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HISTORY

ROUTE 2

HIGHER LEVEL AND STANDARD LEVEL

PAPER 1 – PEACEMAKING, PEACEKEEPING – INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 1918–36

Friday 11 May 2012 (afternoon)

1 hour

INSTRUCTIONS TO CANDIDATES

- Do not open this examination paper until instructed to do so.
- Answer all the questions.
- The maximum mark for this examination paper is *[25 marks]*.

Read all the sources carefully and answer all the questions that follow.

Sources in this paper have been edited: word additions or explanations are shown in square brackets []; substantive deletions of text are indicated by ellipses ... ; minor changes are not indicated.

These sources and questions relate to the League of Nations: effects of the absence of major powers.

SOURCE A *Extract from a speech by President Woodrow Wilson in Omaha, Nebraska, USA, 8 September 1919.*

For the first time in history the advisers of mankind are to be drawn together and concerted all over the world ... Germany is for the time being left out because we did not think that Germany was ready to come in. She says that she made a mistake. We now want her to prove it by not making the same mistake again ... When an individual has committed a criminal act, the punishment is hard, but the punishment is not unjust ... Every great fighting nation in the world is on the list of those who are to constitute the League of Nations. I say every great nation, because America is going to be included among them, and the only choice my fellow citizens is whether we will go in now or come in later with Germany; whether we will go in as founders of this covenant of freedom or go in as those who are admitted after they have made a mistake and regretted it.

SOURCE B

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SOURCE C *Extract from Reconstituting the League of Nations, by Julia E. Johnsen, published by the H. W. Wilson Company, New York, 1943.*

The League was not allowed to become the great agency hoped for by President Wilson to correct the undesirable conditions that inevitably crept into the Versailles Treaty and other post-war treaties ... Nearly every assessment of the League of Nations made in the past twenty years points out that the first and principal difficulty was the failure to achieve a universal or near-universal membership. This fateful decision of the United States, which deprived the League from the beginning of a very great moral and material influence, was accompanied by an equally fatal decision in Paris in 1919 which kept Germany and the Soviet Union out of League membership until 1926 and 1934 respectively. The psychological effects of these decisions doubtless went very far in poisoning the atmosphere in which the infant League was intended to grow and prosper.

Membership alone, of course, was not enough. To be effective it had to be coupled with wholehearted cooperation. But failure to agree on major political questions, like disarmament and security, together with the League's condemnation of specific acts of aggression, led to the successive withdrawal of Germany, Japan and Italy from the League. Later still, the Soviet Union was expelled for her aggression on Finland.

SOURCE D *Extract from a speech given by German journalist Wolfgang Schwarz at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 11 February 1931. See <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/3015982?uid=3738032&uid=2129&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&sid=56172205083>*

Germany applied at Versailles to be admitted as a member of the League, and as you all know, membership was refused. It was said that the time had not yet come to admit Germany into the community of nations. The movement for the League and the new world founded on the League was killed in Germany by the attitude of the Powers. After such a refusal Germany felt that the League was only a second War Council or Ambassador's Conference, that it was nothing but an instrument to maintain the peace treaties. Rightly or wrongly she felt that all the decisions were made to keep her down and to prolong war policy into peace.

SOURCE E *Extract from Patrick O. Cohrs (2008) The Unfinished Peace after World War I: America, Britain and the Stabilisation of Europe 1919–32, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.*

It has been claimed that if America had joined the League the German problem could have been solved even without stabilizing Germany as a Republic – by automatically involving Washington in the “European balance of power” and thus containing the German ambitions. In all likelihood, as French anxieties at Versailles underlined, even with British and American support the League would have been too feeble and inflexible an institution to serve its central purpose: to ensure security for a Europe devastated by war. It would have required an extensive test period – to prove that its principal powers were willing to enforce its covenant – before gaining legitimacy. The League's key members had to pave the way for Germany's admission and ensure the institution's workability thereafter. As it came into being, the League could not be the post-war's key instrument of security.

1. (a) What, according to Source C, were the problems affecting the League of Nations? *[3 marks]*
(b) What is the message conveyed by Source B? *[2 marks]*

 2. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources C and E about the effects of the absence of major powers in the League of Nations. *[6 marks]*

 3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source A and Source D for historians studying the problems of initial membership of the League of Nations. *[6 marks]*

 4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, analyse the impact of the absence of major powers on the League of Nations. *[8 marks]*
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