Question 3

Section C: International Option

The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

The League of Nations and the Spanish Civil War

3 Read the sources and then answer **both** parts of the question.

Source A

The youth of Spain fall in thousands in the trenches of freedom as the victims of Fascist aeroplanes and the foreign war material delivered month after month, despite the non-intervention agreement, by those who base their international policy on the systematic breaking of treaties and their international undertakings. Madrid, the capital of a member of the League of Nations, has been reduced to ruins. The women and children of Madrid have been butchered in hundreds by bombing planes under the orders of rebel generals, supplied by states which have, in fact, begun a war, and which are continuing to make war, while statesmen talk of preserving peace. An international war is raging on Spanish soil. The worst thing that could happen to the League of Nations would be to contribute, by its own silence and inaction, to the spread of this war.

The Spanish Foreign Secretary addressing the League of Nations' Assembly, December 1936.

Source B

Spain is the second victim after Ethiopia of Fascist weapons. Events in Spain presented the Great Powers with a new problem. It was not a war between two countries, but a revolt against a constitutionally elected government. What attitude should the other countries adopt in these circumstances? The Great Powers chose neutrality, non-intervention, an idea which originated in Britain. The League of Nations regards the war in Spain as a civil war. As there is no article in the Covenant to determine the League's attitude in a civil war, the non-intervention agreement was not in conflict with the Covenant. But when Italy sent military planes to Spain, Spain's Foreign Secretary appealed to the League. He pointed out the great danger to peace if it should become the custom for a country to support a rebellion in another country with military forces without any declaration of war. The League demanded evidence, though this was already available. Now, non-intervention was in conflict with the Covenant. In the face of a military attack on one of its members, the League of Nations has no right to declare itself passive. But the League did nothing.

From an article entitled 'Spain – The Battlefield of Capitalism', by a Danish journalist, 1937.

Question 3, continued

Source C

Statements by TUC delegates:

If the government had agreed to the non-intervention policy in order to prevent a world war, they should ensure that the policy was made absolutely effective. The considerable delay in getting it started had worked to the prejudice of the Spanish government. Italy's policy was one of invasion. Although the Italian government had agreed to non-intervention, they were violating this all the time. As requested by the Spanish government, Britain should use its influence to examine the allegations regarding the nature and extent of Italian involvement. The presence of Italian troops in Spain was sufficient reason for applying the Covenant of the League of Nations. The British government should take strong measures to stop Franco gaining assistance from the Fascist Powers, Italy and Germany. The government should bear in mind that similar actions might take place in the future in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere.

Statement in reply by Mr. Eden, Foreign Secretary:

It was in Britain's interests to avoid becoming involved in war. Non-intervention was better than a policy of threats, for it was no use saying to a country unless it did a certain thing something would be done to it, if one was not prepared to take that action. Gaining accurate information about the extent of foreign involvement was difficult. Much of the information had proved to be unreliable. The Italian government, through its ambassador, had denied sending men to Spain. Without the non-intervention agreement, many Italians and Germans would undoubtedly have been going to Spain.

From the minutes of a meeting between the British Foreign Secretary and representatives of the British Trades Union Congress (TUC), March 1937.

Answer **both** parts of the question with reference to the sources.

- (a) Compare and contrast the views expressed by the Foreign Secretaries of Spain (Source A) and Britain (Source C) regarding the effectiveness of the non-intervention policy adopted by the League of Nations during the Spanish Civil War. [15]
- (b) 'In adopting a policy of non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War, the League of Nations failed to honour its Covenant commitments.' How far do Sources A to C support this view? [25]

Section C: International Option

The Search for International Peace and Security, 1919–1945

The League of Nations and the Spanish Civil War

Indicative Content

(a) Compare and contrast the views expressed by the Foreign Secretaries of Spain (Source A) and Britain (Source C) regarding the effectiveness of the non-intervention policy adopted by the League of Nations during the Spanish Civil War. [15]

The Spanish Foreign Secretary (Source A) argues that the non-intervention policy is not working. He claims that, despite agreeing to observe the policy, Fascist governments (Italy and Germany) are ignoring it and sending equipment to the rebel generals fighting against the Spanish government. As a result, the war in Spain is no longer a civil war, but an *'international war'*. The British Foreign Secretary (Source C) argues that the non-intervention policy is effective. Without it, he claims, many Italians and Germans would be fighting with the rebels in Spain. The implication is that there are not many Italians and Germans in Spain. He clearly accepts the Italian Ambassador's denial that Italy has sent men to Spain in defiance of the non-intervention policy.

While differences are clear, similarities might be less obvious. There are two. One is that both Foreign Ministers accept a need to take some kind of action with regard to the Spanish Civil War. They are proposing, however, very different kinds of action: the Spaniard wants more interventionist action led by the League of Nations; the Englishman wants to act to hold the ring, allowing civil conflict while containing the risk of an international European conflict.

The second difference is that both Foreign Secretaries put their national interests, as articulated by their national governments, before any other. The Spanish national interest was to defeat the rebels, which it could not do without international help. The British national interest was to contain the Spanish Civil War and thus prevent another European war by keeping open contacts with Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Source A is by the Spanish Foreign Minister at a public meeting of the League, which he wants to influence. It is bound to be emotional, one-sided and thus unreliable. Source B is by the British Foreign Secretary, a Conservative politician, at a private meeting with a leading domestic institution of the Left. In terms of the effectiveness of non-intervention, both will be one-sided and far from trustworthy.

(b) 'In adopting a policy of non-intervention in the Spanish Civil War, the League of Nations failed to honour its Covenant commitments.' How far do Sources A to C support this view?

Context: When the Spanish Civil War broke out, the League of Nations viewed it as an internal Spanish matter. Under Article 10, the League undertook to respect and preserve 'the territorial integrity and existing political independence' of its members. As a result, the League had neither the right nor the responsibility to become involved in a civil war. The non-intervention policy was designed by Britain and France to ensure that the Spanish Civil War remained a purely Spanish affair, provoking no wider conflict. Italy and Germany were among the 24 countries which formally agreed to this policy. The civil war did, however, become a symbol of the wider ideological struggle, fascism against communism.

Despite the non-intervention policy, both sides received support from outside Spain. Individuals volunteered for both sides. Governments supported both sides: Italy and

[25]

Mark scheme, continued

Germany for the Nationalist rebels, the USSR for the government. This took the form of military men and equipment. The Spanish government considered this to be an act of war, arguing that events in Spain were now endangering world peace and consequently concerned the League. As proof of its accusation, the Secretary-General was supplied with photographs and other documents showing German and Italian intervention. The British government claimed that this evidence was unreliable, preferring to believe the denials coming from the Italian and German governments. Note that the policy of non-intervention was developed by Britain and France separately from the League of Nations.

Analysis: All three sources contain some evidence in support of the hypothesis. Source A argues that the Spanish Civil War is no longer a civil war. It has become an '*international war*' since Franco's rebels are being given military support by Fascist governments. '*By its own silence and inaction*' the League of Nations is doing nothing to prevent this. The non-intervention policy was not working because Fascist governments were consistently breaking their agreement to support it. The Spanish Foreign Minister is highly critical of the League's failure to take effective action, with the clear implication that it is failing to adhere to its own Covenant.

Source B argues that the League of Nations should have taken action under the Covenant once Italy sent military support to Franco. This was effectively a military invasion of Spain, a member of the League of Nations. The writer dismisses the League's argument that it needed evidence of Italian involvement, claiming that this already existed.

The first part of Source C, from the TUC, argues that Italy's actions were effectively an invasion of Spain. Since a member state of the League of Nations was being attacked by a foreign country, the League should take action under the Covenant, as requested by the Spanish government. Failure to do this would be seen as a weakness and might lead to further aggressive acts, as later occurred against Czechoslovakia.

The sources also contain evidence to challenge the hypothesis. As Source B states, it was appropriate for the League of Nations to adopt a policy of non-intervention towards the Spanish Civil War, at least at first. The Covenant precluded the League from becoming involved in the internal affairs of a member state. Therefore, the League could not take sides in the civil war. The key issue regarding the non-intervention policy, as pointed out by the TUC delegates in Source C, was to 'ensure that the policy was made absolutely effective'.

The second part of Source C, from the British Foreign Minister, claimed that there was no reliable evidence to suggest that the policy was being ignored by foreign governments, quoting the categorical denial of Italian involvement by the Italian Ambassador. Without such evidence, the League was constrained by its Covenant not to get involved in what was seen as a civil war.

Evaluation: Source A, a public speech by the Spanish Foreign Minister at a time when the rebels were threatening to take Madrid, was an understandably emotional account of events in Spain. He uses highly emotive language to assert that Spain is being attacked by foreign armies. He is highly critical of the League of Nation's failure to help the Spanish government against foreign aggression. Representing one of the sides in the civil war, his speech could be seen as highly biased. It gives no hard evidence of Italian or German involvement, merely accusations that Franco is being supplied with '*war materials*' by Fascist governments. The British government (as shown by the Foreign Secretary's statement in C) chose not to believe these accusations, preferring to accept the denial by the Italian Ambassador. This cross-referencing further undermines the reliability of Source A – though Source B helps to support the claims of Source A.

Mark scheme, continued

Source B, from an article by a Danish journalist writing in the second year of the war, clearly believes the Spanish Foreign Minister's claims regarding the involvement of Italy and Germany. As a journalist, he may have first-hand experience of such involvement. This interpretation helps undermine the claims made by the British Foreign Minister (Source C).

Source C itself contains two separate interpretations of the civil war. In the first part, the TUC delegates represented the Labour movement in Britain, which would be strongly opposed to Fascism. The TUC delegation claims that Italy and Germany are breaking their agreement to uphold the non-intervention policy, thus supporting Sources A and B. It argues that the British government should, through the League of Nations, take effective action against Italy and Germany. The TUC's fears that failure to do this would lead to future aggression, for example in Czechoslovakia, were to prove prophetic.

In the second part of **Source C**, the Foreign Secretary argues that the non-intervention policy is working and questions the reliability of evidence, suggesting otherwise. This could be seen as naïve or disingenuous, as events were soon to prove that Italy and Germany were indeed supplying Franco with military men and equipment. It certainly supported the government's appeasement strategy. As the Foreign Minister makes clear, Britain did not want a major war, something which he saw as inevitable if action were to be taken against Italy and Germany. All three/four sources are unreliable in their different ways. Contextual analysis, however, would argue that the second half of Source C was the least reliable of all.

Example candidate response - high

Question number	
a	The two sources are quite similar when
/	considering the profession of the two men giving an
	account of what policy the League of Nations have to follow.
	This is where the diplomatic tone is considerably evident
	in potraying the line of Policy that each felt should
-	be followed. The source A by the Spanish Toreign
	Secretary use emotive language such as "women and
	children of Modrid have been butchered" to instrigate.
	proper action rather than using the non intervention policy
	Serving the same purpose of prestiging it course of a chow
	emptive language is seen in source C as the British
	Foreign Scoretary claims" Much of the information was
1-4-21	inaccurate". Both sources are therefore in concurrement on
	the use of similar language and agenda & drive home
	Leir point:
	The two sources are, however, explicitly
4	different on their stance, cource A disputes that the
	non intervention policy was effective as source C dispute
	it. Whee source A dama more site tran the League we
	contributing by "its own silence and inaction to the open
	of this war" whereas source C challenges the claim with
	"Without the non intervention agreement, many Italians
	and Germans would undonbtedly have been going to Spin
	The reason behind the contention between the sources is
	The nationalities of the spokesmen, Sauce A is written by a
	Spanish diplomat aiming to gain higher support but surce 12
	Takes a pignticanonary stance as pritain, the main new
	of the heague had attempted to protect her own interests as
	"it was not prepared for war"
	A major contradiction is also the reliability
1	of the two sources. The source it written at an earlier date
a	than source appear to be more reliable in mound the

methodiveness. Writter as a primary source 01 pain, an accurate account is given 27 ne W 1 men were indeed victims 16 ot aevoplanes extremiste thter Mico ana Stonaed and supported Serlin Axis kna anana war and The aeroplanes. normu account tousann on Charines Naims choice, The Th no soura Linding men denser Ma 1ghord Current atkitto 61 giving account The 07 Ynt polion. the chante have in tact begun uhich a Britain Was It naction by hoping with on aggives Was arold selfin and un-eliable UNIKE A tha an ara account Herefore, although both attusuan addressa Sources of Nation A, the heade bortes They both ne MODON in OR TA CAL ne "igmore inter vention non 00 has with ne daiminy, bi banning Valiance and Thismos lar are algo contradictor account Vina more acurate inghas 2 Ptitying incorrect information 19 pg

Question	To present sectored fillend to
5	the overall sentiment followed by sources
	A-C is that yes, indeed the league of Nations failed
	to order its committment through "its own silence and
	inaction" and its lack of putting into effect article 18
-	that ate called for collective security. In this Fource A
	agrees, the TUC in source C agrees that there was "
	sufficient reason for applying the Covenant of Althaugh Everce
	C in respect to the Porcign Suretany disputes this, it is
	a biand and one sided point of view that source B
$V_{ij} >$	analyses in detail claining "the League of Nations had
5.0	no right to declare itsult passive.
	Source A originates from the Spanish
	Foreign Sciretary at the felm of the Sparsh Civil War
	given to the heage of Nations with the sole purpose of
	promoting justified action as stated in the covenant.
	Cource A is highly usely as it is descriptive in nature
	giving an account on the death with the un of
	emptire language such as "utile the statements talk of
	preserving peace" Although the nature of the source is
	the irony reflects the current situetion. The heaguest
	Nations had missed as stated in source C an appointy
	to "apply the lovenant" as the was sufficient reason.
	Fascism was a menance and he main reason both Muspolin
	and Hiller supported General France a dictator despite Ne "constitutionally elected governmet". In exance the
	Light had been for all a secret of the survey for
ad Inc.	League had been formed as a response against taken
1	agression. Despite the limitation of the garce being bias
1777 - 18 A. A. A.	as it appeals for help, one must look beyond the
	exaggination and realize indeed the league practiced "inach
	Trough the policy of non intervention, going against
5	Article 18 that chated sanctrows would be upplied and

collective surity ben wura overall agreement with the is in that the League did abuse its nower and instend. the Source is ofven third anish invinality Mw DONTA a Cources 15 not associated eithe good job contri 140 Source doer a SUVES le. rediator on the two sources recoansing Handings eventually taking or inc that non Durco Source the covenant". Was WIL Was Vinachou recognisas The aus B passi Written on the same year as source Stana. Cit soutes the 0 had hat the information provided was unreliabl Mat dimanded heggine had Aminind eviden ovailable. The cource preuntin was already 0 entrol non Curve ball of claims as a nfield. The Aniled in m Fources udar the achar liable. The source Inuld Dreanks The view only ondam but being Spurce WIT Spanich War. 1VI in tor matrice third party end on ano Britoin range Wea nou Covenant i. annen frahras no point cigniticant in Giving O non Conniess. NOUN attitudes on toward marcer WOW That KDre and ne orgale dooninering Cena funational

attains and ought to be punished " Huly's policy was one of invasion" The policy of non intervention is the body that organes it was not both Germany and nued. Although toln iv support , both Hitler and Mussilian Vio Jahny time " Additionally, withen in dll lin for action is on appeal Source Kthopia anounst second Nichim alter 0 convincimin 1k The source is highly apons he state of situation in fers 12 wars ana Britain In Muena". It the people of "uu pritain dim Source intervention in reality, who non Would in drawing ultimately udible wasa ne stating lach gove Covingat strong orchous", This chould take militour sanctions instead of a poissive line of anneasen that went against the main aim avena or ne event future was extremely linite Illistover to justity hut evidence no committee Ondis puppie not no naver to take That the honou being Und War Stop to "international attain 11 17 limte also "information proval that it no evidence the gives to iphle when on we Spain that I fai he youth of 0 in the wards neful ot penches. 15 however ħ. was una our had DIIM

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Examiner comment - high

Part a

The candidate approaches the question by focusing on comparing and contrasting the sources. The first paragraph looks at language, and although this is of some use, it does not really address the question, which is about the 'effectiveness of the non-intervention policy'. The response moves on to clearly show some differences in content and this is awarded marks accordingly. The candidate is also able to show similarities in content between the sources and so is given a mark at Level 3. The answer attempts some evaluation but this is not valid and so is not credited. For a higher mark, the answer needed to evaluate the sources in terms of their nature, origin and purpose and use this evaluation to compare them.

Mark awarded for part a = 9 out of 15

Part b

The response focuses on the sources and the assertion from the start and points out that Source C consists of two different opinions, i.e. Eden and the TUC. The candidate goes on to link the sources to the assertion effectively, showing where there is support and challenge, and to offer points of evaluation which assess the weight which can be given to each source. Although this evaluation is not always precisely focused, it is enough to place the answer well into Level 4. The answer offers a good conclusion which recaps the ideas covered. To improve, this conclusion needed to include more focused judgement of how far the sources support the assertion; this could have been done by weighing up the sources according to their content and provenance.

Mark awarded for part b = 19 out of 25

Total marks awarded = 28 out of 40

Example candidate response - middle

Question number	
3(a)	It is endert trert forman A and C ghave
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(b)	The League of Nation was restablished on
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	in source C, only served British national
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	However, the statement in reply by Mr. Eden,
	Foreign Secretary (Source C), shows as
2 - 5 5 - 5 -	dyperveg opinion of the British in regard
	to the non-intervention policy. When The
	TUC delegates argue trant the poting
	League should intervene by houding
i e	to its covenant, the foregu secretary
	States, "Non-intervention was better than
1	a policy of Threats? This implies Tat
	the reague did not infact fail to
	honor its commitment but instead
19 ang 19	succeeded on the policy of non-intervention
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	it say Without the non-intervention
	agreement, many Italians and aemans
and a second	would undoubtedly now been going to
1.77	Sparie? However, un companson with
	The article (source B), it clearly states
	trat "non-interestion was in conflict
4	uch the Covenent'. The League Therefore
	failed to honor it commitments to
	the covenant due to the interest of
	Butan, possibley in reparring Haby as an
	ally against Germany and all The
	White, appearing Genering to bould up
	armament un ready for an inentable war.
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	the reague of Hadron would be to
	contribute, loy it out silence and maretion
	to the goreand of the war? This goes to
	grow, with reference to both force (and
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Paper 1 – Document question

Example candidate response - middle, continued

		, League juiled to honor	
Con	enent	commitments, blata	thy said
boy	Bute	un (source c).	l -

Examiner comment - middle

Part a

This answer shows both strengths and weaknesses, which place it in the middle of the mark scheme. The first part of the answer is confused about which part of Source C is relevant to the question. Although the question asks about the views of Foreign Secretaries, the candidate uses material from the TUC minutes which is not valid for this question. Therefore, the first part of the response, which deals with similarities, is not credited with any marks. However, the second part of the answer identifies differences and successfully explains material expressing the view of Eden. This means the answer is given a mark at the top of Level 2. To improve, the answer needed to look more closely at the sources.

Mark awarded for part a = 6 out of 15

Part b

The candidate takes a clear and structured approach. to the question and shows understanding of the sources and the assertion. The candidate uses the first part of the answer to deal with the sources supporting the assertion and explains these links clearly. The response then moves on to consider where the sources challenge the assertion and explains this well. As a result, the answer is given a mark at the top of Level 3 for analysis and links to the question. To improve, the answer needed to evaluate the sources in terms of their nature, origin and purpose, and then use this evaluation to support or challenge the assertion further.

Mark awarded for part b = 14 out of 25

Total marks awarded = 20 out of 40

Example candidate response - low

<u>a</u>)	The foreign secrepties of spain (Source M) and Britain
	Source 9 has similar views of on the policy of non-
	intervention that the league adapted during the Sponish
	Civil Lear.
	Firstly, both Source A and C agree that considering the
<u> </u>	Carl that the league of rations goes by a calonant
ж. 2-т	and therefore has obligations such as to make all
	autenplis to secure prespects for peace. The paircy
	of non-intervention is shouldn't be adapted by the
	leque - Source A emphasizes that the sponsh Civil
	har 18 apintenational way not a civil a civil
(a):	har therefore the legare should have interproof,
	The source goes on to stress that "Madrid, capital
1	of a mon ber of the league, ' has been reached to
	tuins' This convey's that the league's policy
a da Antonio de la composición	Of non-inhomention did not Genefil the league nor
-	its mensers in any way, and can the very reason
-	that the league is a monder it was he leagues
	responsibility to bet involved in the openish
	children. Source C supports this view in a way
	as it mentions that the moment Halion troops
	invacion Sprin the heren was sufficient reason
	for applying the council'. This comess that
	for any other reason the league might have had to
	decide to adopt the non-intervention policy. The
	sde reason that they shall have reconsidered the
	is that arcording to their averant, it was their
	responsibility to interiore got handle the marker.
	Sauce A and Source B both agroe with
	the view that the League's reluctonce thesitation
	to make up their mind on whether to intenone of

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Example candidate response – low, continued

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Examiner comment - low

Part a

The response begins with an analysis of Source A which is accurate but does not focus on comparing or contrasting it with the other sources. This part of the answer refers to the wrong part of Source C (i.e. the TUC minutes) so does not offer a valid comparison with Source A. The response is awarded marks for the second part where it successfully identifies and explains differences between the content of the two sources. This places the answer at the top of Level 2. To improve, the answer needed to use the correct section of each source to identify and explain similarities.

Mark awarded for part a = 7 out of 15

Part b

Throughout this answer the candidate struggles to make clear links between the sources, the assertion given in the question and their own knowledge. The beginning of the answer discusses the issues surrounding the policy of intervention but contains little reference to the sources; this cannot be credited beyond Level 1 in the mark scheme. Later in the answer, Source B is judged as showing support of the assertion and so the mark is placed at Level 2. The candidate could have improved this answer by making clearer links between the sources and the assertion, and explaining which sources support and/or challenge.

Mark awarded for part b = 8 out of 25

Total marks awarded = 15 out of 40