

Chapter 1 : Revision Notes: Appeasement

Figure Pacifists and anti-war crusaders congratulate themselves on their moral superiority. They exerted considerable influence in Britain and France as well as America during the 1920s and the 1930s.

This article challenges the received wisdom that French public opinion was infused with pacifist sentiment during the 1920s, and that this sentiment in turn contributed to the French defeat of 1940. Pacifism is widely regarded to have been a defining characteristic of public attitudes towards the prospect of war in interwar France. It has consistently been alluded to in the subsequent historiography, notably L. Weber, *The hollow years: France in the 1920s*, New York, 1965, and J. Jackson, *The Fall of France: The Nazi Invasion of 1940*, Oxford, 1991. Analyses focusing on French opinion also emphasize the prevalence of pacifism, including J. S. Several works focus on pacifism itself, notable N. Ingram, *The Politics of Dissent: Pacifism in France, 1914-1940*, Oxford, 1991, and F. Specifically, the negative connotations of pacifism – namely fear of war, unwillingness to fight, defeatism, and even collaborationism – were less widespread in 1920s France than the notion of a pacifist-infused masses implies. A concept of war anxiety is beneficial as it encompasses a diverse range of sentiments and opinions, and thus better reflects the nuances of French opinion. Finally, a number of works discuss pacifism within certain sections of French society, such as war veterans A. Reynolds, *France between the Wars: Gender and Politics*, London, 1991, and schoolteachers M. Siegel, *The Moral Disarmament of France: Education, Patriotism and Pacifism, 1914-1940*, Cambridge, 1991. Pacifism within the French peasantry has also been explored I. Bilis, *Socialistes et pacifistes*. This period is crucial as it is widely argued that Munich marked the zenith of French pacifism, an argument that initially took hold in the early years of the war. War anxiety remained, only now it dictated that French policymakers adopt a firmer posture, deterring the dictators whilst simultaneously preparing France for war. Consequently, although war anxiety was still a constraint, it did not induce the defeatism so often associated with pacifism. By 1939, perceptions of public opinion held by the policymaking elites no longer compelled them to avoid a policy of firmness against the dictators. On the contrary, war anxiety demanded a concerted effort to prepare the nation for an impending conflict. In order to analyse public attitudes towards the prospect of war, it is essential to both develop a methodological framework with which to understand the troublesome concept of public opinion. Nevertheless, approaching the question via a notion of representations can reveal how certain tendencies of opinion assumed a life of their own. L. Pickles, London, 1991, p. Jackson, *The Fall of France*, pp. This article will consider two distinct categories of representation through which French public opinion in the late 1920s was perceived by the decision-making elites. These forms of representation can include the contemporary press, recent police reports on the state of opinion, election results, an analysis of political leaflets, posters and pamphlets in current circulation, and the conversations, gossip, correspondence and rumours within social networks of friends, family and colleagues. This category of representations therefore reflects how public opinion is fluid, constantly in transition, fluctuating and diverse. These lack the specificity of the contemporary, reactive 5 The study of representations has been pioneered largely within the disciplines of sociology and psychology. For a good introduction to these theoretical approaches, see S. *Explorations in Social Psychology*, Cambridge, 1991, and S. *Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, London, 1991. It is within this category of representation that pacifism was prominent. It was thus difficult to conceive that the majority of the people would, just twenty years later, have abandoned this sentiment to the extent that they would favour resistance to appeasement. This article will suggest that residual representations of opinion can be overemphasized, interpreted in such a way as to distort reality by means of a dominant and vocal minority providing formative representations that are subsequently projected onto the wider corpus of opinion. It is widely held that French opinion was, if not pacifist, certainly infused with an anxiety regarding the prospect of war. Of particular interest here is the prospect of aerial bombardment, and how technological advancements since the Great War meant that any future conflict would be 7 J. *Memorial Essays Honouring C. Lowe*, Edmonton, 1991, pp. In contradistinction from pacifism, war anxiety was neither an explicit fear of war nor a deeply-held conviction that war was unjustifiable. Similarly it would not automatically manifest itself as defeatism in the event of war. It is rather crude simply to label the desire for peace as pacifism in all its guises,

ideological, doctrinal, religious etc. Such an anxiety was arguably far more widespread than pacifism, in the stricter definition of the term. Moreover, it was shared by the public and policymaking elites alike. Therefore, during the period, the marginalization of doctrinal pacifism ensured that the residual representation of widespread French pacifism was gradually superseded. This did not, however, occur rapidly, as the idea of a pacifist French society was particularly entrenched. During the preceding years, pacifist doctrine had been espoused by numerous pacifist organizations, politicians and within the popular press. Consequently, the sentiments of a vocal minority were perceived to be a mirror of mainstream opinion. This is, of course, unsurprising, as the aftermath of the First World War provided a perfect environment in which pacifism could flourish, nurturing a deep-rooted conviction that it never be repeated. As Antoine Prost has observed, war was now represented as horrifically modern, reflecting the technological advancements made since the Great War. The distinction between the two concepts is too often blurred, stemming partly from attempts to use the history of the interwar period as an explanatory tool with which to analyse the defeat of Rearick, *The French in Love and War: Prost, Republican Identities in War and Peace: Representations of France in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, translated by J. McPhail, Oxford, , p. Similarly, popular literature recalled the horrors of the last war and predicted the even more catastrophic consequences of the next. *La guerre, oui ou non?* See also idem, *The Moral Disarmament of France*. Although revisionist and post-revisionist interpretations have challenged this thesis,¹⁹ the impact of pacifism continues to be given prominence, as many of those who generally refute the more critical conclusions of the decadence school continue to suggest that pacifism contributed to the politics of the French defeat. However, several analyses provide more sophisticated arguments, distinguishing between different varieties of French pacifism. *The Dilemmas of French Impotence*, Cambridge, *The Politics of Dissent*, p. The multifaceted nature of public opinion means that employing such terminology inevitably results in over-simplification. Pacifism is simply a single term used to describe multifarious attitudes. As Pierre Laborie observes, the only area of convergence is the aspiration for peace. Indeed, Norman Ingram has alluded to a similar concept in defining the *pacifisme nouveau* style that emerged in the late s, suggesting that it was partially defined by an anxiety regarding the next war. Ceadel, *Thinking about Peace and War*, Oxford, , p. Attachment to peace was widespread in interwar France and it is therefore essential that the application of war anxiety is not confined to those with a developed and politicized pacifism. Equally, it is imperative to avoid interpreting all manifestations of war anxiety as pacifism. A concept of war anxiety benefits from a definitional clarity, and is thus better suited to explaining the more general attitudes of the French public towards the prospect of war. War anxiety was not confined to doctrinal pacifists, as the majority of French men and women during the interwar years would have unhesitatingly expressed a desire to avoid war. As Prost notes, this was true of nearly all ex-soldiers. However, Prost cannot resist equating this desire with pacifism and, moreover, projecting it onto the entirety of French opinion: War anxiety can thus prove beneficial in moving beyond such connotations, facilitating a study of public attitudes towards the prospect of war on their own terms, rather than through the prism of the defeat. Moreover, it accounts for the fact that the number of integral or absolute pacifists was always relatively small, leading Ingram to describe his ²⁹Ingram, *The Politics of Dissent*, p. Nevertheless, by , reactive representations of public opinion demonstrated that war anxiety was more pronounced than pacifism. II In the period of preceding the Munich Agreement, reactive representations of opinion continued to reinforce the residual representation of widespread pacifist sentiment. Police reports conveyed numerous examples of the integral pacifism embraced by a small minority. However, it was not only doctrinal pacifists who were deeply unsettled by the prospect of war. Moreover, contemporary events exacerbated a more widespread war anxiety. The horror and revulsion provoked by the news and imagery of modern warfare in Spain heightened the conviction that such events must not be ³¹ Ingram, *The Politics of Dissent*, pp. Newsreels, photo-journalism and evocative newspaper articles graphically relayed the horrors of war to the French people. Phipps to Halifax, 24 April Correspondence between Franklin D. Roosevelt and William C. Bullitt, Boston, , p. Fraser to van Cutsem, 31 August The press were pivotal in furnishing such representations, not least following the publication on 7 September of a notorious leading article in *The Times* advocating the cession of the Sudeten areas to Germany. This article provoked considerable debate in the pages of the French press, with several writers applauding the stance taken by the

London paper. Flandin to Chamberlain, 14 September Jackson has also used this terminology, in France: *The Dark Years*, , Oxford, , pp. The French teaching and postal unions petitioned Daladier on 26 September to argue against going to war over the Sudeten question, reinforcing the belief that these unions remained a bastion of pacifism. However, Mona Siegel has recently illustrated that, by the mids, many schoolteachers had dramatically altered their opinions despite the official line of the Syndicat national des instituteurs SN leadership. This was certainly the British interpretation, and when Daladier and his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Georges Bonnet, visited London on 25 and 26 September, the British ministers did not hesitate to suggest that French opinion was unwilling to go to war.

Chapter 2 : BBC - History - World Wars: Japan's Quest for Empire

Case study - France and pacifism in the 's and 's. During the four years of World War, the vast majority of schoolteachers were loyal supporters of the national war effort.

More than , of its military men had lost an arm or a leg, and 42, had been blinded. France emerged from the war with a large government financial obligation to those disabled by the war, to the , who had been made widows by the war and to more than , orphans. France had a labor shortage in its cities and its farmlands. Millions of acres of farmland had gone out of production. Like Britain, France had been an exporter of capital before the war and had become a borrower during the war. After the war, France continued to suffer rising prices, with real wages below what they had been in . And with the economic devastation and the hunger that many unionized workers felt at the end of the war, organized labor was eager to drive for improvements. Many in the labor movement were encouraged by the Bolshevik Revolution, believing that the revolution indicated that the "bourgeoisie" were vulnerable against the strength of worker unity. French workers won the eight-hour workday and a shortened workweek. Many associated Communism with the labor movement. And, for the sake of order, many supported government action against the Left. France had become a divided nation. France had a quick succession of prime ministers. Clemenceau was attacked for not getting more for France at the Paris Peace Conference, and he resigned as prime minister in January . Clemenceau was followed as prime minister by Alexandre Millerand, who was adamantly opposed to labor strikes. Then came the short reign of Georges Leygues as prime minister. Briand was a man of the Left and an internationalist, and to many French people Briand appeared too soft on the Germans. Briand was forced to resign in January . French chemical, textile and metal trades began to recover and advance. France needed to import workers and did so mainly from Italy, Belgium and Spain – people who took the more menial jobs and were resented by most people because they were foreigners. New technical schools were established. Meanwhile in Lorraine, which France won from Germany at the Paris Peace Conference, the French were acting like colonizers and alienating its inhabitants. Lorraine had been integrated economically with Germany and now it was suffering.

Chapter 3 : France in the s

France During the Inter-War Years () Summary Though victorious, France lost million men in World War I, and had million blog.quintoapp.com the war, France faced an increased death rate was up and falling birth rate.

Print this page Unleashing force When the Japanese Kwantung Army also known as the Guandong Army contrived to invade Manchuria on 18 September , it unleashed military and political forces which led ultimately to the attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December By this time, however, the Japanese had successfully detached Manchuria from the rest of China, creating the puppet state of Manchukuo under the deposed Qing emperor Pu Yi. Then in a minor engagement between Chinese and Japanese troops at the Marco-Polo Bridge, near Peking, led to undeclared war between the two nations. What were the forces that had pushed Japan down this road of military conquest in the east, leading ultimately to war with the west and catastrophic defeat? Top Chasing power Massive changes were unleashed in Japan by the Meiji restoration - a period of radical modernisation - in , and out of these emerged the desire for wealth, power and prestige as a way of redressing the imposition of unequal treaties that had been placed upon Japan by western powers in the past. The Treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the war, allowed Japan to dominate Korea The Treaty of Portsmouth, which ended the war, allowed Japan to dominate Korea and secure a new sphere of influence in south Manchuria. Maintaining and strengthening this position became a fundamental national commitment. But during World War One there were an influential few, engaged in business or military concerns - especially the navy - who advocated a southwards advance [nanshin] rather than the advance northwards [hokushin] favoured by the army. They made it clear that if Japan moved into the South Pacific and south-east Asia, abundant natural resources would become available. The territories consisted of Tsingtao, on the Chinese Shantung Peninsula, and the formerly German-held islands in Micronesia. Talk of further expansion died away. Top Deadlock Until the late s Japanese leaders generally supported the ideal, if not the practice, of economic liberalism. Their attempts to integrate the Japanese economy into a liberal world order, however, became frustrated in the early s when the depressed western economies placed barriers on Japanese trade to protect their own colonial markets. Moreover, the west had acted hypocritically by blocking Japanese emigration through anti-Asian immigration laws in the s. Three factors creating this deadlock loomed large - the shortage of raw materials in Japan, the rapidly expanding Japanese population, and the division of the world into economic blocs. The last party prime minister, Inukai Tsuyoshi, was assassinated in May by right-wing extremists. Then crucially, in May of that year, a rule that only serving officers could become military ministers was reinstated. This gave the military a veto over the cabinet, and the power to topple governments. After the aristocrat Fumimaro Konoe became prime minister for a second time, in , his brain-child, the Imperial Rule Assistance Association, failed to deliver a popular civilian government capable of checking the military. And when General Hideki Tojo came to power in October he presided over what was effectively a military-bureaucratic regime. Many embraced moderate politico-economic reform, as well as restorationist monarchical principles that had no parallel in fascist ideologies. None of these groups ever seized power. However, the climate of assassination, intimidation and propaganda undoubtedly contributed to the breakdown of party government and the disappearance of international liberalism from public discourse. The mix of international events and domestic politics was to prove a lethal cocktail. Germany The conclusion of the Nazi-Soviet pact in August was a great shock to pro-German groups in the Japanese government, who regarded the Russians as dangerous. And after German forces overran France and the rest of western Europe in the spring and summer of , the Japanese began to fear that Germany would also seek political control of French Indochina and the Netherlands East Indies. The Japanese thus felt obliged to strengthen their own position further south, and embarked on a southward advance into French Indochina. This gained in intensity on 22 September , after the German-influenced Vichy government in France gave its agreement to the policy. The Japanese also began negotiations with the Netherlands East Indies to increase the quota of oil exports to Japan in case oil exports from the US ceased. They reached their lowest ebb when Japanese and Soviet forces clashed in the Nomonhan sector of the Manchurian-Mongolian border in To defuse the threat of war with Russia, on 13 April ,

discretion proved the better part of valour, and Japan signed a neutrality pact with the Soviets. When Japan occupied southern Indochina that same month, the United States imposed a de facto oil embargo. On that day the Japanese fleet sailed for Pearl Harbor. The tripartite pact between Japan, Germany and Italy of September was also a major stumbling block to good relations between the US and Japan. On the US side, there was prejudice and misconception, but the Japanese government was also misled by military factions, who had learned the wrong lessons from their two short imperial wars with China and Russia. They believed that Allied weakness in south east Asia and American isolationist sentiment would mean another short war. This, however, was not to be. What the Japanese had done was to awaken the fury of America, and to set in train a war that would end in their total defeat. Her monograph on the philosopher Miki Kiyoshi, the architect of the philosophical principles of the New Order in Asia, is to be published soon.

Chapter 4 : SparkNotes: The Interwar Years (): France During the Inter-War Years ()

Pacifism is widely regarded to have been a defining characteristic of public attitudes towards the prospect of war in interwar France. 1 French foreign 1 Pacifism was.

Austria-Hungary collapsed by and the map of Europe was re-drawn with the creation of new states from the remains of the old. Each national group was determined to achieve independence from imperial interference. This was known as the right of National Self-Determination. However, in each of the new countries minorities felt that their rights were not recognised properly. The Ottoman Empire was destroyed. By the treaty of Sevres , Turkey was cut back to , square miles and its territory in the Middle East was given as mandates to Britain and France. Greece declared war in to gain land from Turkey, but was beaten. By the treaty of Lausanne Turkey agreed to give up its North African territories and its Arabian kingdoms. One and half million Greeks and Turks were swapped between Greece and Turkey. Today this would be called ethnic cleansing. Russia had surrendered to Germany in and lost huge territories by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk In November , the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia. The Bolsheviks were communists, committed to the creation of a classless society. Russia was not invited to the Paris Peace Conference because the other Great Powers feared communism and because Russia continued to fight a civil war until The treaty of Versailles punished Germany harshly. The other treaties were even more severe to Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria. Russia lost a great deal while communism was being established. Britain and France were weakened by the war and had to borrow money from the USA to help rebuild. Compare this map of Europe in , with the one in Make sure you are familiar with these territorial changes. A good knowledge of these maps will help you greatly. In February he had put forward a proposal for peace known as the Fourteen Points. When Germany signed the Armistice in , they believed that the peace deal would be based on the Fourteen points. As you will know Germany and Austria-Hungary were dealt with severely. However, the League of Nations did come into existence. The League of Nations was established so that the Great Powers and other member countries could discuss issues rather than resort to war. The League also had other responsibilities e. But, the League had a number of fatal weaknesses. First, three important countries were not part of the League: It may seem surprising that the USA was not in the League, but although Wilson wanted American membership, many leading American politicians wanted to keep out of international affairs. This policy of keeping to themselves was known as isolationism. In fact Wilson had had a lot of trouble getting the USA into the War in ; President Roosevelt faced a similar problem between Germany was not allowed to join initially as one of the punishments imposed by the Treaty of Versailles. Germany was a member from Japan left in and Italy in A second fatal weakness was the fact that the League of Nations did not have an army. If a conflict arose, member states had to supply forces at their own expense. All were reluctant to do so, especially Britain and France who were effectively the only strong countries in the League. How could the League enforce its will? Economic sanctions were one method of control, but these were usually ineffective if non-League countries could supply goods instead. A third weakness was to do with organisation. Each of the member countries sent delegates to the Assembly, but real power was concentrated in the hands of the Council, made up of permanent members Britain, France, Italy and Japan in Each member of the council had the right of veto, which meant that one vote against could stop action being agreed. Successes It is very easy to blame the blame the League for the failure of the Second World War, but it did achieve some successes. In the League successfully dealt with a feud between Sweden and Finland over the Aaland Isalnds and between Greece and Bulgaria in Nevertheless these were disputes between small and weak countries. When the Great Powers were involved e. Manchuria Japan and China and Abyssinia Italy and Abyssinia , the League failed because the aggressor members did not want the League to prevent their actions. For three hundred years Japan had remained isolated and had resisted foreign intervention. The Japanese had no desire to become a Western colony and so modernised rapidly to catch up with the Great Powers. By the turn of the century Japan had fought successful wars with both China and Russia and had made it plain that Japan sought a sphere of influence in the Far East. During the s Japan faced considerable problems e. Japan had long had an economic

interest in Manchuria, a part of Northern China. China was a complete mess by the s; it was a country torn apart by warlords and extremist politicians. In the Japanese stage-managed an attack on the Japanese owned Manchurian railway by "Chinese bandits. Both China and Japan appealed to the League of Nations to arbitrate. Theoretically the League should have placed economic and military sanctions upon Japan as the aggressive member state. In effect the League was comprised of only two Great Powers, Britain and France, and a host of lesser nations. Any act of collective security would call for the leadership of Britain and France, but this was virtually impossible as both countries were in depression. The result was that Japan was appeased and got away with adding Manchuria later called Manchukuo to its empire. The League appeared to take action over the Manchurian Incident by sending Lord Lytton to the region. Lytton took a year to report back to the League. As each day passed the Japanese became increasingly entrenched in Manchuria. Perhaps this appeasement is understandable under the circumstances; it is very unlikely that the general public in Britain and France would have had the stomach for a major war with Japan in the Far East, literally thousands of miles from Europe, a region which meant very little to ordinary people. It is unlikely that the navies of Britain and France would have felt comfortable with or even have afforded such a conflict. The consequences of failure meant not only a loss of prestige, but also involved a direct threat to European colonies e. Singapore, in the Far East. Japan left the League in , and thus lost a powerful member state. This highlighted the fact that the League could do nothing when dealing with a powerful country. Japan acted as a role model for other aggressive nations e. Germany and Italy in the s. After the Manchurian Incident, the threats of Britain and France through the League or otherwise, in relation to a whole series of crises in the s, were perceived to be hollow indeed. The Abyssinian Crisis Benito Mussolini was born the son of a village blacksmith and schoolmistress in He fled to Switzerland in to evade military service. His dramatically varied early career included activity as manual labourer, a teacher, and a journalist, before he finally served and was wounded in the First World War. Mussolini was the first fascist dictator to emerge in Europe after the First World War, and was a model for others, most notably Hitler who greatly admired him in the s. Mussolini liked to see himself as an heir to the Roman Emperors, like them he wished to build and maintain an Empire in the Mediterranean. Italy gained some lands from Austria-Hungary in , but generally the Italians felt snubbed at Versailles and were not treated as a Great Power as they had expected. The Italians were encouraged to think of themselves as a Great Power and yet their track record in military terms was poor. They had been defeated by native troops in Abyssinia Ethiopia in and had suffered severe losses during the First World War. The Italian image of themselves did not match up to the reality. The crisis over Abyssinia came to a head in the Autumn of Mussolini demanded extensive territories in Abyssinia. Through the League of Nations Britain gave the impression that it would stand up to any Italian aggression. Italy invaded Abyssinia and all eyes turned to the British, as a leading member of the League, to make good their promises of punishing Italy. Neither policy was properly followed and disaster was the result. This last aim would involve the annexation of Austria and the acquisition of territory from Czechoslovakia and Poland, both of which had large German minorities as a result of Versailles. There is some disagreement about what, if anything, Hitler intended beyond these aims. Most historians believe that the annexation of Austria and parts of Czechoslovakia and Poland was only a beginning, to be followed by the seizure of the rest of Czechoslovakia and Poland and by the conquest and permanent occupation of Russia as far east as the Ural Mountains. This would give him what the Germans called lebensraum living space which would provide food for the German people and an area, in which the excess German population could settle and colonise. An additional advantage was that communism would be destroyed. However, not all historians agree about these further aims; A. Taylor, for example, claims that Hitler never intended a major war and at most was prepared for only a limited war against Poland. Whatever the truth about his long-term intentions, Hitler began his foreign policy with a series of brilliant successes one of the main reasons for his popularity in Germany. Only the Germans of Poland remained to be brought within the Reich. Unfortunately, it was when he failed to achieve this by peaceful means that Hitler took his fateful decision to invade Poland. He promises to make Germany powerful and to gain lebensraum living space for the Aryan master-race. He orders the build up of submarines, tanks and an airforce. This rearmament was strictly forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles.

Chapter 5 : BBC - Higher Bitesize History - Appeasement : Revision, Page2

Pacifism is opposition to war, militarism, or the word pacifism was coined by the French peace campaigner Aimée Arnaud () and adopted by other peace activists at the tenth Universal Peace Congress in Glasgow in

After the war, France faced an increased death rate was up and falling birth rate. The workforce accordingly declined, and France never fully recovered during the inter-war period. Steel production, a good indication of the status of heavy industry, was more than cut in half, and both agriculture and industry fell into serious decline after the war. The value of the franc fell by about 50 percent during , the first year of peace. To pay off bondholders, France was forced to borrow at extremely high short-term rates. The French government took little action to rectify the economic situation, relying on laissez-faire economics instead. The advocates of socialism began to align themselves in protest of government inaction during the early years of the inter-war period, but the threat from the left was quickly quashed by a coalition of the petite bourgeoisie and the bureaucracy. The fears of the petite bourgeoisie were represented by the Bloc National, a coalition of rightist forces. The Bloc national was determined not to bow to the needs of the lower classes. The left put up only slight, disorganized protest to these decisions. Under Raymond Poincare as prime minister between and , the French Chamber of Deputies demanded full payment of reparations by Germany. When the Germans asked for a moratorium on payment, and subsequently defaulted on their reparations, Poincare sent 40, troops to occupy the Ruhr in Germany. This action cost France considerable funding, and failed to force the Germans to pay, but rather led to the drafting of the Dawes Plan, under which annual payments of reparations were decreased. Due largely to this failure, the Bloc National was replaced by the Cartel des Gauches, a moderate socialistic coalition elected on May 11, However, the socialists proved themselves disorganized, disunited, and generally unfit for government. They could not agree on how to approach the problem of Germany, and could not make headway on economic issues. Thus in , Poincare was asked to return to the position of prime minister and granted extreme powers. In , Poincare decreed that the franc was to be devalued, a bold move which paid off brilliantly in the short- run. In July , Poincare resigned from political life, and France was thrown into disarray for a number of years, without stability or a clear ideology. After the onset of the depression in the early s, support for extremist groups began to expand. As the government floundered, support for both fascism and communism grew, climaxing in February with a series of riots and police confrontations resulting in a number of deaths and the barricading of the main square in Paris. The coming years held much turmoil for the French government, and in the elections of the spring of , the radical leftist Popular Front emerged victorious, and a Jew, Leon Blum, became prime minister on June 3, Blum proved unable to curtail the rapidly depreciating economy, and a year after its inception, the Popular Front government fell apart. The rightist government that ensued restored a degree of economic stability with a program that included an increase of armaments manufactures. France would need these armaments soon, since it was not long before France declared war on Germany, on September 3, Commentary France ended the war on sounder footing than many other nations. Its economic problems were not insurmountable, but the political will was lacking to tackle the fairly major adjustments that did need to be made, and there was little willingness in French society to adopt new attitudes commensurate with significant change. The French government was predominantly bourgeoisie and complacent. The challenge from the left was strong enough to bring the petite bourgeoisie into cahoots with the bureaucracy, but never strong enough to present a real threat during the early years of the inter-war period. Socialists were severely divided among themselves between moderates and zealots, those who advocated political action and those who advocated outright revolution. Many traditional socialist sympathizers were concerned that the movement was far to accepting of communism. Thus the socialist movement grew only slowly.

Chapter 6 : American Foreign Policy in the 20s

The British government's pursuit of appeasement in the years before has often been attributed, among many other things, to strong anti-war or pacifist sentiment among the wider public.

Each respectively distilled the experience and defined the historical legacy of a century. Each embraced a pair of episodes with lastingly transformative impacts. From to the Revolutionary War and the adoption of the Constitution brought national independence and established the basic political framework within which the nation would be governed ever after. To understand the logic and the consequences of those three moments is to understand much about the essence and the trajectory of all of American history. To a much greater degree than in the earlier cases, the changes set in motion by the Great Depression and World War II had their origins outside the United States—a reminder of the increasing interdependency among nations that was such a salient feature of the twentieth century. The Great Depression was a worldwide catastrophe whose causes and consequences alike were global in character. Economists and historians continue to this day to debate the proximate causes of the Great Depression. The war exacted a cruel economic and human toll from the core societies of the advanced industrialized world, including conspicuously Britain, France, and Germany. The lingering distortions in trade, capital flows, and exchange rates occasioned by the punitive Treaty of Versailles, as the economist John Maynard Keynes observed at the time, managed to perpetuate in peacetime the economic disruptions that had wrought so much hardship in wartime. To those abundant physical and institutional ills might be added a rigidly doctrinaire faith in laissez-faire, balanced national budgets, and the gold standard. The United States had participated only marginally in the First World War, but the experience was sufficiently costly that Americans turned their country decidedly inward in the s. Congress in effectively closed the American market to foreign vendors with the Fordney-McCumber Tariff, among the highest in United States history, and the Smoot-Hawley Tariff eight years later. Washington also insisted that the Europeans repay the entirety of the loans extended to them by the US Treasury during the war. And in the republic for the first time in its history imposed a strict limit on the number of immigrants who could annually enter the country. Among those eventually excluded though none could yet know it were thousands of Jewish would-be fugitives from Nazi persecution. Militarily, diplomatically, commercially, financially, even morally, Americans thus turned their backs on the outside world. American prosperity in the s was real enough, but it was not nearly as pervasive as legend has portrayed. And well before the Great Depression, almost as soon as the Great War concluded in , a severe economic crisis had beset the farm-belt. It did not entirely lift until the next world war, more than twenty years later. Virtually none enjoyed such common urban amenities as electricity and indoor plumbing. Other maladies began to appear, faintly at first, but with mounting urgency as the Depression began to unfold. Some twenty-five thousand banks, most of them highly fragile "unitary" institutions with tiny service areas, little or no diversification of clients or assets, and microscopic capitalization, constituted the astonishingly vulnerable foundation of the national credit. As for government—public spending at all levels, including towns, cities, counties, states, and the federal government itself, amounted only to about 15 percent of the gross domestic product in the s, one-fifth of which was federal expenditures. Ideology aside, its very size made the federal government in the s a kind of ninety-pound weakling in the fight against the looming depression. Then in the autumn of , the bubble burst. The Great Crash in October sent stock prices plummeting and all but froze the international flow of credit. Banks failed by the thousands. Businesses collapsed by the tens of thousands. Herbert Hoover, elected just months earlier amid lavish testimonials to his peerless competence, saw his presidency shattered and his reputation forever shredded because of his inability to tame the depression monster—though, again contrary to legend, he toiled valiantly, using what tools he had and even inventing some new ones, as he struggled to get the upper hand. By , some thirteen million Americans were out of work, one out of every four able and willing workers in the country. Even those horrendous numbers could not begin to take the full measure of the human misery that unemployment entailed. Given the demography of the labor force and prevailing cultural norms that kept most women—and virtually all married women—out of the wage-paying economy, a 25

percent unemployment rate meant that, for all practical purposes, every fourth household in America had no breadwinner. Many Americans came to believe that they were witnessing not just another downswing of the business cycle, but the collapse of a historic economic, political, and social order, perhaps even the end of the American way of life. Yet curiously, as many observers noted, most Americans remained inexplicably docile, even passive, in the face of this unprecedented calamity. Among those who were perplexed by the apparent submissiveness of the American people as the Depression descended was Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Repeatedly he spoke of this, saying that it was enormously puzzling to him that the ordeal of the past three years had been endured so peaceably. Those elusive but deep-seated and powerful American cultural characteristics go a long way toward explaining the challenge that faced any leader seeking to broaden the powers of government to combat the Depression. FDR and the New Deal Elected to the presidency in on a platform that promised "a new deal for the American people," Franklin Roosevelt now took up that challenge. He faced a task of compound difficulty: FDR was destined to hold office for more than a dozen years. He was thrice re-elected, a record matched by no previous incumbent and forbidden to all future presidents by the passage of the Twenty-second Amendment to the Constitution in FDR was then and has remained ever since a surpassingly enigmatic figure. His personality perplexed his contemporaries and has challenged his biographers ever since. His long-serving secretary of labor, Frances Perkins, called him "the most complicated human being I ever knew. It is appropriate to call it a vision: Roosevelt, like Hoover before him, never did find a remedy for the Great Depression. It hung heavily over the land for nearly a dozen years of suffering and anxiety without equal in the history of the republic. For the decade of the s as a whole, it averaged 17 percent. They gave birth to other institutions as well, including the Federal Housing Authority FHA and the Federal National Mortgage Association "Fannie Mae" to make mortgage lending more secure, thereby unleashing the money and the energy that made a majority of Americans homeowners and built the suburbs of the Sunbelt after World War II. They passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, abolishing at last the scourge of child labor and establishing minimum wage guarantees. Most famously, with the Social Security Act of they erected a comprehensive system of unemployment and old-age insurance to protect laid-off workers and the elderly against what FDR called "the hazards and vicissitudes of life. They sought not to nationalize core industries as commonly occurred in European states , nor even to attempt central direction of the national economy, but rather to use federal power in artful ways to make the private economy function more efficiently and less riskily as well as more fairly. The New Deal serves to this day as a political talisman, invoked variously by Left or Right to promote or denounce activist government or an enlarged public sphere. So by what historical standard should the New Deal be judged? If appraised on grounds of swiftly achieving economic recovery, despite some modest success, the New Deal must be declared a failure. And on those grounds the New Deal can be said to have succeeded handsomely. Roosevelt most explicitly acknowledged that larger ambition in his second Inaugural Address in , when he boasted that "our progress out of the depression is obvious," but then added the startling observation that "such symptoms of prosperity may become portents of disaster. What could Roosevelt have meant when he linked economic recovery with political disaster? He was talking, rather, about those farmers and immigrants and African Americans who had long languished on the margins of American life and whom he hoped to usher into its main stream. If FDR had somehow found the solution to the Depression by, say, the end of the fabled but in the last analysis scarcely consequential Hundred Days in , would there have been a New Deal as we know it? Save only FDIC, all the reforms mentioned above date from and thereafter. If the economy had been immediately restored to full health, it is at least arguable that business as usual would have meant politics as usual, and the United States would have missed what FDR called its "Rendezvous with Destiny"â€”that is, its chance to tame at last the volatile and destructive demon of no-holds-barred industrial capitalism whose unchecked gyrations had ravaged livesâ€”and fortunesâ€”for nearly a century before the s. Adolf Hitler and Franklin Roosevelt came to power within weeks of one another. Hitler was installed as the German chancellor on January 30, ; Roosevelt was inaugurated as President of the United States just thirty-three days later, on March 4. The challenges of the Great Depression and the accomplishments and shortcomings of the New Deal, and of FDR, cannot be understood outside of that framework. The Japanese attack on the US naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, , brought the

United States into the war as a formal belligerent—more than two years after the war had begun with the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939. Yet while it has become a commonplace to note that the Pearl Harbor attack dramatically extinguished American isolationism, the fact is that traditional isolationist sentiment was by that time already markedly diminished—and that anxieties about its possible revival animated American leaders throughout the conflict and well into the postwar period. At the outset of his presidency, Franklin Roosevelt had not challenged the isolationist mood of his countrymen, declaring in his first Inaugural Address that "our international trade relations, though vastly important, are in point of time and necessity secondary to the establishment of a sound national economy. He chafed increasingly under the restrictions of the several "Neutrality Laws" that Congress passed between 1935 and 1937, and succeeded at last in securing passage of the Lend-Lease Act in March 1941, committing the vast economic resources of the United States to the war against the so-called Axis Powers of Germany, Japan, and Italy. Hitler, correctly, deemed the Lend-Lease Act tantamount to a declaration of war. To be sure, the United States took nearly sixteen million men and several thousand women into uniform, fielded a ninety-division ground force, floated a two-ocean navy, built a gigantic strategic bomber fleet, and suffered 405,399 military deaths. Yet the greatest American contribution to the war effort was neither manpower nor heroism, but cash and weapons. As the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin cynically but accurately observed, the United States adhered to a policy of fighting with American money, and American machines, and Russian men. In a war with the dubious historical distinction that it inflicted more civilian than military deaths, the American toll of civilian deaths attributable to enemy action in the forty-eight continental states was six—a young woman and five schoolchildren killed together by a crude Japanese balloon-borne fire bomb that exploded in south-central Oregon on May 5, 1945. Thus if the response to the question "who won World War II? Yet if one means which country most benefited from victory, the equally unambiguous answer is the United States. Not only were American war deaths, proportionate to population, about one-sixtieth those in the Soviet Union, and one-fourth those in Great Britain, but among all the major belligerents, the United States alone managed to grow its civilian economy even while producing prodigious quantities of armaments and other supplies for itself and its allies. The civilian economies of both the Soviet Union and Great Britain shrank by nearly one-third during war time. In the United States civilian consumption expanded by nearly 15 percent. The war forever banished the Depression and ignited the economic after-burners that propelled the American economy to unprecedented heights of prosperity in the postwar decades. How did the Americans manage to fight a war so different from the war that so horribly punished so many other peoples? Geography—or, more precisely, the conjunction of geography with the technologies available in the mid-twentieth century—is surely part of the answer. Four great principles lay at the core of that grand strategy: The much-debated "unconditional surrender" formula that FDR announced at Casablanca in January 1943 was primarily intended to reassure the Soviets that the Americans and British, too, were committed to seeing the war through to the extinction of the Nazi regime, which eventually came on May 8, 1945. The war against Japan, originally conceived as a purely defensive affair to hold the Japanese at bay in the mid-Pacific until Germany was defeated, took an unexpected turn in June when the Imperial Japanese Navy lost four aircraft carriers at the Battle of Midway. Though the war against Germany still had the higher priority, the door now opened for American offensive actions in the Pacific. US forces relentlessly closed in on the Japanese home islands, culminating in months of intensive firebombing raids against Japan and ultimately the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945, which clinched the Japanese decision to surrender. In that same month Winston Churchill declared that the triumphantly victorious United States, restored to economic health, flush with energy, morally and politically self-confident, stood "at the summit of the world. Viking, 1963, Viking, 1963, 3. Roosevelt, Second Inaugural Address, January 20, 1937; The Speeches of Winston Churchill Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1941, 1941.

Chapter 7 : Milestones: " - Office of the Historian

The growing popular disillusionment with the Great War stimulated a strong, renewed interest in pacifism, which was further nourished by growing fears of another World War. Pacifism became particularly well rooted in the political cultures of France, Britain, and the United States.

At the Peace of Paris or Treaty of Versailles, the "Big Four" convened to discuss what the result of the end of the war should be. Germany and Russia were not invited, as Germany was defeated, and Russia had made a separate peace with Germany in 1918, and was feared because of the rise of the revolutionary Bolsheviks there. The key aspects of his propositions were to disallow secret treaties in the future, allow freedom of the seas, provide for arms reduction, allow the self-determination of nations, and to establish the League of Nations, which Wilson saw as a key instrument to prevent future war. It ordered that France would control the Saar valley, rich in coal and iron, for 15 years, and that France would have Alsace-Lorraine returned. The Rhineland between France and Germany would be demilitarized as a buffer zone between the two nations. The German navy was confiscated and the German army was limited to 100,000 members, and no submarines, planes, or artillery were permitted. Germany was forced to pay brutal war reparations in the amount of 132 billion gold marks. Finally, Article 231, or the War Guilt Clause, was a strictly retributive measure, ordering Germany and her allies to bear full responsibility for the war. Though Kaiser Wilhelm II had abdicated and the wartime military leadership had lost its authority, Germans widely refused to admit that their army had lost the war. A significant number believed that Germany could have continued to fight and eventually gotten the upper hand, and that surrender was a "stab in the back" of an army capable of winning the war. While this severely undermined the credibility of the new republic, the notion that the German army could have continued the war and eventually won is rejected by most historians, due to the introduction of fresh U.S. troops. Immediately after the war, the Weimar Republic encountered severe economic problems. Millions of demobilized soldiers arrived home to find little or no work. In addition, France and Britain owed war debts to the United States, and in order to pay them demanded reparation from Germany. Germany was unable to pay, so France seized the industrial towns of the Ruhr valley. The German response was to print money to pay the unemployed workers of the Ruhr, which resulted in massive hyperinflation in Germany. Politically, there was near-chaos for several years, as fringe political groups on both the left and the right openly and violently battled each other and the central government. The Spartacists, or communists, staged uprisings in Berlin and other cities and briefly seized power in Bavaria. This was the atmosphere in which a small right-wing party in Munich took in a new member, an army corporal named Adolf Hitler. German Prosperity Returns[edit] In the late 1920s, prosperity returned to Germany, primarily as a result of U.S. These plans provided loans to the Weimar Republic and gave the Republic a realistic plan for reparation payments, helping to restore economic stability. This prosperity had a diminishing effect on the radical groups of the right and left. The appeal of these groups was reduced as a result of a prosperous Germany. The Rise of Pacifism and Isolation in the 1930s[edit] During the 1930s, the prevailing attitudes of most citizens and nations was that of pacifism and isolation. After seeing the horrors and atrocities of war during World War I, nations desired to avoid such a situation again in the future. Thus, Europe took a number of steps to ensure peace during the 1930s. At the Washington Naval Conference in 1921, the United States, Great Britain, France, Japan, and Italy agreed to build no new battleships for ten years and to reduce the current size of their navies. During the Locarno Treaties of 1925, Germany unconditionally guaranteed the borders of France and Belgium and pledged to never violate the borders of Czechoslovakia and Poland. In 1923, Germany joined the League of Nations. The League was one of the major means that Europeans ensured peace during the time. In 1928, 65 nations signed the Kellogg Briand Pact, rejecting war as a means of policy. In 1933, Russia joined the League of Nations. Democracies in Europe from 1918 through 1933[edit] While fascism rose in Europe, the liberal democracies in the Britain and France were encountering isolationism and pacifism, as explained above, as well as problems with unemployment and colonial struggles. As a result of the Great Depression of the 1930s, the concept that government is responsible for meeting the social needs of its citizens became increasingly popular. Britain[edit] Before WW1 The Old-Age Pensions Act of the United Kingdom, passed in 1908 is often

regarded as one of the foundations of modern social welfare in the United Kingdom and forms part of the wider social welfare reforms of the Liberal Government of 1906. The Act provided for a non-contributory old age pension for persons over the age of 70. It was enacted in January and paid a weekly pension of 5s a week 7s 6d for married couples to half a million who were eligible. The level of benefit was deliberately set low to encourage workers to also make their own provision for retirement. After World War I, Britain faced a number of problems. This resulted in the rise of the Labour party. The Labour party created a modern welfare state in Britain, creating an old age pension, medical care, public housing, and unemployment relief. The British industries, now antiquated and falling behind, were selling less as the United States stepped up to the industrial plate. Members of British colonies, such as Ireland, Egypt, India, and Palestine, were finding the ideals of the Enlightenment appealing and were beginning to resist British rule. Finally, the Great Depression caused massive problems in Britain. He enacted the ideas of Keynesian Economics, authored by J. Keynes, which advocated increased government spending during a depression in order to put money into the economy.

France[edit] The Third Republic of France was the governing body from until 1940. Although it was widely disliked for its political instability and corruption, it did manage to deliver a golden age, what became known as the belle époque, for Paris. The city acquired many distinctive new monuments and public buildings, foremost among them the Eiffel Tower, constructed for the World Exhibition of 1889. It was renowned as a centre for the arts, with the Impressionists taking their inspiration from its new vistas. The city also acquired its metro system, opened in 1900. In 1917, President MacMahon tried to dissolve parliament out of disgust with the premier and to seize more power. However, the French people elected the same deputies to Parliament. The French people clearly wanted to prevent another dictator from taking power. In 1871, General Boulanger came close to overthrowing the government. He gained large support among monarchists, aristocrats, and workers, pleading to fight Germany. However, he lost his courage at the moment of the coup, and he fled to Belgium and committed suicide. In 1898, a French Jewish army officer named Alfred Dreyfus was falsely accused of treason in what became known as the "Dreyfus Affair," showing that anti-Semitism was still strong in France, especially in the army and the Catholic Church. Thus, in 1905 France enacted the separation of church and state. After World War I, France encountered a number of problems. They had difficulty with the cost and burden of rebuilding the nation, and they lost all of their investments in Russia as a result of the Russian Revolution. The reparations were not paid by Germany as expected. Additionally, tax evasion was common in France at the time. By the late 1920s, prosperity had been restored. However, the Great Depression of the 1930s triggered political unrest and social turmoil. In 1936, the socialists and communists fought the fascists in the Chamber of Deputies, one of the houses of parliament, and threw ink at each other. As a result of the unrest, the people elected a "Popular Front," a coalition of socialists, liberals, and communists, to govern. The leader of the Popular Front was Leon Blum, who during his tenure enacted family subsidies, welfare benefits, two weeks of vacation, a forty hour work week, and collective bargaining. Leon Blum was replaced in 1938 by Eduard Daladier.

Challenges to Democracy in the 1930s[edit] As a result of the Great Depression, fringe groups such as fascists and communists became more appealing to the general populace of Europe. Low wages at the time resulted in less purchasing power. An agricultural depression and falling prices resulted in increased agricultural output but decreased demand. Overproduction in the factories, and overexpansion of credit, as well as the U.S. These nations were given autonomy but were linked to Britain through trade. In the 1930s, India began yearning for autonomy. In 1947 India gained its independence and split with Pakistan. In 1938 he moved the capital from Istanbul to Ankara, beginning the Republic of Turkey. In 1920, women were given suffrage and were allowed to serve in parliament. Fascism in Germany and Italy[edit] Italy experienced a turn to fascism after World War I, and Benito Mussolini took control as dictator of the nation. Soon afterward, Germany under Hitler took the same turn. Fascism was a new form of government, initiated by Mussolini, that promoted extreme nationalism and national unity; an emphasis on masculinity, youth, aggression, and violence; racial superiority; one supreme leader with superhuman abilities; the rejection of individual rights; the use of secret police, censorship, and propaganda; a militaristic and aggressive foreign policy; strict central control of the economy; and the holding of the individual as subordinate to the needs of society as a whole. After several years of struggle, in October 1922 the fascists attempted a coup the "Marcia su Roma", i. March on Rome; the fascist forces were largely

inferior, but the king ordered the army not to intervene, formed an alliance with Mussolini, and convinced the liberal party to endorse a fascist-led government. Over the next few years, Mussolini who became known as "Il Duce", the leader eliminated all political parties including the liberals and curtailed personal liberties under the pretext of preventing revolution. Paramilitary troops, which were set up by several parties, intimidated voters and seeded violence and anger among the public, who suffered from high unemployment and poverty. Meanwhile, elitists in influential positions, alarmed by the rise of anti-governmental parties, fought amongst themselves and exploited the emergency authority provided in the Weimar Constitution to rule undemocratically by presidential decree. After a succession of unsuccessful cabinets, on January 29, 1933, President von Hindenburg, seeing little alternative and pushed by advisors, appointed Adolf Hitler Chancellor of Germany. On 27 February, the Reichstag was set on fire. Basic rights were abrogated under an emergency decree. Industry was closely regulated with quotas and requirements in order to shift the economy towards a war production base. Massive public work projects and extensive deficit spending by the state helped to significantly lower the high unemployment rate. This and large welfare programmes are said to be the main factors that kept support of the public even late in the war. In 1935, German troops entered the demilitarised Rhineland in an attempt to rebuild national self-esteem. Emboldened, Hitler followed from onwards a policy of expansionism to establish Greater Germany, that is, one German nation state, starting with the unification with Austria called "Anschluss" and the annexation of the Sudetes region in Bohemia from Czechoslovakia. The British Prime Minister realized that his policies of appeasement towards Germany were being taken advantage of. To avoid a two-front war, Hitler concluded the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, a treaty of non-aggression, with the Soviet Union. Out of a desire for democracy and socialism by the populace of Spain, Alfonso was overthrown in 1931 and a republic declared. In 1936, a Popular Front of leftists forces was elected to Parliament and took control of the government. Anticlerical actions of leftists and their direct attacks on Catholic churches and monasteries angered all conservative Spaniards.

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France - The Great Depression and political crises: France at the end of the s had apparently recovered its prewar stability, prosperity, and self-confidence. For a time it even seemed immune to the economic crisis that spread through Europe beginning in ; France went serenely on behind its high-tariff barrier, a healthy island in a chaotic world.

It was thought that a strong, prosperous Germany could help revitalise the economy of these nations. During the s there was a great trade depression and money was tight. With three million people unemployed, the government had to spend money on social welfare rather than weapons and soldiers. Chamberlain wanted to increase the amount of money used for social welfare, so was reluctant to increase military spending. Attitudes to the Paris peace settlement Feelings expressed by Lord Lothian during the Rhineland crisis that Germany was "only going into their own back garden" had support. Popular opinion in Britain at the time was that German had been punished too heavily by the terms of the Versailles treaty. Paying reparations to the nations it had invaded had crippled the German economy. Before the outbreak of war, many people in Britain admired Hitler. After the ruinous end of WWI, Hitler appeared to have rebuilt Germany and made it a powerful country again. Public opinion After the Rhineland crisis in a debate in the House of Commons in March , Sir Winston Churchill warned that the atmosphere in Europe had changed recently to the extent that war was being regarded as a serious responsibility. After Guernica in April support for non-intervention increased as it was feared that "the bomber will always get through". Commentators such a Low were very critical of non intervention however this was a minority view. Closer links between Germany and Austria were seen as inevitable. Some politicians held the view that Austria generally welcomed the Anschluss and that it would be futile to try and preserve their independence against their own wishes. There was a lack of public concern as Austria was German speaking, and had subsequently supported the Anschluss in a plebiscite. The Anschluss was not seen as a problem by most people because the Anschluss was seen as a product of the Versailles Settlement which was already widely discredited. Churchill called the Anschluss "a programme of aggression, nicely calculated and timed". Minority of public concerned over immediate persecution of Austrian Jews reported in the press. Pacifism The Oxford University student debating society voted by votes to that "this house will in no circumstances fight for King and Country". This caused shock waves in the country because it was interpreted as a sign that the ruling classes had been converted to pacifism. The East Fulham By Election A Conservative candidate supporting increases in defence spending was heavily defeated by a Labour candidate who was widely regarded as antiwar. The Peace Ballot A house to house survey carried out across the whole country by the League of Nations Union had The response was overwhelming support for the principle of collective security through the League of Nations. After the horrors of WWI, there was a widespread revulsion at the thought of war. Since then, new advances in weaponry, such as long distance bombers, meant towns and cities could be targeted and the civilian death toll could be huge in a future war. The peace movement was expanding in Britain and public mood was very much against another European war. Concern over the Empire Any war in Europe involving Britain could threaten the security of her Empire. In several countries in the British Empire, including Canada and South Africa said they would not go to war in support of Britain should war break out with Germany over Czechoslovakia. Lack of reliable allies France at this time was politically divided. France had only a static defence policy based on the Maginot line and would be unlikely to assist any attempt to oust Germany from the Rhineland. The USA was in isolation and wanted nothing to do with Europe. At time of Anschluss, Britain had no allies in the area around Austria. Italy was no longer a protector of Austria as it had been in The USA was following a policy of isolation and was inclined to stay out of European affairs. The country was politically unstable during the s with violent clashes in the streets between supporters of right and left wing parties. The League of Nations, established after WWI to help prevent future conflicts, had proved ineffective. The member states could not reach agreements or enforce their decisions. Military weaknesses The Government was concerned with the weakness of its armed forces, notably the lack of home defences, especially against the bomber. There had been widespread disarmament in the s; there were no troops immediately available to mount a challenge. Germany had rearmed in this led to

the view that it was perhaps too late to resist the breaking of Versailles because Germany now had an army. A common saying at the time was "better Hitlerism than Communism". In Britain during most of the 1930s, the Conservative party was in power. They believed that Communism was a far greater threat to world peace than Hitler. Several prominent British politicians were very impressed by Hitler. The Labour MP and former party leader George Lansbury, who was a pacifist, wrote in that Hitler would not go to war unless other people pushed him into it. Now try a Test Bite Page.

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The victors of the war were quick to blame Germany for starting the war and resolved to punish her, and this is exactly what took place at the Treaty of Versailles in the treaty was so harsh on Germany mostly because France and Italy were angry with them.

Definition[edit] Pacifism covers a spectrum of views, including the belief that international disputes can and should be peacefully resolved, calls for the abolition of the institutions of the military and war, opposition to any organization of society through governmental force anarchist or libertarian pacifism , rejection of the use of physical violence to obtain political, economic or social goals, the obliteration of force, and opposition to violence under any circumstance, even defence of self and others. Historians of pacifism Peter Brock and Thomas Paul Socknat define pacifism "in the sense generally accepted in English-speaking areas" as "an unconditional rejection of all forms of warfare". A pacifist rejects war and believes there are no moral grounds which can justify resorting to war. War, for the pacifist, is always wrong. Principled pacifism holds that at some point along the spectrum from war to interpersonal physical violence, such violence becomes morally wrong. Pragmatic pacifism holds that the costs of war and interpersonal violence are so substantial that better ways of resolving disputes must be found. Pacifists generally reject theories of Just War. Some however, support physical violence for emergency defence of self or others. Others support destruction of property in such emergencies or for conducting symbolic acts of resistance like pouring red paint to represent blood on the outside of military recruiting offices or entering air force bases and hammering on military aircraft. Not all nonviolent resistance sometimes also called civil resistance is based on a fundamental rejection of all violence in all circumstances. Many leaders and participants in such movements, while recognizing the importance of using non-violent methods in particular circumstances, have not been absolute pacifists. The interconnections between civil resistance and factors of force are numerous and complex. The principle is described as difficult to abide by consistently, due to violence not being available as a tool to aid a person who is being harmed or killed. It is further claimed that such a pacifist could logically argue that violence leads to more undesirable results than non-violence. China[edit] During the Warring States period , the pacifist Mohist School opposed aggressive war between the feudal states. They took this belief into action by using their famed defensive strategies to defend smaller states from invasion from larger states, hoping to dissuade feudal lords from costly warfare. The Seven Military Classics of ancient China view warfare negatively, and as a last resort. For example, the Three Strategies of Huang Shigong says: The Moriori , of the Chatham Islands , practiced pacifism by order of their ancestor Nunuku-whenua. This enabled the Moriori to preserve what limited resources they had in their harsh climate, avoiding waste through warfare. A Moriori survivor recalled: It was of no avail; we were discovered and killed - men, women and children indiscriminately. No philosophical program of rejecting violence between states, or rejecting all forms of violence, seems to have existed. Nevertheless, it is both fictional and comical, and though it offers a pragmatic opposition to the destructiveness of war, its message seems to stem from frustration with the existing conflict then in its twentieth year rather than from a philosophical position against violence or war. Equally fictional is the nonviolent protest of Hegetorides of Thasos. Euripides also expressed strong anti-war ideas in his work, especially The Trojan Women. He was killed for refusing to be conscripted. Christian pacifism Throughout history many have understood Jesus of Nazareth to have been a pacifist, [23] drawing on his Sermon on the Mount. In the sermon Jesus stated that one should "not resist an evildoer" and promoted his turn the other cheek philosophy. Love your enemies, do good to those who hate you, bless those who curse you, pray for those who abuse you. There are those, however, who deny that Jesus was a pacifist [23] and state that Jesus never said not to fight, [26] citing examples from the New Testament. One such instance portrays an angry Jesus driving dishonest market traders from the temple. And the one who has no sword must sell his cloak and buy one. Yes, what is written about me is reaching its fulfillment. This treaty was never violated. Beginning in the 16th century, the Protestant Reformation gave rise to a variety of new Christian sects, including the historic peace churches. The humanist writer Desiderius Erasmus was one of the most outspoken pacifists of

the Renaissance , arguing strongly against warfare in his essays *The Praise of Folly* and *The Complaint of Peace* They stated their beliefs in a declaration to King Charles II: *The Spirit of Christ* The English Quaker William Penn , who founded the Province of Pennsylvania , employed an anti-militarist public policy. Unlike residents of many of the colonies, Quakers chose to trade peacefully with the Indians, including for land. The colonial province was, for the 75 years from to , essentially unarmed and experienced little or no warfare in that period. From the 16th to the 18th centuries, a number of thinkers devised plans for an international organisation that would promote peace, and reduce or even eliminate the occurrence of war. Representative of the latter, was William Wilberforce who thought that strict limits should be imposed on British involvement in the French Revolutionary War based on Christian ideals of peace and brotherhood. Bohemian Bernard Bolzano " taught about the social waste of militarism and the needlessness of war. Peace movements[edit] During the period of the Napoleonic Wars , although no formal peace movement was established until the end of hostilities, a significant peace movement animated by universalist ideals did emerge, due to the perception of Britain fighting in a reactionary role and the increasingly visible impact of the war on the welfare of the nation in the form of higher taxation levels and high casualty rates. Sixteen peace petitions to Parliament were signed by members of the public, anti-war and anti- Pitt demonstrations convened and peace literature was widely published and disseminated. Caricature of Henry Richard , a prominent advocate of pacifism in the mid-19th century The first peace movements appeared in " It became an active organization, holding regular weekly meetings, and producing literature which was spread as far as Gibraltar and Malta , describing the horrors of war and advocating pacifism on Christian grounds. In the 1840s, British women formed "Olive Leaf Circles", groups of around 15 to 20 women, to discuss and promote pacifist ideas. He helped secure one of the earliest victories for the peace movement by securing a commitment from the Great Powers in the Treaty of Paris at the end of the Crimean War , in favour of arbitration. On the European continent, wracked by social upheaval , the first peace congress was held in Brussels in 1849 followed by Paris a year later. An important thinker who contributed to pacifist ideology was Russian writer Leo Tolstoy. In one of his latter works, *The Kingdom of God is Within You* , Tolstoy provides a detailed history, account and defense of pacifism. Gandhi " , and the two engaged in regular correspondence while Gandhi was active in South Africa. In he convinced Maori to welcome battle-hardened British soldiers into their village and even offered food and drink. He allowed himself and his people to be arrested without resistance for opposing land confiscation. He is remembered as a great leader because the "passive resistance" his practice prevented British massacres and even protected far more land than violent resistance. Gandhi was a major political and spiritual leader of India, instrumental in the Indian independence movement. The Nobel prize winning great poet Rabindranath Tagore , who was also an Indian, gave him the honorific " Mahatma ", usually translated "Great Soul. This was the resistance of tyranny through civil disobedience that was not only nonviolent but also sought to change the heart of the opponent. He contrasted this with *duragraha*, "resistant force," which sought only to change behaviour with stubborn protest. During his 30 years of work " for the independence of his country from the British Raj , Gandhi led dozens of nonviolent campaigns, spent over seven years in prison, and fasted nearly to the death on several occasions to obtain British compliance with a demand or to stop inter-communal violence. His efforts helped lead India to independence in 1947, and inspired movements for civil rights and freedom worldwide. World War I[edit] The *Deserter* by Boardman Robinson Peace movements became active in the Western world after 1914, often focusing on Treaties that would settle disputes through arbitration, and efforts to support the Hague conventions. Socialist parties in every industrial nation had committed themselves to antiwar policies, but when the war came, all of them, except in Russia and the United States, supported their own government. There were highly publicized dissidents, some of whom went to jail for opposing the draft laws, like Eugene Debs in the U. The national parties in the Second International increasingly supported their respective nations in war and the International was dissolved in 1916. A World War I-era female peace protester In the League of Nations Society was formed by British liberal leaders to promote a strong international organisation that could enforce the peaceful resolution of conflict. Later that year the League to Enforce Peace was established in America to promote similar goals. A "Practical Proposal" on September 28, 1915, It called for an international organization to agree upon the arbitration of disputes and to guarantee the territorial integrity of its members

by maintaining military forces sufficient to defeat those of any non-member. Between the two World Wars[edit] The soldiers of the red Army in Russia, who on religious grounds refused to shoot at the target evangelicals or Baptists. Between and The immense loss of life during the war, for what became regarded as futile reasons, caused a sea-change in public attitudes to militarism. The League of Nations also convened several disarmament conferences in the inter-war period such as the Geneva Conference. Pacifism and revulsion with war were very popular sentiments in s Britain. Dick Sheppard established the Peace Pledge Union in totally renouncing war and aggression. The idea of collective security was also popular; instead of outright pacifism the public generally exhibited a determination to stand up to aggression, but preferably with the use of economic sanctions and multilateral negotiations. The annual conference resolved unanimously to "pledge itself to take no part in war". Economic sanctions were used against states that committed aggression, such as Italy when it invaded Abyssinia , but there was no will on the part of the principal League powers, Britain and France, to subordinate their interests to a multilateral process or to disarm at all themselves. Shortly after the war ended, Simone Weil , despite having volunteered for service on the republican side, went on to publish *The Iliad or the Poem of Force* , a work that has been described as a pacifist manifesto. Gregg , devised plans for a campaign of nonviolent resistance in the event of a fascist invasion or takeover. Even the communist-controlled American Peace Mobilization reversed its anti-war activism once Germany invaded the Soviet Union in After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor , mainstream isolationist groups like the America First Committee , declined, but many smaller religious and socialist groups continued their opposition to war. Bertrand Russell argued that the necessity of defeating Adolf Hitler and the Nazis was a unique circumstance where war was not the worst of the possible evils; he called his position relative pacifism. Shortly before the outbreak of war, British writers such as E. Forster , Leonard Woolf , David Garnett and Storm Jameson all rejected their earlier pacifism and endorsed military action against Nazism. Cadoux , while bitterly disappointed by the outbreak of war, nevertheless urged their fellow pacifists "not to obstruct the war effort". The United States government allowed sincere objectors to serve in noncombatant military roles. However, those draft resisters who refused any cooperation with the war effort often spent much of each war in federal prisons. Later twentieth century[edit] A demonstrator offers a flower to military police at an anti-Vietnam War protest , Martin Luther King Jr 1968 , a Baptist minister , led the civil rights movement , which successfully used Gandhian nonviolent resistance to repeal laws enforcing racial segregation and work for integration of schools, businesses and government. Other examples from this period include the People Power Revolution in the Philippines led by Cory Aquino , and the Tiananmen Square Protests which included the broadly publicized " Tank Man " incident. The budget previously dedicated to the military is now dedicated to providing health care services and education.