

History route 2
Higher level and standard level
Paper 1 – peacemaking, peacekeeping – international relations 1918–1936

Thursday 14 May 2015 (morning)

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 Locarno and the “Locarno Spring” (1925).

Source A The Treaty of Mutual Guarantee between Germany, Belgium, France, Britain and Italy (the Locarno Treaty) (1925).

Article I: The high contracting nations collectively guarantee the maintenance of the territorial status quo resulting from the frontiers between Germany and Belgium and between Germany and France, and the permanent nature of the frontiers as fixed by the Treaty of Peace signed at Versailles on 28 June, 1919.

Article II: Germany and Belgium, and also Germany and France, mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other.

Article III: Germany and Belgium, and Germany and France, undertake to settle by peaceful means and in the manner laid down all questions of every kind which may arise between them and which it may not be possible to settle by the normal methods of diplomacy. Any question with regard to which the nations are in conflict shall be submitted to judicial decision, and the nations undertake to comply with such decision.

Source B Arthur Rosenberg, a German historian who emigrated to London in 1933, writing in the academic book *A History of the German Republic* (1936).

The basic idea of the Locarno Pact is that Germany, France and Belgium promise to guarantee their existing frontiers, and refrain from any attempts to alter them by force – an obligation that involved the final renunciation [surrender] by Germany of all claim to Alsace-Lorraine. This renunciation did not involve Germany in any great sacrifice, since after 1919 no serious German politician entertained notions of regaining Alsace-Lorraine ... On the other hand France agreed not to extend her frontiers to the Rhineland by force. Britain and Italy bound themselves in event of an armed violation of the Franco-German frontier to come to the assistance of the attacked Power with their military forces. The Locarno Pact also anticipated Germany’s entry into the League of Nations and therefore the application of the terms of the Covenant to Franco-German relations. Germany became a member of the League of Nations in 1926 and was formally recognized as a Great Power again.

Source C

"The Highest Point Ever". A cartoon published in *The Columbus Dispatch*, a US newspaper (1925).



[Source: "The Highest Point Ever Reached in Europe" by cartoonist Billy Ireland. A cartoon published in *The Columbus Dispatch*, a US newspaper (1925). Used with permission.]

Source D GP Gooch, a British historian and politician, writing in the academic book *Studies in Diplomacy and Statecraft* (1942).

The existing frontiers between France and Germany, and Belgium and Germany, were accepted by all three states, and guaranteed by Britain and Italy. We committed ourselves to assist either France or Germany against the unprovoked aggression of the other. It was natural that Poles and Frenchmen, united by a fear of what Germany might do when she recovered her strength, should urge us to guarantee the western frontier of Poland. It was equally natural that we should decline. Germany seemed resigned to her losses in the west but not in the east. It is true that she signed arbitration treaties with Poland and Czechoslovakia and promised not to attempt to change the Polish frontier by force; but there was no renunciation of claims in the treaty, and no thought of it in German hearts. Our policy may be summarized in a sentence: we guaranteed an accepted frontier, and refused to uphold one which was not agreed.

Source E Anna Cienciala, a Polish-American historian and Titus Komarnicki, who was a Polish politician and lecturer at the Polish School of Political and Social Sciences in London, writing in the academic book *From Versailles to Locarno. Keys to Polish Foreign Policy, 1919–1925* (1984).

Stresemann had separated the security problems of Eastern and Western Europe ... As far as Germany's eastern borders were concerned, Stresemann emphasized that Locarno gave Germany the opportunity of recovering territories lost to Poland. [He] called Locarno an "armistice" and outlined the task for German foreign policy after Germany's entry into the League: the revision of reparations; the protection of Germans who were living outside the Reich; the "correction" of eastern frontiers – that is the return of Danzig and the Corridor to Germany; a border "correction" in Upper Silesia; and, finally, the union of Germany and Austria ... Stresemann [said] that he had not made any moral renunciation at Locarno, such as the right to make war, since it would be madness for Germany to think of a war with France. So, in return for giving up what he did not possess – the possibility of making war on France – he had obtained many concessions for Germany ... Britain claimed that they had produced a détente on the eastern frontiers of Germany, but the prospects for Poland were dismal.

1. (a) What, according to Source A, were the aims of the Locarno Treaty? [3]
(b) What is the message conveyed by Source C? [2]
 2. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources D and E about the achievements of the Locarno Treaty. [6]
 3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source A and Source B for historians studying the “Locarno Spring”. [6]
 4. “Locarno resulted from a desire for peace on the part of the nations involved.” Using the sources and your own knowledge, to what extent do you agree with this statement? [8]
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