitism of Hitler wasn’t anything the Nazis founded.
1) 1924-29
There was a general improvement in the international atmosphere caused partly by changes in political leadership. Briand, Stresemann and MacDonald as new faces in the governments of France, Germany and Britain were keen to improve relations. The result was the Dawes Plan (1924) which eased the situation regarding German reparations. 1925 saw the signing of the Locarno Treaties which guaranteed the frontiers in western Europe fixed at Versailles; this seemed to remove French suspicions of German intentions. Germany was allowed to join the League in 1926 and two years later, 65 nations signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact renouncing war. The 1929 Young Plan could have been a constructive and solid continuation of the positive development but the World Depression ruined it and instead it turned out to become an asset in the hands of the anti-democratic forces in Germany.

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Organisation of the League [ACS-CIRMS]
Gabriele D’Annunzio

Gabriele D’Annunzio (1863-1938) was an Italian writer, poet and a journalist. D’Annunzio was also a pilot during the first world war. He was a famous nationalist, and is called a forerunner for Benito Mussolini.

D’Annunzio was also involved in the Fiume-affair in 1919-1920. After the war had ended the town of Fiume was occupied by Italian and the Allied forces. The plan was to give the administration of the city to Yugoslavia. The Italian government favored this idea. But D’Annunzio, Mussolini and Marinetti disagreed and worked up the idea that Italy should annex Fiume. They marched through Italy on the 12th of September 1919, joined by old veterans, and during their march soldiers and supplies strengthened them. The Italian commander of the city greeted D’Annunzio with open arms, and the city was taken. Soon he was joined by other nationalists. Fiume became the independent state of Fiume during the years 1920-1924.

However, D’Annunzio left Fiume in December 1920 after the ultimatum was given to him. He focused on his writing and refused to help either fascist or anti-fascist movements. In 1924 Fiume was joined with Yugoslavia and Italy was secluded from the League of Nations due to the assault on Abyssinia. This drew D’Annunzio closer to the fascist regime. He refused to take part in any public life, wanting not to be considered an ally with Mussolini, who D’Annunzio saw as a traitor after Fiume. However the regime made D’Annunzio a prince (Principe di Montenevoso), published his works and made him president of the Academy of Italy.

D’Annunzio died in cerebral haemorrhage, and like many remarkable persons, Mussolini attended his funeral.

D’Annunzio wrote in many categories, such as novels, tragedies, short stories and poetry. Some of Gabriele D’Annunzio’s literary works:

Il fuoco (The Flame of Life: A Novel, 1900)
Primo vere (1879)
Francesca da Rimini (1902)

Sources:
<http://www.oswaldmosley.com/dannunzio.htm>
<http://www.gabrieledannunzio.net/english/eroe_1920.htm>
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gabriele_d'Annunzio> (the literary works and the royal title)

The League of Nations Failures – Teschen 1919

The league of nations has faced problems in the 1920s. However, these problems were not as bad as the problems the league faced in the 1930s, but they set the maker to that the league could not solve problems.

Teschen is a small city between Poland and Czechoslovakia. There were valuable coal mines there. Both Poland and Czechoslovakia were new nations, trying to make their economies as strong as possible, so they both needed, or at least wanted, the coal mines.

In January 1919, fights broke between the Poles and Czechs over Teschen, and many died during these casualties. The league was called to help in resolving this problem. The league decided to give one suburb of Teschen to Czechoslovakia and the rest of the city to Poland. However, the suburb which was given to Czechoslovakia had the most valuable coal mine, so the Poles were not satisfied with this solution.

Even though no more violence took place, the two countries continued arguing over Teschen for the next 20 years.
During World War I, Vilnius and the rest of Lithuania was occupied by the German Army from 1915 until 1918.

The Act of Independence of Lithuania, declaring Lithuanian independence from any affiliation to any other nation, was issued on February 16, 1918. (Lithuania had previously been The Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which later was annexed by Russia)

During the Polish-Soviet War and the Lithuanian Wars of Independence: it was retaken by the Polish Army, only to fall to the Soviet forces again.

After its defeat in the battle of Warsaw, the retreating Red Army, in order to delay the Polish advance, ceded the city back to neutral Lithuania after signing the Soviet-Lithuanian Treaty on July 12, 1920.

Poland and Lithuania both perceived the city as their own. The League of Nations became involved in the subsequent dispute between the two countries.

They waged the Polish–Lithuanian War over territorial disputes in the Suwałki and Vilnius Regions.

The League brokered the Suwałki Agreement of October 7, 1920 and it was signed between Poland and Lithuania.

- Article I: on the demarcation line; besides setting it out, it also stated that the line "in no way prejudices the territorial claims of the two Contracting Parties."
- Article II: on the ceasefire; notably the ceasefire was to take place only along the demarcation line, not on the entire Polish-Lithuanian frontline.
- Article III: on the train station in Varėna; it was to remain under Polish control but the Polish side promised unrestricted passage of civilian trains, but only two military trains per day
- Article IV: on prisoner exchange.
- Article V: on the date and time the ceasefire would start (October 10 at noon) and expire (when all territorial disputes are resolved) and which map was to be used.

The city was taken on October 9. The Suwałki Agreement was to take effect at noon on October 10. Želigowski established the Republic of Central Lithuania which, despite intense protests by Lithuania, was incorporated into the Second Polish Republic in 1923. The Vilnius Region remained in Poland until 1939.

On March 11, 1990, the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian SSR announced its secession from the Soviet Union and intention to restore an independent Republic of Lithuania.

The current Constitution, as did the earlier Lithuanian Constitution of 1922, mentions that "the capital of the State of Lithuania shall be the city of Vilnius, the long-standing historical capital of Lithuania."

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War between Russia and Poland 1920-1922

- in 1920 Poland invaded Russian land
- the Poles won over the Russian army, therefore in 1921 they had to sign a Treaty of Riga
- this gave Poland almost 80,000 square kilometre of Russian land
- the League of Nations didn't do anything about this
- West feared that communism would spread
- Britain, France and America attacked Russia after the set up of the League
- this was a failure because it made Russia become a greater threat
- any problem between two countries which lead to war and where one state won over another was, a failure by the League
Upper Silesia 1921

Upper Silesia had a population of both Germans and Poles so according to the principles of the Versailles treaty the people of the former Prussian area had a right to vote for the country they wanted to join. However, before such a plebiscite was held two uprisings (1919 and 1920) occurred concerning territorial disputes. Eventually the plebiscite was held in March 1921; about 60% of the population favoured a unification with Germany. This resulted in the Third Silesian Uprising since Poland claimed that the conditions of the plebiscite had been unfair. So in August the same year the League of Nations was asked to settle the dispute between the Poles and Germans in Upper Silesia.

The League sent an international committee to Upper Silesia to investigate the situation and come up with a solution. After six weeks it was found that the area should be divided to a German and a Polish one, according to the votes in the plebiscite. Furthermore it should be decided how the two areas would interact in economic and trade matters. The final decisions were then made and agreed upon in the convention of Geneva in November 1921. Germany would receive most of the area of Upper Silesia but most mineral resources would be given to Poland – which created German dislike. In order to make sure that economic and social peace would be upheld in the area, individual rights were to be controlled by international protection.

Peace in Upper Silesia would last until the outbreak of the second world war.

League of nations failure: The Corfu incident

The border between Italy and Albania had only been drawn vaguely in the Paris peace conference: a commission including Italians, Albanians and Greeks was sent to investigate the area and decide upon the border. The 5 Italians of this commission got separated from the others and were shot. Benito Mussolini, prime minister of Italy accused the Greek government for this crime, whereas the Greek claimed it had been Albanian bandits. Mussolini demanded the Greek to pay a large fine, and as they refused to pay he ordered the Italian navy to shell-bomb the Greek island of Corfu, killing at least 15 civilians.

The Greek government asked for the League of Nations to settle this problem, but Mussolini did not accept the interference of the League and ordered the Conference of Ambassadors to decide upon the problem. Both the Greek and the Italian government accepted this. The Conference decision was for the Greeks to pay a fine of 50 million lire to Italy. The Yugoslavs, who had seen what had happened to Greece, then handed over the port town of Fiume to Italians as Mussolini invite them to discuss the issue.

Conclusion: By the use of violence and military forces Italy had gained area and money, and thereby also changed the outcome of the Versailles treaty, the League of Nations was proven to be powerless against military forces yet again.
Italy and Albania (1923)

By 1923 Mussolini had become prime minister of Italy, and Italy's government, which had certain conservative rudiments, sought to cooperate with him (these attempts of cooperation failed, as it also did in Germany with Hitler, where a similar pattern occurred).

In 1923 Mussolini succeeded in passing the Electoral law, which meant that two thirds of the parliament seats would be given to the victor party.

At this time, still, most of his policies concerned Italy (internal questions), rather than foreign policy.

There was however, a problem with the border between Italy and Albania, which was a problem that had not been addressed since the Versailles Treaty, and even then it had not been dealt with thoroughly. This was an irritation to both Albania and Italy. In the year of 1923 a mixed nationality survey team was sent there (to the ill-defined border between Italy and Albania), in an attempt to settle the border issue. During this outing some members of the Italian survey team became separated from the rest of the team and five of them were shot by hiding gunmen.

This incident was blamed (by the Italians) on Greece and a huge fine was demanded to compensate for this loss. Here, the failure of the League of Nations to take action, can clearly be noticed: when Greece refused to pay the fine demanded by the Italians, the Italians responded by sending its navy to the Greek isle of Corfu and bombarded its coastline. This on the other had resulted in Greece turning to the League of Nations for help, but Mussolini persuaded the League to fine Greece.

To make his list of successes even longer, Mussolini invited the Yugoslavian government to discuss Fiume. Because of the Corfu incident, Yugoslavia didn't lift a finger to protest, but handed over Fiume which had been given to Yugoslavia during the Treaty of Versailles.

Sources: [http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/leaflofrent.htm](http://www.historylearningsite.co.uk/leaflofrent.htm)  

Turkey 1923

- The conflict arose after the Turkish war of independence
- The conflict was solved with the Treaty of Lausanne that was signed in Switzerland
- In 1923 the boundaries of Turkey were established in the Treaty of Lausanne which was signed by representatives from Turkey and the Allies
- Lead to recognition of the Republic of Turkey
- The League of Nations managed to successfully solve the conflict and make the boundaries of Turkey clear and recognized by everyone

League of Nations failed to prevent the independence war of Turkey against Greece.

But they were successful in establishing camps in Turkey in 1922 to assist the refugee crisis there, helping to prevent hunger and disease.

The war broke out because the Turkish revolutionaries wished to become independent.

Turkey vs. Greece, the Armenians, and the French

The failure of the latter forced the Allies to abandon the Treaty of Sèvres. By negotiation a new treaty at Lausanne. This new treaty recognized the independence of the Turkish Republic and its sovereignty over Eastern Thrace and Anatolia.

This treaty also was an exchange of populations. Over one million Greek Orthodox Christians were displaced; most of them were resettled in Attica and the newly-incorporated Greek territories of Macedonia and Thrace and were exchanged with about 500,000 Muslims displaced from the Greek territories.
The Invasion Of Ruhr 1923

- France and Belgium thought that more strong action needed to be taken to teach Germany a lesson.

- In 1923 French and Belgium went against the League Of Nations rules and invaded the most important German industrial zone, The Ruhr. They did this to try to force Germans to pay Reparations.

- Since France was a “senior League member” and Europe was very anti-German at the time, France and Belgium were both allowed to break their own rules set by the League and invade the area.

- No action was taken against them, nothing was done about it by the League, though two of its members were breaking the rules.

- Britain supported France and the League needed their backing to enforce its will, so nothing could be done about it.

- To other nations, it seemed that if you wanted to break the Leagues rules, you could since France and Belgium were allowed to do it too. They set a bad example for the others for future years.

- The League failed at Ruhr because it was seen breaking its own rules and not punishing the countries breaking the rules which did not make The League look very strong.

The League of Nations

Memel 1923

- Memel is a city/area on the eastern border of Lithuanian. Nowadays the city Memel is called Klaipėda.
- Most of the population were Germans before the World War 1 because the area had been a part of Germany long time. First as a part of Prussia, and after that a part of the German Empire.
- After the First World War during the Versailles treaty it was decided to be controlled by the Allies. It meant that France and Poland were in rule of the area.
- During this time the area was controlled by an French general who acted as the governor for the area and city for three years, while waiting of a solution of the areas destination.
- The allies failed though to come to an good solution about the area, and therefore passed the problem to the League of Nations.
- The Lithuanians were of course unhappy with this solution, because they believed strongly that Memel was a part of their country.
- In January 1923 the Lithuanians had seen enough, so they invaded the port of Memel. The League intervened and gave the area surrounding Memel to Lithuania but they made the port an "international zone". Lithuania agreed to this decision. Though this can be seen as a League success – as the issue was settled – a counter argument is that what happened was the result of the use of force and that the League responded in a positive manner to those (the Lithuanians) who had used force.
**Danzig-The conflict between Poland and Germany**

- The conflict of Danzig area between Poland and Germany lead to WW2
- Danzig had been under Poland’s supervision since Potsdam agreement
- In 1938 Hitler demanded the area to Germany, which Poland refused
- Poland and Germany negotiated in March 1939
- On 30th March 1939 both Britain and France promised to back-up Poland if Germany were to attack the country
- In April Germany started to concentrate troops on the borders of Poland
- Germany attacked Danzig in August 1939 and the 1st of September Poland was attacked by Germany
- Three days after Britain and France declared war on Germany
- The beginning of WW2 had begun

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**Manchuria Conflict 1931-33 and the role of the League of Nations in the Japanese Invasion**

- A small section of Manchuria, known as the South Manchurian railway, was leased to Japan by China before the incident of 1931 took place.
- In 1931, a small section of the railway was damaged by some Japanese forces. The Japanese army claimed that the Chinese had sabotaged this railway and used this claim as a pretext for a military occupation of the entire region of Manchuria. The Japanese military army acted contrary to the orders given by its civilian government, and annexed Manchuria, renaming it Manchukuo.

- A committee appointed by the League answered China's call for help and was sent over to investigate the matter to find a solution; who was to blame? Did Japan attack without provocation, as the Chinese claimed, or were Japanese troops present only for the safety of the inhabitants of the area (as Japanese officials claimed).
- It took the committee one year to come to a decision. In late 1932, the League condemned Japan as the aggressor, and demanded that Japan cede Manchuria back to China.
- Japan simply refused, and instead left the League of Nations
- The League was unable to agree on any potential sanctions on the Japanese as punishment for the insolent behavior.

Economic sanctions were not an option, as the USA was a chief trade partner of Japan and not a part of the league; in the case of an armed invasion of Japan as a punishment, only France and Britain had the armed force necessary, but neither of them wished to make war.

- Thus, the league did nothing, as it was unable to affect the situation.
- The whole incident was a rather embarrassing for the league- it was a severe blow to authority and prestige of the league.
Strengths and Weaknesses

Twenty-two countries joined the League at the start. In the 1920s, about half were Axis members. This made the League weak.

British and France were the main members, helped by China and Japan, they were quite powerful countries. The League hoped that it could influence countries to act the right thing by:

1. Collective Security
2. Conventions of Power
3. Moral Persuasion

Many writers have pointed out that these are not very effective weapons against a powerful country which was determined to destroy the League.

The League had four powers:

1. The League itself could use military force, but the League was afraid to use military force, but the League did not have an army of its own.
2. If a country ignored it, there was nothing the League could do.
3. The League had a committee of experts. The League did not have a committee of experts.
4. The League had a committee of experts. The League did not have a committee of experts.

This weakness was that it had been set up by the Treaty of Versailles, and agreed by everybody; all the powers were agreed. The British and French were the main powers, and wanted Britain and France. Germany was not allowed to join. Without these big powers, the League was weak.

One of the biggest weaknesses was that the League's organization was a model: the different parts of the League were supposed to act together; but in a crisis, no-one could agree.

Powers of the League

1. Conventions of the League (mainly, Article 10-12, containing the reparation payments).
2. Condemnations (the League could not force a country to do anything).
3. Arbitrations (the League could offer to decide disputes, but not enforce the decisions).
4. Sanctions (military or economic).

The League's Organization

1. Assembly (the League's main meeting - all members met once a year. Decisions had to be unanimous).
2. Council (a small group of the more important nations - e.g. Britain, France, Italy & Japan - met 5 times a year).
3. Secretariat (was supposed to organize the League).

   - Peace.
   - International Labour Organisation.
   - Slavery.
   - Refugees.
   - Trusteeship Commission (looked after former German colonies).
   - Secretariat (was supposed to organize the League).
The successes of the League of Nations

In view of the League's desire to end war, the only criteria that can be used to classify a success, was whether war was avoided and a peaceful settlement formulated after a crisis between two nations.

The League experienced success in:

The Aaland Islands (1921)

These islands are near enough equal distant between Finland and Sweden. They had traditionally belonged to Finland, but were governed by Sweden. Neither Sweden nor Finland could come to a decision as to who owned the islands and in 1921 they asked the League to adjudicate. The League's decision was that they should remain with Finland but that no weapons should ever be kept there. Both countries accepted the decision and it remains in force to this day.

Upper Silesia (1921)

The Treaty of Versailles had given the people of Upper Silesia the right to have a referendum on whether they wanted to be part of Germany or part of Poland. In this referendum, 700,000 voted for Germany and 500,000 for Poland. This close result resulted in rioting between those who expected Silesia to be made part of Germany and those who wanted to be part of Poland. The League was asked to settle this dispute. After a six-week inquiry, the league decided to split Upper Silesia between Germany and Poland. The League's decision was accepted by both countries and by the people in Upper Silesia.

Memel (1923)

Memel was/is a port in Lithuania. Most people who lived in Memel were Lithuanians and, therefore, the government of Lithuania believed that the port should be governed by it. However, the Treaty of Versailles had put Memel and the land surrounding the port under the control of the League. For three years, a French general acted as a governor of the area surrounding Memel to Lithuania but they made the port an "international zone". Lithuania agreed to this decision. Though this can be seen as a League success – as the issue was settled – a counter argument is that what happened was the result of the use of force and that the League responded in a positive manner to those (the Lithuanians) who had used force.

Turkey (1923)

The League failed to stop a bloody war in Turkey (see League failures) but it did respond to the humanitarian crisis caused by this war.

1,400,000 refugees had been created by this war with 80% of them being women and children. Typhoid and cholera were rampant. The League sent doctors from the Health Organisation to check the spread of disease and it spent £10 million on building homes, homes etc for the refugee. Money was also invested in weals, wells and digging tools and by 1926, work was found for 600,000 people.

A member of the League called this work "the greatest work of mercy which mankind has undertaken."

Greece and Bulgaria (1925)

Both these nations have a common border. In 1925, sentries patrolling this border fired on one another and a bloody war started. The Greek army invaded Bulgaria and asked the League for help. The League ordered both armies to stop fighting and that the Greeks should pull out of Bulgaria. The League then sent experts to the area and decided that Greece was to blame and fined her £45,000. Both nations accepted the decision.
beside its aim to stop wars, the League of Nations had three other arms:

1. improve people’s lives and jobs,
2. disarmament,
3. enforce the Treaty of Versailles.

As you study what the League did, you will be able to decide if you think the League was a success or a failure.

a. Bulgaria (1929)
Bulgaria obeyed the League’s orders to pull out of the International Labour Organization failed to persuade countries to adopt a 48-hour work week.

b. Poland (1920)
Poland took land from Russia, breaking the Treaty of Versailles. The Poles ignored the League’s order to stop.

c. Slaves
The League attacked slave traders in Africa and on the auto and forced 200,000 slaves.

d. Disease
The League worked to prevent malaria and typhus.

e. Disarmament (1919)
Disarmament talks failed, because Germany demanded at many weapons as everyone else.

f. Refugees (1922)
The League set up camps and fed Turkish refugees.

g. Disarmament (1919)
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h. Reparations (1920)
The League took home half a million World War I prisoners of war.

i. Invasion of Ruhr (1923)
France invaded the Ruhr in 1923 to force the Germans to pay reparations.

j. Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928)
Sixty-five countries signed the treaty to end war – but then they just ignored it.

k. Colonies (1929)
Mussolini ignored the League’s orders to pull out of Corfu in 1923, and made Greece pay money to Italy.

l. Economic problems
The League sent economics experts to help Austria and Hungary.

m. Drugs
The League closed down four big Swiss companies which were selling drugs.

n. War between France and Poland
Italy accused Greece of planning the whole incident and demanded payment of a large fine.

The failures of the League of Nations

The League of Nations was established after World War One with the purpose of maintaining peace and cooperation among nations. However, the League was unable to prevent several conflicts and wars in the 1920s, leading to its eventual failure.

- In 1920, Poland invaded land held by the Russians. The Poles quickly overwhelmed the Russian army and made a swift advance into Russia. By 1921, the Russians had no choice but to sign the Treaty of Riga which handed over to Poland nearly 80,000 square kilometres of Russian land. This was a major violation of the Treaty of Versailles, which had ordered the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Russia.

- In 1923, the French and the Belgians invaded the Ruhr, Germany’s most important industrial zone. Within Europe, France was seen as a senior League member – like Britain was in the imperial world, France was the great power of Europe. In fact, Britain, France and America sent troops to attack Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution.

- The invasion of the Ruhr in 1923 was a major violation of the Treaty of Versailles, which had ordered the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Russia. However, the League did nothing to stop the invasion. The French and the Belgians believed that some form of strong action was needed to ‘teach Germany a lesson’. Both the French and the Belgians believed that some form of strong action was needed to ‘teach Germany a lesson’.

- The failure of the League to enforce its will, it needed the support of its major backers in Europe, Britain and France. Yet France was one of the invaders and Britain was a major supporter of her. To other nations, it seemed that if you wanted to break League rules, you could. Few countries criticized France. What did the League do about this violation of another country by Poland?

- The answer is simple – nothing. Russia by 1919 was communist and this “plague from the East” was greatly feared by the West. In fact, Britain, France and America sent troops to attack Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution.

- The League members were selecting which countries were acceptable and ones which were not. The League was a tool to prevent conflicts, but it was also used to maintain the balance of power. In January 1919, when the Allies were meeting to discuss the peace terms, the French foreign minister, Abel Vandalot, gave a speech in which he said: “We are not here to make peace, but to prepare for war”. This speech was followed by the creation of the League of Nations, which was designed to prevent future wars.

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The social successes of the League of Nations

At a social level the League did have success and most of this is easily forgotten with its failure at a political level. Many of the groups that work for the United Nations now, grew out of what was established by the League. Teams were sent to the Third World to dig fresh water wells, the Health Organisation started a campaign to wipe out leprosy. This idea - of wiping out from the world a disease - was taken up by the United Nations with its smallpox campaign.

Work was done in the Third World to improve the status of women there and child slave labour was also targeted. Drug addiction and drug smuggling were also attacked.

These problems are still with us in the C21st - so it would be wrong to criticise the League for failing to eradicate them. If we cannot do this now, the League had a far more difficult task then with more limited resources.

The greatest success the League had involving these social issues, was simply informing the world at large that these problems did exist and that they should be tackled. No organisation had done this before the League. These social problems may have continued but the fact that they were now being actively investigated by the League and were then taken onboard by the United Nations must be viewed as a success.

The League of Nations:
1. The Constitution :
   I. The Assembly .
      a) All members had 3 representatives.
      b) All decisions were made by unanimous vote.
      c) Indirect Veto right.
   II. The Council .
      a) The four permanent members, GB, France, Italy and Japan.
      b) The fifth permanent member is Germany after 1926.
      c) Temporary members appointed by the Assembly.
      e) In fact the part that made the decisions.
   III. The Sec retariat .
      a) Administrative powers.
      b) Kept records.
The principal organs of the League of Nations were made up of ... the Assembly, the Council and the Secretariat. (...) All member states were represented in the Assembly by delegations, who disposed of one vote (...). The Assembly was assigned comprehensive powers concerning all League of Nations tasks or questions affecting world peace, so that it could deal with all the circumstances at hand and make recommendations.

The Council was made up of permanent and non-permanent members (...). In 1920, the year the Covenant came into force, the peace treaties of the five permanent (France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, USA) and four non-permanent Council members were provided for by the "Representatives of the Allied and Associated Great Powers", which were to be determined according to the Council's own discretion. However, the USA's permanent seat remained free due to their failure join the League (...).

As a rule, the Council made its resolutions and recommendation unanimously (...). If Council members were involved in a dispute, these were excluded from voting, making a veto on their own part impossible. The Council ... was empowered with the same comprehensive powers as the Assembly (...).

The Collective Security System of the League of Nations

"A dual system of collective security was created through the Covenant of the League of Nations to ensure world peace and international security, which, on the one hand, was oriented towards preventing war via procedures for peaceful conflict settlement, but, on the other, prescribed a mechanism of sanctions to end wars which had already been begun.

The partial ban on war written into the League of Nations Covenant committed all member states to participating in a cooling-off process in all cases of conflict where war may result. The aim of this procedure was to place the matter of conflict in front of either a court of arbitration, the International Court of Justice or the Council.

The Council was deemed to investigate the matter and write a report within six months (...). During this period and a subsequent period of three months, none of the parties were permitted to enter into a war. In the case of one of the conflicting parties accepting a judgement or arbitrator's award, or unanimously accepting a recommendation made by the Council, a ban on war was spoken out."
IV. The Permanent Court of International Justice.
   a) Judging cases submitted by individual states.
   b) Giving legal advice to the Council.
V. The Convenant.
   a) The heart was articles 8 - 17:
      ● Preventing war.
      ● Reduction of arms.
      ● Article 12: Arbitration in disputes.
      ● Article 13: members to follow judgements by Court or recommendations by the Council.
      ● Article 16: Acts of war against a member is an act of war against all members. Members should attack the aggressor.

VI. Problems with the Constitution:
   a) Important members lacking.
   b) An ineffective decision-making-apparatus.
   c) Only organized to deal with declarations of war, not guerrilla war.
   d) No police.
   e) Too idealistic and unrealistic.
VII. Good things with the constitution:
   a) Small nations got a forum were they were equals.
   b) Arbitrary role between smaller nations and solving issues when the great four weren't involved.
2. the League Struggles to find a Role.
I. Where on the International Arena should it play its role?
   a) France - doubted the ability to outlaw war.
      • This meant a serious blow against any disarmament attempts between Germany and France.
   b) Germany - saw the organisations as means of enforcement of the Versailles.
   c) US - avoided to deal with the organisation.
II. This means that the organisation might be used in order to achieve goals, but not respected when the organisation goes against the state and its ambitions.

3. The mandates.
I. the former Turkish and German Territories.
II. The mandate powers were required to send annual reports to a Permanent Mandate Commission.
   a) This commission could start inquiries and ask embarrassing questions.
      • GB pro-Arab in 1930.
III. The first step towards independence for colonies.
   a) Voice and forum for the natives.
4. the League's Social and Economic Work.
I. Social issues were seen as mean of tying the states closer to each other.
   a) Limiting production of opium.
   b) outlawing sale of women and children for prostitution.
   c) abolition of slavery.
II. Economic attempts to promote free trade.
   a) Failed in the protectionistic era.
   b) Managed to help Hungary and Austria
III. ILO International Labour Organisation.

5. the League as Peace-maker and Arbitrator, 1920-5.
I. May 1920 Persia appealed against Soviet aggression.
   FAILURE
   a) League did nothing.
II. Protection of Armenia against Turko-Russo attack.
   FAILURE
   a) League failed since none of the great powers provided force.
III. Poland - Lithuania over Vilna (Vilnius). FAILURE
   a) League managed to negotiate a cease-fire in oct 1920
   b) Didn’t hold and Poland attacked shortly after.
   c) League wanted to hold a plebiscite.
   d) In 1922 Poland annexed the area
   e) In 1923 an other forum, the Conference of Ambassadors (GB, Fr and It) recognised polish sovereignty.
   ● This undermined the League as arbitrator of peace.
IV. Finland - Sweden, Åland. SUCCESS
   a) 1921 the compromise was settled.
V. Albania against Greece and Yugoslavia. SUCCESS?
   a) Conference of Ambassadors used the threat of sanctions by the League against Yugoslavia in order to get the to ably.
   b) Italy was given the role as protector of Albanian interests.

VI. Anglo-French dispute over Upper Silesia plebiscite. SUCCESS.

VII. Memel dispute. SUCCESS.
   a) Lithuanians didn't want Memel to be international harbour.

VIII. Ruhr Crisis. FAILURE
   a) Sweden and GB referred the question to LoN.
   b) France blocked it.

IX. Corfu Incident Aug Sept 1923. FAILURE
   a) 3 Italians assassinated in Greece, on Albanian border.
   b) Mussolini issuing conditions to Greece that they can't accept.
   c) Italy insisting that Conference of Ambassadors to solve it.
   d) Greece to pay compensation to Italy. Italy redraws.

X. 1924 Mosul. SUCCESS.
   a) British and Turkish both claiming Mosul, kurdish territory.
   b) LoN provides a way out for Turkey.
   c) Plebiscite in Mosul, the kurds prefer British and it is decided that Mosul will belong to Iraq. Iraq is under British Mandate.

XI. 1925 Greece-Bulgarian conflict. SUCCESS
   a) the Council managed to negotiate a cease-fire and then ruled in favour of Bulgaria, and both sides accepted the ruling.
XII. Success?
a) Yes, when the need for a way out is needed by the great four.
b) Yes, when small nations are involved.
c) No, when the Great Four have other interests.
XIII. Failure?
a) See the points above.

6. The League, America and Disarmament.
I. Army:
a) Geneva Protocol 1924.
   • A very ambitious plan for world disarmament.
   i. US - GB naval tensions increasing
   ii. US - Japan naval tensions increasing.
b) Rejected by GB. Preferred regional arrangements.
II. Navy:
   • Halting the building of capital ships, and agreed on ratios for other. Involved GB, Italy, Japan and the US.
III. US attitude towards the LoN improves 1922 -
a) President Harding (1921 - 1923) wanted to join the Court of Justice, but the Senate voted against.
b) Peace movement is strong in the US and that affect governmental policies.
IV. Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact 1928.

a) Frank Kellogg was the US Secretary of State
b) Aristide Briand was at the time a respected French politician, prime minister from time to time and winner of Nobel Peace Prize 1926 together with the German Stresemann for his work with the Locarno Treaty.
c) Originally signed by 15 states and by 1933 another 50 had signed it.
d) It consists of three articles only:
i. "... [Signing nations] condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies ..."
ii. " ... agree that the settlement ... of all disputes or conflicts ... shall never be sought except by pacific means."
iii."This treaty ... shall remain open ... [to] all the Powers of the world."
e) The LoN had the means to set up commissions and to inflict cooling-of periods.
f) But it was still just a declaration of intent.

V. World Disarmament Conference in 1932 at Geneva.

a) But the timing couldn't have been worse:
   ● Manchurian Crisis.
   ● Rise of nationalism in Germany.
   ● Depression pushing back the US towards Isolationism.
DISARMAMENT
The Washington Naval Conference
- The Arms race identified as one of the major contributors to the outbreak of WW1.
- USA, UK and Japan found themselves entangled in a naval arms race.
- This was something neither UK nor Japan could afford.
- It increased the tension between Japan and US in Asia, US suspiciousness towards Japan increased as Japan expanded her domination on the Asian mainland.
- UK concerned due to the existing Anglo-Japanese alliance.
- Canada and Australia pushed UK to end this alliance in favour of improved relations with US.

The Agreement:
- USA, UK, Japan - 5, 5, 3
- To limit the number of battleships, cruisers and aircraft carriers, no new battleships constructed for 10 years, construction of Naval bases in the Pacific limited.
- Reduced the tension in the Pacific.
- UK avoided a ruinous naval race.
- The Anglo-Japanese alliance dissolved, removed the friction between UK-US.
- Japan benefited the most as US/UK pulled out from the Pacific.