# CONTENTS

## ABOUT THIS BOOK

### TIMELINE

1. **THE CREATION AND SUCCESSES OF THE LEAGUE, 1919–29**
2. **THE LEAGUE CHALLENGED, 1930–39**
3. **SETTING UP THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANISATION AND ITS WORK TO 1964**
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ABOUT THIS BOOK

This book is written for students following the Edexcel International GCSE (9–1) History specification and covers one unit of the course. This unit is The Changing Role of International Organisations: the League and the UN, 1919–c2011, one of the Breadth Studies.

The History course has been structured so that teaching and learning can take place in any order, both in the classroom and in any independent learning. The book contains five chapters which match the five areas of content in the specification:

- The creation and successes of the League, 1919–29
- The League challenged, 1930–39
- Setting up the United Nations Organisation and its work to 1964
- The UN challenged, 1967–89
- The UN at bay, 1990–2011

Each chapter is split into multiple sections to break down content into manageable chunks and to ensure full coverage of the specification.

Each chapter features a mix of learning and activities. Sources are embedded throughout to develop your understanding and exam-style questions help you to put learning into practice. Recap pages at the end of each chapter summarise key information and let you check your understanding. Exam guidance pages help you prepare confidently for the exam.

Timeline
Visual representation of events to clarify the order in which they happened.

Learning objectives
Each section starts with a list of what you will learn in it. They are carefully tailored to address key assessment objectives central to the course.

Key term
Useful words and phrases are colour coded within the main text and picked out in the margin with concise and simple definitions. These help understanding of key subject terms and support students whose first language is not English.

The League challenged, 1930–39

Historical context: The Treaty of Versailles

The impact of the Treaty of Versailles

The problems of the Treaty of Versailles

The problems of the League of Nations

The security system of the League of Nations

The League: a challenge to the Treaty of Versailles

2.1. The failure of the League of Nations in Manchuria and Abyssinia

LEARNING OBJECTIVES
- Understand how the disputes in Manchuria (1931–33) and Abyssinia (1935–36) developed
- Understand the League’s response to these disputes
- Evaluate the effectiveness of the League’s response

LEARN INS OBJECTIVES
- Identify key causes and effects of the Manchurian Crisis
- Identify key causes and effects of the Abyssinian Crisis
- Understand the impact of the League’s response to these crises

Key term
The League was a failure because...
Exam-style question
Questions tailored to the Pearson Edexcel specification to allow for practice and development of exam writing technique. They also allow for practice responding to the command words used in the exams.

Skills
Relevant exam questions have been assigned the key skills which you will gain from undertaking them, allowing for a strong focus on particular academic qualities. These transferable skills are highly valued in further study and the workplace.

Hint
All exam-style questions are accompanied by a hint to help you get started on an answer.

Checkpoints
Checkpoints help you to check and reflect on your learning. The strengthening section helps you to consolidate knowledge and understanding, and check that you have grasped the basic ideas and skills. The challenge questions push you to go beyond just understanding the information, and into evaluation and analysis of what you have studied.

Exam guidance
At the end of each chapter, you will find two pages designed to help you better understand the exam questions and how to answer them. Each exam guidance section focuses on a particular question type that you will find in the exam, allowing you to approach them with confidence.

Advice on answering the question
Three key questions about the exam question are answered here in order to explain what the question is testing and what you need to do in the exam.

Pearson Progression
Sample student answers have been given a Pearson step from 1 to 12. This tells you how well the response has met the criteria in the Pearson Progression Map.

Commentary
Feedback on the quality of the answer is provided to help you understand your strengths and weaknesses and show how they can be improved.

Student answers
Exemplar student answers are used to show what an answer to the exam question may look like. There are often two levels of answers so you can see what you need to do to write better responses.
1963  President Kennedy assassinated

1966  Cultural Revolution in China

1968  Prague Spring
       Martin Luther King assassinated

1972  Watergate

1973  Terrorists attack Munich Olympics

1975  Vietnam War ends
       - Yom Kippur War

1976  Mozambique civil war begins

1978  Civil war in Sudan breaks out

1983  First Gulf War begins

1986  Chernobyl disaster

1988  PLO renounces terrorism and recognises state of Israel

1989  Tiananmen Square protest
       - Fall of Berlin Wall

1990  Srebrenica massacre
       - Apartheid ends in South Africa

1994  Wikipedia founded

1995  Srebenica massacre
       - Second Gulf War

1997  UNAMID sent to Sudan

1998  Alexander the Great

2001  Wikipedia founded

2003  Second Gulf War

2008  Oil disaster in Gulf of Mexico

2010  Wikipedia founded
The League of Nations was created after the First World War and did not survive the Second World War. There were weaknesses in both the membership of the League of Nations and the way it was organised. This is not surprising, as it was the first time international co-operation had been tried on such a large scale. Nevertheless, in the 1920s the League was able to intervene successfully in a number of disputes between countries. There were also developments in social and humanitarian projects, such as those aimed at stopping people trafficking and helping refugees. Again, however, progress was limited by the League’s weaknesses. Also, the League did not last long enough to tackle complex social and economic issues.
Wars bring about great change. The First World War (1914–18) perhaps caused more change than any previous conflict in history. Although the war was focused in Europe, other countries from across the world were involved when the **Triple Entente** went to war with the **Triple Alliance**. Some of these were dragged in as parts of European **empires**.

The damage and destruction caused by the First World War affected millions of people economically and socially. It was supposed to be the war to end all wars. Once it was over, the will to build a better world and the desire to find peaceful ways to end conflicts between nations was stronger than ever before.

The idea of an organisation of states to keep international peace had become more popular as the First World War dragged on. From early 1918, building an organisation of nations became an important aim of the Triple Entente powers, but the key person in the making of the League of Nations was US President Woodrow Wilson. After the defeat of the Triple Alliance in November 1918, a conference was set up in Versailles, Paris to discuss arrangements for post-war Europe. It was at this conference that the League of Nations was created.

When Woodrow Wilson was representing the USA at the Paris Peace Conference, he knew that further involvement in European conflicts would not be popular with the American public. His aims, therefore, went beyond punishing the defeated powers from the First World War; he wanted lasting
international peace. In January 1918 Wilson issued his famous 14 Points, outlining his vision for the post-war world.

The most important ideas contained in the 14 Points were:
- the right to self-determination
- disarmament (apart from what was necessary for a nation to protect itself)
- an end to secret treaties and alliances
- a ‘League of Nations’ to preserve future peace.

Although all members of the conference believed that another ‘Great War’ must be avoided, there were lots of different ideas on how to secure a long-lasting peace.
- France felt that its future security depended upon weakening and punishing Germany.
- Britain did not want to punish Germany too severely because that could cause more problems.
- The USA disliked imperialism and Wilson was passionate about self-determination as a way of guaranteeing peace. Neither Britain nor France, however, was willing to give up its empire.

Other nations also had very different issues and interests after the First World War. Many Arab peoples wanted to take control of their lands and resources now that the Ottoman Empire was defeated, and there were similar hopes across central and eastern Europe. Other nations wanted to expand their borders and influence as a means of ensuring their economic and political security.

Russia was not involved in making peace after the First World War because it had its own problems. There had been a communist revolution in 1917 and a bloody civil war was taking place.

With so many competing aims and interests, the post-war peace negotiations led to compromises, and the compromises led to dissatisfaction. The treaties that resulted from the Paris Peace Conference did not provide a perfect solution to the First World War. This became very clear during the interwar years (1919–39). However, the League of Nations had been created to deal with any problems and conflicts that occurred, and so keep the peace.

The covenant of the League of Nations:
- set out the League’s aims, organisation and how it was to be run
- created the Mandates Commission to deal with the colonies taken from the German, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires
- created the Permanent International Court of Justice (PICJ) to help to settle disputes and advise on issues of international law.

The League of Nations was born in January 1920. Article 11 of its covenant set out its most basic aim, to keep the peace between nations by:
- encouraging discussion between nations
- requiring member countries to respect other members’ territorial boundaries
- working together to support a member nation attacked by an aggressor
- encouraging disarmament
- setting up systems to arbitrate disputes and take sanctions against nations that caused conflicts
- improving the living conditions for ordinary people through a series of commissions.
If disputes could not be settled by the League, collective security would make sure that member nations would join together against the aggressor. As the League of Nations had no military or peacekeeping forces of its own, however, members would have to provide any that were needed.

The commissions created by the League of Nations would carry out its wider humanitarian mission, which was seen as vital to maintaining world peace. People who have a good standard of living are less likely to support extremist politics or violent governments.

**ACTIVITY**

Write a speech as Woodrow Wilson, explaining your vision for the League of Nations. What are its aims? Why is it so important? You could research the causes of the First World War and explain in more detail how the League of Nations should prevent another war breaking out.

**THE STRUCTURE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS**

Although international bodies and agreements had always existed, the wide-ranging aims and extensive membership of the League of Nations was an exciting new development. It wanted to deal with humanitarian issues that crossed national borders. This meant it not only needed the organisation, resources and expertise to meet its aims, it also needed to be accepted as an international authority. It would not enforce its will like an imperial power. Everything had to be done by agreement.

The League of Nations was based in Geneva, Switzerland (except the PICJ, which was at The Hague, in the Netherlands). Although all members (the Assembly) had ultimate authority over the League’s actions, they only met once a year, in September. However, a smaller, decision-making group (the Council) could be called together quickly if a situation occurred. Only the secretariat and the PICJ worked all year round.

**THE COUNCIL**

The Council’s main role was to settle international disputes. It held scheduled meetings four times a year until 1929 and three times a year after that. It could be called at shorter notice if necessary. This enabled the League of Nations to respond more flexibly to events. Any decisions made by the Council had to be unanimous.

There were four permanent members of the Council at first: France, Great Britain, Italy and Japan. Five were planned but the USA rejected League membership. Germany became the fifth when it was admitted to the League in 1926. When Germany left in 1933, its permanent seat on the Council was taken by the USSR when it joined in 1934. This meant that Britain and France were often the only powerful and influential countries on the Council and could forward their own interests if necessary.

**THE ASSEMBLY**

The Assembly was a kind of international parliament where issues affecting international peace were discussed. Every member of the League of Nations had one vote in the Assembly. All the important decisions made by the Assembly had to be agreed by the majority of members. All routine decisions had to be agreed unanimously.
The Assembly also voted on proposals made by the Council and elected the temporary nations that sat on the Council.

The Assembly’s meetings were well publicised in the press around the world. This was an important part of how it operated. Public opinion in the member nations could act as an additional form of pressure on governments and delegates.
People and experts from around the world worked in the Secretariat. It was an international civil service, headed by a Secretary General. As a permanent member of the League, the Secretary General became its figurehead. Although the Secretariat’s role was not widely publicised, the League of Nations could not have worked without it. Its role was to investigate issues, prepare reports, translate important documents, take minutes of meetings and keep records of League activities.

MEMBERSHIP OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The membership of the League of Nations changed frequently. It increased in size during the 1920s, although some nations left (see table below) and the USA never joined.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>NEW MEMBERS</th>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>MEMBERS LEAVING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Abyssinia (Ethiopia), Ireland</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Germany, Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Paraguay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Ethiopia, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Italy, El Salvador</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Iraq, Turkey</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Austria, Chile, Venezuela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>Afghanistan, Ecuador, USSR</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Albania, Czechoslovakia, Peru, Spain, USSR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 1.3 Dispute settlement in the League of Nations

Dispute taken to League of Nations

Members involved agreed to a ‘cool off’ period of 3 months before resorting to war

Matter put to the PICJ or another form of arbitration if necessary

Meanwhile, the issue was investigated by the Council

Hearing of League of Nations’ judgment; covenant required member nations to accept the League’s decision

If the judgment was ignored, or a nation resorted to violence, League members would apply sanctions or take appropriate military action

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From the start, the membership of the League of Nations was a key weakness. When Britain and France were the only great powers on the Council, they had the most influence on the League. This enabled them to protect their own interests – for example, taking control of colonies through the Mandates Commission. Woodrow Wilson could not persuade the US Congress to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, nor to join the League of Nations. The American public did not want to become involved in any more European wars. The Republican Party, which supported this point of view, did very well in the 1918 American elections.

The League’s effectiveness was greatly weakened by the USA not being a member.

- As the world’s largest economy, the USA could have applied a great deal of economic pressure if it had threatened to cease trading with an aggressor state.
- Collective security would have been a far more powerful discouragement to aggressive countries with US involvement.
- Without the USA, Britain and France were the most powerful nations. They were imperial powers and victors in the First World War. This caused resentment and bad feeling amongst other countries, especially those that had lost the war.

Each peace treaty signed by defeated powers after the First World War included an article on the League of Nations. This did not, however, automatically make the defeated powers members, and so when the League was founded it did not include Germany, Turkey, Austria or Bulgaria. Although they joined later, the League seemed by many to have been created as a victors’ club. This was especially so in Germany. The Treaty of Versailles took much of Germany’s territory to create new nations and handed over its colonies to its enemies via mandates. Mandates were overseen by the League of Nations too.

Germany eventually joined the League of Nations in 1926. By then it had overcome many of the political and economic problems created by the war. It had also signed a new peace agreement called the Locarno Pact. It was given a permanent seat on the Council along with the four other members. After Hitler took Germany out of the League in 1933, the USSR took its place on the Council in 1934.

The USSR was denied membership at first because it was communist. Communism is an extreme form of socialism in which the government takes over all businesses, farms and private property. According to communism the workers should run national and local government and the economy. Communists believe that workers around the world ought to rise up and overthrow their ruling classes. There were communist parties in many other countries, although most were very small. The USSR set up an organisation, Comintern, to help encourage communist revolutions elsewhere. As a result, the USSR was considered a dangerous, rogue nation and was not welcome in the League of Nations until 1934.
EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

**A01**  **A02**

**EXPLAIN TWO** causes of the weaknesses in the League of Nations’ membership.

(8 marks)

**HINT**
Look for two problems created by the First World War (this includes the peace treaties) and explain how the League of Nations dealt with them.

**EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE**

The Locarno Pact was signed in 1925. Germany and the countries of western Europe agreed to follow the national borders set out in the Treaty of Versailles. They also agreed to arbitration by the League of Nations if disputes between them arose. Germany then joined the League.

**ACTIVITY**

1. What strengths and weaknesses were there in the set-up and membership of the League of Nations?
2. How might the League of Nations approach the following issues? Which parts might be involved?
   - A new member wanting to join the League
   - An investigation into the outbreak of an epidemic
   - A dispute between two nations over the Treaty of Versailles
   - A change of non-permanent members of the Council.
3. Study Source B. What do you think the cartoonist is saying about the League?

The Russian Revolution broke out in 1917 when communists overthrew the Tsar of Russia. As a result, Russia left the First World War and became known as the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). The Tsar, his wife and five children were lined up and killed by revolutionaries. Their remains were found in a mass grave in the Ural Mountains in 1991.
Commissions were groups set up to investigate and deal with specific problems that the League of Nations wanted to do something about. Some were temporary, caused by conflicts between member states; others were long-term projects on humanitarian issues affecting people across international borders, such as health or slavery. When commissions investigated a problem they produced reports and recommendations for the Assembly to discuss. If policies were developed as a result, commissions would put those policies into practice.

The mandates and minorities commissions were especially necessary if the peace agreed after the First World War was to succeed. This was because the Treaty of Versailles had created many new nations in Europe and there was great uncertainty over the fate of the defeated powers’ colonies.
Figure 1.5 Map of nations before (top) and after (bottom) the Treaty of Versailles
The Treaty of Versailles had redrawn the map of Europe, creating new states from old nations and empires. This led to national minorities being created in the new states. For example, there were large German populations in both western Poland and the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia. The issues that such national minorities might face included protecting their culture, language or political rights.

Much of the Minorities Commission’s work involved ‘off the record’ negotiations. These often led to more open and honest discussions, as ‘off the record’ means confidential, and the public were not told about them. This was done to try to gain the confidence of the countries involved in cases brought to the League.

It often proved hard to gain the confidence of the minorities themselves, however, as they disliked the secrecy involved in ‘off the record’ activities. Also, the minorities had to make an appeal to the League of Nations before any action could be taken, and even then nothing might happen. In fact, only 16 of the 395 petitions accepted by the League actually went to the Council to be settled. Of those, only four resulted in the national governments concerned being reprimanded. In addition, Germany, Italy and Spain had not signed the minorities’ treaty and so the League could not hold them responsible for their actions.

The Minorities Commission did do a great deal of work monitoring the protection of minorities in the cases where it was put in place.

**KEY TERM**

**autonomy** the right to rule or govern oneself; being independent to make your own decisions

**AALAND ISLANDS (1920)**

The first dispute that the League of Nations dealt with concerned the Aaland Islands. These islands were given to Finland when it gained its independence from Russia in 1917. The population of the region was, however, 95 per cent Swedish and was concerned that its national and cultural identity would be lost under Finnish rule. The Aaland Islanders themselves campaigned for union with Sweden. Finland passed a law in May 1920 that granted them considerable autonomy, but the campaign continued.

In June 1920, Finland charged two campaigners with high treason. The dispute looked like it was getting much worse and was referred to the League of Nations.

The League proposed that the Aaland Islands would continue to belong to Finland, but also said it would guarantee that:

- the Swedish language and customs would be kept
- the appointment of the Islands’ governor had to be agreed by the Islanders
- the Aaland Islands were demilitarised under the League’s supervision.
The case of Upper Silesia occurred because of the redrawing of Europe’s international borders after the First World War. Upper Silesia was rich in coal and industrial resources and had been part of Germany. Both the newly created Polish nation and Germany wanted it. Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, what happened to Upper Silesia was to be decided by plebiscite. This was an important example of the League’s principle of self-determination.

The plebiscite, which was held in March 1921, resulted in a 54 per cent majority in favour of being part of Germany. This did not end the problem, however, because many Polish workers claimed to have been forced into voting for German rule by their German employers. In May there was an uprising and in August the issue was referred to the League of Nations.

The League’s solution was to divide Upper Silesia. It gave Germany two-thirds of the territory but Poland more of the economic resources. A German–Polish co-operation commission was also established. Both sides accepted the solution.

Like the Aaland Islands, this was a success for the League. It helped that Germany was still very weak after the war and that Poland was a newly created state. When up against strong, powerful nations, the League found it more difficult to impose its decisions (see Corfu).

In 1923, five Italians were murdered on Greek soil. They had been working on redrawing the national borders between Greece and Albania as part of the First World War peace settlement. Mussolini’s Italian government blamed the Greeks and attacked and invaded the island of Corfu. This was against the covenant of the League of Nations, which Italy had signed.

The Greek government brought the matter to the League of Nations. Italy was, of course, an important member of the League with a permanent seat on the Council and an ally of Britain and France. Rather than criticise the Italian government, the Council proposed that Italy withdraw from Greece, but that Greece pay 50 million lire as compensation.

Although the crisis was solved peacefully, it does also show that the League of Nations could be quite weak when dealing with major powers. Italy had clearly broken the League’s covenant by attacking another member state yet, despite no evidence that the Greek government was involved in the death of the Italians, Greece had to pay Italy compensation.

This was another border dispute resulting from the redrawing of Europe’s international boundaries after the First World War. On 19 October 1925, after a series of border incidents between Greece and Bulgaria, a small fight broke out in which two Greek border guards were killed. Suspecting that Bulgaria would attack, Greece ordered an immediate invasion. The Bulgarians responded.

The League of Nations condemned Greece and demanded both sides end their military operations. It ordered the withdrawal of all troops within 60 hours. Both sides agreed and by 29 October 1925 the incident was over. The Council did award Bulgaria 30 million Bulgarian lev (the Bulgarian currency) as compensation for Greek soldiers taking crops and cattle.
This was a success for the League of Nations. As with the Aaland Islands and Upper Silesia, it did not involve a major power. Furthermore, neither Greece nor Bulgaria had the resources to have continued a conflict, so each needed a way out.

### ACTIVITY

Draw and fill in a chart with three columns to show the territorial disputes dealt with by the League of Nations in 1920, 1921 and 1925. Head the first column ‘Causes’, the middle one ‘League’s Actions’ and the third one ‘Outcome’.

Extension: add a fourth row to the chart and do the same for the Corfu Crisis.

Review your charts in small groups. Who were the winners and who were the losers in these disputes? You should include the League of Nations. When you have your results, discuss how fairly you think the League dealt with the disputes. Write a short paragraph summarising your conclusions.

### EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

**A01 A02**

**EXAM-STYLE QUESTION**

**HINT**

Avoid telling the story of the dispute. Explain why it happened.

**1.3 THE WORK OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS’ COMMISSIONS**

**LEARNING OBJECTIVES**

- Explain the work undertaken by the Refugee and Drugs Commissions
- Understand the strategies used by the League in dealing with these issues
- Explain how successful the League’s Refugees and Drugs Commissions were.

**REFUGEE COMMISSION**

**KEY TERM**

repatriate to send someone back to their own country

The refugee crisis after the First World War was on a scale never seen before. In addition to people displaced by the fighting, there were: over a million prisoners of war (POWs) to be repatriated; over a million refugees fleeing the Russian Revolution and the civil war that followed it; and thousands living in the ‘wrong’ country when the map of Europe was redrawn.

The refugee commission established by the League of Nations was not supposed to be permanent. Its funding was very small and its responsibility did not extend beyond Europe and the Middle East.

Norwegian Fridtjof Nansen was appointed High Commissioner for Refugees. His priority was repatriating POWs, but a number of refugee crises developed at this time as well. The largest was caused by Russia’s civil war, but there were also Greeks, Bulgarians and Armenians.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>CRISIS</th>
<th>ACTIONS TAKEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920–22</td>
<td>Repatriation of POWs after the First World War. There were also 1.5 million POWs in USSR and Russian POWs unable or unwilling to return home due to chaos of civil war.</td>
<td>Huge international operation to organise funds, shipping and resources 427,886 POWs from 26 different countries repatriated at a cost of less than £1 each</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920–25</td>
<td>1.5 million Russian refugees fled civil war. Huge numbers arrived in Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia and elsewhere in Europe. International Red Cross called for League of Nations to establish a commission to deal with the problem.</td>
<td>Introduced identity documents for refugees (known as ‘Nansen passports’) Fridtjof Nansen co-ordinated 44 different nations to take Russian refugees who did not want to return to the communist USSR 1922: agreement made with the USSR to repatriate those who wanted to return home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919–23</td>
<td>There was conflict between Greece and Turkey as the Ottoman Empire collapsed. Greece expanded into Turkish territory, massacring huge numbers of Turks. Turkey retook lands occupied by Greece, massacring Greeks and Armenians living there. They then set fire to Smyrna (Izmir).</td>
<td>Dealt with immediate care of refugees by tackling food shortages and health care problems, working with the International Red Cross and Red Crescent 1923: forced a population exchange; 1.4 million Greeks left Turkey for Greece; 400,000 Turks left Greece for Turkey Arranged loans for Greece to provide refugees with homes and farming resources – as a result of which the Greek economy became stronger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920s–1930s</td>
<td>Armenian refugee crisis. Armenians suffered atrocities by the Turks during both the First World War and the Greek–Turkish conflict. Armenians did not have a home state to which to return. 45,000 fled to Greece, 90,000 to Syria and Lebanon. They lived in camps at Aleppo, Beirut and Alexandretta.</td>
<td>Special committee established with the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 1926 to deal with the refugees, resettling them and finding them work By 1938, 36,000 Armenian refugees had been resettled and found employment, leading to new settlements and agricultural colonies. All this helped the region as a whole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930s</td>
<td>Hitler’s Nazi regime persecuted German Jews, leading to waves of refugees in the 1930s.</td>
<td>League of Nations protected 600,000 refugees from Germany, arranging for 27,000 to resettle in Palestine; 9,000 in the USA; and 25,000 across Europe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Activity**

On a map of interwar Europe and the Middle East, draw arrows to show the flows of refugees. Where did they come from and go to? (Indicate those going to the USA with an arrow pointing over the Atlantic.) Add dates and numbers, if possible.

Fridtjof Nansen’s approach to refugee crises was significant for two reasons.

1. His approach was to care for refugees, often working with the ILO to find them employment or settle them permanently. He accepted that although repatriation was the best option, it was not always possible.

2. Refugees did not have identity papers or passports to enable them to travel. Fridtjof Nansen introduced so-called ‘Nansen passports’ that were accepted by the governments of 50 different nations by 1929.
The main targets of the League of Nations’ drugs commission were opium and coca. The commission started as the Permanent Central Opium Board. Opium, which is made from poppy flowers, and the coca plant can be used to make the drugs heroin, cocaine, morphine and codeine. All are highly addictive. Although there are some important medical uses for these drugs, many are grown, made, traded and used illegally around the world.

Dr. Rachel Crowdy led the League of Nations’ work to deal with the problems caused by illegal drugs. The methods that were used included:

- Limiting the legal production, manufacture and trade of dangerous drugs
- Gathering information on the production, manufacture and trade of dangerous drugs
- Monitoring the production, manufacture and trade of dangerous drugs
- Finding economic alternatives for opium growing regions
- Monitoring member nations’ compliance with League of Nations agreements
- Recommending an embargo on trading in drugs with nations not following agreements.

The OAC first focused on controlling the legal trade in drugs. By knowing which drugs were traded legally, it could then identify what trade was illegal more easily. It did this by monitoring which countries produced far more drugs made from opium and coca leaves than they needed. Then it investigated where the extra, illegal drugs were being sent.

The OAC also categorised dangerous drugs for the first time. The categories were based upon both a drug’s danger and its medicinal benefits.

By the late 1930s the OAC focused more on the trade in illegal drugs, leading to some offences being made international crimes.

**DRUGS COMMISSION**

1920 Opium Advisory Committee (OAC) founded
1926 First Convention on Opium
1928 Second Convention on Opium, which established the Permanent Control Board to collect and analyse data from member states
1931 Geneva Convention on Drugs established Drugs Supervisory Body

**KEY TERM**

convention a conference or meeting to discuss a particular matter

The OAC first focused on controlling the legal trade in drugs. By knowing which drugs were traded legally, it could then identify what trade was illegal more easily. It did this by monitoring which countries produced far more drugs made from opium and coca leaves than they needed. Then it investigated where the extra, illegal drugs were being sent.

The OAC also categorised dangerous drugs for the first time. The categories were based upon both a drug’s danger and its medicinal benefits.

By the late 1930s the OAC focused more on the trade in illegal drugs, leading to some offences being made international crimes.

**DRUGS: HOW SUCCESSFUL WAS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS?**

**EVIDENCE OF SUCCESS**

- Countries not in the League of Nations, such as the USA, often worked with it and agreed to its international conventions. The USA reported a 50% fall in drug addicts in the 1930s.
- Data gathered by the League’s OAC gave a clear picture of the supply and demand for legal drugs and also where illegal drugs were a big problem.
- By 1935 the legal production of dangerous drugs was estimated to be equal to the medical and scientific demands for them.

**LIMITATIONS**

- As drug companies became limited by the League’s controls, more moved to countries that ignored them.
- The illegal trade in drugs was hard to control. Some countries, such as Persia (Iran), produced even more to meet the illegal demand for drugs. China also still produced opium far in excess of its legal requirements.
- By the late 1930s fewer countries were co-operating. Japan, Germany and Italy, for example, had all left the League of Nations.
First Convention on Opium, 1926
- Importing, selling and distributing drugs was to be a government monopoly (except for retail sales).
- The number of retailers licensed to sell drugs was to be restricted by member countries.
- The sale and use of opium by minors was prohibited.

Second Convention on Opium, 1928
- System of import and export licenses was developed for dangerous drugs.
- The Permanent Control Board was established to collate and review data from member states.
- Nations producing more drugs than needed for legal purposes were required to provide an explanation.

1931 Convention on Drugs
- Nations agreed to estimate the quantity of drugs needed for medical and scientific purposes and to stop manufacturing or importing drugs when this limit was reached.
- A new committee, the Drugs Supervisory Body, was established to oversee international drugs requirements and estimate the needs of countries not signed up to the convention.
- Categorisation of drugs was introduced based upon their dangerous effects and medicinal benefits. Under this system, heroin was banned from export except under exceptional circumstances.

Figure 1.7 Drugs Conventions

The table below shows that the League of Nations commissions did have some successes. In fact, many continued after the League had ended and became part of the work of the United Nations. The United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF), the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the World Health Organization (WHO), for example, are all based on the aims, agencies and commissions of the League of Nations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMMISSION</th>
<th>ROLE</th>
<th>ACTIONS AND IMPACT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Disarmament</td>
<td>To decrease national armaments to what was necessary only for defence against aggressors (Article 8 of the covenant of the League of Nations)</td>
<td>Geneva Protocol 1924 – all signatories promised disarmament and abandoned war as a means of settling disputes (influenced Locarno Pact in 1925)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>World Disarmament Conference 1932</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>To prevent spread of disease, improve access to health care</td>
<td>1921 Epidemiological Intelligence Service established to provide information on infectious diseases</td>
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<td></td>
<td>To organise major health campaigns</td>
<td>1923 Health Committee set up to investigate a wide range of diseases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To spread information about disease and good practice</td>
<td>1928 Institute for the Study of Malaria set up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>To promote standardisation of medications across the world</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>International</td>
<td>Created as part of the Treaty of Versailles to deal with workers’ pay, rights and working conditions</td>
<td>Annual conferences</td>
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<tr>
<td>Labour Organisation</td>
<td></td>
<td>By 1939 67 conventions were agreed on issues such as hours, unemployment, women’s and children’s working conditions and health and safety</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandates</td>
<td>To monitor and govern the former colonies of the defeated powers that were not ready to be independent</td>
<td>Divided colonies into one of three types, depending on how ready they were for independence</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Also see pages 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and 8)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slavery</td>
<td>To deal with slavery, the slave trade and people trafficking</td>
<td>1921 Conference: agreed to tackle people trafficking in women and children 1924-26: investigated trafficking in Europe, the Mediterranean region and America 1926: convention on slavery defined slavery 1929: investigated people trafficking in the Near, Middle and Far East Also investigated slavery in Liberia, Abyssinia, Somalia, the Red Sea area, Burma, Nepal, Jordan, Persia (Iran) during 1920s and 1930s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not all members of the League of Nations either signed up to or carried out the conventions about issues such as working hours, people trafficking or the rights of children. This is perhaps not surprising, as the League was developing new ideas through its commitment to international, humanitarian projects. National governments were not used to working with international organisations to deal with social, economic or even political problems. The disarmament commission was perhaps the most significant failure (see Chapter 2).

The 1920s was a positive decade for the new League of Nations. It dealt effectively with some of the consequences of the First World War and the Treaty of Versailles. Problems concerning refugees, minorities and border disputes, for example, were generally dealt with successfully. However, the League did not have to deal with any powerful aggressors at this time.

A lot of the League’s work was complex, long term and needed international co-operation (such as health, slavery, working conditions and illegal drugs) but it made some progress. Agreeing on a definition of slavery (see table, page 17) might seem like an easy task, but different cultures had different ideas. For example, are people who work for free because they are in debt slaves?

The weaknesses in the League of Nations caused by its membership and lack of armed forces only threatened it in the 1930s. By that time the world had changed a great deal, due to the Great Depression that began in 1929. This was also the time when disarmament became both a big issue and a big failure for the League.

Work in pairs. Pick the three most successful outcomes from the League of Nations’ commissions on (a) refugees and (b) drugs.

Identify the least successful outcomes from the commissions on (a) refugees and (b) drugs.

Join with another pair. Make a short presentation to show to the rest of the group comparing the work of the two commissions. Answer these three questions.

◼ How did the League of Nations use economic methods in addressing the problems of refugees and drugs?

◼ Which was more successful? You could use a six point scale. 6 = fully achieved all aims; 5 = largely successful in achieving its aims; 4 = more successful than not; 3 = failures slightly greater than successes; 2 = largely a failure; 1 = complete failure.

◼ Why? You must use what you have learned to provide evidence to support your answer.

Design a poster, or make a leaflet, encouraging member states to help with refugee crises. Think about how you could effectively get across your message about (a) the situation of the refugees; (b) what could be done to help them; (c) why helping refugees is important.
## RECAP

### RECALL QUIZ

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Answer</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Who was president of the USA at the end of the First World War?</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. When was the League of Nations founded?</td>
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<td>3. What was the name of the document setting out the League’s aims?</td>
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<td>4. Which part of the League of Nations met three to four times a year and whenever there was an emergency?</td>
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<td>5. What and when was the first territorial dispute settled by the League?</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. What problem was the first dealt with by the refugee commission?</td>
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<td>7. Which drug was the original focus of the League’s drugs commission?</td>
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<td>8. Which country became the fifth permanent member of the Council in 1926?</td>
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<td>9. Which two members of the League of Nations went to war in 1925?</td>
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<td>10. What was the name of the first High Commissioner for Refugees?</td>
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### CHECKPOINT

**STRENGTHEN**

S1 Name two nations that were not members of the League of Nations when it was founded in 1920.

S2 Name three commissions established by the League of Nations.

S3 What does self-determination mean?

**CHALLENGE**

C1 Why was the League of Nations able to settle the territorial disputes in the Aaland Islands, Upper Silesia and the Greek–Bulgarian War?

C2 Explain two ways in which the League of Nations could help to ensure peace.

C3 Give two ways in which the League of Nations could be considered groundbreaking.

### SUMMARY

- The League of Nations was created by the Paris Peace Conference after the First World War.
- The most important aim of the League was to secure and maintain peace.
- All member nations attended and voted in the Assembly on the decisions made by the Council.
- The Council of the League of Nations was its decision-making body.
- A range of League of Nations commissions dealt with social, economic and humanitarian issues.
- The Permanent Court of International Justice in The Hague was founded with the League of Nations.
- The USA was not a member of the League, which proved to be a serious weakness.
- During the 1920s, the League successfully settled a number of territorial disputes.
- The League of Nations made progress in controlling the drugs trade in the 1920s and 1930s.
- The League of Nations successfully dealt with several refugee crises in the 1920s and 1930s.
Exam Guidance: Part (B) Questions

Question to be answered: Explain two causes of the League of Nations’ involvement with refugees. (8 marks)

Analysis Question 1: What is the question type testing?
In this question you have to demonstrate that you have knowledge and understanding of the key features and characteristics of the period studied. In this particular case it is knowledge and understanding of why the League of Nations became involved in refugee problems.

You also have to explain, analyse and make judgements about historical events and periods to explain ways in which there were similarities between those events/periods.

Analysis Question 2: What do I have to do to answer the question well?
Obviously you have to write about the causes of the refugee problems dealt with by the League of Nations, but it isn’t just a case of writing everything you know. You have to write about why there were refugee problems. To do this well, you need to give detail showing different reasons why the League was needed to deal with refugee crises. We call this explaining why your chosen causes produced the given outcome (i.e. why there were problems with refugees for the League of Nations to deal with).

In this case, there are several causes of refugee problems. You might write about the Russian civil war, atrocities against the Armenians or Russian revolution or the scale of the problems, for example.

Analysis Question 3: Are there any techniques I can use to make it very clear that I am doing what is needed to be successful?
This is an 8-mark question and you need to make sure you leave enough time to answer the other two questions fully (they are worth 22 marks in total). Therefore you need to get straight in to writing your answer. The question asks for two causes, so it’s a good idea to write two paragraphs and to begin each paragraph with phrases like ‘One cause was…’, ‘Another cause was…’. You will get a maximum of 4 marks for each cause you explain, so make sure you give two causes.

How many marks you score for each cause will depend on how well you use accurate and factual information to explain why the refugee crises occurred.
Answer A
There were two reasons why there were refugee problems for the League of Nations to deal with. One was the Russian civil war. Another was the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.

What are the strengths and weaknesses of Answer A?
It isn’t a very good answer. It does give two reasons, as the question asks, but it hasn’t provided factual information to support those reasons, or explained why the crises came about. It is doubtful that this answer would score more than 2 marks.

Answer B
Two reasons why there were refugee problems for the League to deal with were the Russian civil war and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. After the Russian Revolution, civil war broke out and many Russians fled the fighting. Huge numbers of people arrived in Turkey, Greece, Yugoslavia and across Europe. The International Red Cross was unable to cope with the scale of the problem and so called on the League for help.

The collapse of the Ottoman Empire led to Greece trying to expand into Turkey and killing huge numbers of Turks. Turkey fought back and killed thousands of Greeks and Armenians. Turks, Greeks and Armenians all fled the fighting. The League was needed to help the International Red Cross and Red Crescent and to organise a population exchange between Greece and Turkey and provide loans to Greece to deal with refugees. Armenians continued to be massacred into the 1930s, so tens of thousands fled to Syria and Lebanon. The League and the ILO were needed to provide shelter and resettle them.

What are the strengths and weaknesses of Answer B?
This is an excellent answer. It gives two causes and provides factual support in showing why the League of Nations was needed to deal with refugees. The answer uses information such as why the League had to intervene in refugee problems without describing the situations in detail. The question did not require a description of events. It would be likely to receive full marks.

Challenge a friend
Use the Student Book to set a part (b) question for a friend. Then look at the answer. Does it do the following things?

- Provide two similarities
- Provide detailed information to explain why they are similarities.

If it does, you can tell your friend that the answer is very good!