

Why did the Germans vote in Hitler? Hitler was a nationalist, promising to make Germany strong again. Germany had been demoralised by the Treaty of Versailles and he promised to break those terms. Hitler promised to take over other territories which would help Germany out of the Great Depression.

Appeasement Definition: to prevent further disagreement in arguments or war by giving to the other side an advantage that they have demanded.

Hitler's actions 1933-9

1933: Left the League of Nations. Walked out of the League of Nations disarmament conference.

1933-35: Began rearmament, drafting thousands of unemployed workers into the army.

1935: Took the Saar region of Germany back from the control of the League. Nearly 90% of people in the Saar voted in a plebiscite to join Hitler's Germany.

1936: Remilitarised the Rhineland- troops of forces entered the demilitarised zone between France and Germany. This was after France and the USSR agreed a mutual assistance treaty to protect each other in the event of war with Germany.

1936: Got involved in the Spanish Civil War, supplying troops to the nationalist side with Mussolini.

1936-7: Anti-Comintern Pact and Axis Alliance- Germany and Japan signed the Anti-Comintern Pact to pledge opposition to communism. When Italy joined it became the Axis alliance.

1938: Anschluss- Germany unites with Austria, manipulating the Austrian political system to get the agreement of the Austrian government and winning a vote with the approval of 99.75% of the Austrian population.

1938-9: Hitler tries to take over the Sudetenland. The Munich Conference (with Italy, France, Germany and Great Britain) gives Hitler the Sudetenland provided Hitler does not invade Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain declared peace in our time. Hitler then invaded Czechoslovakia. Britain promised to back up Poland if Germany invaded.

September 1939: Hitler invaded Poland. Britain declared war on Germany.

Britain and Appeasement

Neville Chamberlain continued the policy of previous PM (Baldwin) in appeasing Hitler. This was in consultation with Daladier (French PM).

- Response to remilitarisation of the Rhineland: do nothing. Post war treaties unfair, Hitler was only "walking into his own backyard". Also, distracted by Abyssinian crisis.
- Response to Anschluss: do nothing. If the people wanted to unite, that's what they should do.
- Response to Czechoslovakian crisis: Munich Conference. British people began digging air raid shelters and buying gas masks- Chamberlain flew to meet Hitler, agreed the Munich Agreement and signed a joint declaration of non aggression with Hitler. The newspapers thought it was a triumph.
- ALSO: they failed to join a non-aggression pact against Hitler suggested by Stalin, because they did not trust him. Therefore, Stalin signed one with Hitler enabling Hitler to invade Poland. Appeasement ended with that.

Who was responsible for the war?

The Great Depression helped Hitler come to power. The League of Nations failed. Chamberlain failed to stop Hitler, Stalin enabled Hitler to invade Poland. However, these actions would not have started a war. Hitler clearly wanted war. Most historians believe it was Hitler's fault.

Chamberlain's weak position

Neither the British people, or the British empire (which it was struggling to hold together), would support a war.

The USA wouldn't help out. Mussolini joined Hitler's side.

Could not agree with France on how to treat Germany.

Britain could not afford war or rearmament after the Depression and *the Treasury blocked Chamberlain's plans to increase Britain's armed forces because of the cost.* It still had debts from the First World War!

Why did Chamberlain appease?

Chamberlain didn't think Hitler was all that bad!

Chamberlain couldn't side with Stalin- he was worried about Communism. Hitler was standing up to communism.

He didn't believe that Hitler was serious about all his extremist policies.

The Treaty of Versailles had been harsh and no-one else but Germany had disarmed.

Appeasement Interpretations

Title of Interpretation	Main features of the interpretation	Why the interpretation developed at this time (CONTEXT)?	Examples/ challenges of this interpretation.
<p>Popular Majority view (1937-8)</p> <p>Chamberlain had done well.</p>	<p>Most people approved of Chamberlain's actions- treated as a hero when he returned to Britain after signing the Munich agreement.</p> <p>Only one minister resigned and some ministers (including Lord Halifax) became even stronger supporters of Appeasement than Chamberlain was.</p>	<p>British people were worried about a repeat of war (after the horrors of WWI). Country was not united behind the idea of going to war over Czechoslovakia. This view did not last long- opinion polls showed that most people did not believe Hitler</p>	<p>CHALLENGES: Churchill and political cartoonist David Low.</p> <p>CHURCHILL said: "By repeatedly surrendering to force, Chamberlain has encouraged aggression"</p>
<p>Popular and Political View (1939-48)</p> <p>The 'Guilty Men'</p>	<p>Short book published in 1940 called "Guilty Men" by three journalists calling themselves "Cato".</p> <p>Appeasement was a foolish, cowardly and immoral policy. The appeasers were seen as almost working with the dictators. Since 1931, British leaders had made concessions to Japan, Italy and Germany- strengthening them and weakening Britain.</p>	<p>As war went badly for Britain (defeated in Britain, France and with a concern that Britain would be invaded). They looked for a scapegoat and Chamberlain was blamed. Churchill replaced Chamberlain as PM, but there was a struggle between him and Lord Halifax who thought Britain should make peace. Lord Beaverbrook (newspaper publisher) was a close friend of Churchill, opposed Halifax) and it was he who published and promoted "Guilty Men".</p>	<p>This shaped the war people thought about Chamberlain and Appeasement for years to come.</p> <p>Lovegall and Osgood 'American presidents from Harry Truman on have projected an air of uncompromising toughness lest they be branded as appeasers by their political opponents'".</p>
<p>Orthodox view (1948-1960s)</p> <p>Churchill's view, Appeasement was a terrible misjudgement and miscalculation even if it was based on good motives</p>	<p>Churchill's view, written in his book <i>The Gathering Storm</i>. He was critical of appeasement but argued that Chamberlain was motivated by good intentions (but had miscalculated and misjudged Hitler).</p> <p>Churchill made it sound like he was the only one to have opposed Appeasement, claiming Chamberlain should have put together a 'Grand Alliance' of Britain, France, the USA and the USSR to stop the Axis powers.</p>	<p>Churchill's own self promotion- in 1943 he said "history will be kind to me because I intend to write it". He'd lost the 1945 General Election and wanted to make sure his historical reputation did not suffer. He also had so much prestige after leading Britain through WWII that his account became the accepted view. No academic historians challenged his account until the 1960s.</p> <p>The Cold War- broke out and Churchill was trying to make sure that people knew they had to stand up to aggressors, like Stalin.</p>	<p>British PM Tony Blair commented on Chamberlain in a speech in 2003 trying to persuade people that Britain should invade Iraq.</p> <p>"In 1938, Chamberlain was a hero when he bought back the Munich Agreement and he did it for the best of motives... He strove for peace... He was a good man who made a bad decision".</p>

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<p>Academic revisionist view (1960s-1990s) Chamberlain was in an impossible position and he did the best he could under the circumstances.</p>	<p>A.J.P. Taylor (1961)- Hitler didn't have a clear plan, he grasped opportunities when they came along. We therefore can't blame Chamberlain for not knowing what Hitler had planned- Hitler didn't know himself- how could Chamberlain? Donald Cameron Watt (1965)- Chamberlain faced many different problems and Hitler was just one of them- he had few options and very limited resources. Later in the 1960s other historians began carrying out many other studies (financial, military, relationships with the British Empire) etc. and decided that there was little else Chamberlain could have done on the basis of all these other concerns. Some historians claimed that Appeasement was the right thing to do because it meant Britain had time to build up its armed forces- particularly its air defences and the RAF.</p>	<p>Radical Thinking: the 1960s was a time when many traditional views were questioned. Vietnam War: During the 1960s, the USA's dislike of Appeasement had drawn them into a war in Vietnam which was going badly. New British sources: In 1958, the government passed the Public Records Act. Official government papers could be studied 30 years after they were created rather than 50 years. Historians had access to documents from the Treasury/ armed forces/ Foreign Office etc. (If you look at the Hitler's Actions 1933-9 and Britain sheet all the content in Italics was discovered by the academic revisionists).</p>	<p>Donald Cameron Watt: "Historians are now concerned to understand the processes which German and British politicians went through and the different kinds of advice they were receiving and the pressures that were on them. This is a welcome change from the dismissal of all those involved in Appeasement as stupid, weak and ill-informed".</p> <p>This wasn't a particularly popular view- it was an academic view, that was largely ignored by politicians and the public.</p>
<p>Academic Counter-Revisionist view (1990s-2000s) Chamberlain himself was part of the problem. His own personality and assumptions meant that he couldn't deal well with the situation.</p>	<p>Robert Parker was the first to develop this counter-revisionist view, and was joined by others saying Chamberlain was at least partly responsible for Appeasement.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • He overrated his own abilities in negotiating with Hitler. • Chamberlain couldn't understand Hitler because he wouldn't change his own views about international relations. • Chamberlain ignored the advice of many of his officials and colleagues. • Chamberlain did betray Czechoslovakia. 	<p>After the revisionism of the 1960s-90s, academic historians began the revisionism of the revisionism- the counter revisionism. A number of historians did not think that Chamberlain should be let off the hook for Appeasement. In 1989, the Cold War ended and archives from the USSR became more available to historians. The Soviets had captured a lot of German documents revealing the dealings between Hitler and Chamberlain.</p>	<p>This continued to cause arguments among historians who don't have much else to do. Many historians have argued "what alternatives were open to Chamberlain". Some historians (like Niall Ferguson) used a complex computer-based historical simulation called The Calm and the Storm to test what might have happened if the Grand Alliance had been called and war declared in 1938. The simulation that the Germans were able to invade England, because England was so weak in 1938!</p>

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1936: Sent troops into the Rhineland, where they weren't allowed.

1936: Got involved in the Spanish Civil War, supplying troops to the nationalist side with Mussolini.

1936-7: Axis Alliance- an alliance between Germany, Japan and Italy was formed.

1938: Anschluss- Germany unites with Austria, winning a vote with the approval of 99.75% of the Austrian population.

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Popular and Political View (1939-48) The 'Guilty Men'	Short book published in 1940 called "Guilty Men" by three journalists calling themselves "Cato". Appeasement was a cowardly and immoral policy.	As war went badly for Britain (defeated in Britain, France and with a concern that Britain would be invaded). They looked for a scapegoat and Chamberlain was blamed.	This shaped the war people thought about Chamberlain and Appeasement for years to come.
Orthodox view (1948-1960s) Churchill's view, Appeasement was a mistake.	Churchill's view, written in his book <i>The Gathering Storm</i> . He was critical of appeasement but argued that Chamberlain was motivated by good intentions (but had miscalculated and misjudged Hitler).	Churchill's own self promotion- He'd lost the 1945 General Election and wanted to make sure his historical reputation did not suffer. The Cold War- broke out and Churchill was trying to make sure that people knew they had to stand up to aggressors, like Stalin.	British PM Tony Blair used the example of Neville Chamberlain when persuading MPs to vote to invade Iraq in 2003.
Academic revisionist view (1960s-1990s) Chamberlain did the best he could.	Later in the 1960s other historians began carrying out many other studies (financial, military, relationships with the British Empire) etc. and decided that there was little else Chamberlain could have done but appease Hitler.	New British sources: In 1958, the government passed the Public Records Act. Official government papers could be studied 30 years after they were created rather than 50 years. Historians had access to documents from the Treasury/ armed forces/ Foreign Office etc.	This was an academic view, that was largely ignored by politicians and the public.
Academic Counter-Revisionist view (1990s-2000s) Chamberlain himself was part of the problem.	Chamberlain was at least partly responsible for Appeasement. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chamberlain ignored the advice of many of his officials and colleagues. • Chamberlain did betray Czechoslovakia. 	A number of historians did not think that Chamberlain should be let off the hook for Appeasement. In 1989, the Cold War ended and archives from the USSR became more available to historians. The Soviets had captured a lot of German documents revealing the dealings between Hitler and Chamberlain.	This continued to cause arguments among historians who don't have much else to do. Many historians have argued "what alternatives were open to Chamberlain".