

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

Friday 6 May 2016 (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 terms of the Paris Peace Treaties 1919–1920: Versailles, St Germain, Trianon, Neuilly, Sèvres.

Source A Paul Birdsall, an historian and diplomat, writing in the specialist history book *Versailles Twenty Years After* (1941).

The “Reparation” chapter of the Treaty of Versailles, besides being a clear violation of the Pre-Armistice Agreement with Germany, proved in the outcome to be the most disastrous section of the treaty. Keynes spoke with authority on that subject.

One of the criticisms against the territorial settlement in Europe is directed against the shattering of the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary into a number of states. In this view the negotiators at Paris should have foreseen the economic and political need of a Confederation to combine them. Yet Austria-Hungary had fallen apart before the Peace Conference met and self-appointed national governments ruled these states. The populations of central Europe were hopelessly mixed, and therefore pure self-determination was impossible. Any boundary would leave national minorities on one side or the other. It was not directly the Great Powers which profited from the partition of former German and Austro-Hungarian territory, but those new Slavic states which had themselves been partitioned and dominated for centuries.

The various treaties negotiated at Paris are the closest approximation to an ethnic map of Europe that had ever been achieved.

Source B William “Billy” Hughes, prime minister of Australia between 1915 and 1923 and participant in the Paris Peace Settlement, in a speech to Australian soldiers in Paris (19 April 1919).

The minds of the people are dangerously troubled. The long delay, coupled with fears that the Peace Treaty, when it does come, should prove to be a peace unworthy and unsatisfactory has made the hearts of the people sick. We were told that the Peace Treaty would be ready in the coming week, but we look round and see half a world engaged in war, or preparation for war. Bolshevism is spreading very quickly ... Yet we were told that peace was at hand, and that the world was safe for liberty and democracy. It is not fine phrases about peace, liberty, and making the world safe for democracy that the world wants, but deeds. The peoples of the Allied countries justifiably desire to be reassured by plain, comprehensible statements, instead of long-drawn-out secret negotiations.

Source C Winston Churchill, a British politician who had been appointed Secretary of State for War in 1919 and then Secretary of State for the Colonies in 1921, writing in a personal account of the First World War, *The World Crisis, Volume IV: The Aftermath 1918–1928* (1929).

It is obvious how many points of friction remained in Europe. But a fair judgment upon the settlement cannot leave the authors of the new map of Europe under serious criticism. To an overwhelming extent the wishes of the various populations prevailed. No solution could have been free from problems. Better solutions in the disputed areas could only have been obtained if Britain, France, and the United States had been prepared to provide considerable numbers of troops for lengthy periods and to supply food and credits. The exhaustion of the war forbade this. Central and Southern Europe were divided up in a hurry and were, in places, roughly shaped. However they followed, for all practical purposes, the pattern of self-determination.

Source D Michael Richards and Paul Waibel, professors of history, writing in their introductory book *Twentieth Century Europe: A Brief History, 1900 to the Present* (2014).

Had the Treaty of Versailles been the only product of the Paris Peace Conference, Europe might have maintained political stability in the 1920s and 1930s. There were, however, four additional treaties. The failure of several of these agreements, combined with the limited success of Versailles, created an extremely unstable situation. Austria and Hungary became small, relatively weak states. Austria was a landlocked state unbalanced in every imaginable way, but especially economically. Unfortunately, Austria was not allowed to join with Germany for fear that this would strengthen the latter.

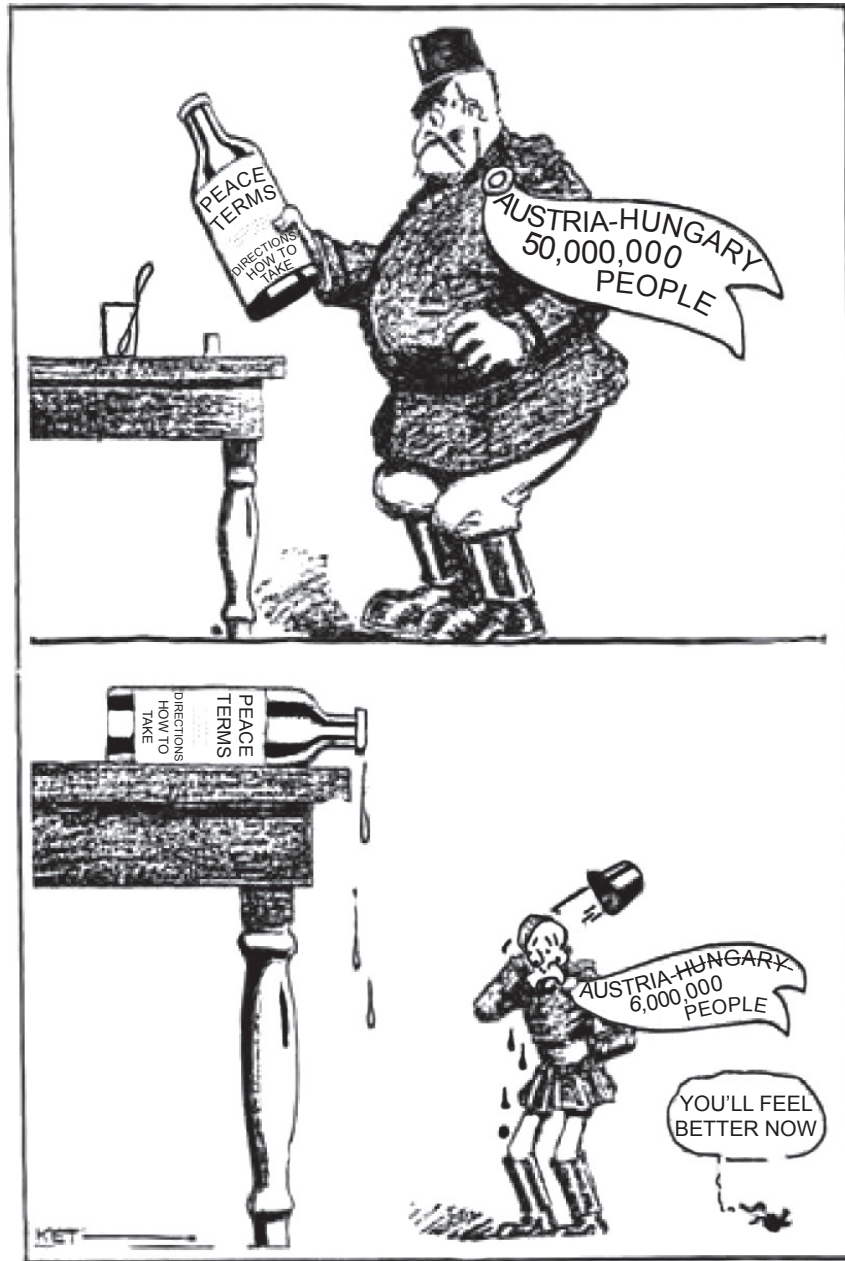
The other problem involved the creation of a series of new states in central and Eastern Europe and conflicting claims over territory and population. The idea of national self-determination was extremely difficult to apply in this area with any fairness. Czechoslovakia, for example, included areas in which the majority of the population was German or Polish; these areas had been included for strategic reasons.

The settlement in Eastern Europe tore apart what had been an important economic unit. Factories were now in one state, their sources of raw materials in a second, and their traditional markets in a third. This contributed to the weakness and instability of the area and prevented any possibility that the states of Eastern Europe could serve as a proper counterbalance to either Germany or the Soviet Union.

Source E

Frank "Ket" Kettlewell, an illustrator, depicts the outcome of the peace treaties for Austria-Hungary in the cartoon "A Great Reducer" in the US newspaper *The Oakland Tribune* (1919). The label on the bottle says "Peace terms: Directions How to Take".

Note: Kettlewell regularly used a bird (bottom right) within his cartoons as part of his signature.



[Source: Frank "Ket" Kettlewell, cartoon originally published in *The Oakland Tribune* in 1919.]

1. (a) What, according to Source A, were the problems facing the negotiators at Paris? [3]
(b) What is the message conveyed by Source E? [2]
 2. Compare and contrast the views expressed in Sources A and D about the impact of the Paris Peace Treaties. [6]
 3. With reference to their origin and purpose, assess the value and limitations of Source B and Source C for historians studying the successes of the Paris Peace Treaties. [6]
 4. Using the sources and your own knowledge, examine the view that the settlement achieved at the Paris Peace Treaties (1919–1920) was the best that could have been reached. [8]
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