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国际史 1871–1945

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that offer complete and thorough coverage of Cambridge International AS Level History (syllabus code 9389). Each book is aimed at one of the AS History syllabuses issued by Cambridge International Examinations for first examination in 2014. These books may also prove useful for students following other A Level courses covering similar topics. Written in clear and accessible language, Cambridge International AS Level History – International History 1871–1945 enables students to gain the knowledge, understanding and skills to succeed in their AS Level course (and ultimately in further study and examination).

提供完整、详尽的剑桥国际 AS Level 历史记录（课程代码 9389）。每本书都针对剑桥国际考试 2014 年首次考试发布的 AS 历史教学大纲之一。这些书对于学习涵盖类似主题的其他 A Level 课程的学生也可能有用。 《剑桥国际 AS Level 历史 – 国际历史 1871-1945》以清晰易懂的语言编写，使学生能够获得知识、理解和技能，以在 AS Level 课程中取得成功（并最终在进一步的学习和考试中取得成功）。

Syllabus and examination

Students wishing to take just the AS Level take two separate papers at the end of a one-year course. If they wish to take the full A Level there are two possible routes. The first is to take the two AS papers at the end of the first year and a further two A Level papers at the end of the following year. The second is to take the two AS papers as well as the two A Level papers at the end of a two-year course. For the full A Level, all four papers must be taken. The two AS papers are outlined below.

Paper 1 lasts for one hour and is based on The Search for International Peace and Security 1919–45. The paper will contain at least three different sources, and candidates will have to answer two questions on them. Students are not expected to have extensive historical knowledge to deal with these questions, but they are expected to be able to understand, evaluate and utilise the sources in their answers, and to have sound background knowledge of the period. In the first question (a) candidates are required to consider the sources and answer a question on one aspect of them..In the second question (b) candidates must use the sources and their own knowledge and understanding to address how far the sources support a given statement. Chapter 5 provides the appropriate level of historical knowledge to deal with Paper 1.

Paper 2 lasts for an hour and a half. This paper contains four questions, and candidates must answer two of them. Each question has two parts: part (a) requires a causal explanation; and part (b) requires consideration of significance and weighing of the relative importance of factors. A question on each of the four topics outlined in the Cambridge syllabus (for example, International Relations 1871–1918) will appear in every examination paper.

教学大纲和考试 希望只参加 AS Level 的学生在一年的课程结束时参加两份单独的试卷。如果他们想参加完整的 A Level 课程，有两种可能的途径。第一个是在第一年年底考两篇 AS 试卷，并在第二年年底再考两篇 A Level 试卷。第二个是在两年课程结束时完成两篇 AS 论文以及两篇 A Level 论文。对于完整的 A Level 课程，必须完成全部四份试卷。这两篇 AS 论文概述如下。论文 1 持续一小时，基于《寻求国际和平与安全 1919-45》。该论文将包含至少三个不同的来源，候选人必须回答有关这些来源的两个问题。学生不需要拥有广泛的历史知识来处理这些问题，但他们应该能够理解、评估和利用答案中的资料来源，并对该时期有扎实的背景知识。在第一个问题 (a) 中，考生必须考虑来源并回答有关其中某个方面的问题。在第二个问题 (b) 中，考生必须使用来源以及他们自己的知识和理解来解决来源支持的程度给定的声明。第 5 章提供了处理论文 1 的适当历史知识水平。论文 2 持续一个半小时。本文包含四个问题，考生必须回答其中两个问题。每个问题有两个部分：(a) 部分需要因果解释； (b) 部分要求考虑重要性并权衡因素的相对重要性。 每张试卷中都会出现关于剑桥教学大纲中列出的四个主题（例如，国际关系 1871-1918）的问题。

Introduction 介绍

Examination skills

Chapter 6, which is entirely dedicated to helping students with examination skills and techniques, works through all the different types of exam questions in detail. Students should read the relevant section of the exam skills chapter before addressing practice questions, to remind themselves of the principles of answering each type of question. Remember that facts alone are not enough; they must be accompanied by a clear understanding of the questions and must employ of a range of skills such as focused writing, evaluation and analysis.

All chapters have a similar structure. They key features are as follows:

考试技巧第 6 章完全致力于帮助学生掌握考试技巧和技巧，详细介绍了所有不同类型的考试问题。学生在解答练习题之前应阅读考试技巧章节的相关部分，以提醒自己回答各类问题的原则。请记住，仅凭事实是不够的；还需要注意。他们必须对问题有清晰的理解，并且必须运用一系列技能，例如有针对性的写作、评估和分析。所有章节都有相似的结构。它们的主要特点如下：

1 Key questions pose thought-provoking pointers to the key issues being dealt with in the chapter.

2 Content summary explains the essence of a chapter.

3 Timeline offers an overview of significant events of the period.

4 Key figures offer a detailed profile of key personalities.

5 Notes highlight significant points from within the text.

6 Definitions of key terms enhance students’ understanding of the text.

7 Questions interspersed within the chapters help to consolidate learning.

8 Key issues outline the key aspects of the content that might be significant for exam preparation.

9 Revision questions help students assess their own understanding and skills.

10 Further reading provides a list of extra resources that will help with gaining a wider perspective of the topic.

1 关键问题对本章讨论的关键问题提出了发人深省的指导。 2 内容概要阐释章节的精髓。 3 时间轴概述了这一时期的重大事件。 4 关键人物提供了关键人物的详细资料。 5 注释突出显示文本中的重要观点。 6 关键术语的定义增强学生对课文的理解。章节中穿插的7个问题有助于巩固所学知识。 8 关键问题概述了对考试准备可能重要的内容的关键方面。 9 复习问题帮助学生评估自己的理解和技能。 10 进一步阅读提供了一系列额外资源，有助于您更广泛地了解该主题。

Introduction 介绍

E

uropean nations had a long tradition of increasing their wealth, prestige and power by gaining overseas possessions. As early as the 16th century, Spain had taken control of large parts of South America. In the 18th century, Britain and France had competed for territory in North America and India. By the early 19th century, Britain controlled an empire stretching from New Zealand to Canada.

The period from 1871 to 1914 witnessed a new wave of imperialism. This had three main characteristics:

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It was largely focused on Africa and Asia. Explorers had discovered an abundant supply of valuable minerals and raw materials in the African interior. Meanwhile, the crumbling Chinese Empire offered opportunities to increase vital trade links with the Far East.

**欧洲国家有着通过获得海外财产来增加财富、声望和权力的悠久传统。早在16世纪，西班牙就控制了南美洲的大部分地区。 18世纪，英国和法国曾争夺北美和印度的领土。到19世纪初，英国控制了一个从新西兰到加拿大的帝国。 1871年至1914年是帝国主义新浪潮的时期。这具有三个主要特征：它主要集中在非洲和亚洲。**探险家们在非洲内陆发现了丰富的宝贵矿物和原材料。与此同时，摇摇欲坠的中华帝国为加强与远东地区的重要贸易联系提供了机会。

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Although the rush to acquire new overseas possessions inevitably involved rivalry between European nations, there was a real attempt to prevent this leading to open confrontation and warfare. The Treaty of Berlin (1885), for example, effectively laid down the rules by which European nations should carry out their plans for expansion in Africa.

**。尽管急于获得新的海外财产, 不可避免地涉及欧洲国家之间的竞争，但确实有人试图阻止这种情况导致公开的对抗和战争。例如，《柏林条约》（1885 年）有效地制定了欧洲国家执行非洲扩张计划的规则。**

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The desire for overseas colonies was no longer confined to the great powers of Europe. Massive industrial growth led the USA to seek greater control over Central and South America, as well as access to trading rights in Asia. This required the development of a strong navy and the acquisition of overseas bases from which it could operate. At the same time, Japan experienced its own industrial and military revolutions, which enabled the country to seek greater power and influence within Asia. This brought Japan into direct conflict with one of the major European powers – Russia

。**对海外殖民地的渴望, 不再局限于欧洲列强。大规模的工业增长, 导致美国寻求对中美洲和南美洲的更大控制，以及获得亚洲的贸易权。这需要发展一支强大的海军, 并获得可以运作的海外基地。与此同时，日本经历了自己的工业和军事革命，这使得该国能够在亚洲寻求更大的权力和影响力。**这使日本与欧洲主要大国之一——俄罗斯发生了直接冲突

– and made subsequent rivalry with the USA more likely.

imperialism

The policy of extending a nation’s power by gaining political and economic control over more territory. This is sometimes referred to as colonialism.

——并使得随后与美国的竞争变得更有可能。**帝国主义 通过获得对更多领土的政治和经济控制, 来扩大国家实力的政策。这有时被称为殖民主义。**

The ‘scramble for Africa’

“争夺非洲”

In 1871, only 10% of Africa was under direct European control, most of it in the coastal regions. The next 30 years witnessed the rapid colonisation of Africa by European powers – a rush for land that contemporary journalists labelled the ‘scramble for Africa’. By 1900, over 90% of the African continent was under the colonial rule of European nations.

Figure 1.2 Two maps showing African colonies in 1871 (left) and 1914 (right)

Spanish

Algeria

Morocco Tunisia

Morocco Algeria

Libya EgyptRio de Oro

1**871年，非洲只有10%处于欧洲的直接控制之下，其中大部分位于沿海地区。接下来的 30 年, 见证了欧洲列强对非洲的迅速殖民化** — — 对土地的争夺被当代记者称为“非洲争夺”。**到1900年，非洲大陆90%以上的地区, 处于欧洲国家的殖民统治之下。**图 1.2 两张地图显示 1871 年（左）和 1914 年（右）的非洲殖民地 西班牙 阿尔及利亚 摩洛哥 突尼斯 摩洛哥 阿尔及利亚 利比亚 埃及 里奥德奥罗

Gambia

French Somaliland French West Africa

冈比亚 法属索马里兰 法属西非

Senegal British

Eritrea SomalilandAnglo-Egyptian

塞内加尔 英属厄立特里亚 索马里兰 英埃

AFRICA

SudanGambia French

非洲 苏丹 冈比亚 法文

Sierra Leone Equatorial Empire

Nigeria

Portuguese of

塞拉利昂 赤道帝国 尼日利亚 葡萄牙语

Africa Portuguese Guinea Coast EthiopiaGold

Gold Liberia Cameroon

Guinea Sierra Italian

Coast

Leone Togoland Somaliland

非洲 葡萄牙 几内亚海岸 埃塞俄比亚黄金 利比里亚 喀麦隆 几内亚塞拉 意大利海岸 利昂 多哥兰 索马里兰

British Gabon Spanish Guinea East

(British)

Uganda Africa

英属加蓬 西班牙几内亚 东（英属） 乌干达 非洲

Belgian Congo

Angola British Cabinda German East Africa Nyasaland

British French Angola Northern

French Portuguese Mozambique Spanish Portuguese South West Rhodesia Southern Rhodesia Mozambique Madagascar

km 0 0 miles 1000 1000 Transvaal Orange Free State Natal Cape Colony Belgian German Italian Independent Bechuanaland Union of South Africa Africa km 0 1000 01000miles

比利时 刚果 安哥拉 英属卡宾达 德语 东非 尼亚萨兰 英属法语 安哥拉 北法语 葡萄牙语 莫桑比克 西班牙语 葡萄牙语 西南罗得西亚 南罗得西亚 莫桑比克 马达加斯加 km 0 0 英里 1000 1000 德兰士瓦奥兰治自由州 纳塔尔开普殖民地 比利时德语 意大利语 独立贝专纳兰 南非联盟 非洲 km 0 1000 01000英里

Causes of the ‘scramble for Africa’

Historians have long debated the reasons for this rapid growth of imperialism, and have found it difficult to agree on a single cause. Several different – though interrelated – factors were involved, which are outlined below.

Strategic factors

Trade routes with India were vital for Britain. In the early 19th century, the British won control of Cape Colony in southern Africa, and established a port there on the key sea trading route with India. In 1869, the Suez Canal was opened, linking the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea across Egyptian territory. This meant that steamships could travel to and from India without passing round the southern tip of Africa. However, the instability of the Egyptian government threatened this new trading route and so, in 1882, Britain reluctantly took over the administration of Egypt. Many historians believe that it was the establishment of British power in Egypt that triggered the ‘scramble for Africa’.

“争夺非洲”的原因 **历史学家长期以来一直在争论, 帝国主义迅速发展的原因，并且发现很难就单一原因达成一致。其中涉及几个不同, 但相互关联的因素，概述如下。战略因素 -- 与印度的贸易路线, 对英国至关重要。 19世纪初，英国控制了南部非洲的开普殖民地，并在与印度的海上贸易要道上, 建立了港口。 1869年，苏伊士运河开通，横跨埃及领土, 连接地中海和红海。这意味着轮船可以往返印度，而无需绕过非洲南端。然而，埃及政府的不稳定, 威胁到了这条新的贸易路线，因此，1882年，英国不情愿地接管了埃及的管理权。许多历史学家认为，正是英国在埃及建立势力, 引发了“对非洲的争夺”。**

8

Medical advancement and exploration

In the 18th century, Africa was known as ‘the white man’s grave’ because of the dangers of diseases such as malaria. The medicine quinine, discovered by French scientists in 1817, proved an effective treatment for malaria, and as fears of contracting and dying of African diseases reduced, more

医学进步和探索 18 世纪，非洲因疟疾等疾病的危险而被称为“白人坟墓”。法国科学家于 1817 年发现的药物奎宁被证明可以有效治疗疟疾，而且随着人们对感染非洲疾病和死于非洲疾病的恐惧减少，更多的人开始使用奎宁。

people ventured to the ‘Dark Continent’. Countless expeditions began to remove some of the myths associated with Africa. Explorers were often financed by wealthy businessmen, keen to find new resources and trading opportunities. One of the most famous explorers, Henry Morton Stanley, was hired by the king of Belgium, Leopold II, to secure treaties with local chieftains along the course of the Congo River.

Weaponry

人们冒险前往“黑暗大陆”。无数的探险活动开始消除一些与非洲有关的神话。探险家通常由富有的商人资助，他们热衷于寻找新的资源和贸易机会。最著名的探险家之一亨利·莫顿·斯坦利受比利时国王利奥波德二世雇佣，与刚果河沿岸的当地酋长签订条约。武器

The development of fast-firing rifles, machine guns and heavy artillery gave Europeans a distinct advantage over poorly armed Africans. Land on the continent could be taken with little effective resistance from the native people.

Political factors

速射步枪、机枪和重炮的发展使欧洲人比武装落后的非洲人具有明显的优势。非洲大陆上的土地可以被夺取，而当地人几乎不需要进行有效的抵抗。政治因素

By 1871, the map of Europe had been settled and the borders of European countries agreed. Only war could change these, and this was something that all nations were keen to avoid. With no possibility of expansion within Europe itself, countries needed to look overseas in order to increase their wealth, power, prestige and influence. Africa offered the ideal opportunity.

The abolition of the slave trade

Much of Europe’s early contact with Africa had occurred because of the slave trade. From as early as the 16th century, ships had sailed from European ports to the coast of Africa. There the Europeans would acquire slaves, either by bartering with local chieftains or simply by capturing native people. The human cargo was then shipped across the Atlantic Ocean and sold to plantation owners in the USA to work as slaves picking cotton or tobacco. By 1871, however, slavery had been abolished in most countries. Denied the huge profits they had gained from the slave trade, many European businessmen sought other forms of trade with Africa.

**到 1871 年，欧洲地图已经确定，欧洲国家的边界​​也已确定。只有战争才能改变这些，而这是所有国家都极力避免的。由于欧洲本身不可能扩张，各国需要将目光投向海外，以增加其财富、权力、声望和影响力。非洲提供了理想的机会。**废除奴隶贸易 **欧洲与非洲的早期接触, 大部分是由于奴隶贸易而发生的。早在 16 世纪，就有**船只从欧洲港口航行到非洲海岸。在那里，欧洲人可以通过与当地酋长进行物物交换或仅仅通过**俘虏当地人来获得奴隶**。然后，这些人类货物被运过大西洋，卖给美国的种植园主，让他们充当采摘棉花或烟草的奴隶。**然而，到 1871 年，大多数国家都废除了奴隶制。**许多欧洲商人否认从奴隶贸易中获得了巨额利润，**转而寻求与非洲进行其他形式的贸易。**

The Industrial Revolution

The rapid increase in the production of manufactured goods associated with the European Industrial Revolution created a need for more raw materials, new markets and greater investment opportunities. In Africa, explorers located vast reserves of raw materials, plotted trade routes and identified population centres that could provide a market for European goods. Meanwhile, developments in railways and steamships made travel both quicker and safer. Iron-hulled, steam-driven ships (which, unlike sailing ships, did not need deep hulls for stability and did not depend on wind power) were able to navigate rivers such as the Congo, the Zambezi and the Niger, offering easier access to the African interior.

A sense of duty

Convinced of their racial superiority, many Europeans believed that they had a duty to bring order, stability and Christianity to the lives of the ‘pagan’ Africans. The missionary-explorer David Livingstone, for example, argued that it was essential to introduce Africans to the ‘three Cs’ – commerce, Christianity and civilisation. The British politician Lord Curzon echoed these sentiments when he justified the expansion of Britain’s empire in a speech in 1907.

工业革命 **与欧洲工业革命相关的制成品产量的快速增长, 创造了对更多原材料、新市场, 和更多投资机会的需求。在非洲，探险家们发现了丰富的原材料储备，**绘制了贸易路线，并**确定了可以为欧洲商品提供市场的人口**中心。与此同时，铁路和轮船的发展使旅行变得更快、更安全。铁壳蒸汽驱动的船舶（与帆船不同，不需要深船体来保持稳定性，也不依赖风力）能够在刚果河、赞比西河和尼日尔河等河流上航行，更容易到达非洲内陆。责任感 **许多欧洲人深信自己的种族优越性，认为他们有责任为“异教徒”非洲人的生活, 带来秩序、稳定和基督教。**例如，传教士兼探险家戴维·利文斯通 (David Livingstone) 认为，**向非洲人介绍“三个 C”（商业、基督教和文明）至关重要。**英国政治家寇松勋爵 (Lord Curzon) 在 1907 年的一次演讲中**为大英帝国的扩张辩护时，也呼应了这些观点。**

Wherever the British Empire has extended its borders, misery and oppression, anarchy and destitution, superstition and bigotry have tended to disappear, and they have been replaced by peace, justice, prosperity, humanity and freedom of thought, speech and action.

Lord Curzon, in a speech entitled ‘The True Imperialism’, given at Birmingham Town Hall, 1907.

无论大英帝国将其疆域延伸到哪里，苦难和压迫、无政府状态和贫困、迷信和偏执都趋于消失，取而代之的是和平、正义、繁荣、人性以及思想、言论和行动自由。寇松勋爵 1907 年在伯明翰市政厅发表题为“真正的帝国主义”的演讲。

In the early 19th century, scientists such as Johann Friedrich Blumenbach and Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau developed theories regarding the classification of races. White people were classified as racially superior to other groups. These views, presented through poor science and clearly motivated by political and ideological factors, were widely accepted both in Europe and in the USA.

The claim that Britain and other European nations were taking possession of land in Africa in order to improve the lives of African people provided a convenient justification for actions that were, in reality, motivated by self-interest and characterised by exploitation. Lord Lugard, a British soldier and explorer who was later governor of the British colony of Nigeria, gave a more honest assessment of Britain’s involvement in Africa.

19 世纪初，约翰·弗里德里希·布鲁门巴赫 (Johann Friedrich Blumenbach) 和约瑟夫·阿瑟·孔德·戈比诺 (Joseph Arthur Comte de Gobineau) 等科学家提出了有关种族分类的理论。白人被认为在种族上优于其他群体。这些观点是通过拙劣的科学提出的，并且显然是出于政治和意识形态因素，在欧洲和美国都被广泛接受。**英国和其他欧洲国家占领非洲土地, 是为了改善非洲人民的生活的说法，为实际上出于自身利益动机、以剥削为特征的行动, 提供了便利的理由。**英国士兵兼探险家、后来担任英国殖民地尼日利亚总督的**卢加德勋爵对英国在非洲的参与, 做出了更为诚实的评估。**

It is well to realize that it is for our advantage—and not alone at the dictates of duty—that we have undertaken responsibilities in East Africa. It is in order to foster the growth of the trade of this country, and to find an outlet for our manufactures and our surplus energy that our far-seeing statesmen and our commercial men advocate colonial expansion …

There are some who say we have no right in Africa at all, that it ‘belongs to the native.’ I hold that our right is the necessity that is upon us to provide for our ever-growing population and to stimulate trade by finding new markets, since we know what misery trade depression brings at home. While thus serving our own interest as a nation, we may bring at the same time many advantages to Africa.

Lord Lugard, in his book The Rise of Our East African Empire, Vol. I, published in 1893.

While recognising that Africans may have benefited from the British presence on their continent, Lord Lugard openly accepted that Britain’s main motive was to serve ‘our own interest as a nation’ by enhancing trade. It is interesting to note that he clearly sees nothing wrong in this, claiming that it was Britain’s ‘right’ to take such action and quickly dismissing the views of those who argue that Africa ‘belongs to the native’. In asserting that Britain had every right to take possession of African land in order to address its own national interests, Lord Lugard was clearly implying that the rights and needs of Europeans outweighed those of Africans. In this, he was conforming to the widespread belief in European racial superiority.

很高兴认识到，**我们在东非承担责任, 是为了我们的利益，**而不仅仅是出于职责的要求。我们有远见的政治家和商人正是**为了促进这个国家的贸易增长，为我们的制成品和过剩能源找到出路，才提倡殖民扩张……有些人说我们没有权利在非洲，它“属于当地人”。我认为我们的权利是我们有必要养活不断增长的人口并通过寻找新市场来刺激贸易，**因为我们知道贸易萧条会给国内带来什么痛苦。**在服务于我们作为一个国家自身利益的同时，我们可以同时为非洲带来许多优势。**卢格德勋爵在他的著作《东非帝国的崛起》中，卷。 I，出版于 1893 年。卢格德勋爵承认非洲人可能从英国在非洲大陆的存在中受益，但他公开承认英国的主要动机是通过加强贸易来服务于“我们作为一个国家的自身利益”。有趣的是，他显然认为这没有什么错，声称采取这种行动是英国的“权利”，并很快驳斥了那些认为非洲“属于本土”的观点。**卢格德勋爵声称英国完全有权占有非洲土地以解决其自身的国家利益，这显然意味着欧洲人的权利和需求高于非洲人的权利和需求。**在这一点上，他符合欧洲种族优越性的普遍信念。

The rush for African territory

In addition to the general factors discussed in the previous section, each European nation had its own particular motives for involvement in Africa:

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Britain: Britain’s original concern had been to protect its vital Indian Ocean trading routes, and this explains its interest in Egypt and South Africa. The discovery of gold, diamonds and valuable minerals in the Transvaal alerted Britain to the economic rewards of acquiring more land in Africa. Determined to stop other European countries, particularly France and Germany, from gaining these mineral-rich areas for themselves, Britain moved quickly to secure as much of East Africa as possible. Encouraged by imperialist adventurers such as Cecil Rhodes, Britain took possession of most of East Africa in the last 20 years of the 19th century. This included Egypt, Sudan, British East Africa (Kenya and Uganda), British Somaliland, Southern and Northern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe and Zambia), Bechuanaland (Botswana), Orange Free State and the Transvaal (South Africa), Gambia, Sierra Leone, Nigeria, British Gold Coast (Ghana) and Nyasaland (Malawi). These countries accounted for more than 30% of Africa’s population. Rhodes’ ambition in Africa was to build a railway and telegraph line from Cairo in the north to the Cape in the south, thus reinforcing Britain’s commercial gain from its African possessions.

争夺非洲领土 **除了上一节讨论的一般因素外，每个欧洲国家都有自己参与非洲事务的特殊动机：** 。英国：**英国最初的关注点, 是保护其重要的印度洋贸易路线，这解释了它对埃及和南非的兴趣。德兰士瓦发现黄金、钻石, 和贵重矿产，提醒英国注意在非洲获得更多土地, 所带来的经济回报。英国决心阻止其他欧洲国家，**特别是法国和德国，为自己占领这些矿产丰富的地区，因此迅速采取行动，**尽可能多地保护东非。**在塞西尔·罗兹等帝国主义冒险家的鼓励下，**英国在19世纪最后20年, 占领了东非的大部分地区。其中包括埃及、苏丹、英属东非（肯尼亚和乌干达）、英属索马里兰、南罗得西亚, 和北罗得西亚（津巴布韦和赞比亚）、贝专纳兰（博茨瓦纳）、奥兰治自由邦, 和德兰士瓦（南非）、冈比亚、塞拉利昂、尼日利亚、英国黄金海岸（加纳）, 和尼亚萨兰（马拉维）。这些国家占非洲人口的30%以上。**罗德在非洲的野心是修建一条从北部开罗到南部开普敦的铁路和电报线，从而加强英国从其非洲属地获得的商业利益。

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France: while Britain concentrated on East Africa, France was more active in the west and north-west of the continent. As a result of involvement in the slave trade, France had established secure control of the coastal regions of Senegal and Algeria. In the late 19th century, the French moved inland in search of raw materials, such as palm oil and timber, and new markets for their industrial output. French politicians believed the development of a large overseas empire was essential to enhancing their country’s wealth, prestige and power.

。法国：**英国主要集中在东非，而法国则在非洲大陆的西部和西北部, 更为活跃。由于参与奴隶贸易，法国对塞内加尔, 和阿尔及利亚沿海地区, 建立了安全控制。 19 世纪末，法国人向内陆迁移，寻找棕榈油和木材等原材料, 以及工业产品的新市场。法国政治家认为，一个庞大的海外帝国的发展, 对于增强国家的财富、威望和实力, 至关重要。**

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Belgium: Belgium had only won independence from the Netherlands in 1830, and King Leopold II (see page 9) was determined to increase his own wealth and put his country on the map by claiming the enormous Congo basin. The king was prepared to use his own money to pay for a colony that was considerably larger than Belgium itself.

。比利时：**比利时于 1830 年才从荷兰独立，**国王利奥波德二世（见第 9 页）决心增加自己的财富，**并通过对巨大的刚果盆地的主权, 来让自己的国家名声大噪。**国王准备用自己的钱来建造一个比比利时本身大得多的殖民地。

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Portugal: determined not to be left behind in the race to acquire African land, Portugal reasserted its long-established claims to Angola and Mozambique.

。葡萄牙：**葡萄牙**决心在争夺非洲土地的竞赛中不落后，**重申了其长期以来对安哥拉和莫桑比克的主权要求。**

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Germany: Germany did not enter the ‘scramble’ until 1881, when pressure from businessmen and industrialists forced the government to change its previous policy of opposition to colonising distant lands. A frenzy of activity left Germany in control of Kamerun (Cameroon and part of Nigeria), German East Africa (Rwanda, Burundi and most of Tanzania),

。**德国：直到1881年，德国才进入“争夺战”，**当时来自商人和实业家的压力迫使政府改变了之前反对殖民遥远土地的政策。一场疯狂的活动使**德国控制了卡麦伦（喀麦隆和尼日利亚的一部分）、德属东非（卢旺达、布隆迪, 和坦桑尼亚的大部分地区），**

German South West Africa (Namibia) and Togoland (Togo and part of Ghana). By the time Germany entered the race for African possessions, most of the profitable areas had already been taken by other nations, and Germany’s colonies in East Africa cost the country considerably more than they were worth.

**德属西南非洲（纳米比亚）和多哥兰（多哥和加纳的一部分）。当德国加入争夺非洲领土的竞赛时，大部分有利可图的地区, 已经被其他国家占领，**而德国在东非的殖民地所花费的成本远远超过其价值。

The Treaty of Berlin 1885

The ‘scramble for Africa’ may have begun for logical strategic and commercial reasons, but it rapidly descended into a mad rush for overseas possessions. European countries seemed determined to seize as much African land as possible – regardless of its potential value – simply to prevent it falling into the hands of their rivals. It had become an issue of national pride.

This naturally opened up the risk of direct conflict breaking out between competing nations. In an attempt to prevent this, representatives from 13 European states met at the Berlin Conference in 1884–85. Together, they reached an agreement regarding the parts of Africa in which each country had the right to pursue ownership of land without interference. The resulting Treaty of Berlin was designed to regulate European colonisation and trade in Africa. The main articles of the treaty established that:

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in order to take possession of an African territory, a European nation would have to inform other governments of its claim immediately, and demonstrate that the territory was ‘effectively occupied’

**1885 年柏林条约 “争夺非洲”可能是出于逻辑上的战略和商业原因, 而开始的，但它很快就陷入了对海外财产的疯狂争夺。欧洲国家似乎决心尽可能多地夺取非洲土地 — — 无论其潜在价值如何 — — 只是为了防止其落入竞争对手手中。**这已经成为一个民族自豪感的问题。**这自然带来了竞争国家之间爆发直接冲突的风险。为了防止这种情况发生，来自 13 个欧洲国家的代表, 于 1884-85 年召开了柏林会议。他们共同就非洲部分地区, 达成了一项协议，其中每个国家都有权在不受干涉的情况下, 追求土地所有权。由此产生的《柏林条约》, 旨在规范欧洲在非洲的殖民和贸易。该条约的主要条款规定： .为了占有非洲领土，欧洲国家必须立即向其他国家政府通报其主张，并证明该领土已被“有效占领”**

.

free passage should be given to all ships on the Niger and Congo rivers

。应允许尼日尔河和刚果河上的所有船只自由通行

.

slavery should be abolished throughout the continent.

。整个非洲大陆应当废除奴隶制。

In many ways, the outcome of the Berlin Conference added further impetus to the race for new land. In particular, there was a clash between the rival ambitions of France and Britain. While France was expanding rapidly eastwards from French West Africa towards its possession in Somaliland, the British were expanding southwards from Egypt towards the Cape. Their paths crossed in Sudan. In 1898, a French expedition under Major Marchand met a British force, led by Lord Kitchener, in the village of Fashoda. Both claimed Sudan for their respective countries. For a time open conflict seemed likely, but in the end neither country was prepared

‘effectively occupied’

This meant that the land was genuinely under the control of the European nation

– it could be properly administered and defended. This was intended to prevent a country claiming an area over which it had no real control simply to prevent rivals attempting to gain it.

**从许多方面来说，柏林会议的成果, 进一步推动了新土地争夺战。**特别是法国和英国的相互竞争的野心之间发生了冲突。当法国从法属西非向东快速扩张至索马里兰时，英国则从埃及向南扩张至开普敦。他们在苏丹相遇。 1898 年，马尔尚少校率领的法国探险队在法绍达村遭遇了基奇纳勋爵率领的英国军队。双方都声称苏丹属于各自国家。有一段时间，公开冲突似乎很可能发生，但最终两国都没有做好“有效占领”的准备。这意味着这片土地真正处于欧洲国家的控制之下——它可以得到适当的管理和保卫。这样做的目的是防止一个国家​​声称对其没有真正控制的地区拥有主权，只是为了防止竞争对手试图获得该地区。

to go to war over Africa, and they reached a compromise. France recognised British possession of Egypt and Sudan, while Britain formally acknowledged the French presence in Morocco. Events such as the Fashoda Incident have led many historians to see the ‘scramble for Africa’ as a safety valve – a way for European nations to play out their game of power politics without the risk of a major war.

为了非洲而开战，他们达成了妥协。法国承认英国对埃及和苏丹的占有，而英国则正式承认法国在摩洛哥的存在。法绍达事件等事件使许多历史学家将“争夺非洲”视为安全阀 — — 这是欧洲国家在没有发生重大战争风险的情况下玩强权政治游戏的一种方式。

The agreement that slavery should be abolished throughout Africa was included in the treaty to satisfy those who had doubts about the right of European countries simply to take land in Africa. Abolishing slavery provided a suitable justification.

**条约中包含了在整个非洲废除奴隶制的协议，**以满足那些对欧洲国家是否有权在非洲占领土地的疑虑的人。废除奴隶制提供了合适的理由。

The Boer Wars

As the British experience in South Africa soon demonstrated, ownership of African colonies was neither peaceful nor without far-reaching consequences. Maintaining control of Cape Colony involved constant border wars with native tribes, notably in the Anglo–Zulu War of 1879. Moreover, British rule was resented by the Boers – farmers of Dutch descent – who moved inland to settle in Orange Free State and the Transvaal. In 1877, Britain claimed possession of the gold and diamond-rich Transvaal. However, once assured that the Zulu threat had been removed, the Transvaal Boers rebelled and claimed independence. The First Boer War (1880–81) was little more than a series of skirmishes, in which the ill-prepared British troops were defeated. Under the terms of the Pretoria Convention (1881), the Transvaal and Orange Free State were given self-governing status

under British oversight.

Further discoveries of gold deposits in the Transvaal drew many new settlers to the region – most of them British. However, these newcomers were denied political and economic rights by the Transvaal president, Paul Kruger. British expansionist ambitions, encouraged mainly by the prime minister of Cape Colony, Cecil Rhodes (see page 12), led to the failed Jameson Raid of 1895. The British government hoped that the settlers in the region would rebel against the Transvaal government, and the intention was for British forces – led by the statesman Leander Starr Jameson – to go to their assistance as a pretext for invasion. However, when the rebellion failed to materialise, Jameson led his forces into the Transvaal anyway. They were swiftly driven back by the Boers.

Other European nations resented this British invasion of what they regarded as a small, independent nation. The German Kaiser, Wilhelm (William) II (see page 30), even sent a telegram to Kruger, congratulating him on defeating the raiders. This caused huge indignation in Britain and resulted in a deterioration in Anglo–German relations.

In 1899, Kruger demanded the withdrawal of British troops and full independence for the Transvaal. When Britain refused to grant this, Kruger declared war. After a series of early victories by the Boers, Britain dramatically increased the number of troops in South Africa. They succeeded in relieving several besieged cities, and captured the Transvaal capital, Pretoria, in June 1900. After this, the Boers adopted guerrilla tactics – carrying out surprise raids on British-held railways and storage depots – but after two further years of fighting the Boers were forced to surrender. Britain’s victory in this, the Second Boer War, was confirmed by the Treaty of Vereeniging (1902), which placed Orange Free State and the Transvaal firmly under British control.

布尔战争 正如英国在南非的经历很快表明的那样，对非洲殖民地的所有权既不是和平的，也不是没有产生深远影响的。维持对开普殖民地的控制涉及到与当地部落不断发生的边境战争，特别是在 1879 年的盎格鲁-祖鲁战争中。此外，布尔人（荷兰裔农民）对英国的统治感到不满，他们迁往内陆，在奥兰治自由邦和德兰士瓦定居。 。 1877年，英国声称拥有盛产黄金和钻石的德兰士瓦。然而，一旦确信祖鲁威胁已被消除，德兰士瓦布尔人就叛变并声称独立。第一次布尔战争（1880-81）只不过是一系列小冲突，其中准备不足的英国军队被击败。根据《比勒陀利亚公约》（1881 年）的条款，德兰士瓦和奥兰治自由邦在英国的监督下获得自治地位。德兰士瓦金矿的进一步发现吸引了许多新的定居者来到该地区——其中大多数是英国人。然而，德兰士瓦总统保罗·克鲁格剥夺了这些新移民的政治和经济权利。英国的扩张主义野心主要受到开普殖民地总理塞西尔·罗德斯（见第 12 页）的鼓励，导致 1895 年詹姆森袭击失败。英国政府希望该地区的定居者反抗德兰士瓦政府，而其目的是让由政治家利安德·斯塔尔·詹姆森领导的英国军队向他们提供援助，作为入侵的借口。然而，当叛乱未能实现时，詹姆森无论如何都率领他的部队进入德兰士瓦。他们很快就被布尔人击退。其他欧洲国家对英国入侵他们所认为的独立小国表示不满。 德国皇帝威廉二世（见第30页）甚至给克鲁格发了一封电报，祝贺他击败了袭击者。这引起了英国的极大愤慨，导致英德关系恶化。 1899年，克鲁格要求英国撤军并要求德兰士瓦完全独立。当英国拒绝同意时，克鲁格宣战。在布尔人取得一系列早期胜利后，英国大幅增加了在南非的军队数量。他们成功地解救了几个被围困的城市，并于 1900 年 6 月占领了德兰士瓦首府比勒陀利亚。此后，布尔人采取了游击战术——对英国控制的铁路和仓库进行突然袭击——但经过两年的战斗布尔人被迫投降。 《弗里尼金条约》（1902 年）确认了英国在第二次布尔战争中的胜利，该条约将奥兰治自由邦和德兰士瓦牢牢置于英国控制之下。

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However, victory came at a price. The power of the British Empire had been severely challenged by a relatively small number of Boers, revealing fundamental weaknesses in the British army. The Second Boer War cost the taxpayer more than ￡200 million – a huge amount of money at the beginning of the 20th century – and 22,000 soldiers of the British Empire died. In addition, Britain was condemned by the international community for its ‘scorched earth’ policy during the war, and for the establishment of concentration camps in which the wives and children of Boer fighters were imprisoned. These camps were originally intended to be refugee centres for civilians left homeless by the fighting, but conditions there were poor and they were administered harshly in the hope that this would force the Boers to surrender. With bad hygiene and little food, suffering and death were commonplace in the camps, and 30,000 civilians died during the war.

‘scorched earth’ policy

This is a battle tactic in which an army burns crops and property in an area to deny the enemy food and shelter.

然而，胜利是有代价的。大英帝国的实力受到少数布尔人的严重挑战，暴露了英国军队的根本弱点。第二次布尔战争给纳税人造成了超过 2 亿英镑的损失——这在 20 世纪初是一笔巨款——并且有 22,000 名大英帝国士兵死亡。此外，英国在战争期间推行“焦土”政策，建立集中营关押布尔战士的妻儿，受到国际社会的谴责。这些难民营原本是为因战斗而无家可归的平民设立的难民中心，但那里的条件很差，管理很严厉，希望以此迫使布尔人投降。由于卫生条件恶劣，食物匮乏，难民营中的痛苦和死亡司空见惯，战争期间有 30,000 名平民死亡。 “焦土”政策这是一种战斗策略，军队在一个地区焚烧农作物和财产，以断绝敌人的食物和住所。

As a result of this, British politicians – and public opinion in general – grew divided over whether Britain should continue its imperialist policies. Many people believed that Wilhelm II’s telegram to Kruger was a clear sign that Germany would support the Boers in the case of future conflict with Britain. Feeling both isolated and vulnerable, Britain began seeking allies elsewhere in the world, starting with Japan (see page 26).

结果，英国政治家 — — 以及整个公众舆论 — — 对于英国是否应该继续其帝国主义政策产生了分歧。许多人认为，威廉二世给克鲁格的电报是一个明确的信号，表明德国在未来与英国发生冲突的情况下将支持布尔人。由于感到既孤立又脆弱，英国开始在世界其他地方寻找盟友，首先是日本（见第 26 页）。

The effects of the ‘scramble for Africa’

The European colonisers claimed to have brought benefits to the African people, and there is some truth to these claims:

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They developed states with efficient systems of administration and government.

“争夺非洲”的影响 欧洲殖民者声称给非洲人民带来了好处，这些说法有一定道理： 。他们发展了拥有高效行政和政府系统的国家。

.

They provided education for the native inhabitants.

。他们为当地居民提供教育。

.

They created new systems of transport and communications – building roads and railways, and running telegraph wires across the continent.

。他们创造了新的运输和通讯系统——修建公路和铁路，并在整个大陆上铺设电报线。

.

They engineered water and sanitation systems, and provided medical care and hospitals.

。他们设计了供水和卫生系统，并提供医疗服务和医院。

.

They introduced more efficient methods of farming and new, more productive crops such as maize, pear, cassava, cotton, sisal and plantain.

。他们引进了更有效的耕作方法和新的、产量更高的作物，如玉米、梨、木薯、棉花、剑麻和车前草。

However, this was not the whole story. As a result of European colonisation, Africa was randomly partitioned according to the needs and wishes of the colonisers, who took no account of existing boundaries. With little knowledge of the local geography, no understanding of the tribal or ethnic groupings of the local people, and a steadfast refusal to take into account the opinions of local chieftains, borders were drawn arbitrarily.

We have been engaged in drawing lines upon maps where no white man’s feet have ever trod; we have been giving away mountains and rivers and lakes to each other, only hindered by the small impediment that we never knew exactly where the mountains and rivers and lakes were.

British prime minister Lord Salisbury, in a speech given in 1890.

In many of its African possessions, such as northern Nigeria, Britain adopted a form of indirect control and governed through local chieftains. However, other European nations preferred more direct rule. In both cases, government was based on a clear administrative hierarchy, with Europeans at the top and Africans below. The explorer Henry Morton Stanley said of the Africans: ‘In order to rule them and keep one’s life amongst them, it is necessary to regard them as children.’ Such statements reflect the European view that Africans were inferior to them. Traditional African cultures were undermined as the Europeans introduced Western-style education, clothes, buildings and religion. In much the same way, the introduction of money completely changed the nature of the African economy.

然而，这并不是故事的全部。**由于欧洲殖民统治，非洲根据殖民者的需要和愿望, 被随机划分，殖民者没有考虑现有的边界。由于对当地地理知之甚少，对当地人民的部落、民族不了解，**而且坚决不考虑当地土司的意见，**就随意划定了边界。我们一直致力于在白人从未踏足过的地图上绘制线条；我们一直在互相赠送山川湖泊，只是有一个小小的障碍，就是我们从来不知道山川湖泊到底在哪里。**英国首相索尔兹伯里勋爵在 1890 年的一次演讲中。**在尼日利亚北部等许多非洲属地，英国采取了间接控制的形式，通过当地酋长进行统治。然而，其他欧洲国家更喜欢更直接的统治。**在这两种情况下，政府都建立在明确的行政等级之上，欧洲人处于顶层，非洲人处于底层。探险家亨利·莫顿·斯坦利这样评价非洲人：“为了统治他们并在他们中间生活，就必须把他们视为孩子。”这些言论反映了欧洲人认为非洲人不如他们的观点。随着欧洲人引入西方式的教育、服装、建筑和宗教，传统的非洲文化遭到破坏。同样，货币的引入彻底改变了非洲经济的性质。

There are several examples of the division of ethnic groupings as a result of African colonisation. Three of the most significant were: the Maasai people, who were split between the new countries of Kenya (62%) and Tanzania (38%); the Anyi people, who were divided between Ghana (58%) and the Ivory Coast (42%); and the Chewa people, who found themselves in three separate countries after the new boundaries were drawn – Mozambique (50%), Malawi (34%) and Zimbabwe (16%).

有几个因非洲殖民统治而导致种族分裂的例子。其中最重要的三个是：马赛人，他们分布在新国家肯尼亚（62％）和坦桑尼亚（38％）之间；安伊人，分为加纳（58%）和科特迪瓦（42%）；切瓦人在新边界划定后发现自己身处三个不同的国家——莫桑比克（50%）、马拉维（34%）和津巴布韦（16%）。

No longer able to farm their former land, Africans had little choice but to take jobs as cheap labour on public works such as building roads and railways. In addition, after colonisation there was large-scale exploitation of African resources. Raw materials were mined to support European industrial expansion, preventing Africa from developing industries of its own. European businessmen enhanced their own wealth by investing in African copper, gold, diamonds, ivory and cash crops such as cotton and coffee.

非洲人不再能够耕种以前的土地，别无选择，只能以廉价劳动力的形式从事公共工程，例如修建道路和铁路。此外，**殖民化后，非洲资源遭到大规模开采。开采原材料是为了支持欧洲工业扩张，阻碍非洲发展自己的工业。**欧洲商人通过投资非洲的铜、黄金、钻石、象牙以及棉花和咖啡等经济作物来增加自己的财富。

At times, this exploitation reached alarming levels of inhumanity. For example, Leopold II of Belgium (see page 9) amassed a huge fortune from rubber plantations in the Congo basin. He used forced labour – effectively a form of slavery, which had been expressly outlawed by the Treaty of Berlin (see page 13). Workers who failed to meet their quotas were beaten, mutilated or killed. The missionary John Harris was so shocked by what he saw in the Congo that he wrote to Leopold’s representative in the area.

有时，这种剥削达到了令人震惊的不人道程度。例如，比利时的利奥波德二世（见第 9 页）从刚果盆地的橡胶种植园中积累了巨额财富。他使用强迫劳动——实际上是一种奴隶制形式，《柏林条约》明确禁止这种形式（见第 13 页）。未能完成定额的工人遭到殴打、残害或杀害。传教士约翰·哈里斯对他在刚果的所见所闻感到非常震惊，他写信给利奥波德在该地区的代表。

I have just returned from a journey inland to the village of Insongo Mboyo. The abject misery and utter abandon is positively indescribable. I was so moved, Your Excellency, by the people’s stories that I took the liberty of promising them that in future you will only kill them for crimes they commit.

John Harris, a missionary in the Congo.

genocide

我刚刚从内陆旅行回到 Insongo Mboyo 村。那种悲惨的痛苦和彻底的放弃是难以形容的。阁下，人们的故事让我非常感动，我冒昧地向他们保证，将来你只会因为他们犯下的罪行而杀死他们。约翰·哈里斯 (John Harris)，刚果传教士。种族灭绝

The deliberate and systematic destruction of an ethnic, racial, religious or national group. In 1985, the United Nations labelled the German action against the Herero and Nama peoples as genocide.

African resistance to European rule sometimes led to harsh retribution. Many African chieftains were killed or sent into exile for defying attempts by Europeans to take over their land. Chief Mkwawa of the Hehe, for example, was beheaded for opposing German colonial rule in Tanganyika. Between 1904 and 1907, the Herero and Nama peoples rebelled against German rule in German South-West Africa. The Germans drove them out into the Kalahari Desert and left them there. Most of them died of hunger or thirst, and the allegation that German soldiers poisoned desert wells has led to charges of genocide.

对民族、种族、宗教或民族群体的蓄意和系统性破坏。 1985年，联合国将德国针对赫雷罗人和纳马人的行动称为种族灭绝。非洲对欧洲统治的抵抗有时会导致严厉的报复。许多非洲酋长因反抗欧洲人占领他们的土地的企图而被杀害或流放。例如，赫赫酋长姆夸瓦因反对德国对坦噶尼喀的殖民统治而被斩首。 1904 年至 1907 年间，赫雷罗人和纳马人反抗德国在德属西南非洲的统治。德国人将他们赶到喀拉哈里沙漠并将他们留在那里。他们中的大多数人死于饥饿或口渴，德国士兵在沙漠水井中投毒的指控导致了种族灭绝的指控。

The effects of the ‘scramble’ on international relations

As shown by the Treaty of Berlin, European nations had gone to some lengths to ensure that the rush for land in Africa did not lead to war between them. Nevertheless, this could not disguise the fact that they remained rivals, competing for raw materials, markets, trade and territory. Most notably, the Fashoda Incident (see page 13) led to widespread outrage in both France and Britain, with each country accusing the other of unjustified aggression. Both nations began the process of mobilising their fleets in preparation for war before a compromise was finally reached. Tensions between European nations intensified when Germany entered the race for African possessions. Britain, in particular, saw German acquisitions in Africa as a threat to its own strategic and commercial interests.

“争夺”对国际关系的影响 正如《柏林条约》所表明的那样，**欧洲国家已竭尽全力确保对非洲土地的争夺不会导致它们之间的战争。**尽管如此，这并不能掩盖他们仍然是竞争对手的事实，争夺原材料、市场、贸易和领土。最值得注意的是，法绍达事件（见第 13 页）在法国和英国引起了广泛的愤怒，两国都指责对方无理侵略。在最终达成妥协之前，两国都开始动员舰队备战。当德国加入争夺非洲领土的竞赛时，欧洲国家之间的紧张局势加剧。特别是英国，将德国在非洲的收购视为对其自身战略和商业利益的威胁。

The late 19th century was a period of intense nationalism. European governments were determined to protect their own rights and interests. Moreover, public opinion demanded that they did so. National pride was at stake and, increasingly, countries were prepared to adopt aggressive foreign policies to preserve this pride. In this sense the ‘scramble for Africa’ instigated an arms race, as countries began to enhance their military capabilities in order to defend their empires.

**19世纪末是民族主义强烈的时期。欧洲各国政府决心保护自己的权益。**而且，舆论也要求他们这样做。民族自豪感受到威胁，越来越多的国家准备采取积极的外交政策来维护这种自豪感。从这个意义上说，**“争夺非洲”引发了军备竞赛，各国开始增强军事能力, 以保卫自己的帝国。**

Questions 问题

Why did European nations take part in a ‘scramble for Africa’ in the period from 1871 to 1900?

‘The Industrial Revolution in Europe was the main reason for the “scramble for Africa” between 1871 and 1900.’ How far do you agree?

What were the aims of the Treaty of Berlin (1885)?

What were the implications of the Boer Wars for British foreign policy?

Source A below is the telegram that German Kaiser Wilhelm II sent to the Boer leader Paul Kruger in 1896. Why did this telegram cause such anger in Britain?

To what extent did the African people benefit

from the ‘scramble for Africa’?

1871年至1900年间欧洲国家为何参与“非洲争夺”？ “欧洲的工业革命是 1871 年至 1900 年间‘争夺非洲’的主要原因。”你同意到什么程度？ 《柏林条约》（1885 年）的目标是什么？布尔战争对英国外交政策有何影响？下面的来源A是德国皇帝威廉二世在1896年发给布尔领导人保罗·克鲁格的电报。为什么这封电报在英国引起如此愤怒？非洲人民在多大程度上从“争夺非洲”中受益？

Look at Source B opposite, which shows a cartoon

nationalism

The belief that one’s own country is superior to other countries, and that its needs and interests should take priority over those of other nations.

看对面的来源B，它展示了一幅卡通民族主义。相信自己的国家优于其他国家，并且其需求和利益应优先于其他国家的需求和利益。

**isolationism 孤立主义**

The policy of isolating one’s country from the affairs of other nations by avoiding alliances and international commitments.

**通过避免结盟和国际承诺, 将自己国家与其他国家事务隔离的政策。**

The emergence of the USA as a world power

The USA before 1871

In 1871, events in Africa, Asia and the associated rivalries between the European powers were of little concern to the USA. Preoccupied with domestic issues – such as increasing US territory through westward expansion on the North American continent, as well as the American Civil War (1861–65) – people in the USA had little interest in wider international affairs. Throughout the 19th century, the USA followed a policy of isolationism and looked inwards, seeking to develop in its own way without outside interference or involvement in foreign issues.

However, the USA could not completely ignore events in the wider world. There was a risk that ambitious European nations would renew their interest in gaining colonies in the New World: North and South America. By the early 19th century, virtually all the Latin American colonies of the once-great Spanish and Portuguese empires had gained independence. Only Cuba and Puerto Rico remained under Spanish rule. Concerns that Spain would try to win back control of its former possessions in South America – and

美国作为世界强国的崛起 **1871 年之前的美国 1871 年，美国很少关心非洲、亚洲的事件, 以及欧洲列强之间的相关竞争。由于专注于国内问题 — — 例如通过北美大陆向西扩张来增加美国领土，以及美国内战 (1861-65) — — 美国人民对更广泛的国际事务几乎没有兴趣。整个19世纪，美国奉行孤立主义政策，向内看，寻求按照自己的方式发展，不受外来干涉，不卷入外国问题。然而，美国不能完全忽视更广阔世界的事件。雄心勃勃的欧洲国家可能会重新燃起在新世界：北美和南美获得殖民地的兴趣。到 19 世纪初，曾经伟大的西班牙和葡萄牙帝国的几乎所有拉丁美洲殖民地都获得了独立。只有古巴和波多黎各仍处于西班牙的统治之下。人们担心西班牙会试图重新夺回其在南美的前属地的控制权 — — 以及**

Lacking a credible navy and army, in reality the USA was in no position to enforce the Monroe Doctrine. However, Britain was willing to use its navy to ensure that no European country sought new possessions in the Americas. This offer was made largely to protect British trading interests, which would have been threatened if South American states had become colonies of Britain’s European rivals.

that this would encourage other European powers to extend their empires into the Americas – led the USA to approve the Monroe Doctrine in 1823. This stated that the USA would not interfere in European affairs, and that any attempt by European powers to intervene in the Americas would be viewed by the USA as an act of aggression, and would be dealt with accordingly.

**由于缺乏可靠的海军和陆军，美国实际上没有能力执行门罗主义。然而，英国愿意利用其海军, 来确保欧洲国家不会在美洲寻求新的领地。提出这一提议, 主要是为了保护英国的贸易利益，如果南美国家成为英国欧洲竞争对手的殖民地，英国的贸易利益就会受到威胁。这将鼓励其他欧洲列强将其帝国扩展到美洲——导致美国于1823年批准了门罗主义。这表明美国不会干涉欧洲事务，但对欧洲列强干预美洲的任何企图, 美国都将视其为侵略行为，并将予以相应处理。**

Economic growth and the need for trade

Throughout the last 30 years of the 19th century, the USA emerged as an increasingly influential world power. During this time, the country experienced enormous industrial growth, made possible by rich supplies of raw materials (coal, iron ore and oil) and the expansion of railways. A rapidly

increasing population, enhanced by large-scale immigration, provided both a workforce and a market. Import duties protected US products from foreign competition, and by the end of the century the USA was outstripping its main European rivals in the production of coal, pig iron, steel and cotton (see Table 1.1).

经济增长和贸易需求 **在 19 世纪的最后 30 年里，美国逐渐成为影响力日益增强的世界强国。在此期间，丰富的原材料（煤炭、铁矿石和石油）供应, 和铁路扩建, 使美国工业经历了巨大的增长。人口的迅速增长和大规模移民的增加，提供了劳动力和市场。进口关税, 也保护了美国产品免受外国竞争，**到本世纪末，美国在煤炭、生铁、钢铁和棉花的生产方面超过了欧洲主要竞争对手（见表1.1）。

USA Closest rival

Coal output (tonnes) 238 million 199 million (Britain)

Value of exports (￡) 311 million 390 million (Britain)

Pig iron (tonnes) 14.5 million 7.3 million (Britain)

Steel (tonnes) 12 million 5.4 million (Germany)

Railways (km) 294,500 45,000 (Germany)

Cotton production (bales) 10.6 million 3 million (India)

Wheat (bushels) 638 million 552 million (Russia)

Table 1.1 Industrial output of the USA and its main European rivals, 1900. (Adapted from Nichol, J. and Lang, S. Work Out Modern World History. Basingstoke, UK. Macmillan. 1990.)

美国 最接近的竞争对手 煤炭产量（吨） 2.38 亿 1.99 亿（英国） 出口额（英镑） 3.11 亿 3.9 亿（英国） 生铁（吨） 1,450 万 730 万（英国） 钢铁（吨） 1,200 万 540 万（德国） ) 铁路（公里） 294,500 45,000（德国） 棉花产量（包） 1060 万 300 万（印度） 小麦（蒲式耳） 6.38 亿 5.52 亿（俄罗斯） 表 1.1 美国及其主要欧洲竞争对手的工业产出，1900 年。（改编）来自 Nichol, J. 和 Lang, S.《现代世界史》，英国麦克米伦。）

A sudden economic downturn in 1893 alerted industrialists to the dangers of over-reliance on the domestic market, and they argued that the remedy was to sell more goods abroad. Since European nations practised protectionism throughout their empires, access to the Chinese market was increasingly viewed as vital for the USA’s future prosperity. This would require investment in a strong navy to protect merchant ships. It would also require the acquisition of overseas bases to protect US interests. While many politicians in the USA supported this expansionist view, some argued that maintaining the traditional policy of isolationism, and avoiding foreign entanglements and responsibilities, was the best way to protect US interests.

In many ways, the debate was settled by events in Cuba, where Spain was struggling to maintain control of its long-standing possession in a war against Cuban independence fighters. The USA remained neutral in the conflict until an explosion aboard the US battleship Maine in Havana harbour. Although the US government seemed to think that this was an accident, the American press believed that Spain was responsible, and it was heavily critical of the government’s weak response to the incident.

protectionism

The policy of placing high tariffs (taxes) on imports in order to protect domestic industries from foreign competition. Protectionism is the opposite of free trade.

**1893 年突然的经济衰退提醒实业家过度依赖国内市场的危险，他们认为补救办法就是向国外出售更多商品。由于欧洲国家在其帝国范围内实行保护主义，进入中国市场越来越被认为对美国未来的繁荣至关重要。这需要投资一支强大的海军来保护商船。它还需要收购海外基地以保护美国的利益。**尽管美国许多政客支持这种扩张主义观点，但也有人认为，维持传统的孤立主义政策、避免外国纠葛和责任，才是保护美国利益的最佳途径。在许多方面，这场争论是由古巴发生的事件解决的，**西班牙在与古巴独立战士的战争中努力维持对其长期拥有的控制权。美国在冲突中保持中立，直到哈瓦那港的美国战舰缅因号发生爆炸。尽管美国政府似乎认为这是一次意外，但美国媒体却认为西班牙应对此负责，**并严厉批评政府对此事件的反应不力。保护主义 对进口产品征收高关税以保护国内产业免受外国竞争的政策。保护主义是自由贸易的对立面。

Such reports did much to turn public opinion in favour of battle with Spain, and in April 1898 the US government formally declared war. Victory in the Spanish–American War left the USA in effective control of a nominally independent Cuba. In addition, the USA gained other former Spanish possessions including the Philippines, Puerto Rico and Guam. Almost immediately the Filipinos rebelled, and in order to retain control the USA was forced to fight a far longer and more costly war (1899–1902) than the one against Spain. Anti-imperialists, such as the Democratic presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan, protested against the acquisition of foreign territories, arguing that it was a betrayal of the USA’s isolationist traditions. However, Bryan’s defeat to the sitting president, William McKinley, in the 1900 presidential elections suggests that the majority of the US public supported the imperialist lobby.

这些报道极大地扭转了公众舆论，支持与西班牙开战，**美国政府于 1898 年 4 月正式宣战。美西战争的胜利使美国有效控制了名义上独立的古巴。此外，美国还获得了其他前西班牙属地，包括菲律宾、波多黎各和关岛。**菲律宾人几乎立即叛变，为了保持控制权，美国被迫打一场比对西班牙的战争时间更长、代价更大的战争（1899-1902年）。**民主党总统候选人威廉·詹宁斯·布莱恩等反帝国主义者抗议收购外国领土，认为这是对美国孤立主义传统的背叛。然而，布莱恩在 1900 年总统选举中输给了现任总统威廉·麦金利，这表明大多数美国公众支持帝国主义游说团体。**

The development of the USA as a world power

Less than a year into his second term, McKinley was assassinated and his vice-president Theodore Roosevelt was sworn in. Roosevelt fully supported the new imperialistic direction of US foreign policy. Believing that it was ‘incumbent on all civilized and orderly powers to insist on the proper policing of the world’, he followed policies designed to extend his country’s influence globally:

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He ensured that the USA gained control of the building and operation of the Panama Canal (which opened in 1914). This allowed ships to pass between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans without the long and hazardous voyage around Cape Horn at the tip of South America. In both strategic and commercial terms, this added to the USA’s global influence.

美国作为世界强国的发展 **第二个任期不到一年，麦金莱遇刺身亡，副总统西奥多·罗斯福宣誓就职。罗斯福全力支持美国外交政策的新帝国主义方向。他相信“所有文明和有序的国家都有责任坚持对世界进行适当的治安”，因此他遵循旨在扩大国家全球影响力的政策：他确保美国获得了巴拿马运河（1914 年开通）建设和运营的控制权。这使得船舶可以在大西洋和太平洋之间通行，而无需绕行南美洲一角的合恩角进行漫长而危险的航行。从战略和商业角度来看，这都增强了美国的全球影响力。**

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He guaranteed that Cuba would effectively remain under US control by drawing up the Platt Amendment to the Cuban Constitution (1903). Under its terms, the USA was able to dictate Cuba’s foreign policy and all its commercial activities. The USA was also granted rights over key land on the island, including the naval base at Guantanamo Bay.

**。他通过起草古巴宪法普拉特修正案（1903年），保证古巴将有效地继续处​​于美国的控制之下。根据其条款，美国能够决定古巴的外交政策及其所有商业活动。美国还获得了岛上关键土地的权利，包括关塔那摩湾的海军基地。**

.

The Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, introduced in 1904, stated that the USA would intervene if any Caribbean state was threatened by internal or external factors.

**。 1904年提出的门罗主义的罗斯福推论指出，如果任何加勒比国家受到内部或外部因素的威胁，美国将进行干预。**

The USA in 1914

The USA’s attempts to enhance its power-base in the Pacific region and, in particular, to gain trading rights in China, were less successful. Here it met stern opposition from well-established imperial nations such as Britain, Germany, France and Russia, as well as from the newly emerging power of Japan. Nevertheless, by 1914 the USA had emerged as a prosperous and strong regional power, with a growing influence over world financial markets and a new-found commitment to its own form of imperialistic expansion.

**1914 年的美国 美国试图增强其在太平洋地区的权力基础，特别是获得在中国的贸易权，但不太成功。在这里，它遭到了英、德、法、俄等老牌帝国主义国家以及新兴强国日本的强烈反对。尽管如此，到 1914 年，美国已成为一个繁荣而强大的地区强国，**对世界金融市场的影响力日益增强，并重新致力于其自身形式的帝国主义扩张。

Questions 问题

Why did the USA move away from its traditional isolationist foreign policy in the period 1871–1914?

How far was President Theodore Roosevelt responsible for the USA’s move towards a more expansionist foreign policy?

为什么美国在 1871 年至 1914 年期间放弃了传统的孤立主义外交政策？西奥多·罗斯福总统在多大程度上对美国走向更加扩张主义的外交政策负有责任？

Look at the cartoon in Source A opposite. What does it suggest about the emergence of the USA as a world power by the time it was published in 1906?

请看对面来源 A 中的漫画。 1906 年出版时，它对美国作为世界强国的崛起有何暗示？

bartering

The trading of goods without the use of money; exchanging one thing in payment for another.

private enterprise

Businesses owned and managed by individuals, free from government restrictions.

物物交换 不使用金钱的货物交易；用一种东西换取另一种东西的付款。私营企业 由个人拥有和管理的企业，不受政府限制。

The emergence of Japan as a world power

Japan before 1871

In the first half of the 19th century, Japan was still an underdeveloped country with an almost medieval social structure. It had a rigid class system, with the warlike Samurai and their leader, the shogun, holding supreme power. Farming, transport and industry had changed little for centuries, and the economy was still largely based on bartering rather than money. Even taxes were paid in rice.

The Japanese did not welcome foreigners, and they successfully resisted pressure to establish trading rights with other nations. Russia (1804), Britain (1842) and the USA (1853) all tried to open up trade with Japan – and all failed. The USA in particular was desperate to find new markets for its rapidly expanding industrial output. The American whaling fleet also needed access to Japanese ports in order to take on vital supplies, especially coal. Confronted with obstinate resistance, the Americans finally sent a fleet of warships in 1854. Samurai swords were no match for modern guns, and the Japanese had no alternative but to open up their borders to trade with the West.

This posed an enormous risk to Japan. With army backing, European merchants had already seized control of large areas of China, imposing their own laws and destroying local culture. Fearing that their country would similarly be divided up between competing foreign powers, in 1867 the Japanese people demanded the restoration of an emperor as head of government, instead of the military shogun. Emperor Mutsuhito and his Meiji government set about modernising Japan in order to resist the imperial powers. By 1869, they had established a centralised administration, uniting all the previously independent regions of Japan under one government.

日本成为世界强国的历程 **1871年之前的日本 19世纪上半叶，日本还是一个欠发达国家，社会结构近乎中世纪。**它有严格的阶级制度，好战的武士和他们的领袖幕府将军掌握着最高权力。**几个世纪以来，农业、运输和工业几乎没有变化，经济仍然主要基于易货贸易而不是金钱。甚至连税收也是用大米缴纳的。日本人不欢迎外国人，**他们成功顶住了与其他国家建立贸易权的压力。**俄罗斯（1804年）、英国（1842年）和美国（1853年）都试图与日本开放贸易——但都失败了。美国尤其迫切地为其快速扩张的工业产出寻找新市场。美国捕鲸船队还需要进入日本港口才能获取重要物资，尤其是煤炭。面对顽强的抵抗，美国人终于在1854年派出了一支战舰舰队。**武士刀根本无法与现代枪支相抗衡，**日本人别无选择，只能开放边境与西方进行贸易。**这给日本带来了巨大的风险。在军队的支持下，欧洲商人已经控制了中国的大片地区，推行自己的法律并破坏当地文化。**由于担心自己的国家也会被外国势力瓜分，1867 年，日本人民要求恢复天皇作为政府首脑，而不是将军。陆仁天皇和他的明治政府为了抵抗帝国主义列强，着手实现日本的现代化。到 1869 年，他们建立了中央集权政府，将日本所有以前独立的地区统一到一个政府之下。**

Rapid modernisation and military development

The Japanese realised that to maintain their independence they would have to develop their own military capabilities. This could not be achieved without rapid modernisation and industrialisation. The Japanese modelled their education system, form of government, army, navy and industry on those of the foreign nations whose presence they most feared. Mines, iron foundries, factories and shipyards were quickly developed. Some of these were set up by the government and then handed over to private enterprise.

快速的现代化和军事发展 **日本意识到，为了保持独立，他们必须发展自己的军事能力。如果没有快速的现代化和工业化，这是不可能实现的。日本人以他们最害怕的外国为蓝本，制定了他们的教育体系、政府形式、陆军、海军和工业。矿山、铸铁厂、工厂和造船厂迅速发展。其中一些是由政府设立，然后移交给私营企业。**

Others were built by former Samurai warriors, such as Iwasaki Yataro, who founded the Mitsubishi shipyards. Railways and telegraph lines were laid to support industrial development and to assist the government with its plans to unify the country. To cover the costs of this swift modernisation, Japan concentrated on promoting its export trade, especially in textiles.

Increasing prosperity assisted the development of Japan’s military strength. One-third of the national budget was spent on the army and navy. Military service became compulsory for all adult males and, by 1894, Japan possessed 28 modern warships. In schools, children were taught to be patriotic and to show total obedience to the emperor. The old Shinto religion, which claimed that the emperor was descended from a god, was revived for the same reason.

Modernisation helped Japan maintain its independence, and in a remarkably short period of time it developed from being a country threatened by the imperialistic ambitions of other nations to one capable of becoming an imperial power in its own right.

**其他的则由前武士建造，**例如创立三菱造船厂的岩崎弥太郎。铺设铁路和电报线是为了支持工业发展并协助政府实现统一国家的计划。为了弥补这种快速现代化的成本，日本集中精力促进其出口贸易，特别是纺织品出口贸易。日**益繁荣有助于日本军事实力的发展。国家预算的三分之一用于陆军和海军。所有成年男性都必须服兵役**，到 1894 年，日本拥有 28 艘现代军舰。在学校里，孩子们被教导要爱国并完全服从皇帝。声称天皇是神的后裔的古老神道教也因同样的原因而复兴。现代化帮助日本保持了独立性，并在极短的时间内从一个受到其他国家帝国主义野心威胁的国家发展成为一个能够凭借自身实力成为帝国主义强国的国家。

The ongoing disintegration of the Chinese Empire (see page 105) provided the opportunity for Japan to test its new military strength. Disputes over which country should control Korea led to a short war in 1894. The new, modern Japanese army quickly overran Korea, Manchuria and parts of China itself. When the Chinese capital Peking came under threat, China surrendered. By the terms of the Shimonoseki Treaty (1895), Japan gained Formosa and Port Arthur. Korea was declared independent of Chinese influence.

**中华帝国的持续瓦解（见第105页）为日本提供了测试其新军事实力的机会**。关于哪个国家应该控制朝鲜的争端导致了 1894 年的一场短暂战争。新型现代日本军队迅速占领了朝鲜、满洲和中国部分地区。当中国首都北京受到威胁时，中国投降了。**根据《马关条约》（1895 年）的条款，日本获得了福尔摩沙和旅顺港。朝鲜宣布独立于中国的影响。**

However, Japan was not the only nation with an interest in China. France, Russia and Germany resented Japan’s intrusion into an area where they each had vested interests. Russia wanted control of Port Arthur, since it would provide a warm-water (ice-free) port from which to expand its influence in the Far East. The Triple Intervention of these three powerful European nations forced Japan to hand over control of Port Arthur to Russia. This caused considerable resentment in Japan, which decided to build more warships and wait for the opportunity to gain revenge against the Russians. The Russo–Japanese War 1904–05 Russian expansion in the Far East continued. In 1900, for example, Russia occupied the whole of Manchuria. This caused alarm in Britain, which feared that its own Far Eastern interests were under threat. This was one of the reasons why Britain signed the Anglo–Japanese Alliance in 1902. The treaty was a major achievement for Japan. It was the first time that the country had been recognised as an equal by one of the major European powers, and the agreement clearly established Japan’s emergence on to the global stage. In Britain, too, the alliance was greeted favourably. Japan now felt strong enough to seek a settlement with Russia. The Japanese were prepared to recognise Russian rights in Manchuria in exchange for Japanese rights in Korea. Convinced of their military superiority, the Russians refused to negotiate with the Japanese and, instead, invaded Korea. The Japanese response was rapid, dramatic and devastating, and brought Japan into a war with one of the world’s great powers. On 9 February 1904, Japanese warships entered Port Arthur, where a number of Russian ships were docked, totally unprepared for battle. Two Russian battleships and a cruiser were destroyed by Japanese torpedoes. The Russian fleet was widely dispersed around the globe and Russian soldiers were forced to endure a lengthy overland trip across Asia to reach Port Arthur and take up arms against the Japanese. Under such circumstances, Japan clearly had the advantage. It quickly established control over the local seas, which allowed it to move troops around without resistance. Once Port Arthur was taken the Japanese moved into Manchuria, forcing the Russian troops to retreat to Mukden. After a three-month siege involving over 1 million soldiers on both sides – and at the height of a bitter winter – Mukden fell to the Japanese. Note: Russia was the main instigator of the agreement known as the Triple Intervention. France supported Russia in the hope of maintaining their alliance, to avoid becoming diplomatically isolated in Europe. Germany became involved in exchange for Russian support for its own colonial ambitions elsewhere in the world. Note: By the terms of the Anglo–Japanese Alliance (1902), Britain and Japan agreed to remain neutral if either country was involved in war. Britain recognised Japan’s rights in Korea. Japan agreed to use its fleet to help protect British interests in the Far East. The treaty marked the end of Britain’s isolationism. It was renewed and extended in 1905 and 1911. Figure 1.8 A British cartoon from 1905 commenting on the Anglo– Japanese Alliance 26

然而，日本并不是唯一对中国感兴趣的国家。**法国、俄罗斯和德国对日本入侵他们各自拥有既得利益的地区表示不满。俄罗斯想要控制亚瑟港，因为它可以提供一个温水(不结冰)港口，从而扩大其在远东的影响力。这三个强大的欧洲国家的三重干预迫使日本将亚瑟港的控制权交给了俄国。**这在日本引起了相当大的不满，日本决定建造更多的军舰，等待机会向俄罗斯人复仇。日俄战争(1904-05)俄罗斯在远东的扩张仍在继续。例如，**在1900年，俄国占领了整个满洲。这在英国引起了恐慌，它担心自己的远东利益受到威胁。这也是英国在1902年签订英日同盟的原因之一。该条约是日本的一项重大成就。这是日本第一次被一个欧洲大国承认为平等国家，**该协议明确确立了日本在全球舞台上的崛起。在英国，北约也受到了欢迎。**日本现在觉得自己足够强大，可以寻求与俄国的和解。日本人准备承认俄国在满洲的权利，以换取日本在朝鲜的权利。由于确信自己的军事优势，俄国人拒绝与日本人谈判，而是入侵了朝鲜。**日本的反应是迅速的、戏剧性的和毁灭性的，**这使日本卷入了与世界强国之一的战争。1**904年2月9日，日本军舰进入亚瑟港，许多俄国船只停泊在那里，完全没有做好战斗准备。两艘俄国战列舰和一艘巡洋舰被日本鱼雷击毁。俄罗斯舰队分散在世界各地，俄罗斯士兵被迫经历了漫长的陆路旅行，穿越亚洲到达亚瑟港，拿起武器对抗日本人。在这种情况下，日本显然占有优势。它很快建立了对当地海域的控制，这使得它可以在没有抵抗的情况下调动军队。一旦亚瑟港被占领，日本人就进入了满洲，迫使俄罗斯军队撤退到奉天。经过三个月的围攻，双方有超过一百万的士兵参战，而且正值严冬，奉天沦陷于日军之手。注:俄罗斯是三国干预协议的主要发起者。**法国支持俄罗斯，希望维持他们的联盟，以避免在欧洲外交上被孤立。德国介入是为了换取俄国对其在世界其他地方的殖民野心的支持。**注:**根据英日同盟(1902年)的条款，英国和日本同意在任何一方卷入战争时保持中立。英国承认日本在朝鲜的权利。日本同意使用其舰队帮助保护英国在远东的利益。该条约标志着英国孤立主义的结束。它在1905年和1911年被更新和扩建。**图1.8 1905年的英国漫画，评论英日同盟26

However, Japan was not the only nation with an interest in China. France, Russia and Germany resented Japan’s intrusion into an area where they each had vested interests.

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Russia wanted control of Port Arthur, since it would provide

然而，日本并不是唯一对中国感兴趣的国家。法国、俄罗斯和德国对日本入侵他们各自都有既得利益的地区感到不满。俄罗斯是俄罗斯想要控制旅顺口的主要煽动者，因为它可以提供

the agreement known as the Triple

a warm-water (ice-free) port from which to expand its

该协议被称为“三重”协议，一个温水（无冰）港口，以扩大其

Intervention. France supported

influence in the Far East. The Triple Intervention of these

干涉。法国支持在远东的影响力。这些的三重干预

Russia in the hope of maintaining

three powerful European nations forced Japan to hand over

俄罗斯希望维持欧洲三强迫使日本交出

their alliance, to avoid becoming

control of Port Arthur to Russia. This caused considerable

他们结盟，以避免成为俄罗斯对旅顺港的控制。这造成了相当大的

diplomatically isolated in Europe.

resentment in Japan, which decided to build more warships

在欧洲处于外交孤立状态。日本不满，决定建造更多军舰

Germany became involved in

and wait for the opportunity to gain revenge against

德国介入并伺机报复

exchange for Russian support for its

the Russians.

换取俄罗斯对其俄罗斯人的支持。

own colonial ambitions elsewhere in

the world.

在世界其他地方拥有殖民野心。

The Russo–Japanese War 1904–05

Russian expansion in the Far East continued. In 1900, for example, Russia occupied the whole of Manchuria. This caused alarm in Britain, which feared that its own Far Eastern interests were under threat. This was one

1904-05 年日俄战争俄罗斯在远东的扩张仍在继续。例如，1900年，俄罗斯占领了整个满洲。这引起了英国的警惕，英国担心自己的远东利益受到威胁。这是一个

Alliance (1902), Britain and Japan

of the reasons why Britain signed the Anglo–Japanese

英国与日本结盟（1902年）英国签署英日条约的原因

agreed to remain neutral if either

Alliance in 1902. The treaty was a major achievement

1902 年，如果任何一个联盟同意保持中立，该条约是一项重大成就

country was involved in war. Britain

for Japan. It was the first time that the country had been

国家卷入战争。英国对日本。这是该国第一次

recognised Japan’s rights in Korea.

recognised as an equal by one of the major European powers,

承认日本在朝鲜的权利。被欧洲主要大国之一承认为平等人，

Japan agreed to use its fleet to help

and the agreement clearly established Japan’s emergence

日本同意使用其舰队提供帮助，该协议明确确立了日本的崛起

protect British interests in the Far

on to the global stage. In Britain, too, the alliance was

在全球舞台上保护英国在远东的利益。在英国，该联盟也是如此

East. The treaty marked the end of

greeted favourably.

东方。该条约标志着欢迎的结束。

Britain’s isolationism. It was renewed and extended in 1905 and 1911. Japan now felt strong enough to seek a settlement with Russia. The Japanese were prepared to recognise Russian rights in Manchuria in exchange for Japanese rights in Korea. Convinced of their military superiority, the Russians

refused to negotiate with the Japanese and, instead, invaded Korea.

英国的孤立主义。该协议于 1905 年和 1911 年得到更新和延长。日本现在感觉自己已经足够强大，可以寻求与俄罗斯和解。日本人准备承认俄罗斯在满洲的权利，以换取日本在朝鲜的权利。俄罗斯人深信自己的军事优势，拒绝与日本谈判，而是入侵了朝鲜。

1905 commenting on the Anglo–

Japanese Alliance The Japanese response was rapid, dramatic and devastating, and brought Japan into a war with one of the world’s great powers.

On 9 February 1904, Japanese warships entered Port Arthur, where a number of Russian ships were docked, totally unprepared for battle. Two Russian battleships and a cruiser were destroyed by Japanese torpedoes. The Russian fleet was widely dispersed around the globe and Russian soldiers were forced to endure a lengthy overland trip across Asia to reach Port Arthur and take up arms against the Japanese. Under such circumstances, Japan clearly had the advantage. It quickly established control over the local seas, which allowed it to move troops around without resistance. Once Port Arthur was taken the Japanese moved into Manchuria, forcing the Russian troops to retreat to Mukden. After a three-month siege involving over 1 million soldiers on both sides – and at the height of a bitter winter – Mukden fell to the Japanese.

1905 年对英日同盟的评论 日本的反应是迅速、戏剧性和毁灭性的，并将日本带入了与世界强国之一的战争。 1904年2月9日，日本军舰进入旅顺港，那里停靠着许多俄罗斯船只，完全没有做好战斗准备。两艘俄罗斯战列舰和一艘巡洋舰被日本鱼雷摧毁。俄罗斯舰队广泛分散在全球各地，俄罗斯士兵被迫忍受漫长的陆路穿越亚洲才能到达旅顺港并拿起武器对抗日本人。在这种情况下，日本显然占据了优势。它很快就建立了对当地海域的控制权，这使得它能够在没有抵抗的情况下调动军队。一旦占领旅顺口，日本人就进入满洲里，迫使俄罗斯军队撤退到盛京。经过三个月的围攻，双方超过 100 万士兵，在严冬之际，奉天落入日本人之手。

Russia’s last hope lay with its fleet in the Baltic Sea, but the ships’ journey to the Far East was long, tortuous and eventful. While steaming through the North Sea, the Russian ships mistook some British fishing boats for warships, and fired on them. The British were outraged and for a time the Russian fleet was pursued by a vastly superior fleet of British ships. As Britain was allied to Japan, it seemed likely that the rival fleets would engage in battle. While diplomatic negotiations succeeded in preventing this, Britain denied the Russian fleet access to the Suez Canal, forcing it to take the far longer route around Africa. Laden down with coal to fuel the steam engines, the Russian ships made slow progress and did not arrive in the Straits of Tsushima between Korea and Japan until May 1905. The battle began on 27 May, as Russian and Japanese ships finally faced each other in the straits. The slow-moving and outdated Russian vessels could not compete with Japan’s modern warships, which were under the command of Admiral Togo Heihachiro. By the following day, Japan had defeated the Russian navy. Facing humiliation abroad and revolution at home, the Russian tsar, Nicholas II, signed the Treaty of Portsmouth with Japan. Russian influence in Manchuria was effectively ended, and Japan’s rights over Korea were formally recognised.

In the space of less than 50 years, Japan had developed into a modern, industrial country with the military capacity to defeat a major European power. Japan entered the 20th century as an imperial nation, perceived as the champion of Asia against the Western powers.

during the First World War (see page 37).

**俄罗斯最后的希望寄托在波罗的海的舰队上，**但船只前往远东的旅程漫长、曲折、多事。俄罗斯舰艇在北海航行时，将一些英国渔船误认为是军舰，并向其开火。英国人被激怒了，俄罗斯舰队一度遭到一支实力极其强大的英国舰队的追击。**由于英国与日本结盟，**敌对舰队似乎很可能会交战。虽然外交谈判成功地阻止了这种情况，但**英国拒绝俄罗斯舰队进入苏伊士运河，迫使其绕行非洲更长的航线。**俄罗斯船只装载着为蒸汽机提供燃料的煤炭，进展缓慢，直到 1905 年 5 月才抵达韩国和日本之间的对马海峡。战斗于 5 月 27 日开始，俄罗斯和日本船只最终在海峡。行动缓慢且陈旧的俄罗斯船只无法与东乡平八郎海军上将指挥的日本现代军舰竞争。第二天，**日本击败了俄罗斯海军。**面对国外的屈辱和国内的革命，俄**罗斯沙皇尼古拉二世与日本签署了《朴茨茅斯条约》。俄罗斯对满洲的影响实际上结束了，日本对朝鲜的权利也得到了正式承认。在不到50年的时间里，日本已经发展成为一个现代化的工业国家，拥有击败欧洲强国的军事能力。**日本作为一个帝国国家进入20世纪，被视为亚洲对抗西方列强的捍卫者。第一次世界大战期间（见第 37 页）。

Questions 问题

To what extent had Japan become a major

world power by 1905?

到 1905 年，日本在多大程度上成为世界主要强国？

Explain why Japan was able to defeat one of

the major European powers in the Russo–

Japanese War.

解释为什么日本能够在日俄战争中击败欧洲主要强国之一。

Source A opposite is a French illustration

from 1904. It shows other countries

looking on while the champion of Europe

(Russia) takes on the champion of Asia

(Japan). What can historians learn from

this illustration?

资料来源 对面是 1904 年的法国插图。它展示了其他国家在观看欧洲冠军（俄罗斯）与亚洲冠军（日本）的较量。历史学家可以从这个例子中学到什么？

The alliance system in Europe

The unification of Germany

The new German Reich (empire) was established on 18 January 1871, at the Palace of Versailles in France. The separate kingdoms of the North German Confederation and the South German States were unified as a single country

– Germany. The man primarily responsible for this was Otto von Bismarck.

By the middle of the 19th century Austria controlled many of the states in southern Germany, but in 1866 Bismarck’s Prussian troops defeated Austria and destroyed its position as the leading German-speaking power in Europe. In 1867, Austria formed a monarchic union with the Kingdom of Hungary, but its ruling family, the Habsburgs, presided over a disjointed and multinational empire. The Franco–Prussian War of 1870–71 enabled Bismarck to complete his plans to unify Germany, leaving France defeated and bitter. By the terms of the Treaty of Frankfurt (1871), Germany took the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and forced France to pay a vast sum of money in war compensation. Resentment at the loss of its land, and fear of this powerful new German nation, influenced French foreign policy for many years to come.

欧洲的联盟体系 **德国的统一 新的德意志帝国（帝国）于 1871 年 1 月 18 日在法国凡尔赛宫建立。北德意志邦联和南德意志邦联这两个独立的王国统一为一个国家——德国。对此负有主要责任的人是奥托·冯·俾斯麦。到 19 世纪中叶，奥地利控制了德国南部的许多州，但 1866 年俾斯麦的普鲁士军队击败了奥地利，摧毁了其作为欧洲主要德语强国的地位。 1867 年，奥地利与匈牙利王国建立君主制联盟，但其统治家族哈布斯堡王朝却领导着一个支离破碎的多民族帝国。 1870-71 年的普法战争使俾斯麦完成了统一德国的计划，而法国则战败而痛苦。根据《法兰克福条约》（1871年）的条款，德国占领了法国的阿尔萨斯和洛林省，并迫使法国支付巨额战争赔偿。对失去土地的不满以及对这个强大的新德意志国家的恐惧影响了法国未来许多年的外交政策。**

The unification of Germany in 1871 heralded a period of relative stability in relations between the major European powers of Britain, France, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia. None of these countries wanted war with one another and so, as we have seen, their rivalries were played out not in Europe but in the distant lands of Africa and Asia.

Bismarck’s policies played a significant part in maintaining this stability within Europe. Although Germany was now the dominant power on the continent – both economically and militarily – Bismarck understood that it remained vulnerable. Situated as it was at the heart of Europe, Germany was open to attack from three sides: from France to the west, from Russia to the east and from Austria-Hungary to the south. The chancellor’s main concern was to isolate potential enemies, especially France, which he knew would be looking for revenge after its costly defeat in the Franco–Prussian War. Bismarck therefore set out to establish a series of friendly agreements with other European countries, and largely kept Germany out of the race for overseas possessions in an effort to avoid conflict with other potential rivals such as Britain.

Bismarck’s alliances

Bismarck’s attempts to ensure German security led to a series of alliances.

The Three Emperors’ League (Dreikaiserbund) 1873

In 1873, Bismarck negotiated an agreement between Tsar Alexander II of Russia, Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria-Hungary and Kaiser Wilhelm I of Germany. In addition to isolating France, Bismarck hoped that regular meetings between the three monarchs would help to reduce disputes between Austria-Hungary and Russia over the Balkans. The Three Emperors’ League was largely unsuccessful, mainly because of ongoing disputes between Germany’s two allies. By 1879, the league had effectively collapsed.

The Dual Alliance 1879

This was a defensive alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary. Each country agreed to come to the other’s aid in the event of an attack by Russia. Germany and Austria-Hungary also agreed to remain

1871年德国的统一预示着英国、法国、德国、奥匈帝国和俄罗斯等**欧洲主要国家之间关系进入相对稳定的时期。这些国家都不想彼此发生战争，因此，**正如我们所看到的，**它们的竞争不是在欧洲，而是在遥远的非洲和亚洲。俾斯麦的政策在维持欧洲内部的稳定方面发挥了重要作用。**尽管德国现在在经济和军事上都是欧洲大陆的主导力量，但俾斯麦明白它仍然很脆弱。**德国位于欧洲的中心，容易受到来自三个方面的攻击：西边的法国、东边的俄罗斯和南边的奥匈帝国。这位总理主要关心的是孤立潜在的敌人，尤其是法国，他知道法国在普法战争中惨败后将寻求报复。因此，俾斯麦着手与其他欧洲国家建立一系列友好协议，并在很大程度上阻止德国参与海外领土的争夺，以避免与英国等其他潜在竞争对手发生冲突。**

俾斯麦的联盟 **俾斯麦为确保德国安全而做出的努力导致了一系列联盟。三皇联盟 (Dreikaiserbund) 1873 1873 年，俾斯麦在俄罗斯沙皇亚历山大二世、奥匈帝国皇帝弗兰茨·约瑟夫一世和德国德皇威廉一世之间谈判达成一项协议。除了孤立法国之外，俾斯麦还希望三位君主之间的定期会晤有助于减少奥匈帝国和俄罗斯在巴尔干问题上的争端。三皇同盟基本上没有成功，主要是因为德国的两个盟友之间持续不断的争端。 到 1879 年，联盟实际上已经崩溃了。双重联盟 1879 这是德国和奥匈帝国之间的防御联盟。两国同意在俄罗斯发动袭击时向对方提供援助。德国和奥匈帝国也同意留欧**

Russia and Austria-Hungary

俄罗斯和奥匈帝国

neutral if either was attacked by another country, such as France.

had rival claims to parts of the Balkans, an area of

**如果其中任何一方受到另一个国家（例如法国）的攻击，则保持中立。**对巴尔干部分地区提出了竞争性的主张，该地区

The Triple Alliance 1882

southern Europe. Austria-This was, in effect, an extension of the Dual Alliance. Germany, Hungary argued that the Austria-Hungary and Italy agreed to offer each other mutual support region was part of the in the event of an attack by any of the other great powers. Italy’s Habsburg Empire. Russia reasons for joining the alliance were partly to preserve its own was keen to gain access to national security, but also because it was angry at France for seizing a warm-water port on the Tunisia the previous year. Italy had harboured its own aspirations for Black Sea. taking control of this area.

1882年南欧三国同盟。奥地利——这实际上是双重联盟的延伸。德国、匈牙利辩称，奥匈帝国和意大利同意在其他大国发动攻击时向对方提供相互支持的地区。意大利的哈布斯堡帝国。俄罗斯加入该联盟的部分原因是为了维护自己渴望获得的国家安全，但也因为它对法国去年占领突尼斯的一个温水港口感到愤怒。意大利对黑海也怀有自己的渴望。控制这个地区。

Bismarck’s alliances Bismarck’s attempts to ensure German security led to a series of alliances. The Three Emperors’ League (Dreikaiserbund) 1873 In 1873, Bismarck negotiated an agreement between Tsar Alexander II of Russia, Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria-Hungary and Kaiser Wilhelm I of Germany. In addition to isolating France, Bismarck hoped that regular meetings between the three monarchs would help to reduce disputes between Austria-Hungary and Russia over the Balkans. The Three Emperors’ League was largely unsuccessful, mainly because of ongoing disputes between Germany’s two allies. By 1879, the league had effectively collapsed. The Dual Alliance 1879 This was a defensive alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary. Each country agreed to come to the other’s aid in the event of an attack by Russia. Germany and Austria-Hungary also agreed to remain neutral if either was attacked by another country, such as France. The Triple Alliance 1882 This was, in effect, an extension of the Dual Alliance. Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy agreed to offer each other mutual support in the event of an attack by any of the other great powers. Italy’s reasons for joining the alliance were partly to preserve its own national security, but also because it was angry at France for seizing Tunisia the previous year. Italy had harboured its own aspirations for taking control of this area. Note: Russia and Austria-Hungary had rival claims to parts of the Balkans, an area of southern Europe. Austria- Hungary argued that the region was part of the Habsburg Empire. Russia was keen to gain access to a warm-water port on the Black Sea.

俾斯麦为确保德国的安全所做的努力导致了一系列的联盟。三帝同盟1873年1873年，俾斯麦在俄国沙皇亚历山大二世、奥匈帝国皇帝弗朗茨·约瑟夫一世和德国皇帝威廉一世之间达成了一项协议。除了孤立法国之外，俾斯麦还希望三国君主之间的定期会晤有助于减少奥匈帝国和俄罗斯在巴尔干半岛问题上的争端。三帝同盟基本上是不成功的，主要是因为德国的两个盟国之间持续不断的争端。到1879年，联盟实际上已经崩溃。**双重同盟(1879年), 这是德国和奥匈帝国之间的防御同盟。两国都同意，如果俄罗斯发动袭击，将互相援助。德国和奥匈帝国还同意，如果其中任何一方受到法国等其他国家的攻击，将保持中立。三国同盟1882年这实际上是双重同盟的延伸。德国、奥匈帝国和意大利同意在任何其他大国进攻的情况下相互支持。意大利加入该联盟的部分原因是为了维护自己的国家安全，但也因为它对法国去年占领突尼斯感到愤怒。意大利一直怀有控制这一地区的愿望。注:俄罗斯和奥匈帝国曾对巴尔干半岛的部分地区(南欧地区)提出主权要求。奥匈帝国认为该地区是哈布斯堡帝国的一部分。俄罗斯渴望获得黑海暖水港的使用权。**

The Reinsurance Treaty 1887

Despite the existence of the Triple Alliance, Bismarck’s plan to isolate France had not been effective. Austria-Hungary and Italy were traditional enemies, and neither could boast a strong army to come to Germany’s aid in the event of a French attack. More importantly, the loss of an effective alliance with Russia meant that Germany remained vulnerable to attack from both west and east if France and Russia should form an alliance of their own. In an effort to avoid this possibility, Bismarck signed the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia in 1887. This guaranteed German and Russian neutrality in any war, as long as Germany did not attack France, or Russia attack Austria-Hungary.

All these alliances, so carefully negotiated by Bismarck, were entirely defensive in character and were intended to preserve peace. However, they were formed by treaties whose terms were secret, and this naturally gave rise to concerns amongst the powers not involved in the negotiations. These suspicions grew when Germany began to adopt a more aggressive approach to foreign affairs.

Uniting against Germany

**1887年再保险条约 尽管三国同盟存在，俾斯麦孤立法国的计划并未奏效。奥匈帝国和意大利是传统敌人，两国都没有强大的军队在法国进攻时向德国提供援助。更重要的是，失去与俄罗斯的有效联盟意味着，如果法国和俄罗斯结成自己的联盟​​，德国仍然容易受到来自西方和东方的攻击。为了避免这种可能性，俾斯麦于1887年与俄罗斯签署了《再保险条约》。这保证了德国和俄罗斯在任何战争中保持中立，只要德国不攻击法国，或者俄罗斯不攻击奥匈帝国。所有这些联盟都是俾斯麦精心谈判的，完全是防御性的，目的是维护和平。然而，它们是由条约组成的，其条款是秘密的，这自然引起了未参与谈判的国家的担忧。当德国开始在外交事务上采取更加积极的态度时，这些怀疑就增加了。联合起来对抗德国**

In 1890, the German Kaiser, Wilhelm II, dismissed Bismarck as chancellor and embarked on a less cautious approach to foreign policy. This included actively seeking overseas possessions and developing the German navy. These actions had the effect of pushing France, Russia and Britain closer together.

The Franco–Russian Alliance 1894

When Wilhelm II allowed the Reinsurance Treaty to lapse in 1890, Russia felt threatened. Despite the political differences between France and Russia (France was a republic, while Russia was an absolute monarchy in which the tsar exercised total control), the two countries had enjoyed steadily improving relations. From 1888, France – desperate to avoid being isolated, and fearing Germany’s increasing power – provided Russia with cheap loans to finance improvements in its military capabilities. Both countries were afraid of what might result from the Triple Alliance (see page 29) so they began negotiations for an alliance of their own. Like the Triple Alliance, the resulting agreement (the Franco– Russian Alliance) was a defensive one. It stated that if either country was attacked, the other would come to its aid. It was agreed that the Franco– Russian Alliance would remain in place as long as the Triple Alliance existed.

**1890 年，德国皇帝威廉二世解除了俾斯麦总理的职务，并开始采取不那么谨慎的外交政策。这包括积极寻求海外财产和发展德国海军。这些行动使法国、俄罗斯和英国更加紧密地联系在一起。 1894 年法俄联盟 当威廉二世于 1890 年允许再保险条约失效时，俄罗斯感到了威胁。尽管法国和俄罗斯之间存在政治分歧（法国是共和国，而俄罗斯是沙皇实行全面控制的绝对君主制国家），但两国关系一直在稳步改善。从 1888 年起，法国 — — 迫切希望避免被孤立，又担心德国的实力不断增强 — — 向俄罗斯提供廉价贷款，以资助其军事能力的提高。两国都担心三国同盟可能带来的后果（见第 29 页），因此他们开始就建立自己的联盟​​进行谈判。与三国同盟一样，由此产生的协议（法俄联盟）也是防御性的。它表示，如果任何一个国家受到攻击，另一个国家都会提供援助。双方同意，只要三国同盟存在，法俄联盟就将继续存在。**

German naval development

Britain remained largely uninvolved in European affairs during the last quarter of the 19th century. Peace on the continent had enabled Britain to increase its overseas possessions without serious challenge. As an island protected by its undisputed naval supremacy, Britain had adopted a policy of ‘splendid isolation’, by which it stayed out of European politics and concentrated on the expansion of its own empire. However, Germany’s naval programme caused panic in Britain. Germany had few overseas possessions to protect and could concentrate its naval forces in the North Sea. In contrast, the British navy was dispersed around the globe to protect its empire. In response to German naval development, therefore, Britain embarked on its own building programme (including the launch of the super-battleship Dreadnought in 1906). Germany responded in kind, and a naval arms race developed that only increased the tension between the two countries.

The Anglo–Japanese Alliance 1902

Already concerned by the reaction of the European powers to its involvement in the Boer Wars (see page 14), the threat posed by German naval development led Britain to depart from its isolationist policies and look towards forming alliances with other countries. The first example of this was the Anglo– Japanese Alliance of 1902. This offered some protection to British possessions in the Far East in the event of war. However, far more surprising – certainly to the Germans – was Britain’s attempts to gain increased co-operation with its traditional enemy, France.

The Entente Cordiale 1904

Following diplomatic talks between British and French officials in 1903, King Edward VII’s successful visit to France in 1904 led to the Entente Cordiale. This was a series of agreements designed to settle a number of disputes that had long soured relations between the two countries. For example, France finally recognised British control of Egypt in exchange for Britain’s recognition of French control in Morocco. The Entente Cordiale provided France with additional security against the threat from Germany and its Triple Alliance cohorts. For Britain, concerned by the massive growth in Germany’s military capabilities, it offered an end to European isolation.

between the Black Sea and

**德国海军的发展 在 19 世纪最后 25 年里，英国基本上没有参与欧洲事务。非洲大陆的和平使英国能够在没有受到严重挑战的情况下增加其海外领土。作为一个受到无可争议的海上霸权保护的岛屿，英国采取了“绝妙的孤立”政策，远离欧洲政治，专注于扩张自己的帝国。然而，德国的海军计划引起了英国的恐慌。德国几乎没有海外领地需要保护，可以将海军力量集中在北海。相比之下，英国海军分散在全球各地以保护其帝国。因此，为了响应德国海军的发展，英国开始了自己的建造计划（包括 1906 年下水超级战列舰无畏舰）。德国做出了同样的回应，海军军备竞赛的发展只会加剧两国之间的紧张关系。英日同盟 1902 年 英国已经对欧洲列强对其卷入布尔战争的反应感到担忧（见第 14 页），德国海军发展所构成的威胁导致英国放弃其孤立主义政策，并寻求与其他国家结盟。国家。第一个例子是 1902 年的英日同盟。该同盟在发生战争时为英国在远东的属地提供了一定的保护。然而，更令德国人惊讶的是英国试图与其传统敌人法国加强合作。 1904 年协约 继 1903 年英国和法国官员进行外交会谈后，爱德华七世国王于 1904 年成功访问法国，缔结了协约。 这是一系列协议，旨在解决长期以来两国关系恶化的一系列争端。例如，法国最终承认英国对埃及的控制，以换取英国承认法国对摩洛哥的控制。友好协约为法国提供了额外的安全保障，以抵御德国及其三国同盟的威胁。对于英国来说，由于担心德国军事能力的大幅增长，它结束了欧洲的孤立。黑海和之间**

The Anglo–Russian Entente 1907

the Mediterranean Sea. Just like France and Britain, Russia had become increasingly With most of Russia’s own fearful of Germany’s intentions, and regarded the Triple Alliance ports iced up for large parts as a major threat to its security. Russia was deeply concerned that of the year, access through Austria-Hungary and Germany intended to take over large parts of the Dardanelles was the Balkans, threatening Russian access through the Dardanelles – essential for Russian trade. a vital trade route that accounted for 40% of Russian exports.

1907年英俄协约地中海。**与法国和英国一样，俄罗斯也越来越担心德国的意图，并将三国同盟港口大部分结冰视为对其安全的重大威胁。俄罗斯深感担忧的是，当年通过奥匈帝国和德国意图占领达达尼尔海峡大部分地区的巴尔干半岛，威胁到了俄罗斯通过达达尼尔海峡的通道——这对俄罗斯贸易至关重要。一条重要的贸易路线，占俄罗斯出口的 40%。**

Russia was a vast country, and potentially had the largest army of all the major European powers. However, it was economically underdeveloped and its defeat in the Russo–Japanese War (see pages 26–27) highlighted major deficiencies in an army hindered by ineffective leadership and obsolete equipment. For Britain, Russia’s defeat suggested that the country was no longer a serious challenger to its own imperial ambitions in the Far East. Germany was now a much bigger threat. In 1907, therefore, an Anglo– Russian Entente was agreed.

The Triple Entente 1907

The Anglo–Russian Entente effectively tied France, Britain and Russia together in a series of friendly alliances by which the three countries agreed to support each other in the event of any of them being attacked. This became known as the Triple Entente.

By 1907, therefore, Europe was divided into two opposing camps – the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. Although both had been created for defensive purposes, each side was deeply suspicious of the aims and motives of the other. As this mistrust grew, the arms race became considerably more sinister.

**俄罗斯是一个幅员辽阔的国家，**可能拥有欧洲所有主要大国中最大的军队。**然而，它的经济不发达，**并且在日俄战争中的失败（见第26-27页）凸显了军队领导不力和装备陈旧的重大缺陷。**对于英国来说，俄罗斯的失败表明该国不再是其远东帝国野心的严重挑战者。德国现在是一个更大的威胁。因此，1907 年英俄协约达成。 1907年三国协约英俄协约有效地将法国、英国和俄罗斯联合在一起，形成一系列友好联盟，这三个国家同意在其中任何一方受到攻击时相互支持。这被称为三国协约。因此，到1907年，欧洲分为两个对立的阵营——三国同盟和三国协约。尽管两者都是出于防御目的而创建的，但双方都对对方的目标和动机深表怀疑。随着这种不信任的加剧，军备竞赛变得更加险恶。**

The road to war

Kaiser Wilhelm II was convinced that the Triple Entente was a conspiracy to encircle and subsequently attack Germany. In 1913, fearful of a combined French and Russian invasion, Germany began increasing its standing army. Austria-Hungary did the same. The French interpreted this as the start of preparations to attack France itself, and in response extended their compulsory military service from two to three years. They also increased expenditure on weapons. With financial assistance from France, Russia began rebuilding its armed forces and developing better transport systems to help with more rapid mobilisation in the event of war. By 1910, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary and Germany had all developed offensive plans to be deployed if and when war broke out. Indeed, the German plan had been developed by the military strategist Alfred von Schlieffen as early as 1904.

通向战争之路 **德皇威廉二世深信三国协约是一个旨在包围并随后攻击德国的阴谋。 1913 年，由于担心法国和俄罗斯联合入侵，德国开始增加常备军。奥匈帝国也做了同样的事。法国人将此视为攻击法国本土的准备工作的开始，并作为回应将义务兵役期从两年延长到三年。**他们还增加了武器支出。在法国的财政援助下，俄罗斯开始重建武装部队并开发更好的运输系统，以帮助在发生战争时更快地动员起来。**到 1910 年，法国、俄罗斯、奥匈帝国和德国都制定了进攻计划，以便在战争爆发时部署。**事实上，德国的计划早在 1904 年就由军事战略家阿尔弗雷德·冯·施利芬制定。

The period from 1907 to 1914 witnessed an uneasy peace in Europe. In many ways, the alliance system seemed to be serving the purpose for which it had originally been intended: preventing relatively minor incidents escalating into fullscale war. In 1911, for example, when France sent troops to put down a rebellion in Morocco, Germany sent a gunboat in protest – a clear threat of war. Britain’s announcement that it would support France over this issue made the Germans back down. In truth, Britain was acting out of self-interest rather than a duty to enforce its formal commitments to France; gaining control of a Moroccan port would have provided the German navy with a base from which to threaten British trade routes. It was the vested interests of Austria-Hungary and Russia that finally ended the fragile peace. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was a mixture of many different nationalities and ethnic groups, including Germans, Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, Serbs, Ruthenians, Romanians, Croats, Slovaks, Italians and Slovenes (see map on page 34). Many of these groups had been demanding independence from the empire for some years, but Serbia posed the biggest threat to Austro-Hungarian unity. Serbian nationalists increasingly claimed that those parts of the Habsburg lands that contained a predominantly Serb population should become part of a Greater Serbia. If Austria-Hungary gave in to such demands it would undoubtedly lead to the spread of nationalism elsewhere within the empire, with devastating results. Note: Germany’s concern had always been the prospect of war on two fronts: against France in the west and Russia in the east. The Schlieffen Plan was based on the assumption that, because of its vast size, Russia would take longer to mobilise – and longer to defeat in a war – than France. The plan therefore aimed to defeat France quickly by a surprise attack through neutral Belgium, freeing the Germans to concentrate on war against Russia in the east. nationalists People with a common bond such as nationality, culture or language, who want the right to govern themselves rather than being ruled by another country or culture.

**从1907年到1914年，欧洲经历了不稳定的和平时期。在许多方面，联盟体系似乎正在达到其最初设想的目的:防止相对较小的事件升级为全面战争。例如，1911年，当法国出兵镇压摩洛哥的叛乱时，德国派出了一艘炮舰以示抗议**——这显然是战争威胁。**英国宣布将在这个问题上支持法国，这使德国人让步了。事实上，英国这样做是出于自身利益，而不是履行其对法国的正式承诺; 获得摩洛哥港口的控制权, 将为德国海军提供一个基地，以威胁英国的贸易路线。奥匈帝国和俄罗斯的既得利益, 最终终结了脆弱的和平。奥匈帝国是许多不同民族和民族的混合体，包括德国人、匈牙利人、捷克人、波兰人、塞尔维亚人、鲁塞尼亚人、罗马尼亚人、克罗地亚人、斯洛伐克人、意大利人和斯洛文尼亚人(见第34页的地图)。这些团体中的许多人, 多年来一直要求从帝国独立出来，但塞尔维亚对奥匈帝国的统一, 构成了最大的威胁。塞尔维亚民族主义者越来越多地声称，哈布斯堡王朝土地上以塞族人口为主的部分, 应该成为大塞尔维亚的一部分。如果奥匈帝国屈服于这样的要求，毫无疑问会导致民族主义在帝国的其他地方蔓延，并带来毁灭性的后果。注:德国一直担心的是两线作战的前景:西对法国，东对俄国。施利芬计划是基于这样的假设:由于幅员辽阔，俄罗斯动员起来的时间要比法国长，在战争中被打败的时间也要比法国长。因此，该计划旨在通过中立国比利时的突然袭击迅速击败法国，使德国人能够集中精力在东部与俄国作战。**民族主义者具有民族、文化或语言等共同纽带的人，他们希望有权管理自己，而不是被另一个国家或文化统治。

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两条战线的战争前景：服务于其目的

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向下。事实上，英国的行为是出于自身利益，而不是履行其对法国的正式承诺的义务；控制摩洛哥港口将为德国海军提供威胁英国贸易路线的基地。最终结束脆弱和平的是奥匈帝国和俄罗斯的既得利益。奥匈帝国是许多不同民族和族群的混合体，包括德国人、匈牙利人、捷克人、波兰人、塞尔维亚人、鲁塞尼亚人、罗马尼亚人、克罗地亚人、斯洛伐克人、意大利人和斯洛文尼亚人（参见第 34 页的地图）。这些团体中的许多组织多年来一直要求从帝国独立，但塞尔维亚对奥匈帝国的统一构成了最大的威胁。塞尔维亚民族主义者越来越多地声称，哈布斯堡王朝土地上塞族人口占主导地位的部分应该成为大塞尔维亚的一部分。如果奥匈帝国屈服于这样的要求，无疑会导致民族主义在帝国其他地方蔓延，带来毁灭性的后果。民族主义者 具有国籍、文化或语言等共同纽带的人，希望有权自治而不是被另一个国家或文化统治。

It was therefore in Austria-Hungary’s interests to remove this problem by going to war with Serbia. The problem was how Russia would react to this move. The Russians would see a declaration of war as an attempt by Austria-Hungary to extend its empire in the area. Desperate to retain its warm-water access from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles, Russia would undoubtedly support Serbia. In an attempt to prevent the problem escalating into a full-scale war, both Britain and Germany used their influence to restrain Austria-Hungary. The willingness of the British government to co-operate with Germany over this issue led the Germans to believe that Britain could be detached from its alliance with France and Russia. Even as late as 1913, Germany was urging Austria-Hungary not to go to war with Serbia.

**因此，通过与塞尔维亚开战来解决这个问题, 符合奥匈帝国的利益。问题是俄罗斯将如何应对这一举动。俄罗斯人将宣战视为奥匈帝国试图在该地区扩张其帝国。由于迫切希望保留通过达达尼尔海峡从黑海到地中海的温水通道，俄罗斯无疑会支持塞尔维亚。为了防止问题升级为全面战争，英国和德国都利用自己的影响力来遏制奥匈帝国。英国政府愿意在这个问题上与德国合作，这使得德国人相信英国可以脱离与法国和俄罗斯的联盟。早在 1913 年，德国就敦促奥匈帝国不要与塞尔维亚开战。**

The situation reached a critical point in June 1914, when a Serbian nationalist assassinated the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, in Sarajevo. Austria-Hungary resolved to crush Serbia once and for all, and Germany now encouraged this course of action. It seemed that the very system of alliances that had been established to provide peace and security now made a full-scale war inevitable.

In July 1914, Austria-Hungary issued Serbia with a series of demands. Believing that these threatened its independence, Serbia refused to accept all of them. Consequently, on 28 July, Austria-Hungary declared war on the Balkan nation. The following day Russia began mobilising its forces, and shortly afterwards declared war in defence of Serbia and to protect its own interests in the region. Germany issued an ultimatum to Russia – demobilise or face war with Germany as well. Russia refused to back down.

**1914 年 6 月，局势达到了关键时刻，一名塞尔维亚民族主义者在萨拉热窝刺杀了奥匈帝国王位继承人弗朗茨·费迪南大公。奥匈帝国决心一劳永逸地粉碎塞尔维亚，而德国现在鼓励这一行动方针。似乎正是为了提供和平与安全而建立的联盟体系现在使全面战争不可避免。 1914年7月，奥匈帝国向塞尔维亚提出一系列要求。塞尔维亚认为这些威胁到其独立，因此拒绝接受所有这些。结果，7月28日，奥匈帝国向巴尔干国家宣战。第二天，俄罗斯开始动员军队，不久之后为了保卫塞尔维亚和保护自己在该地区的利益而宣战。德国向俄罗斯发出最后通牒——立即复员，否则也将面临与德国的战争。俄罗斯拒绝让步。**

Germany thus declared war on Russia and – due to the necessities outlined by the Schlieffen Plan (see page 33) – on France, too. When German troops entered Belgium on their way to attack France, Britain honoured its 1839 commitment to defend Belgian neutrality, and declared war on Germany.

In the capitals of Europe, the outbreak of the First World War was greeted almost with a sense of relief. Tensions had been simmering for years, and by this point most nations both expected war and had prepared for it. The long period of uncertainty was finally over. In 1914, however, few could have predicted that this would be a war unlike any the world had seen before. Certainly no one could have foreseen the impact it would have on international relations for the remainder of the 20th century.

A European conflict becomes a world war

At the start, it was widely assumed that the war would be a fast-moving affair involving a series of battles between rival cavalry units. Most people believed it would be ‘over by Christmas’. Within a few months, however, it became clear that this outlook was vastly optimistic. The conflict rapidly became a war of attrition, in which soldiers of all nationalities found themselves trapped in trenches, risking their lives in order to gain a few metres of land. Modern weaponry had rendered traditional methods of warfare obsolete. Ultimately, the First World War lasted 52 months and caused the death of around 20 million people, many of them civilians.

Initially, the war was a purely European affair involving the Central Powers of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria against the Allied Powers of Britain, France and Russia. Although Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance, when the war broke out it decided to remain neutral, arguing that its alliance with Germany was defensive and that Austria-Hungary’s aggression released Italy from any obligation to join the Central Powers. In April 1915, won over by promises from Britain and France that it would gain possession of large areas of territory in the Tyrol and on the Adriatic Sea (Dalmatia and Istria), Italy entered the war on the side of the Allied Powers.

**德国因此向俄罗斯宣战，并且由于施利芬计划（见第 33 页）概述的必要性，也向法国宣战。当德国军队在攻击法国的途中进入比利时时，英国履行了 1839 年捍卫比利时中立的承诺，向德国宣战。**在欧洲各国首都，人们几乎以一种如释重负的心情迎接第一次世界大战的爆发。紧张局势多年来一直在酝酿，此时大多数国家都预计会发生战争，并已做好准备。漫长的不确定时期终于结束了。然而，在 1914 年，很少有人能预料到这将是一场世界上从未见过的战争。当然，**没有人能够预见到它会对 20 世纪余下的国际关系产生何种影响。**欧洲冲突演变为世界大战 **一开始，人们普遍认为这场战争将是一场快速发展的事件，**涉及敌对骑兵部队之间的一系列战斗。**大多数人相信这将“在圣诞节前结束”。然而，几个月之内，人们就发现这种前景非常乐观。冲突迅速演变成一场消耗战，**各国士兵发现自己被困在战壕里，冒着生命危险，只为了争夺几米的土地。现代武器装备已经使传统的战争方法变得过时。**最终，第一次世界大战持续了 52 个月，造成约 2000 万人死亡，其中许多是平民。最初，这场战争纯粹是欧洲事务，**涉及德国、奥匈帝国、土耳其和保加利亚等同盟国对抗英国、法国和俄罗斯等同盟国。 **尽管意大利是三国同盟的成员，但战争爆发时，它决定保持中立，认为与德国的联盟是防御性的，奥匈帝国的侵略使意大利免除了加入同盟国的义务。 1915 年 4 月，英国和法国承诺将获得蒂罗尔和亚得里亚海的大片领土（达尔马提亚和伊斯特拉），意大利因此加入了协约国一边参战。**

What began as a conflict between the major European powers soon began to involve people from farflung regions of the world, as European nations deployed soldiers from their distant colonies. The British army, for example, included men from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Africa and the Indian subcontinent. Note: Britain and France hoped that Italy would be in a position to put increased pressure on the Central Powers. In addition to fighting on both the Western and Eastern fronts, Italy’s support for the Allies meant that the Central Powers would now be threatened from the south, too. war of attrition : A conflict in which each side tries to wear down and slowly destroy its enemy by a process of constant attacks and steady killing.

**一开始是欧洲大国之间的冲突，很快就涉及到来自世界遥远地区的人，因为欧洲国家从遥远的殖民地部署了士兵。**例如，英国军队包括来自加拿大、澳大利亚、新西兰、非洲和印度次大陆的士兵。注:英国和法国希望意大利能够对同盟国施加更大的压力。除了在东线和西线作战外，意大利对协约国的支持意味着协约国现在也将受到来自南方的威胁。消耗战:一种冲突，双方都试图通过不断的攻击和持续的杀戮来消耗并慢慢摧毁敌人。

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The USA enters the war

To begin with, the USA saw no reason to become involved in a war raging thousands of miles away. Its isolationist tradition meant that Americans were unwilling to interfere in European affairs. By 1917, however, the situation had changed.

The USA’s attempts to maintain its trading links with Europe were increasingly undermined by German U-boats (submarines). Convinced that the USA was supplying Britain and its allies with weapons, Germany regularly attacked US ships crossing the Atlantic. At first, the Germans would issue warnings to the ships so that passengers could be evacuated before the attack began. In 1915, however, the Lusitania was sunk without warning, killing more than 120 Americans. In 1916, another American ship, the Sussex, suffered the same fate. There was outrage across the USA, and President Woodrow Wilson issued a stark warning to Germany.

美国参战 **首先，美国认为没有理由卷入一场远在千里之外的战争。**其孤立主义传统意味着美国人不愿意干涉欧洲事务。**然而到了1917年，情况发生了变化。美国维持与欧洲贸易联系的努力日益受到德国潜艇的破坏。德国确信美国正在向英国及其盟国提供武器，因此经常袭击穿越大西洋的美国船只。**起初，德国人会向船只发出警告，以便在袭击开始之前疏散乘客。然而，1915 年，卢西塔尼亚号毫无预警地被击沉，造成 120 多名美国人死亡。 1916年，另一艘美国船“苏塞克斯”号也遭遇了同样的命运**。美国各地都感到愤怒，伍德罗·威尔逊总统向德国发出了严厉警告。**

Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.

President Woodrow Wilson, in a speech to the US Congress, 19 April 1916.

除非帝国政府现在立即宣布并放弃目前针对客船和货船的潜艇战方法，否则美国政府别无选择，只能完全断绝与德意志帝国的外交关系。 1916 年 4 月 19 日，伍德罗·威尔逊总统在美国国会发表演讲。

Note: In addition, the USA was concerned by intelligence it received

Some historians believe that that Germany was trying to provoke Mexico and Japan into

the USA had never really been declaring war against the USA. This seemed to be an attempt

neutral, and had in fact been by Germany to keep the Americans out of the war in Europe.

supporting the Allied cause by On 6 April 1917, with no sign of the U-boat campaign

providing weapons and supplies ceasing, the USA declared war on Germany. President Wilson

since war broke out in 1914. described this as ‘an act of high principle and idealism …

a crusade to make the world safe for democracy’.

注：**此外，美国对其收到的情报感到担忧。一些历史学家认为，德国试图挑衅墨西哥和日本进入美国，但从未真正对美国宣战。**这似乎是一种中立的尝试，**事实上德国是为了让美国远离欧洲战争。**支持盟军事业 **1917 年 4 月 6 日，**在 U 艇提供武器和补给的行动没有停止的迹象的情况下，**美国对德国宣战。**自 1914 年战争爆发以来，威尔逊总统将其描述为“一项崇高原则和理想主义的行动……一场让世界民主安全的十字军东征”。

Japan enters the war

Honouring its alliance with Britain, Japan declared war on Germany in 1914. Its primary role was to secure the sea lanes of the South Pacific and the Indian Ocean against the German navy. While the Western powers were fully occupied fighting the war in Europe, Japan took advantage of their absence from the Far East in a number of ways:

日本参战 **为了履行与英国的同盟关系，日本于 1914 年对德国宣战。其主要作用是确保南太平洋和印度洋的海上航线免受德国海军的侵害。当西方列强忙于欧洲战争时，日本通过多种方式利用了西方列强缺席远东的机会：**

.

Japan began to supply the region with goods that the Europeans could no longer provide. Between 1914 and 1918, Japan’s exports of cotton cloth increased threefold, while its heavy industry was greatly expanded to fill the gap left by the absence of European imports of iron, steel and chemicals.

。**日本开始向该地区供应欧洲人无法再提供的商品。** 1914年至1918年间，日本的棉布出口增加了三倍，而其重工业也大幅扩张，以填补欧洲铁、钢和化学品进口不足所留下的缺口。

.

Throughout the war, Japan supplied Britain and its Allies with shipping and other goods.

。在整个战争期间，日本向英国及其盟国提供航运和其他货物。

.

To assist with this surge in exports, the Japanese merchant fleet almost doubled in size during the war years.

。为了帮助出口激增，日本商船队的规模在战争年代几乎增加了一倍。

.

Japan attacked the German-controlled regions of China’s Shantung Province. This enabled Japan to gain greater influence in China without the opposition of the Western powers.

。**日本袭击了中国山东省的德国控制地区。这使得日本能够在没有西方列强反对的情况下在中国获得更大的影响力。**

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In January 1915, Japan presented the Chinese with what became known as the Twenty-One Demands. These were designed to dramatically increase Japanese political and economic power and influence over much

。 **1915年1月，日本向中国提出了后来被称为“二十一条”的要求。这些旨在大幅增强日本的政治和经济实力以及对许多国家的影响力**

of China. In effect, China would cease to be an independent country. The Chinese had no doubt that Japan would declare war on them if they refused to meet the demands. Despite a later revision of these demands, Japan was still able to extend its power base in China.

**中国的。实**际上，中国将不再是一个独立国家。中国人毫不怀疑，如果他们拒绝满足这些要求，日本就会向他们宣战。尽管后来对这些要求进行了修改，日本仍然能够扩大其在中国的权力基础。

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Between 1916 and 1918, Japan provided the Chinese with a series of loans, thereby increasing its financial, commercial and economic influence over China.

。 **1916年至1918年间，日本向中国提供了一系列贷款，从而增强了其对中国金融、商业和经济的影响力。**

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While the Western powers, particularly Britain and the USA, were greatly concerned by Japanese activities in the Far East, they could do little about it. Japan was a vital ally in the war against Germany.

。**尽管西方列强，特别是英国和美国，对日本在远东的活动非常关注，但他们却无能为力。日本是对德战争中的重要盟友。**

Historical debate

“ 历史争论“

Under pressure from the USA, Britain and other countries with a vested interest in China, Japan was eventually forced to reduce its Twenty-One Demands. However, even the revised demands granted Japan similar rights in China to those enjoyed by the other great powers. Japan’s use of threats and bullying tactics angered the Chinese and added to the other powers’ growing suspicion of Japan.

”

**在美、英等对华既得利益国的压力下，日本最终被迫削减“二十一条”要求。然而，即使修改后的要求也赋予日本在中国与其他大国所享有的类似权利。**日本使用威胁和欺凌手段激怒了中国，也加剧了其他大国对日本日益增长的怀疑。 ”

Did the development of two rival alliance systems (the Triple

Alliance and the Triple Entente) make a major war inevitable?

Complex issues, such as the causes of the First World War, can be interpreted in different ways. It is not surprising, therefore, that historians often differ in their opinions about key issues. For example, historians disagree about the question above. The American diplomat and historian George Kennan was probably the first to suggest that the existence of the two rival alliances made a European war inevitable. More recently, historians have argued against this. The claims used by historians to support their conflicting opinions on this question are summarised in the table on page 38.

**两个敌对联盟体系（三国同盟和三国协约）的发展是否导致一场大战不可避免？复杂的问题，例如第一次世界大战的原因，可以用不同的方式解释。因此，历史学家经常对关键问题持有不同的看法也就不足为奇了。例如，历史学家对上述问题的看法不一。**美国外交官兼历史学家乔治·凯南可能是第一个提出两个敌对联盟的存在使得欧洲战争不可避免的人。最近，历史学家对此提出了反对意见。第 38 页的表格总结了历史学家用来支持他们在这个问题上相互矛盾的观点的主张。

Yes No

The alliances caused uncertainty, Both alliances were based on vague treaties

fear and tension in Europe. of friendship. They did not compel countries to support each other in war. For example, when Russia was losing its war against Japan in 1905, France offered no help. Italy, though a member of the Triple Alliance, entered the First World War in 1915 against Germany.

There was an ‘arms race’ between the Between 1907 and 1914, the alliances

two alliances, leading to the existence actually helped to maintain peace,

of two well-armed rival camps. preventing incidents escalating into war. For example, in 1911 Britain’s threat to support France over the issue of Morocco led Germany to back down.

German leaders were convinced that the Triple Entente was an attempt to encircle and attack Germany. Although Germany supported Austria-Hungary in its war against Serbia in 1914, it had not done so in 1913.

Germany devised the Schlieffen Plan because of its fears about the intentions of the Triple Entente. The European powers went to war in order to protect their own interests, not because of the alliance system.

France helped Russia to increase its military strength and speed of mobilisation.

Austria-Hungary would not have declared war on Serbia without the certain knowledge that Germany would support it.

The opposing sides in the First World War largely mirrored the two alliances – Germany and Austria-Hungary fought against France, Russia and Britain.

是 否 联盟造成了不确定性，**两个联盟都是基于模糊的条约恐惧和欧洲的紧张局势。友谊。它们没有强迫各国在战争中相互支持。例如，1905年，当俄罗斯在对日战争中失败时，法国没有提供任何帮助。意大利虽然是三国同盟的成员，但于 1915 年参加了第一次世界大战，对抗德国。 1907年至1914年间，两个联盟之间进行了一场“军备竞赛”，导致存在两个装备精良的敌对阵营，这实际上有助于维持和平。防止事件升级为战争。**例如，1911年，英国威胁在摩洛哥问题上支持法国，导致德国做出让步。德国领导人确信三国协约是企图包围和攻击德国。尽管德国在1914年支持奥匈帝国对塞尔维亚的战争，但在1913年却没有这样做。德国出于对三国协约国意图的担忧而制定了施利芬计划。欧洲列强发动战争是为了保护自身利益，而不是为了联盟体系。法国帮助俄罗斯增强军事实力和动员速度。如果不知道德国会支持奥匈帝国，奥匈帝国不会对塞尔维亚宣战。**第一次世界大战中的敌对双方很大程度上反映了两个联盟——德国和奥匈帝国与法国、俄罗斯和英国作战。**

Questions 问题

Which side of the argument outlined in the historical debate section above is the more convincing and why?

Which of the following posed the greatest threat to international peace in the period from 1871 to 1914 and why?

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Imperial rivalry over the ‘scramble for Africa’.

上述历史辩论部分概述的论点中哪一方更有说服力，为什么？ 1871 年至 1914 年间，以下哪项对国际和平构成了最大威胁？为什么？ 。帝国对“非洲争夺”的竞争。

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The emergence of the USA as a major world power.

。美国作为世界主要强国的崛起。

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The emergence of Japan as a major world power.

。日本作为世界主要强国的崛起。

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Rivalry between Germany and France.

。德国和法国之间的竞争。

.

Rivalry between Britain and Germany.

。英国和德国之间的竞争。

Key issues 关键问题

The key features of this chapter are:

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the wave of imperialistic expansion by European nations, particularly in Africa

本章的主要特点是： 。欧洲国家，特别是非洲国家的帝国主义扩张浪潮

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major economic growth within the USA, leading to a significant change in US foreign policy and its increasing involvement in international affairs

。美国国内经济的重大增长，导致美国外交政策发生重大变化，并越来越多地参与国际事务

.

the rapid industrialisation and militarisation of Japan, leading to its expansion in Asia and conflict with a major European power – Russia

。日本的快速工业化和军事化，导致其在亚洲的扩张并与欧洲主要大国俄罗斯发生冲突

.

the period of peace and stability in Europe, followed by increasing tensions and the development of the rival Triple Alliance and Triple Entente

。欧洲和平与稳定时期，随后紧张局势加剧，三国同盟和三国协约不断发展

.

the increasing conflict between the vested interests of the major European powers, leading to the outbreak of the First World War.

。欧洲主要大国之间的既得利益冲突日益加剧，导致第一次世界大战爆发。

Revision questions

1 How successful was Bismarck’s foreign policy between 1871 and 1890?

2 In what ways did German foreign policy change after 1890?

3 Did the changes to German foreign policy after 1890 make a major war more or less likely?

4 Why was Serbian nationalism such a threat to Austria-Hungary?

5 Explain why each of the following countries was keen to form alliances with other European nations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries:

.

Germany

复习题 1 1871 年至 1890 年间俾斯麦的外交政策有多成功？ 2 1890 年后德国外交政策发生了哪些变化？ 3 1890 年后德国外交政策的变化是否增加或减少了爆发大规模战争的可能性？ 4 为什么塞尔维亚民族主义对奥匈帝国构成如此大的威胁？ 5 解释为什么以下每个国家在 19 世纪末和 20 世纪初热衷于与其他欧洲国家结盟： 。德国

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France 。法国

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Russia 。俄罗斯

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Britain 。英国

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Introduction 介绍

The political effects of the First World War were devastating. The empires that had long dominated the map of Central and Eastern Europe disintegrated, leaving chaos and confusion. The tsarist regime

in Russia was overthrown by the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 and, as defeat became inevitable in 1918, the German emperor was forced to abdicate. In every European capital, revolution seemed a genuine threat.

Under these circumstances, those responsible for drawing up the treaties that would end the First World War faced a very difficult task. Although the US president, Woodrow Wilson, was determined to mediate a

**第一次世界大战的政治影响是毁灭性的。**长期统治中欧和东欧版图的帝国分崩离析，留下混乱和混乱。 **1917 年，俄罗斯沙皇政权被布尔什维克革命推翻，1918 年失败不可避免，德国皇帝被迫退位。在每个欧洲首都，革命似乎都是真正的威胁。在这种情况下，那些负责起草结束第一次世界大战的条约的人面临着非常艰巨的任务。尽管美国总统伍德罗·威尔逊 (Woodrow Wilson) 决心调解一场**

fair and lasting peace, he met resistance from European politicians who were equally determined to gain revenge and ensure future security for their own countries. As a result, the peace settlements that emerged between 1919 and 1920 consisted of harsh terms imposed by the victorious nations on those that had been defeated. Old tensions and rivalries remained, and many new ones were created.

A lasting peace seemed even more unlikely when, despite encouragement by Wilson, the US Senate refused to ratify the settlement agreed at the Paris Peace Conference. Instead, the USA reverted to its traditional policy of isolationism, keeping out of foreign affairs as much as possible. Equally significant for future stability was the fact that Russia, whose new revolutionary government seemed determined to spread communism as far as possible, was not invited to the peace talks and took no part in the negotiations for the treaties that would define the post-war world.

**公平和持久的和平，他遭到了欧洲政客的抵制，**他们同样决心进行报复并确保自己国家的未来安全。**结果，1919 年至 1920 年间达成的和平协议包含战胜国对战败国强加的严厉条款。**旧有的紧张局势和竞争仍然存在，并且产生了许多新的紧张局势和竞争。尽管受到威尔逊的鼓励，**美国参议院仍拒绝批准巴黎和会上达成的解决方案，**持久和平似乎更加不可能。**相反，美国恢复了传统的孤立主义政策，尽可能不介入外交事务。对于未来的稳定同样重要的是，俄罗斯没有被邀请参加和平谈判，也没有参加定义战后世界的条约的谈判，**其新的革命政府似乎决心尽可能地传播共产主义。 。

All countries were keen to avoid the horrors of another war, and many attempts were made to improve international relations during the 1920s. For a time, these seemed to be successful and were greeted with both enthusiasm and relief – particularly in Europe. However, tensions continued to simmer beneath the surface, and these increased when the Great Depression led to major economic problems and high unemployment in all industrialised countries during the 1930s.

**所有国家都渴望避免另一场战争的恐怖，并在 20 年代做出了许多改善国际关系的尝试。**有一段时间，这些似乎取得了成功，并受到了热情和宽慰的欢迎——尤其是在欧洲。**然而，紧张局势继续在表面下酝酿，当 20 世纪 30 年代大萧条导致所有工业化国家出现重大经济问题和高失业率时，紧张局势进一步加剧。**

communism

A system of government based on the ideas of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. Communism is based on a classless society in which there is common ownership of the means of production. It is the opposite of capitalism, under which individuals can become wealthy through the ownership of land, factories, etc.

共产主义 基于卡尔·马克思和弗里德里希·恩格斯思想的政府体系。共产主义是建立在生产资料共有的无阶级社会的基础上的。它与资本主义相反，在资本主义下，个人可以通过拥有土地、工厂等而致富。

The peace settlements of 1919–20

Background to the peace settlements

In January 1918, US president Woodrow Wilson delivered a speech to Congress in which he outlined the country’s war aims and his vision for the future. Wilson listed Fourteen Points that, he argued, should form the basis of peace negotiations once the First World War ended.

1 No more secret treaties and alliances between countries: Wilson was convinced that the secret treaties that had established the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente had contributed significantly to the outbreak of the First World War.

2 Freedom of the seas for all nations in both peace and war: the German U-boat campaign against neutral American ships between 1914 and 1917 had left a lasting impression on Wilson.

3 The removal, as far as possible, of trade barriers between nations: countries should be encouraged to practise free trade rather than adopting protectionist policies, which caused anger and resentment among other nations.

4 Reduction of armaments by all nations: Wilson believed that the European arms race after 1890 had been a major cause of the First World War.

5 The adjustment of colonial claims, taking into account the wishes of the populations concerned as well as those of the colonial powers: Wilson wanted rival imperial claims to be settled by negotiation rather than conflict. He believed that these negotiations should take into account the wishes of the native people.

6 Russia to be welcomed into the society of nations, and all its land restored: Wilson believed that it was vital to include Russia in the negotiations to find a lasting settlement to the First World War. He also felt that all the land Russia had lost during the war should be returned to it.

7 The restoration of Belgian territory: all the land taken from Belgium during the war should be returned to it.

8 The liberation of France, including the return of Alsace and Lorraine: France should be freed from German occupation. Wilson believed that Alsace and Lorraine – taken from France by Germany in 1871, and a cause of French resentment ever since – should be returned to France.

**1919-20 年的和平解决方案** 和平解决方案的背景 **1918 年 1 月，美国总统伍德罗·威尔逊 (Woodrow Wilson) 在国会发表讲话，概述了美国的战争目标和对未来的愿景。威尔逊列出了“十四点”，他认为，一旦第一次世界大战结束，这些“十四点”就应该成为和平谈判的基础。 1 国家之间不再有秘密条约和联盟：威尔逊坚信，建立三国同盟和三国协约的秘密条约对第一次世界大战的爆发做出了重大贡献。 2 所有国家在和平时期和战争时期都享有海洋自由：**1914 年至 1917 年间德国潜艇针对中立美国船只的行动给威尔逊留下了深刻的印象。 **3 尽可能消除国家间的贸易壁垒：应鼓励各国实行自由贸易，而不是采取保护主义政策，引起其他国家的愤怒和不满。 4 各国削减军备：**威尔逊认为，1890年后欧洲的军备竞赛是第一次世界大战的主要原因。 **5 调整殖民主张，考虑到相关民众以及殖民列强的意愿：威尔逊希望通过谈判而不是冲突来解决相互竞争的帝国主张。他认为这些谈判应该考虑到土著人民的意愿。** 6 俄罗斯将受到国际社会的欢迎，并恢复其所有土地：威尔逊认为，让俄罗斯参与谈判对于找到第一次世界大战的持久解决方案至关重要。他还认为，俄罗斯在战争中失去的所有土地都应该归还。 7 归还比利时领土：战争期间从比利时夺取的所有土地应归还给比利时。 8 法国的解放，包括阿尔萨斯和洛林的回归：法国应该摆脱德国的占领。威尔逊认为，阿尔萨斯和洛林 — — 1871 年被德国从法国夺走，自此一直引起法国的不满 — — 应该归还法国。

9 The readjustment of Italian frontiers along the lines of nationality:

a variety of countries claimed ownership of many areas around the Italian border. Wilson believed that these disputes should be settled by reference to the nationality of the local people. Wilson’s definition of nationality was based on language – areas that were predominantly Italian-speaking, for example, should belong to Italy.

10 Independence and self-government for the peoples of Austria-Hungary: those who lived in the former Austro-Hungarian Empire should have independence and the chance to form their own governments.

11 The restoration of the Balkan nations (Romania, Serbia, Montenegro); Serbia to be given access to the sea: these areas should be granted independence and should no longer be the object of rival claims by the major European countries. In order to allow Serbia to become a viable country, able to trade effectively, it should be given access to the sea.

12 Self-government for non-Turkish peoples in the Turkish Empire, and free passage through the Dardanelles to ships of all nations:

the collapse of the old Turkish (Ottoman) Empire posed the threat of future disagreements between the major European nations, each wishing to claim their share. In order to avoid this, Wilson believed that non-Turkish peoples should be granted independence and their own governments. Access to the Dardanelles had been a major factor in the disagreements between Austria-Hungary and Russia in the years immediately before the First World War.

13 Independence for Poland, including access to the sea: an independent, self-governing Poland should be created. For it to be economically viable, it should be provided with access to the sea.

14 The creation of a League of Nations to ensure future peace:

Wilson envisioned an international organisation in which member nations could discuss their disagreements and deal with them by negotiation rather than war.

At the time Wilson made his speech, the war was still raging and its outcome far from clear. Indeed, Germany gained an enormous advantage in March 1918. The new Russian leader, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, desperately trying to establish his Bolshevik government, believed that it was essential for Russia to end its involvement in the First World War. He therefore entered into negotiations with Germany and the Central Powers. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed on 3 March 1918, was the price he had to pay. The terms of the treaty were extremely harsh on Russia, and certainly not in line with Wilson’s Fourteen Points. Russia lost Poland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine, Georgia and Finland – areas that contained much of Russia’s best farmland, raw materials and heavy industry. In all, Russia lost 25% of its population, 25% of its industry and 90% of its coal mines.

9 意大利边境按照国籍重新调整：多个国家声称对意大利边境周围的许多地区拥有所有权。威尔逊认为，这些争端应该参考当地人的国籍来解决。威尔逊对国籍的定义是基于语言——例如，主要讲意大利语的地区应该属于意大利。 **10 奥匈帝国人民的独立和自治：生活在前奥匈帝国的人民应该拥有独立和组建自己政府的机会。 11 巴尔干国家的复兴（罗马尼亚、塞尔维亚、黑山）；塞尔维亚获得出海口：这些地区应获得独立，不应再成为欧洲主要国家争夺的对象。为了让塞尔维亚成为一个有活力的国家，能够有效地进行贸易，应该给予它出海通道。 12 土耳其帝国内非土耳其人民的自治，以及所有国家船只通过达达尼尔海峡的自由通行：旧土耳其（奥斯曼）帝国的崩溃构成了欧洲主要国家之间未来分歧的威胁，每个国家都希望来索取他们的份额。为了避免这种情况，威尔逊认为应该给予非土耳其人民独立和自己的政府。在第一次世界大战之前的几年里，达达尼尔海峡的使用权一直是奥匈帝国和俄罗斯之间分歧的一个主要因素。 13 波兰的独立，包括出海口：应该建立一个独立、自治的波兰。为了使其在经济上可行，应该提供出海通道。 14 建立国际联盟以确保未来和平：威尔逊设想建立一个国际组织，成员国可以在其中讨论分歧并通过谈判而不是战争来解决。威尔逊发表讲话时，战争仍在激烈进行，其结果还远未明朗。事实上，德国在 1918 年 3 月获得了巨大优势。俄罗斯新领导人弗拉基米尔·伊里奇·列宁拼命试图建立布尔什维克政府，他认为俄罗斯必须结束对第一次世界大战的卷入。因此，他与德国和同盟国进行了谈判。 1918 年 3 月 3 日签署的《布列斯特-立托夫斯克条约》是他必须付出的代价。该条约的条款对俄罗斯极其苛刻，当然不符合威尔逊的十四点。俄罗斯失去了波兰、爱沙尼亚、拉脱维亚、立陶宛、乌克兰、格鲁吉亚和芬兰——这些地区拥有俄罗斯最好的农田、原材料和重工业。俄罗斯总共损失了 25% 的人口、25% 的工业和 90% 的煤矿。**

Finland

Estonia Russia 芬兰 爱沙尼亚 俄罗斯

km 0 250 公里 0 250

0 250 miles 0 250 英里

Ukraine 乌克兰

Black Sea

With Russia out of the war, Germany no longer had to fight on two fronts. In addition, by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, Germany had gained a vast amount of new land and resources. This allowed it to launch a major offensive on the Western Front, and for a time it seemed as though the Central Powers might secure victory after all.

However, the Allies launched a counter-offensive that lasted throughout the summer and autumn of 1918. German supply lines had been over-extended during the earlier offensive, and German troops were starved of food and vital equipment. Inexorably, they were driven back. Realising that the situation was becoming hopeless, German military commanders decided to launch one last major naval battle against the British in the English Channel. They hoped this would prevent reinforcements and supplies reaching Allied troops in Europe. Convinced that this was a suicide mission for an already hopeless cause, the German sailors mutinied, and this sparked a wider revolution within Germany. Wilhelm II (see page 30) was forced to abdicate, and the new government sought peace terms with the Allies based on Wilson’s Fourteen Points.

Problems for the Paris peacemakers

In January 1919, representatives of nearly 30 victorious nations met at Versailles, near Paris. The aim of the Paris Peace Conference was to develop

黑海 **随着俄罗斯退出战争，德国不再需要两线作战。**此外，通过《布列斯特条约》，德国获得了大量新的土地和资源。这使得它能够在西线发起大规模进攻，一度看起来同盟国最终可能会取得胜利。**然而，盟军发起了持续 1918 年夏秋两季的反攻。**在早期的攻势中，德军补给线已经超长，德军缺乏食物和重要装备。他们无情地被赶了回来。德国军事指挥官意识到局势已无希望，决定在英吉利海峡对英国发动最后一场大规模海战。他们希望这将阻止增援部队和补给到达欧洲的盟军。德国水手们深信这是一次自杀式的任务，其目的本来就已经毫无希望，于是他们叛变，**并在德国国内引发了一场更广泛的革命。威廉二世（见第 30 页）被迫退位，新政府根据威尔逊的十四点原则与盟军寻求和平条款。巴黎和平缔造者面临的问题 1919 年 1 月，近 30 个战胜国的代表在巴黎附近的凡尔赛宫举行会议。巴黎和会的目的是发展**

Lenin’s Bolshevik government faced opposition from other revolutionary parties and from those who were keen to restore the monarchy. The Western powers, fearful of revolution in their own countries, provided some support to these anti-Bolshevik groups.

a settlement that would finally end the First World War and, in the words of the French president Raymond Poincaré, ‘prevent a recurrence of it’. This was no easy task.

Firstly, events were taking place across Europe over which the peacemakers had no control. Revolutions occurred throughout the former Austro-Hungarian, Russian and Turkish empires. In Russia, the Bolsheviks were engaged in a civil war with counter-revolutionaries who were being supported by the Western powers. Revolution, already a reality in Russia and Germany, seemed a genuine threat in France and other major European nations.

**列宁的布尔什维克政府面临其他革命政党和热衷于恢复君主制的人的反对。西方列强担心自己国家发生革命，向这些反布尔什维克团体提供了一些支持。**这项解决方案将最终结束第一次世界大战，用法国总统雷蒙·庞加莱的话说，“防止战争再次发生”。这不是一件容易的事。首先，欧洲各地正在发生的事件是和平缔造者无法控制的。**整个前奥匈帝国、俄罗斯帝国和土耳其帝国都发生了革命。**在俄罗斯，布尔什维克与西方列强支持的反革命分子进行了内战。革命在俄罗斯和德国已经成为现实，但对法国和其他欧洲主要国家来说似乎是真正的威胁。

Under these circumstances, it was essential for decisions to be reached quickly. Inevitably, therefore, real power came to rest with the Council of Four, consisting of President Woodrow Wilson (USA), Prime Minister David Lloyd George (Britain), Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau (France) and Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando (Italy). In reality, Italy had little influence and most decisions were made by the ‘Big Three’.

– Lloyd George (Britain), Clemenceau (France) and Wilson (USA)

**在这种情况下，迅速做出决定至关重要。因此，真正的权力不可避免地落在由伍德罗·威尔逊总统（美国）、首相大卫·劳合·乔治（英国）、首相乔治·克列孟梭（法国）和总理维托里奥·奥兰多（意大利）组成的四人委员会手中。事实上，意大利的影响力很小，大部分决定都是由“三巨头”做出的。 – 劳埃德·乔治（英国）、克列孟梭（法国）和威尔逊（美国）**

Perhaps the most significant factor to shape the decision-making process was the disagreements between Britain, France and the USA over how the defeated Germany should be treated:

.

Clemenceau wanted to destroy Germany economically and militarily – both as revenge for the devastation France had suffered as a result of German aggression, and to ensure that Germany could never again threaten French borders. Clemenceau’s determination to inflict a harsh settlement on the Germans earned him the nickname ‘The Tiger’.

**也许影响决策过程的最重要因素是英国、法国和美国之间关于如何对待战败的德国的分歧：。克列孟梭想要在经济和军事上摧毁德国**——既是为了报复法国因德国侵略而遭受的破坏，也是**为了确保德国永远不会再次威胁法国边境。**克列孟梭决心对德国人进行严厉的解决，为他赢得了“老虎”的绰号。

.

Lloyd George wanted a less severe settlement. It was in Britain’s best interests that Germany, a major consumer of British exports, be set on a path to rapid recovery. However, British public opinion was strongly anti-German, and Lloyd George had just won an election on the promise that he would ‘make Germany pay’.

。**劳合·乔治想要一个不那么严厉的和解方案。德国作为英国出口产品的主要消费国，走上快速复苏的道路符合英国的最佳利益。然而，英国舆论强烈反对德国，**劳埃德·乔治刚刚赢得选举，承诺“让德国付出代价”。

. Wilson, whose country had suffered less severely than its European allies during the war, wanted a lenient peace based on the Fourteen Points and his slogan ‘peace without victory’. He believed that imposing a harsh treaty on Germany would cause resentment and make future conflict more likely.

**。威尔逊的国家在战争中所受的苦难没有其欧洲盟友那么严重，他希望在十四点原则和“没有胜利的和平”口号的基础上实现宽容的和平。他认为，对德国实施严厉的条约会引起不满，并使未来的冲突更有可能发生。**

Wilson thought that the greed and selfishness of the rival European nations had been a major contributing factor to the outbreak of war, and saw himself as a mediator between these nations. In truth, Wilson had very little understanding of the complex problems facing Europe in 1919. Moreover, he could no longer claim to fully represent the government of the USA, as the Democrats had lost control of the Senate in the midterm elections. As Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson’s political opponent, pointed out: ‘Our allies and our enemies and Mr Wilson himself should all understand that Mr Wilson has no authority to speak for the American people at this time.’ Figure 2.3 Delegates from many countries drafting the terms of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. Note: The war had become been increasingly unpopular in the USA. The Republican Party – the political opponent of Wilson’s Democratic Party – was strongly against US participation in the Paris peace talks, believing that these were essentially a European matter. By the time Wilson arrived in Paris, the Republican Party held a majority in the Senate.

威尔逊认为，欧洲敌对国家的贪婪和自私是导致战争爆发的主要因素，他认为自己是这些国家之间的调解人。事实上，**威尔逊**对1919年欧洲面临的复杂问题了解甚少。此外，**由于民主党在中期选举中失去了对参议院的控制，他再也不能声称自己完全代表美国政府。**正如威尔逊的政治对手西奥多·罗斯福(Theodore Roosevelt)所指出的那样:“我们的盟友、敌人以及威尔逊本人都应该明白，威尔逊此时无权代表美国人民说话。”图2.3 **1919年，多国代表起草《凡尔赛条约》条款。注:这场战争在美国越来越不受欢迎。共和党——威尔逊民主党的政治对手——强烈反对美国参加巴黎和谈，认为这本质上是欧洲的事情。威尔逊抵达巴黎时，共和党在参议院占多数。**

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The Treaty of Versailles

Faced with these difficulties, it is perhaps unsurprising that what emerged from the Paris peace talks bore only a limited resemblance to Wilson’s vision of a fair and just settlement. None of the defeated nations had been invited to take part in the peace talks, but the Germans fully expected a reasonable agreement based on the Fourteen Points. When they were presented with the Treaty of Versailles, therefore, they were horrified at the terms.

凡尔赛条约 **面对这些困难，巴黎和谈的结果与威尔逊公平公正解决方案的愿景仅有有限的相似之处，这也许并不令人意外。没有一个战败国被邀请参加和谈，但德国人完全期待在十四点的基础上达成合理的协议。因此，当他们看到《凡尔赛条约》时，他们对其中的条款感到震惊。**

Despite its objections, however, Germany had no alternative but to sign the treaty on 28 June 1919. In doing so, it accepted the loss of some 70,000 square kilometres (27,000 square miles) of land, containing almost 7 million people:

.

Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France.

**然而，尽管德国提出反对，但德国别无选择，只能于 1919 年 6 月 28 日签署该条约。**在此过程中，它接受了损失约 70,000 平方公里（27,000 平方英里）土地、容纳近 700 万人的事实：阿尔萨斯和洛林回归法国。

.

Eupen and Malmédy went to Belgium.

。欧本和马尔梅迪去了比利时。

.

Northern Schleswig went to Denmark.

。北石勒苏益格去了丹麦。

.

The Saar Valley was to be administered by the League of Nations for 15 years, during which France could use its coal mines. At the end of this time, a plebiscite would determine whether it should belong to France or Germany.

。萨尔河谷将由国际联盟管理15年，在此期间法国可以使用其煤矿。届时，全民公决将决定该国属于法国还是德国。

.

The Rhineland, part of Germany along its border with France, was to be demilitarised, meaning that no troops could be stationed there. This gave France the security it so badly wanted, but meant that Germany would be unable to defend this part of its border.

。**莱茵兰是德国与法国边境的一部分，将被非军事化，这意味着任何军队都不能驻扎在那里。这为法国提供了其迫切需要的安全保障，**但也意味着德国将无法保卫其边境的这一部分。

.

Much of West Prussia went to Poland, allowing the Poles access to the sea through the Polish Corridor. The effect of this was to divide Germany from its province of East Prussia.

。西普鲁士的大部分地区流向波兰，使波兰人可以通过波兰走廊进入大海。其结果是将德国与其东普鲁士省分开。

.

The port of Memel went to Lithuania.

。梅梅尔港前往立陶宛。

.

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which Germany had gained through the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, were established as independent states.

。德国通过《布列斯特-立托夫斯克条约》获得的爱沙尼亚、拉脱维亚和立陶宛成为独立国家。

.

Germany lost its African colonies, which became mandates under League of Nations supervision.

。**德国失去了非洲殖民地，这些殖民地成为国际联盟监督下的托管地。**

Memel (to Lithuania)

plebiscite

A referendum (vote) giving people the opportunity to express their opinion for or against a proposal relating to a constitutional issue.

mandates

Territory taken from one of the defeated countries at the end of the First World War and given to another country, which would administer it on behalf of the League of Nations.

梅梅尔（立陶宛）公民投票 公民投票（投票），让人们有机会表达支持或反对与宪法问题有关的提案的意见。第一次世界大战结束时从一个战败国夺取的领土并交给另一个国家，由该国代表国际联盟管理。

reparations 赔偿

Money that one country has to pay another as compensation for war damage. The War Guilt Clause was included in the Treaty of Versailles in order to provide legal justification for making Germany pay reparations to the victorious powers.

self-determination

**一国必须向另一国支付战争损害赔偿金。 《凡尔赛条约》中列入了战争罪责条款，为德国向战胜国支付赔款提供了法律依据。自决**

The principle that people of common nationality should have the right to form their own nations and govern themselves. Wilson’s definition of a ‘nationality’ (based on a common language) was too simplistic and inappropriate for the situation in Eastern Europe at the end of the First World War.

In addition to these land losses, the treaty imposed several other humiliating terms on Germany. German armaments were limited to a maximum of 100,000 troops, with no tanks, military aircraft or submarines, and a maximum of six battleships. Anschluss (union) between Germany and Austria was forbidden, in an effort to prevent the two German-speaking countries uniting to pose a threat to other nations in the future.

Another devastating condition of the Treaty of Versailles was the War Guilt Clause. This blamed Germany and its allies for the outbreak of the war, and allowed the victorious nations to impose reparations for the damage the war had caused. The actual amount of reparations – ￡6.6 billion – was not settled on until 1921. This is equivalent to ￡525 billion ($834 billion) in 2012 values.

Treaties with the other defeated nations

Having finalised the Treaty of Versailles with Germany, delegates at the Paris Peace Conference now turned their attention to the other defeated nations

– Austria-Hungary, Turkey and Bulgaria. In many ways, Wilson’s notion of giving independence and self-determination to the peoples of the former Habsburg, Turkish and Russian empires was already becoming a reality. The disintegration of those empires had already resulted in the emergence of new states. The Paris peacemakers had the difficult task of trying to formalise the resulting chaos through a series of four treaties.

The Treaty of Saint-Germain was signed with Austria in September 1919. By the terms of this treaty, Austria lost Bohemia and Moravia to the new state of Czechoslovakia; Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina went to Yugoslavia (a new state uniting Serbia with Montenegro); Bukovina was given to Romania, and Galicia to Poland. In addition, Trentino, Istria, Trieste and parts of the South Tyrol were granted to Italy.

The Treaty of Neuilly was agreed with Bulgaria in November 1919. Bulgaria lost territory to Greece, Yugoslavia and Romania.

The terms of the Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey (August 1920) included Turkish territorial losses to Greece and Italy. Other parts of the former Turkish Empire were mandated to France (Syria) and Britain (Palestine, Iraq and Transjordan). The treaty also stated that the Dardanelles were to be permanently open to all shipping.

The Treaty of Trianon with Hungary (August 1920) stated that Slovakia and Ruthenia were to become part of Czechoslovakia; Croatia and Slovenia went to Yugoslavia; and Transylvania to Romania.

**同一民族的人民有建立自己的国家和自治的权利的原则。**威尔逊对“国籍”的定义（基于共同语言）过于简单化，不适合第一次世界大战结束时东欧的情况。除了这些土地损失之外，**该条约还对德国施加了其他几项侮辱性条款。**德国的军备数量最多为 10 万人，没有坦克、军用飞机或潜艇，战列舰最多为 6 艘。**德国和奥地利之间的合并被禁止，以防止这两个德语国家联合起来对其他国家构成威胁。凡尔赛条约的另一个毁灭性条件是战争罪责条款。这将战争的爆发归咎于德国及其盟国，并允许战胜国对战争造成的损失进行赔偿。**实际赔款金额为 66 亿英镑，直到 1921 年才确定。这相当于 2012 年的 5,250 亿英镑（8,340 亿美元）。与其他战败国的条约 **在与德国敲定《凡尔赛条约》后，巴黎和会代表们现在将注意力转向其他战败国——奥匈帝国、土耳其和保加利亚。在许多方面，威尔逊给予前哈布斯堡、土耳其和俄罗斯帝国人民独立和自决的想法已经成为现实。这些帝国的解体已经导致新国家的出现。巴黎和平缔造者面临着一项艰巨的任务，即试图通过一系列四项条约将由此产生的混乱正式化。 1919 年 9 月与奥地利签署《圣日耳曼条约》。** 根据该条约的条款，奥地利将波西米亚和摩拉维亚让给了新国家捷克斯洛伐克；达尔马提亚、波斯尼亚和黑塞哥维那并入南斯拉夫（塞尔维亚与黑山合并的新国家）；布科维纳被授予罗马尼亚，加利西亚被授予波兰。此外，特伦蒂诺、伊斯特拉、的里雅斯特和南蒂罗尔部分地区也被授予意大利。 **1919 年 11 月与保加利亚签订《纳伊条约》。**保加利亚将领土割让给希腊、南斯拉夫和罗马尼亚。**与土耳其签订的《塞夫尔条约》（1920 年 8 月）的条款**包括土耳其将领土割让给希腊和意大利。前土耳其帝国的其他地区被托管给法国（叙利亚）和英国（巴勒斯坦、伊拉克和外约旦）。该条约还规定达达尼尔海峡将永久向所有航运开放。与**匈牙利签订的《特里亚农条约》（1920 年 8 月）**规定斯洛伐克和鲁塞尼亚将成为捷克斯洛伐克的一部分；克罗地亚和斯洛文尼亚去了南斯拉夫；和特兰西瓦尼亚到罗马尼亚。

Reactions to the Paris peace settlement

The terms of the Treaty of Versailles caused great resentment in Germany and had major implications for the future. German objections focused on two main issues. Firstly, German representatives were not allowed to attend the peace talks – they simply had to accept whatever terms were imposed upon them. This came to be known as a diktat, or ‘dictated peace’. Secondly, the terms were not based entirely on Wilson’s Fourteen Points as Germany had expected.

There is some justification for Germany’s objections to the treaty terms:

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At a time of intense political instability, 100,000 troops might not be sufficient even to maintain law and order within Germany itself, let alone defend the country against external attack. Moreover, while Germany was forced to disarm, it was clear that none of the other major European powers had any intention of doing so. This posed a potential threat to German security.

对巴黎和约的反应 **凡尔赛条约的条款在德国引起了极大的不满，并对未来产生了重大影响。德国的反对集中在两个主要问题上。首先，德国代表不被允许参加和谈——他们只能接受强加给他们的任何条款。这后来被称为“命令”，或“命令和平”。其次，这些条款并不像德国所期望的那样完全基于威尔逊的“十四点”。德国反对条约条款有一些理由： 。在政治严重不稳定的时期，10万军队甚至可能不足以维持德国国内的法律和秩序，更不用说保卫国家免受外部攻击了。此外，虽然德国被迫解除武装，但显然其他欧洲大国都无意这样做。这对德国安全构成了潜在威胁。**

.

Although they were set up as mandates under the supervision of the League of Nations, Germany’s former colonies in Africa were effectively taken over by Britain, France and South Africa.

**。尽管它们是在国际联盟的监督下设立的托管地，但德国在非洲的前殖民地实际上已被英国、法国和南非接管。**

.

Millions of people who were German in terms of their language and culture would now be living under foreign rule in countries such as Poland and Czechoslovakia.

**。数百万在语言和文化上属于德国人的人现在将生活在波兰和捷克斯洛伐克等国家的外国统治之下。**

.

Although still part of Germany, East Prussia was separated from the rest of the country by the Polish Corridor.

**。尽管东普鲁士仍然是德国的一部分，但被波兰走廊与该国其他地区隔开。**

.

The War Guilt Clause seemed particularly unfair, given the complicated series of events that had led to the outbreak

**。考虑到导致爆发的一系列复杂事件，战争罪责条款似乎特别不公平**

of war in 1914. **1914年战争爆发。**

.

The amount established for reparations was extremely high and, as the Germans would argue, virtually impossible for them to repay.

**。赔偿金额非常高，正如德国人所说，他们几乎不可能偿还。**

However, although the terms were harsh, they were not as severe as Clemenceau had hoped. Germany’s territorial losses in Europe were restricted to those areas it had gained as a result of previous wars. Indeed, Germany remained potentially the strongest economic power in Europe. Many have argued that, having ignored Wilson’s Fourteen Points when inflicting the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on Russia, Germany had little right to expect those points to form the basis of its own peace settlement.

Figure 2.5 A map of Europe in 1920, following the Paris peace settlement

**然而，虽然条件很苛刻，但并没有克列孟梭所希望的那么严厉。德国在欧洲的领土损失仅限于它在之前的战争中获得的地区。事实上，德国仍然是欧洲最有潜力的经济强国。许多人认为，德国在向俄罗斯强加布列斯特条约时忽视了威尔逊的十四点，因此没有权利期望这些要点成为其自身和平解决方案的基础。**图 2.5 巴黎和约之后 1920 年的欧洲地图

successor states 继承国

This was the name given to the new national states (Yugoslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary) whose existence was confirmed by the Paris peace settlement.

dictator

**这是新的民族国家（南斯拉夫、波兰、捷克斯洛伐克、奥地利和匈牙利）的名称，巴黎和平协议确认了这些国家的存在。**独裁者

An absolute ruler who controls a country without using democratic institutions.

Germany was not the only country dissatisfied with the outcome of the Paris Peace Conference. Several Allied nations felt that the treaties had failed to address their demands and concerns. France did not gain as much at Germany’s expense as Clemenceau had hoped. As a result, the French felt that the Treaty of Versailles left Germany strong enough to pose a significant threat to their security.

Russia had not been consulted at all about the terms to be imposed on the defeated nations, and a considerable amount of land that had once made up the Russian Empire was lost to newly created states in the months after the First World War. Finally, Italy felt frustrated and humiliated. Although a member of the Council of Four (see page 45), Italy’s demands were largely ignored at the peace talks. Furthermore, the Allies had promised Italy territory along the Adriatic coast if it entered the war on their side, but this promise was not honoured in Paris.

The problem of the successor states

The peace settlement had serious short- and long-term effects on international stability. In the first instance, maintaining a commitment to self-determination was not as straightforward as Wilson had envisaged. His belief that nationality could be gauged by language was too simplistic for the complicated situation in Eastern Europe, where there was a multitude of ethnic groupings, all with conflicting ambitions. The successor states that emerged as a result of the break-up of the great European empires all faced similar difficulties in the immediate post-war years. These problems were caused by the multinational composition of their populations, border disputes, economic difficulties and political instability.

Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia became home to Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Magyars (Hungarians), Germans, Albanians, Romanians and Macedonians, making religious and ethnic disputes inevitable. Developing effective democratic institutions was virtually impossible. In 1929, the king banned all political parties and proclaimed himself dictator. Despite a series of friendly treaties with other countries, Yugoslavia later became involved in border disputes with Greece, Bulgaria and Italy.

Poland

Of Poland’s population of 27 million, less than 18 million were Poles and more than 1 million were German-speakers. These statistics, together with the fact that there were 14 different political parties in the country, meant that attempts to maintain true democracy led to weak and unstable governments. In 1926, Jósef Pi.sudski led a military coup and established himself as dictator.

不使用民主制度控制国家的绝对统治者。**德国并不是唯一对巴黎和会结果不满意的国家。一些盟国认为这些条约未能满足他们的要求和关切。法国并没有像克列孟梭所希望的那样通过牺牲德国而获得那么多。结果，法国人认为《凡尔赛条约》使德国强大到足以对其安全构成重大威胁。**关于对战败国施加的条款根本没有征求俄罗斯的意见，而且在第一次世界大战后的几个月里，曾经构成俄罗斯帝国的大量土地被新成立的国家夺走。最后，**意大利感到沮丧和羞辱。尽管是四国委员会成员（见第 45 页），但意大利的要求在和平谈判中基本上被忽视。**此外，**协约国还承诺，如果意大利加入同盟国参战，其将拥有亚得里亚海沿岸的领土，但这一承诺在巴黎并未兑现。**继承国问题 和平解决对国际稳定产生了严重的短期和长期影响。首先，**维持对自决的承诺并不像威尔逊想象的那么简单。他认为国籍可以通过语言来衡量的观点对于东欧复杂的局势来说过于简单化了，那里有众多的民族群体，而且各民族的野心相互冲突。**欧洲大帝国解体后出现的继承国在战后几年都面临着类似的困难。这些问题是由其人口的多民族组成、边界争端、经济困难和政治不稳定造成的。 南斯拉夫 南斯拉夫成为塞尔维亚人、克罗地亚人、斯洛文尼亚人、马扎尔人（匈牙利人）、德国人、阿尔巴尼亚人、罗马尼亚人和马其顿人的家园，宗教和种族争端不可避免。发展有效的民主机构几乎是不可能的。 1929年，国王禁止所有政党并宣布自己为独裁者。尽管与其他国家签订了一系列友好条约，但南斯拉夫后来卷入了与希腊、保加利亚和意大利的边界争端。波兰 波兰 2700 万人口中，波兰人不到 1800 万，讲德语的人数超过 100 万。这些统计数据，加上该国有 14 个不同政党的事实，意味着维持真正民主的努力会导致政府软弱和不稳定。 1926年，约瑟夫·皮苏斯基领导军事政变，自立为独裁者。

In 1920, Polish troops entered Russian territory and took control of Ukraine. Despite the fact that a Russian counter-offensive was only defeated with French help, the Treaty of Riga (1921) added a strip of land some 160 km (100 miles) wide to Poland’s eastern border. Border disputes brought Poland into conflict with Germany, Czechoslovakia, Lithuania and Russia.

Czechoslovakia

1920年，波兰军队进入俄罗斯领土并控制了乌克兰。尽管俄罗斯的反攻仅在法国的帮助下才被击败，但《里加条约》（1921年）还是在波兰东部边境增加了一条宽约160公里（100英里）的狭长地带。边界争端使波兰与德国、捷克斯洛伐克、立陶宛和俄罗斯发生冲突。捷克斯洛伐克

In addition to Czechs and Slovaks, the new state of Czechoslovakia contained Russians, Magyars, Poles, Jews and more than 3 million Germans. The German-speaking populations of Bohemia, Moravia and the Sudetenland made up a sizeable minority group that persistently claimed it was being discriminated against. Despite these potential problems, Czechoslovakia was able to maintain a democratic system of government. Blessed with raw materials, rich agricultural land and productive industries, it remained relatively prosperous throughout the 1920s. Czechoslovakia had taken care to develop protective alliances with Yugoslavia, Romania, Italy and France.

Austria

除了捷克人和斯洛伐克人之外，新成立的捷克斯洛伐克还包含俄罗斯人、马扎尔人、波兰人、犹太人以及超过 300 万德国人。波西米亚、摩拉维亚和苏台德地区的德语人口构成了一个相当大的少数群体，他们坚持声称自己受到歧视。尽管存在这些潜在问题，捷克斯洛伐克仍然能够维持民主政府制度。凭借得天独厚的原材料、丰富的农田和生产性工业，它在整个 20 年代保持相对繁荣。捷克斯洛伐克小心翼翼地与南斯拉夫、罗马尼亚、意大利和法国建立保护性联盟。**奥地利**

With most of its industrially productive areas given to Poland and Czechoslovakia by the Treaty of Saint-Germain, Austria experienced enormous economic problems. The country was increasingly reliant on foreign loans, and inflation ran high throughout the 1920s, leading to political instability. The majority of Austrians believed that the solution to their problems was union with Germany, but this was expressly forbidden by the post-war peace settlement.

Hungary

**由于《圣日耳曼条约》将其大部分工业生产区划给了波兰和捷克斯洛伐克，奥地利经历了巨大的经济问题。该国越来越依赖外国贷款，整个 20 年代通货膨胀率居高不下，导致政治不稳定。大多数奥地利人认为解决他们问题的办法是与德国结盟，但战后和平协议明确禁止这样做。匈牙利**

Like Austria, Hungary had lost around two-thirds of its population and much of its industrial land to Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia. Under the control of an authoritarian regime determined to regain lost lands, Hungary signed treaties with Italy (1927) and Austria (1933).

The Paris peace settlement: an assessment

Many historians are critical of the peace settlement of 1919–20. They argue that the five treaties were based on a series of compromises that satisfied none of the countries involved. German resentment at the harsh terms imposed by the Treaty of Versailles had far-reaching consequences. However, the Germans were not alone in expressing their frustration and anger at the outcome of the peace settlement. France, Russia and Italy – countries that had played a significant role in the Allied victory in the First World War – were also disappointed. In redrawing the map of Eastern Europe, the peacemakers left around 30 million people living in minority groups under foreign rule, making border disputes inevitable.

minority group

A group of people bound together by, for example, common nationality, language or religion, living in a country dominated by other groups. As a result, such groups often lack political rights and experience discrimination.

**与奥地利一样，匈牙利也失去了大约三分之二的人口和大部分工业用地，**被捷克斯洛伐克、罗马尼亚和南斯拉夫占领。在决心收复失地的独裁政权控制下，匈牙利与意大利（1927年）和奥地利（1933年）签署了条约。巴黎和平协议：评估 **许多历史学家对 1919-20 年的和平协议持批评态度。他们认为，这五项条约是基于一系列妥协，但没有一个国家满意。**德国对《凡尔赛条约》所施加的苛刻条款的不满产生了深远的影响。然而，德国人并不是唯一对和平解决结果表示沮丧和愤怒的人。法国、俄罗斯和意大利这些在第一次世界大战中为盟军胜利发挥重要作用的国家也感到失望。**在重新绘制东欧版图的过程中，和平缔造者将约3000万少数族裔置于外国统治之下，**边界争端不可避免。**少数群体** 因共同国籍、语言或宗教等原因而结合在一起的一群人，**生活在一个由其他群体主导的国家。因此，这些群体往往缺乏政治权利并遭受歧视。**

However, such criticisms take little account of the difficult circumstances in which the peace settlement was drawn up. Satisfying all the competing demands of the victorious nations was a virtually impossible task. In Eastern Europe, the peacemakers had little option but to formally recognise the situation that had already emerged after the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian, Turkish and Russian empires towards the end of the war. In fact, far fewer people were living under foreign rule in 1920 than in 1914. As one American delegate at the peace talks claimed: ‘It is not surprising that they made a bad peace: what is surprising is that they managed to make peace at all.’

Questions

**然而，这些批评很少考虑到和平解决方案是在艰难的环境下制定的。满足战胜国所有相互竞争的要求几乎是一项不可能完成的任务。**在东欧，和平缔造者别无选择，只能正式承认奥匈帝国、土耳其和俄罗斯帝国在战争末期解体后已经出现的局势。**事实上，1920 年生活在外国统治下的人口比 1914 年要少得多。**正如一位参加和谈的美国代表所声称的那样：“他们达成了一项糟糕的和平并不奇怪：令人惊讶的是他们设法在全部。'问题

What does the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk suggest about Germany’s attitude towards Wilson’s Fourteen Points in March 1918?

‘Criticism of the Paris peace settlement is unfair, and shows a lack of understanding of the problems facing the peacemakers in 1919–20.’ Discuss.

How justified were German objections to the Treaty of Versailles?

Look at Sources A and B below, both commenting on the Treaty

德国对 1918 年 3 月威尔逊十四点的态度如何？ “对巴黎和平协议的批评是不公平的，这表明他们对 1919-20 年间和平缔造者所面临的问题缺乏了解。”讨论。德国反对《凡尔赛条约》的理由有多大？请参阅下面的来源 A 和 B，两者均对该条约进行了评论

Source A Source B

In these conditions, there is no A British cartoon from 1919. trace of a peace of understanding and justice. It is purely a peace of violence which, for our Fatherland, is thinly-veiled slavery, and out of which will result not peace for the whole of Europe, but merely further bloodshed and tears.

An extract from a speech by a

German politician to the Reichstag

(German parliament), 1919.

来源 A 来源 B 在这些条件下，1919 年的英国漫画中看不到任何理解与正义的和平痕迹。这纯粹是一种暴力和平，对于我们的祖国来说，这是一种几乎不加掩饰的奴役，它不会带来整个欧洲的和平，而只会带来更多的流血和眼泪。摘自一位德国政治家 1919 年在德国国会大厦（德国议会）的演讲。

Attempts to improve

international relations

努力改善国际关系

Disturbed relations between 1919 and 1923

If drawing up the terms of the peace settlement had been difficult, implementing them proved even more so. International tensions remained high throughout the period 1919–23 for several reasons.

Despite the leading role President Wilson had played in negotiating the various peace treaties, in November 1919 the US Senate rejected the Paris peace settlement and refused to join the League of Nations. Determined not to become involved in another war – and believing that the terms of the settlement made future conflict inevitable – most Americans were convinced that the USA should return to its traditional isolationist policy.

We have entangled ourselves with European concerns. We are dabbling and meddling in their affairs. We have surrendered the great policy of ‘no entangling alliances’ upon which the strength of this Republic has been founded. How shall we keep from meddling in the affairs of Europe or keep Europe from meddling in the affairs of America? It is in conflict with the right of our people to govern themselves, free from all restraint, legal or moral, of foreign powers. America must, both for the happiness of her own people and for the moral guidance and greater contentment of the world, be permitted to live her own life. We are told that the treaty means peace. Even so, I would not pay the price. Would you purchase peace at the cost of our independence? But the treaty does not mean peace. If we are to judge the future by the past, it means war.

US senator William E. Borah, in a speech given in November 1919.

The USA’s decision not to ratify the Paris peace settlement and, instead, to make a separate peace with Germany later on, had a profound effect on relations between European countries. In particular, it contributed to France’s already significant feelings of insecurity. The French now had no guarantee of US support in the event of an attack by a resurgent Germany. Furthermore, Britain was clearly seeking to withdraw from European affairs. This left France isolated and consequently even more determined to prevent Germany’s post-war recovery.

Despite the USA’s decision to isolate itself from Europe politically, it continued to have a major effect on European economies. During the First World War, the USA had provided large loans to assist its European allies. Now it insisted on the full repayment of these war debts. For most European countries, ravaged by the effects of war and struggling to rebuild their economies, the only way to meet these debt repayments was by ensuring that Germany paid its reparations. In the wake of its defeat, Germany was in no position – politically, socially or economically – to meet such demands.

**1919 年至 1923 年间关系不稳定 如果说制定和平协议的条款很困难，那么执行这些条款则更困难。由于多种原因，1919-23 年期间国际紧张局势依然高度紧张。尽管威尔逊总统在各项和平条约的谈判中发挥了主导作用，但美国参议院于 1919 年 11 月拒绝了巴黎和平协议，并拒绝加入国际联盟。决心不再卷入另一场战争** — — 并且相信和解条款使未来的冲突不可避免 — — **大多数美国人相信美国应该回归其传统的孤立主义政策。**我们与欧洲的担忧纠缠在一起。我们正在涉足和干涉他们的事务。我们已经放弃了“不结盟”的伟大政策，而这个共和国的力量正是建立在这一政策之上的。我们怎样才能不干涉欧洲的事务，或者怎样防止欧洲干涉美国的事务？它与我们人民不受外国列强的一切法律或道德限制的自治权利相冲突。为了本国人民的幸福，也为了世界的道德指导和更大的满足，美国必须被允许过自己的生活。我们被告知该条约意味着和平。即便如此，我也不会付出代价。你会以牺牲我们的独立为代价来换取和平吗？但该条约并不意味着和平。如果我们要以过去来判断未来，那就意味着战争。美国参议员威廉·E·博拉 (William E. Borah) 在 1919 年 11 月的演讲中表示。**美国决定不批准《巴黎和约》，而是随后与德国单独缔结和约，**这对欧洲国家之间的关系产生了深远的影响。 尤其是，**它加剧了法国本已严重的不安全感。现在，如果复兴的德国发动袭击，法国人无法保证美国会提供支持。此外，英国显然正在寻求退出欧洲事务。这使得法国陷入孤立，从而更加坚定地阻止德国战后复苏。尽管美国决定在政治上将自己与欧洲隔离，但它仍然对欧洲经济产生重大影响。第一次世界大战期间，美国提供了大量贷款来援助其欧洲盟友。现在它坚持要求全额偿还这些战争债务。对于大多数遭受战争影响并努力重建经济的欧洲国家来说，偿还债务的唯一方法是确保德国支付赔款。战败后，德国无论在政治、社会还是经济上都无法满足这些要求。**

Relations between Britain and France were strained as a result of their different attitudes towards German recovery. Britain encouraged Germany’s economic revival, keen to re-establish the lucrative trading partnership between the two countries. However, France was determined to keep Germany as weak as possible for as long as possible.

Russia, now under communist rule, was viewed with suspicion and fear by its former allies and enemies alike. In a European-wide climate of social and economic hardship, many governments feared revolution in their countries in the post-war years. Concern over the potential spread of communism was so great that many Western European nations, as well as Japan, became involved in the Russian Civil War in an attempt to prevent Lenin’s Bolsheviks winning control of the country. For France, this meant the loss of another potential ally against a revitalised Germany.

**英法两国因对德国复兴的态度不同而关系紧张。英国鼓励德国经济复苏，热衷于重建两国之间利润丰厚的贸易伙伴关系。然而，法国决心尽可能长时间地让德国保持弱势。现在处于共产主义统治之下的俄罗斯，**其前盟友和敌人都对俄罗斯抱有怀疑和恐惧。**在整个欧洲社会和经济困难的气氛下，许多政府担心战后几年本国会发生革命。由于对共产主义潜在蔓延的担忧如此之大，以至于许多西欧国家以及日本都卷入了俄罗斯内战，试图阻止列宁的布尔什维克赢得对该国的控制。对于法国来说，这意味着失去了另一个对抗复兴德国的潜在盟友。**

Elsewhere in Europe, border disputes arising from the decisions made at the Paris Peace Conference soon occurred. Turkey defied the settlement completely when its troops retook some of the

The Treaty of Lausanne

land awarded to Greece by the Treaty of Sèvres (see page 48).

**在欧洲其他地方，巴黎和会决定引发的边界争端很快就发生了。**当土耳其军队重新夺回根据《塞夫尔条约》授予希腊的《洛桑条约》土地时，土耳其完全违抗了这一协议（见第 48 页）。

resulted in Turkey taking back

In doing so, Turkey became the first state to successfully challenge

导致土耳其收回，土耳其成为第一个成功挑战的国家

some land it had lost, including

the post-war settlement, and in 1923 a revised treaty – the Treaty

它失去了一些土地，包括战后解决方案，以及 1923 年修订的条约——《条约》

Smyrna and Thrace, as well as

of Lausanne – replaced the original agreement.

士麦那、色雷斯以及洛桑取代了原来的协议。

the Aegean islands of Imbros and Tenedos. This went Beyond Europe, tensions increased between the USA and Japan some way to restoring Turkish (see page 119). Japanese power in the Far East had grown national pride, which had been enormously during the First World War, and now posed badly damaged by the Treaty a serious threat to US trading interests. A naval arms race of Sèvres.

seemed inevitable.

Improvements in international relations

Despite these simmering tensions, no country wanted another war. With this in mind, several attempts were made to improve international relations in the period 1919–33.

The Washington Naval Conference 1921–22

Largely focusing on disarmament and naval power, the Washington Naval Conference led to a series of treaties that, at the time, seemed to guarantee peace in the Far East. Japan agreed to withdraw from some of its recently acquired Chinese territory and to limit its navy to three-fifths the size of the British and US navies. In return, the Western powers agreed not to develop any new naval bases near Japan. Britain, the USA, France and Japan also agreed to protect China against invasion. (See pages 119–20 for more information on the Washington Conference.)

爱琴海的因布罗斯岛和特尼多斯岛。这超出了欧洲范围，美国和日本之间的紧张关系在某种程度上加剧了土耳其语的恢复（见第119页）。日本在远东的势力已经增强了民族自豪感，这种自豪感在第一次世界大战期间曾一度非常强烈，但现在由于该条约而受到严重损害，对美国的贸易利益构成了严重威胁。塞夫尔的海军军备竞赛。似乎不可避免。国际关系的改善 **尽管紧张局势一触即发，但没有一个国家希望再次发生战争。考虑到这一点，1919-33 年期间为改善国际关系进行了多次尝试。华盛顿海军会议 1921-22 华盛顿海军会议主要关注裁军和海军力量，达成了一系列条约，这些条约在当时看来保证了远东的和平。日本同意从最近获得的一些中国领土撤军，并将其海军规模限制为英国和美国海军的五分之三。作为回报，西方列强同意不在日本附近建立任何新的海军基地。英国、美国、法国和日本也同意保护中国免受侵略。** （有关华盛顿会议的更多信息，请参阅第 119-20 页。）

The Genoa Conference 1922

One of the main threats to peace was the issue of German reparations. Facing its own massive economic problems, Germany struggled to keep up with the schedule of payments. Determined to keep Germany weak, France insisted that the payments should be made in full. The British prime minister, David Lloyd George, was keen to improve relations between France and Germany, and suggested that a conference be held to address the issue of reparations. However, the Genoa Conference, held in Italy in 1922, achieved nothing. The USA, still pursuing an isolationist policy and determined to avoid involvement in European affairs, declined to attend. In the face of France’s refusal to compromise, Germany quickly withdrew from the conference. Feeling increasingly isolated and sensing an opportunity to develop their relationship with Germany, the Russians also backed out.

The Dawes Plan 1924

French anger increased the following year when Germany once again failed to meet its reparations payments. Finally deciding to take action, French troops occupied the Ruhr – one of Germany’s most important industrial regions – and seized coal and timber by way of payment. Confronted with this clear threat to peace, a conference was held in London in 1924, chaired by the American lawyer and financier Charles Dawes. Although no reduction was made to the figure of ￡6.6 billion that Germany would have to pay in reparations, it was agreed that its annual payments would be restricted to what Germany ‘could reasonably afford’. To assist with its economic problems, Germany received a sizeable foreign loan, mainly from the USA. Assured that it would continue to receive reparations, France withdrew from the Ruhr and tensions were reduced.

1922 年热那亚会议 **对和平的主要威胁之一是德国的赔款问题。面对自身巨大的经济问题，德国难以按时还款。**法国决心让德国保持弱势，坚持要求全额付款。**英国首相戴维·劳埃德·乔治热衷于改善法国和德国之间的关系，并建议召开一次会议来解决赔偿问题。然而1922年在意大利召开的热那亚会议却毫无成果。美国仍然奉行孤立主义政策并决心避免卷入欧洲事务，因此拒绝出席。面对法国拒绝妥协，德国迅速退出会议。**俄罗斯人感到越来越孤立，并意识到发展与德国关系的机会，因此也退出了。 1924 年道威斯计划 **第二年，德国再次未能支付赔款，法国人的愤怒加剧。最终决定采取行动，法国军队占领了鲁尔区——德国最重要的工业区之一——并以付款方式没收了煤炭和木材。面对这种对和平的明显威胁，1924 年在伦敦召开了一次会议，由美国律师兼金融家查尔斯·道斯 (Charles Dawes) 主持。尽管德国必须支付的66亿英镑赔款数额没有减少，但双方同意每年支付的赔款将限于德国“可以合理负担”的范围。为了解决其经济问题，德国获得了大量外国贷款，主要来自美国。由于确信将继续获得赔偿，法国从鲁尔区撤军，紧张局势有所缓和。**

The Locarno Treaties 1925

The resort of Locarno in Switzerland was the setting for a series of agreements drawn up to create greater stability and security in Europe. The most significant outcome of the Locarno Conference was that Germany, France and Belgium promised to respect their joint frontiers, an agreement that was guaranteed by both Britain and Italy. Essentially, the borders that had been agreed at Versailles were jointly confirmed and accepted. No military action could be taken unless it was considered defensive.

In addition, a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee was agreed. This stated that Britain and Italy would come to the assistance of any country that fell victim to an act of aggression in violation of the Locarno Treaties. Britain thus pledged to come to France’s aid in the event of a future German attack – an agreement that finally gave the French the security they had so long desired. However, clauses were included in this agreement that limited Britain’s responsibility, including provisions for aggrieved nations to make an initial appeal to the League of Nations. Britain was thus not fully committed to military action from the start.

The Locarno Conference marked a major turning point in international affairs, symbolised by the effective working relationship that had developed between Aristide Briand and Gustav Stresemann, the foreign ministers of France and Germany respectively. To emphasise Germany’s good intentions towards France, Stresemann also accepted the permanent loss of Alsace-Lorraine, Eupen and Malmédy. In doing so, he hoped to win assurances from Germany’s former enemies that there would be no future incursions like the Ruhr invasion.

The treaties were greeted with relief across Europe. One British statesman even claimed that ‘the Great War ended in 1918. The Great Peace did not begin until 1925.’ Stresemann himself stressed the significance of the Locarno Treaties in establishing a spirit of reconciliation and co-operation.

**1925 年洛迦诺条约 瑞士洛迦诺度假胜地是一系列旨在增强欧洲稳定和安全的协议的背景。洛迦诺会议最重要的成果是德国、法国和比利时承诺尊重其共同边界，这一协议得到了英国和意大利的保证。本质上，凡尔赛会议上商定的边界是共同确认和接受的。除非被认为是防御性的，否则不能采取军事行动。此外，双方还签署了《互保条约》。这表明英国和意大利将向任何遭受违反洛迦诺条约的侵略行为的国家提供援助。英国因此承诺在德国未来发动进攻时向法国提供援助 — — 该协议最终为法国提供了他们渴望已久的安全。然而，该协议中包含了限制英国责任的条款，包括受害国家向国际联盟提出初步上诉的条款。因此，英国从一开始就没有完全致力于军事行动。**洛迦诺会议标志着国际事务的一个重大转折点，其标志是法国外交部长阿里斯蒂德·白里昂和德国外交部长古斯塔夫·施特雷泽曼之间建立的有效工作关系。为了强调德国对法国的良好意愿，施特雷泽曼还接受了永久失去阿尔萨斯-洛林、欧本和马尔梅迪的事实。通过这样做，他希望赢得德国前敌人的保证，保证未来不会再发生像鲁尔区入侵这样的入侵。这些条约让整个欧洲松了口气。 一位英国政治家甚至声称“第一次世界大战于1918年结束。伟大和平直到1925年才开始”。施特雷泽曼本人强调了《洛迦诺条约》对于树立和解与合作精神的重要性。

However, some historians have been more critical, pointing out that the Locarno Treaties gave no guarantees regarding Germany’s borders with Poland and Czechoslovakia. That the French were perhaps less sincere than they seemed to be in forging better relations with Germany is clearly implied by the cartoon opposite, which was published in a British newspaper in 1925. Briand, though greeting Stresemann in apparent friendship, is depicted with a boxing glove on his hidden hand.

The Kellogg–Briand Pact 1928

When Briand proposed that France and the USA should sign an agreement renouncing war, the US secretary of state, Frank Kellogg, suggested that such an agreement might be extended to other countries. The result was the Kellogg–Briand Pact of 1928, which was signed by no fewer than 65 nations. However, the pact contained no indication of what steps might be taken against any country that subsequently broke the agreement, and this lack of clarity ultimately made it worthless. In reality, the still-isolationist USA was not making any commitment by signing the pact.

**然而，一些历史学家持更为批评的态度，他们指出《洛迦诺条约》并未对德国与波兰和捷克斯洛伐克的边界做出任何保证。** 1925 年在一家英国报纸上发表的相反漫画清楚地暗示，法国人在与德国建立更好的关系方面可能没有看上去那么真诚。白里安虽然以表面上的友谊向施特雷泽曼打招呼，但画中却带着拳击。他隐藏的手上戴着手套。**凯洛格-布里安条约 1928 当布里安提议法国和美国应该签署一项放弃战争的协议时，美国国务卿弗兰克·凯洛格建议，这样的协议可以扩展到其他国家。结果就是 1928 年《凯洛格-布里安条约》，不少于 65 个国家签署了该条约。然而，该协议没有说明可能对任何随后违反该协议的国家采取哪些措施，这种缺乏明确性最终使其变得毫无价值。事实上，仍然奉行孤立主义的美国签署该协议并没有做出任何承诺。**

The Young Plan 1929

The Young Plan was probably the best example of France’s new willingness to compromise. The USA knew that, despite the Dawes Plan (see page 55), once Germany had to meet its full annual payments it would no longer be able to afford its interest payments on US loans. As a result, a committee chaired by the American banker Owen Young met to discuss the possibility of reducing the total figure that had been agreed in the aftermath of the Paris peace talks.

Negotiations were not easy, as the Germans added new demands, including the return of the Polish Corridor and Upper Silesia. However, the outcome of these negotiations throughout 1928–29 was the Young Plan, which reduced the final sum of German reparations from ￡6.6 billion to ￡2 billion (a figure that had originally been suggested by the British economist John Maynard Keynes in 1919). In essence, this was an admission that the figure set in 1921 was too high. In addition, the international controls over the German economy that had been set by the Dawes Plan were dismantled. These were significant steps for Germany.

The World Disarmament Conference 1932–33

However, despite these attempts to improve international relations, old suspicions, resentment and tensions remained. This became clear at the World Disarmament Conference, held in Geneva during 1932 and 1933. All of Europe’s leading powers had committed themselves to arms reduction both in the Treaty of Versailles and by the Covenant of the League of Nations. With the exception of Germany, no country had honoured its commitment. The Disarmament Conference was intended to address this issue, in the hope of avoiding the type of arms race that had characterised the build-up to the First World War. Despite lengthy discussions, however, none of the major European powers was prepared to reduce its military capabilities, and the conference ended in disarray. For most countries, national interests and security remained the priority.

Questions

‘The USA’s decision not to ratify the Paris peace settlement was the major cause of international tension in the period from 1919 to 1923.’ Discuss.

What attempts were made to improve international relations during the

1920s, and how successful were they?

Why was the issue of German reparations so important in the period

杨格计划 **1929 杨格计划**可能是法国新的妥协意愿的最好例子。美国知道，尽管有道威斯计划（见第 55 页），一旦德国必须全额支付年度付款，它将不再能够支付美国贷款的利息。结果，由美国银行家欧文·杨（Owen Young）担任主席的委员会开会讨论减少巴黎和谈后达成的总金额的可能性。谈判并不容易，因为德国人提出了新的要求，包括归还波兰走廊和上西里西亚。然而，整个 1928-29 年谈判的结果是杨格计划，该计划将德国的最终赔款金额从 66 亿英镑减少到 20 亿英镑（这一数字最初由英国经济学家约翰·梅纳德·凯恩斯在 1919 年提出） 。本质上，这是承认 1921 年设定的数字过高。此外，道斯计划对德国经济的国际控制也被废除。这些对于德国来说是重要的一步。**世界裁军会议** 1932-33 然而，尽管做出了这些改善国际关系的努力，但旧有的猜疑、怨恨和紧张局势依然存在。 **1932年和1933年在日内瓦举行的世界裁军会议上这一点变得很清楚。所有欧洲主要大国都在《凡尔赛条约》和《国际联盟盟约》中承诺削减军备。除德国外，没有任何国家履行其承诺。裁军会议旨在解决这一问题，希望避免第一次世界大战期间出现的军备竞赛。 然而，尽管进行了长时间的讨论，但欧洲主要大国都没有准备削减其军事能力，会议以混乱结束。**对于大多数国家来说，国家利益和安全仍然是首要任务。 “美国决定不批准《巴黎和约》，是 1919 年至 1923 年期间国际紧张局势的主要原因。”讨论。 20 年代，人们为改善国际关系做出了哪些尝试？这些尝试有多成功？为什么德国赔款问题在这一时期如此重要

from 1921 to 1929? 从 1921 年到 1929 年？

Problems in Europe 1919–33

Relations between France and Germany

France had been invaded by Germany twice in less than 50 years. After a humiliating defeat in the Franco–Prussian War (see page 28) and the devastating effects of the First World War, it is hardly surprising that France’s main priority was to ensure that Germany could never again become a threat. This issue remained the primary focus of French foreign policy throughout the interwar years (1919–39).

In the six years following the end of the First World War, France adopted a tough and uncompromising policy towards Germany in an effort to keep the country economically and militarily weak. At Clemenceau’s insistence, the Treaty of Versailles severely restricted the size of the German army and the number of weapons it could have. The demilitarisation of the Rhineland meant that Germany would not able to attack France through that border region. The treaty also gave France rights in the Saar region for a period of 15 years, denying Germany its valuable coal deposits there. In addition, France was insistent that Germany should pay the full amount of reparations. Since this was to be paid over a period of 66 years, the French could be assured that Germany would remain economically weak for a long time to come – too weak to contemplate further aggression against France.

When Germany fell behind in its reparations payments, France was prepared to adopt drastic measures to force the Germans to pay. This resulted in the French occupation of the Ruhr region in 1923 (see page 55). This extreme measure – effectively an act of war – proved counterproductive for two main reasons. Firstly, it caused severe inflation in Germany, leading to the collapse of the German currency (the Mark). Naturally, this made it even harder for Germany to meet its reparations requirements. Secondly, the Confronted with the French invasion Ruhr invasion soured France’s relations with Britain, of the Ruhr, the German government which had its own reasons for wanting a swift recovery ordered a policy of passive resistance.

欧洲问题 1919-33 法国和德国之间的关系 **法国在不到 50 年的时间里两次被德国入侵。在经历了普法战争的耻辱性失败（见第 28 页）和第一次世界大战的毁灭性影响之后，法国的首要任务是确保德国永远不会再次成为威胁，**这一点也就不足为奇了。**在整个两次世界大战期间（1919-39 年），这个问题仍然是法国外交政策的主要焦点。第一次世界大战结束后的六年里，法国对德国采取了强硬且不妥协的政策，试图保持该国经济和军事上的弱势。在克列孟梭的坚持下，凡尔赛条约严格限制了德国军队的规模和可以拥有的武器数量。莱茵兰的非军事化意味着德国将无法通过该边境地区攻击法国。该条约还赋予法国在萨尔地区 15 年的权利，剥夺了德国在那里宝贵的煤炭资源。此外，法国坚持要求德国支付全额赔款。由于这笔费用需要在 66 年内支付，法国人可以放心，德国在未来很长一段时间内将在经济上保持疲软 — — 弱到无法考虑进一步侵略法国。当德国拖欠赔款时，法国准备采取严厉措施迫使德国付款。这导致法国于 1923 年占领鲁尔地区（见第 55 页）。这种极端措施 — — 实际上是一种战争行为 — — 事实证明，由于两个主要原因，适得其反。首先，它导致德国严重通货膨胀，导致德国货币（马克）崩溃。 自然，这使得德国更难满足其赔款要求。其次，面对法国入侵鲁尔区的入侵，法国与英国、鲁尔区的关系恶化，德国政府出于自身原因，下令采取消极抵抗的政策。**

Note: Confronted with the French invasion of the Ruhr, the German government ordered a policy of passive resistance. As a result, German industry in the Ruhr was paralysed. Although the French failed in their aim to seize goods from German factories and mines, the economic effect of the loss of output from such a vital industrial region was catastrophic for Germany.

注:**面对法国对鲁尔的入侵，德国政府下令采取消极抵抗的政策。结果，鲁尔地区的德国工业陷入瘫痪。尽管法国人未能实现从德国工厂和矿山夺取货物的目标，但失去这样一个重要工业区的产出对德国的经济影响是灾难性的。**

After the summer of 1924, by which time it was clear that the Ruhr occupation had failed in its purpose, France began to adopt a more conciliatory approach towards Germany. Accepting that it was unrealistic to expect Germany to keep up with its reparations payments, France agreed to the Dawes Plan as a suitable compromise. Relations between France and Germany significantly improved, aided by the good relationship that grew up between Briand and Stresemann. France’s new spirit of co-operation with Germany was clearly reflected in the Locarno Treaties, the Kellogg–Briand Pact and the Young Plan.

**1924年夏天之后，占领鲁尔的目的显然失败了，法国开始对德国采取更温和的态度。法国承认，指望德国按时支付赔款是不现实的，于是同意了道斯计划，认为这是一个合适的妥协方案。**在布里昂德和施特雷泽曼之间的良好关系的帮助下，法国和德国之间的关系得到了显著改善。**法国与德国合作的新精神清楚地反映在《洛迦诺条约》、《凯洛格-布里安条约》和《扬计划》中。**

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付款后，法国同意道斯计划作为适当的妥协方案。得益于布里安德和施特雷泽曼之间的良好关系，法国和德国之间的关系显着改善。法国与德国的新合作精神在《洛迦诺条约》、《凯洛格-布里昂条约》和《杨计划》中得到了明确的体现。

Comintern 共产国际

The Third International or the Communist International (Comintern) was a communist organisation founded in Moscow in 1919. Its aim was to encourage worldwide communist revolution.

Despite this, France remained deeply concerned about its national security. Under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, both Britain and the USA guaranteed to help France if Germany attacked again. However, when the USA refused to ratify the treaty, Britain used this as an excuse to cancel its own commitment. France was left feeling betrayed and vulnerable.

To shore up support, the French began developing a series of alliances with states in Eastern Europe, including Poland (1921), Czechoslovakia (1924), Romania (1926) and Yugoslavia (1927). This network of alliances became known as the Little Entente. France also strongly encouraged the development of an effective League of Nations (see Chapter 5). In truth, neither of these strategies proved particularly effective. France’s Little Entente partners were relatively weak, and it soon became apparent that the League of Nations lacked the power to enforce its decisions on anything other than minor issues. By the early 1930s, increasing concerns about national security led France to revert to its original hardline approach towards Germany.

The USSR’s relations with the rest of Europe

The Bolsheviks’ rise to power in Russia in November 1917 caused alarm across Europe. France and Britain were especially concerned, as they lost a vital ally when the new Russian government withdrew from the First World War by signing the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany (see page 43). It soon became clear that Lenin intended to spread revolution as far as possible. Russian agents and propaganda appeared in all the major European cities.

In March 1919, communists from all over the world were invited to a conference in Moscow, which marked the inauguration of the Third International, or Comintern. Its chairman, Grigori Zinoviev, proclaimed that ‘in a year the whole of Europe will be communist’. Given the political and economic turmoil that faced Europe at this time, widespread revolution did indeed seem a genuine possibility. Some countries (including Britain, France, the USA and Japan) actively supported the Bolsheviks’ opponents in the Russian Civil War, and Russia was not invited to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. By 1921, however, tensions had eased. Although the Bolsheviks were firmly established in Russia, their hopes of a worldwide communist revolution under Russian leadership had not materialised. Lenin now accepted that Russia’s future depended on peaceful co-existence and economic co-operation with other countries.

The USSR and Germany

After the First World War, both the USSR and Germany were at risk of becoming politically and economically isolated. This status as Europe’s outcasts caused the two countries to establish friendly relations with each other. Following a trade treaty in 1921, full diplomatic relations were resumed between them by the Treaty of Rapallo in 1922 (a development that caused consternation elsewhere in Europe, particularly France and Poland). The Treaty of Berlin in 1926 renewed the Rapallo agreement for a further five years, offering both countries further security. It was not until the early 1930s that renewed tensions appeared. By then, the rise of the German Nazi Party (see Chapter 3), with its strongly anti-communist views, began to cause unease in the USSR.

第三国际或共产国际（共产国际）是 1919 年在莫斯科成立的一个共产主义组织。其目的是鼓励世界范围内的共产主义革命。尽管如此，法国仍然对其国家安全深感担忧。**根据凡尔赛条约的条款，如果德国再次进攻，英国和美国都保证帮助法国。然而，当美国拒绝批准该条约时，英国以此为借口取消了自己的承诺。法国感到被背叛和脆弱。为了获得支持，法国开始与东欧国家建立一系列联盟，包括波兰（1921年）、捷克斯洛伐克（1924年）、罗马尼亚（1926年）和南斯拉夫（1927年）。这个联盟网络被称为“小协约国”。法国还大力鼓励发展一个有效的国际联盟（见第五章）。事实上，这两种策略, 都没有被证明特别有效。法国的小协约国伙伴相对较弱，很快人们就发现，国际联盟除了小问题外, 没有权力执行其决定。到了 1930 年代初，对国家安全的日益担忧, 导致法国恢复了最初对德国的强硬态度。**苏联与欧洲其他国家的关系 **1917 年 11 月，布尔什维克在俄罗斯上台，**引起了整个欧洲的恐慌。**法国和英国尤其担心，因为当俄罗斯新政府与德国签署《布列斯特-立托夫斯克条约》退出第一次世界大战时，他们失去了一个重要盟友（见第 43 页）。很快人们就明白了，列宁打算尽可能广泛地传播革命。**俄罗斯特工和宣传出现在所有欧洲主要城市。 1919 年 3 月，来自世界各地的共产党人应邀参加在莫斯科举行的一次会议，这标志着第三国际（或共产国际）的成立。其主席格里戈里·季诺维也夫宣称“一年内整个欧洲都将实现共产主义”。**考虑到当时欧洲面临的政治和经济动荡，广泛的革命似乎确实有可能发生。一些国家（包括英国、法国、美国和日本）在俄罗斯内战中积极支持布尔什维克的反对者，俄罗斯没有被邀请参加1919年的巴黎和会。不过，到了1921年，紧张局势有所缓和。尽管布尔什维克在俄罗斯根深蒂固，但他们在俄罗斯领导下进行世界范围共产主义革命的希望尚未实现。列宁现在承认俄罗斯的未来取决于与其他国家的和平共处和经济合作。苏联和德国 第一次世界大战后，苏联和德国都面临政治和经济孤立的风险。这种欧洲被排斥者的地位使两国建立了友好关系。继 1921 年签订贸易条约后，两国于 1922 年签署《拉帕洛条约》，全面恢复外交关系（这一事态发展引起了欧洲其他地方，特别是法国和波兰的恐慌）。 1926 年的《柏林条约》将拉帕洛协议延长五年，为两国提供了进一步的安全。直到 20 世纪 30 年代初，紧张局势才重新出现。那时，德国纳粹党的崛起（见第三章）及其强烈的反共观点开始引起苏联的不安。**

The USSR and France

The French were particularly resentful of Bolshevik success in Russia. Not only had the revolution robbed France of a potential ally in the event of a future attack by Germany, but it also increased the threat of revolution in France itself. It was largely at French insistence that Russia was not represented at the Paris peace talks. Although formal diplomatic relations between the two countries were restored in 1924, the French made little effort to enhance this relationship until the 1930s, when increasing fear of German Nazism forced them to do so.

The USSR and Britain

Britain’s relations with the USSR fluctuated throughout the period 1919–33, reflecting the suspicion with which Russia’s communist government was viewed by the British. An Anglo–Russian trade treaty in March 1921 made Britain one of the first countries to formally recognise Russia’s Bolshevik government. Like France, however, Britain was alarmed when Russia signed the Treaty of Rapallo with Germany in 1922. Fears that the USSR was encouraging independence movements in British-owned India led Britain to break off diplomatic relations with Russia in 1927. These were restored when another trading agreement was reached in 1929. When the trading agreement was cancelled by a new British government in 1932, Russia responded by arresting four Moscow-based British engineers on charges of spying.

Questions

苏联和法国 **法国对布尔什维克在俄罗斯的成功尤其不满。这场革命不仅使法国在未来遭受德国袭击时失去了一个潜在的盟友，而且还增加了法国本身革命的威胁。很大程度上是由于法国的坚持，俄罗斯没有派代表参加巴黎和谈。尽管两国于 1924 年恢复了正式外交关系，但法国并没有做出任何努力来加强这种关系，直到 1930 年代，对德国纳粹主义日益增长的恐惧迫使他们这样做。苏联和英国 英国与苏联的关系在 1919-33 年期间一直波动，反映出英国对俄罗斯共产主义政府的怀疑。 1921 年 3 月签订的英俄贸易条约使英国成为最早正式承认俄罗斯布尔什维克政府的国家之一。然而，与法国一样，当俄罗斯于 1922 年与德国签署《拉帕洛条约》时，英国也感到震惊。由于担心苏联鼓励英属印度的独立运动，英国于 1927 年与俄罗斯断绝了外交关系。贸易协议于 1929 年达成。1932 年英国新政府取消贸易协议后**，俄罗斯以间谍罪逮捕了四名驻莫斯科的英国工程师作为回应。问题

To what extent was French foreign policy between 1919 and 1929

dictated by fear of Germany?

Why did France adopt a more co-operative and friendly approach

towards Germany after 1924?

Why were there no Russian representatives at the Paris Peace Conference

of 1919–20?

1919 年至 1929 年间法国的外交政策在多大程度上是出于对德国的恐惧？为什么1924年后法国对德国采取更加合作和友好的态度？为什么 1919-20 年巴黎和会没有俄罗斯代表？

How successful was the USSR in its attempts to establish better relations

with the rest of Europe between 1919 and 1933?

1919 年至 1933 年间，苏联与欧洲其他国家建立更好关系的努力取得了多大成功？

internationalism 国际主义

The foreign policy favoured by President Wilson, whereby the USA would play a leading role in international affairs in order to ensure future world peace and stability. In the 1920s, internationalism was replaced by the more traditional US policy of isolationism.

American foreign policy

The return to isolationism

In the election campaign of 1916, Woodrow Wilson promised that the USA would not become involved in the First World War. Yet, in April 1917, Wilson’s government declared war on Germany. With German submarines sinking American merchant ships, rumours of Germany seeking an alliance with Mexico, and pressure from his political opponents, Wilson arguably had little choice. Initially, events such as the sinking of the Lusitania (see page 36) turned public opinion in favour of the war. However, this quickly fell away and by 1918 US involvement in the conflict had become deeply unpopular. Many Americans believed that the war had come about because of the petty bickering and selfish national interests of the major European countries. They felt that the best way to avoid involvement in another war was for the USA to keep out of the affairs of other nations, especially those in Europe.

Although Wilson also believed that European imperialist ambitions had been a major cause of the First World War, he had a very different view on how to prevent wars in the future. His Fourteen Points reflected his rather idealistic perception of the USA’s role (see pages 42–43). In particular, Wilson believed it was the USA’s duty to dictate the post-war peace settlement by mediating between rival European nations. His aim was to create lasting international stability so that the horrors of the First World War could never be repeated.

With only limited experience in foreign affairs, and little real understanding of European problems, Wilson found that his vision of the future was often undermined. Although his suggestion for a League of Nations was written into each of the separate treaties, the peace settlement of 1919–20 was far from the ‘peace without victory’ he had envisaged (see page 46).

If Wilson was disappointed by the Paris Peace Conference, his frustration only increased when he returned to the USA. The American people were wary of any further involvement in European affairs. By rejecting both the peace settlement and US membership of the League of Nations, the Senate also abandoned Wilson’s policy of internationalism. Instead, the USA reverted to isolationism, and only interfered in international affairs when its own interests were directly at stake.

There were two main effects of this change in attitude. First, it removed France’s guarantee of US (and, subsequently, British) support in the event of another German attack. In addition to putting severe pressure on relations between Britain and France, this also set the tone for French foreign policy throughout the interwar years. Second, it undermined both the credibility and the potential effectiveness of the League of Nations.

**威尔逊总统青睐的外交政策，即美国在国际事务中发挥主导作用，以确保未来世界的和平与稳定。 20世纪20年代，国际主义被更传统的美国孤立主义政策所取代。美国外交政策 回归孤立主义 在1916年的竞选中，伍德罗·威尔逊承诺美国不会卷入第一次世界大战。然而，1917 年 4 月，威尔逊政府向德国宣战。由于德国潜艇击沉了美国商船、德国寻求与墨西哥结盟的传言以及来自政治对手的压力，威尔逊可以说别无选择。**最初，卢西塔尼亚号沉没（见第 36 页）等事件使公众舆论转而支持战争。然而，这种情况很快就消失了，到 1918 年，美国卷入这场冲突变得非常不受欢迎。许多美国人认为，战争的爆发是由于欧洲主要国家的琐碎争吵和自私的国家利益。他们认为，避免卷入另一场战争的最佳方法是美国不介入其他国家的事务，特别是欧洲国家的事务。尽**管威尔逊也认为欧洲帝国主义的野心是第一次世界大战的主要原因，但他对于如何防止未来发生战争却有着截然不同的看法。他的“十四点”反映了他对美国角色的相当理想主义的看法（见第 42-43 页）。特别是，威尔逊认为美国有责任通过在欧洲敌对国家之间进行调解来主导战后和平解决方案。他的目标是创造持久的国际稳定，使第一次世界大战的恐怖不再重演。** 由于外交经验有限，而且对欧洲问题缺乏真正的了解，威尔逊发现他对未来的愿景常常受到损害。**尽管他关于国际联盟的建议被写入每一项单独的条约中，但 1919-20 年的和平解决方案与他设想的“没有胜利的和平”相去甚远（见第 46 页）。如果说威尔逊对巴黎和会感到失望，那么当他回到美国时，他的挫败感只会更加强烈。美国人民对进一步介入欧洲事务持谨慎态度。通过拒绝和平解决和美国加入国际联盟，参议院也放弃了威尔逊的国际主义政策。美国反而倒退回孤立主义，只在自身利益直接受到威胁时才干涉国际事务。这种态度的改变有两个主要影响。首先，它取消了法国对美国（以及随后英国）在德国再次发动袭击时提供支持的保证。这除了给英法关系带来巨大压力外，也为法国在两次世界大战之间的外交政策定下了基调。其次，它损害了国际联盟的信誉和潜在效力。**

Between 1921 and 1933, the USA was ruled by Republican governments. The Republicans endorsed isolationism and this was the main reason that the USA never joined the League of Nations and sent no representative to the Locarno Conference. Nevertheless, it was impossible for the USA to keep out of world affairs completely, and in fact it was not in its national interests to do so. As a result, American policies and actions had a profound effect on other countries.

In 1919, the USA unquestionably possessed the strongest economy in the world. It had benefited greatly from the First World War, in particular by taking over markets formally controlled by European nations. Its overseas trade and foreign investment greatly increased. With American industry continuing to grow rapidly and protected by high import tariffs, the USA experienced an economic boom during the 1920s. Inevitably, therefore, the USA wanted to protect its international economic interests. On occasion, this took precedence over strict adherence to isolationism. For example, concern that the growth of Japanese power might threaten American economic interests in the Far East led the USA to organise the Washington Naval Conference in 1921–22 (see pages 119–20).

Economic factors were also behind the USA’s decision to demand full repayment of the Allied war debts – a decision that caused considerable resentment in Europe. Since the USA had made huge economic gains as a result of the First World War, Britain and its allies had hoped that these debts would be cancelled. Instead, the Americans insisted that the debts, including interest, were paid in full. The only way the European allies could repay these debts was by using the reparations payments they received from Germany. Germany’s failure to meet its obligations presented Britain, France and Italy with a major problem. It was only when the USA provided Germany with substantial loans that the issue was resolved. However, this led to the preposterous situation whereby Germany used US loans to pay reparations to Britain, France and Italy, who then used the same money to repay their debts to the USA. This eventually put serious pressure on the international economy and contributed to the global economic crisis that began in 1929.

The Wall Street Crash and the Great Depression

The 1920s ended in dramatic fashion, with huge international repercussions. What began as a reduction in the buying of shares on the New York Stock Exchange on Wall Street quickly led to a panic and a rush to sell shares. By 29 October – ‘Black Friday’ – shares in hundreds of businesses had become virtually worthless and thousands of Americans were financially ruined. Banks were forced to close down as people rushed to withdraw their savings. As demand for goods fell, many factories became unprofitable and also closed down. Unemployment rose alarmingly, causing a further reduction in the demand for goods. The Great Depression that came in the wake of the Wall Street Crash affected not just the USA, but the whole world.

shares

A means of investing money in businesses. Shares in a successful business rise in value. People buy shares at low prices and then sell them when the value rises.

1921年至1933年间，美国由共和党政府统治。共和党推崇孤立主义，这是美国从未加入国际联盟、没有派代表出席洛迦诺会议的主要原因。但美国不可能完全置身于世界事务之外，而且这样做也不符合美国的国家利益。因此，美国的政策和行动对其他国家产生了深远的影响。 1919年，美国毫无疑问拥有世界上最强大的经济。它从第一次世界大战中受益匪浅，特别是通过接管欧洲国家正式控制的市场。对外贸易和对外投资大幅增长。随着美国工业持续快速增长并受到高进口关税的保护，美国在 20 年代经历了经济繁荣。因此，美国不可避免地要保护其国际经济利益。有时，这优先于严格遵守孤立主义。例如，由于担心日本实力的增长可能威胁到美国在远东的经济利益，美国于 1921-22 年组织了华盛顿海军会议（见第 119-20 页）。美国要求全额偿还盟军战争债务的决定背后还有经济因素，这一决定在欧洲引起了相当大的不满。由于美国在第一次世界大战中获得了巨大的经济收益，英国及其盟国一直希望这些债务能够被取消。相反，美国人坚持要求全额偿还债务，包括利息。欧洲盟国偿还这些债务的唯一方法是使用从德国收到的赔款。 德国未能履行其义务给英国、法国和意大利带来了一个重大问题。直到美国向德国提供大量贷款后，问题才得到解决。然而，这导致了德国用美国的贷款向英国、法国和意大利支付赔款，而英国、法国和意大利又用同样的钱偿还对美国的债务的荒谬局面。这最终给国际经济带来了严重压力，并导致了 1929 年开始的全球经济危机。 华尔街崩盘和大萧条 20 年代以戏剧性的方式结束，在国际上产生了巨大的影响。华尔街纽约证券交易所股票购买量的减少很快引发了恐慌和抛售股票的热潮。到 10 月 29 日（“黑色星期五”），数百家企业的股票几乎变得一文不值，成千上万的美国人在经济上破产了。由于人们争先恐后地提取储蓄，银行被迫关闭。由于商品需求下降，许多工厂无利可图，甚至倒闭。失业率惊人上升，导致商品需求进一步减少。华尔街崩盘后发生的大萧条不仅影响了美国，而且影响了整个世界。股票 一种将资金投资于企业的方式。成功企业的股票价值上涨。人们以低价购买股票，然后在价值上涨时出售。

unemployment benefit

Payments made by a country’s government to people who are unable to find a job.

In fact, the Wall Street Crash was a symptom rather than a cause of the Great Depression. The real trigger was fundamental flaws in the USA’s economic policy. American industries were heavily dependent on the export market. Their output vastly exceeded what could be sold within the USA itself. Towards the end of the 1920s, foreign demand for US goods began to fall. There were a number of reasons for this:

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The USA practiced protectionism – in order to protect its own industries, it imposed high taxes on foreign imports. This effectively prevented other countries from making profits by selling their goods in the USA. Without such profits, these countries were increasingly unable to afford American products.

失业救济金 国家政府向找不到工作的人支付的款项。事实上，华尔街崩盘是大萧条的症状而不是原因。真正的导火索是美国经济政策的根本缺陷。美国工业严重依赖出口市场。他们的产量远远超过了美国本土的销售量。 20 年代末，国外对美国商品的需求开始下降。造成这种情况的原因有很多： 。美国实行保护主义，为了保护本国产业，对外国进口产品征收高额关税。这有效地阻止了其他国家通过在美国销售商品来获利。没有这些利润，这些国家越来越买不起美国产品。

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Some countries began to impose high taxes on American imports. This had the effect of reducing demand for American products in those countries.

。一些国家开始对美国进口商品征收高额关税。这减少了这些国家对美国产品的需求。

.

Some European countries could not afford to buy American goods because they were struggling to repay war debts to the USA.

。一些欧洲国家无力购买美国商品，因为它们正在努力偿还美国的战争债务。

As demand for US products fell, manufacturers began to produce less. This meant that many workers were laid off at a time when there was no unemployment benefit. As more and more families were forced to reduce their spending, the demand for goods fell still further, leading to even more unemployment. This vicious circle continued, spiralling the USA deeper and deeper into an economic depression that lasted until the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939.

Figure 2.9 Unemployed people line up around the block to withdraw their money from the banks after the Wall Street Crash, 1929

随着对美国产品的需求下降，制造商开始减少生产。这意味着许多工人在没有失业救济金的情况下被解雇。随着越来越多的家庭被迫减少开支，对商品的需求进一步下降，导致更多的失业。这种恶性循环持续不断，使美国陷入越来越深的经济萧条，一直持续到 1939 年第二次世界大战爆发。 图 2.9 华尔街崩盘后，失业者在街区排队提取资金， 1929年

Other countries were soon affected by the Depression, largely because their prosperity was dependent on US loans. As soon as the crash came, the loans stopped. The German economy immediately collapsed and the country could no longer meet its reparations commitments. This in turn affected Britain, France and Italy. As international trade declined, all industrialised countries suffered from the same economic malaise. Spiralling deflation affected Europe and Japan alike. High unemployment quickly followed, leading to social unrest and political extremism. Everywhere, the threat of revolution seemed greater than ever before. In countries that lacked a strong democratic tradition, existing forms of government found it impossible to cope.

Historical debate

By inflicting such harsh terms on Germany, the Treaty of Versailles

“”

其他国家很快就受到大萧条的影响，主要是因为它们的繁荣依赖于美国的贷款。崩盘一发生，贷款就停止了。德国经济立即崩溃，该国无法再履行赔偿承诺。这反过来又影响了英国、法国和意大利。随着国际贸易下降，所有工业化国家都遭受了同样的经济衰退。螺旋式通货紧缩影响了欧洲和日本。随之而来的是高失业率，导致社会动荡和政治极端主义。无论在哪里，革命的威胁似乎比以往任何时候都更大。在缺乏强大民主传统的国家，现有的政府形式无法应对。历史争论通过对德国施加如此严厉的条款，《凡尔赛条约》“”

was both unfair and unjust.

Historians have differing opinions about this statement. The arguments used by historians to support their conflicting opinions regarding this statement are outlined in the table below.

deflation

A general decline in prices, caused by a reduction in the supply of money and credit. During the Great Depression, deflation spiralled out of control. As prices of their products fell, employers reduced the wages of their workers, leading to a further downward turn in prices. As unemployment increased, fewer people were able to buy products, leading to a further reduction in prices. Many businesses collapsed.

既不公平又不公正。对于这一说法，历史学家有不同的看法。下表概述了历史学家用来支持他们对这一说法的相互矛盾的观点的论据。通货紧缩 由于货币和信贷供应减少而导致价格普遍下跌。大萧条期间，通货紧缩失控。随着产品价格下跌，雇主降低了工人的工资，导致价格进一步下跌。随着失业率上升，能够购买产品的人越来越少，导致价格进一步下降。许多企业倒闭了。

Agree Disagree

The treaty was imposed on Germany without consultation, and was not based on Wilson’s Fourteen Points. Germany had imposed far more severe terms on Russia in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in March 1918. Having ignored Wilson’s Fourteen Points then, Germany had no right to expect better treatment in 1919.

Germany was forced to reduce its military capacity at a time when no other country was disarming – this could make it vulnerable to attack and cause further instability in Germany itself. In the interests of future peace, it was reasonable to prevent Germany being able to wage war again. This was especially important for French security.

Germany lost European territory, which was important both economically and militarily. Germany’s losses were restricted to territories it had gained in previous wars. Germany’s losses were not as great as France would have wished.

The Polish Corridor effectively split Germany in two. Having access to the sea was vital to ensure that Poland was economically viable.

Germany lost its overseas possessions in Africa. These could now be exploited by its European rivals. Germany had been a latecomer to the ‘scramble for Africa’; its African colonies were not especially valuable.

Many German nationals were now living in other countries. In particular, union with Austria was forbidden. As a result of the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian, Turkish and Russian empires, many nationalities were now living under foreign governments. This situation was not unique to Germans.

Germany was forced to take all the blame for the First World War and was expected to pay reparations, which were set at a level that was far too high to be practical. Considerable damage had been done during the war, and it was reasonable to expect compensation. Even when defeat in the war was inevitable, the Germans had caused damage to French property such as coal mines.

同意 不同意 该条约是在未经协商的情况下强加给德国的，并且并非以威尔逊的十四点为基础。德国在 1918 年 3 月的《布列斯特-立托夫斯克条约》中对俄罗斯施加了更为严厉的条款。当时忽视了威尔逊的十四点，德国无权期望在 1919 年得到更好的待遇。没有其他国家解除武装——这可能使其容易受到攻击，并导致德国本身进一步不稳定。为了未来的和平，阻止德国再次发动战争是合理的。这对于法国的安全尤其重要。德国失去了在经济和军事上都很重要的欧洲领土。德国的损失仅限于它在之前的战争中获得的领土。德国的损失并不像法国希望的那么大。波兰走廊实际上将德国一分为二。出海口对于确保波兰的经济生存至关重要。德国失去了在非洲的海外领地。这些现在可能被其欧洲竞争对手利用。德国是“争夺非洲”的后来者。它的非洲殖民地并不是特别有价值。许多德国国民现在居住在其他国家。特别是禁止与奥地利结盟。由于奥匈帝国、土耳其帝国和俄罗斯帝国的解体，许多民族现在生活在外国政府的统治之下。这种情况并非德国人独有。德国被迫承担第一次世界大战的所有责任，并被要求支付赔款，但赔款的水平过高，不切实际。战争期间造成了相当大的损失，期望得到赔偿是合理的。 即使战争失败不可避免，德国人也对煤矿等法国财产造成了损害。

Questions 问题

Why did the USA reject the Paris peace settlement of 1919–20?

为什么美国拒绝 1919-20 年的巴黎和平协议？

Why did problems in the US economy after 1929 have an adverse effect

on other countries?

Source A below is part of a speech given by a US senator in 1919.

In what ways do the views expressed in this speech differ from those of President Wilson?

为什么1929年后美国经济出现的问题会对其他国家产生不利影响？下面的资料A是一位美国参议员在1919年发表的演讲的一部分。这篇演讲所表达的观点与威尔逊总统的观点有何不同？

Key issues 关键问题

The key features of this chapter are:

.

the problems involved in creating a peace settlement at the end of the First World War

本章的主要特点是： 。第一次世界大战结束时建立和平解决方案所涉及的问题

.

the effects of the five treaties that emerged from the Paris Peace Conference 1919–20

。 1919-20 年巴黎和会产生的五项条约的影响

.

the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia

。布尔什维克革命对俄罗斯的影响

.

the impact of the USA’s decision to return to an isolationist foreign policy

。美国决定恢复孤立主义外交政策的影响

.

attempts to ease international tensions.

。试图缓和国际紧张局势。

Revision questions

1 Which side of the argument outlined in the historical debate on page 65 is the more convincing and why?

2 In what ways might the USA’s rejection of the Paris peace settlement have undermined its effectiveness?

3 To what extent is it fair to describe the post-war settlement of 1919–20 as ‘a bad peace’?

Further reading

修订问题 1 第 65 页的历史辩论中概述的论点哪一方更有说服力，为什么？ 2 美国拒绝巴黎和平协议可能会在哪些方面削弱其有效性？ 3 将 1919-20 年的战后解决方案描述为“糟糕的和平”在多大程度上是公平的？进一步阅读

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Introduction 介绍

T

he economic legacy of the First World War had profound implications across Europe. Unemployment began to rise as countries reduced their industrial output to pre-war levels. Thousands of soldiers returning from the trenches could not find work. At the same time, countries had to repay their war debts. Soaring inflation, high unemployment, falling standards of living and limited prospects for the future combined to cause anger and resentment amongst the unemployed and deprived. It is in such dire economic conditions that extremism thrives. Fear of communist revolution – to which Russia had already succumbed – spread throughout Europe. So too did a different type of extremism, one that saw communism as the arch-enemy. This was fascism.

Even in Britain, with its long tradition of constitutional government, extremist groups seemed to pose a threat to democracy. The Communist Party of Britain was founded in 1920 and, when economic conditions deteriorated still further during the worldwide depression that followed the Wall Street Crash (see page 63), the British Union of Fascists was established in 1932. Although democracy survived in Britain, other countries with less stable constitutions proved unable to resist the pressures of extremism.

As early as 1922, Benito Mussolini had led his Fascist Party to power in Italy. By 1933, Adolf Hitler had gained supremacy for his Nazi Party in Germany. Between 1936 and 1939 the rival forces of fascism, communism and democracy fought a long and bloody war for control of Spain, culminating in victory for the semi-fascist General Francisco Franco. All three leaders rapidly removed political opposition, establishing dictatorships in which they had ultimate control over the fate of their countries. Even in Soviet Russia, the dream of equality that had inspired the 1917 revolution was shattered. Following Lenin’s death in 1924, Joseph Stalin assumed leadership. By 1930, he had established himself as a virtual dictator in the USSR.

The emergence of these dictatorships had a major effect on international relations. Fear of communism spreading across the rest of Europe meant that Soviet Russia was isolated and therefore vulnerable. The alliance between Britain, France and Russia, which had proved so vital to success in the First World War, was no longer possible. The ultra-nationalist and aggressive foreign policies pursued by Hitler and Mussolini posed a significant threat not only to the USSR, but also to other European countries. The Spanish Civil War was an omen of things

to come.

Figure 3.1 Soviet leader Joseph Stalin

fascism

A political ideology in which government is based on extreme authoritarianism and nationalism. Fascists argue that the needs of the nation should outweigh those of individuals. In this sense, it is theoretically the exact opposite of communism.

constitutional government

A form of government in which power and authority are based on and limited by a clearly defined constitution. Government in Britain was (and still is) based on a parliamentary system, which allowed the people to elect members of parliament by casting votes.

第一次世界大战的经济遗产对整个欧洲产生了深远的影响。随着各国将工业产出降至战前水平，失业率开始上升。数千名从战壕返回的士兵找不到工作。与此同时，各国必须偿还战争债务。通货膨胀飙升、失业率居高不下、生活水平下降以及未来前景有限，这些因素共同引起了失业者和贫困者的愤怒和怨恨。正是在如此严峻的经济条件下，极端主义才得以猖獗。对共产主义革命的恐惧——俄罗斯已经屈服于共产主义革命——在整个欧洲蔓延。另一种极端主义也是如此，这种极端主义将共产主义视为头号敌人。这就是法西斯主义。即使在有着悠久宪政传统的英国，极端主义团体似乎也对民主构成了威胁。英国共产党成立于 1920 年，而在华尔街崩盘之后的全球经济大萧条期间，经济状况进一步恶化（见第 63 页），英国法西斯联盟于 1932 年成立。事实证明，宪法不太稳定的国家无法抵御极端主义的压力。早在1922年，贝尼托·墨索里尼就领导他的法西斯党在意大利掌权。到 1933 年，阿道夫·希特勒 (Adolf Hitler) 的纳粹党在德国取得了至高无上的地位。 1936 年至 1939 年间，法西斯主义、共产主义和民主主义的敌对势力为控制西班牙进行了一场漫长而血腥的战争，最终半法西斯主义的弗朗西斯科·佛朗哥将军取得了胜利。三位领导人都迅速消除了政治反对派，建立了独裁政权，他们对国家的命运拥有最终控制权。 即使在苏俄，激发 1917 年革命的平等梦想也破灭了。 1924 年列宁去世后，约瑟夫·斯大林接任领导职务。到 1930 年，他已成为苏联的实际独裁者。这些独裁政权的出现对国际关系产生了重大影响。对共产主义在欧洲其他地区蔓延的恐惧意味着苏维埃俄罗斯被孤立，因此很脆弱。事实证明，英国、法国和俄罗斯之间的联盟对于第一次世界大战的成功至关重要，但现在已经不再可能了。希特勒和墨索里尼推行的极端民族主义和侵略性外交政策不仅对苏联，而且对其他欧洲国家构成重大威胁。西班牙内战是未来事情的预兆。图 3.1 苏联领导人约瑟夫·斯大林 法西斯主义 一种政府以极端独裁主义和民族主义为基础的政治意识形态。法西斯主义者认为，国家的需求应该高于个人的需求。从这个意义上讲，它在理论上与共产主义完全相反。宪政 权力和权威基于明确规定的宪法并受其限制的政府形式。英国政府过去（现在仍然）基于议会制度，允许人民通过投票选举议会成员。

proportional representation

比例代表制

A voting system used to elect people to a parliament or assembly. The number of seats won by each political party is in proportion to the number of votes it receives. For example, a party winning 50% of the votes cast would gain 50% of the available seats.

coalition governments

用于选举议会或议会议员的投票制度。每个政党赢得的席位数与其获得的选票数成正比。例如，赢得 50% 选票的政党将获得 50% 的可用席位。联合政府

Governments formed by a combination of two or more political parties, none of which was able to gain an overall majority in an election. Such governments tend to be weak and indecisive because of the need for compromise between the different parties.

co-operatives and soviets These were councils of local factory or agricultural workers, along the lines of those established

by Lenin in Russia. Workers would take over their factories

由两个或两个以上政党联合组成的政府，但没有一个政党能够在选举中获得绝对多数。由于各方之间需要妥协，此类政府往往软弱且优柔寡断。合作社和苏维埃 这些是当地工厂或农业工人的委员会，类似于列宁在俄罗斯建立的委员会。工人们将接管他们的工厂

or land from the rich owners, and run these industries themselves.

或者从富有的所有者那里获得土地，并自己经营这些工业。

Mussolini’s foreign policy

Mussolini’s rise to power

To the majority of Italians, the Versailles settlement was a bitter disappointment. Although Italy had gained Trentino, the South Tyrol, Istria and Trieste, its claims to parts of Dalmatia, Adalia, Albania, Fiume and some of the Aegean Islands had been ignored. It seemed that other countries, particularly Yugoslavia, had gained at Italy’s expense.

Having borrowed heavily to finance its involvement in the First World War, Italy’s attempts to repay these debts led to soaring inflation. The value of the Italian lira fell from five to the dollar in 1914 to 28 to the dollar by 1921. In addition to this massive increase in the cost of living, Italians also faced high unemployment as industry reduced production to pre-war levels, and the number of people seeking jobs was increased by the return of more than 2 million soldiers. Italy’s parliamentary system, based on proportional representation, was ill-equipped to cope with these problems. With nine or more different political parties, it was impossible for any one party to gain an overall majority. Between 1919 and 1922, Italy had five different coalition governments, none of which could provide the decisive leadership necessary to confront Italy’s post-war problems.

These circumstances inevitably led to disorder. Strikes organised by trade unions in 1919 and 1920 quickly descended into rioting and looting. Workers began occupying their factories, while socialist leagues of farm workers started seizing land from wealthy farmers and establishing their own co-operatives. Factory councils, similar to the Russian soviets, appeared in many industrial cities. With the formation of the Italian Communist Party in January 1921, it seemed only a matter of time before a revolution began.

It was primarily the threat of communism that provided Benito Mussolini, a former teacher and journalist, with the opportunity to gain power in Italy. On 23 March 1919, he formed a Fascio di Combattimento (‘Fighting Group’) in Milan, and this marked the origins of his Fascist Party. Initially a socialist organisation, the party’s failure to win any Mussolini wanted to revive seats in the 1919 elections made the glory of the ancient Mussolini realise that he needed Roman Empire, and the to attract financial support Italian Fascist Party took from wealthy businessmen and its name and symbol from landowners. The Fascist Party the word fasces, meaning emerged as the defender of private a bundle of rods with a enterprise and property, its black-protruding axe. This image shirted groups regularly attacking had been used as a symbol communist headquarters and of power by the Senate in newspaper offices. Ancient Rome.

墨索里尼的外交政策 墨索里尼的上台 对于大多数意大利人来说，凡尔赛和解协议令人非常失望。尽管意大利获得了特伦蒂诺、南蒂罗尔、伊斯特拉和的里雅斯特，但其对达尔马提亚、阿达利亚、阿尔巴尼亚、阜姆和一些爱琴海群岛部分地区的主权要求却被忽视。其他国家，特别是南斯拉夫，似乎以牺牲意大利的利益为代价获得了利益。意大利为参与第一次世界大战而大量举债，试图偿还这些债务导致通货膨胀飙升。意大利里拉的价值从 1914 年的 5 里拉兑 1 美元跌至 1921 年的 28 里拉兑美元。除了生活成本的大幅增加之外，意大利人还面临着高失业率，因为工业将生产减少到战前水平，超过200万士兵回国，求职人数增加。意大利以比例代表制为基础的议会制度不足以应对这些问题。有九个或更多不同的政党，任何一个政党都不可能获得绝对多数。 1919 年至 1922 年间，意大利经历了五个不同的联合政府，但没有一个能够提供应对意大利战后问题所需的决定性领导。这些情况不可避免地导致了混乱。 1919年和1920年工会组织的罢工很快演变成骚乱和抢劫。工人开始占领他们的工厂，而社会主义农场工人联盟开始从富裕农民手中夺取土地并建立自己的合作社。类似于俄罗斯苏维埃的工厂委员会出现在许多工业城市。 随着 1921 年 1 月意大利共产党的成立，革命的开始似乎只是时间问题。主要是共产主义的威胁为前教师兼记者贝尼托·墨索里尼提供了在意大利掌权的机会。 1919 年 3 月 23 日，他在米兰组建了 Fascio di Combattimento（“战斗小组”），这标志着他的法西斯党的起源。最初是一个社会主义组织，该党在1919年的选举中未能赢得任何墨索里尼想要重振的席位，使昔日的墨索里尼的荣耀意识到他需要罗马帝国，为了吸引财政支持，意大利法西斯党取自富商及其名字和土地所有者的象征。法西斯党的“fasces”一词，意思是“私人的捍卫者”，一束带有企业和财产的棍子，其黑色突出的斧头。这幅身穿衬衫的团体经常发动袭击的图像曾被参议院在报纸办公室用作共产主义总部和权力的象征。古罗马。

Despite its violent methods, the Fascist Party rapidly gained the support of those sections of Italian society that had most reason to fear communism

– industrialists, landowners, middle-class property owners, the Roman Catholic Church and the king, Victor Emmanuel III. Although the Fascist Party gained only 35 seats in the 1921 elections (compared to the 123 taken by the socialists), the number of fascist squads throughout the country grew rapidly.

In 1922, the communists called for a general strike. Mussolini boldly announced that if the government did not put a stop to this then his own men would. In October 1922, some 50,000 fascists began what became known as the March on Rome, while others moved into key northern industrial cities. The Italian prime minister, Luigi Facta, wanted to use the army and police to disperse the fascist columns, but the king refused and instead invited Mussolini to form a new government.

Far from the ‘great battle’ portrayed in Mussolini’s subsequent propaganda, the March on Rome had been an enormous bluff. The fascist groups could easily have been held back by the army, and in fact Mussolini remained in Milan rather than leading his men into ‘battle’. Nonetheless, the threat of violence alone led to the creation of the world’s first fascist state, a precursor to later regimes such as those of Adolf Hitler (Germany), Francisco Franco (Spain), António de Oliveira Salazar (Portugal) and Juan Perón (Argentina).

The main characteristics of Mussolini’s style of government can be summarised as follows:

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Lack of democracy: Italy became a one-party state. Members of the Fascist Party were seen as the élite of the nation and great emphasis was placed on the cult of their leader, Mussolini himself.

尽管采取暴力手段，法西斯党很快就获得了意大利社会最有理由害怕共产主义的阶层的支持——工业家、地主、中产阶级业主、罗马天主教会和国王维克多·伊曼纽尔三世。尽管法西斯党在 1921 年的选举中只获得了 35 个席位（而社会党则获得了 123 个席位），但全国法西斯势力的数量却迅速增长。 1922年，共产党号召举行总罢工。墨索里尼大胆地宣布，如果政府不制止这种行为，他自己的人就会制止。 1922 年 10 月，约 50,000 名法西斯分子开始了所谓的“进军罗马”，而其他人则迁入北部主要工业城市。意大利总理路易吉·法克塔想动用军队和警察驱散法西斯纵队，但国王拒绝了，并邀请墨索里尼组建新政府。与墨索里尼随后的宣传中描绘的“伟大战役”相去甚远，进军罗马只是一场巨大的虚张声势。法西斯团体很容易被军队阻止，事实上墨索里尼留在米兰而不是带领他的部下参加“战斗”。尽管如此，仅暴力威胁就导致了世界上第一个法西斯国家的建立，这是后来阿道夫·希特勒（德国）、弗朗西斯科·佛朗哥（西班牙）、安东尼奥·德·奥利维拉·萨拉查（葡萄牙）和胡安·庇隆（葡萄牙）等后来政权的前身。阿根廷）。墨索里尼执政风格的主要特点可以概括为： 。缺乏民主：意大利成为一党制国家。法西斯党成员被视为国家精英，并高度重视对其领导人墨索里尼本人的崇拜。

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Totalitarianism: the interests of the state were more important than the interests of individuals. Therefore, the government attempted to control as many aspects of people’s lives as possible.

。极权主义：国家利益比个人利益更重要。因此，政府试图尽可能多地控制人们生活的各个方面。

.

Autarky: the idea that Italy should become economically self-sufficient. In order to achieve this, the government sought to control and direct all parts of Italy’s economy.

。自给自足：意大利应该在经济上自给自足的想法。为了实现这一目标，政府寻求控制和指导意大利经济的各个部分。

.

Extreme nationalism: although Italy had once been the heart of the great Roman Empire, its power and prestige had been allowed to decline. Mussolini was determined to restore Italy to its former glory.

。极端民族主义：尽管意大利曾经是伟大罗马帝国的心脏，但其权力和威望却逐渐衰落。墨索里尼决心让意大利恢复昔日的辉煌。

.

The use of violence: Mussolini had seen how the mere threat of violence had enabled him to gain power. He believed that violent methods were the key not only to maintaining control in Italy but also to ensuring a successful and glorious foreign policy in which the Italian Empire could be expanded. As he once remarked: ‘Peace is absurd; fascism does not believe in it.’

。使用暴力：墨索里尼已经看到仅仅使用暴力威胁就能够使他获得权力。他认为，暴力手段不仅是维持对意大利控制的关键，也是确保意大利帝国扩张的成功而光荣的外交政策的关键。正如他曾经说过的：“和平是荒谬的；法西斯主义不相信它。

Diplomacy 1923–34

In line with the aggressive nationalism that characterised fascism, the main aim of Mussolini’s foreign policy was to make Italy ‘great, respected and feared’. He declared that ‘the 20th century will be a century of Italian power’. In the period from the end of the First World War until Mussolini’s rise to power in 1922, Italy had been neither great, respected nor feared. The Paris peace settlement had not granted Italy many of the territorial rewards it had expected as a result of its contribution to the Allied victory. To the majority of Italians, this was both humiliating and a reflection of their government’s weakness. Mussolini was determined to establish Italy’s credibility as a major European power, and his early actions certainly seemed to reflect these grand aims.

Fiume (March 1923)

The weakness of the Italian government at the end of the First World War was most clearly reflected in events that took place at the Adriatic port of Fiume. Italy’s claim to the city and its surrounding area – based on the fact that the majority of its population was Italian – had been rejected by the Paris peacemakers. Instead, they had declared Fiume a ‘Free City’ that was to be

外交 1923-34 与法西斯主义的侵略性民族主义相一致，墨索里尼外交政策的主要目标是让意大利“伟大、受人尊敬、令人畏惧”。他宣称“20世纪将是意大利强国的世纪”。从第一次世界大战结束到 1922 年墨索里尼上台期间，意大利既不伟大，也不受尊重，也不令人畏惧。巴黎和平协议并没有给予意大利许多其所期望的领土回报，因为意大利为盟军的胜利做出了贡献。对于大多数意大利人来说，这既是一种耻辱，也反映了他们政府的软弱。墨索里尼决心建立意大利作为欧洲主要强国的信誉，他早期的行动似乎反映了这些宏伟目标。阜姆（1923 年 3 月） 第一次世界大战结束时意大利政府的软弱在亚得里亚海的阜姆港发生的事件中得到了最明显的体现。意大利对这座城市及其周边地区的主权主张——基于其大多数人口是意大利人的事实——已被巴黎和平缔造者拒绝。相反，他们宣布阜姆为“自由城市”

used jointly by Italy and Yugoslavia. Infuriated by his government’s meek acceptance of this situation, the Italian poet and nationalist Gabriele D’Annunzio led a force of around 300 ex-soldiers into Fiume in September 1919 and declared it part of Italy.

At first, the Italian government did nothing to oppose this clear breach of the Versailles settlement. By December 1920, however, concerned that the affair was damaging Italy’s relations with other European nations, the government sent in troops and forced D’Annunzio to leave the city. To the anger of the Italian nationalists, the government renounced its claim to Fiume. Later, in March 1923, the local government in Fiume became threatened with rebellion and revolution, and Mussolini ordered Italian troops to move in and restore order. Yugoslavia had little choice but to accept the situation, and Fiume effectively became part of Italy.

意大利和南斯拉夫共同使用。意大利诗人兼民族主义者加布里埃莱·邓南遮 (Gabriele D'Annunzio) 对政府温顺地接受这种情况感到愤怒，于 1919 年 9 月率领一支由约 300 名退伍军人组成的部队进入阜姆，并宣布该地是意大利的一部分。起初，意大利政府没有采取任何行动来反对这种明显违反凡尔赛和解协议的行为。然而，到了 1920 年 12 月，政府担心此事会损害意大利与其他欧洲国家的关系，派出军队并迫使邓南遮离开这座城市。令意大利民族主义者愤怒的是，政府放弃了对阜姆的主权要求。后来，1923 年 3 月，阜姆当地政府受到叛乱和革命的威胁，墨索里尼命令意大利军队进驻并恢复秩序。南斯拉夫别无选择，只能接受这种情况，阜姆实际上成为了意大利的一部分。

The Corfu Incident (August 1923)

In 1923, a border dispute between Greece and Albania was referred to the League of Nations, which established a commission to determine where the boundary should be. This commission was led by an Italian, Enrico Tellini. Greece consistently showed little willingness to co-operate with the commission, and when Tellini and three of his Italian assistants were killed by unknown assailants in August 1923, Mussolini was convinced that Greece was responsible.

Italy sent an ultimatum to Greece, demanding financial compensation and the execution of those responsible. When these conditions were not met, Mussolini ordered the bombardment and occupation of the Greek island of Corfu, resulting in the deaths of a number of civilians. Despite an appeal to the League of Nations, Greece was forced to apologise and pay the full amount of compensation Italy demanded (50 million lira) in exchange for the withdrawal of Italian troops from Corfu. Although Mussolini had refused to accept the League of Nations’ right to determine the outcome of this issue (see pages 144–45), Italy’s success in the matter heightened his prestige.

Although they provided good propaganda material, these two early successes were of little real significance. In reality, Italy was in no position to challenge the major European powers of Britain and France at the time. Mussolini’s dream of turning the Mediterranean into Mare Nostrum (‘Our Sea’), for example, faced the insurmountable problem of Britain’s naval supremacy. With its powerful naval bases in Malta, Gibraltar and Cyprus, Britain’s control of the Mediterranean was indisputable. There is little doubt that one motive for the Italian occupation of Corfu in 1923 was the island’s strategic position at the entrance to the Adriatic Sea. However, this opportunity was lost when Greece paid the compensation and Italian

科孚岛事件（1923 年 8 月） 1923 年，希腊和阿尔巴尼亚之间的边界争端被提交给国际联盟，国际联盟成立了一个委员会来确定边界的位置。该委员会由意大利人恩里科·特利尼 (Enrico Tellini) 领导。希腊始终没有表现出与该委员会合作的意愿，当 1923 年 8 月泰利尼和他的三名意大利助手被身份不明的袭击者杀害时，墨索里尼确信希腊应对此负责。意大利向希腊发出最后通牒，要求经济赔偿并处决责任人。当这些条件不满足时，墨索里尼下令轰炸并占领希腊科孚岛，导致多名平民死亡。尽管向国际联盟提出上诉，希腊还是被迫道歉并支付意大利要求的全额赔偿（5000万里拉），以换取意大利从科孚岛撤军。尽管墨索里尼拒绝接受国际联盟决定这一问题结果的权利（见第144-45页），但意大利在这一问题上的成功提高了他的威望。尽管它们提供了很好的宣传材料，但这两次早期的成功并没有什么实际意义。事实上，意大利当时还没有能力挑战英法等欧洲强国。例如，墨索里尼将地中海变成“我们的海”的梦想面临着英国海军霸权这一难以克服的问题。凭借在马耳他、直布罗陀和塞浦路斯的强大海军基地，英国对地中海的控制是无可争议的。 毫无疑问，意大利 1923 年占领科孚岛的动机之一是该岛位于亚得里亚海入口处的战略地位。然而，当希腊支付赔偿金和意大利赔偿后，这个机会就失去了。

Mussolini’s staunch nationalism was

墨索里尼坚定的民族主义

troops withdrew from Corfu.

based on an ambition to restore

军队从科孚岛撤出。基于恢复的野心

Mussolini was well aware that,

Italy to its former greatness. His

墨索里尼深知，意大利已恢复昔日的伟大。他的

as the only fascist nation and

desire to claim the Mediterranean

作为唯一的法西斯国家并渴望占领地中海

with a reputation for aggressive

for Italy (‘Our Sea’) was a part of

意大利（“我们的海”）以侵略性而闻名，是

foreign policies, Italy was in

this campaign, reflecting the period

外交政策，意大利在这场运动中，反映了这一时期

danger of becoming isolated.

of the great Roman Empire, when

被孤立的危险。伟大的罗马帝国，当

In the 1920s, being isolated

Rome controlled the whole of the

meant being vulnerable.

Mediterranean Sea.

Friendly relations

在 20 年代，被孤立的罗马控制了整个世界，意味着脆弱。地中海。友好关系

Between 1923 and 1934, Mussolini adopted a more cautious approach to foreign affairs, gaining a reputation as a statesman with whom the other European nations could safely negotiate:

. He attended the Locarno Conference in 1925 (see page 56), where he forged effective working relationships with representatives from Britain, France, Germany and Belgium. Italy played a key role in many of the agreements that emerged from the conference and which gave the people of Europe genuine hope that future peace could be secured. For example, Mussolini added weight to the agreement between France, Belgium and Germany to respect each other’s frontiers; if one of the three nations broke this agreement, Italy and Britain would assist the country that was being attacked. This was a sign that Italy was being accepted by the other leading European nations as a major power in its own right.

1923 年至 1934 年间，墨索里尼对外交事务采取了更加谨慎的态度，赢得了其他欧洲国家可以安全地与之谈判的政治家的声誉：他参加了 1925 年的洛迦诺会议（见第 56 页），与英国、法国、德国和比利时的代表建立了有效的工作关系。意大利在会议达成的许多协议中发挥了关键作用，这些协议给欧洲人民带来了确保未来和平的真正希望。例如，墨索里尼加强了法国、比利时和德国之间尊重彼此边界的协议；如果这三个国家之一违反了这项协议，意大利和英国将援助受到攻击的国家。这是一个迹象，表明意大利正在被其他欧洲主要国家接受为一个独立的大国。

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Mussolini established friendly relations with Greece, Hungary and Albania. Located to the south of Italy’s rival, Yugoslavia, Albania was especially important to Mussolini. Economic and defence agreements gave him virtual control over the country, enhancing Italy’s strategic position in the Adriatic Sea.

。墨索里尼与希腊、匈牙利和阿尔巴尼亚建立了友好关系。阿尔巴尼亚位于意大利的竞争对手南斯拉夫以南，对墨索里尼尤为重要。经济和国防协议使他实际上控制了该国，增强了意大利在亚得里亚海的战略地位。

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He was especially keen to establish good relations with Britain. For example, he supported British demands that Turkey should hand over the province of Mosul to Iraq, in exchange for which the British gave Italy a part of Somaliland in East Africa.

。他特别热衷于与英国建立良好关系。例如，他支持英国要求土耳其将摩苏尔省交给伊拉克，作为交换，英国将东非索马里兰的一部分交给意大利。

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Italy became the second European country (after Britain) to formally recognise the USSR, and Mussolini signed a non-aggression treaty with the Soviets in 1933.

。意大利成为继英国之后第二个正式承认苏联的欧洲国家，墨索里尼于1933年与苏联签署了互不侵犯条约。

One of Mussolini’s major concerns was the weakness of Austria in the post-war world. As a neighbouring nation, Austria’s lack of political, economic and military strength meant that it would provide Italy with little protection should Germany regain its power and show signs of aggression. When Hitler’s Nazi Party gained power in early 1933, a revival of German military strength and ambition seemed increasingly likely. Consequently, Mussolini provided support to the anti-Nazi Austrian government of Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss. When Dollfuss was murdered by Austrian Nazis in July 1934, Mussolini sent Italian troops to the border to prevent a German invasion of Austria. This action greatly improved Italy’s relationship with France, which was equally concerned by the growing threat from Germany.

Mussolini’s more aggressive foreign policy after 1934

By 1934, therefore, Mussolini was widely respected abroad. However, little progress had been made towards achieving the ambitious aims of which he had boasted when he came to power. The country was in the grip of a severe depression and Mussolini’s popularity with the Italian people was declining. There was clearly a need for some spectacular success overseas to give Il Duce a propaganda boost.

In October 1935, Mussolini ordered the invasion of Abyssinia (modern Ethiopia) – the only remaining independent state in Africa. This was not the first time Italy had attempted to seize Abyssinia. An invasion in 1896 had ended in an embarrassing defeat at the Battle of Adowa. Now Mussolini was determined to succeed where others had failed, arguing that this colonial expansion would provide Italy with much-needed raw materials and a new market for Italian products.

墨索里尼最关心的问题之一是奥地利在战后世界中的软弱。作为邻国，奥地利缺乏政治、经济和军事实力，这意味着如果德国重新掌权并表现出侵略迹象，奥地利将无法为意大利提供多少保护。当希特勒的纳粹党于 1933 年初掌权时，德国军事实力和野心复兴的可能性似乎越来越大。因此，墨索里尼向恩格尔伯特·多尔弗斯总理领导的反纳粹奥地利政府提供了支持。 1934 年 7 月，多尔弗斯被奥地利纳粹杀害后，墨索里尼派遣意大利军队前往边境，阻止德国入侵奥地利。这一行动极大地改善了意大利与法国的关系，而法国同样担心来自德国日益增长的威胁。 1934年之后墨索里尼更加激进的外交政策 因此，到了1934年，墨索里尼在国外受到了广泛的尊重。然而，在实现他上台时所吹嘘的雄心勃勃的目标方面，进展甚微。该国正陷入严重的萧条，墨索里尼在意大利人民中的支持率正在下降。显然，领袖需要在海外取得一些巨大的成功，以增强宣传力度。 1935 年 10 月，墨索里尼下令入侵阿比西尼亚（今埃塞俄比亚）——非洲仅存的独立国家。这并不是意大利第一次试图占领阿比西尼亚。 1896 年的入侵以阿多瓦战役惨败而告终。现在，墨索里尼决心在其他人失败的地方取得成功，他认为这种殖民扩张将为意大利提供急需的原材料和意大利产品的新市场。

Although the Abyssinians, under their emperor Haile Selassie, did all they could to resist, they were no match for troops armed with modern European weapons. An Italian victory was inevitable from the outset. The League of Nations condemned this act of Italian aggression, but took no real action against Mussolini despite impassioned pleas from Haile Selassie. Some economic sanctions were applied, but this was a token gesture and had no ill-effects on the Italian economy. (For more information on the League of Nations’ reaction to the Italian invasion of Abyssinia, see page 146.)

The League’s weak response was mainly because neither Britain nor France was prepared to risk going to war with Italy over the independence of an African state. Such matters were considered insignificant compared to the growing menace of Nazi Germany, and Britain and France wanted Italy as an ally rather than an enemy.

尽管阿比西尼亚人在海尔·塞拉西皇帝的领导下竭尽全力抵抗，但他们仍然不是装备现代欧洲武器的军队的对手。意大利的胜利从一开始就不可避免。国际联盟谴责了意大利的这一侵略行为，但尽管海尔·塞拉西提出了慷慨的恳求，但并未对墨索里尼采取真正的行动。虽然实施了一些经济制裁，但这只是象征性的姿态，对意大利经济没有产生不良影响。 （有关国际联盟对意大利入侵阿比西尼亚的反应的更多信息，请参阅第 146 页。）国际联盟的反应薄弱主要是因为英国和法国都没有准备好因非洲国家的独立而冒与意大利开战的风险。与纳粹德国日益增长的威胁相比，这些问题被认为是微不足道的，英国和法国希望意大利成为盟友而不是敌人。

Rome–Berlin Axis 罗马-柏林轴心

An alliance between Italy and Germany. Mussolini said that the Axis was a line drawn between Rome and Berlin, around which ‘all European states which desire peace can revolve’.

Anti-Comintern Pact

意大利和德国结盟。墨索里尼说，轴心国是罗马和柏林之间划定的一条线，“所有渴望和平的欧洲国家都可以围绕这条线旋转”。反共产国际条约

Essentially an alliance of Germany, Japan and Italy (who joined in 1937) against the USSR, whose Comintern was regarded as ‘a menace to the peace of the world’.

Ironically, the fact that the League of Nations had imposed sanctions – ineffective though they were – angered Mussolini and led him to forge closer links with Hitler, the one European leader who had not openly condemned Italy’s invasion of Abyssinia. Having once referred to Hitler as ‘that mad little clown’, Mussolini became increasingly infatuated with the German leader’s audacious foreign policy, and eventually reached the conclusion that there was more to be gained by a close relationship with Germany than with Britain and France. As a result, Mussolini completely reversed the thrust of his foreign policy. Rather than fearing and resisting the resurgence of German power, Mussolini began to support and in many ways imitate it. The diplomatic approach he had adopted between 1923 and 1934 was replaced by aggression and an even greater desire for glory.

In addition to this, with the dual aims of helping to establish another fascist state in Europe and gaining a naval base in Spain, Mussolini gave considerable military assistance to Francisco Franco, the right-wing nationalist leader during the Spanish Civil War. In 1936, Mussolini formed the Rome–Berlin Axis with Hitler. The following year, he joined the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany and Japan.

本质上是德国、日本和意大利（1937 年加入）对抗苏联的联盟，苏联的共产国际被视为“对世界和平的威胁”。具有讽刺意味的是，国际联盟实施的制裁——尽管没有效果——激怒了墨索里尼，并导致他与希特勒建立了更密切的联系，希特勒是一位没有公开谴责意大利入侵阿比西尼亚的欧洲领导人。墨索里尼曾将希特勒称为“那个疯狂的小小丑”，但他越来越迷恋这位德国领导人大胆的外交政策，并最终得出结论：与德国建立密切关系比与英国和法国建立密切关系能获得更多好处。结果，墨索里尼彻底扭转了其外交政策的主旨。墨索里尼没有害怕和抵制德国力量的复兴，而是开始支持并在许多方面模仿它。他在 1923 年至 1934 年间采取的外交方针被侵略和对荣耀的更大渴望所取代。除此之外，出于帮助在欧洲建立另一个法西斯国家和在西班牙获得海军基地的双重目的，墨索里尼在西班牙内战期间向右翼民族主义领导人弗朗西斯科·佛朗哥提供了大量的军事援助。 1936年，墨索里尼与希特勒组成罗马柏林轴心。次年，他加入了与德国和日本的反共产国际条约。

In April 1939, Italian troops invaded Albania. This was little more than a propaganda exercise, since Albania had long been effectively under Italian control anyway. However, it enhanced Mussolini’s image as a conquering hero who was leading Italy back to its former glory. In May 1939, Mussolini signed the Pact of Steel, a formal military alliance between Italy and Germany, pledging mutual support in the event of war. Italy was now committed to providing Hitler’s Germany with full military support.

1939年4月，意大利军队入侵阿尔巴尼亚。这只不过是一次宣传活动，因为无论如何，阿尔巴尼亚长期以来一直处于意大利的有效控制之下。然而，它增强了墨索里尼作为征服英雄的形象，他带领意大利恢复了昔日的辉煌。 1939 年 5 月，墨索里尼签署了《钢铁条约》，这是意大利和德国之间的正式军事联盟，承诺在发生战争时相互支持。意大利现在致力于向希特勒德国提供全面的军事支持。

Questions 问题

Civil war in Spain

Political instability in Spain

Like Italy, Spain entered the 20th century as a country whose past imperial glories were no more than a distant memory. With the exception of iron foundries around Bilbao and textile factories in Barcelona, Spain had experienced little of the rapid industrialisation that had characterised the increasing power of Britain, Germany and France in the later 19th century. By 1920, Spain was still a largely agricultural country, the majority of its farmland divided up into enormous estates (latifundia) owned by a relatively small number of wealthy landowners. In general, these were inefficiently managed and much of Spain’s arable land was left uncultivated. Around

2.5 million Spaniards earned their living as landless labourers, providing a seasonal agricultural workforce. Living in poverty, and with no rights and no guarantee of being able to find employment, they made up a large and discontented group that posed a threat to civil order.

In addition to being relatively poor, Spain was a deeply divided country. Transport and communications systems were largely undeveloped, and different parts of Spain – separated by mountain ranges – developed their own cultures, customs and languages. Many Basques, Catalans, Andalusians, Aragonese and Castilians felt that preserving their regional identity was more important than showing allegiance to Spain as a country. Several separatist groups formed, demanding independence for their region.

西班牙内战 西班牙政局不稳定 与意大利一样，进入 20 世纪的西班牙过去的帝国辉煌已成为遥远的记忆。除了毕尔巴鄂周围的铸铁厂和巴塞罗那的纺织厂外，西班牙几乎没有经历过 19 世纪后期英国、德国和法国实力不断增强的快速工业化。到 1920 年，西班牙仍然是一个以农业为主的国家，其大部分农田被划分为由相对少数富有的土地所有者拥有的巨大庄园 (latifundia)。总的来说，这些土地的管理效率低下，西班牙的大部分耕地都处于闲置状态。大约 250 万西班牙人以无地劳工为生，提供季节性农业劳动力。他们生活贫困，没有任何权利，也没有找到就业的保障，他们组成了一个庞大而不满的群体，对社会秩序构成了威胁。西班牙除了相对贫穷之外，还是一个分裂严重的国家。交通和通讯系统基本上不发达，西班牙的不同地区（被山脉隔开）发展了自己的文化、习俗和语言。许多巴斯克人、加泰罗尼亚人、安达卢西亚人、阿拉贡人和卡斯蒂利亚人认为，维护自己的地区身份比效忠西班牙这个国家更重要。几个分离主义团体成立，要求其地区独立。

constitutional monarchy

A monarchy in which the king or queen is simply the head of state, with a largely ceremonial role. Decisions are made by a government elected under a formal constitution.

anarchists

君主立宪制 国王或王后只是国家元首的君主制，主要担任礼仪性角色。决定由根据正式宪法选出的政府做出。无政府主义者

Anarchists reject all forms of authority and support a political philosophy that believes there should be no governments at all.

无政府主义者拒绝一切形式的权威，并支持一种认为根本不应该有政府的政治哲学。

Since 1885, Spain had been governed under the constitutional monarchy of King Alfonso XIII. This had never been a particularly efficient system, and it came under increasing threat as a result of political divisions within the country:

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Monarchists wanted to preserve the power of the king and the authority of the Roman Catholic Church.

自1885年以来，西班牙一直受阿方索十三世国王的君主立宪制统治。这从来都不是一个特别有效的体系，而且由于国内政治分歧，它受到越来越大的威胁：。君主主义者想要维护国王的权力和罗马天主教会的权威。

.

Liberals wanted to create a modern democracy in which the powers enjoyed by the king and especially the Church were reduced.

。自由主义者希望建立一种现代民主制度，减少国王、特别是教会所享有的权力。

.

Socialists and republicans wanted to remove the king altogether.

。社会主义者和共和主义者希望完全推翻国王。

.

Communists wanted a Russian-style revolution.

。共产党人想要一场俄罗斯式的革命。

.

Separatists wanted independence for their regions.

。分离主义者希望他们的地区独立。

.

Anarchists wanted no government at all.

。无政府主义者根本不想要政府。

The lack of effective leadership led to a bloodless coup in 1923, when Miguel Primo de Rivera seized power. He governed Spain as a military dictator for the next seven years. Realising that this was the only way to maintain some power of his own, King Alfonso supported Rivera, referring to him as ‘My Mussolini’. Unlike Mussolini, however, Rivera was not a fascist and his period in power witnessed the development of roads, railways and industry within Spain. However, the world economic crisis that followed the Wall Street Crash led to high unemployment. Having lost the support of the army, Rivera was forced to resign and Spain was plunged into turmoil once again. In the local elections held in April 1931, the republicans gained control of all Spain’s major cities. Fearing bloodshed, King Alfonso abdicated and the new Republic of Spain was proclaimed.

Problems facing the new republic

The socialists were now the dominant group in the Spanish parliament (Cortes). They faced an ever-deepening economic crisis. With unemployment soaring, wages being cut and standards of living falling, urgent action had to be taken if the government was to retain the support of the working classes. Under the leadership of prime minister Manuel Aza.a, they embarked on a radical programme of reforms. These included:

.

reducing the power and authority of the Church

缺乏有效的领导导致 1923 年发生不流血政变，米格尔·普里莫·德·里维拉夺取了权力。在接下来的七年里，他以军事独裁者的身份统治了西班牙。阿方索国王意识到这是维持自己权力的唯一途径，因此支持里维拉，称他为“我的墨索里尼”。然而，与墨索里尼不同的是，里维拉并不是法西斯主义者，他的执政时期见证了西班牙境内公路、铁路和工业的发展。然而，华尔街崩盘之后的世界经济危机导致了高失业率。失去军队支持，里维拉被迫辞职，西班牙再次陷入混乱。在1931年4月举行的地方选举中，共和党控制了西班牙所有主要城市。由于担心流血，阿方索国王退位，新的西班牙共和国成立。新共和国面临的问题 社会主义者现在是西班牙议会（Cortes）的主导群体。他们面临着日益加深的经济危机。随着失业率飙升、工资削减和生活水平下降，如果政府想要保持工人阶级的支持，就必须采取紧急行动。在总理曼努埃尔·阿扎的领导下，他们开始实施激进的改革计划。其中包括： .削弱教会的权力和权威

.

reducing the threat of the army by removing a large number of senior officers

。通过撤换大量高级军官来减少军队的威胁

.

allowing an element of self-government to the region of Catalonia

。允许加泰罗尼亚地区自治

.

trying to increase the wages of industrial workers

。试图提高产业工人的工资

.

introducing nationalisation of large agricultural estates.

。实行大型农业地产国有化。

Inevitably, these measures infuriated the Church, the army, wealthy landowners, industrialists and businessmen. A new right-wing party, the Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right (CEDA), was formed to defend their interests. At the same time, however, the government’s policies also angered many of the more extreme left-wing groups. The anarchists and communists believed that the government’s proposals did not go far enough towards redressing the balance between rich and poor in Spain. Demanding the complete removal of the capitalist system, they organised a series of strikes, riots and assassinations. The heavy-handed methods used by the government in suppressing these threats to law and order lost it the support of the working classes, and Aza.a resigned in 1933.

这些措施不可避免地激怒了教会、军队、富有的地主、实业家和商人。一个新的右翼政党——西班牙自治权利联盟（CEDA）——为捍卫他们的利益而成立。但与此同时，政府的政策也激怒了许多更极端的左翼团体。无政府主义者和共产主义者认为，政府的提议在纠正西班牙贫富平衡方面还远远不够。他们要求彻底消灭资本主义制度，组织了一系列罢工、骚乱和暗杀活动。政府为镇压这些对法律和秩序的威胁而采取的高压手段失去了工人阶级的支持，阿扎.a 于 1933 年辞职。

In the elections of November 1933, right-wing groups won an overall majority. CEDA became the main party under the leadership of José María Gil-Robles. The new government immediately set about cancelling the majority of Aza.a’s reforms. This had the effect of drawing the left-wing groups (socialists, anarchists and communists) closer together, and they unified in the Popular Front. This new group organised a general strike in 1934, and the number of riots and acts of violence increased. For example, anarchists caused the deaths of 19 people by derailing the Barcelona–Seville express train. Fearing that a full-scale revolution was about to erupt, the government used the army to crush the opposition with ruthless efficiency.

As the economic situation in Spain continued to deteriorate, it became clear that the country lacked the strong and consistent government required to address the problem. This was confirmed by the elections of February 1936, when the left-wing Popular Front emerged as the strongest party. However, as it turned out the new government seemed just as incapable of maintaining law and order as its predecessor had been.

In July 1936, a leading right-wing politician, Calvo Sotelo, was killed by police. This convinced right-wing groups that a military dictatorship was the only way to deal with the escalating violence in Spain. On 17 July 1936, a group of army generals, working in collaboration with the new fascist Falange, began a revolt in Morocco. General Francisco Franco (see page 82) was flown in from the Canary Islands to assume leadership of the conflict. Within a day, the revolt had spread to mainland Spain. The Spanish Civil War had begun.

International involvement in the Spanish Civil War

If the army had expected a rapid and straightforward seizure of power, it was bitterly disappointed. Many Spaniards were prepared to resist a military takeover. Anarchist trade unionists in Barcelona defeated the army insurgents and executed their leaders. The republican-led government of Madrid issued workers with guns, which allowed them to overcome local army regiments. By the end of July 1936, Franco’s nationalists controlled much of northern Spain and the southern areas around Cadiz and Seville. The republicans controlled the centre and north-east of Spain, most significantly the major cities of Madrid and Barcelona. Realising that taking full control of Spain was going to be difficult, Franco appealed to Hitler and Mussolini for assistance, claiming that he was fighting to prevent a communist revolution in Spain.

nationalisation

This is when the state takes control of factories and/or farms, replacing their private owners, with the intention of making them more efficient. The profits are used to invest in improvements rather than adding to the wealth of private owners.

在 1933 年 11 月的选举中，右翼团体赢得了绝对多数。 CEDA 在何塞·玛丽亚·吉尔-罗布尔斯的领导下成为主要政党。新政府立即着手取消 Aza.a 的大部分改革。这起到了拉近左翼团体（社会主义者、无政府主义者和共产主义者）的作用，他们在人民阵线中团结起来。这个新团体在1934年组织了总罢工，骚乱和暴力行为增多。例如，无政府主义者使巴塞罗那至塞维利亚的特快列车脱轨，造成19人死亡。由于担心全面革命即将爆发，政府利用军队以无情的效率镇压反对派。随着西班牙经济形势持续恶化，该国显然缺乏解决该问题所需的强大而一致的政府。 1936 年 2 月的选举证实了这一点，当时左翼人民阵线成为最强大的政党。然而，事实证明，新政府似乎和前任政府一样无力维持法律和秩序。 1936 年 7 月，右翼政治家卡尔沃·索特洛 (Calvo Sotelo) 被警察杀害。这让右翼团体相信，军事独裁是应对西班牙不断升级的暴力的唯一途径。 1936 年 7 月 17 日，一群陆军将军与新法西斯长枪党合作，在摩洛哥开始了叛乱。弗朗西斯科·佛朗哥 (Francisco Franco) 将军（见第 82 页）从加那利群岛飞来领导这场冲突。一天之内，叛乱蔓延到西班牙大陆。西班牙内战开始了。 国际社会参与西班牙内战 如果说军队原本期望迅速而直接地夺取政权，那么它却大失所望。许多西班牙人准备抵抗军事接管。巴塞罗那的无政府主义工会成员击败了军队叛乱分子并处决了他们的领导人。马德里共和政府向工人发放枪支，使他们能够战胜当地军队。 1936 年 7 月底，佛朗哥的民族主义者控制了西班牙北部的大部分地区以及加的斯和塞维利亚周围的南部地区。共和党控制了西班牙中部和东北部，最重要的是马德里和巴塞罗那等主要城市。意识到完全控制西班牙将是困难的，佛朗哥向希特勒和墨索里尼寻求援助，声称他正在为阻止西班牙的共产主义革命而奋斗。国有化这是指国家控制工厂和/或农场，取代其私人所有者，目的是提高它们的效率。利润用于投资改进，而不是增加私人所有者的财富。

Falange

A Spanish fascist party formed in 1933 by José Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the former military dictator. The Falange fought on the side of the nationalists in the Spanish Civil War.

长枪党 一个西班牙法西斯政党，由前军事独裁者的儿子何塞·安东尼奥·普里莫·德·里维拉于 1933 年成立。长枪党在西班牙内战中站在民族主义者一边作战。

Neither Hitler nor Mussolini had any real interest in Spain, but both could see the value of having a third fascist state in Europe, especially one that was situated on France’s southern border. Consequently, both Germany and Italy supplied Franco with military equipment and troops. Their involvement in what was basically a private Spanish affair was to have a major impact on international relations.

Public opinion in the democratic states of Britain, France and the USA, already concerned by Mussolini’s invasion of Abyssinia (see page 75) and Hitler’s occupation of the Rhineland (see page 91), tended to see Franco as yet another brutal fascist dictator determined to seize power.

希特勒和墨索里尼都对西班牙没有任何真正的兴趣，但他们都看到了在欧洲建立第三个法西斯国家的价值，特别是位于法国南部边境的法西斯国家。因此，德国和意大利都向佛朗哥提供了军事装备和军队。他们对西班牙私人事务的参与将对国际关系产生重大影响。英国、法国和美国等民主国家的公众舆论已经对墨索里尼入侵阿比西尼亚（见第 75 页）和希特勒占领莱茵兰（见第 91 页）感到担忧，倾向于将佛朗哥视为又一个残暴的法西斯独裁者。夺取权力。

However, when the republican government of Spain asked for British and French assistance against Franco, politicians in those countries adopted a more pragmatic approach. Desperate to avoid any action that might provoke Germany, Britain established a Non-Intervention Committee to ensure that no foreign aid entered Spain. Germany and Italy joined the committee, but both ignored it. Without British or French assistance, the republicans turned to the only country that seemed prepared to help – the USSR. By the end of 1936, therefore, the civil war was no longer an internal Spanish affair. It had become an international battleground for the rival ideologies of fascism and communism.

Reasons for foreign involvement

Italy, Germany and the USSR all had ulterior motives for interfering in the Spanish Civil War. Mussolini was seeking glory, confirmation of his ability to lead Italy back to its former greatness as a major power with a leading role to play in European affairs. Hitler encouraged Italian involvement in Spain in an effort to distract Mussolini from Germany’s own plans to force a union with Austria. To prolong the Spanish Civil War, Germany not only supplied Franco’s nationalists with men and equipment, but Hitler also allowed German firms to sell arms to the republicans.

Soviet leader Stalin also had a vested interest in prolonging the Spanish Civil War. Sensing that the fascist governments of Germany and Italy posed the greatest threat to the security of the Soviet Union, Stalin had worked hard to maintain good relations with both Britain and France. While he certainly did not want Franco to take control of Spain, which would pose yet another fascist threat to the USSR, he was also aware that neither Britain nor France would tolerate a communist government in Spain. As a result, Stalin authorised just enough aid to ensure that the republicans could maintain their resistance, but not enough to enable them to gain outright victory.

The International Brigades

Oblivious to these diplomatic intrigues, Spain continued to tear itself apart. Franco’s well-armed professional soldiers met determined, if disorganised, resistance. The people of Madrid, encouraged by communist leaders such as Dolores Ibárruri, prepared to repel the nationalist assault. Both men and women enlisted and were given basic training in methods of warfare. They were supported by International Brigades, communist-organised armies of foreign volunteers. British, French, Italian, German, Polish, Russian and American civilians poured into Spain by sea from Marseilles or along pathways across the Pyrenees. Some were driven by a desire to halt the spread of fascism, but many were simply in search of adventure. Despite Franco’s heavy bombing of Madrid and Barcelona, the nationalists failed to take these key cities, and this proved an obstacle to winning total control of Spain. The fighting was bitter, and atrocities were committed by both sides.

然而，当西班牙共和政府请求英国和法国援助对抗佛朗哥时，这些国家的政客采取了更为务实的做法。为了避免任何可能激怒德国的行动，英国成立了一个不干预委员会，以确保没有外国援助进入西班牙。德国和意大利加入了该委员会，但都忽视了它。在没有英国或法国的援助的情况下，共和党人转向了似乎唯一准备提供帮助的国家——苏联。因此，到 1936 年底，内战不再是西班牙内部事务。它已成为法西斯主义和共产主义意识形态的国际战场。外国介入的原因 意大利、德国和苏联干涉西班牙内战都别有用心。墨索里尼正在寻求荣耀，确认他有能力带领意大利恢复昔日作为一个大国的伟大地位，并在欧洲事务中发挥主导作用。希特勒鼓励意大利介入西班牙，以分散墨索里尼对德国强迫与奥地利结盟的计划的注意力。为了延长西班牙内战，德国不仅向佛朗哥的民族主义者提供人员和装备，而且希特勒还允许德国公司向共和主义者出售武器。延长西班牙内战也符合苏联领导人斯大林的既得利益。斯大林意识到德国和意大利法西斯政府对苏联的安全构成了最大威胁，因此努力与英国和法国保持良好关系。虽然他当然不希望佛朗哥控制西班牙，这将对苏联构成另一个法西斯威胁，但他也意识到英国和法国都不会容忍西班牙的共产主义政府。 结果，斯大林授权的援助刚好足以确保共和党能够维持抵抗，但不足以使他们获得彻底的胜利。国际纵队 西班牙无视这些外交阴谋，继续分裂自己。佛朗哥装备精良的职业士兵遭到了坚决的抵抗，尽管是无组织的。马德里人民在多洛雷斯·伊巴鲁里等共产党领导人的鼓励下，准备击退民族主义的进攻。男性和女性都应征入伍并接受基本的作战方法训练。他们得到了国际旅的支持，国际旅是共产党组织的外国志愿者军队。英国、法国、意大利、德国、波兰、俄罗斯和美国的平民从马赛经海路或沿着穿越比利牛斯山脉的小路涌入西班牙。有些人是出于阻止法西斯主义蔓延的愿望，但许多人只是为了寻求冒险。尽管佛朗哥对马德里和巴塞罗那进行了猛烈轰炸，但民族主义者未能占领这些重要城市，这成为完全控制西班牙的障碍。战斗十分惨烈，双方都犯下暴行。

Increasingly concerned about its own security and diplomatic isolation, the USSR stopped sending supplies and ammunition to the Spanish republicans by late 1938. This naturally helped the nationalist cause. In addition, Franco gained further support from Germany in exchange for a 40% share in the Spanish iron mines. These factors gave Franco the upper hand. In January 1939, Barcelona finally fell to the nationalists. With the fall of Madrid two months later, the nationalist victory was secured.

The reasons for and implications of Franco’s victory

More than half a million people died in the civil war, and the fighting caused the country extensive damage. In the final analysis, there were three main reasons for Franco’s victory:

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He had managed to maintain the unity of the various right-wing groups that made up the nationalists (the Church, the army, monarchists, the Falangists).

由于越来越担心自身安全和外交孤立，苏联在 1938 年底停止了向西班牙共和派提供物资和弹药。这自然有利于民族主义事业。此外，佛朗哥还获得了德国的进一步支持，以换取西班牙铁矿40%的股份。这些因素让佛朗哥占据了上风。 1939年1月，巴塞罗那最终落入民族主义者之手。两个月后，马德里陷落，民族主义者取得了胜利。佛朗哥胜利的原因和影响 超过五十万人在内战中丧生，战斗给国家造成了广泛的破坏。归根结底，佛朗哥获胜的主要原因有以下三个： 。他成功地维持了组成民族主义者的各个右翼团体（教会、军队、君主主义者、长枪党）的团结。

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The republicans were far less unified, the various left-wing groups all having their own, often contradictory, aims. Unlike the well-trained professional soldiers under Franco’s command, the republicans were simply armed workers who lacked military organisation and discipline.

。共和党人的团结程度要低得多，各个左翼团体都有自己的目标，而且往往是相互矛盾的。与佛朗哥麾下训练有素的职业军人不同，共和派只是缺乏军事组织和纪律的武装工人。

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Assistance from Germany and Italy (and, to a lesser extent, Portugal) had proved decisive. Italy had provided over 50,000 troops and considerable air power. Germany had given untold numbers of planes and tanks.

。德国和意大利（以及较小程度上葡萄牙）的援助被证明是决定性的。意大利提供了超过5万的军队和相当多的空中力量。德国提供了无数的飞机和坦克。

Figure 3.8 The ruins of the

The German bombing of the Basque town of Guernica, in which over

图3.8 德国轰炸巴斯克小镇格尔尼卡的废墟

Spanish city of Belchite,

1600 civilians were killed, was an example of the lengths to which the

西班牙贝尔奇特市有 1600 名平民被杀，这就是一个例子，说明了

which was destroyed by heavy

bombing during the civil war nationalists would go in order to create a new fascist state.

在内战期间被猛烈轰炸摧毁的国家主义者将前往建立一个新的法西斯国家。

Adopting the title Caudillo (leader), Franco set about establishing a form of government that was in many ways similar to those of Mussolini and Hitler. Repression, military courts and large-scale executions became as common in Spain as they were in Italy and Germany.

However, Spain did not completely follow the typical pattern of a fascist state. This was most evident in the fact that Franco was an ardent supporter of the Church, restoring its control over education. As events unfolded towards the end of 1939, Hitler expected Spanish support, but Franco kept Spain out of the Second World War. While Hitler and Mussolini were ultimately defeated, Franco survived and continued to rule Spain until his death in 1975.

Questions

佛朗哥采用了考迪略（领袖）的头衔，开始建立一种在许多方面与墨索里尼和希特勒类似的政府形式。镇压、军事法庭和大规模处决在西班牙变得与意大利和德国一样普遍。然而，西班牙并没有完全遵循法西斯国家的典型模式。最明显的事实是佛朗哥是教会的热心支持者，恢复了教会对教育的控制。随着 1939 年底事态的发展，希特勒期待西班牙的支持，但佛朗哥阻止西班牙卷入第二次世界大战。虽然希特勒和墨索里尼最终被击败，但佛朗哥幸存下来并继续统治西班牙，直至 1975 年去世。

Why did a civil war break out in Spain in 1936?

Why did Italy, Germany and the USSR become directly involved in the

Spanish Civil War?

1936年西班牙为何爆发内战？为什么意大利、德国和苏联直接卷入西班牙内战？

‘The disunity of the republican forces was the main reason why the nationalists were able to win the Spanish Civil War.’ Discuss.

Source A below shows a poster issued during the Spanish Civil War.

Which side issued the poster and what was its purpose?

“共和势力的不团结是民族主义者能够赢得西班牙内战的主要原因。”讨论。下面的来源 A 显示了西班牙内战期间发布的海报。这张海报是哪一方发布的？其目的是什么？

Hitler’s foreign policy

Hitler’s rise to power

Although born in Austria, Adolf Hitler joined the German army and fought as a corporal in the First World War. Like thousands of other soldiers, in 1918 he returned to a Germany in the grip of political and economic chaos. High inflation and unemployment led to strikes, riots and the clear threat of revolution. The new Weimar Republic seemed unable to cope with these problems. As just one more unemployed soldier with a limited education and little hope of finding a job, Hitler seemed an unlikely political leader. However, his skill in delivering frenzied, almost hypnotic speeches, gained him a small following, and by 1921 he had become the leader of the National Socialist German Workers’ Party (Nazis). This evolved from the small German Workers’ Party in the city of Munich in the region of Bavaria. To begin with, its members were mainly unemployed youths and soldiers returning from the First World War. Disenchanted and with little hope for the future, these men might have turned to communism, but instead they were drawn to Hitler’s magnetic speeches. Despite the simplicity (and in many cases, the falsity) of his arguments, many people found them appealing:

希特勒的外交政策 希特勒的崛起 阿道夫·希特勒虽然出生于奥地利，但他加入了德国军队，并作为下士参加了第一次世界大战。 1918 年，和其他数千名士兵一样，他回到了政治和经济混乱的德国。高通胀和失业率导致罢工、骚乱和明显的革命威胁。新的魏玛共和国似乎无法应对这些问题。作为一名受过有限教育且几乎找不到工作的失业士兵，希特勒似乎不太可能是一位政治领袖。然而，他发表疯狂、近乎催眠式演讲的技巧为他赢得了一小部分追随者，到 1921 年，他成为德国国家社会主义工人党（纳粹）的领导人。它是从巴伐利亚地区慕尼黑市的小型德国工人党发展而来的。首先，其成员主要是失业青年和第一次世界大战归来的士兵。这些人对未来不再抱有希望，可能会转向共产主义，但他们却被希特勒富有魅力的演讲所吸引。尽管他的论点很简单（而且在很多情况下是错误的），但许多人发现它们很有吸引力：

.

Hitler claimed that the German army had never been defeated, and blamed politicians (the ‘November Criminals’) for the end of the war.

。希特勒声称德国军队从未被击败，并将战争的结束归咎于政客（“十一月罪犯”）。

.

These same politicians had betrayed the country by signing the hated Treaty of Versailles, a dictated settlement that was the root cause of Germany’s problems.

。这些政客签署了令人憎恨的《凡尔赛条约》，背叛了国家，这是一项强制解决方案，也是德国问题的根源。

.

Germany should ignore the Treaty of Versailles. A programme of rearmament would create jobs in the army and munitions factories.

。德国应该无视《凡尔赛条约》。重整军备计划将为军队和军火工厂创造就业机会。

.

The new democratic constitution, which was based on proportional representation, would lead to weak coalition governments.

。以比例代表制为基础的新民主宪法将导致联合政府软弱无力。

.

Germany faced the threat of a communist revolution, which must be resisted at all costs.

。德国面临着共产主义革命的威胁，必须不惜一切代价予以抵制。

The Beer Hall Putsch

The Nazi Party organised violent The Stormtroopers were gangs known as Stormtroopers, specifically tasked with which attacked the meetings of using violence. Far from rival political parties and injured hiding these methods, Hitler political opponents. Sensing that boasted about them. Worried the time was right, and influenced about the possibility of a by the success of Mussolini’s March communist revolution, the on Rome the previous year (see authorities did little to stop page 71), Hitler declared a national them. When the head of the revolution on 8 November 1923. Munich police force was told Armed Stormtroopers marched that such gangs were inciting through the streets of Munich and bloodshed in the city, he entered a beer hall where the state replied that it was a pity there commissioner Gustav von Kahr were not more of them. was delivering a speech. Hitler had

hoped to force von Kahr to express

啤酒馆政变纳粹党组织暴力冲锋队是被称为冲锋队的团伙，专门负责袭击使用暴力的会议。远离竞争对手的政党和受伤的隐藏这些方法，希特勒的政治对手。感觉到他们在夸耀自己。由于担心时机成熟，并受到墨索里尼三月共产主义革命成功的影响，去年对罗马的攻击（见当局几乎没有采取任何措施阻止第 71 页），希特勒宣布他们为国民。 1923 年 11 月 8 日，当革命领袖慕尼黑警察部队被告知武装冲锋队游行时，这些团伙正在慕尼黑街道上煽动并在城市中造成流血事件，他走进一家啤酒馆，国家回答说，那里很遗憾古斯塔夫·冯·卡尔委员就是其中之一。正在发表演讲。希特勒曾希望迫使冯·卡尔表达

support for the revolution and to take a leading role in the new government of Bavaria. However, the Stormtroopers were quickly dispersed by the army, and the Beer Hall Putsch (as it became known) ended in failure.

In reality, the putsch was a very small-scale attempt to take power in Munich by force, and was unlikely to have succeeded. Hitler was relatively unknown outside Bavaria at the time, and there was little chance of the revolution spreading beyond Munich itself. Unlike Mussolini, Hitler had failed to ensure that the army would support him before embarking on the revolution.

Imprisonment and release

In the wake of the putsch, Hitler was arrested, put on trial and sentenced to five years in prison. In the event, he only served nine months of this sentence, during which he wrote Mein Kampf (‘My Struggle’), a book in which he outlined his political philosophy. Many historians have subsequently used this book as proof that it was always Hitler’s intention to cause a European war. The national revolution had been an ignominious failure, but at least it provided Hitler with national publicity.

Upon his release, Hitler found Germany somewhat revitalised. US loans under the Dawes Plan (see page 55) had helped to stabilise the economy, and Germany was forging better relations with other European nations through the Locarno Treaties (see page 56). While this was good for the country, it did not bode well for Hitler’s future success: with the situation improving in Germany, there would be less support for a political party built on extremist views. In the May 1928 elections, the Nazi Party gained only 810,000 votes out of the 31 million cast.

支持革命并在巴伐利亚新政府中发挥领导作用。然而，冲锋队很快就被军队驱散，啤酒馆政变（众所周知）以失败告终。事实上，这次政变只是一次小规模的企图通过武力夺取慕尼黑政权的尝试，而且不太可能成功。当时，希特勒在巴伐利亚以外的地区相对不为人所知，革命蔓延到慕尼黑以外地区的可能性也很小。与墨索里尼不同，希特勒在发动革命之前未能确保军队会支持他。入狱和释放 政变发生后，希特勒被捕、受审并被判处五年监禁。结果，他只服刑了九个月，在此期间他写了《我的奋斗》一书，概述了他的政治哲学。许多历史学家随后用这本书作为证据，证明希特勒一直有意引发欧洲战争。民族革命是一次可耻的失败，但至少它为希特勒提供了全国性的宣传。获释后，希特勒发现德国有所复兴。美国根据道斯计划（见第 55 页）提供的贷款有助于稳定经济，而德国则通过《洛迦诺条约》（见第 56 页）与其他欧洲国家建立更好的关系。虽然这对国家有利，但对希特勒未来的成功来说并不是好兆头：随着德国局势的改善，对建立在极端主义观点基础上的政党的支持将会减少。在 1928 年 5 月的选举中，纳粹党在 3100 万张选票中只获得了 81 万张选票。

Nazi success in the Great Depression

It was the Wall Street Crash and the ensuing worldwide depression that breathed new life into Hitler’s political career. US loans, on which Germany’s new prosperity was entirely dependent, suddenly stopped. The country was plunged back into a period of economic chaos and massive unemployment. Support for the Nazis began to grow, and in the elections of 1932 they

gained 37% of the total votes cast. Although they still did not have an overall majority in the Reichstag (the German parliament), the Nazis had become the largest single party. On 30 January 1933, Hitler was appointed chancellor of Germany.

Unlike Franco, who gained power by the use of violence, and Mussolini, who secured control by the threat of violence, Hitler became German chancellor though legal and constitutional means. He effectively exploited the weaknesses in the German constitution that he had criticised so vehemently.

Figure 3.9 Hitler delivering a characteristically impassioned speech in 1935

纳粹在大萧条中的成功 华尔街崩盘和随之而来的全球经济大萧条为希特勒的政治生涯注入了新的活力。德国的新繁荣完全依赖于美国的贷款，但突然停止了。该国再次陷入经济混乱和大规模失业的时期。对纳粹的支持开始增长，在 1932 年的选举中，他们获得了总选票的 37%。尽管纳粹党在德国国会大厦中仍未获得绝对多数席位，但已成为最大的单一政党。 1933年1月30日，希特勒被任命为德国总理。与通过暴力获得权力的佛朗哥和通过暴力威胁获得控制权的墨索里尼不同，希特勒是通过法律和宪法手段成为德国总理的。他有效地利用了他曾激烈批评的德国宪法的弱点。图 3.9 1935 年希特勒发表了典型的慷慨激昂的演讲

Aims and strategies of Hitler’s foreign policy

Up to this time, Germany had complied with the requirements of the Treaty of Versailles, unpopular though they were with the German people. Although the issue of reparations had caused friction with other countries, particularly France, Germany gradually began to develop better foreign relations. This was particularly evident at the Locarno Conference in 1925, and culminated in Germany being admitted to the League of Nations the following year (see page 147).

希特勒外交政策的目标和策略 迄今为止，德国一直遵守《凡尔赛条约》的要求，尽管这些要求不受德国人民的欢迎。尽管赔款问题与其他国家特别是法国产生了摩擦，但德国逐渐开始发展更好的对外关系。这在 1925 年的洛迦诺会议上尤为明显，并最终导致德国于次年加入国际联盟（见第 147 页）。

Despite this, it was evident to most people what line Hitler would take when it came to foreign policy. He had been making his views abundantly clear since the early 1920s – Germany was to be restored to its rightful position as a major European power. Hitler intended to achieve this by:

.

ending Germany’s commitment to the Treaty of Versailles

尽管如此，大多数人都清楚希特勒在外交政策上会采取什么路线。自 20 年代初以来，他就一直非常明确地表达自己的观点——德国将恢复其作为欧洲主要强国的应有地位。希特勒打算通过以下方式实现这一目标：终止德国对凡尔赛条约的承诺

.

recovering all lost territory, including the Polish Corridor and the Saar coalfields

。收复所有失地，包括波兰走廊和萨尔煤田

.

developing the German army, navy and air force

。发展德国陆军、海军和空军

.

forming a union (Anschluss) between Germany and Austria

。德国和奥地利结成联盟（合并）

.

reuniting all German-speaking people under the government of Germany.

。将所有德语区人民重新团结在德国政府的领导下。

By the end of 1938, Hitler had achieved most of these aims – a fact that contributed significantly to his increasing popularity. Moreover, he had done so without dragging Germany into another war. In truth, Hitler’s methods were both devious and calculated, dependent on a mixture of threats and conciliatory statements. This is clearly demonstrated by the strategy he adopted at the World Disarmament Conference in 1933 (see page 58). Here, Hitler argued that for reasons of national security, Germany should be allowed to rearm to the same level as other countries. Without this, Germany was vulnerable to attack, particularly by France. He claimed that Germany was a peaceful country, and that it would willingly disarm if only other countries would do the same.

This argument inevitably caused great concern to the French, who had consistently tried to keep Germany weak as a safeguard against any future German attack on France. However, the British felt that Hitler’s request was not unreasonable. After all, Germany had complied with the military restrictions imposed upon it by the Treaty of Versailles. None of the other major European powers had reduced their military capabilities in line with the commitments they had made at the Paris peace talks. From Britain’s perspective, Hitler was a peace-loving leader seeking no more than just treatment for his country. Nonetheless, France refused to remove its objections to German rearmament, and this allowed Hitler to withdraw Germany from both the World Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations, blaming France for his actions. This had the effect of making the French seem unreasonable, as well as causing a rift in relations between France and Britain – both good outcomes for Germany.

Challenging the Treaty of Versailles: Hitler’s foreign policy 1934–38

The period from 1934 to 1938 witnessed almost unqualified success for Hitler’s foreign policy, despite the fact that his actions were frequently in open defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. By his own admission, they were also gambles with potentially serious consequences; he had no way of accurately gauging what the reaction of other countries might be.

到 1938 年底，希特勒已经实现了其中大部分目标 — — 这一事实对他越来越受欢迎做出了重大贡献。此外，他这样做并没有将德国拖入另一场战争。事实上，希特勒的方法既狡猾又精打细算，依赖于威胁和和解声明的混合。他在 1933 年世界裁军会议上通过的战略清楚地表明了这一点（见第 58 页）。在此，希特勒认为，出于国家安全的考虑，应该允许德国重新武装到与其他国家相同的水平。如果没有这一点，德国就很容易受到攻击，尤其是法国的攻击。他声称德国是一个和平国家，如果其他国家也这样做的话，德国愿意解除武装。这一论点不可避免地引起了法国人的极大关注，法国人一直试图让德国保持弱势，以防范德国未来对法国的任何攻击。不过，英国人却觉得希特勒的要求不无道理。毕竟，德国遵守了凡尔赛条约对其施加的军事限制。其他欧洲大国都没有按照其在巴黎和谈中做出的承诺削减军事能力。从英国的角度来看，希特勒是一位爱好和平的领导人，只想为自己的国家带来待遇。尽管如此，法国拒绝消除对德国重新武装的反对，这使得希特勒将德国从世界裁军会议和国际联盟中撤出，并将其行为归咎于法国。这让法国人显得不可理喻，并导致法国和英国之间的关系出现裂痕——这对德国来说都是好事。 挑战《凡尔赛条约》：1934-38 年希特勒的外交政策 1934 年至 1938 年期间，希特勒的外交政策几乎取得了绝对的成功，尽管他的行动经常公然蔑视《凡尔赛条约》。他自己也承认，这也是一场可能带来严重后果的赌博。他无法准确判断其他国家可能会有什么反应。

Little by little, Hitler wore away the restraints that the treaty had imposed upon Germany. He achieved this by convincing the major European nations, particularly Britain, that his motives were entirely honourable, justifiable and peaceful, while at the same time isolating countries that were the targets of his desire for the expansion of German power. Whether Hitler was following a meticulously devised plan of action towards war, or simply improvising as opportunities presented themselves, has become an issue of debate amongst historians.

Attempted Anschluss and the return of the Saar

In January 1934, Hitler signed a ten-year non-aggression treaty with Poland. This was intended to convince the Poles that Germany had no plans to take back the Polish Corridor, and to guarantee Polish neutrality if Germany decided to take action against Austria or Czechoslovakia. It had the added bonus of providing Britain with further evidence of Germany’s peaceful intentions.

That Hitler fully intended to force a union between Germany and Austria became clear in July 1934. With encouragement from the Führer, Austrian Nazis staged a revolt and murdered the Austrian chancellor, Engelbert Dollfuss. Hitler’s troops were ready to enter Austria on the pretext of restoring order, but in the event they were forced to back down when Mussolini sent Italian regiments to the Austrian border (see page 74). This unexpected setback highlighted the fact that Germany did not yet possess the military strength to risk a war against Italy, and Hitler had no alternative but to deny any involvement in the actions taken by the Austrian Nazis. On this occasion, Hitler’s gamble failed.

In January 1935, the Saar region, with its valuable coalfields, was returned to Germany following a plebiscite of the local people. Although the plebiscite had taken place in line with the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, Hitler fully exploited the propaganda opportunity it provided to enhance his reputation within Germany. To assure the French of his peaceful intentions, Hitler also claimed that the return of the Saar region put an end to all remaining grievances between Germany and France.

Figure 3.10 A map showing the effects of Hitler’s foreign policy in Europe 1935–39

希特勒逐渐消除了该条约对德国的限制。他通过让欧洲主要国家，特别是英国相信他的动机是完全光荣的、正当的和和平的，同时孤立那些作为他扩张德国势力的目标的国家来实现这一目标。希特勒究竟是遵循精心设计的战争行动计划，还是只是在机会出现时即兴发挥，已成为历史学家争论的问题。吞并企图和萨尔回归 1934 年 1 月，希特勒与波兰签署了十年互不侵犯条约。这样做的目的是让波兰人相信德国没有计划收回波兰走廊，并在德国决定对奥地利或捷克斯洛伐克采取行动时保证波兰的中立。它还有一个额外的好处，那就是为英国提供了德国和平意图的进一步证据。 1934 年 7 月，希特勒完全意图迫使德国和奥地利结盟。在元首的鼓励下，奥地利纳粹分子发动叛乱并谋杀了奥地利总理恩格尔伯特·多尔富斯。希特勒的军队准备以恢复秩序为借口进入奥地利，但万一墨索里尼向奥地利边境派出意大利军团，他们就被迫撤退（见第74页）。这一意外的挫折凸显了一个事实，即德国尚不具备与意大利发动战争的军事实力，希特勒别无选择，只能否认参与奥地利纳粹的行动。这次，希特勒的赌博失败了。 1935 年 1 月，经过当地人民的公民投票，萨尔地区及其宝贵的煤田被归还给德国。尽管公民投票是根据凡尔赛条约的条款进行的，但希特勒充分利用了它提供的宣传机会来提高他在德国的声誉。为了向法国人保证他的和平意图，希特勒还声称萨尔地区的归还结束了德法之间所有剩余的恩怨。图 3.10 一张显示 1935-39 年希特勒欧洲外交政策影响的地图

Rearmament 重整军备

Developing his armed forces was Hitler’s next objective. In March 1935, he reintroduced conscription, claiming that this was in response to increases in the British air force and the announcement that France was to extend its conscription from 12 to 18 months. Hitler also declared his intention to increase the German army to a strength of 600,000 men – six times higher than that permitted by the Treaty of Versailles. Concerned about the possible implications of German rearmament, Britain, France and Italy met at Stresa in northern Italy to discuss the issue. The Stresa Front, as the resulting alliance became known, condemned Germany’s actions. It reaffirmed the Locarno Treaties, pledged continued support for Austrian independence and asserted its intention to resist Germany’s attempts to increase its armaments. Despite all this, the Stresa Front took no practical action against Hitler.

Realising the weaknesses of the Stresa Front, Hitler set about exploiting them. In June 1935, he signed the Anglo–German Naval Agreement, agreeing to limit the German navy to 35% of the strength of the British navy. While this guaranteed British naval supremacy, Britain was effectively condoning a transgression of the Treaty of Versailles, which limited the size of the German naval fleet. The fact that Britain signed this treaty without consulting either France or Italy clearly demonstrated the fragility of the Stresa Front alliance. With Britain’s opposition to German rearmament effectively removed, Hitler continued to increase the size of his army, ordered the building of new battleships and began the process of developing a large and efficient air force. Hitler was symbolically tearing up the Treaty of Versailles – and no one was stopping him.

Hitler’s foreign policy thus far had been based on the assumption that none of the other major European countries would take serious action against him, and he had quickly backed down in the one instance where this assumption proved incorrect – when Mussolini rallied troops to prevent a German invasion of Austria. However, in March 1936 Hitler decided to take another gamble. In defiance of both the Treaty of Versailles and the Locarno Treaties, German soldiers entered the demilitarised Rhineland. Knowing that his army was not yet ready for a full-scale war, Hitler issued strict orders that the troops should retreat if they met French resistance.

conscription

Compulsory military service for certain groups of society, such as men between particular ages.

发展武装部队是希特勒的下一个目标。 1935 年 3 月，他重新引入征兵制，声称这是为了应对英国空军的扩充以及法国宣布将征兵期限从 12 个月延长至 18 个月。希特勒还宣布他打算将德国军队的兵力增加到60万人——比凡尔赛条约允许的人数多六倍。由于担心德国重整军备可能产生的影响，英国、法国和意大利在意大利北部的斯特雷萨举行会议讨论这一问题。由此产生的联盟被称为“斯特雷萨阵线”，该阵线谴责了德国的行为。它重申了《洛迦诺条约》，承诺继续支持奥地利独立，并声称打算抵制德国增加军备的企图。尽管如此，斯特雷萨阵线并未对希特勒采取实际行动。希特勒意识到斯特雷萨阵线的弱点，并开始利用它们。 1935年6月，他签署了《英德海军协定》，同意将德国海军兵力限制为英国海军的35%。虽然这保证了英国的海军霸权，但英国实际上纵容了对《凡尔赛条约》的违反，该条约限制了德国海军舰队的规模。英国在没有与法国或意大利协商的情况下签署了该条约，这一事实清楚地表明了斯特雷萨阵线联盟的脆弱性。随着英国对德国重整军备的反对有效消除，希特勒继续扩大军队规模，下令建造新的战列舰，并开始发展一支庞大而高效的空军。希特勒象征性地撕毁了《凡尔赛条约》——但没有人阻止他。 迄今为止，希特勒的外交政策是基于这样的假设，即其他欧洲主要国家都不会对其采取严厉行动，而在这一假设被证明是错误的一个例子中，他很快就做出了让步——墨索里尼集结军队阻止德国人入侵。入侵奥地利。然而，1936 年 3 月，希特勒决定再赌一次。德国士兵无视《凡尔赛条约》和《洛迦诺条约》，进入非军事化的莱茵兰。希特勒知道他的军队还没有做好全面战争的准备，因此发出了严格的命令，如果军队遇到法国的抵抗就必须撤退。征兵 对某些社会群体（例如特定年龄段的男性）实行义务兵役制。

The forty-eight hours after the march into the Rhineland were the most nerve-racking of my life. If the French had marched into the Rhineland, we would have had to withdraw with our tails between our legs, for the military resources at our disposal would have been wholly inadequate for even moderate resistance.

Adolf Hitler, commenting on the remilitarisation of the Rhineland.

进军莱茵兰后的四十八小时是我一生中最伤脑筋的时刻。如果法国人进军莱茵兰，我们就只能夹着尾巴撤退，因为我们掌握的军事资源根本不足以应付哪怕是温和的抵抗。阿道夫·希特勒评论莱茵兰重新军事化。

Although the French and British governments protested vigorously, neither took any direct action. Hitler claimed that he was merely righting the wrongs inflicted on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles, and offered to sign a peace treaty that would last for 25 years.

Later in 1936, Hitler removed Mussolini as a potential hindrance to his plans by forming the Rome–Berlin Axis (see page 76) and gained a further ally by signing the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan. Like Mussolini, Hitler provided military assistance to Franco during the Spanish Civil War. This enabled the German army and air force to gain vital military experience.

In March 1938, Hitler finally achieved Anschluss with Austria in clear defiance of the Treaty of Versailles. Following riots and demonstrations organised by Austrian Nazis, which the government of Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg was powerless to control, German troops moved in and declared Austria part of Germany. As before, Britain and France protested but took no direct action. Mussolini’s Italy, now a German ally, also did nothing.

Appeasement

In five years under Hitler’s leadership, Germany had totally overturned the Treaty of Versailles. It had regained territory in the Saar and the Rhineland, taken possession of Austria and developed large, well-equipped armed forces with experience of modern warfare. German pride and prestige had been restored, and the country had unquestionably regained its status as one of the world’s most powerful nations. Moreover, while Hitler’s actions had caused increasing alarm across Europe and protests by various countries, no one had taken definitive action to stop him.

This refusal to make any serious move against Hitler’s foreign policy is known as appeasement. In hindsight, The word ‘appeasement’ is also it seems incredible that he used to describe the lack of decisive was permitted to so blatantly action by Britain and France against and constantly disregard the other incidents, such as Mussolini’s Treaty of Versailles. At the invasion of Abyssinia. time, however, there seemed compelling reasons to avoid using military force against him:

尽管法国和英国政府强烈抗议，但都没有采取任何直接行动。希特勒声称他只是为了纠正凡尔赛条约对德国造成的错误，并提出签署一项为期25年的和平条约。 1936 年晚些时候，希特勒通过组建罗马-柏林轴心（见第 76 页）消除了墨索里尼作为其计划的潜在障碍，并通过与日本签署反共产国际条约获得了进一步的盟友。和墨索里尼一样，希特勒在西班牙内战期间向佛朗哥提供了军事援助。这使得德国陆军和空军获得了重要的军事经验。 1938 年 3 月，希特勒公然蔑视《凡尔赛条约》，最终与奥地利实现了合并。在奥地利纳粹组织的骚乱和示威活动（德国总理库尔特·舒施尼格的政府无力控制）之后，德国军队开进并宣布奥地利是德国的一部分。和以前一样，英国和法国提出抗议，但没有采取直接行动。墨索里尼领导下的意大利，现在是德国的盟友，也没有采取任何行动。绥靖政策 在希特勒的领导下的五年里，德国彻底推翻了《凡尔赛条约》。它收复了萨尔和莱茵兰的领土，占领了奥地利，并发展了规模庞大、装备精良、具有现代战争经验的武装部队。德国的自豪感和威望已经恢复，该国毫无疑问地重新获得了世界上最强大国家之一的地位。此外，尽管希特勒的行为引起了整个欧洲越来越多的恐慌和各国的抗议，但没有人采取明确的行动来阻止他。这种拒绝对希特勒外交政策采取任何严肃行动的行为被称为绥靖政策。 事后看来，“绥靖”这个词也显得令人难以置信，他用来形容英国和法国缺乏果断性，竟允许如此明目张胆地针对其他事件采取行动，并不断无视其他事件，例如墨索里尼的凡尔赛条约。在入侵阿比西尼亚时。然而，随着时间的推移，似乎有令人信服的理由避免对他使用武力：

. Although increasingly threatened by the resurgence of German power, France was politically divided and its army was reluctant to act against Germany without a guarantee of British support. The Anglo–German naval agreement of 1935 convinced the French that Britain was an unreliable ally. The Rome–Berlin Axis of 1936 made it clear that France could not rely on Italy’s support either. Hitler had been adept at isolating his potential enemies.

。尽管法国日益受到德国实力复兴的威胁，但法国在政治上存在分歧，而且在没有英国支持保证的情况下，法国军队不愿对德国采取行动。 1935 年的英德海军协议让法国人相信英国是一个不可靠的盟友。 1936 年的罗马-柏林轴心清楚地表明法国也不能依赖意大利的支持。希特勒善于孤立他的潜在敌人。

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Public opinion in Britain was strongly against involvement in another war. There was no desire to repeat the horrors of the First World War, while events in Spain had shown that any future conflict would be even worse, with enormous civilian casualties caused by the bombing of major cities.

。英国舆论强烈反对卷入另一场战争。人们不想重复第一次世界大战的恐怖，而西班牙发生的事件表明，未来的任何冲突都将更加严重，主要城市的轰炸造成大量平民伤亡。

.

Both France and Britain were suffering from the effects of the world economic crisis. Neither could afford the high costs of extensive rearmament in preparation for war.

。法国和英国都受到世界经济危机的影响。两国都无力承担为战争做准备而大规模重新武装的高昂费用。

.

British businessmen and industrialists had a vested interest in the resurgence of the German economy, since it would restore strong trading links between the two countries.

。德国经济的复苏符合英国商人和实业家的既得利益，因为这将恢复两国之间牢固的贸易联系。

.

Many British politicians believed that the Treaty of Versailles had been too harsh on Germany and that Hitler was addressing genuine grievances. They were convinced that Hitler’s aggression would cease once this unfair treaty had been destroyed.

。许多英国政客认为《凡尔赛条约》对德国过于严厉，希特勒只是在解决真正的不满。他们相信，一旦这个不公平的条约被摧毁，希特勒的侵略就会停止。

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Communism was still perceived as the biggest threat to European democracies such as Britain and France. Many politicians felt that Hitler’s Germany was a vital buffer against the westward expansion of the Soviet Union.

。共产主义仍然被视为对英国和法国等欧洲民主国家的最大威胁。许多政治家认为希特勒的德国是对抗苏联向西扩张的重要缓冲。

Under these circumstances, many politicians in Britain and, to a lesser extent, France were able to convince themselves that Hitler’s actions were justifiable and that he wanted peace as much as they did. As the British politician Lord Lothian said in 1935: ‘I am convinced that Hitler does not want war. What the Germans are after is a strong army which will enable them to deal with Russia.’

Questions

在这种情况下，英国和法国的许多政治家都能够说服自己，希特勒的行为是正当的，他和他们一样渴望和平。正如英国政治家洛锡安勋爵 (Lord Lothian) 1935 年所说：“我确信希特勒不想要战争。德国人追求的是一支强大的军队，使他们能够与俄罗斯打交道。问题

What were the aims of Hitler’s foreign policy?

How successful had Hitler been in achieving his foreign policy aims by

the end of 1938?

希特勒外交政策的目标是什么？到 1938 年底，希特勒在实现其外交政策目标方面取得了多大成功？

‘Hitler could and should have been stopped long before 1938, when his army was still too weak to fight a war against the combined forces of Britain and France.’ Why, then, did Britain and France take no direct action to stop him?

“早在 1938 年之前，希特勒就可以而且应该被制止，当时他的军队还太弱，无法与英法联军作战。”那么，为什么英国和法国没有采取直接行动阻止他呢？

Describe, with appropriate examples, the methods that Hitler used in

order to achieve his foreign policy aims prior to the end of 1938.

用适当的例子描述希特勒在 1938 年底之前为实现其外交政策目标而使用的方法。

The road to war

Czechoslovakia

Having effectively isolated potential opposition from Europe’s other major powers, and convinced that they would take no action against him, Hitler now set about bringing more German-speaking people into the Third Reich. There were around 3.5 million such people living in the Sudeten area of Czechoslovakia. Under their leader, Konrad Henlein, they claimed that they were being discriminated against by the Czech government. Riots and demonstrations broke out, many of them orchestrated by the Nazis. Edvard Bene., the Czech president, believed that Hitler was deliberately stirring up trouble in order to justify an invasion of Czechoslovakia in the guise of restoring order.

Hitler’s instinct that Britain and France would do nothing to hinder his designs on Czechoslovakia proved correct. The British prime minister, Neville Chamberlain, and his French counterpart édouard Daladier, desperately followed a policy of appeasement with Germany. They put pressure on the Czech government to make concessions to Hitler. Chamberlain believed that Germany’s claim to the Sudetenland was reasonable – another error of the Treaty of Versailles that needed correcting. The Czechs were naturally reluctant to hand over a part of their country that was so vital to its industrial infrastructure. If Chamberlain genuinely believed that Hitler’s plans for Czechoslovakia would end with the acquisition of the Sudetenland, he was wrong. Hitler had already informed his generals that ‘it is my unalterable decision to smash Czechoslovakia by military action in the near future’.

As the prospect of war increased, a four-power conference was held in Munich on 29 September 1938. Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier discussed the best way of resolving the problem of Czechoslovakia. It was agreed that Germany should take immediate possession of the Sudetenland. The Czech government was not invited to the meeting – it was simply informed that if it refused to abide by the decisions reached at Munich it could expect no assistance from either Britain or France. With resistance hopeless, the Czech government agreed. Bene. resigned.

At a private meeting on 30 September, Chamberlain and Hitler signed a document renouncing warlike intentions and agreeing to deal with any future issues by negotiation. Chamberlain used the huge press coverage of his return to Britain as an opportunity to demonstrate how successful he had been in gaining an understanding with Hitler. Holding up the signed piece of paper, he explained ‘I believe it is peace for our time’. The British public was relieved that the threat of war had been averted, but many were not convinced that Hitler could be trusted to keep his promises. One of these was the politician Winston Churchill, who described the Munich meeting as ‘a total and unmitigated defeat’.

通向战争之路 捷克斯洛伐克 在有效地隔离了欧洲其他大国的潜在反对派并确信他们不会对他采取行动后，希特勒现在开始着手将更多德语人士带入第三帝国。捷克斯洛伐克苏台德地区大约有350万这样的人。在他们的领导人康拉德·亨莱因（Konrad Henlein）的领导下，他们声称自己受到捷克政府的歧视。骚乱和示威活动爆发，其中许多是纳粹策划的。捷克总统爱德华·贝内认为，希特勒故意挑起事端，为以恢复秩序为幌子入侵捷克斯洛伐克辩护。希特勒认为英国和法国不会采取任何行动来阻止他对捷克斯洛伐克的计划，事实证明这是正确的。英国首相内维尔·张伯伦和法国首相爱德华·达拉第拼命执行对德国的绥靖政策。他们向捷克政府施压，要求其向希特勒让步。张伯伦认为，德国对苏台德地区的主张是合理的——这是《凡尔赛条约》中另一个需要纠正的错误。捷克人自然不愿意交出对其工业基础设施至关重要的一部分国家领土。如果张伯伦真的相信希特勒对捷克斯洛伐克的计划将随着获得苏台德地区而结束，那么他就错了。希特勒已经通知他的将军们，“在不久的将来通过军事行动摧毁捷克斯洛伐克是我不可改变的决定”。随着战争前景的增加，1938 年 9 月 29 日在慕尼黑召开了四国会议。 希特勒、墨索里尼、张伯伦和达拉第讨论了解决捷克斯洛伐克问题的最佳途径。双方同意德国应立即占领苏台德地区。捷克政府没有被邀请参加这次会议——它只是被告知，如果它拒绝遵守在慕尼黑达成的决定，就不能指望英国或法国提供任何援助。由于抵抗无望，捷克政府同意了。贝尼。辞职了。在9月30日的一次私人会议上，张伯伦和希特勒签署了一份文件，放弃好战意图，并同意通过谈判解决未来的任何问题。张伯伦利用媒体对他返回英国的大量报道作为一个机会，展示他在与希特勒取得谅解方面是多么成功。他举起一张签名的纸，解释道“我相信这对我们这个时代来说是和平的”。英国公众因战争威胁被避免而松了一口气，但许多人并不相信希特勒会信守诺言。其中之一是政治家温斯顿·丘吉尔，他将慕尼黑会议描述为“彻底的、彻底的失败”。

It quickly became apparent that Hitler had no intention of honouring the agreements made at Munich. Having incited riots by encouraging Slovakia to seek independence from the Czech government in Prague, Hitler warned that Germany might have to take action to preserve law and order. The new Czech president, Emil Hacha, was summoned to Berlin and informed that Prague would be bombed if he did not allow the German occupation of what remained of Czechoslovakia. Hacha had little choice but to submit and ‘invite’ the Germans to restore order in Czechoslovakia. On 15 March 1939, German troops crossed the Czech border. Once again, Britain and France took no action.

Czechoslovakia ceased to exist. A country that had been created as part of the Paris peace settlement had survived for just 20 years. Hitler was now convinced that Britain and France would never declare war on Germany. This time, however, his instincts were wrong. Whereas his earlier actions could be justified by the claim that he was redressing the unfair terms of the Treaty of Versailles, his acquisition of Czechoslovakia was different. He had seized territory over which Germany had no justifiable right and broken the promises he had made at Munich. No longer could Hitler claim that he had only peaceful intentions.

很快人们就发现希特勒无意遵守在慕尼黑达成的协议。希特勒鼓励斯洛伐克寻求从布拉格的捷克政府独立，煽动骚乱，他警告德国可能必须采取行动维护法律和秩序。捷克新任总统埃米尔·哈查被传唤到柏林，并告知如果他不允许德国占领捷克斯洛伐克的剩余地区，布拉格将遭到轰炸。哈查别无选择，只能屈服并“邀请”德国人恢复捷克斯洛伐克的秩序。 1939 年 3 月 15 日，德国军队越过捷克边境。英国和法国再次没有采取行动。捷克斯洛伐克不复存在。作为巴黎和平协议一部分而创建的国家仅存活了 20 年。希特勒现在确信英国和法国永远不会对德国宣战。然而这一次，他的直觉错了。尽管他早期的行动可以通过声称他正在纠正凡尔赛条约的不公平条款来证明是合理的，但他对捷克斯洛伐克的收购却有所不同。他夺取了德国没有正当权利的领土，并违背了他在慕尼黑做出的承诺。希特勒再也不能声称他只有和平意图。

Even those who had appeased him for so long realised that it was time for confrontation. If Chamberlain’s initial reaction to Germany’s acquisition of Czechoslovakia had been weak, within 48 hours he was beginning to talk more forcefully against German aggression. Speaking in Birmingham on 17 March 1939, Chamberlain considered the possibility that Hitler’s actions might be ‘a step in the direction of an attempt to dominate the world by force’. As a direct warning to the German chancellor, he continued: ‘No greater mistake could be made than to suppose that because it believes war to be a senseless and cruel thing, Britain has so lost its fibre that it will not take part to the utmost of its power in resisting such a challenge if it were ever made.’ In line with this new approach, Britain introduced conscription.

就连那些安抚他这么久的人也意识到，是时候对抗了。如果说张伯伦对德国吞并捷克斯洛伐克的最初反应是微弱的，那么在 48 小时内他就开始更加强烈地反对德国的侵略。 1939 年 3 月 17 日在伯明翰发表讲话时，张伯伦考虑了希特勒的行为可能是“朝着以武力统治世界的方向迈出的一步”。作为对德国总理的直接警告，他继续说道：“最大的错误莫过于认为英国因为认为战争是一件毫无意义和残酷的事情，所以已经失去了理智，不会全力参与。”如果有的话，它有能力抵抗这样的挑战。根据这一新方法，英国引入了征兵制。

Poland

Despite the warnings of his army generals, Hitler remained

波兰 尽管陆军将领发出警告，希特勒仍然坚持

Many German generals (including

convinced that he could continue his aggressive foreign

许多德国将军（包括确信他可以继续其侵略性的外国将军）

Brauchitsch, Halder and Keitel)

policy without other major European powers intervening.

布劳希奇（Brauchitsch）、哈尔德（Halder）和凯特尔（Keitel））的政策，没有其他欧洲大国的干预。

thought that Hitler was pushing

He argued that it would be impossible to maintain the

认为希特勒正在推动他认为维持现状是不可能的

his luck. They believed that any

German economy ‘without invading other countries or

他的运气。他们相信，任何德国经济“在不入侵其他国家或

further aggressive action, in

attacking other people’s possessions’.

进一步的侵略行为，攻击他人的财产”。

particular against Poland, would

inevitably lead to a war against Hitler now turned his attention to Poland. In April

Britain and France – a war that 1939, he insisted on the return of Danzig and German

many military personnel believed access across the Polish Corridor. In some ways these

Germany would lose. were understandable demands. Danzig’s population was largely German-speaking, while the Polish Corridor had split East Prussia from the rest of Germany. Considering recent events in Czechoslovakia, the Poles were naturally concerned that Hitler’s demands were the first step towards a full invasion of Poland. Moreover, such moves were in defiance of the non-aggression treaty that Germany had signed with Poland in 1934.

The role of the USSR

Believing that Britain and France would do nothing to defend Poland from a German attack, the main obstacle to Hitler’s plans was the USSR. Much of Poland had belonged to pre-revolutionary Russia, and Stalin might well resist any German attempt to take possession of it. Indeed, Stalin had long been convinced that Hitler’s ultimate intention was to attack the USSR, and an invasion of Poland could be seen as preparation for this. In an attempt to ensure the security of the USSR against a resurgent Germany, Stalin had consistently tried to secure agreements with Britain and France, but these had failed due to the Western democracies’ fear of communism. Just as Stalin feared and hated Germany’s fascist government, so Hitler had spent his entire political career denouncing communism.

To the astonishment of the rest of Europe, Germany and the USSR signed a treaty of friendship and non-aggression on 24 August 1939. The Nazi– Soviet Pact (also known as the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, after the foreign ministers of the USSR and Germany who carried out the negotiations) meant that Germany would be able to attack Poland without the interference of the USSR.

In exchange for Stalin’s non-intervention in Germany’s invasion of Poland, Hitler promised that the USSR would receive eastern parts of Poland, Finland, Estonia and Latvia. It is unlikely that Hitler intended to honour this promise, and Stalin was fully aware of this. However, the Soviet leader needed time to build up his armed forces in preparation for war against Germany, and the pact bought him that time. Besides, if Britain, France and Germany became embroiled in a long war, this might be to the USSR’s advantage. Stalin informed one of his senior officials: ‘Of course, it’s all a game to see who can fool whom. I know what Hitler’s up to. He thinks he’s outsmarted me, but actually it’s I who have tricked him.’ The rest of Europe understood that this was a treaty of convenience between two dictators who neither liked not trusted each other.

特别是针对波兰，将不可避免地导致对希特勒的战争，现在希特勒将注意力转向了波兰。 1939 年 4 月英法战争期间，他坚持要求归还但泽，德国许多军事人员认为这是穿越波兰走廊的通道。在某些方面，德国会失败。是可以理解的要求。但泽的人口主要讲德语，而波兰走廊将东普鲁士与德国其他地区分开。考虑到捷克斯洛伐克最近发生的事件，波兰人自然担心希特勒的要求是全面入侵波兰的第一步。此外，这些举动无视德国与波兰于1934年签署的互不侵犯条约。苏联的角色认为英国和法国不会采取任何行动来保护波兰免受德国的攻击，希特勒计划的主要障碍是苏联。波兰的大部分地区曾属于革命前的俄罗斯，斯大林很可能会抵制德国占领它的任何企图。事实上，斯大林早就确信希特勒的最终意图是进攻苏联，而入侵波兰可以被视为为此做准备。为了确保苏联的安全，对抗复兴的德国，斯大林一直试图与英国和法国达成协议，但由于西方民主国家对共产主义的恐惧，这些协议都失败了。正如斯大林害怕和憎恨德国法西斯政府一样，希特勒的整个政治生涯都在谴责共产主义。令欧洲其他国家惊讶的是，德国和苏联于 1939 年 8 月 24 日签署了友好互不侵犯条约。 纳粹-苏联条约（也称为莫洛托夫-里宾特洛甫条约，以进行谈判的苏联和德国外交部长命名）意味着德国将能够在不受苏联干涉的情况下攻击波兰。作为斯大林不干预德国入侵波兰的交换条件，希特勒承诺苏联将接收波兰东部、芬兰、爱沙尼亚和拉脱维亚。希特勒不太可能打算履行这一承诺，斯大林也充分意识到这一点。然而，这位苏联领导人需要时间来建立武装部队，为对德国的战争做好准备，而该条约为他赢得了时间。此外，如果英国、法国和德国卷入一场长期战争，这可能对苏联有利。斯大林告诉他的一位高级官员：“当然，这只是一场游戏，看谁能愚弄谁。”我知道希特勒在做什么。他以为他比我聪明，但实际上是我欺骗了他。”欧洲其他国家明白，这是两个互不信任的独裁者之间的便利条约。

With Soviet neutrality now assured, there seemed to be nothing stopping Hitler from carrying out his planned invasion of Poland. Although Britain had guaranteed support for Poland, Hitler remained convinced that this was a bluff. On 1 September 1939, German troops crossed the border into Poland. To Hitler’s surprise, at 11 a.m. on 3 September, Britain declared war on Germany. France followed shortly afterwards. The Second World War had begun.

The causes of the Second World War: a summary

Historians generally agree that several factors combined to cause the outbreak of the Second World War:

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Problems created by the Paris peace settlement, and in particular the German resentment caused by the harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

由于苏联的中立性得到了保证，似乎没有什么可以阻止希特勒实施他入侵波兰的计划。尽管英国保证支持波兰，但希特勒仍然坚信这是虚张声势。 1939 年 9 月 1 日，德国军队越过边境进入波兰。令希特勒惊讶的是，9月3日上午11点，英国向德国宣战。法国紧随其后。第二次世界大战开始了。第二次世界大战的起因：概述 历史学家普遍认为，有几个因素综合起来导致了第二次世界大战的爆发： 。巴黎和约所造成的问题，特别是凡尔赛条约的苛刻条款引起了德国的不满。

.

The failure of the League of Nations to deal effectively with problems, particularly aggressive acts by countries such as Germany, Italy and Japan.

。国际联盟未能有效解决问题，特别是德国、意大利和日本等国的侵略行为。

.

The world economic crisis that followed the Wall Street Crash, which played a major role in enabling fascist dictators to gain power.

。华尔街崩盘之后的世界经济危机在法西斯独裁者掌权的过程中发挥了重要作用。

.

The fear of communism, which assisted the rise of fascist dictatorships and effectively prevented an alliance between Britain, France and the USSR against German aggression.

。对共产主义的恐惧助长了法西斯独裁政权的崛起，并有效地阻止了英国、法国和苏联结成对抗德国侵略的联盟。

.

Appeasement, which gave Hitler the opportunity to develop large and well-equipped armed forces, and led him to believe that he could carry out increasingly provocative acts without opposition.

。绥靖政策使希特勒有机会发展规模庞大、装备精良的武装部队，并使他相信自己可以在没有反对的情况下实施越来越具有挑衅性的行动。

.

Stalin’s willingness to sign the Nazi–Soviet Pact, which effectively made the German invasion of Poland inevitable.

。斯大林愿意签署纳粹苏联条约，这实际上使德国入侵波兰不可避免。

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Germany could argue that it had a legitimate claim to the Sudetenland, Danzig and access to the Polish Corridor, but Hitler’s decisions to take the whole of Czechoslovakia and invade Poland had no such justification, and made war unavoidable.

。德国可以辩称，它对苏台德地区、但泽和进入波兰走廊的通道拥有合法的主权要求，但希特勒占领整个捷克斯洛伐克和入侵波兰的决定没有这样的理由，并使战争不可避免。

Figure 3.12 A cartoon from a British newspaper in October 1939; walking together as if in friendship, Stalin (left) and Hitler (right) are clearly depicted as lacking trust in each other

图3.12 1939年10月英国报纸的漫画；如同友谊般走在一起，斯大林（左）和希特勒（右）明显被描绘成彼此缺乏信任

Questions 问题

In what ways was Hitler’s conquest of Czechoslovakia different from his earlier foreign policy successes?

Why were both Hitler and Stalin willing to sign the Nazi–Soviet Pact, even though they disliked and distrusted each other?

Explain why many of Hitler’s generals were concerned by Hitler’s foreign policy actions in 1939.

Source A below is a cartoon from a US newspaper published in 1939. Explain what the artist is trying to say.

希特勒征服捷克斯洛伐克与他早期的外交政策成功有何不同？为什么希特勒和斯大林都愿意签署纳粹苏联条约，尽管他们彼此不喜欢和不信任？解释为什么希特勒的许多将军对 1939 年希特勒的外交政策行动感到担忧。下面的来源 A 是 1939 年出版的美国报纸上的一幅漫画。解释艺术家想要表达的内容。

Historical debate

The liveliest debate amongst historians regarding the causes of the Second World War concerns the long-term motives and ambitions of Hitler’s foreign policy. Various arguments have been put forward:

.

In the period immediately after the Second World War, historians such as Hugh Trevor-Roper argued that Hitler had always intended for Germany to become involved in a major war. They claimed that his long-term aim had consistently been the conquest of Russia, and that the acquisition of Poland was merely the prelude to an attack on Stalin’s USSR. Sooner or later, this policy was bound to lead to a war against the other major European powers. Evidence for this theory comes from Hitler’s own words in Mein Kampf, which he wrote long before he came to power in Germany and in which he stated that the German population was too large for the boundaries in which it was constrained. His solution was Lebensraum. It is also known that Hitler explained his expansionist ideas to key army personnel at a meeting in 1937; this is recorded in the Hossbach Memorandum, a summary of the meeting made by Colonel Friedrich Hossbach.

历史争论历史学家中关于第二次世界大战起因最激烈的争论涉及希特勒外交政策的长期动机和野心。人们提出了各种论点： 。第二次世界大战结束后不久，休·特雷弗·罗珀等历史学家认为，希特勒一直想让德国卷入一场大战。他们声称，他的长期目标始终是征服俄罗斯，而占领波兰只是进攻斯大林领导下的苏联的前奏。迟早，这一政策必然会导致针对其他欧洲大国的战争。这一理论的证据来自希特勒自己在《我的奋斗》中的话，他在德国掌权之前很久就写下了这本书，他在书中指出，德国人口太多，超出了其所限制的边界。他的解决方案是“生存空间”。众所周知，希特勒在 1937 年的一次会议上向军队主要人员解释了他的扩张主义思想；这被记录在霍斯巴赫备忘录中，该备忘录是弗里德里希·霍斯巴赫上校对会议的总结。

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Other historians, most notably A. J. P. Taylor writing in 1961, challenge this theory, arguing that Hitler had never intended a major war. They state that Hitler was an opportunist, taking advantage of situations as they occurred, and that his foreign policy had not been based on a step-by-step plan of conquest. Such a plan would have been impossible, they claim, because Hitler could not have predicted how Britain and France would react to developments such as rearmament and the occupation of the Rhineland. The idea of Lebensraum was merely a propaganda tool to gain further support for the Nazi Party and was never intended as a plan for aggressive action.

。其他历史学家，尤其是 AJP 泰勒在 1961 年撰写的著作，对这一理论提出了质疑，认为希特勒从未打算发动一场大规模战争。他们指出，希特勒是一个机会主义者，会利用局势的发展，他的外交政策并不是基于逐步的征服计划。他们声称，这样的计划是不可能的，因为希特勒无法预测英国和法国将如何应对重新武装和占领莱茵兰等事态发展。生存空间的想法只是纳粹党获得进一步支持的宣传工具，从来没有打算作为侵略行动的计划。

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Alan Bullock suggests that Hitler never wanted a world war and, least of all, a war against Britain. The weak British response to Hitler’s aggression between 1933 and early 1939 had convinced him that Britain would not interfere with his designs on Poland, leaving the way open for a German attack on the USSR. He had every reason to believe that Britain and France would do nothing to support Stalin’s communist regime.

。艾伦·布洛克表示，希特勒从来不想爆发世界大战，尤其是针对英国的战争。 1933 年至 1939 年初，英国对希特勒的侵略反应软弱，这让他相信英国不会干涉他对波兰的计划，为德国进攻苏联留下了道路。他完全有理由相信英国和法国不会采取任何措施支持斯大林的共产主义政权。

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Martin Gilbert, on the other hand, argues that Hitler did intend to fight a major European war in order to remove the stigma attached to Germany’s embarrassing defeat in the First World War. ‘The only antidote to defeat in one war,’ Gilbert claims, ‘is victory in the next.’ Ian Kershaw agrees, stating that ‘Hitler had never doubted, and had said so on innumerable occasions, that Germany’s future could only be determined through war’.

。另一方面，马丁·吉尔伯特则认为，希特勒确实打算打一场大规模的欧洲战争，以消除德国在第一​​次世界大战中惨败的耻辱。吉尔伯特声称，“一场战争失败的唯一解药就是下一场战争的胜利。”伊恩·克肖对此表示同意，他表示“希特勒从未怀疑过，并且在无数场合说过，德国的未来只能通过战争来决定”。

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The German historian Eberhard J.ckel argues that Hitler consistently worked for ‘the establishment of a greater Germany than had ever existed before. The way to this greater Germany was a war of conquest fought mainly at the expense of Soviet Russia.’

。德国历史学家艾伯哈德·杰克尔 (Eberhard J.ckel) 认为，希特勒始终致力于“建立一个比以往任何时候都更伟大的德国”。通往更大德国的道路是一场主要以牺牲苏维埃俄罗斯为代价的征服战争。

Lebensraum

The literal translation of the word is ‘living space’. In his book Mein Kampf, Hitler argued that Germany should take land to the east in order to provide more space for the expanding German population. This would mean seizing land from Poland and the USSR.

Lebensraum 这个词的直译是“生活空间”。希特勒在他的《我的奋斗》一书中指出，德国应该向东占领土地，以便为不断增长的德国人口提供更多的空间。这意味着从波兰和苏联夺取土地。

Revision questions

1 ‘The aims of Hitler’s foreign policy were such that Germany would inevitably end up fighting a war against Britain at some point.’ How far do you agree?

2 To what extent was the policy of appeasement adopted by countries such as Britain and France responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War?

3 To what extent was the USSR responsible for the outbreak of the Second World War?

4 What were the reasons for the changing relationship between Italy and Germany throughout the 1930s?

5 Read Sources A (below) and B (opposite). Using these sources and details

修订问题 1 “希特勒外交政策的目标是德国在某个时候将不可避免地与英国发生战争。”你同意到什么程度？ 2 英法等国采取的绥靖政策在多大程度上导致了第二次世界大战的爆发？ 3 苏联在多大程度上对第二次世界大战的爆发负有责任？ 4 整个 30 年代意大利和德国关系发生变化的原因是什么？ 5 阅读来源 A（下）和 B（对）。使用这些来源和详细信息

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Introduction 介绍

C

onfronted with external challenges from the West and internal pressure from a series of large-scale rebellions, China’s collapse began in the middle of the 19th century. By 1912, its last emperor was forced to abdicate, ending a system of government that had lasted for thousands of years. The newly proclaimed republic was unable to prevent the ongoing disintegration of China into separate provinces, where powerful warlords and their private armies established unchallenged control. Rival political groups emerged, which relied on their increasingly large armies to try and restore order and unity in China.

For Japan, China’s plight created a power vacuum in East Asia that presented both a danger and an opportunity. There was a significant risk that the Western powers (the USA and European nations, especially Russia) would seek to exploit China’s weakness in order to enhance their own economic and political influence in the region. This would undoubtedly pose a threat to Japan. Conversely, China’s inability to defend itself offered Japan the chance to establish itself as the supreme power in East Asia. With the dual aim of protecting its own security whilst increasing its regional power, Japan became involved in wars against China (1894–95) and Russia (1904–05). It sought conquest in Taiwan (1894), South Manchuria (1905) and Korea (1910). It also enhanced its international prestige through a treaty with Britain in 1902. Eventually, during the First World War – when the Western powers were otherwise engaged – Japan emerged as a major power in East Asia.

Japan’s seemingly aggressive rise caused alarm in Europe and the USA, which feared for their own economic interests in the Pacific region. These fears were largely allayed by Japan’s willingness to compromise at the Washington Naval Conference in 1921–22, but as Japan descended into military dictatorship in the 1930s it once again embarked on an aggressive foreign policy that led to conflict, firstly with China and subsequently with the Western powers.

面对来自西方的外部挑战和一系列大规模叛乱的内部压力，中国从19世纪中叶开始崩溃。 1912年，最后一位皇帝被迫退位，结束了延续数千年的政府制度。新宣布的共和国无法阻止中国不断分裂成不同的省份，强大的军阀及其私人军队在这些省份建立了无可争议的控制权。敌对的政治团体出现，它们依靠日益庞大的军队试图恢复中国的秩序和团结。对于日本来说，中国的困境在东亚造成了权力真空，这既带来了危险，也带来了机遇。西方列强（美国和欧洲国家，特别是俄罗斯）可能会寻求利用中国的弱点来增强自己在该地区的经济和政治影响力。这无疑会对日本构成威胁。相反，中国无力自卫则给日本提供了确立东亚霸主地位的机会。出于保护自身安全和增强地区实力的双重目标，日本卷入了针对中国（1894-95）和俄罗斯（1904-05）的战争。它寻求征服台湾（1894年）、南满洲（1905年）和朝鲜（1910年）。它还通过 1902 年与英国签订的条约提高了其国际威望。最终，在第一次世界大战期间——西方列强以其他方式交战时——日本成为东亚的一个主要强国。日本看似咄咄逼人的崛起引起了欧洲和美国的警惕，它们担心自己在太平洋地区的经济利益。 日本在 1921-22 年华盛顿海军会议上愿意妥协，很大程度上缓解了这些担忧，但随着日本在 20 世纪 30 年代陷入军事独裁，它再次采取侵略性外交政策，导致冲突，首先是与中国，随后是与日本的冲突。西方列强。

dynasties 王朝

Royal families. Each dynasty in China was founded by a powerful warlord and lasted only as long as it remained strong enough to defeat its rivals. The Manchu (Qing/Ch’ing) Dynasty ruled China from 1644 until 1912.

The implications of the

’warlord era’ in China

皇室家族。中国的每个王朝都是由强大的军阀建立的，只有当它仍然强大到足以击败对手时才能持续下去。满族（清朝）从 1644 年到 1912 年统治中国。中国“军阀时代”的含义

Yuan Shih-kai and the disintegration of China

For centuries, China had changed little. With a civilisation dating back thousands of years, the Chinese considered themselves superior to people from other nations, and wanted nothing more than to be left alone. China’s internal economy was well organised and efficient, with merchants dealing in the products of agriculture and highly skilled craftsmen. The majority of people belonged to one of the traditional four occupational groups: scholars,

farmers, artisans and merchants. Their lives were guided by the calm and peaceful philosophies of Confucius and Taoism. Ruled by a succession of dynasties, China was self-contained, with no need or desire to trade with other countries. This secretive and isolated country changed enormously in the last half of the 19th century.

Figure 4.1 A map of China showing its provinces and major cities, as well as the route of the Long March (see page 115)

袁世凯与中国的解体 几个世纪以来，中国几乎没有发生什么变化。拥有数千年文明史的中国人认为自己比其他民族优越，只想不受干扰。中国的内部经济组织良好、效率高，有经营农产品的商人和技艺高超的工匠。大多数人属于传统的四种职业群体之一：学者、农民、工匠和商人。他们的生活受到孔子和道家平静和平的哲学的指导。中国经历了历代王朝的统治，自给自足，没有必要也不愿意与其他国家进行贸易。这个神秘而孤立的国家在 19 世纪下半叶发生了巨大的变化。图4.1 中国各省份和主要城市以及长征路线的地图（见第115页）

Foreign interference

The Industrial Revolution in Western Europe brought with it an ever-increasing need for raw materials and new markets. There was potential for these in China, and European merchants and businessmen found China’s

What the Europeans could not get by agreement, they achieved by force. Between 1839 and 1842, Britain fought the Chinese in the Opium Wars, forcing China to hand over Hong Kong and to grant Britain trading rights in other major ports. Other European countries quickly followed Britain’s lead, forcing China to open ports for trade and to lease land for development. Major cities such as Shanghai, Canton, Foochow and Ningpo were internationalised; foreigners built railways and factories, and refused to obey Chinese laws. Whole provinces, including Sinkiang and Shantung, fell under the influence of European ‘barbarians’.

Internal rebellions

外国干涉西欧的工业革命带来了对原材料和新市场不断增长的需求。这些在中国都有潜力，欧洲商人和商人发现中国的东西，欧洲人通过协议得不到的东西，他们用武力实现了。 1839 年至 1842 年间，英国在鸦片战争中与中国作战，迫使中国交出香港，并授予英国其他主要港口的贸易权。其他欧洲国家迅速效仿英国，迫使中国开放港口进行贸易并租赁土地进行开发。上海、广州、福州、宁波等主要城市国际化；外国人修建铁路和工厂，拒绝遵守中国法律。包括新疆、山东在内的整个省份都受到欧洲“野蛮人”的影响。内部叛乱

As well as incursions by foreigners, China faced internal problems. The first of these was the Taiping Rebellion (1850–64). The Manchu Dynasty government in the Chinese capital, Peking (now Beijing), had to enlist the assistance of regional warlords – together with British and French forces

– in order to put down a rebellion in which some 20 million people were killed.

Weaknesses in the Manchu regime also became evident during the Boxer Rebellion (1898–1901), in which Chinese nationalists took up arms, angered by the government’s failure to prevent foreigners gaining increasing influence within China. The Manchu government eventually supported the rising and declared war on the foreign powers. An eight-nation alliance involving Britain, Russia, Japan, France, the USA, Germany, Italy and Austria-Hungary took Peking and defeated the rebellion. The Chinese government was forced to pay ￡67 million in compensation (over a period of 39 years) for the damage that had been done to foreign-owned property during the uprising.

除了外国人的入侵，中国还面临内部问题。第一个是太平天国运动（1850-64）。中国首都北京（今北京）的满清政府不得不寻求地区军阀以及英法军队的协助，以镇压这场造成约 2000 万人死亡的叛乱。满族政权的弱点在义和团运动（1898-1901）期间也变得明显，中国民族主义者因政府未能阻止外国人在中国境内获得越来越大的影响力而愤怒，拿起了武器。满清政府最终支持起义并向外国列强宣战。英国、俄罗斯、日本、法国、美国、德国、意大利和奥匈帝国八国联盟占领了北京并击败了叛乱。中国政府被迫为起义期间对外资财产造成的损害支付 6700 万英镑的赔偿（历时 39 年）。

As foreigners gained more and more influence, and the authority of the Chinese government was increasingly challenged by its own people, it became clear that the Manchu Dynasty was losing control. Seizing the opportunity to expand its own power within the region, Japan forced a war against China in 1895, occupying Korea – a country that had traditionally been within the Manchu Dynasty’s sphere of influence. A further humiliation occurred during the Russo–Japanese War of 1904–05 (see pages 26–27), in which these two foreign powers fought on Chinese territory for control of Manchuria. China was disintegrating.

The erosion of traditional China

At the same time, China’s traditional customs were being undermined. Schools began offering a Western style of education, thousands of young Chinese were sent abroad to be educated, and hundreds of European books were translated into Chinese. China also began the process of industrialisation. Coal mines, iron foundries and cotton factories were established, and roads and railways were constructed. China was becoming westernised – a process that was accompanied by increasing demands for reform.

The end of the Manchu Dynasty

The Manchu Dynasty’s weaknesses were fatally exposed in 1908, when the Empress Tzu-hsi (Cixi Taihou) died, leaving her three-year-old son Pu Yi heir to the throne. In October 1911, a revolution began amongst soldiers in Wuchang, who were incensed that the government was continuing to pay compensation for the Boxer Rebellion to the hated foreigners. The rebellion rapidly spread, and most provinces declared themselves independent of the central government in Peking. The Manchu government offered some resistance and, for a time, it seemed that China might descend into a full-scale civil war. However, this was averted when Pu Yi abdicated. On 1 January 1912, a monarchy that had lasted for nearly 2500 years formally ended. China was now a republic – a republic, however, with no tradition or experience of constitutional forms of government.

The rise and fall of Yuan Shih-kai

The president of the new Republic of China was Yuan Shih-kai (Yuan Shikai), a man with considerable military experience who commanded the support of the army. Ruling as a military dictator, Yuan was able to maintain order in China. In 1915, however, he made an error of judgement that cost him his position. Convinced that his role as Chinese leader was secure, Yuan proclaimed himself emperor. Revolutionary groups within China had no wish to see the restoration of a monarchy. More significantly, this move lost him the vital support of the army. Yuan Shih-kai’s fall from power in 1915, and his death the following year, removed the one person who might have preserved order and unity in China.

随着外国人的影响力越来越大，中国政府的权威越来越受到本国人民的挑战，满清王朝显然正在失去控制。日本抓住了在该地区扩张势力的机会，于1895年强行对华发动战争，占领了传统上属于满清势力范围的朝鲜。进一步的耻辱发生在1904-05年的日俄战争期间（见第26-27页），其中两个外国列强在中国领土上为争夺满洲的控制权而战。中国正在分裂。中国传统的侵蚀 与此同时，中国的传统习俗也遭到破坏。学校开始提供西式教育，数千名中国年轻人被送往国外接受教育，数百本欧洲书籍被翻译成中文。中国也开始了工业化进程。建立了煤矿、铸造厂和棉花厂，修建了公路和铁路。中国正在西化——这一过程伴随着日益增长的改革需求。满清王朝的终结 1908年，慈禧太后（慈禧太后）去世，满清王朝的弱点暴露无遗，皇位继承人由她三岁的儿子溥仪继承。 1911年10月，武昌士兵中爆发了一场革命，他们对政府继续向可恨的外国人支付义和团赔偿金感到愤怒。叛乱迅速蔓延，大多数省份宣布独立于北京中央政府。满清政府进行了一些抵抗，一时间，中国似乎可能陷入全面内战。 不过，这种情况在溥仪退位后就被避免了。 1912年1月1日，延续了近2500年的君主制正式结束。中国现在是一个共和政体——然而，一个没有宪政形式政府传统或经验的共和政体。袁世凯的兴衰 新中华民国的总统是袁世凯（袁世凯），他是一位拥有丰富军事经验、指挥军队支持的人。作为军事独裁者，袁世凯得以维持中国的秩序。然而，1915年，他犯了一个判断错误，导致他丢掉了职位。袁世凯称帝，他确信自己作为中国领导人的地位是稳固的。中国国内的革命团体不希望看到君主制的复辟。更重要的是，此举让他失去了军队的重要支持。 1915 年，袁世凯下台，并于次年去世，失去了一位可能维护中国秩序和统一的人。

Japanese influence and the warlord era

To add to China’s problems, external threats emerged once again in 1915. Japan submitted a list of Twenty-One Demands (see page 37) – backed by the threat of war – that were designed to give Japan extensive political and economic rights within China. Under pressure from the USA, Japan was eventually forced to compromise on some of these demands, but they still resulted in a significant increase in Japanese power and influence within China. It was clear that China was unable to resist the bullying tactics of its powerful neighbour.

Denied a strong central government, and increasingly vulnerable to foreign intervention, China disintegrated into hundreds of small states – each controlled by a warlord and the private army at his command. These warlords were more concerned with their own political powers than with China’s national interests, and they fought against each other in bloody campaigns, causing misery and hardship to China’s mainly peasant population.

日本的影响和军阀时代 除了中国的问题之外，外部威胁在 1915 年再次出现。日本提交了一份以战争威胁为后盾的二十一条要求清单（见第 37 页），旨在为日本提供广泛的政治支持。和中国境内的经济权利。在美国的压力下，日本最终被迫在其中一些要求上做出妥协，但仍然导致日本在中国的实力和影响力显着增强。显然，中国无力抵抗其强大邻国的欺凌手段。由于没有强大的中央政府，而且越来越容易受到外国干预，中国分裂成数百个小国——每个小国都由军阀和他指挥的私人军队控制。这些军阀只关心自己的政权，而不关心中国的国家利益，互相残杀，浴血奋战，给以农民为主的中国人民带来了苦难和苦难。

The May the Fourth Movement

Having fought with the Allies during the First World War, the Chinese assumed that at the end of the conflict they would be able to reclaim the territories in Shantung Province that Germany had occupied since the 19th century. However, Chinese warlords secretly made a deal that gave Japan rights to the former German territories in exchange for financial support for the warlords’ own territorial ambitions. The Treaty of Versailles ignored China’s claims and acknowledged Japanese rights in Shantung Province. This led to the rise of the nationalist May the Fourth Movement, which began with a series of student protests in 1919. Around 5000 university students took to the streets of Peking to demonstrate against the Versailles Treaty and the power of the warlords. They argued that China had become a fragmented country, dominated by warlords who were more concerned with extending their own political power than in defending national interests.

This upsurge in Chinese nationalism spread across China, and there were demands for modernisation and political reform. In fact, this was a form of nationalism that rejected traditional Chinese culture and values, which protesters believed had been a cause of China’s political weakness in confronting the intrusion of foreigners. The way to restore China’s unity and strength was to adopt the ideas embraced by the very foreigners the Chinese so despised. In particular, the May the Fourth Movement wanted industrial development and a democratic form of government. The battle to restore the integrity and maintain the unity of China had begun.

五四运动 在第一次世界大战期间与同盟国作战后，中国人认为，在冲突结束时，他们将能够收回德国自 19 世纪以来占领的山东省领土。然而，中国军阀秘密达成一项协议，给予日本对前德国领土的权利，以换取军阀自身领土野心的财政支持。 《凡尔赛条约》无视中国的主张，承认日本在山东省的权利。这导致了民族主义五四运动的兴起，这场运动始于1919年的一系列学生抗议活动。大约5000名大学生走上北京街头，抗议凡尔赛条约和军阀的权力。他们认为，中国已经成为一个四分五裂的国家，由军阀统治，他们更关心扩大自己的政治权力，而不是捍卫国家利益。中国民族主义高涨席卷全国，要求现代化和政治改革。事实上，这是一种拒绝中国传统文化和价值观的民族主义，抗议者认为这是中国在面对外国人入侵时在政治上软弱的原因。恢复中国的统一和强大的方法是采纳中国人所鄙视的外国人所拥护的思想。特别是，五四运动想要工业发展和民主的政府形式。恢复中华民族完整、维护统一的战斗已经打响。

Questions 问题

Why were Europeans and Americans so keen to gain influence in China during the 19th century?

Explain why China became a republic in 1912.

‘Internal rather than external factors best explain why China had disintegrated by 1918.’ Discuss.

What was the significance of the May the Fourth Movement?

为什么19世纪欧洲人和美国人如此热衷于在中国获得影响力？解释为什么中国在 1912 年成为共和国。“内部因素而不是外部因素最能解释中国为何在 1918 年解体。”讨论。五四运动的意义是什么？

The Kuomintang and its aims

国民党及其目标

The growth of the Kuomintang under Sun Yat-sen

Perhaps the most influential figure in the nationalist campaign in China was Sun Yat-sen (Sun Yixian). Dismayed by China’s backwardness and fragmentation, Sun became increasingly convinced that his country needed to adopt Western styles of democracy, agriculture and industry. He founded the Revive China Society in Hawaii in 1894 and, in 1905, merged with other anti-monarchist groups to form the Tongmenhui (Revolutionary Alliance), which was committed to overthrowing the Manchu Dynasty and forming a republican government in China.

In 1912, after the revolution removed the Manchus from power, the Revolutionary Alliance joined with other parties to form the Kuomintang (KMT). Sun Yat-sen was elected provisional president of the new Republic

孙中山领导下的国民党的成长 也许在中国的民族主义运动中最有影响力的人物是孙中山（孙逸仙）。孙对中国的落后和分裂感到沮丧，他越来越相信他的国家需要采用西方风格的民主、农业和工业。 1894年，他在夏威夷创立了兴中会，并于1905年与其他反帝制团体合并成立了同盟会，致力于推翻满清王朝，在中国建立共和政府。 1912年，革命推翻满族政权后，革命同盟会与其他政党联合成立了国民党（KMT）。孙中山当选新共和国临时大总统

of China and began efforts to limit the influence of Yuan Shih-kai (see page 107), who controlled the army. However, Sun’s attempts failed and he was soon ousted by Yuan, who declared himself emperor in 1915. China descended into a chaos of warlord conflicts, and in 1917 Sun established a government at Canton in southern China. However, his authority was largely confined to the local region.

The KMT was not a communist group, although Sun realised the advantages of working with the recently formed Chinese Communist Party (CCP). In particular, this brought valuable assistance and advice from Soviet Russia. Russian advisors helped create a more efficient structure for the KMT across

a more effective fighting force. A military academy was established at Whampoa to train KMT officers. To head the academy, Sun chose Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi), who was sent to Moscow to receive military training. Chiang’s brief was to ensure that the KMT could both defend itself against attack by warlord armies and also begin to expand its power base beyond the Canton area.

并开始努力限制控制军队的袁世凯的影响力（见第 107 页）。然而，孙中山的尝试失败了，他很快就被袁世凯赶下台，袁世凯于 1915 年称帝。中国陷入军阀冲突的混乱之中，孙中山于 1917 年在中国南方的广州建立了政府。然而，他的权力主要局限于当地。尽管孙意识到与新成立的中国共产党合作的好处，但国民党并不是一个共产主义团体。尤其是，这带来了来自苏俄的宝贵援助和建议。俄罗斯顾问帮助国民党建立了更高效的结构，打造了一支更有效的战斗力量。黄埔军校成立，训练国民党军官。孙中山选择蒋介石担任该学院的院长，后者被派往莫斯科接受军事训练。蒋介石的简述是确保国民党既能防御军阀军队的攻击，又能开始将其权力基础扩展到广州地区以外。

The Three Principles

Although they enjoyed a close friendship, Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek had very different backgrounds and characters. Sun, the son of a peasant farmer, spent much of his life in the West, exposed to Western methods of education and political ideologies. He developed a firm belief in the importance of democracy and social reform. Chiang, on the other hand, was the son of a wealthy landowner. Educated in China and Japan, he was steeped in Chinese traditions and culture, believing that their preservation was vital to the country’s resurgence. Sun was the intellectual thinker, the revolutionary philosopher. Chiang was the soldier, the man of action. They did, however, have one thing in common: total commitment to Chinese nationalism and the development of a unified country independent of foreign influence and interference.

三原则 孙中山和蒋介石虽然有着亲密的友谊，但他们的背景和性格却截然不同。孙先生是一位农民的儿子，他一生的大部分时间都在西方度过，接触了西方的教育方法和政治意识形态。他对民主和社会改革的重要性产生了坚定的信念。另一方面，蒋介石是一个富有的地主的儿子。他在中国和日本接受教育，深受中国传统和文化的熏陶，相信这些传统和文化的保存对于国家的复兴至关重要。孙中山是知识分子思想家、革命哲学家。蒋介石是一名军人，一个实干家。然而，他们确实有一个共同点：完全致力于中国民族主义和发展一个不受外国影响和干涉的统一国家。

Sun Yat-sen’s political philosophy and aims are most clearly expressed in what he referred to as the ‘Three Principles’. These were:

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Nationalism: China should become a strong and unified country, respected abroad and free from foreign interference.

孙中山的政治哲学和政治目标最清楚地体现在他所说的“三项原则”中。这些是： 。民族主义：中国应该成为一个强大、统一的国家，在国外受到尊重，不受外来干涉。

.

Democracy: China should adopt a democratic system of government, in which the people could elect their own leaders rather than being controlled by dynasties or warlords. To prepare the Chinese people for democratic self-government, an effective education system would be required.

。民主：中国应该采用民主的政府制度，人民可以选举自己的领导人，而不是受王朝或军阀的控制。为了让中国人民做好民主自治的准备，需要一个有效的教育体系。

.

Land reform: China should adopt more efficient agricultural practices. While there should be some redistribution of land to the peasants, Sun was opposed to the confiscation of property from wealthy landowners.

。土地改革：中国应采取更高效的农业实践。虽然应该对农民进行一定程度的土地重新分配，但孙反对没收富裕地主的财产。

However, by the time Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, little progress had been made towards these ambitious goals. Much of China remained firmly under the control of regional warlords, whose constant feuds brought disunity and disorder. Although well established in the south, the KMT had no authority in the rest of the country. Chiang Kai-shek, who emerged as the new leader of the KMT following the internal power struggle that occurred after Sun’s death, realised that the warlords would have to be defeated if China was to be unified.

The KMT’s progress under Chiang Kai-shek

In July 1926, Chiang began what became known as the Northern March – a military advance by KMT forces with the aim of destroying the power of the regional warlords and creating a unified China under a KMT government. By the end of the year, the KMT had defeated two warlord armies and won control of all land in China south of the Yangtze River. This rapid success of the KMT forces can be explained by a number of factors:

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KMT forces, known as the National Revolutionary Army (NRA), were far better organised than their enemies, the armies of the warlords.

然而，到 1925 年孙中山去世时，这些雄心勃勃的目标几乎没有取得任何进展。中国的大部分地区仍然牢牢地处于地区军阀的控制之下，这些军阀不断的争斗带来了不团结和混乱。尽管国民党在南方站稳了脚跟，但在全国其他地区却没有任何权威。在孙中山死后发生的内部权力斗争中，成为国民党新领导人的蒋介石意识到，如果中国要统一，就必须打败军阀。蒋介石领导下国民党的进步 1926 年 7 月，蒋介石开始了所谓的“北进”——国民党军队的军事推进，目的是摧毁地区军阀的势力，并在国民党政府的领导下建立统一的中国。到年底，国民党已经击败了两支军阀军队，控制了中国长江以南的所有土地。国民党军队的迅速成功可以用以下几个因素来解释：国民党军队，即国民革命军（NRA），比他们的敌人军阀军队组织得更好。

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The KMT was supported by the Chinese Communist Party and received the help of military advisors from Soviet Russia.

。国民党得到中国共产党的支持，并得到苏俄军事顾问的帮助。

.

The NRA was equipped with modern weapons from the USSR and Germany.

。全国步枪协会配备了来自苏联和德国的现代武器。

.

Ordinary Chinese people were weary of the violence incited by the warlords. They welcomed and supported the KMT forces – peasants, factory workers, shopkeepers, merchants and businessmen could all see the benefits of a KMT victory.

。中国普通民众对军阀煽动的暴力感到厌倦。他们欢迎并支持国民党军队——农民、工厂工人、店主、商人和商人都可以看到国民党胜利的好处。

.

Many Chinese people joined the KMT forces as they marched through southern China. The army at Chiang’s disposal grew from 100,000 in July 1926 to over 250,000 by the end of that year.

。当国民党军队进军中国南方时，许多中国人加入了他们。蒋介石调遣的军队从1926年7月的10万增加到当年年底的25万以上。

Much of the new support for the KMT came from peasants and factory workers, attracted by the communists’ promise of land redistribution and industrial co-operatives. Chiang opposed such measures, and began to see the communists as an embarrassing ally. As a result, all communists were expelled from the KMT and a ‘Purification Movement’ began. Many thousands of communists and trade union and peasant leaders were murdered. Despite this split within the National Revolutionary Army, KMT forces continued their march northwards, taking control of Hankow, Shanghai and Nanking during 1927. Peking fell to KMT troops in 1928. Although some warlords continued to cause chaos in parts of China well into the 1930s, Chiang Kai-shek had largely removed their power, checked the influence of the Chinese Communist Party and, in effect, become the political and military leader of China.

By the end of 1928, Chiang had achieved Sun Yat-sen’s first principle – nationalism. It was clear, however, that he had little interest in democracy and social reform. Ultimately, most Chinese people were disappointed in the KMT government, and support for Chiang began to decline. There were several reasons for this:

对国民党的新支持大部分来自农民和工厂工人，他们被共产党关于土地重新分配和工业合作社的承诺所吸引。蒋介石反对这些措施，并开始将共产党视为令人尴尬的盟友。结果，所有共产党人都被开除出国民党，“净化运动”开始了。数千名共产党员、工会和农民领袖被杀害。尽管国民革命军内部出现分裂，国民党军队仍继续北进，于 1927 年控制了汉口、上海和南京。1928 年，北京沦陷于国民党军队手中。尽管一些军阀在中国部分地区持续制造混乱直至 1930 年代蒋介石在很大程度上消除了他们的权力，遏制了中国共产党的影响力，实际上成为了中国的政治和军事领导人。到1928年底，蒋介石已经实现了孙中山的首要原则——民族主义。然而，很明显他对民主和社会改革不感兴趣。最终，大多数中国人对国民党政府感到失望，对蒋介石的支持开始下降。造成这种情况的原因有几个：

.

The government proved to be both inefficient and corrupt.

。事实证明，政府既低效又腐败。

.

The KMT made little attempt to organise mass support.

。国民党几乎没有尝试组织群众支持。

.

It quickly became clear that the government wanted to protect the interests of businessmen, bankers, factory owners and wealthy landowners.

。人们很快就明白，政府想要保护商人、银行家、工厂主和富裕地主的利益。

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Conditions in factories and other industrial establishments remained poor. Although some laws were passed, such as banning child labour in textile factories, these were not enforced.

。工厂和其他工业设施的条件仍然很差。尽管通过了一些法律，例如禁止纺织厂使用童工，但这些法律并未得到执行。

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The large peasant population saw no improvement in their living and working conditions. There was no redistribution of land. While peasants suffered terrible hardships as a result of droughts and bad harvests in the early 1930s, landowners and profiteering merchants charged high prices for wheat, and rice stockpiled in the cities.

。广大农民的生活和工作条件没有得到改善。没有重新分配土地。 20世纪30年代初期，农民因干旱和歉收而遭受巨大苦难，而地主和暴利商人则对城市中储存的小麦和大米收取高价。

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Although some progress was made in the building of roads and schools, the vast majority of Chinese people gained little under the KMT government.

。尽管在道路和学校建设方面取得了一些进展，但绝大多数中国人在国民党政府的领导下却没有得到多少收获。

Questions 问题

What were Sun Yat-sen’s political aims?

Outline the differences that appeared in the KMT after Chiang Kai-shek replaced Sun Yat-sen as leader.

Why had the Northern March achieved so much success by 1928?

Why did Chiang Kai-shek end the KMT’s close collaboration with the communists after 1927?

孙中山的政治目的是什么？概述蒋介石取代孙中山担任领导人后国民党内部出现的分歧。为什么北进在 1928 年取得了如此大的成功？蒋介石为何在 1927 年后结束国民党与共产党的密切合作？

Support for communism in China

Mao Tse-tung

In many ways, it seemed unlikely that the philosophies of Karl Marx would find any support in a country such as China. Marx’s vision of a godless society based on equality was far removed from China’s long-established hierarchical social structure, traditions, culture and religion. However, to many Chinese intellectuals – convinced that Chinese traditions had contributed to the disintegration of their country in the first place – the fact that communism offered something completely different made it appealing. In addition, the vast majority of the Chinese population, suffering from hunger and extreme poverty during the warlord era and feeling betrayed by a KMT government that had promised much but delivered little, saw in communism the hope of a better life.

Founded in 1921 by Chen Duxiu, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) began as a movement of intellectuals with the support of Soviet Russia. Lacking the military strength required to gain political power in its own right, it was prepared to work closely with the KMT to achieve the reunification of China and the type of political and social reform advocated by Sun Yat-sen. Chiang Kai-shek’s decision in 1927 to end this close association left the CCP weak and exposed.

Mao Tse-tung (Mao Zedong) had been present at the meeting that established the CCP in 1921. By 1927, he held senior posts both within the CCP and the KMT, and had earned a reputation as a highly effective organiser of trade unions and peasant associations. Endangered by Chiang’s Purification Movement (see page 113), Mao took to the mountainous regions of Kiangsi Province, where he developed and commanded a Revolutionary Army of Workers and Peasants. By 1931, Mao had joined his army with that of Zhu De, creating the Workers’ and Peasants’ Red Army of China, later known simply as the Red Army.

The same year, Mao helped to establish – and was elected chairman of – the Soviet Republic of China. Impressive though this sounds, the reality is that Mao controlled only a very small area, with an army consisting of ill-equipped and poorly trained peasants. Nonetheless, Mao posed a threat to the KMT’s control of China, and Chiang carried out five ‘extermination campaigns’ against him between 1930 and 1934. These campaigns forced Mao to fight a guerrilla war against the more organised armies of the KMT.

Mao also faced opposition to his leadership of the Communist Party in Kiangsi. His strategy of trying to win the support of the peasants, rather than gaining influence in the industrial towns controlled by the KMT, was not universally popular amongst fellow communist leaders. Mao’s determination to retain control led to the systematic and violent suppression of all opposition. As the world learned of events unfolding in Kiangsi Province, foreign journalists began depicting Mao as a terrorist whose methods were no different from those of the warlords.

对中国共产主义的支持 毛泽东 从很多方面来说，卡尔·马克思的哲学似乎不太可能在中国这样的国家得到任何支持。马克思关于建立在平等基础上的无神社会的愿景与中国长期建立的等级社会结构、传统、文化和宗教相去甚远。然而，对于许多中国知识分子来说——相信中国传统首先导致了他们国家的解体——共产主义提供了完全不同的东西，这一事实使其具有吸引力。此外，绝大多数中国民众在军阀混战时期饱受饥饿和赤贫之苦，并感到自己被许诺多而行动少的国民党政府背叛，他们在共产主义中看到了美好生活的希望。中国共产党于1921年由陈独秀创立，最初是在苏俄支持下的知识分子运动。由于缺乏自身获得政治权力所需的军事力量，它准备与国民党密切合作，以实现中国的统一以及孙中山倡导的政治和社会改革。 1927 年蒋介石决定结束这种密切联系，这使得中共变得虚弱并暴露在外。毛泽东出席了 1921 年中国共产党的成立会议。到 1927 年，他在中国共产党和国民党内均担任高级职务，并赢得了高效的工会和组织组织者的声誉。农民协会。受到蒋介石的净化运动（见第113页）的威胁，毛泽东来到江西省的山区，在那里他发展并指挥了一支工农革命军。 1931年，毛泽东与朱德的军队会师，创建了中国工农红军，后来简称为红军。同年，毛泽东帮助建立了中华苏维埃共和国并当选为主席。虽然这听起来令人印象深刻，但现实是毛泽东只控制了一个很小的地区，他的军队由装备落后、训练不足的农民组成。尽管如此，毛泽东对国民党对中国的控制构成了威胁，蒋介石在 1930 年至 1934 年间对他进行了五次“消灭运动”。这些运动迫使毛泽东对更有组织性的国民党军队进行游击战。毛泽东在江西共产党的领导也面临着反对。他的策略是试图赢得农民的支持，而不是在国民党控制的工业城镇中获得影响力，但这一策略并没有受到其他共产党领导人的普遍欢迎。毛泽东决心保留控制权，导致对所有反对派进行有系统的暴力镇压。当全世界了解到江西省发生的事件时，外国记者开始将毛泽东描述为恐怖分子，其手段与军阀没有什么不同。

He believed that the resurgence of China could only be achieved as a result of revolution – and revolution inevitably and unavoidably required violence.

他认为，中国的复兴只能通过革命来实现——而革命不可避免地需要暴力。

The Long March

In early 1934, however, Mao was more concerned with survival than revolution. His base was surrounded by KMT armies determined to complete the destruction of Chinese communism, and Mao realised that he had to escape and seek a safer power base elsewhere. In October 1934, almost 100,000 communists broke through the KMT lines and embarked on the Long March, a journey of some 9700 km (6000 miles) lasting 368 days (see the map on page 104). Such an epic trek inevitably involved difficulties and hardship:

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The communists were constantly pursued by KMT forces. In one battle alone, at Xiang, the Red Army lost 45,000 men.

长征 然而，1934 年初，毛泽东更关心的是生存而不是革命。他的基地被国民党军队包围，决心彻底摧毁中国共产主义，毛泽东意识到他必须逃离并在其他地方寻找更安全的权力基地。 1934 年 10 月，近 100,000 名共产党人突破国民党防线，踏上长征，行程约 9700 公里（6000 英里），历时 368 天（见第 104 页地图）。如此史诗般的跋涉不可避免地会遇到困难和艰辛：。共产党人不断遭到国民党军队的追击。仅在襄城的一场战斗中，红军就损失了四万五千人。

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Initially, the retreat from KMT forces was a disaster. With the whole group moving together in a straight line, its path was predictable, which made it relatively easy prey for the KMT. Mao changed his strategy and split the Red Army into smaller units moving in unpredictable directions.

。最初，国民党军队的撤退是一场灾难。由于整个团体一起直线前进，其路径是可预测的，这使得它相对容易成为国民党的猎物。毛泽东改变了策略，将红军分成更小的部队，朝着不可预测的方向前进。

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The route took them across difficult terrain, including 18 mountain ranges and 24 rivers.

。这条路线让他们穿越险峻的地形，包括18座山脉和24条河流。

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In the mountainous regions near the border with Tibet, the marchers were attacked by Tibetan tribesmen.

。在靠近西藏边境的山区，游行者遭到藏族部落成员的袭击。

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In some of the more isolated regions, the marchers faced the armies of the Chinese warlords.

。在一些较为偏僻的地区，游行者面临着中国军阀的军队。

Eventually, the 20,000 survivors of the Long March reached Yenan in Shensi Province, an area that had not yet fallen under the control of the KMT. This enabled Mao – by now the communists’ undisputed leader – to establish a safe base, and gave him time to rebuild his depleted army. At great cost in terms of human life and suffering, the Long March allowed communism to survive in China. Moreover, the determination and dedication of the marchers gained the respect of China’s rural peasant population. In his ‘Eight Points for Attention’, a list of rules for the marchers, Mao instructed his soldiers to avoid harming the peasants or their livelihood, even when the marchers were in dire need of food. Mao was fully aware that the future growth of the CCP would depend largely on peasant support.

最终，两万名长征幸存者到达了尚未落入国民党控制之下的陕西省延安市。这使得毛泽东——现在是共产党无可争议的领袖——能够建立一个安全的基地，并给了他时间来重建他疲惫不堪的军队。长征以巨大的人类生命和苦难为代价，让共产主义在中国得以生存。此外，游行者的决心和奉献赢得了中国农村农民的尊重。毛泽东在为游行者制定的一系列规则“八项注意”中，指示他的士兵避免伤害农民或他们的生计，即使游行者急需食物。毛泽东充分意识到，中国共产党未来的发展很大程度上取决于农民的支持。

manifesto

A policy document designed to win support for a political party or group.

宣言 旨在赢得政党或团体支持的政策文件。

Mao was quickly able to establish control over the provinces of Shensi and Kansu. As the KMT government continued to lose popularity, communism began to attract more support. Mao’s land policy, for example, could hardly have been more different from that of Chiang. Seizing the large estates of wealthy landowners, Mao’s communists redistributed the land amongst the peasants, guaranteeing him the support of the largest sector of Chinese society. Despite this, the CCP remained relatively isolated and lacking in power. Ironically, it was the actions of China’s aggressive neighbour, Japan, that allowed communism to take a firm hold in China.

The impact of Japanese aggression

When Japanese forces invaded the Chinese province of Manchuria in 1931, Chiang Kai-shek’s KMT government adopted a policy of non-resistance. There were two main reasons for this:

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The KMT’s control of China was still far from complete. Large parts of the country remained under the control of warlords, while Mao’s CCP had gained a strong foothold in many rural areas.

毛泽东很快就控制了陕西和甘肃两省。随着国民党政府的支持率不断下降，共产主义开始吸引更多的支持。例如，毛泽东的土地政策与蒋介石的土地政策截然不同。毛泽东的共产党人夺取了富裕地主的大片地产，将土地重新分配给农民，保证了他得到中国社会最大阶层的支持。尽管如此，中共仍然相对孤立，缺乏权力。具有讽刺意味的是，正是中国的侵略邻国日本的行为才让共产主义在中国站稳了脚跟。日本侵略的影响 1931 年日本军队入侵中国满洲里时，蒋介石的国民党政府采取了不抵抗政策。造成这种情况的主要原因有两个： 。国民党对中国的控制还远未完成。该国大部分地区仍处于军阀控制之下，而毛泽东领导的中国共产党已在许多农村地区站稳了脚跟。

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Weak, divided and lacking a large navy to defend its long coastline, China could not hope to win a war against Japan.

。中国实力薄弱、分裂，又缺乏强大的海军来保卫其漫长的海岸线，因此不可能赢得对日战争。

Chiang concentrated his resources on the internal reconstruction of China, and, in particular, on defeating the challenge of communism. This policy was not universally popular within the KMT and, indeed, in December 1936 Chiang was taken prisoner by some of his own troops. These were mainly Manchurians angered by the Japanese invasion. Eventually, Chiang was forced to agree to a new alliance with the CCP in order to provide a national front against the Japanese.

When full-scale war broke out between China and Japan in 1937, KMT forces were quickly defeated and forced to retreat westwards, leaving much of eastern China under Japanese control. Mao’s communists, undefeated in their northern mountain bases, began a guerrilla campaign against the Japanese. The CCP portrayed itself as the true party of Chinese nationalism

Questions

To what extent was dissatisfaction with the KMT the main reason for the growth in support for communism in China during the 1930s?

In effect, the Long March was a communist retreat from the KMT. How, then, was Mao Zedong able to argue that it was a great success?

What effects did Japanese aggression against China have on the fortunes of the Chinese Communist Party during the 1930s?

Source A (left) is an extract from a book written in 1937 by an American journalist who lived in China after 1928. To what extent does this source help explain the growth of support for Chinese communism during the 1930s?

蒋集中资源致力于中国的内部重建，特别是战胜共产主义的挑战。这项政策在国民党内部并未得到普遍欢迎，事实上，1936 年 12 月，蒋介石被他自己的一些部队俘虏了。这些人主要是对日本侵略感到愤怒的满洲人。最终，蒋被迫同意与中共建立新的联盟，以建立一个对抗日本的民族战线。 1937年中日全面战争爆发，国民党军队迅速溃败，被迫西撤，中国东部大部分地区落入日本控制之下。毛泽东的共产党人在北部山区根据地未尝败绩，开始了针对日本人的游击战。中国共产党把自己描绘成真正的中国民族主义政党 问题 对国民党的不满在多大程度上是1930年代中国共产主义支持率增长的主要原因？实际上，长征是共产党从国民党的撤退。那么，毛泽东怎么能说这是伟大的成功呢？日本侵华对20世纪30年代中国共产党的命运有何影响？资料来源 A（左）是一位 1928 年后居住在中国的美国记者于 1937 年写的一本书的摘录。该资料来源在多大程度上有助于解释 1930 年代对中国共产主义支持的增长？

Japan and military dictatorship during the 1930s

Japan’s position in 1918

China’s steady disintegration during the 19th century caused alarm in Japan. There was a real possibility that the Western powers, particularly Russia, might try to take advantage of China’s plight by gaining political as well as economic control over East Asia. At the same time, however, China’s decline also provided Japan with the opportunity to extend its own influence in the area. As a relatively small country with a rapidly expanding population, Japan could see major advantages in gaining more territory. It was this mixture of fear and ambition that led Japan into wars with China (1894–95) and Russia (1904–05). The same motives had inspired Japan’s conquests of Taiwan (1894), South Manchuria (1905) and Korea (1910).

Japanese expansion in East Asia was of grave concern to the Western powers, which were keen to protect and extend their own trading activities in the region. The USA in particular saw Japan as a threat to its ‘open door’ policy of trading activities in China. Any further ambitions Japan might have had in the region were therefore kept in check by the West. This situation was fundamentally changed by the First World War, which provided Japan with a unique opportunity to expand its power and influence in the Far East.

Democracy in Japan

Japan emerged from the First World War in a very strong position. It was now a wealthy nation with an efficient, modern industrial sector, a powerful navy and increased influence over China. The USA was deeply concerned by the rapid growth in the Japanese navy and, for a time, a naval arms race between the two countries seemed likely. To address this concern, the Washington Naval Conference took place in 1921–22. This led to a series of agreements:

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The Japanese navy would be limited to three-fifths the size of the US and British fleets.

1930 年代的日本与军事独裁 1918 年日本的立场 19 世纪中国的逐步解体引起了日本的警惕。西方列强，尤其是俄罗斯，确实有可能试图利用中国的困境，获得对东亚的政治和经济控制。但与此同时，中国的衰落也给日本提供了扩大其在该地区影响力的机会。作为一个人口迅速增长的相对较小的国家，日本可以在获得更多领土方面看到重大优势。正是这种恐惧和野心的混合导致日本与中国 (1894-95) 和俄罗斯 (1904-05) 发生战争。同样的动机促使日本征服台湾（1894 年）、南满洲（1905 年）和朝鲜（1910 年）。日本在东亚的扩张引起了西方列强的严重关注，它们热衷于保护和扩大自己在该地区的贸易活动。美国尤其将日本视为对其在华贸易活动“门户开放”政策的威胁。因此，日本在该地区可能有的任何进一步野心都受到西方的遏制。第一次世界大战从根本上改变了这种状况，为日本在远东扩大势力和影响提供了独特的机遇。日本的民主 日本在第一次世界大战后占据了非常有利的地位。它现在是一个富裕的国家，拥有高效、现代的工业部门、强大的海军以及对中国日益增强的影响力。美国对日本海军的快速增长深感担忧，一度两国之间似乎有可能爆发海军军备竞赛。为了解决这一问题，华盛顿海军会议于 1921-22 年召开。这导致了一系列协议： . 日本海军的规模将被限制为美国和英国舰队的五分之三。

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A Four Power Treaty was signed by Britain, the USA, France and Japan, by which each country agreed to respect the others’ rights in the Pacific and Far East. This treaty formally ended the 1902 alliance between Britain and Japan. Britain had become increasingly embarrassed by this friendship, especially since the reason for it (naval rivalry with Germany) no longer existed.

。英国、美国、法国和日本签署了《四国条约》，各国同意尊重其他国家在太平洋和远东的权利。该条约正式结束了 1902 年英国与日本之间的联盟。英国对这种友谊越来越感到尴尬，特别是因为它的原因（与德国的海军竞争）已不复存在。

‘open-door’ policy

The idea that all countries should be able to trade freely within the lucrative Chinese market. This was first suggested by the USA in the late 19th century, as a way of protecting US economic interests in China.

“开放”政策 所有国家都应该能够在利润丰厚的中国市场内自由贸易。这是美国在19世纪末首次提出的，作为保护美国在华经济利益的一种方式。

. A Nine Power Treaty guaranteed protection for China against invasion and agreed to uphold the ‘open-door’ policy. This agreement was made between Britain, the USA, France, Japan and some smaller countries that had interests in the Far East, including the Netherlands.

Before the Washington Naval Conference, Japan had followed a policy of expansionism in the Far East. Historians disagree about the reasons why Japan was prepared to abandon this policy and accept the international agreements reached in Washington. Some claim that, confronted by the combined power of Britain and the USA, the Japanese realised that they had little choice but to reach agreement. In particular, there was simply no way Japan could win a naval arms race against the USA. However, the opposing view is that rather than being forced into it, Japan reached agreement because it genuinely wanted to. Many Japanese politicians, such as Kijuro Shidehara, realised that such multinational co-operation would not only guarantee Japan’s security but also enable it to continue its economic expansion in China.

Japan seemed to be changing in other ways, too. It began to adopt a more democratic system of government and, in 1925, all adult males were given the right to vote. New political parties, more concerned with domestic reform than pursuing a militaristic foreign policy, were beginning to emerge. However, just as in Italy, Germany and Spain, problems began to emerge during the 1920s and early 1930s – problems that democratically elected governments seemed incapable of overcoming.

As disputes raged both between and within political parties, military leaders grew increasingly powerful. Secret military groups were organised, such as the Sakurakai (Cherry Blossom Society), established in 1930. Their aim was to end party politics and restore the emperor as head of state in a military dictatorship. Concerned that politicians were dividing rather than uniting their country, many people in Japan grew increasingly supportive of the aims of such groups. By the early 1930s, Japan’s flirtation with democracy was coming to an end for a variety of reasons:

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The constitution that created an elected Diet had only been adopted in 1889, prior to which the emperor had supreme power in Japan. The idea of democracy was thus still relatively new to the Japanese people. Moreover, the emperor had the authority to dissolve the Diet at any time.

。九国条约保证保护中国免受侵略，并同意坚持“门户开放”政策。该协议是英国、美国、法国、日本以及包括荷兰在内的一些在远东地区拥有利益的小国之间达成的。在华盛顿海军会议之前，日本一直奉行远东扩张主义政策。对于日本准备放弃这一政策并接受在华盛顿达成的国际协议的原因，历史学家们意见不一。一些人声称，面对英国和美国的联合力量，日本意识到他们别无选择，只能达成协议。特别是，日本根本不可能赢得与美国的海军军备竞赛。然而，反对的观点认为，日本之所以达成协议，不是被迫的，而是因为它确实愿意这样做。志出原喜十郎等许多日本政界人士认识到，这种跨国合作不仅能保证日本的安全，还能使其在中国的经济扩张得以继续。日本似乎也在其他方面发生着变化。它开始采用更加民主的政府制度，并于 1925 年赋予所有成年男性投票权。更关心国内改革而不是奉行军国主义外交政策的新政党开始出现。然而，正如意大利、德国和西班牙一样，问题在 20 年代和 1930 年代初开始出现——民选政府似乎无法克服这些问题。随着政党之间和政党内部的争端愈演愈烈，军事领导人的权力越来越大。人们组织了一些秘密军事团体，例如 1930 年成立的樱花会。 他们的目标是结束政党政治并恢复天皇作为军事独裁国家元首的地位。由于担心政客们正在分裂而不是团结国家，许多日本人越来越支持这些团体的目标。到了 1930 年代初，日本对民主的追求因多种原因而结束：建立民选国会的宪法直到 1889 年才通过，在此之前天皇在日本拥有最高权力。因此，民主理念对日本人民来说仍然相对较新。而且，天皇还有随时解散国会的权力。

.

The Japanese people’s respect for parliamentary democracy declined very quickly when it became evident that many politicians were corrupt and open to bribery.

。当许多政客明显腐败且容易受贿时，日本人民对议会民主的尊重迅速下降。

.

The agreements that Japan signed as a result of the Washington Naval Conference were not popular. Most Japanese citizens were strongly nationalistic and held anti-Western views that did not fit well with their government’s willingness to co-operate with the USA and the major European nations.

。日本在华盛顿海军会议上签署的协议并不受欢迎。大多数日本公民具有强烈的民族主义情绪，持有反西方观点，这与日本政府与美国和欧洲主要国家合作的意愿不太相符。

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Army and navy leaders felt that the Japanese government was being too ‘soft’ on China, and that China’s weakness should be exploited to allow for Japanese expansion.

。陆军和海军领导人认为日本政府对中国过于“软弱”，应该利用中国的弱点来允许日本扩张。

.

The economic boom Japan experienced as a result of the First World War had ended by 1921. By this time, European industry had revived and was beginning to recover lost markets. Unemployment began to rise in the industrial cities of Japan. At the same time, farmers were hit by falling prices. Attempts by industrial workers and farmers to form political organisations were systematically suppressed by the government.

。日本因第一次世界大战而经历的经济繁荣于 1921 年结束。此时，欧洲工业已经复苏，并开始收复失去的市场。日本工业城市的失业率开始上升。与此同时，农民也受到价格下跌的打击。产业工人和农民组建政治组织的企图遭到政府的系统镇压。

.

Japan was particularly badly hit by the world economic crisis that followed the Wall Street Crash (see page 63). Japanese exports dropped alarmingly, leading to further unemployment. As poverty spread across much of the country, most Japanese people blamed the government for their misfortunes.

。华尔街崩盘之后的世界经济危机对日本造成的打击尤为严重（见第 63 页）。日本出口急剧下降，导致失业进一步加剧。随着贫困蔓延到全国大部分地区，大多数日本人将自己的不幸归咎于政府。

Manchuria and the descent into military dictatorship

It was events in Manchuria, a large province of China, that finally caused the collapse of Japanese democracy. Japan had developed extensive trade and investment interests in Manchuria, protected by a military force known as the Kwantung Army.

In September 1931, the Kwantung Army mobilised and, over the next six months, took control of the whole of Manchuria and established the state of Manchukuo in its place. This action was taken without the permission of the Japanese government. After criticising the invasion the prime minister, Inukai Tsuyoshi, was assassinated by a group of army officers. Emperor Hirohito deplored the attack on Manchuria but steadfastly refused to order the Kwantung Army to withdraw, afraid that his prestige among the population would be damaged if his order was ignored by the army – which it was likely to be.

满洲和沦为军事独裁 中国的一个大省满洲发生的事件最终导致了日本民主的崩溃。日本在满洲建立了广泛的贸易和投资利益，并受到关东军军事力量的保护。 1931 年 9 月，关东军动员起来，在接下来的六个月里控制了整个满洲，并在其所在地建立了满洲国。这一行动是在未经日本政府许可的情况下进行的。在批评入侵后，首相犬养刚被一群军官暗杀。裕仁天皇对进攻满洲表示遗憾，但坚决拒绝命令关东军撤军，担心如果军队忽视他的命令——而军队很可能忽视他的命令，他在民众中的威望就会受到损害。

Historians disagree about the reasons why officers of the Kwantung Army made the decision to invade Manchuria in open defiance of their own democratically elected government. Several possible explanations have been put forward:

对于关东军军官公然蔑视自己的民选政府而决定入侵满洲的原因，历史学家们意见不一。人们提出了几种可能的解释：

.

The Chinese were trying to reduce Japanese influence over trade and business within Manchuria. This would have been a serious blow to the Japanese economy, already suffering as a result of the worldwide depression.

。中国人试图减少日本对满洲地区贸易和商业的影响。这将对已经因全球经济萧条而遭受损失的日本经济造成严重打击。

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Manchuria was rich in iron ore and coal deposits. To a small, resource-poor island nation such as Japan, these were prize assets.

。满洲盛产铁矿石和煤炭。对于日本这样一个资源匮乏的小岛国来说，这些都是宝贵的资产。

.

Many army officers were concerned about Japan’s vulnerability in the event of any future war. As a small nation dependent on trade, Japan could easily be blockaded into submission. It was thus vital for Japan to achieve economic self-sufficiency, and this could only be done by acquiring new territory.

。许多军官担心日本在未来发生战争时的脆弱性。作为一个依赖贸易的小国，日本很容易被封锁而屈服。因此，日本实现经济自给自足至关重要，而这只能通过获取新领土来实现。

.

This seemed like the ideal time to invade Manchuria. In 1931, China was distracted by terrible floods and the civil war between and KMT and the CCP. Europe and the USA were busy dealing with their own problems brought on by the Great Depression.

。这似乎是入侵满洲的理想时机。 1931年，中国因可怕的洪水和国共内战而心烦意乱。欧洲和美国正忙于处理大萧条带来的自身问题。

.

Japanese army officers were dismayed by the government’s determination to press ahead with cuts to the army and navy. The conquest of Manchuria would demonstrate just how important the army was to Japan’s future.

。日本陆军军官对政府继续削减陆军和海军的决心感到沮丧。征服满洲将证明军队对日本的未来有多么重要。

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Public opinion in Japan was largely supportive of the Manchurian campaign. As in Italy and Germany, the Depression led to a rise in ultra-nationalist sentiments. To most Japanese, the conquest of Manchuria would provide an economic solution to the Depression – a new market for trade and investment.

。日本的公众舆论基本上支持满洲运动。与意大利和德国一样，大萧条导致极端民族主义情绪高涨。对于大多数日本人来说，征服满洲将为大萧条提供经济解决方案——一个新的贸易和投资市场。

The invasion of Manchuria had profound implications for

Japan. It was clear that the already unpopular constitutional

government of Japan had lost control of its own armed forces. The emperor’s advisors came to the conclusion that a democratically elected government could no longer provide stability. Following this advice, Emperor Hirohito appointed a National Unity government under Admiral Makoto Saito. In effect, the armed forces assumed control of Japan and the country became a military dictatorship.

Although the Japanese invasion of Manchuria was criticised by the League of Nations and the USA, neither took any action. This weak international response to such blatant aggression in defiance of international agreements led some of Japan’s military leaders to call for further inroads into China. Others were less convinced, arguing that the first priority was to develop Japanese forces in preparation for a possible attack by the USSR, which was also showing an interest in Manchuria. As this debate continued, Japan withdrew from the League of Nations in March 1933, and rejected arms control. The agreements made at the Washington Naval Conference were no longer valid. In November 1936, Japan signed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany, subsequently joined by Italy in 1937 (see page 76).

入侵满洲对日本产生了深远的影响。显然，本来就不受欢迎的日本宪政已经失去了对自己武装部队的控制。皇帝的顾问得出的结论是，民主选举的政府无法再提供稳定。根据这一建议，裕仁天皇任命了由斋藤诚海军上将领导的民族团结政府。实际上，武装部队控制了日本，该国成为军事独裁国家。尽管日本入侵满洲遭到国际联盟和美国的批评，但两国都没有采取任何行动。对于这种无视国际协议的公然侵略行为，国际社会反应软弱，导致一些日本军事领导人呼吁进一步入侵中国。其他人则不太相信，他们认为首要任务是发展日本军队，为苏联可能发动的进攻做好准备，苏联也对满洲表现出了兴趣。随着这场争论的继续，日本于 1933 年 3 月退出国际联盟，并拒绝军备控制。华盛顿海军会议上达成的协议不再有效。 1936 年 11 月，日本与德国签署了反共产国际条约，随后意大利于 1937 年加入（见第 76 页）。

The implications of military dictatorship in Japan

In July 1937, the tension that had been steadily growing between China and Japan reached a climax when an incident at the Marco Polo Bridge near Peking led to a full-scale Japanese invasion of China.

Under the Boxer Protocol of 1901, Japan and other countries had been allowed to station troops near Peking to guard important railway lines and other communications systems. On 7 July 1937, a Japanese training exercise was misinterpreted by Chinese troops as a genuine military action, and the Chinese fired on the Japanese. Immediately realising its mistake, China issued an apology, but Japan used the incident to declare war on China. The Sino–Japanese War lasted until 1945. Japan’s hopes for a rapid victory were quickly dispelled. Renewed unity between Chiang’s KMT and Mao’s CCP, assisted by significant military aid from the USSR, provided much sterner resistance than the Japanese expected.

日本军事独裁的影响 1937 年 7 月，北京附近的卢沟桥事件导致日本全面侵华，中日之间的紧张局势达到了顶峰。根据1901年的《庚子议定书》，日本和其他国家被允许在北京附近驻军，以保卫重要的铁路线和其他通讯系统。 1937年7月7日，日本的一次训练演习被中国军队误认为是真正的军事行动，中国向日本开枪。中国立即认识到自己的错误并道歉，但日本却借此向中国宣战。中日战争一直持续到1945年，日本迅速获胜的希望很快就破灭了。蒋介石的国民党和毛泽东的中共在苏联大量军事援助的帮助下重新团结起来，带来了比日本人预期的更严峻的抵抗。

Continued expansion

There was also renewed concern in Britain and the USA about Japanese

持续扩张英国和美国也对日本重新产生了担忧

The USA grew alarmed when Japan took possession of French Indochina. Although Tojo still maintained that he wanted peace, the American Intelligence Service had broken the Japanese diplomatic code. US president Franklin Roosevelt was thus fully aware of Japan’s plans for further territorial acquisitions in the Pacific region and the threat this posed to US interests. Demanding that the Japanese end their warlike preparations, he imposed a trade ban on Japan. Roosevelt believed that economic sanctions would be enough to force Japan to back down. This belief was based on two assumptions. The first was that Japan was militarily weak, as demonstrated by its failure to force a quick defeat on China. The second was that the presence of British and US forces in the Pacific region would be sufficient to deter Japanese aggression. Both assumptions were wrong.

The attack on Pearl Harbor

Denied vital American oil imports, Japan faced a stark choice – either reach a diplomatic settlement with the USA or continue seizing raw materials from Southeast Asia, including the oil of the Dutch East Indies. In fact, Japan pursued both options. Just as Hitler had disguised his aggressive intentions behind constant claims that his only desire was for peace, so Tojo pursued negotiations with US diplomats while simultaneously preparing his armed forces for war.

It was not until 26 November 1941, when Roosevelt demanded that Japan cease its military build-up in the Pacific, that Tojo finally broke off diplomatic relations with the USA. By then, a fleet of Japanese ships was already three weeks into its journey towards the US naval base at Pearl Harbor in Hawaii. Aboard six aircraft carriers – protected by two battleships, two cruisers and more than 50 other vessels – were 453 Japanese fighter planes armed with bombs and torpedoes. Their aim was to destroy the US Pacific fleet in line with a plan devised by Admiral Isoroku Yamamoto. Surprisingly, these Japanese ships went undetected either by US patrol vessels or radar. At 8 a.m. on Sunday 7 December 1941, the first wave of 183 Japanese aircraft attacked. By 1.30 p.m., the USA had lost 2402 men and almost 190 aircraft, and eight ships had been seriously damaged.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor had a profound and lasting effect on US foreign policy. It completely ended the country’s obsession with isolationism. Americans could no longer claim that events in the wider world did not affect or concern them, and the Second World War was clearly no longer an exclusively European affair. Roosevelt had long argued in favour of US involvement in the Second World War. As early as 1937, speaking of the wars in Spain and China, he had said: ‘If these things come to pass in other parts of the world, let no one imagine that America will escape, that America may expect mercy, that the Western Hemisphere will not be attacked.’ Such views had been extremely unpopular at the time, but now the American public called for revenge.

当日本占领法属印度支那时，美国感到震惊。尽管东条仍然坚称自己想要和平，但美国情报局却打破了日本的外交密码。美国总统富兰克林·罗斯福因此充分意识到日本在太平洋地区进一步获取领土的计划以及这对美国利益构成的威胁。他要求日本停止战争准备，并对日本实施贸易禁令。罗斯福认为经济制裁足以迫使日本做出让步。这种信念基于两个假设。首先，日本的军事实力很弱，它未能迅速击败中国就证明了这一点。第二，英美军队在太平洋地区的存在足以遏制日本的侵略。这两种假设都是错误的。珍珠港袭击 由于美国无法进口重要的石油，日本面临着一个严峻的选择：要么与美国达成外交和解，要么继续从东南亚夺取原材料，包括荷属东印度群岛的石油。事实上，日本同时采取了这两种选择。正如希特勒不断声称他唯一的愿望是和平来掩盖他的侵略意图一样，东条在与美国外交官进行谈判的同时，也为战争做好了武装部队的准备。直到1941年11月26日，罗斯福要求日本停止在太平洋的军事集结，东条才最终与美国断交。那时，一支日本舰艇编队已经驶向夏威夷珍珠港的美国海军基地三周了。 六艘航空母舰上有 453 架配备炸弹和鱼雷的日本战斗机，由两艘战列舰、两艘巡洋舰和 50 多艘其他船只保护。他们的目标是按照山本五十六海军上将制定的计划摧毁美国太平洋舰队。令人惊讶的是，这些日本船只没有被美国巡逻舰或雷达发现。 1941 年 12 月 7 日星期日上午 8 点，第一波 183 架日本飞机发起攻击。截至下午 1 点 30 分，美国已损失 2402 名人员和近 190 架飞机，8 艘舰艇严重受损。日本偷袭珍珠港对美国外交政策产生了深远而持久的影响。它彻底结束了该国对孤立主义的痴迷。美国人不能再声称更广阔的世界发生的事件不影响或不关心他们，第二次世界大战显然不再是欧洲独有的事情。罗斯福长期以来一直主张美国参与第二次世界大战。早在 1937 年，谈到西班牙和中国的战争时，他就曾说过：“如果这些事情发生在世界其他地方，谁也别想像美国会逃脱，美国会期待怜悯，西方国家会希望得到怜悯”。半球不会受到攻击。这种观点在当时极不受欢迎，但现在美国公众却呼吁报复。

Hitler greeted the news of Japan’s attack on Pearl Harbor with jubilation. With Japan as an ally, he believed Germany would be invincible. Consequently, Germany declared war on the USA – a decision that guaranteed American involvement on the battlegrounds of Europe.

For Japan, too, the attack on Pearl Harbor had major implications. Japanese victory in the Russo–Japanese War of 1904–05 (see pages 26–27) had been largely secured by the destruction of the Russian fleet in Port Arthur. They believed that, in much the same way, the attack on Pearl Harbor would seriously undermine the USA’s ability to fight a naval war in the Pacific. However, devastating though it was, the attack failed in its key objective. A number of US ships, including three aircraft carriers, were at sea at the time of the attack and therefore escaped undamaged. Moreover, the Japanese

希特勒欣喜若狂地迎接日本袭击珍珠港的消息。有日本作为盟友，他相信德国将所向无敌。结果，德国向美国宣战 — — 这一决定保证了美国介入欧洲战场。对日本来说，珍珠港袭击也产生了重大影响。日本在 1904-05 年日俄战争（见第 26-27 页）中的胜利很大程度上是通过摧毁旅顺港的俄罗斯舰队而获得的。他们相信，以同样的方式，对珍珠港的袭击将严重削弱美国在太平洋进行海战的能力。然而，尽管这次袭击具有毁灭性，但它未能实现其主要目标。袭击发生时，包括三艘航空母舰在内的多艘美国船只正在海上，因此毫发无伤。此外，日本人

Historical debate

An area of debate amongst historians is why the American naval base at Pearl Harbor was so ill prepared for the Japanese attack in December 1941. It came as such a surprise that, during the first wave of bombing by the Japanese fighter planes, only four US aircraft were able to get airborne to offer any defence. Historians disagree about one key issue. Did Roosevelt know that a Japanese attack was imminent and fail to do anything about it?

Those who argue in support of this claim include James Rusbridger, Eric Nave and Robert Stinnett. They put forward the following points to prove this:

.

Roosevelt was widely criticised by politicians and in a number of books during the immediate post-war period.

历史争论 历史学家争论的一个领域是，为什么美国珍珠港海军基地对日本 1941 年 12 月的袭击准备如此不足。令人惊讶的是，在日本战斗机的第一波轰炸中，仅四架美国飞机得以升空提供防御。历史学家在一个关键问题上存在分歧。罗斯福是否知道日本即将发动进攻却没有采取任何行动？支持这一主张的人包括詹姆斯·拉斯布里杰 (James Rusbridger)、埃里克·纳夫 (Eric Nave) 和罗伯特·斯廷内特 (Robert Stinnett)。他们提出以下几点来证明这一点： 。战后不久，罗斯福受到政治家和许多书籍的广泛批评。

.

Since American Intelligence Services had cracked the Japanese diplomatic code, it should have been obvious that Japan was planning an attack.

。既然美国情报部门破解了日本的外交密码，那么日本正在计划发动袭击就应该是显而易见的。

.

Roosevelt had long argued that it was in the USA’s best interests to become involved in the Second World War. When war broke out in 1939 he advocated US entry to the war in support of Britain, in order to defend US economic interests in Europe. These views were extremely unpopular in the USA, where public opinion remained steadfastly isolationist. Even members of Roosevelt’s own Democratic Party labelled him a ‘warmonger’. Some historians have argued that Roosevelt did nothing to prevent the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor because it would force the American people to accept the USA’s entry into the Second World War.

。罗斯福长期以来一直认为，卷入第二次世界大战符合美国的最佳利益。 1939年战争爆发时，他主张美国参战支持英国，以捍卫美国在欧洲的经济利益。这些观点在美国极不受欢迎，美国公众舆论仍然坚定地持孤立主义态度。甚至罗斯福所在的民主党成员也称他为“战争贩子”。一些历史学家认为，罗斯福没有采取任何措施阻止日本袭击珍珠港，因为这将迫使美国人民接受美国加入第二次世界大战。

Those who argue against the claim include Roberta Wohlstetter and Gordon Prange. They put forward the following ideas:

反对这一说法的人包括罗伯塔·沃尔施泰特和戈登·普兰奇。他们提出了以下想法：

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Much of the criticism levelled at Roosevelt during the immediate post-war period was politically motivated and therefore biased.

。战后时期对罗斯福的大部分批评都是出于政治动机，因此带有偏见。

.

American Intelligence Services had intercepted a huge amount of Japanese material. It would have been impossible to identify Japan’s plans for an attack on Hawaii from this mass of information.

。美国情报部门截获了大量日本材料。从大量信息中不可能确定日本袭击夏威夷的计划。

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In 1945–46, a US congressional investigation was held into the attack on Pearl Harbor. It found nothing to suggest that anyone in senior government positions had been informed of a possible Japanese attack. Records of high-level government meetings suggest that the USA was expecting Japan to launch an assault in Southeast Asia, possibly against the Dutch East Indies. Neither Roosevelt, nor any of his senior colleagues, had any reason to believe that the base at Pearl Harbor was under threat.

。 1945-46 年，美国国会对珍珠港袭击事件进行了调查。调查没有发现任何迹象表明任何担任高级政府职务的人都已获悉日本可能发动的袭击。高层政府会议的记录表明，美国预计日本会对东南亚发动进攻，可能是针对荷属东印度群岛。罗斯福和他的任何高级同事都没有任何理由相信珍珠港基地受到威胁。

Revision questions

1 To what extent is it fair to hold President Roosevelt responsible for the fact that the USA was unprepared for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor?

2 ‘Fear of the USSR was the main reason why Japan invaded Manchuria and went to war with China in 1937.’ Discuss.

3 Explain how China’s weakness was both a cause of concern and an opportunity for Japan.

Further reading

修订问题 1 让罗斯福总统对美国对日本袭击珍珠港毫无准备的事实负责，在多大程度上公平？ 2 “对苏联的恐惧是日本入侵满洲并于 1937 年与中国开战的主要原因。”讨论。 3 解释为什么中国的弱点对日本来说既是担忧的原因又是机遇。进一步阅读

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Introduction 介绍

W

hen the First World War broke out in 1914, most European statesmen believed that this would be a war like the hundreds that had come before it: bloody and unpleasant, but quick and decisive. These expectations were shattered long before the guns finally fell silent in November 1918. The scale, longevity and sheer horror of the war created a widespread determination that it must never be allowed to happen again. From this determination emerged the concept of an international organisation designed to preserve world peace – an organisation that would settle disputes between nations by negotiation, and that would protect the weak and vulnerable from the aggressive actions of more powerful and ambitious states. In 1919, the League of Nations was formally established to do just that.

Although the League of Nations could claim some solid achievements, when the Second World War began in 1939 it was clear that it had failed in its primary objective. Indeed, its weaknesses and ineffectiveness had become apparent long before then. Despite this, belief in the concept of a worldwide organisation remained strong enough to permit the establishment of the United Nations when this war finally reached its conclusion in 1945.

The origins and aims of the League of Nations

The origins of the League of Nations

1914 年第一次世界大战爆发时，大多数欧洲政治家认为这将是一场与之前发生的数百场战争一样的战争：血腥且令人不愉快，但迅速且具有决定性。早在 1918 年 11 月枪声最终平息之前，这些期望就已破灭。战争的规模、持久性和纯粹的恐怖让人们普遍决心决不能允许战争再次发生。从这一决心中诞生了一个旨在维护世界和平的国际组织的概念——一个通过谈判解决国家间争端、保护弱者和弱势群体免受更强大、更雄心勃勃的国家侵略行为的组织。 1919 年，国际联盟正式成立就是为了实现这一目标。尽管国际联盟可以声称取得了一些坚实的成就，但当 1939 年第二次世界大战开始时，很明显它未能实现其主要目标。事实上，它的弱点和无效性早在那时就已经显现出来。尽管如此，人们对世界性组织概念的信念依然强烈，以至于当这场战争于 1945 年最终结束时，联合国得以成立。 国际联盟的起源和目标 国际联盟的起源

covenants

Binding agreements made between nations.

契约 国家之间达成的具有约束力的协议。

The First World War was the first large-scale conflict to take place between industrialised nations. This was warfare on an unprecedented scale and, for the first time, civilian deaths rivalled those of military personnel. This was the ‘Great War’, ‘the war to end all wars’. Anti-war sentiment spread across the globe, together with a determination that such a catastrophe must never be allowed to happen again. Even while the war was still raging, statesmen in many different countries reached the conclusion that major changes were needed in the way that international relations were conducted, in order to avoid a future disaster on the same scale.

As early as 1915 (before the USA entered the First World War), the League to Enforce Peace (LEP) was established in New York by a group of notable US citizens, including former president William Howard Taft. At a conference in Philadelphia in 1915, the LEP proposed an international agreement in which participating nations would agree to ‘jointly use their economic and military force against any one of their number that goes to war or commits acts of hostility against another’. In the same year, a British League of Nations Society was founded in London.

In 1916, the senior British politician Lord Robert Cecil submitted a memorandum to the British government, advocating an international organisation to settle future disputes between nations and help preserve world peace. Leon Bourgeois and Paul Hymans, who represented France and Belgium respectively at the Paris Peace Conference, made similar proposals to their governments. In 1918, Jan Smuts of South Africa – who unsuccessfully

argued in favour of more lenient terms for Germany in the Treaty of Versailles – published a treatise entitled ‘The League of Nations: A Practical Suggestion’.

If Wilson cannot claim to have come up with the idea of a League of Nations, he certainly became one of its strongest advocates. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, Wilson acted as chairman of a multinational commission set up to agree on the precise wording of the League of Nations’ Covenant, the list of rules by which the League would operate. The commission consisted of two representatives each from the USA, Britain, France, Italy and Japan, together with one representative each from Belgium, China, Portugal and Serbia. Representatives from Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland and Romania were later added. By 11 April 1919, the commission accepted – with only minor amendments – a draft covenant written by Cecil Hurst (Britain) and David Miller (USA). A few additional minor amendments were made in 1924.

It was at Wilson’s insistence that the League of Nations’ Covenant was included in each of the separate peace treaties that emerged from the Paris peace talks. In addition, and despite his own failing health, Wilson endured a gruelling tour of the USA in an attempt to convince the sceptical US public of the League of Nations’ importance, both for the world in general and for the USA in particular. Wilson’s role in achieving the establishment of the League of Nations was internationally recognised in October 1919, when he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

第一次世界大战是工业化国家之间发生的第一次大规模冲突。这是一场规模空前的战争，平民死亡人数首次与军人死亡人数相媲美。这就是“伟大的战争”，“结束所有战争的战争”。反战情绪席卷全球，人们决心决不能让这样的灾难再次发生。即使战争仍在肆虐，许多国家的政治家也得出结论，国际关系的运作方式需要发生重大改变，以避免未来发生同样规模的灾难。早在 1915 年（美国参加第一次世界大战之前），包括前总统威廉·霍华德·塔夫脱在内的一群著名美国公民在纽约成立了强制和平联盟 (LEP)。 1915 年在费城举行的一次会议上，LEP 提出了一项国际协议，参与国将同意“联合使用经济和军事力量对付任何对另一国发动战争或实施敌对行为的国家”。同年，英国国际联盟协会在伦敦成立。 1916年，英国资深政治家罗伯特·塞西尔勋爵向英国政府提交了一份备忘录，主张建立一个国际组织来解决未来国家之间的争端，帮助维护世界和平。分别代表法国和比利时参加巴黎和会的莱昂·布尔乔亚和保罗·海曼斯向各自政府提出了类似的建议。 1918 年，南非的扬·斯穆茨 (Jan Smuts) 发表了一篇题为《国际联盟：一个实用建议》的论文，他在《凡尔赛条约》中主张对德国采取更宽松的条款，但没有成功。如果威尔逊不能声称自己提出了国际联盟的想法，那么他无疑成为了该联盟最有力的倡导者之一。在 1919 年的巴黎和会上，威尔逊担任多国委员会的主席，该委员会的成立是为了就国际联盟盟约的准确措辞达成一致，该盟约是国际联盟运作的规则清单。该委员会由来自美国、英国、法国、意大利和日本各两名代表以及来自比利时、中国、葡萄牙和塞尔维亚各一名代表组成。随后捷克斯洛伐克、希腊、波兰和罗马尼亚的代表也加入其中。到 1919 年 4 月 11 日，委员会只做了微小的修改，就接受了塞西尔·赫斯特（英国）和大卫·米勒（美国）起草的一份契约草案。 1924 年进行了一些额外的小修改。在威尔逊的坚持下，国际联盟盟约被纳入巴黎和谈产生的每一项单独的和平条约中。此外，尽管威尔逊本人的健康状况不佳，但他还是忍受了一次艰苦的美国之行，试图让持怀疑态度的美国公众相信国际联盟对于整个世界和特别是美国的重要性。 1919 年 10 月，威尔逊在建立国际联盟方面的作用得到了国际认可，并荣获诺贝尔和平奖。

The League of Nations was formally established by Part 1 of the Treaty of Versailles. On 28 June 1919, 42 states became the founding members of the League. Wilson’s dream had become a reality.

Each state signed the Covenant, a series of articles that outlined the organisational structure and the methods by which the League would achieve its objectives.

国际联盟是根据《凡尔赛条约》第一部分正式成立的。 1919 年 6 月 28 日，42 个州成为国联创始成员国。威尔逊的梦想已经成为现实。每个州都签署了该盟约，这是一系列条款，概述了联盟的组织结构和实现其目标的方法。

arbitration

Mediation between opposing sides in a disagreement. The League of Nations

仲裁 在分歧双方之间进行调解。国际联盟

would investigate the dispute and consider the rights and wrongs

of each party. The League would then pass judgement on how the dispute should be settled. The League’s decision would be binding on both parties.

economic sanctions

将调查争议并考虑各方的对错。然后联盟将就如何解决争端做出判断。联盟的决定对双方都有约束力。经济制裁

Refusing to trade with a nation that was acting in defiance of the League’s judgements. It was hoped that such economic pressure would force the ‘rogue nation’ to back down.

The aims of the League of Nations

The League of Nations had three main aims, which are outlined below.

Preventing future war

It was the firm belief of many statesmen, Wilson among them, that the horrors of the First World War could have been avoided if only there had been an international organisation designed to settle disputes between nations before they descended into armed conflict. The League of Nations was intended to play this role in the future, to ensure that the Great War really was ‘the war to end all wars’. It would achieve this in a number of ways:

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By promoting disarmament. Article 8 of the Covenant began, ‘Members of the League recognise that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety’.

拒绝与一个藐视联盟判决的国家进行贸易。人们希望这样的经济压力能够迫使这个“流氓国家”让步。国际联盟的目标 国际联盟有三个主要目标，概述如下。防止未来战争 包括威尔逊在内的许多政治家坚信，只要有一个国际组织能够在各国陷入武装冲突之前解决它们之间的争端，第一次世界大战的恐怖就可以避免。国际联盟打算在未来发挥这一作用，以确保第一次世界大战真正成为“结束所有战争的战争”。它将通过多种方式实现这一目标：通过促进裁军。该公约第八条开头写道：“联盟成员国认识到维护和平需要将国家军备削减到符合国家安全的最低水平”。

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By abolishing secret diplomacy. Wilson strongly believed that the main cause of the First World War was the secret diplomacy that had led to the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente (see pages 29–32). In reality, both these rival alliances had been created by a series of treaties that were essentially defensive rather than aggressive. If the full details of these treaties had been known and understood by everyone, they would have caused less fear and panic. Under Article 18 of the Covenant, any future treaty entered into by a member state would have to be registered with and published by the League of Nations.

。废除秘密外交。威尔逊坚信，第一次世界大战的主要原因是导致三国同盟和三国协约的秘密外交（见第29-32页）。事实上，这两个敌对联盟都是通过一系列本质上是防御性而非侵略性的条约而建立的。如果每个人都知道并理解这些条约的全部细节，它们就会引起更少的恐惧和恐慌。根据该公约第十八条，成员国未来签订的任何条约都必须在国际联盟登记并由国际联盟公布。

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By member states agreeing to League of Nations’ arbitration of any dispute between them (Article 13).

。由成员国同意国际联盟对其之间的任何争端进行仲裁（第13条）。

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By developing the notion of collective security. Member states of the League of Nations would work together against any country whose actions were seen as a threat to peace by acting aggressively or ignoring decisions made by the League. This could take the form of economic sanctions or, if these failed, in joint military action (Article 16).

。通过发展集体安全的概念。国际联盟成员国将共同反对任何因侵略性行为或无视国际联盟决定而被视为对和平构成威胁的国家。这可以采取经济制裁的形式，如果失败，则采取联合军事行动（第 16 条）。

Administering the post-war peace settlements

There were two main ways in which the League of Nations would work to ensure that the terms of the peace settlements were carried out. The first of these was by arranging plebiscites (see page 47). For example, the Treaty of Versailles determined that the Saar Valley should be administered by the League of Nations for a period of 15 years, after which a plebiscite would be held so the local people could decide for themselves whether the area should belong to France or Germany. In 1935, the League of Nations duly arranged this plebiscite and the Saar region voted to return to Germany.

管理战后和平解决方案 国际联盟主要通过两种方式来确保和平解决方案的条款得到执行。第一个是安排公民投票（见第 47 页）。例如，《凡尔赛条约》规定萨尔河谷由国际联盟管理，为期15年，之后举行公民投票，由当地人民自行决定该地区是否属于法国或属于法国。德国。 1935年，国际联盟正式安排了这次公民投票，萨尔地区投票决定回归德国。

The second was by organising mandates (see page 47). As a result of the peace treaties that ended the First World War, many colonies were taken away from the defeated nations. In cases where it was felt that these territories were not yet ready for full independence, they would be run as mandates. This meant that their administration was entrusted to another country (known as the Mandatory) appointed by the League of Nations. The Mandatory had to submit an annual report to the League, which established a Mandate Commission to review the progress of each mandated territory.

第二个是组织任务（见第 47 页）。由于结束第一次世界大战的和平条约，许多殖民地被从战败国手中夺走。如果认为这些领土尚未准备好完全独立，则它们将作为托管地运行。这意味着他们的行政管理被委托给国际联盟指定的另一个国家（称为托管国）。托管地必须向联盟提交年度报告，联盟成立了托管委员会来审查每个托管地区的进展情况。

Mandated regions were divided into three classes:

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Class A mandates were countries that were considered almost ready for independence. The role of the Mandatory was simply to provide administrative advice. Examples include Mesopotamia and Syria, whose Mandatory powers were Britain and France respectively.

授权区域分为三类： 。 A 级托管国家是被认为几乎准备好独立的国家。委托人的作用只是提供行政建议。例子包括美索不达米亚和叙利亚，其托管国分别是英国和法国。

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Class B mandates were countries that required a greater degree of control by the Mandatory power. They were mainly the African colonies that had formerly belonged to Germany.

。 B 类托管国家是需要托管国更大程度控制的国家。他们主要是原属于德国的非洲殖民地。

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Class C mandates were areas such as South-West Africa and some of the islands in the South Pacific, considered to be ‘best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory’.

。 C类托管地是西南非洲和南太平洋的一些岛屿等地区，被认为“最好根据托管地法律作为其领土的组成部分进行管理”。

Promoting international co-operation

The third main aim of the League was to actively work towards improving relations between member nations and the lives of their citizens:

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by seeking to improve working conditions and wage levels throughout the world through an International Labour Organisation (ILO)

促进国际合作 联盟的第三个主要目标是积极努力改善成员国之间的关系及其公民的生活：通过国际劳工组织（ILO）寻求改善世界各地的工作条件和工资水平

.

by repatriating prisoners of war and resettling refugees

。遣返战俘和重新安置难民

.

by providing loans to new countries, such as Austria and Hungary

。向奥地利和匈牙利等新国家提供贷款

.

by encouraging the development of education

。通过鼓励教育的发展

.

by promoting improvements in public health, such as the prevention and control of disease.

。促进公共卫生的改善，例如疾病的预防和控制。

Questions 问题

What were the main aims of the League of Nations?

‘US President Woodrow Wilson was the founder of the League of Nations.’ How justified is this statement?

What methods did the League of Nations intend to use in order to prevent wars in the future?

Look at the cartoon in Source A (left). What is the cartoonist’s view about the establishment of the League of Nations?

国际联盟的主要目标是什么？ “美国总统伍德罗·威尔逊是国际联盟的创始人。”这种说法的合理性如何？国际联盟打算用什么方法来防止未来发生战争？看看来源 A 中的漫画（左）。漫画家对国际联盟的成立有何看法？

The organisation of the League of Nations

The main organs of the League of Nations were the General Assembly and the Council. These were supported by other institutions, including the Secretariat, the Permanent Court of International Justice, and various commissions and committees established to investigate and deal with specific issues that arose.

The General Assembly

The Assembly met annually in Geneva, a location selected because Switzerland was a neutral country that had taken no part in the First World War. Switzerland was also the base for the International Red Cross. Each member state could send up to three representatives to meetings of the Assembly, and states were each allowed to cast one vote. The Assembly’s main role was to decide general policy, to deal with the admission of new members of the League and to handle the organisation’s finances. Any decision taken by the General Assembly had to be unanimous.

The Council

国际联盟的组织 国际联盟的主要机关是大会和理事会。这些工作得到了其他机构的支持，包括秘书处、常设国际法院以及为调查和处理出现的具体问题而设立的各个委员会和委员会。大会 大会每年在日内瓦举行会议，选择这个地点是因为瑞士是一个未参加第一次世界大战的中立国。瑞士还是国际红十字会的基地。每个成员国最多可以派出三名代表参加大会会议，每个成员国可以投一票。大会的主要作用是决定总体政策、处理联盟新成员的接纳以及处理该组织的财务。大会做出的任何决定都必须一致通过。理事会

The Council was a smaller body, whose main function was to settle political disputes between nations. It held four ordinary sessions each year, with extra meetings (known as extraordinary sessions) being called in times of emergency. The Council met a total of 107 times between 1920 and 1939. As with the General Assembly, decisions taken by the Council had to be unanimous. The Council was made up of permanent and non-permanent members:

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Permanent members: there were four original permanent members – Britain, France, Italy and Japan. The USA was to have been a permanent member, but decided not to join the League of Nations.

该理事会是一个规模较小的机构，其主要职能是解决国家之间的政治争端。它每年召开四次例行会议，并在紧急情况下召开额外会议（称为特别会议）。 1920 年至 1939 年间，理事会共召开了 107 次会议。与大会一样，理事会做出的决定必须一致通过。安理会由常任理事国和非常任理事国组成： 。常任理事国：原​​常任理事国有英国、法国、意大利、日本四个。美国本来是常任理事国，但决定不加入国际联盟。

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Non-permanent members: 。非常任理事国：

initially, there were to be four of

these, elected every three years

by the General Assembly. The

first non-permanent members

were Belgium, Brazil, Greece

and Spain.

最初，其中有四名委员，由大会每三年选举一次。首批非常任理事国是比利时、巴西、希腊和西班牙。

The Secretariat

The Secretariat carried out the day-to-day work of the League – preparing its agenda, publishing reports and dealing with routine but vital matters. It was based in Geneva and directed by a secretary-general, the first of whom was the British diplomat Sir Eric Drummond, who held the post from 1919 until 1933.

The Permanent Court of International Justice

Based at The Hague in the Netherlands, the Permanent Court was designed to deal with legal disputes between states. It consisted of 15 judges of different nationalities who were elected for a period of nine years by the General Assembly. The Court ran from 1922 to 1946.

秘书处 秘书处负责联盟的日常工作——准备议程、发布报告以及处理日常但重要的事务。它的总部设在日内瓦，由一位秘书长领导，第一位秘书长是英国外交官埃里克·德拉蒙德爵士 (Sir Eric Drummond)，他于 1919 年至 1933 年担任该职务。 常设国际法院 设在荷兰海牙，常设国际法院法院的目的是处理国家之间的法律纠纷。它由15名不同国籍的法官组成，由大会选举产生，任期九年。最高法院的任期为 1922 年至 1946 年。

Commissions and committees

A number of commissions and committees were established by the League of Nations to deal with specific problems. The main commissions dealt with issues such as the mandates, disarmament, refugees and slavery. There were committees for matters relating to international labour, health, child welfare, drug problems and women’s rights.

Questions

委员会和委员会 国际联盟设立了许多委员会和委员会来处理具体问题。主要委员会处理任务授权、裁军、难民和奴隶制等问题。委员会负责处理与国际劳工、卫生、儿童福利、毒品问题和妇女权利有关的事务。问题

In what ways does the organisational structure adopted by the League

of Nations reflect its stated aims?

What was the purpose of the Permanent Court of International Justice?

国际联盟采用的组织结构如何反映其既定目标？常设国际法院的目的是什么？

The successes and failures

of the League of Nations

国际联盟的成功与失败

If the main aim of the League of Nations was the prevention of war, it clearly failed. By 1939, Europe was once again engulfed in hostilities. Within two years, the scope of the Second World War had widened as Japan and the USA joined the fray. Despite the goodwill and enthusiasm with which the establishment of the League had been greeted in 1919, Wilson’s dream of international peace and co-operation failed to materialise.

Political successes

However, the League was not a total failure, and it played a role in the successful resolution of a number of political disputes that arose in the interwar years.

Teschen 1920

With its rich deposits of coal, the Teschen area had been one of the wealthiest and most industrialised regions of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1919, violence erupted between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Poland claimed the region on the grounds that 55% of the population was Polish. Czechoslovakia based its claim on historical arguments. The League of Nations arbitrated the dispute, splitting the region between the two countries in 1920. Although neither country was entirely satisfied with the decision, both accepted it and the fighting ceased.

The Aaland Islands 1921

The League was equally successful in resolving a dispute over the Aaland Islands (a group of some 6500 islands situated midway between Sweden and Finland) in 1921. Although the population of the islands was exclusively Swedish-speaking, the Aaland Islands had belonged to Finland in the early 1900s. Most inhabitants wanted the islands to become part of Sweden, but Finland was reluctant to lose sovereignty over them. The Swedish government raised the issue with the League of Nations, which, after detailed consideration, decided that the islands should remain with Finland. Both Sweden and Finland accepted the League’s decision.

Upper Silesia 1921

Also in 1921, the League dealt with problems in Upper Silesia. The people of this important industrial region were divided over whether they wished to be part of Germany or Poland, both of which laid claim to the area.

如果国际联盟的主要目标是防止战争，那么它显然失败了。到了1939年，欧洲再次陷入敌对状态。两年之内，随着日本和美国加入战局，第二次世界大战的范围扩大了。尽管 1919 年国际联盟的成立受到了人们的善意和热情欢迎，但威尔逊国际和平与合作的梦想未能实现。政治上的成功 然而，联盟并不是彻底失败，它在成功解决两次世界大战期间出现的许多政治争端方面发挥了作用。 Teschen 1920 凭借丰富的煤炭储量，Teschen 地区曾是前奥匈帝国最富裕、工业化程度最高的地区之一。 1919年，波兰和捷克斯洛伐克之间爆发暴力冲突。波兰声称对该地区拥有主权，理由是该地区55%的人口是波兰人。捷克斯洛伐克的主张是基于历史论据。 1920 年，国际联盟对这一争端进行了仲裁，两国瓜分了该地区。尽管两国都对这一决定并不完全满意，但双方都接受了这一决定，战斗也随之停止。 1921 年奥兰群岛 1921 年，联盟同样成功地解决了奥兰群岛（由约 6500 个岛屿组成的群岛，位于瑞典和芬兰之间）的争端。虽然这些岛屿上的居民全部讲瑞典语，但奥兰群岛1900 年代初属于芬兰。大多数居民希望这些岛屿成为瑞典的一部分，但芬兰不愿失去对这些岛屿的主权。瑞典政府向国际联盟提出了这个问题，国际联盟经过详细考虑后决定这些岛屿仍属于芬兰。 瑞典和芬兰都接受了联盟的决定。上西里西亚 1921 年 同样在 1921 年，联盟处理了上西里西亚的问题。这个重要工业区的人民对于是否希望成为德国或波兰的一部分存在分歧，这两个国家都声称对该地区拥有主权。

This led to a series of local riots between 1919 and 1921, at which point the League of Nations became involved. After considering the case, the League decided that the area should be divided between Germany and Poland. The League’s decision was accepted by both nations and, importantly, by the vast majority of Upper Silesians.

The Yugoslavia–Albania border dispute 1921

The same year, the League was confronted with open warfare between Yugoslavia and Albania. Following ongoing disputes between the two countries over territory on the border between the two countries, Yugoslav troops entered Albanian territory in November 1921. The League of Nations sent a commission, made up of representatives from Britain, France, Italy and Japan, to investigate the cause of the disagreement. On the basis of the commission’s recommendations, the League of Nations found in favour of Albania. Yugoslavia complained bitterly, but had no alternative but to withdraw its troops.

Memel 1923

这导致 1919 年至 1921 年间发生一系列当地骚乱，国际联盟也介入其中。考虑到这一情况后，联盟决定将该地区划分给德国和波兰。联盟的决定得到了两国的接受，更重要的是，得到了绝大多数上西里西亚人的接受。南斯拉夫-阿尔巴尼亚边界争端 1921年 同年，联盟面临南斯拉夫与阿尔巴尼亚之间的公开战争。两国就两国边境领土问题持续存在争端后，南斯拉夫军队于 1921 年 11 月进入阿尔巴尼亚领土。国际联盟派出了一个由英国、法国、意大利和日本代表组成的委员会，调查该事件。分歧的原因。根据委员会的建议，国际联盟做出了有利于阿尔巴尼亚的裁决。南斯拉夫怨声载道，但无奈撤军。梅梅尔 1923

The port of Memel and the surrounding area were placed under the control of the League of Nations by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. However, Lithuania claimed the region and invaded in 1923. The League decided that the area around the port should belong to Lithuania, but that Memel itself should remain an ‘international zone’. Lithuania accepted the decision.

根据凡尔赛条约的条款，梅梅尔港及周边地区置于国际联盟的控制之下。然而，立陶宛声称对该地区拥有主权，并于 1923 年入侵。联盟决定港口周围地区属于立陶宛，但梅梅尔本身仍应为“国际区”。立陶宛接受了这一决定。

Mosul 1924 摩苏尔 1924

The city and region of Mosul had been part of the Turkish Empire until 1918. As a result of the Paris peace settlement, Mosul – an area in which oil had recently been discovered – became part of the British mandate of Iraq. Turkey demanded that it should be allowed to regain control of the region. In 1924, the League found in favour of Iraq and, after reaching an agreement with Britain, the Turks accepted the decision.

The Greece–Bulgaria border dispute 1925

Following a border dispute, Greece invaded Bulgaria in 1925. Bulgaria referred the matter to the League of Nations. In the meantime, it ordered its troops to offer only token resistance in an effort to avoid open conflict until a resolution could be reached on the matter. This was a clear indication that Bulgaria had faith in the League to find a settlement to the dispute. The League condemned the invasion and called for Greece to withdraw and pay compensation to Bulgaria. Greece complied with the League’s decision.

1918 年之前，摩苏尔市和地区一直是土耳其帝国的一部分。由于巴黎和平协议，摩苏尔——最近发现了石油的地区——成为英国托管地伊拉克的一部分。土耳其要求允许其重新控制该地区。 1924年，国际联盟做出了有利于伊拉克的裁决，在与英国达成协议后，土耳其接受了这一决定。 1925 年希腊-保加利亚边界争端 继边界争端之后，希腊于 1925 年入侵保加利亚。保加利亚将此事提交给国际联盟。与此同时，它命令其部队仅进行象征性的抵抗，以避免公开冲突，直到就此事达成解决方案。这清楚地表明保加利亚相信联盟能够找到解决争端的办法。联盟谴责这次入侵，并呼吁希腊撤军并向保加利亚支付赔偿。希腊遵守了联盟的决定。

Leticia 1933–34

The town of Leticia and its surrounding area lay on the border between Colombia and Peru. Following a series of border disputes between the two countries, in 1922 Peru agreed that the Leticia region should belong to Colombia. Peruvian businessmen, whose rubber and sugar industries had been adversely affected by the loss of land in and around Leticia, were angered by this decision. Under pressure from these powerful businessmen, the government of Peru ordered the occupation of Leticia in 1932, resulting in war with Colombia. Unable to reach a settlement, both countries agreed to mediation by the League of Nations. In May 1933, the League took control of the disputed region while negotiations continued. By May 1934, an agreement had been reached and Leticia was returned to Colombia.

莱蒂西亚 1933–34 莱蒂西亚镇及其周边地区位于哥伦比亚和秘鲁之间的边界。两国之间发生一系列边界争端后，1922年秘鲁同意莱蒂西亚地区归属哥伦比亚。秘鲁商人对这一决定感到愤怒，他们的橡胶和糖业因莱蒂西亚及其周边地区土地的丧失而受到不利影响。在这些强大商人的压力下，秘鲁政府于1932年下令占领莱蒂西亚，导致与哥伦比亚的战争。由于无法达成和解，两国同意由国际联盟调解。 1933 年 5 月，联盟控制了有争议的地区，同时谈判仍在继续。 1934 年 5 月，双方达成协议，莱蒂西亚被送回哥伦比亚。

Other successes

In addition to providing settlements for the political disputes described above, the League of Nations also achieved success in other areas.

The International Labour Organisation

The International Labour Organisation was created by and financed through the League of Nations. Under the leadership of Frenchman Albert Thomas, the ILO enjoyed considerable success in improving working conditions around the world. Governments were persuaded to fix maximum working hours (per day and per week), to establish minimum wage levels, to provide sickness and unemployment benefits, and to introduce old-age pensions. These measures made an enormous difference to the lives of underprivileged people.

其他成功 除了为上述政治争端提供解决方案外，国际联盟还在其他领域取得了成功。国际劳工组织 国际劳工组织由国际联盟创建并通过其资助。在法国人阿尔伯特·托马斯的领导下，国际劳工组织在改善世界各地的工作条件方面取得了巨大成功。政府被说服确定最长工作时间（每天和每周），确定最低工资水平，提供疾病和失业救济金，并引入养老金。这些措施给贫困群众的生活带来了巨大的改变。

The Commission for Refugees

Under its director, the Norwegian Fridtjof Nansen, the Commission for Refugees helped to resettle over half a million former prisoners of war who had been stranded in Russia at the end of the First World War. In 1922, the Commission was responsible for introducing the Nansen passport – the first internationally recognised identity card for stateless refugees. When violence erupted in Turkey during 1923, the Commission helped to find homes, food and jobs for 1.5 million refugees, working closely with other agencies to prevent the spread of diseases such as typhoid and cholera. After 1933, considerable assistance was provided to the many thousands of people fleeing from Nazi persecution in Germany.

The Health Organisation

In addition to dealing with specific problems, such as the health risks posed by large numbers of refugees in Turkey, the Health Organisation achieved a great deal in investigating the causes and possible preventions of epidemics. It was successful in combating a typhus epidemic in Russia, and undertook research on diseases such as leprosy.

The Mandates Commission

The Mandates Commission supervised the territories that had been taken from Germany and Turkey at the end of the First World War. The League ensured that these territories were both well-governed and adequately prepared for their own independence. For example, the Commission facilitated the League’s efficient administration of the Saar region until 1935, and then arranged a plebiscite in which the local people voted to return to Germany.

Financial assistance

难民委员会 在挪威人弗里乔夫·南森 (Fridtjof Nansen) 主任的领导下，难民委员会帮助重新安置了超过 50 万第一次世界大战结束时滞留在俄罗斯的前战俘。 1922 年，该委员会负责推出南森护照——第一张国际公认的无国籍难民身份证。 1923 年土耳其爆发暴力事件时，该委员会帮助 150 万难民寻找住房、食物和工作，并与其他机构密切合作，防止伤寒和霍乱等疾病的传播。 1933 年后，为逃离德国纳粹迫害的数千人提供了大量援助。卫生组织 除了处理具体问题，例如土耳其大量难民造成的健康风险，卫生组织在调查流行病的原因和可能的预防措施方面也取得了很大的成果。它成功地抗击了俄罗斯的斑疹伤寒疫情，并开展了麻风病等疾病的研究。托管委员会 托管委员会负责监督第一次世界大战结束时从德国和土耳其夺取的领土。联盟确保这些领土得到良好的治理，并为自己的独立做好充分的准备。例如，该委员会促进了联盟对萨尔地区的有效管理，直到1935年，然后安排了一次公民投票，当地人民投票决定返回德国。经济援助

The League of Nations was able to provide vital financial assistance to many countries facing economic difficulties. For example, due to the reparations they were expected to pay under the terms of the post-war treaties, Austria and Hungary were facing bankruptcy. The League of Nations arranged loans for the two nations and sent commissioners to offer advice on how best to spend the money (1922–23). This set Austria and Hungary on the path to economic recovery.

Other achievements

The League of Nations played a significant role in dealing with issues such as the exploitation of women and children, drug trafficking and slavery. It helped to free 200,000 slaves in places such as Sierra Leone and Burma. In 1930, the League investigated rumours of forced labour in the independent African state of Liberia, concluding that the president, Charles D. B. King, and senior government officials were guilty of exploiting the situation. The president was forced to resign and the League of Nations insisted that the new government carry out reforms.

国际联盟能够向许多面临经济困难的国家提供重要的财政援助。例如，由于根据战后条约的条款应支付赔款，奥地利和匈牙利面临破产。国际联盟为两国安排贷款，并派出专员就如何最好地使用这笔钱提供建议（1922-23）。这使奥地利和匈牙利走上了经济复苏的道路。其他成就 国际联盟在处理剥削妇女和儿童、贩毒和奴隶制等问题方面发挥了重要作用。它帮助塞拉利昂和缅甸等地释放了 20 万奴隶。 1930 年，联盟对非洲独立国家利比里亚存在强迫劳动的谣言进行了调查，得出的结论是，总统查尔斯·DB·金 (Charles DB King) 和高级政府官员利用了这一局势。总统被迫辞职，国联坚持要求新政府进行改革。

The failures of the League of Nations

Although the League of Nations was successful in resolving a number of political disputes between various member nations, these were relatively minor affairs that posed little threat to world peace. Increasingly, the League’s authority was challenged.

Vilna 1920

In 1920, Polish troops occupied Vilna, the capital of Lithuania. Following a request by Lithuania, the League of Nations ordered Poland to remove its forces and tried to arrange a plebiscite to decide the region’s future. Although the Polish government initially agreed, it subsequently reinforced its troops

国际联盟的失败 尽管国际联盟成功地解决了各成员国之间的一些政治争端，但这些都是相对次要的事务，对世界和平几乎没有构成威胁。联盟的权威日益受到挑战。 1920年维尔纳 1920年，波兰军队占领立陶宛首都维尔纳。应立陶宛的请求，国际联盟命令波兰撤军，并试图安排公民投票来决定该地区的未来。尽管波兰政府最初同意，但随后增援了军队

in Vilna, and in 1922 Poland formally annexed the city and its surrounding area. This territory remained in Polish hands until 1939. One of the main reasons for the League’s failure to resolve this incident is the fact that both Britain and France supported the Polish claim to Vilna.

The Treaty of Riga 1921

In 1920, Poland invaded Russian territory. By 1921, the Russians had no choice but to sign the Treaty of Riga, by which Poland gained some 80,000 square kilometres (31,000 square miles) of land. The League of Nations took no action against Poland’s open aggression. Russia was not a member of the League at that time; its communist government was unpopular in Britain and France, neither of which had any interest in defending it.

The invasion of the Ruhr 1923

German failure to pay war reparations led France and Belgium to invade the Ruhr, Germany’s most important industrial region, in 1923 (see page 55). By taking this action, two members of the League of Nations were effectively breaking the rules to which they had committed themselves by signing the League’s Covenant. Both France and Belgium were represented on the League of Nations’ Council – France as a permanent member, Belgium as a non-permanent member. Since decisions of the Council had to be unanimous, the League was effectively prevented from taking action to deal with this incident. It was the Dawes Plan of 1924 (see page 55) that finally led to the withdrawal of French and Belgian troops from the Ruhr region.

The Corfu Incident 1923

In 1923, Italy blamed Greece for the death of three Italian officials monitoring the border between Greece and Albania (see page 73). Mussolini demanded compensation and occupied the Greek island of Corfu. Greece appealed to the League of Nations, which ordered the Italian troops to withdraw. Mussolini refused to accept the League’s authority in dealing with the issue.

1922 年，波兰正式吞并该市及其周边地区。直到1939年，这片领土一直在波兰人手中。联盟未能解决这一事件的主要原因之一是英国和法国都支持波兰对维尔纳的主张。 1921 年里加条约 1920 年，波兰入侵俄罗斯领土。到 1921 年，俄罗斯别无选择，只能签署《里加条约》，波兰由此获得了约 80,000 平方公里（31,000 平方英里）的土地。国际联盟没有对波兰的公开侵略采取任何行动。当时俄罗斯还不是国联成员；它的共产主义政府在英国和法国不受欢迎，两国都没有兴趣捍卫它。 1923 年入侵鲁尔区 由于德国未能支付战争赔款，法国和比利时于 1923 年入侵德国最重要的工业区鲁尔区（见第 55 页）。通过采取这一行动，国际联盟的两个成员国实际上违反了他们在签署国际联盟盟约时所承诺遵守的规则。法国和比利时都有代表参加国际联盟理事会——法国为常任理事国，比利时为非常任理事国。由于理事会的决定必须一致通过，联盟实际上无法采取行动处理这一事件。最终导致法国和比利时军队从鲁尔地区撤军的是 1924 年的道斯计划（见第 55 页）。 1923 年科孚岛事件 1923 年，意大利指责希腊造成三名监视希腊和阿尔巴尼亚边境的意大利官员死亡（见第 73 页）。墨索里尼要求赔偿并占领希腊科孚岛。 希腊向国际联盟提出上诉，国际联盟下令意大利军队撤军。墨索里尼拒绝接受联盟处理这一问题的权威。

He threatened to withdraw Italy from the League and referred the matter instead to the Council of Ambassadors. The Council decided that Greece should pay considerable compensation to Italy. This incident exposed two fundamental weaknesses in the League of Nations. Firstly, as a member of the Council, Italy was in a position to prevent the League from taking any action. Secondly, the League’s decision was overruled by another body – the Council of Ambassadors.

The Japanese invasion of Manchuria 1931

When Japanese troops invaded Manchuria in 1931 (see pages 121–22), China appealed to the League of Nations, which ordered Japan to withdraw. When Japan refused to comply, the League appointed a commission to investigate the rival claims of China and Japan. The commission, under Lord Lytton, reported in 1932 that there was fault on both sides, and that Manchuria should be governed by the League of Nations. Japan rejected this decision, maintained its forces in Manchuria and withdrew from the League.

他威胁要让意大利退出国联，并将此事提交给大使理事会。理事会决定希腊应向意大利支付巨额赔偿。这一事件暴露了国际联盟的两个根本弱点。首先，作为理事会成员，意大利有能力阻止国际联盟采取任何行动。其次，联盟的决定被另一个机构——大使理事会否决了。 1931 年日本入侵满洲 1931 年日本军队入侵满洲（见第 121-22 页），中国向国际联盟提出上诉，国际联盟命令日本撤军。当日本拒绝遵守时，联盟任命了一个委员会来调查中国和日本的相互竞争的主张。利顿勋爵领导下的委员会于 1932 年报告称，双方都有过错，满洲应该由国际联盟管辖。日本拒绝了这一决定，保留了在满洲的军队并退出了同盟。

Under the terms of its Covenant, the League should have taken action against Japan. However, at the height of the worldwide depression, Britain and France were in no position to impose economic sanctions on Japan – and neither was prepared to go to war over this issue. The League was thus powerless to do anything in response to Japanese aggression.

根据盟约的条款，国联应该对日本采取行动。然而，在全球经济大萧条最严重的时候，英国和法国无力对日本实施经济制裁 — — 两国也不准备就此问题开战。因此，国联对于日本的侵略无能为力。

The Italian invasion of Abyssinia 1935

In 1935, Mussolini’s Italy invaded Abyssinia (see page 75). The League of Nations condemned this act of aggression and imposed economic sanctions on Italy. However, these sanctions were limited and did not apply to vital resources such as oil, coal and steel. In truth, the sanctions had little effect on Italy’s ability to maintain its fight for Abyssinia, and they were quickly abandoned. Mussolini was free to continue with his acquisition of a vulnerable African state and – annoyed that the League had imposed any sanctions at all – he withdrew Italy’s membership and moved towards a closer alliance with Hitler’s Germany.

The Spanish Civil War 1936–39

In September 1936, the Spanish government appealed to the League of Nations for assistance against the nationalist rising that began the Spanish Civil War (see pages 79–85). However, members of the League were not prepared to intervene in what they perceived as an internal Spanish matter. Although the League banned foreign volunteers from taking part in the war in 1937, it did nothing to prevent Germany and Italy from providing assistance to Franco’s nationalists, nor to stop Soviet Russia from supplying the republican government of Spain with weapons.

The Japanese invasion of China 1937

In 1937, Japan began a full-scale invasion of China (see page 123). China’s appeals to the League of Nations were greeted with sympathy but no practical assistance. There were two main reasons for this. Firstly, with their own economies suffering enormously as a result of the Great Depression, neither Britain nor France was in a position to impose economic sanctions against Japan. Secondly, this was the period of appeasement in which key nations were desperate to avoid taking any action that might lead to war. Japan was no longer a member of the League of Nations and had formed an alliance with Germany in 1936. The only way to force Japan to end its invasion of China was to take military action – something Britain and France were not prepared to do.

Why was the League of Nations largely ineffective?

By the mid 1930s, therefore, the League of Nations’ frailties had been hopelessly exposed. Aggressive states, such as Italy and Japan, had openly and successfully defied it. In Germany, Hitler was embarking on a foreign policy designed to challenge the Treaty of Versailles, certain in the knowledge that the League of Nations was powerless to prevent him. Small states had lost all faith in the League’s ability to maintain peace and security.

1935 年意大利入侵阿比西尼亚 1935 年，墨索里尼的意大利入侵阿比西尼亚（见第 75 页）。国际联盟谴责这一侵略行径，并对意大利实施经济制裁。然而，这些制裁是有限的，并不适用于石油、煤炭和钢铁等重要资源。事实上，制裁对意大利维持阿比西尼亚斗争的能力影响不大，很快就被放弃了。墨索里尼可以自由地继续收购一个脆弱的非洲国家，并且对联盟实施任何制裁感到恼火，他取消了意大利的会员资格，并转向与希特勒德国建立更紧密的联盟。 1936-39 年西班牙内战 1936 年 9 月，西班牙政府呼吁国际联盟提供援助，以镇压引发西班牙内战的民族主义起义（见第 79-85 页）。然而，联盟成员并不准备干预他们认为是西班牙内部事务的事情。尽管联盟在1937年禁止外国志愿者参加战争，但它并没有阻止德国和意大利向佛朗哥民族主义者提供援助，也没有阻止苏俄向西班牙共和政府提供武器。 1937年日本侵华 1937年，日本开始全面侵华（见第123页）。中国向国际联盟提出的呼吁得到了同情，但没有得到实际援助。造成这种情况的主要原因有两个。首先，英国和法国各自的经济都因大萧条而遭受重创，因此没有能力对日本实施经济制裁。 其次，这是绥靖时期，主要国家迫切希望避免采取任何可能导致战争的行动。日本不再是国际联盟成员，并于 1936 年与德国结盟。迫使日本结束对中国侵略的唯一方法是采取军事行动，而英国和法国不准备这样做。为什么国际联盟基本上无效？因此，到 1930 年代中期，国际联盟的弱点已经无可救药地暴露出来。意大利和日本等侵略国家公开并成功地反抗了它。在德国，希特勒正在着手实施一项旨在挑战《凡尔赛条约》的外交政策，他确信国际联盟无力阻止他。小国对联盟维护和平与安全的能力失去了所有信心。

The League’s ineffectiveness, and its eventual failure to prevent another world war, can be explained in a number of ways. The League of Nations emerged from the treaties agreed at the Paris peace settlement. From the outset, therefore, the organisation was closely associated with treaties that were unpopular in many countries and that inevitably led to numerous territorial disputes. To many observers, the League of Nations was an organisation created by and for the benefit of the victorious nations – a perception reinforced by the fact that none of the defeated nations was initially allowed to join.

Member states

国际联盟的低效以及它最终未能阻止另一场世界大战的发生，可以用多种方式来解释。国际联盟是根据巴黎和解协议产生的。因此，该组织从一开始就与许多国家不受欢迎的条约密切相关，这不可避免地导致了许多领土争端。对许多观察家来说，国际联盟是一个由战胜国创建并为其利益服务的组织 — — 最初没有一个战败国被允许加入这一事实强化了这种看法。成员国

The League of Nations had been conceived as a global organisation. However, of the world’s major powers only Britain and France were members of the League throughout the period 1919–39. Of the other major powers:

.

Germany was not allowed to join until 1926, and withdrew in 1933

国际联盟被认为是一个全球性组织。然而，在 1919-39 年期间，世界主要大国中只有英国和法国是国联成员。其他主要大国： .德国直到1926年才获准加入，并于1933年退出

.

Japan, a founder member, also withdrew in 1933

。创始成员日本也于1933年退出

.

the USSR, in the wake of its communist revolution, had not been invited to take part in the Paris Peace Conference, and did not join the League of Nations until 1934

。苏联在共产主义革命后没有被邀请参加巴黎和会，直到1934年才加入国际联盟

.

Italy, a founder member, withdrew in 1935

。创始成员意大利于1935年退出

veto

The ability to prevent a decision being reached and acted upon.

Other organisations and the need for unanimity

The League’s authority was frequently undermined. For example, the Council of Ambassadors had been established to administer the post-war treaties until such time as the League of Nations was fully operational. In reality, it continued to function until 1931 and on several occasions it disagreed with and took precedence over the League’s decisions (as in the Corfu Incident). Similarly, countries often chose to ignore the League entirely, preferring to make separate agreements, such as the Locarno Treaties of 1925 (see page 56).

The Covenant of the League of Nations required that decisions, both within the General Assembly and the Council, must be unanimous. Countries would clearly not be willing to accept the possibility that their actions might be determined by the decisions of other nations. Thus the requirement for unanimity provided them with the right of veto. However, this need for everyone to be in agreement slowed down the League’s decision-making process, especially since many decisions required ratification by the General Assembly, which met only once a year. As a result, the League appeared both slow and indecisive.

The effects of the Great Depression

The Great Depression inflicted high unemployment and economic chaos on most countries, many of which were unable to maintain constitutional forms of government in the face of falling living standards and social unrest. In both Germany and Japan, power fell to those with extreme views, who lacked respect for the aims and rules of the League of Nations. With Mussolini increasingly seeking closer relations with the German and Japanese governments, the League also lost Italy’s support. It was the aggressive actions of these three nations that exposed the League’s inherent weaknesses.

Collective security

The League of Nations’ ability to confront aggression and threats to world peace was entirely dependent upon the notion of collective security – League members working together to impose economic sanctions or, in the worst case, taking military action.

否决权 阻止做出决定并采取行动的能力。其他组织和一致同意的需要 联盟的权威经常受到削弱。例如，设立大使理事会是为了管理战后条约，直到国际联盟全面运作为止。事实上，它一直运作到 1931 年，并多次不同意并优先于联盟的决定（如科孚事件）。同样，各国常常选择完全忽视国际联盟，而宁愿签订单独的协议，例如 1925 年的《洛迦诺条约》（见第 56 页）。 《国际联盟盟约》要求大会和理事会的决定必须一致通过。各国显然不愿意接受自己的行动可能由其他国家的决定决定的可能性。因此，一致同意的要求赋予了他们否决权。然而，这种需要所有人达成一致的做法减慢了联盟的决策过程，特别是因为许多决定需要每年举行一次的大会批准。结果，联盟显得既缓慢又优柔寡断。大萧条的影响 大萧条给大多数国家带来了高失业率和经济混乱，其中许多国家在生活水平下降和社会动荡的情况下无法维持宪法形式的政府。在德国和日本，权力落到了那些持极端观点的人手中，他们缺乏对国际联盟目标和规则的尊重。随着墨索里尼越来越寻求与德国和日本政府建立更密切的关系，联盟也失去了意大利的支持。 正是这三个国家的侵略行为暴露了联盟固有的弱点。集体安全 国际联盟应对侵略和对世界和平的威胁的能力完全取决于集体安全的概念——联盟成员共同努力实施经济制裁，或者在最坏的情况下采取军事行动。

In the absence of its own army, the League expected member states to provide troops if military action became necessary (Article 16). However, a resolution passed in 1923 established that each member state could decide for itself whether or not to provide armed forces in a crisis. This clearly undermined the principle on which collective security was based. In both Britain and France, where public opinion was strongly anti-war, there was an understandable reluctance to commit to military action. Governments in both countries believed that they were militarily weak and that war must be avoided at all costs. Instead they chose to pursue a policy of appeasement (see page 92).

At times, countries discovered that their commitments to the League of Nations were at odds with their own national interests. In the mid 1930s, for example, Britain and France saw Italy as a vital ally in their attempt to isolate a resurgent, and potentially dangerous, Germany. Mussolini’s invasion of Abyssinia presented the British and French governments with a dilemma. Should they honour their League of Nations’ obligation to defend Abyssinia, or should they take no action in order to retain their alliance with Italy? Perhaps inevitably, national interests took precedence and the League did little to protect Abyssinia. It is ironic that, in imposing token economic sanctions, Britain and France succeeded in losing their alliance with Italy while simultaneously offering no real assistance to Abyssinia.

由于没有自己的军队，联盟希望成员国在必要时提供军队（第 16 条）。然而，1923年通过的一项决议规定，每个成员国可以自行决定是否在危机中提供武装部队。这显然破坏了集体安全所依据的原则。在英国和法国，公众舆论强烈反战，因此不愿采取军事行动是可以理解的。两国政府都认为自己的军事实力较弱，必须不惜一切代价避免战争。相反，他们选择奉行绥靖政策（见第92页）。有时，各国发现他们对国际联盟的承诺与他们自己的国家利益不一致。例如，在 20 世纪 30 年代中期，英国和法国将意大利视为重要盟友，试图孤立正在复兴且具有潜在危险的德国。墨索里尼入侵阿比西尼亚使英国和法国政府陷入两难境地。他们应该履行国际联盟保卫阿比西尼亚的义务，还是应该不采取任何行动来维持与意大利的联盟？也许不可避免的是，国家利益优先，联盟几乎没有采取任何措施来保护阿比西尼亚。具有讽刺意味的是，英法象征性地实施经济制裁，却成功地失去了与意大利的联盟，同时却没有向阿比西尼亚提供真正的援助。

National interests were also a major factor in the failure of the World Disarmament Conference of 1932–33. All of Europe’s leading powers had committed themselves to arms reduction in both the Treaty of Versailles and the Covenant of the League of Nations. With the exception of Germany, none of the countries had kept to its commitment. The conference, organised by the League and chaired by the former British foreign secretary Arthur Henderson, was intended to address this problem in order to prevent the type of arms race that had led to the First World War.

国家利益也是 1932-33 年世界裁军会议失败的一个主要因素。所有欧洲主要国家都在《凡尔赛条约》和《国际联盟公约》中承诺削减军备。除德国外，没有一个国家遵守其承诺。这次会议由国联组织，由英国前外交大臣阿瑟·亨德森主持，旨在解决这一问题，以防止导致第一次世界大战的军备竞赛。

The conference was a significant failure. Germany argued that it should be allowed the same level of armaments as France. Concerned about the possible implications for its own security, France disagreed. Hitler claimed that the French attitude was unreasonable and took the opportunity to withdraw Germany from the conference and, subsequently, the League.

In the final analysis, the League of Nations was only as strong as the willingness of its member states to support it.

Questions

这次会议是一次重大失败。德国主张应该允许其拥有与法国相同水平的军备。由于担心这可能对其自身安全产生影响，法国不同意这一观点。希特勒声称法国的态度不合理，并趁机让德国退出会议，并随后退出国联。归根结底，国际联盟的强大程度取决于其成员国支持它的意愿。问题

Why was the League of Nations more successful in the 1920s than in the 1930s?

Why was the League of Nations largely ineffective in dealing with international disputes?

Source A below is an extract from a speech by a US senator given in

August 1919. Source B is an extract from a speech by President Woodrow

为什么国际联盟在 1920 年代比 1930 年代更成功？为什么国际联盟在处理国际争端方面基本上无效？下面的来源 A 摘自一位美国参议员 1919 年 8 月的演讲。来源 B 摘自伍德罗总统的演讲

Source C below is an extract from a speech made by the Soviet foreign affairs minister to a meeting of the League of Nations. In what ways does the source imply that the League was failing?

In Source C, Litvinov argues that ‘the programme envisioned in the Covenant of the League must be carried out’. What was this programme?

Source D below is an extract from a speech by Maurice Hankey, a member of the British government, in 1918. What reasons does he

以下来源 C 摘自苏联外交部长在国际联盟会议上的演讲。消息来源在哪些方面暗示联盟失败了？在资料来源 C 中，李维诺夫认为“必须执行《联盟盟约》中设想的计划”。这个节目是什么？下面的资料来源 D 是英国政府成员莫里斯·汉基 (Maurice Hankey) 1918 年的一次演讲摘录。他这样做的理由是什么？

The origins and aims of the United Nations

The Atlantic Charter

Although, in legal terms, the League of Nations continued to exist throughout the Second World War, its headquarters in Geneva stood empty. Its failure to confront the aggressive actions of Japan, Italy and Germany had lost it the respect of smaller nations from the mid 1930s. While its social, economic and humanitarian work continued to enjoy some success, in the eyes of most governments across the world the League had failed in its primary objective

– ensuring peace and security.

联合国的起源和目标 《大西洋宪章》 尽管从法律角度来说，国际联盟在整个第二次世界大战期间继续存在，但其位于日内瓦的总部却空无一人。自 20 世纪 30 年代中期以来，它未能对抗日本、意大利和德国的侵略行动，使其失去了小国的尊重。尽管其社会、经济和人道主义工作继续取得一些成功，但在世界上大多数政府看来，联盟未能实现其主要目标——确保和平与安全。

By December 1941 Roosevelt was using the phrase ‘United Nations’ to define the Second World War allies and, on 1 January 1942, 26 countries signed the Declaration of the United Nations, outlining their war objectives and their commitment to the Atlantic Charter. The initial signatories included four major powers – the USA, Britain, the USSR and the Republic of China. By signing the Declaration they were effectively demonstrating a commitment to fight against the aggressive actions of Germany, Italy and Japan, which was exactly what the League of Nations had been established to accomplish. In the words of the Declaration itself, they were agreeing to the principle that ‘complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands’.

The aims of the United Nations

By November 1943, when the foreign ministers of the USSR, Britain, the USA and the Republic of China met in Moscow at the height of the Second World War, they all agreed that a new organisation was needed to replace the League of Nations. The following year, between 21 August and 7 October, representatives of the same four countries met at the Dumbarton Oaks Conference. The conference issued ‘Proposals for the Establishment of a General International Organization’.

1941 年 12 月，罗斯福使用“联合国”一词来定义第二次世界大战的盟友，1942 年 1 月 1 日，26 个国家签署了《联合国宣言》，概述了它们的战争目标和对《大西洋宪章》的承诺。最初的签署国包括四个大国——美国、英国、苏联和中华民国。通过签署《宣言》，他们有效地表明了对抗德国、意大利和日本侵略行为的承诺，而这正是国际联盟成立的目的。用《宣言》本身的话来说，他们同意这样的原则：“彻底战胜敌人对于捍卫生命、自由、独立和宗教自由，以及在自己的土地和其他国家维护人权和正义至关重要。”土地'。联合国的目标 1943 年 11 月，第二次世界大战最激烈的时期，苏联、英国、美国和中华民国的外交部长在莫斯科举行会议，他们一致认为需要一个新的组织来取代联合国。国际联盟。第二年，8 月 21 日至 10 月 7 日，这四个国家的代表在敦巴顿橡树园会议上举行了会议。会议发表了《关于建立一般性国际组织的建议》。

In February 1945 the three main Allied leaders, Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, met at Yalta in the Crimea (modern Ukraine). Here they reaffirmed their commitment to the creation of a new international organisation.

1945 年 2 月，三位盟军主要领导人罗斯福、丘吉尔和斯大林在克里米亚（今乌克兰）的雅尔塔会面。在此，他们重申了对创建一个新的国际组织的承诺。

Just as Woodrow Wilson had been the main advocate for the establishment of an international organisation at the end of the First World War, Roosevelt now played the same role as the Second World War neared its conclusion. His long-held view that the USA should be actively involved in international affairs – not least to protect American economic interests – had been heavily criticised by the isolationist lobby in the USA. Roosevelt felt that the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor proved that he had been right all along. He was determined to ensure that the USA would not only be involved in world affairs when the war ended, but that it would also take a leading role. While Churchill and Stalin had some reservations about the proposals for a new United Nations, Roosevelt was utterly committed to it. It was his dream to succeed where Wilson had failed. It is no surprise, therefore, that the United Nations Conference on International Organisation took place on American soil and that the USA funded its entire cost.

正如伍德罗·威尔逊在第一次世界大战结束时是建立国际组织的主要倡导者一样，罗斯福在第二次世界大战接近尾声时也扮演了同样的角色。他长期以来认为美国应该积极参与国际事务 — — 尤其是保护美国的经济利益 — — 的观点遭到了美国孤立主义游说团体的严厉批评。罗斯福认为日本偷袭珍珠港证明他一直都是对的。他决心确保美国在战争结束后不仅参与世界事务，而且发挥主导作用。虽然丘吉尔和斯大林对建立新联合国的提议持保留态度，但罗斯福却完全致力于此。他的梦想是在威尔逊失败的地方取得成功。因此，联合国国际组织会议在美国领土上举行并且美国承担了其全部费用也就不足为奇了。

Between 25 April and 26 June 1945, delegates of 50 Allied nations met in San Francisco to debate and rewrite the Dumbarton Oaks proposals and, eventually, to reach agreement on the aims and organisational structures to be adopted by the United Nations. Roosevelt’s death on 12 April 1945 meant that he never saw his dream come to fruition. However, his successor as president, Harry S. Truman, outwardly affirmed his own commitment to the idea of the United Nations.

1945 年 4 月 25 日至 6 月 26 日期间，50 个盟国代表在旧金山举行会议，辩论并重写敦巴顿橡树园提案，并最终就联合国将采用的目标和组织结构达成一致。 1945 年 4 月 12 日罗斯福去世，这意味着他的梦想从未实现。然而，他的继任者哈里·S·杜鲁门 (Harry S. Truman) 表面上确认了他对联合国理念的承诺。

The outcome of the Conference was the Charter of the United Nations (the equivalent of the League of Nations’ Covenant).

会议的成果是《联合国宪章》（相当于国际联盟的盟约）。

The League of Nations held its final meeting in Geneva on 12 April 1946 and officially ceased to exist on 20 April, three months after the first meeting of the United Nations’ General Assembly. Addressing this final gathering, the British diplomat Robert Cecil summed up the feelings of many of the delegates present.

国际联盟于 1946 年 4 月 12 日在日内瓦举行最后一次会议，并于 4 月 20 日正式解散，即联合国大会第一次会议召开三个月后。英国外交官罗伯特·塞西尔在最后一次聚会上发表讲话时总结了许多与会代表的感受。

Similarities and differences between the League and the United Nations

Similarities

.

Their basic aims and objectives, as reflected in the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Charter of the United Nations, which are almost identical.

国际联盟与联合国之间的异同 相似之处。它们的基本宗旨和目标，正如《国际联盟盟约》和《联合国宪章》所反映的那样，几乎是相同的。

.

They both emerged at the end of major wars, the First World War and the Second World War respectively.

。它们都出现在重大战争结束时，分别是第一次世界大战和第二次世界大战。

.

In both cases, the US president played a crucial role in the organisation’s establishment.

。在这两种情况下，美国总统在该组织的建立过程中都发挥了至关重要的作用。

.

Both organisations were based on the concept of collective security – member states working together to confront aggressive behaviour by any country or group of countries in order to ensure future world peace and security.

。这两个组织都基于集体安全的理念——成员国共同努力对抗任何国家或国家集团的侵略行为，以确保未来的世界和平与安全。

.

Like the League, the United Nations was to have no army of its own; they were both reliant on forces being provided by member states.

。与国际联盟一样，联合国没有自己的军队；它们都依赖会员国提供的部队。

.

The United Nations maintained some of the organisations that had been established under the League, including the International Labour Organisation and the International Court of Justice.

。联合国保留了联盟下设立的一些组织，包括国际劳工组织和国际法院。

.

Just as with the League, all member states of the United Nations were represented in a General Assembly. The real power – at least initially

。与国际联盟一样，联合国所有成员国都派代表出席大会。真正的力量——至少在最初是这样

– was held by a Security Council comprising five permanent members (China, France, the USA, the USSR and Britain) and six other nations elected for two years.

– 由五个常任理事国（中国、法国、美国、苏联和英国）和其他六个当选国家组成的安理会举行，任期两年。

Differences 差异

.

Decisions in the General Assembly no longer had to be unanimous. For some issues, a simple majority was enough. Even on matters considered particularly important, a two-thirds majority was seen as sufficient.

。大会的决定不再需要一致通过。对于某些问题，简单多数就足够了。即使在被认为特别重要的事项上，三分之二多数也被视为足够。

.

In the same way, decisions in the Security Council required only a two-thirds majority. However, for a decision to be accepted, all five permanent members had to agree. This effectively meant that each of the permanent members held the right of veto.

。同样，安理会的决定只需要三分之二多数。然而，要使一项决定被接受，必须得到所有五个常任理事国的同意。这实际上意味着每个常任理事国都拥有否决权。

.

Because the right of veto often prevented the Security Council from taking effective action, the General Assembly was gradually able to gain more power. In 1950, for example, the Uniting For Peace Resolution granted additional powers to the General Assembly, enabling it to make decisions and take action if the Security Council was unable to do so because of a permanent member’s use of the veto.

。由于否决权常常阻碍安理会采取有效行动，大会逐渐能够获得更多权力。例如，1950年，《团结谋和平》决议赋予大会额外权力，使其能够在安理会因常任理事国使用否决权而无法做出决定并采取行动的情况下做出决定并采取行动。

.

The scope of the United Nations was intended to be wider than

。联合国的范围旨在比

Because all the permanent members of the Security Council had to be in agreement for any decision to be accepted, each had the power to prevent action by the Council. All of them had insisted on this right, as a way of protecting their own national interests, before agreeing to membership of the UN. This was to prove a major stumbling block to the effectiveness of the Security Council.

rights’ issues.

由于安理会所有常任理事国必须一致同意任何决定才能被接受，因此每个常任理事国都有权阻止安理会采取行动。在同意加入联合国之前，他们所有人都坚持这一权利，作为保护自己国家利益的一种方式。这被证明是安理会有效性的一个主要绊脚石。权问题。

. From the outset, the United Nations had a much wider membership than the League and was, therefore, more of a world organisation. In particular, the two most powerful nations to emerge from the Second World War, the USA and the USSR, were members from the beginning.

Questions

。从一开始，联合国的会员数量就比国际联盟广泛得多，因此更像是一个世界组织。特别是，第二次世界大战后崛起的两个最强大的国家，美国和苏联，从一开始就是成员国。问题

Source A opposite is an extract from a speech made by Soviet leader Joseph Stalin in 1944. What does this source suggest about the USSR’s attitude regarding proposals for the establishment of the United Nations?

资料来源 相反的是苏联领导人约瑟夫·斯大林在 1944 年发表的演讲的摘录。该资料表明苏联对建立联合国的建议的态度是什么？

According to Source A, in what ways does Stalin believe the United Nations should be different from the League of Nations in order to ensure its success?

根据消息来源 A，斯大林认为联合国应该在哪些方面与国际联盟不同，以确保其成功？

the United Nations’ General Assembly. What does the speaker consider to have been the main reason for the failure of the League of Nations?

Historical debate

Some historians, such as Ruth Henig, have argued that the League of Nations might have been more successful if the USA had become a member. They suggest that the USA would have provided the League with significant financial aid, and could have used its influence to encourage Britain and France to resist the aggressive actions of countries such as Italy, Japan and Germany.

However, most historians disagree with this view. They argue that the USA, determined to maintain its own economic growth, would have been reluctant to impose economic sanctions against aggressive states. Moreover, the USA’s heavily isolationist policy would have prevented it from becoming involved in what it considered European problems.

联合国大会。发言者认为国际联盟失败的主要原因是什么？历史争论 一些历史学家，如露丝·海尼格，认为如果美国成为国际联盟的成员，国际联盟可能会更加成功。他们认为，美国可以向国联提供大量财政援助，并可以利用其影响力鼓励英国和法国抵制意大利、日本和德国等国的侵略行动。然而，大多数历史学家不同意这种观点。他们认为，美国决心维持自身经济增长，因此不愿意对侵略国家实施经济制裁。此外，美国严重的孤立主义政策将阻止它卷入它认为的欧洲问题。

Introduction 介绍

I

n order to achieve success at AS Level History, you will need to develop skills that were, perhaps, less important in earlier examinations you may have taken. Generally, pre-AS Level examinations require you to demonstrate your knowledge and understanding of certain historical events. Now you will be required to analyse and interpret your knowledge in much greater depth.

This has implications for the way in which you study the subject. Your teacher will be able to help you by providing background knowledge, developing your historical skills and providing resources for you to work with. However, your teacher cannot tell you what to think or what opinions to have! At AS Level, you will have far more responsibility for developing your own ideas, views and judgements. To do this effectively, you need to acquire independent learning skills. In particular, this means reading as widely as possible around a topic, so that you gain access to different interpretations of the same issues and events. This will also give you an insight into the methods historians use to put across their ideas; you will be able to adapt these methods for your own use when answering examination questions.

History is not a series of universally accepted facts that, once learned, will provide you with a detailed and accurate understanding of the past. Just as historical events were perceived in many different (and often contradictory) ways by the people who experienced them at the time, so they have been interpreted in many different (and often contradictory) ways by people who have studied them subsequently. The historical debates discussed throughout the main chapters of this book have shown that historians are not all in agreement about the reasons for, or the significance of, certain key events.

Although history deals with facts, it is equally about opinions, perceptions, judgements, interpretations and prejudices. Many of the questions you will face in the examination do not have right answers; they are asking for your opinion/judgement about a certain issue. Provided you can justify it – support it with appropriate and accurate use of evidence – your opinion is just as valid as any other. Sometimes, your friends and colleagues might disagree with your opinion and be able to provide convincing evidence to demonstrate why. Sometimes, they might convince you to change or refine your opinion. Sometimes, you will be able to convince them to change or refine theirs. Sometimes, you might just agree to differ. It is this ability to see things in different ways – and to have the confidence to use your knowledge and understanding to make judgements, form opinions and develop arguments

– that makes history so interesting, challenging and exciting.

为了在 AS Level 历史考试中取得成功，您需要培养一些在您之前参加的考试中可能不太重要的技能。一般来说，AS Level 预科考试要求您展示您对某些历史事件的知识和理解。现在，您将需要更深入地分析和解释您的知识。这会对您学习该主题的方式产生影响。您的老师将能够通过提供背景知识、培养您的历史技能并为您提供工作资源来帮助您。然而，你的老师不能告诉你该想什么或有什么意见！在 AS Level，您将承担更多的责任来发展自己的想法、观点和判断。为了有效地做到这一点，您需要获得独立学习技能。特别是，这意味着围绕一个主题尽可能广泛地阅读，以便您获得对同一问题和事件的不同解释。这也将使您深入了解历史学家用来表达他们的想法的方法；在回答考试问题时，您将能够调整这些方法以供自己使用。历史并不是一系列普遍接受的事实，一旦了解，就能让你对过去有详细而准确的理解。正如当时经历过历史事件的人们以许多不同（且常常是矛盾的）方式来看待历史事件一样，后来研究它们的人们也以许多不同（且常常是矛盾的）方式来解释它们。本书主要章节所讨论的历史争论表明，历史学家对于某些关键事件的原因或意义的看法并不完全一致。 尽管历史涉及事实，但它同样涉及意见、看法、判断、解释和偏见。你在考试中遇到的许多问题都没有正确答案；他们正在询问您对某个问题的意见/判断。如果您能够证明它的合理性——通过适当和准确地使用证据来支持它——您的观点与其他观点一样有效。有时，您的朋友和同事可能不同意您的观点，并能够提供令人信服的证据来证明原因。有时，他们可能会说服您改变或完善您的观点。有时，您将能够说服他们改变或完善他们的。有时，您可能只是同意不同。正是这种以不同方式看待事物的能力，以及有信心运用自己的知识和理解来做出判断、形成观点和展开论证的能力，使得历史变得如此有趣、富有挑战性和令人兴奋。

What skills will be tested in examination, and how?

During a lecture delivered in the late 1960s, the historian A. J. P. Taylor said: ‘History is not about answering questions; it is about knowing what questions to ask.’ This may seem like a rather strange statement – not least because your own success in your history examinations will depend on your ability to answer questions effectively. However, as you will discover in this chapter, there is much truth in what Taylor said. The most impressive answers to exam questions come from students who have done more than simply acquire knowledge – they have developed the skills required to analyse information, interrogate evidence and form their own reasoned opinions. In short, they know what questions to ask! Examination questions are not designed to ‘trick’ you or catch you out. On the contrary, questions are carefully designed to give you the opportunity to demonstrate how well you have mastered the required historical skills (as outlined in the Assessment Objectives).

You will be confronted with three main types of question, which are outlined below.

Knowledge and understanding questions

考试将考查哪些技能以及如何考查？历史学家 AJP 泰勒在 20 世纪 60 年代末的一次演讲中说道：“历史不是要回答问题，而是要解决问题。”这是关于知道要问什么问题。这似乎是一个相当奇怪的说法——尤其是因为你自己在历史考试中的成功将取决于你有效回答问题的能力。然而，正如你在本章中会发现的那样，泰勒所说的有很多道理。考试问题中最令人印象深刻的答案来自于那些不仅仅只是获取知识的学生，他们还培养了分析信息、质疑证据和形成自己合理观点所需的技能。简而言之，他们知道要问什么问题！考试问题并不是为了“欺骗”您或让您出局。相反，问题经过精心设计，让您有机会展示您对所需历史技能的掌握程度（如评估目标中所述）。您将面临三种主要类型的问题，概述如下。知识和理解问题

Knowledge and understanding questions are testing your ability to:

.

understand the question and its requirements

知识和理解问题正在测试您的能力： .理解问题及其要求

.

recall and select relevant and appropriate material

。回忆并选择相关且适当的材料

.

communicate your knowledge and understanding in a clear and effective manner.

。以清晰有效的方式传达您的知识和理解。

Analysis and evaluation questions

Analysis and evaluation questions are testing your ability to:

.

understand the question and its requirements

分析和评估问题 分析和评估问题正在测试您的以下能力： .理解问题及其要求

.

recall and select relevant and appropriate material

。回忆并选择相关且适当的材料

.

analyse and evaluate this material in order to reach a focused, balanced and substantiated judgement

。分析和评估这些材料，以达成有针对性、平衡和有依据的判断

.

communicate your argument in a clear and effective manner.

。以清晰有效的方式表达你的论点。

Source-based questions

Source-based questions are testing your ability to:

.

understand the question and its requirements

基于来源的问题 基于来源的问题正在测试您的能力： .理解问题及其要求

.

comprehend source content in its historical setting

。在历史背景下理解源内容

.

analyse and evaluate source content

。分析和评估源内容

.

reach a focused, balanced and substantiated judgement

。做出集中、平衡和有依据的判断

.

communicate your argument in a clear and effective manner.

。以清晰有效的方式表达你的论点。

In this chapter, we will look at some examples of each type of question, analysing the skills you will need to apply in order to answer them effectively.

在本章中，我们将查看每种类型问题的一些示例，分析有效回答这些问题所需的技能。

Knowledge and understanding questions

These questions usually require you to explain why a particular event took place or why a particular course of action was taken. For example, you might be asked the question:

知识和理解问题这些问题通常要求您解释为什么发生特定事件或为什么采取特定行动方案。例如，您可能会被问到以下问题：

Why did European nations engage in a ‘scramble for Africa’ during the late 19th century?

(Cambridge International AS Level History 9389 Specimen Paper 2 Q9 a) Here are two typical responses to this question.

Response 1

19世纪末欧洲国家为何要大肆“争夺非洲”？ （剑桥国际 AS Level 历史 9389 试卷 2 Q9 a）以下是对此问题的两个典型回答。回应1

Both responses contain much the same basic information. Both are based on the recall and selection of accurate, appropriate and relevant factual material (knowledge). However, Response 2 demonstrates a greater understanding of how and why these factors led to the ‘scramble for Africa’. The points it makes are fully explained and supported by evidence. It shows how various factors link together – for example, medical advancements allowed greater exploration, which revealed Africa’s potential to provide both raw materials and a market, which were needed to support the industrial revolutions in European countries. On the other hand, Response 1 makes a number of rather vague and unexplained statements, which might imply that the writer does not fully understand the significance of the points made. For example:

.

‘Africa had become strategically important’: there is no explanation of how and why Africa had become ‘strategically important’.

两个回复都包含基本相同的信息。两者都是基于对准确、适当和相关的事实材料（知识）的回忆和选择。然而，回应 2 表明了对这些因素如何以及为何导致“非洲争夺”的更深入的理解。它所提出的观点得到了充分的解释和证据支持。它显示了各种因素如何联系在一起——例如，医学进步允许进行更大的探索，这揭示了非洲提供原材料和市场的潜力，这是支持欧洲国家工业革命所需要的。另一方面，回应1提出了一些相当模糊和无法解释的陈述，这可能意味着作者没有完全理解所提出观点的意义。例如： 。 “非洲已变得具有战略重要性”：没有解释非洲如何以及为何变得“具有战略重要性”。

.

‘European countries also needed land in Africa because of their industrial revolutions’: there is no explanation of how and why industrial revolutions meant that European countries ‘needed land in Africa’.

。 “由于工业革命，欧洲国家也需要非洲的土地”：没有解释工业革命如何以及为何意味着欧洲国家“需要非洲的土地”。

.

No explicit (fully and clearly expressed) connection is made between the ‘rapid increase in the amount of exploration’ and the involvement of European nations in the ‘scramble for Africa’.

。 “勘探数量的迅速增加”与欧洲国家参与“非洲争夺”之间没有明确的（充分和明确表达的）联系。

So, the key points to remember when addressing this type of question are:

.

You need to read the question carefully in order to ensure that you fully understand what it requires. [Skill: comprehension]

因此，解决此类问题时要记住的要点是： 。您需要仔细阅读问题，以确保您完全理解其要求。 【技能：领悟】

.

You need to be able to recall and select appropriate factual material.

。您需要能够回忆并选择适当的事实材料。

[Skills: knowledge and effective revision]

.

You need to show the relevance of this factual material to the question, something that Response 1 does not always achieve (for example, by not explaining how industrial revolutions helped to cause the ‘scramble for Africa’). [Skill: understanding]

[技能：知识和有效复习]。您需要表明该事实材料与问题的相关性，这是回答 1 并不总是能实现的（例如，没有解释工业革命如何导致“争夺非洲”）。 【技能：理解】

.

You should always prepare a brief plan before starting to write. A quick and easy way of doing this is to draw a table with two columns. Record the key points in the left column. In the right column, show how each key point helps to address the question. This serves three purposes:

。在开始写作之前，您应该始终准备一个简短的计划。一种快速简单的方法是绘制一个包含两列的表格。将要点记录在左栏中。在右栏中，显示每个关键点如何帮助解决问题。这有三个目的：

1 It ensures that you don’t miss anything out, which is easy to do under examination pressure. 2 It ensures that you keep fully focused on the requirements of the question.

3 It ensures that you demonstrate the relevance of each point – you provide evidence that you understand how the point helps to answer the question.

Take the question:

Why did Britain pursue a policy of appeasement towards Nazi Germany during the 1930s?

(Cambridge International AS Level History 9389 Specimen Paper 2 Q11 a)

A plan might look something like this: Your plan may not need to contain quite this much detail and can, of course, make use of abbreviations. The plan is entirely for your benefit – an examiner may look at it, but it will not be marked. One final point: do remember to use the plan when writing your response. It is amazing how often a perfectly good plan is followed by a poor answer that bears almost no relation to it!

1 它确保您不会错过任何内容，这在考试压力下很容易做到。 2 它确保您完全专注于问题的要求。 3 它确保您展示每个要点的相关性 - 您提供证据表明您了解该要点如何有助于回答问题。试问：为什么英国在20世纪30年代对纳粹德国采取绥靖政策？ （剑桥国际 AS Level 历史 9389 试卷 2 Q11 a）计划可能看起来像这样：您的计划可能不需要包含这么多细节，当然可以使用缩写。该计划完全是为了您的利益——考官可能会查看它，但不会对其进行评分。最后一点：请记住在撰写回复时使用该计划。令人惊讶的是，一个完美的计划常常伴随着一个与计划几乎无关的糟糕答案！

Analysis and evaluation questions

These questions require you to do more than just demonstrate your knowledge and understanding. They require you to use your knowledge and understanding in order to develop a logical argument and make a reasoned judgement.

There are a number of tasks you need to perform before you start to answer this type of question. These are:

.

Identify the factual material you will need.

分析和评估问题 这些问题要求您做的不仅仅是展示您的知识和理解。它们要求您运用您的知识和理解来提出逻辑论证并做出合理的判断。在开始回答此类问题之前，您需要执行许多任务。这些都是： 。确定您需要的事实材料。

.

Establish what task the question is asking you to carry out with that factual material.

。确定问题要求您用事实材料执行什么任务。

.

Develop a plan that lists the factual material so that it is fully focused on the requirements of the question.

。制定一个列出事实材料的计划，使其完全关注问题的要求。

.

Reach a judgement. 。做出判断。

.

Decide how you are going to explain this judgement as an argument in your answer.

。决定如何将这个判断解释为答案中的论点。

Let’s look at these specifically, relating to the following question:

To what extent did the USA pursue an isolationist foreign policy between 1919 and 1939?

(Adapted from Cambridge International AS Level History 9389 Specimen Paper 2 Q10 b)

Factual material: US foreign policy 1919–39; understanding of the term ‘isolationist’.

Task: determine, justify and explain how far US foreign policy 1919–39 can be seen as isolationist.

Plan: this enables you to create a mind map of points on both sides of the argument. Remember that the plan is entirely for your benefit – it’s up to you how much detail it includes and, indeed, what format it takes. An example is shown on page 168.

让我们具体地看一下这些，并涉及以下问题：1919年至1939年间，美国在多大程度上奉行孤立主义外交政策？ （改编自剑桥国际 AS Level 历史 9389 样本论文 2 Q10 b）事实材料：美国外交政策 1919-39；对“孤立主义”一词的理解。任务：确定、证明并解释 1919-39 年美国外交政策在多大程度上可以被视为孤立主义。计划：这使您能够创建争论双方观点的思维导图。请记住，该计划完全是为了您的利益 - 它包含多少细节以及实际上采用什么格式取决于您。第 168 页显示了一个示例。

it and support it with valid evidence. A possible judgement might be: ‘The USA did follow an isolationist policy 1919–39, but could not avoid involvement in world affairs when its own interests, especially economic ones, were at stake.’

并用有效的证据支持它。一个可能的判断可能是：“美国在1919-39年间确实奉行了孤立主义政策，但当其自身利益，特别是经济利益受到威胁时，无法避免卷入世界事务。”

Argument: there are a number of things to remember when constructing your answer:

.

Focus: you must make sure that you address the question set. Simply demonstrating that you know a great deal about interwar American foreign policy is not enough.

论证：构建答案时需要记住很多事情： 。重点：您必须确保解决问题集。仅仅证明您对两次世界大战之间的美国外交政策了解很多是不够的。

.

Balance: it is important that you demonstrate an understanding of both sides of the argument. You need to show how you have compared and weighed the evidence in order to reach your judgement. Therefore, your answer should not be based solely on the evidence that supports your conclusion.

。平衡：重要的是你要表现出对争论双方的理解。您需要展示您如何比较和权衡证据才能做出判断。因此，您的答案不应仅基于支持您的结论的证据。

.

Clarity: in effect, you are aiming to convince the reader to agree with your judgement. It is crucial that your argument is communicated in a clear and obvious way.

。清晰度：实际上，您的目标是说服读者同意您的判断。以清晰、明显的方式传达你的论点至关重要。

.

Evidence: for your argument to be convincing, it must be supported by evidence. Many examination essays contain unsupported assertions – these are statements/opinions for which no factual evidence is provided, and so should be avoided.

。证据：为了使你的论点令人信服，必须有证据支持。许多考试论文包含不受支持的断言——这些陈述/观点没有提供事实证据，因此应该避免。

.

Consistency: make sure that your argument remains consistent throughout. Students frequently write essays that are contradictory, the first part seemingly arguing one thing and the second part apparently arguing the exact opposite. The reason for this is that the student is trying to show a balanced understanding, but has not actually weighed the evidence and come to a judgement. Such essays often conclude with a statement such as: ‘So it is clear that the USA did follow an isolationist policy between 1919 and 1939.’ Since no explanation has been given to justify such a statement, it is invariably an unsupported assertion.

。一致性：确保你的论点自始至终保持一致。学生经常写出自相矛盾的论文，第一部分似乎在争论一件事，而第二部分显然在争论完全相反的事情。原因是学生试图表现出平衡的理解，但没有真正权衡证据并做出判断。此类文章通常以这样的陈述作为结尾：“很明显，美国在 1919 年至 1939 年间确实奉行了孤立主义政策。”由于没有给出任何解释来证明这种说法的合理性，因此它始终是一个不受支持的断言。

.

Planning: all these points show just how important the planning stage is. Put simply, you need to know exactly what you are going to say before you start writing.

。规划：所有这些都表明规划阶段是多么重要。简而言之，在开始写作之前，您需要确切地知道要说什么。

Below is a response to the question on page 167.

以下是对167页问题的答复。

“

It is clear that the USA did indeed follow an isolationist policy between

1919 and 1939. Americans felt that the First World War, which had

been unpopular in the USA, had broken out because of disagreements

between European nations, and wanted to avoid involvement in

European affairs in the future. As a result, the USA rejected both the

Paris peace settlement and membership of the League of Nations. In

addition, the USA avoided entering commitments with other countries

and kept out of international issues such as the Japanese invasion of

Manchuria in 1931. That isolationism was still the preferred policy in the

late 1930s is confirmed by the fact that President Roosevelt was ignored

when he argued that Japan was becoming dangerous to US interests

and should be confronted.

显然，美国在1919年至1939年间确实奉行了孤立主义政策。美国人认为，在美国不受欢迎的第一次世界大战是由于欧洲国家之间的分歧而爆发的，因此希望避免卷入其中。未来的欧洲事务。结果，美国拒绝了巴黎和解和加入国际联盟。此外，美国避免与其他国家做出承诺，并置身于1931年日本入侵满洲等国际问题之外。孤立主义在20世纪30年代末仍然是首选政策，这一点可以从罗斯福总统在执政时被忽视的事实得到证实。认为日本正在对美国的利益构成威胁，应该予以对抗。

What are the strengths of this answer?

.

It is clearly focused on the requirements of the question.

这个答案的优点是什么？ 。很明显，它集中在问题的要求上。

.

It contains a clear, explicit and consistent argument.

。它包含一个清晰、明确和一致的论点。

”

.

It provides evidence to support its argument.

”。它提供了证据来支持其论点。

What are the weaknesses of this answer?

这个答案的缺点是什么？

.

The major weakness is the fact that it lacks balance. It completely ignores evidence that might challenge its argument. In order to demonstrate that the essay is based on a balanced and objective judgement, it is necessary to show understanding of both sides of the argument with an explanation as to why one side is preferred.

。主要弱点是缺乏平衡。它完全忽视了可能挑战其论点的证据。为了证明这篇文章是基于平衡和客观的判断，有必要表达对论证双方的理解，并解释为什么偏爱某一方。

.

The statement that ‘the USA avoided entering commitments with other countries’ is an unsupported assertion. It needs evidence to back it up. For example, it could mention the fact that the USA did not send a representative to the Locarno Conference.

。 “美国避免与其他国家做出承诺”的说法是没有根据的说法。它需要证据来支持它。例如，它可以提及美国没有派代表参加洛迦诺会议的事实。

Here is a similar type of question, although it is written in a rather different way:

‘Hitler never intended to cause a major war.’ How far does an analysis of Hitler’s foreign policy between 1933 and 1939 support this view?

(Cambridge International AS Level History 9389 Specimen Paper 2 Q11 b)

In this case, you are given an opinion (‘Hitler never intended to cause a major war’) and your task is to decide the extent to which you agree with it.

这是一个类似类型的问题，尽管它的写法相当不同：“希特勒从未打算引发一场重大战争。”对 1933 年至 1939 年间希特勒外交政策的分析在多大程度上支持这一观点？ （剑桥国际 AS Level 历史 9389 试卷 2 Q11 b）在这种情况下，你会得到一个意见（“希特勒从未打算引发一场重大战争”），你的任务是决定你在多大程度上同意它。

Below is a high-quality response to the question. As you read through this response, bear in mind its strengths:

.

It is focused on the question throughout.

以下是对该问题的高质量答复。当您阅读此回复时，请记住其优点： 。整个内容都集中在这个问题上。

.

It contains a clear and explicit argument – it agrees with the opinion that ‘Hitler never intended to cause a major war’.

。它包含了一个清晰明确的论点——它同意“希特勒从未打算引发一场重大战争”的观点。

.

It is balanced – it shows a clear understanding of both sides of the argument.

。它是平衡的——它显示出对争论双方的清晰理解。

.

It is analytical – it doesn’t simply describe Hitler’s foreign policy 1933–39; it weighs the evidence to reach a judgement.

。它是分析性的——它不仅仅描述了希特勒 1933-39 年的外交政策；它还描述了希特勒的外交政策。它权衡证据以做出判断。

.

It is consistent – the argument remains the same throughout.

。它是一致的——论点自始至终都是一样的。

The panels next to each paragraph look at the response in more detail to explain how these things have been achieved.

每个段落旁边的面板更详细地查看回应，以解释这些事情是如何实现的。

Overview of the response

The response on the previous pages is based on detailed knowledge and understanding of Hitler’s foreign policy 1933–39. Rather than simply describing Hitler’s policy, the response analyses it in a way that is relevant to the requirements of the question. There is a clear and consistent argument based on a balanced review of the evidence. The writer is in complete control of the argument throughout, guiding the reader towards acceptance of a particular conclusion. There are clear linking points between each paragraph – this enables the essay to flow, making it easy for the reader to follow the argument.

Summary

So, what are the key points to remember when answering analysis and evaluation questions?

.

Don’t simply provide the reader with a series of facts relating to the topic

回应概述 前几页的回应是基于对希特勒 1933-39 年外交政策的详细了解和理解。答复不是简单地描述希特勒的政策，而是以与问题要求相关的方式对其进行分析。基于对证据的平衡审查，有一个清晰一致的论点。作者自始至终完全控制着论证，引导读者接受特定的结论。每个段落之间都有清晰的连接点——这使得文章流畅，让读者很容易理解论点。总结 那么，在回答分析和评估问题时要记住哪些要点呢？ 。不要简单地向读者提供一系列与该主题相关的事实

– use your knowledge to make a judgement, form an opinion and develop an argument.

– 利用您的知识做出判断、形成观点并展开论证。

.

Communicate your argument in a clear and consistent manner.

。以清晰一致的方式表达你的论点。

.

Ensure balance – demonstrate your understanding of both sides of the argument, but do so in a way that does not make your answer seem contradictory. Show, with supporting evidence, why one side of the argument is stronger than the other.

。确保平衡——展示你对争论双方的理解，但这样做不会让你的答案显得矛盾。用支持证据表明为什么论证的一方比另一方更强。

.

Remain focused – ensure that each paragraph is making a point directly related to your judgement/argument. Do not drift off into irrelevance.

。保持专注——确保每个段落都表达与你的判断/论点直接相关的观点。不要陷入无关紧要的境地。

.

Do not make unsupported assertions – ensure that any analytical point you make is backed up by factual evidence.

。不要做出没有根据的断言——确保你提出的任何分析观点都有事实证据支持。

.

Plan carefully before you start to write.

。在开始写作之前仔细计划。

.

Try to make your answer flow, for example by finding ways to link paragraphs together so that one leads logically into the next. This helps to keep the reader’s interest and allows them to follow the argument you are making.

。尝试让你的答案流畅，例如找到将段落链接在一起的方法，以便从一个段落逻辑上引导到下一个段落。这有助于保持读者的兴趣，让他们能够理解你所提出的论点。

Source-based questions 基于来源的问题

In order to make judgements and form opinions about past events, historians need to gather as much information/evidence as possible. They use a variety of sources for this – written sources, speeches, photographs, cartoons, posters. Much of the evidence historians use is contradictory, reflecting the different opinions and perspectives of the people who produced them. Therefore, historians have to analyse these sources very carefully in order to form their own opinions/judgements about the past.

In much the same way, you will be faced with a variety of different historical sources in examination. You will need to be able to analyse these sources in the light of your own subject knowledge. The key word here is analyse. This means going beyond basic comprehension of what a source is saying or showing, and asking yourself questions about how reliable the source is and why it appears to contradict what some other sources suggest.

Historical sources can be categorised under two broad headings: primary and secondary.

Primary sources

A primary source is one that was written/spoken/drawn and so on, at or very near the time of the historical event it is describing. It is usually the product of someone who was directly involved in the event or who was, in some sense, an eyewitness to the event.

Advantages of a primary source include:

.

It provides a first-hand, contemporary account of the event.

为了对过去的事件做出判断并形成观点，历史学家需要收集尽可能多的信息/证据。为此，他们使用了多种来源——书面资料、演讲、照片、漫画、海报。历史学家使用的许多证据都是相互矛盾的，反映了产生这些证据的人的不同意见和观点。因此，历史学家必须非常仔细地分析这些资料，才能形成自己对过去的看法/判断。以大致相同的方式，您将在检查中面临各种不同的历史来源。您需要能够根据您自己的学科知识来分析这些来源。这里的关键词是分析。这意味着超越对消息来源所说或展示的内容的基本理解，并问自己有关消息来源的可靠性以及为什么它似乎与其他消息来源的建议相矛盾的问题。历史资料可分为两大类：主要和次要。一手资料 一手资料是指在所描述的历史事件发生时或非常接近的时间书面/口头/绘制等的资料。它通常是直接参与该事件的人或在某种意义上是该事件的目击者的产物。主要来源的优点包括：它提供了对该事件的第一手、当代的描述。

.

It provides an insight into the author’s perceptions and emotions at the time of the event.

。它提供了对作者在事件发生时的看法和情感的洞察。

.

If the source was created by someone who was directly involved in the event, it might give detailed ‘inside’ information that other people could not possibly know.

。如果消息来源是由直接参与该事件的人创建的，则它可能会提供其他人不可能知道的详细“内部”信息。

Disadvantages of a primary source include:

主要来源的缺点包括：

.

The source gives us only the opinions of the person who created it; these may not be typical of the opinions prevalent at the time.

。来源仅向我们提供创建者的意见；这些可能不是当时流行的典型观点。

.

If the source was created by someone who was directly involved in the event, it might contain bias, trying to convince the audience to agree with a particular line of argument.

。如果消息来源是由直接参与事件的人创建的，则它可能包含偏见，试图说服观众同意特定的论点。

.

Eyewitnesses may not always be completely reliable – they might not have access to the full details of an event or they might be trying to impose their own opinions on the audience.

。目击者可能并不总是完全可靠——他们可能无法了解事件的全部细节，或者他们可能试图将自己的观点强加给观众。

Secondary sources

A secondary source is one that was written/spoken/drawn etc. significantly after the historical event it describes. It is usually the product of someone who was not directly involved in the event or someone who was not an eyewitness to the event.

Advantages of secondary sources include:

.

Because they were created some time after the event they are describing, they can reflect the ‘full picture’ – they know how the event finally concluded and the impact it had. They have the advantage of hindsight.

次要来源 次要来源是指在其描述的历史事件之后书面/口头/绘制等的来源。它通常是没有直接参与该事件的人或不是该事件的目击者的产物。二手来源的优点包括：因为它们是在所描述的事件发生后一段时间创建的，所以它们可以反映“全貌”——它们知道事件最终如何结束以及它产生的影响。他们有事后诸葛亮的优势。

.

Many secondary sources have been produced by historians and academics. They are often the product of extensive research, including the use of primary sources.

。许多二手资料都是由历史学家和学者提供的。它们通常是广泛研究的产物，包括使用主要来源。

.

If the author was not directly involved in the event, there is less potential for bias.

。如果作者没有直接参与该事件，那么出现偏见的可能性就会较小。

Disadvantages of secondary sources include:

二手来源的缺点包括：

.

The source gives us only the opinions of the person who created it; other people may have totally different interpretations.

。来源仅向我们提供创建者的意见；其他人可能有完全不同的解释。

.

Secondary sources include biographies written years later by people who were directly involved in a particular event. This raises questions of reliability – the author’s memory may not always be accurate; the author might want to exaggerate or downplay their role in an event.

。二手资料包括直接参与特定事件的人多年后撰写的传记。这就提出了可靠性问题——作者的记忆可能并不总是准确的；作者可能想夸大或淡化他们在事件中的作用。

.

Secondary sources include accounts by eyewitnesses written years after the event. This also raises issues of reliability – was the author really an eyewitness? How accurate is the author’s memory?

。二手资料包括目击者在事件发生多年后所写的叙述。这也引发了可靠性问题——作者真的是目击者吗？作者的记忆有多准确？

Assessing a source’s reliability

It should be clear from the point above that historians have to be extremely careful when using sources, whether primary or secondary. They cannot afford to accept everything a source tells them as completely reliable and true. People exaggerate. People tell lies. People have opinions that others may not share. People make mistakes.

评估资料来源的可靠性 从上述观点可以清楚地看出，历史学家在使用资料来源时必须非常小心，无论是主要还是次要。他们无法接受消息来源告诉他们的一切都是完全可靠和真实的。人们夸大其词。人们说谎。人们有别人可能不认同的观点。人们会犯错误。

So, what can we, as historians, do to minimise the risk of drawing inaccurate conclusions from sources? There are a number of questions we need to ask in order to determine just how reliable a source is and to evaluate its provenance. For example:

.

Who wrote it?

那么，作为历史学家，我们可以做些什么来最大程度地减少从资料来源得出不准确结论的风险呢？为了确定来源的可靠性并评估其出处，我们需要提出许多问题。例如： 。谁写的？

.

When was it written?

。什么时候写的？

.

What is the context?

。背景是什么？

.

Who was the intended audience?

。目标受众是谁？

.

Why was it written? What was the author’s motive?

。为什么这么写？作者的动机是什么？

.

What does it actually say?

。它实际上说了什么？

.

How does what it says compare with our own subject knowledge and with what other sources say?

。它的内容与我们自己的学科知识以及其他来源的内容相比如何？

Suppose, for example, that this is the statement given to police later in the day by the driver of the car involved in the accident you ‘witnessed’:

” “

例如，假设这是您“目睹”事故中的汽车司机当天晚些时候向警方提供的陈述：“”

I was driving along the High Street, carefully and well within the speed limit. Suddenly, and without warning, a pedestrian walked out into the road from behind a parked lorry. There was absolutely no way I could have stopped in time to avoid hitting the pedestrian. In a state of panic, I did not stop. I drove away, but later reported to the local police station.

.

WHO wrote it? The driver of the car involved in the accident. The driver would clearly not wish to be blamed for causing the accident and therefore might have a reason for being less than honest.

我沿着大街行驶，小心翼翼地在限速范围内行驶。突然，在没有任何警告的情况下，一名行人从一辆停放的卡车后面走到马路上。我绝对不可能及时停下来避免撞到行人。惊慌失措中，我没有停下来。我开车离开，但后来向当地派出所报了案。 。谁写的？涉事汽车的司机。司机显然不希望因造成事故而受到指责，因此可能有理由不诚实。

.

WHEN was it written? Later on the same day as the accident. By this time, the driver would have recovered from the initial shock, realising that there was no option but to report to the police. There would have been time for the driver to reflect on the incident and, possibly, develop an argument to lay blame for the accident on the pedestrian. Would the driver’s memory be accurate?

。什么时候写的？事故发生当天晚些时候。这时，司机已经从最初的震惊中恢复过来，意识到除了报警之外别无选择。司机本来有时间反思这起事件，并可能提出论据，将事故归咎于行人。司机的记忆准确吗？

.

What is the CONTEXT? The driver reporting to the police to admit involvement in the accident.

。背景是什么？司机向警方报案，承认参与了这起事故。

.

Who was the intended AUDIENCE? The police, who will make the final decision regarding who was to blame for the accident.

。目标受众是谁？警方将就事故责任方做出最终决定。

.

WHY was it written? What was the author’s MOTIVE? It is possible that, on reflection, the driver accepted the need to report involvement in the accident. It is also possible that the driver, realising that the police would eventually catch up with them, wanted to report the incident in order to clear their own name by laying blame on the pedestrian.

。为什么这样写？作者的动机是什么？经过深思熟虑，司机可能接受了报告事故的必要性。也有可能是司机意识到警察最终会追上他们，所以想举报这起事件，以便通过向行人归咎来洗清自己的罪名。

.

WHAT does it actually say? The driver argues that they were not driving carelessly and that the accident was the pedestrian’s fault (for walking out into the road from behind a lorry, without checking for traffic). They admit to leaving the scene of the accident out of panic.

。它实际上说了什么？司机辩称，他们驾驶并不粗心，事故是行人的错（因为没有检查交通情况，从卡车后面走到马路上）。他们承认是出于恐慌而离开了事故现场。

.

HOW does it compare with what other sources say? To find out whether the driver was telling the truth or simply lying in order to remove blame from themselves, the police would need to compare the statement with those of other witnesses and with other evidence. Other witnesses might, for example, be able to comment on how fast the car was going at the time of the accident and whether the pedestrian really did walk out into the road without due care and attention. Your own statement does not directly contradict what the driver says, although you did hear a screeching of brakes, which might suggest the car was going too fast. The police would be able to measure the length of any skid marks in order to work out the car’s speed. The police might also be able to find out if there really was a lorry parked in the road as the driver suggests.

。它与其他消息来源的说法相比如何？为了查明司机说的是真话还是只是为了摆脱责任而撒谎，警方需要将该陈述与其他证人的陈述以及其他证据进行比较。例如，其他目击者可能能够评论事故发生时汽车的行驶速度以及行人是否真的在没有应有的谨慎和注意的情况下走到了道路上。你自己的说法与司机所说的并没有直接矛盾，尽管你确实听到了刹车的刺耳声，这可能表明汽车开得太快了。警方将能够测量刹车痕迹的长度，从而计算出汽车的速度。警方或许还能查明是否真的像司机所说的那样，有一辆卡车停在路上。

Now let’s take a more specific example – the agreement that Hitler signed following a meeting with Chamberlain in Munich on 30 September 1938. Hitler renounced warlike intentions and agreed to deal with any future issues by negotiation. Chamberlain triumphantly displayed the piece of paper outlining this agreement, signed by Hitler, on his return to Britain. Does this mean that Hitler was sincere in his commitment to such an agreement?

.

WHO wrote it? The document was signed by both Hitler and Chamberlain.

现在让我们举一个更具体的例子——1938年9月30日希特勒与张伯伦在慕尼黑会晤后签署的协议。希特勒放弃了好战意图，并同意通过谈判解决未来的任何问题。张伯伦得意洋洋地展示了希特勒在返回英国时签署的概述这份协议的文件。这是否意味着希特勒对这样的协议的承诺是真诚的？ 。谁写的？该文件由希特勒和张伯伦共同签署。

.

WHEN was it written? 30 September 1938.

。什么时候写的？ 1938 年 9 月 30 日。

.

What is the CONTEXT? A meeting was held in Munich in September 1938, attended by Britain, Germany, France and Italy. Britain and France were concerned that Hitler was going to invade Czechoslovakia and that this might lead to a major war. This was the period of appeasement, and Britain and France were desperately trying to avoid war with Germany.

。背景是什么？ 1938年9月在慕尼黑召开了一次会议，英国、德国、法国和意大利参加了会议。英国和法国担心希特勒将入侵捷克斯洛伐克，这可能会导致一场大战。这是绥靖时期，英国和法国极力避免与德国发生战争。

.

Who was the intended AUDIENCE? The people of Europe in general and Britain, France and Czechoslovakia in particular. Hitler was aware that Chamberlain was keen to avoid war and would have accepted any commitment Hitler made.

。目标受众是谁？欧洲人民，特别是英国、法国和捷克斯洛伐克人民。希特勒知道张伯伦渴望避免战争，并且会接受希特勒做出的任何承诺。

.

WHY was it written? What was the author’s MOTIVE? Hitler signed the agreement in order to convince the people of Europe, particularly the British and French, that he had no warlike intentions. He wanted to show that his claims to part of Czechoslovakia are reasonable and simply an attempt to right the wrongs of the Treaty of Versailles by bringing German-speaking people back under German control.

。为什么这样写？作者的动机是什么？希特勒签署该协议是为了让欧洲人民，特别是英国和法国人民相信他没有战争意图。他想表明他对捷克斯洛伐克部分地区的主权要求是合理的，只是试图通过将德语人民重新置于德国的控制之下来纠正《凡尔赛条约》的错误。

.

WHAT does it actually say? Hitler had no warlike intentions and would settle all future disputes by negotiation.

。它实际上说了什么？希特勒没有好战的意图，将通过谈判解决未来的所有争端。

.

HOW does it compare with what other sources say? We know from other sources that Hitler had already informed his generals that ‘it is my unalterable decision to smash Czechoslovakia by military action in the near future’. We know from our own subject knowledge that, despite the commitment he made at Munich, Hitler went ahead with his planned invasion of Czechoslovakia. So why did Hitler make such an agreement if he had no intention of keeping it? He was preparing to invade Czechoslovakia and wanted to ensure that no one would interfere with his plans. It was especially important to convince the British prime minister of his peaceful intentions.

。它与其他消息来源的说法相比如何？我们从其他消息来源得知，希特勒已经通知他的将军们，“在不久的将来通过军事行动摧毁捷克斯洛伐克是我不可改变的决定”。根据我们自己的学科知识，我们知道，尽管希特勒在慕尼黑做出了承诺，但他仍然继续计划入侵捷克斯洛伐克。那么，如果希特勒无意遵守的话，为什么要签订这样的协议呢？他正准备入侵捷克斯洛伐克，并希望确保没有人干扰他的计划。让英国首相相信他的和平意图尤为重要。

In this case, it is relatively easy for us, with hindsight and access to a considerable amount of evidence, to see what was not so obvious to Chamberlain at the time – Hitler was lying.

在这种情况下，事后看来并获得大量证据，我们相对容易看出当时对张伯伦来说不太明显的事情——希特勒在撒谎。

‘Compare and contrast’ questions

“比较和对比”问题

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Who? Wilson and Borah. We know something about President Wilson from our subject knowledge, but we know nothing about Senator Borah.

。 WHO？威尔逊和博拉。我们从学科知识中对威尔逊总统有所了解，但对博拉参议员一无所知。

.

When? September and November 1919.

。什么时候？ 1919 年 9 月和 11 月。

.

Context? These speeches are part of the American debate over whether the USA should accept the Paris peace settlement and join the League of Nations.

。语境？这些演讲是美国关于美国是否应该接受巴黎和平解决方案并加入国际联盟的辩论的一部分。

.

Audience? The audience is the same for both speeches: the American people in general and Congress in particular.

。观众？两次演讲的听众都是相同的：美国人民，特别是国会。

.

Motive? Each speaker is trying to convince the audience that his opinion is correct, so that the USA will eventually make what he considers to be the correct decision.

。动机？每个演讲者都试图让听众相信他的观点是正确的，以便美国最终做出他认为正确的决定。

.

Content? Wilson is in favour of the USA joining the League of Nations. Borah is against US membership. There is a clear difference of opinion. Both use emotive language in an attempt to persuade the audience.

。内容？威尔逊赞成美国加入国际联盟。博拉反对加入美国。存在明显的意见分歧。两者都使用情感语言来试图说服观众。

.

Subject knowledge? We know that Wilson was a strong supporter of the League of Nations. He had played a leading role at the Paris Peace Conference and it was at his insistence that the League of Nations was included in each of the different peace treaties. However, his attempts to convince the American people to accept membership of the League of Nations failed, and the Senate rejected both the peace settlement and the League. Most Americans favoured a return to an isolationist foreign policy, and Borah’s speech clearly reflects this view.

。学科知识？我们知道威尔逊是国际联盟的坚定支持者。他在巴黎和会上发挥了主导作用，正是在他的坚持下，国际联盟被纳入每一项不同的和平条约中。然而，他说服美国人民接受国际联盟成员资格的尝试失败了，参议院拒绝了和平解决方案和国际联盟。大多数美国人赞成回归孤立主义外交政策，博拉的讲话清楚地反映了这一观点。

A straightforward way of comparing the views expressed in these two speeches is to devise a plan, such as the table below.

比较这两次演讲中表达的观点的一个直接方法是制定一个计划，如下表。

Wilson Borah

Strongly supports the USA’s involvement in the League of Nations. This is not surprising since Wilson had made the League of Nations one of the Fourteen Points that he submitted as the basis for the post-war settlements. Strongly opposed to the USA’s involvement in the League of Nations, which would mean the end of the USA’s policy of isolationism by ‘surrendering the great policy of “no entangling alliances” upon which the strength of this Republic has been founded’.

Sees the League of Nations as a means to prevent future wars (‘war will be pushed out of that foreground of terror in which it has kept the world for generation after generation’). Highly sceptical of the promises made by the great nations never to use their power against one another, arguing that ‘the treaty does not mean peace. If we are to judge the future by the past, it means war.’

Argues that US independence is protected, stressing that the League cannot act without a unanimous vote, so that it would be impossible for the USA to become involved in ‘any enterprise that she does not care to be drawn into’. Argues that membership of the League would force the USA to interfere in the affairs of Europe and allow Europe to interfere in the affairs of the USA; he uses the word ‘meddling’ to give the point maximum impact.

Argues that, as a great nation, the USA has an obligation to join the League of Nations in order to help ensure world peace and security in the future. Argues that US independence is vital and that the USA should maintain its isolationist policy (‘would you purchase peace at the cost of our independence?’).

Uses emotive language. Claims that the USA owes a debt to those Americans who fought and died in the First World War, and that this can only be met by ensuring ‘that there never was such a war again’. Argues that it is vital for all of the great nations to be united behind the League of Nations; without such support, the League would fail, leading to further wars. Uses emotive language. Argues that joining the League would be ‘in conflict with the right of our people to govern themselves, free from all restraint, legal or moral, of foreign powers’. Says that ‘for the happiness of her own people and for the moral guidance and greater contentment of the world’ the USA must be ‘permitted to live her own life’.

威尔逊博拉强烈支持美国加入国际联盟。这并不奇怪，因为威尔逊已将国际联盟作为他提交的作为战后解决方案基础的十四点之一。强烈反对美国加入国际联盟，这将意味着美国孤立主义政策的结束，“放弃共和国实力赖以建立的‘不结盟’的伟大政策”。将国际联盟视为防止未来战争的一种手段（“战争将被从它让世界一代又一代地陷入的恐怖前景中剔除”）。对大国做出的永不使用武力对抗彼此的承诺高度怀疑，认为“该条约并不意味着和平”。如果我们要以过去来判断未来，那就意味着战争。”认为美国的独立受到保护，并强调联盟在没有一致投票的情况下不能采取行动，因此美国不可能卷入“任何她不想卷入的事业”。认为加入国联将迫使美国干涉欧洲事务，并允许欧洲干涉美国事务；他用“干涉”这个词来给这一点带来最大的影响。认为，作为一个伟大的国家，美国有义务加入国际联盟，以帮助确保未来世界的和平与安全。认为美国的独立至关重要，美国应该维持其孤立主义政策（“你会以牺牲我们的独立为代价来换取和平吗？”）。使用情感语言。 声称美国欠那些在第一次世界大战中战斗和死亡的美国人的债，而这只能通过确保“不再发生这样的战争”来实现。认为所有伟大国家团结起来支持国际联盟至关重要；如果没有这种支持，联盟就会失败，从而导致进一步的战争。使用情感语言。认为加入联盟将“与我们人民不受外国列强的一切法律或道德限制的自治权利相冲突”。说“为了自己人民的幸福，为了世界的道德指导和更大的满足”，美国必须“被允许过自己的生活”。

From this plan, it is relatively easy to identify the areas over which the two politicians disagree:

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Wilson wants the USA to join the League of Nations. Borah opposes US involvement in the League, preferring isolationism.

从这个计划中，可以相对容易地找出两位政客存在分歧的领域： 。威尔逊希望美国加入国际联盟。博拉反对美国加入联盟，主张孤立主义。

.

Wilson argues that the League will guarantee future peace. Borah claims that the League will lead to wars.

。威尔逊认为联盟将保证未来的和平。博拉声称联盟将导致战争。

.

Borah argues that US independence will be threatened by membership of the League. Wilson argues that the USA’s independence is guaranteed because of the League’s voting system.

。博拉认为，美国的独立将受到国联成员身份的威胁。威尔逊认为，由于联盟的投票制度，美国的独立性得到了保证。

.

Wilson argues that, as a major world power, the USA has an obligation to support the League and work towards international peace. Borah argues that the USA could serve the world better by keeping its independence and remaining outside the League.

。威尔逊认为，作为世界主要大国，美国有义务支持国联并致力于国际和平。博拉认为，美国可以通过保持独立并留在国联之外更好地为世界服务。

.

Wilson suggests that the USA owes it to those Americans who died in the First World War to join the League. Borah argues that membership of the League would take away the fundamental rights of the American people.

。威尔逊认为，美国有义务加入国联，以感谢那些在第一次世界大战中阵亡的美国人。博拉认为，加入联盟将剥夺美国人民的基本权利。

There is one issue on which the two men agree: both view the USA as a major power with an important role to play in world affairs. However, they differ over what that role should be and how it should be carried out. Borah argues that the ‘moral guidance and greater contentment of the world’ would be better served if the USA remained free of the constraints that the League of Nations would impose on it. Wilson argues that the USA should play a major role in international affairs as the best way of securing future world peace.

Visual sources: posters

Visual sources should be approached in much the same way as textual sources. Look again at this British poster from 1915.

was its purpose? Why would someone go to the trouble and expense of having such posters printed and displayed in public places? Think of a modern advertising poster – its aim is to encourage the viewer to buy a particular product and it will use a variety of clever, often highly emotive, techniques to do this. A toothpaste advert, for example, might suggest that you will suffer from tooth decay, gum disease and bad breath if you don’t use a particular brand. By implication, the advertisement is

saying that this brand is more able to prevent these problems than any other.

两人在一个问题上达成了共识：都认为美国是一个在世界事务中发挥重要作用的大国。然而，他们对于这个角色应该是什么以及如何发挥作用存在分歧。博拉认为，如果美国不受国际联盟施加的限制，“道德指导和世界的更大满足”将得到更好的服务。威尔逊认为，美国应该在国际事务中发挥重要作用，这是确保未来世界和平的最佳方式。视觉来源：海报 视觉来源的处理方式应与文本来源的处理方式大致相同。再看看这张 1915 年的英国海报。它的目的是什么？为什么有人会不辞辛劳、花钱印制这样的海报并在公共场所展示呢？想想现代的广告海报——它的目的是鼓励观众购买特定的产品，并且会使用各种巧妙的、通常高度情绪化的技术来做到这一点。例如，牙膏广告可能会暗示，如果您不使用特定品牌，您将遭受蛀牙、牙龈疾病和口臭之苦。广告暗示该品牌比其他品牌更能预防这些问题。

This poster is not trying to sell a product; rather it is trying to convince male viewers to join the British army fighting in the First World War, an army which, until 1916, relied on volunteers for new recruits. It does this in a number of highly emotive ways. With only a limited number of words, the message is clear and immediate. It plays on the man’s sense of guilt and embarrassment. When the war is over, how will he explain to his children – too young to understand – that he stayed safe and secure in his own home while other men were patriotically and heroically fighting for their country? How would he answer the question posed by his daughter as she reads her history book? What would he say to his son, proudly playing with his toy soldiers on the floor? Highlighting the word ‘YOU’ adds to the impression that the man would lose the respect of his children if he failed to volunteer for the army.

Visual sources: photographs

Just as the Spanish poster was a propaganda tool, so too is this photograph.

这张海报并不是要推销产品；而是要推销产品。相反，它试图说服男性观众加入参加第一次世界大战的英国军队，这支军队在 1916 年之前一直依靠志愿者招募新兵。它以多种高度情绪化的方式做到这一点。仅用有限的字数，就可以传达清晰且直接的信息。它利用了男人的内疚感和尴尬感。战争结束后，他将如何向他的孩子们解释——他太小了，无法理解——当其他人正在为自己的国家爱国而英勇地战斗时，他却安全地待在自己的家里？当女儿读历史书时，他会如何回答她提出的问题？当他骄傲地在地板上玩玩具士兵时，他会对儿子说什么？强调“你”这个词会增加这样的印象：如果这个人不志愿参军，他就会失去孩子们的尊重。视觉来源：照片 正如西班牙海报是一种宣传工具一样，这张照片也是一种宣传工具。

It purports to show Mussolini bravely leading his men into the ‘great battle’ that marked the glorious March on Rome in 1922, saving Italy from the threat of communist uprisings. In truth, there was no ‘battle’ – great or otherwise. We know from other sources and our own subject knowledge that the king, fearful of violence, refused to allow the army to confront Mussolini’s marchers. We also know that Mussolini, afraid of being the figurehead for an embarrassing failure, remained in Milan rather than leading the march. The photograph is a fabrication – a device to convince people that Mussolini was the saviour of Italy. This does not make it any less useful as a historical source, as it tells us a great deal about Mussolini’s style of leadership.

它旨在展示墨索里尼勇敢地带领他的部下参加“伟大的战役”，这场战役标志着 1922 年光荣的进军罗马，将意大利从共产主义起义的威胁中拯救出来。事实上，并没有发生“战斗”——无论是伟大的还是其他的。我们从其他来源和我们自己的学科知识中得知，国王害怕暴力，拒绝允许军队对抗墨索里尼的游行者。我们还知道，墨索里尼害怕成为令人尴尬的失败的傀儡，因此留在米兰而不是领导游行。这张照片是捏造的——旨在让人们相信墨索里尼是意大利的救世主。但这并没有降低它作为历史资料的用处，因为它告诉我们很多关于墨索里尼领导风格的信息。

Visual sources: cartoons

Cartoons can be the most difficult sources to analyse. In most cases, they are created to achieve two things:

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to amuse and entertain the audience

视觉来源：卡通 卡通可能是最难分析的来源。在大多数情况下，创建它们是为了实现两件事：娱乐和娱乐观众

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to make a point and send the audience a message.

。表达观点并向观众传达信息。

To achieve this, they use symbolism and a subtle form of humour that may have been perfectly understandable to people at the time, but that might be less obvious to us.

Example 1

Look at this American cartoon from late August 1939.

为了实现这一目标，他们使用了象征主义和微妙的幽默形式，这对当时的人们来说可能是完全可以理解的，但对我们来说可能不太明显。示例 1 请看这部 1939 年 8 月下旬的美国动画片。

In order to analyse the cartoon and understand its message, we need to go through much the same process as when dealing with other types of source.

Date? Published just after the signing of the Nazi–Soviet Pact (23 August 1939) and just before the German invasion of Poland (1 September 1939).

Context? The agreement between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia came as a shock to the rest of the world. Hitler and Stalin had completely different political ideologies and, indeed, hated each other. Stalin was aware that Hitler’s long-term intention was to attack the USSR. It was a treaty of convenience – it enabled Germany to invade Poland, knowing that the USSR would not intervene. It allowed the USSR time to prepare for any future attack by Germany and the opportunity to regain former Russian territory that was now part of Poland. The immediate implication of the pact was that Poland was under threat.

Provenance? Published in an American newspaper and, therefore, intended for an American audience. At this time, the USA was still following an isolationist policy. Although aware of what was happening in the rest of the world, America remained determined to avoid direct involvement. Therefore, the cartoon has been drawn from the perspective of an observer rather than that of someone who is directly involved in the events portrayed.

Symbolism? The artist has combined characters from two children’s stories:

.

Poland is depicted as Little Red Riding Hood/Goldilocks – sweet, innocent and vulnerable.

为了分析漫画并理解其信息，我们需要经历与处理其他类型的来源时大致相同的过程。日期？在纳粹-苏联条约签署后（1939 年 8 月 23 日）和德国入侵波兰前（1939 年 9 月 1 日）出版。语境？纳粹德国和苏俄之间的协议震惊了世界其他国家。希特勒和斯大林有着完全不同的政治意识形态，而且确实彼此仇恨。斯大林意识到希特勒的长期意图是进攻苏联。这是一项便利条约——它使德国能够入侵波兰，而且知道苏联不会干预。它使苏联有时间为德国未来的任何进攻做好准备，并有机会收复前俄罗斯领土（现属于波兰的一部分）。该协议的直接影响是波兰受到威胁。出处？在美国报纸上发表，因此面向美国读者。此时的美国仍然奉行孤立主义政策。尽管意识到世界其他地区正在发生的事情，美国仍然决心避免直接参与其中。因此，这幅漫画是从观察者的角度而不是直接参与所描绘事件的人的角度绘制的。象征主义？艺术家结合了两个儿童故事中的人物： 。波兰被描绘成小红帽/金发姑娘——甜蜜、天真且脆弱。

.

Nazi Germany is represented as a wolf (with Hitler’s hairstyle) – sly, cunning and licking its lips in anticipation of eating Little Red Riding Hood.

。纳粹德国被描绘成一只狼（有着希特勒的发型）——狡猾、狡猾，舔着嘴唇，期待着吃掉小红帽。

.

Soviet Russia is shown as a bear (Stalin) – big and dangerous, if just a little sleepy and stupid, waiting for its share of the feast that Goldilocks will provide.

。苏维埃俄罗斯被描绘成一只熊（斯大林）——巨大而危险，只是有点昏昏欲睡和愚蠢，等待着金发姑娘将提供的盛宴。

Message? Cartoons are designed to amuse the audience, but can also make profound political points. For example:

信息？卡通片旨在娱乐观众，但也可以表达深刻的政治观点。例如：

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Little Red Riding Hood/Goldilocks (Poland) is clearly surprised to find a wolf (Germany) and a bear (Soviet Russia) in her bed – hence the startled pose and the word ‘Wow!’ This reflects the widespread astonishment at the signing of the Nazi–Soviet Pact. Hitler and Stalin were considered strange bedfellows.

。小红帽/金发姑娘（波兰）显然很惊讶地在她的床上发现了一只狼（德国）和一只熊（苏联俄罗斯）——因此她做出了惊讶的姿势和“哇！”这个词。这反映了人们对纳粹-苏联条约签署的普遍惊讶。希特勒和斯大林被认为是奇怪的同床异梦。

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The drawing implies that Little Red Riding Hood/Goldilocks is also afraid – confronted by two such predatory beasts, who wouldn’t be? It is obvious, therefore, that the artist was aware of the implications of the Nazi–Soviet Pact: an invasion of Poland was imminent. This prediction proved accurate when German troops entered Poland on 1 September 1939.

。这幅画暗示小红帽/金发姑娘也害怕——面对两只这样的掠食性野兽，谁会不害怕呢？因此，很明显，艺术家意识到纳粹-苏联条约的含义：对波兰的入侵迫在眉睫。当德国军队于 1939 年 9 月 1 日进入波兰时，这一预测被证明是准确的。

Example 2

Let’s look at another cartoon with a similar theme, this time published in a British newspaper on 29 September 1939.

示例 2 让我们看另一部具有相似主题的漫画，这次是 1939 年 9 月 29 日在英国报纸上发表的。

Date? Published after the German invasion of Poland and Britain’s declaration of war against Germany (3 September 1939).

Context? Germany’s invasion of Poland (commencing on 1 September 1939) finally led to the end of appeasement. Britain and France declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939. However, it took time for these countries to mobilise their troops and they were able to offer little support to Poland, which fell by 29 September 1939. As agreed in the Nazi–Soviet Pact, Germany and the USSR divided the spoils between them.

Provenance? Published in a British newspaper and, therefore, intended for a British audience. Following a policy of appeasement, Britain had done little to prevent Hitler breaking the terms of the Treaty of Versailles and taking increasingly aggressive action throughout the 1930s. It was only when Germany invaded Poland that Britain finally decided to take action. By the time that this cartoon was published, Britain was at war with Germany. However, Britain’s declaration of war came too late to save Poland. The cartoon is therefore directed at an audience that is heavily involved in the war against Hitler’s Germany.

日期？德国入侵波兰和英国对德宣战后出版（1939 年 9 月 3 日）。语境？德国入侵波兰（1939 年 9 月 1 日开始）最终导致绥靖政策的结束。英国和法国于 1939 年 9 月 3 日对德国宣战。然而，这些国家动员军队需要很长时间，并且无法向波兰提供很少的支持，波兰于 1939 年 9 月 29 日沦陷。正如纳粹-苏联条约中所商定的那样，德国和苏联瓜分了战利品。出处？在英国报纸上发表，因此面向英国读者。英国奉行绥靖政策，在整个 1930 年代几乎没有采取任何措施来阻止希特勒违反《凡尔赛条约》的条款并采取日益激进的行动。直到德国入侵波兰后，英国才最终决定采取行动。当这幅漫画出版时，英国正与德国交战。然而，英国的宣战来得太晚了，无法拯救波兰。因此，这部漫画是针对那些积极参与反对希特勒德国战争的观众的。

Symbolism? The artist uses a variety of different techniques:

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Hitler and Stalin are drawn as clearly recognisable figures.

象征主义？艺术家使用了多种不同的技术： .希特勒和斯大林被描绘成清晰可辨的人物。

.

They look smug and pleased with themselves – their plan to conquer Poland and divide the spoils between them has been successful.

。他们看起来沾沾自喜，沾沾自喜——他们征服波兰并瓜分战利品的计划已经成功了。

.

They are greeting each other with exaggerated politeness (doffing caps and bowing, hands on hearts), yet their verbal greetings imply mutual dislike. Hitler greets Stalin with the words ‘The scum of the earth, I believe’, while Stalin is shown saying ‘the bloody assassin of the workers, I presume’. This heavily sarcastic approach reflects the artist’s view that the Nazi– Soviet Pact was a treaty of convenience rather than of friendship.

。他们以夸张的礼貌互相打招呼（脱下帽子、鞠躬、把手放在心上），但他们的口头问候却暗示着彼此不喜欢。希特勒向斯大林致意时说：“我认为，他是地球上的败类”，而斯大林则说：“我认为，他是工人的血腥杀手”。这种极具讽刺意味的方式反映了艺术家的观点，即纳粹-苏联条约是一个便利条约而不是友谊条约。

.

Both Hitler and Stalin are depicted carrying guns, symbols of their warlike and aggressive tendencies.

。希特勒和斯大林都被描绘成手持枪支，象征着他们的好战和侵略倾向。

.

They are shown as meeting over the prostrate body of a soldier, representing Poland. With Poland defeated, Hitler and Stalin are now dividing the spoils of war in line with the terms of the Nazi–Soviet Pact.

。他们在代表波兰的士兵的尸体上会面。随着波兰被击败，希特勒和斯大林现在正在根据纳粹-苏联条约的条款瓜分战利品。

.

Debris and rubble convey the destruction of war and the aggressive nature of Germany’s invasion of Poland. The background could be interpreted as smoke rising from bombs, or as storm clouds gathering to represent future conflicts. Either way, a bird – possibly the dove of peace – flies low to avoid it.

。残骸和瓦砾传达了战争的破坏和德国入侵波兰的侵略性质。背景可以被解释为炸弹升起的烟雾，或代表未来冲突的暴风云聚集。不管怎样，一只鸟——可能是和平鸽——会飞得很低来避开它。

Message? Although the sarcasm is intended to amuse the audience, the cartoon makes a number of profound political points:

信息？尽管讽刺是为了逗乐观众，但这部漫画提出了一些深刻的政治观点：

.

Hitler and Stalin are portrayed as deceitful, evil, selfish and aggressive. They are proud of what they have achieved and show no remorse.

。希特勒和斯大林被描绘成欺骗、邪恶、自私和好斗的人。他们为自己所取得的成就感到自豪，并且毫不悔恨。

.

The Nazi–Soviet Pact is shown as a treaty between enemies, prepared to ignore their mutual hatred in order to further their desire for conquest.

。纳粹-苏联条约被视为敌人之间的条约，准备无视彼此的仇恨，以进一步实现他们的征服欲望。

.

The policy of appeasement had clearly failed; it had not stopped Hitler from continuing with an aggressive foreign policy, leading to the destruction of Poland.

。绥靖政策显然已经失败了。它并没有阻止希特勒继续推行侵略性的外交政策，导致波兰的毁灭。

.

It is likely that Hitler will continue to seek further conquests. Britain’s decision to declare war on Germany is, therefore, justified. The people of Britain are involved in a just war against evil and unprovoked aggression.

。希特勒很可能会继续寻求进一步的征服。因此，英国对德国宣战的决定是正当的。英国人民正在进行一场反对邪恶和无端侵略的正义战争。

In examination, you might be asked to compare and contrast two cartoons like this. Essentially, this is asking you to show and explain the similarities and differences between them. Here are some examples of the type of points you could make.

Similarities:

在考试中，你可能会被要求比较和对比两部这样的漫画。本质上，这是要求你展示并解释它们之间的异同。以下是您可以提出的观点类型的一些示例。相似之处：

.

Both refer to the Nazi–Soviet Pact and its impact on Poland.

。两者都提到了纳粹-苏联条约及其对波兰的影响。

.

Both suggest that the Nazi–Soviet Pact was an unlikely alliance between two leaders who hated each other and whose countries followed completely different political ideologies.

。两者都表明，纳粹-苏联条约不太可能是两个互相憎恨且各自国家遵循完全不同政治意识形态的领导人之间的联盟。

.

Both suggest that the Nazi–Soviet Pact was an alliance of convenience – to allow Germany and the USSR to destroy Poland and share the spoils.

。两者都表明，纳粹-苏联条约是一个便利联盟——让德国和苏联摧毁波兰并分享战利品。

.

Both depict Hitler and Stalin as warlike and aggressive.

。两者都将希特勒和斯大林描绘成好战且好斗的人。

Differences: 差异：

.

Dates of publication: the US cartoon was published before the invasion of Poland (it makes a prediction). The British cartoon was published after the invasion (it comments on the outcome of the Nazi–Soviet Pact).

。出版日期：美国漫画是在入侵波兰之前出版的（它做出了预测）。这幅英国漫画是在入侵后出版的（它评论了纳粹-苏联条约的结果）。

.

Audiences: the US cartoon was for an American audience (not directly involved and determined to keep out of European affairs). The British cartoon was for a British audience (already heavily involved in the war against Hitler).

。观众：美国动画片是针对美国观众的（不直接参与并决心不介入欧洲事务）。这部英国动画片是针对英国观众的（已经深度参与了针对希特勒的战争）。

.

Symbolism: the US cartoon uses characters from two children’s stories, with Poland represented by Little Red Riding Hood/Goldilocks. The British cartoon uses recognisable images of Hitler and Stalin, and the dead body of a soldier to represent Poland.

。象征意义：美国动画片使用了两个儿童故事中的人物，其中波兰以小红帽/金发姑娘为代表。这部英国漫画使用了希特勒和斯大林的可识别图像以及士兵的尸体来代表波兰。

.

Humour: the US cartoon depicts Hitler as a sly wolf and Stalin as a rather slow, sleepy bear (which suggests that Stalin is being led by Hitler, who is closer to Goldilocks, more alert and more prepared for the feast). Goldilocks/Poland is reacting in an astonished and terrified way. The humour is largely visual and straightforward. The British cartoon mixes more serious images (e.g. a dead soldier and the rubble of war) with the humorous words and poses with which Hitler and Stalin greet each other (Stalin and Hitler are seen as equally culpable for the destruction of Poland). The humour is more subtle and sarcastic.

。幽默：美国漫画将希特勒描绘成一只狡猾的狼，而斯大林则描绘成一只行动迟缓、昏昏欲睡的熊（这表明斯大林是由希特勒领导的，希特勒更接近金发姑娘，更警觉，对盛宴也更有准备）。金发姑娘/波兰的反应是惊讶和恐惧。幽默主要是视觉上的、直截了当的。英国漫画将更严肃的图像（例如死去的士兵和战争废墟）与希特勒和斯大林互相问候的幽默语言和姿势混合在一起（斯大林和希特勒被认为对波兰的毁灭负有同样的责任）。幽默更加微妙和讽刺。

.

Messages: the US cartoon is simply commenting on events taking place in Europe. The British cartoon is suggesting that Hitler’s aggression must be stopped and that it is right for Britain to be at war against him.

。信息：美国漫画只是在评论欧洲发生的事件。这幅英国漫画暗示希特勒的侵略必须停止，英国对他发动战争是正确的。

Cross-referencing between sources

One of the most important things to remember is that a source should never be used in isolation. It needs to be interpreted in the light of information obtained from other sources. There are three main reasons why cross-referencing between sources is so important:

.

We can only judge how useful and reliable a source is by comparing it with what we already know and what other sources say.

来源之间的交叉引用 要记住的最重要的事情之一是永远不应该单独使用来源。它需要根据从其他来源获得的信息进行解释。来源之间的交叉引用如此重要的三个主要原因：我们只能通过与我们已知的信息和其他来源的说法进行比较来判断来源的有用性和可靠性。

.

It can help us to solve mysteries or apparent contradictions.

。它可以帮助我们解决谜团或明显的矛盾。

.

By using a combination of sources, we can often deduce things that none of the sources say when looked at individually.

。通过使用多种来源的组合，我们通常可以推断出单独查看时没有任何来源提到的事情。

For example, look at the three sources opposite, and then read the explanation given on page 190.

例如，查看对面的三个来源，然后阅读第 190 页给出的解释。

There seems to be a contradiction between Sources A and B. In Source A, Chamberlain claims that Hitler had no desire for war and that the Munich Agreement would lead to peace in Europe. In Source B, Chamberlain blames Hitler (‘who has not hesitated to plunge the world into misery in order to serve his own senseless ambitions’) for the outbreak of the Second World War. How can we explain this apparent contradiction?

The first thing to note is that Source A is dated September 1938, while Source B comes from a year later – in September 1939. The conclusion we draw from this is that, at some point in the intervening year, Chamberlain had changed his assessment both of Hitler and of the significance of the Munich Agreement.

This raises a new question: why did Chamberlain change his mind about the agreement? Source C can help us to answer this. It is clear from this source that Hitler’s interpretation of the Munich Agreement was very different from Chamberlain’s. Hitler believed that by signing the agreement, Britain was effectively giving its approval for the German takeover of Czechoslovakia – a clear sign of weakness that Hitler had every intention of exploiting. Desperate to avoid involving Britain in a costly and unpopular war, Chamberlain had chosen to believe Hitler’s claims that he wanted only what rightfully belonged to Germany, righting the wrongs that had previously been done to his country. By September 1939, it was obvious that Hitler had been lying to Chamberlain during their meeting in Munich. It would have been impossible for Chamberlain to deny this fact – after all, Hitler had now invaded Poland and Britain had declared war on Germany.

By linking these three sources with our own subject knowledge, we can also reach another conclusion. When he returned to Britain from Munich in September 1939, Chamberlain proudly waved the piece of paper outlining the agreement that he had made with Hitler. He boasted that the agreement meant ‘peace for our time’, and was keen to take the credit for getting Hitler to make such peaceful commitments. By September 1939, however, it was clear that these were hollow boasts – the truth was that Hitler had deceived Chamberlain in Munich. Rather than admitting that he had made an error of judgement, Chamberlain chose to lay all of the blame for the outbreak of the Second World War on Hitler (Source B). This was a way of deflecting attention and criticism from his own errors, particularly his long-term support for the policy of appeasement, which had been such a blatant failure.

消息来源 A 和消息来源 B 之间似乎存在矛盾。在消息来源 A 中，张伯伦声称希特勒无意战争，《慕尼黑协定》将带来欧洲和平。在资料来源 B 中，张伯伦将第二次世界大战的爆发归咎于希特勒（“为了满足自己毫无意义的野心，他毫不犹豫地让世界陷入苦难”）。我们该如何解释这个明显的矛盾呢？首先要注意的是，来源 A 的日期为 1938 年 9 月，而来源 B 的日期为一年后，即 1939 年 9 月。我们从中得出的结论是，在中间一年的某个时刻，张伯伦改变了他的评估希特勒和《慕尼黑协定》的重要性。这就提出了一个新问题：为什么张伯伦改变了对该协议的看法？来源C可以帮助我们回答这个问题。从这个消息来源可以清楚地看出，希特勒对《慕尼黑协定》的解释与张伯伦的解释截然不同。希特勒认为，通过签署该协议，英国实际上批准了德国接管捷克斯洛伐克 — — 这是希特勒有意利用的明显弱点。为了避免让英国卷入一场代价高昂且不得人心的战争，张伯伦选择相信希特勒的说法，即他只想得到理应属于德国的东西，纠正以前对他的国家所犯下的错误。到 1939 年 9 月，希特勒在慕尼黑会面期间对张伯伦撒谎的事实已经显而易见。张伯伦不可能否认这一事实——毕竟希特勒现在已经入侵了波兰，英国也已经向德国宣战了。通过将这三个来源与我们自己的学科知识联系起来，我们还可以得出另一个结论。 1939 年 9 月，当张伯伦从慕尼黑返回英国时，他自豪地挥舞着概述他与希特勒达成的协议的文件。他吹嘘该协议意味着“我们时代的和平”，并热衷于将希特勒做出如此和平承诺的功劳归功。然而，到了 1939 年 9 月，人们发现这些都是空洞的吹嘘——事实是希特勒在慕尼黑欺骗了张伯伦。张伯伦没有承认自己犯了判断错误，而是选择将第二次世界大战爆发的全部责任归咎于希特勒（来源B）。这是转移人们对他自己的错误的注意力和批评的一种方式，特别是他对绥靖政策的长期支持，而绥靖政策已经是公然的失败。

Addressing source-based questions: a summary

The key things you need to remember when addressing a source-based question are as follows:

Comprehension: you need to establish what the source is saying.

Reliability: don’t simply accept what the source is saying. You need to test how reliable it is by:

.

comparing what it says with what other sources say and with your own subject knowledge

解决基于来源的问题：总结 在解决基于来源的问题时，您需要记住的关键事项如下： 理解：您需要确定来源所说的内容。可靠性：不要简单地接受消息来源所说的内容。您需要通过以下方式测试它的可靠性： 。将其内容与其他来源的内容以及您自己的学科知识进行比较

.

looking carefully at who wrote it (or drew it, or said it), when, why and for what purpose/audience

。仔细查看是谁写的（或画的，或说的）、何时、为何以及目的/受众

.

establishing if there are any reasons to doubt the reliability of the source.

。确定是否有任何理由怀疑来源的可靠性。

Interpretation: what can you learn from the source, taking into account your judgement about how reliable it is?

Objectivity: always look at a source objectively and with an open mind. Do not make assumptions. For example:

.

Don’t assume that a source must be biased simply because it was written by a certain person at a certain time. These points might establish a motive for bias, but they do not necessarily prove that it is biased.

解读：考虑到您对消息来源可靠性的判断，您可以从消息来源中了解到什么？客观性：始终以开放的心态客观地看待来源。不要做出假设。例如： 。不要仅仅因为某个来源是由某个人在某个时间编写的，就认为它一定有偏见。这些观点可能会确立偏见的动机，但并不一定证明它是有偏见的。

.

Never make unsupported assertions. A statement such as ‘Source A is biased’ must be accompanied by evidence/examples to demonstrate how it is biased, together with reasons to explain why it is biased.

。切勿做出没有根据的断言。诸如“来源 A 有偏见”之类的陈述必须附有证据/示例，以证明其如何存在偏见，以及解释其为何存在偏见的原因。

Comparing sources: if you are asked to compare and/or contrast two sources, make sure that you analyse both sources before you start to write your answer. Record your findings in a simple plan, which you can use as a basic structure for your answer.

Draw conclusions: what can you learn from your analysis of the source? How does it enhance your knowledge and understanding of a particular topic or event?

比较来源：如果要求您比较和/或对比两个来源，请确保在开始写答案之前分析这两个来源。将您的发现记录在一个简单的计划中，您可以将其用作答案的基本结构。得出结论：您可以从对来源的分析中学到什么？它如何增强您对特定主题或事件的知识和理解？

Examination technique 检查技术

This section offers a few general points about how you should approach examination. Some of them might seem obvious, but it is as well to remember that, under the pressures of examination, we are all capable of being careless. If you are aware of the pitfalls, you are less likely to make costly mistakes.

Preparation

It is essential that you are fully prepared for any examination. In particular, make sure you know:

.

what topics the questions will be about

本节提供了有关如何进行考试的一些一般要点。其中一些似乎是显而易见的，但最好记住，在考试压力下，我们都有可能粗心大意。如果您意识到这些陷阱，您就不太可能犯下代价高昂的错误。准备 为任何考试做好充分准备至关重要。特别是，请确保您知道： .问题将涉及哪些主题

.

what form the questions will take

。问题将采取什么形式

.

how many questions you will have to answer

。你需要回答多少个问题

.

how long you will have to complete all your answers

。你需要多长时间才能完成所有答案

.

what the examiners will be looking for when assessing your answers.

。考官在评估你的答案时会寻找什么。

A valuable thing to do is to look carefully at past or sample examination papers and their mark schemes. This will give you an insight into the type of questions you may face and – equally importantly – how the examiners mark them. Your teacher may be able to provide you with more examples and will be able to help you interpret the mark schemes.

Equipment

Make sure that you arrive at the examination with all the equipment you are likely to need. Always ensure that you have more than one pen. Find out exactly what you are allowed and not allowed to take into the examination room. Different centres have their own rules about this, but examination boards also issue very clear guidelines.

Rubric

All examination papers contain rubric – this provides you with information (such as how long you have to complete the exam) and instructions (such as how many questions you need to answer). Always:

.

check the title of the examination paper to ensure you have been given the right one

一件有价值的事情就是仔细查看过去的试卷或样本试卷及其评分方案。这将使您深入了解您可能面临的问题类型，以及同样重要的是考官如何评分。您的老师也许能够为您提供更多示例，并能够帮助您解释评分方案。设备 确保您在参加考试时携带了可能需要的所有设备。始终确保您拥有不止一支笔。准确了解允许和禁止携带哪些物品进入考场。不同的中心对此有自己的规则，但考试委员会也发布了非常明确的指导方针。评分标准 所有试卷均包含评分标准 - 这为您提供信息（例如您需要多长时间完成考试）和说明（例如您需要回答多少个问题）。总是： 。检查试卷标题，确保您获得正确的试卷标题

.

check how long the exam lasts

。检查考试持续多长时间

.

read all the instructions carefully and make sure you follow them.

。仔细阅读所有说明并确保遵循它们。

Question selection

Obviously question selection is not an issue if you are required to answer all the questions on the examination paper. However, here is some advice if you have the opportunity to select which questions to answer:

.

Read all parts of all questions carefully before making your selection.

问题选择 显然，如果您需要回答试卷上的所有问题，那么问题选择就不是问题。不过，如果您有机会选择回答哪些问题，这里有一些建议： 。在做出选择之前，请仔细阅读所有问题的所有部分。

.

Don’t select a question simply because it happens to be about a topic on which you feel confident; just because you know a lot about the topic is no guarantee that you understand the question and can answer it effectively. Select by task (what the question is asking you to do) rather than by topic (basic subject matter).

。不要仅仅因为某个问题恰好与您有信心的主题相关而选择它；仅仅因为您对该主题了解很多并不能保证您理解该问题并能够有效地回答它。按任务（问题要求您做什么）而不是按主题（基本主题）选择。

.

If questions consist of more than one part, make sure that you can answer all parts of it. For example, do not select a two-part question if you are confident about part (a) but know nothing about (or are confused by) part (b). By doing this you would immediately be reducing the number of marks you could achieve.

。如果问题由多个部分组成，请确保您可以回答所有部分。例如，如果您对 (a) 部分有信心，但对 (b) 部分一无所知（或感到困惑），则不要选择由两部分组成的问题。通过这样做，您将立即减少可以获得的分数。

.

Decide the order in which you are going to address the questions. Do not leave the question you feel most confident about until last – you don’t want to run out of time on your best question.

。决定您要回答问题的顺序。不要把你最有信心的问题留到最后——你不想在你最好的问题上耗尽时间。

.

Make sure that you number your answers correctly (you don’t need to waste time writing out the whole question). Make it as easy as possible for the examiner to understand what you are doing.

。确保你对答案的编号正确（你不需要浪费时间写出整个问题）。让考官尽可能容易地理解你在做什么。

Timing 定时

It is a good idea to work out how long you have to complete each question/ part of a question. Make a note of it and make every effort to keep to this timing.

What should you do if the examination is nearing its end and you realise that you are not going to complete your final answer?

.

Write a comment such as ‘running out of time – hence notes’.

最好计算出完成每个问题/问题的一部分需要多长时间。记下它并尽一切努力遵守这个时间。如果考试即将结束并且您意识到自己无法完成最终答案，您该怎么办？ 。写下评论，例如“时间不够了——因此请注意”。

.

Describe, in note form, what you would have written if you had not run out of time.

。以笔记的形式描述如果没有时间的话你会写什么。

.

Ensure that these notes will make sense to the examiner and are not just a list of facts – make them relevant to the question that has been asked.

。确保这些注释对考官来说有意义，而不仅仅是事实列表 - 让它们与所提出的问题相关。

This approach will not get you as many marks as if you had completed your answer fully. However, the examiner will read them and will give you credit for them provided that they are accurate and relevant.

The best way to avoid the problem of running out of time is to ensure that you have had a great deal of practice in writing answers to examination questions under timed conditions.

这种方法不会让您获得与完全完成答案一样多的分数。然而，考官会阅读它们，并在它们准确且相关的情况下给予您评分。避免时间不够的问题的最好方法是确保你在规定的条件下进行了大量的练习来写试题答案。

Planning

Always ensure that you have planned each answer thoroughly before you start to write. When confronted with the time constraints of an examination, too many students assume that it is essential to start writing as soon as possible. As a result, they are making their judgements and forming their arguments as they write – this invariably leads to confused, unbalanced or unfocused answers. Careful planning is not time wasted, it is time well spent.

Revision

It is widely assumed that the purpose of revision is to get information into your brain in preparation for the examination. In fact, if you have followed the course appropriately, all the information you will need for the exam is already there. The human brain, rather like a computer, never ‘forgets’ anything it has experienced. The key purpose of revision, therefore, is not to put information into your brain, but to ensure that you can retrieve it when it is required. Revision should not be something you undertake in the last few days and hours before an examination; effective revision needs to be an ongoing process throughout the course.

How frustrating is it when you need an important document that you know is somewhere on your computer, but you can’t access it because you can’t remember what filename you gave it? It can take hours of tedious and unproductive searching before you locate it – but, once you do, everything you need is there. All you needed was a simple filename in order to access all the information you required. Revision needs to operate in much the same way – identifying the key points (‘filenames’) that will bring related information flooding back into your memory. The notes you make during the course therefore need to be very carefully planned and structured.

When taking notes from a book, most students simply copy out long passages. They convince themselves that this is essential to ensure that they don’t miss anything important. In fact, this is a largely pointless exercise that is invariably undertaken without concentration, comprehension, analysis or discrimination. The outcome is a mass of continuous prose that the student has not really read or understood. This causes problems when it comes to revision.

A more productive way of note-taking and revising is:

.

Read a whole section of the book first without making any notes at all, ensuring that you fully understand what the author is trying to say.

计划 在开始写作之前，请务必确保您已经彻底计划了每个答案。当面对考试的时间限制时，太多的学生认为必须尽快开始写作。结果，他们在写作时做出判断并形成论点——这总是会导致混乱、不平衡或没有重点的答案。仔细计划不是浪费时间，而是用得其所。复习 人们普遍认为复习的目的是让信息进入你的大脑，为考试做准备。事实上，如果您正确地遵循了课程，考试所需的所有信息都已经存在。人脑就像计算机一样，永远不会“忘记”它所经历过的任何事情。因此，复习的关键目的不是将信息输入你的大脑，而是确保你可以在需要时检索它。复习不应该是你在考试前的最后几天和几个小时内进行的事情；有效的复习需要在整个课程中持续进行。当您需要一个重要文档，并且您知道该文档位于计算机上的某个位置，但由于您不记得为其指定的文件名而无法访问它时，这是多么令人沮丧？您可能需要花费数小时进行乏味且徒劳的搜索才能找到它，但是一旦您找到它，您需要的一切就在那里。您只需要一个简单的文件名即可访问所需的所有信息。修订需要以大致相同的方式进行操作 - 识别关键点（“文件名”），将相关信息带回您的记忆中。因此，您在课程中所做的笔记需要非常仔细的计划和结构。 当从书中做笔记时，大多数学生只是抄写长段落。他们说服自己，这对于确保他们不会错过任何重要的事情至关重要。事实上，这是一项基本上毫无意义的练习，总是在没有集中注意力、理解、分析或辨别的情况下进行的。结果是学生没有真正阅读或理解的大量连续的散文。这会在修订时引起问题。一种更有效的记笔记和修改方法是： 。首先阅读本书的整个部分，不要做任何笔记，以确保您完全理解作者想要表达的内容。

.

Identify and record the key points being made (just like computer folders).

。识别并记录所提出的要点（就像计算机文件夹一样）。

.

Under each of the key points, list the arguments/evidence the author uses to support it (like computer files).

。在每个关键点下，列出作者用来支持它的论点/证据（如计算机文件）。

Here is an example of the type of notes this method produces, using the Treaty of Berlin as a theme.

以下是此方法生成的注释类型的示例，使用柏林条约作为主题。

This process takes longer and requires more thought than simply copying out long passages of a book, but it is time well spent. It will ensure that your pre-examination revision becomes far more straightforward, focused and effective.

与简单地抄写一本书的长段落相比，这个过程需要更长的时间和更多的思考，但这是值得的。它将确保你的考前复习变得更加直接、集中和有效。

Index

Aaland Islands (1921) 140 Abyssinia 74–76, 146 Africa imperialism in 7, 8–19 Italian invasion of Abyssinia

74–76, 146 the League of Nations and 143 Albania Corfu Incident (1923) 73, 144–145 Italian invasion of 77 Yugoslavia–Albania border dispute (1921) 141 Alfonso XIII, King of Spain 80 alliances and pacts see also treaties Anglo–German Naval Agreement (1935) 91 Anglo–Japanese Alliance (1902)

26, 31

索引 奥兰群岛 (1921) 140 阿比西尼亚 74–76, 146 非洲帝国主义 7, 8–19 意大利入侵阿比西尼亚 74–76, 146 国际联盟和 143 阿尔巴尼亚 科孚岛事件 (1923) 73, 144–145 意大利入侵阿比西尼亚77 南斯拉夫-阿尔巴尼亚边界争端 (1921) 141 西班牙国王阿方索十三世 80 联盟和条约另见条约 英德海军协定 (1935) 91 英日同盟 (1902) 26, 31

Anglo–Russian Entente (1907)

31–32 Anti-Comintern Pact (1937) 76, 122 Dual Alliance (1879) 29 Entente Cordiale (1904) 31 Franco–Russian Alliance (1894) 30 Kellogg–Briand Pact (1928) 57 Little Entente 60 Nazi–Soviet Pact (1939) 96, 97 Pact of Steel (1939) 77 Rome–Berlin Axis (1936) 76, 92 Sino–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact (1937) 123 Three Emperor’s League (1873) 29 Triple Alliance (1882) 29, 30, 134 Triple Entente (1907) 32, 134 America see USA American Civil War (1861–65) 20 anarchists, definition of 80 Anglo–German Naval Agreement (1935) 91 Anglo–Japanese Alliance (1902)

26, 31 Anglo–Russian Entente (1907) 31–32 Anglo–Russian Trade Treaty (1921)

61 Anglo–Zulu War (1879) 14 Annunzio, Gabriele D’ 72 Anti-Comintern Pact (1937) 76, 122 appeasement 92, 97 arbitration 134 Atlantic Charter 152–153 Austria economy 51 and Germany 90, 92 and Italy 74

reparations 143 and the Treaty of Saint-Germain (1919) 48 Austria-Hungary 29, 33–35 autarky 71

bartering, definition of 24 Beer Hall Putsch (1923) 87 Belgium imperialism 9, 12 invasion of the Ruhr (1923) 59, 144 Bene., Edvard 94 Berlin, Treaty of 1885 7, 13 1926 61 Bismarck, Otto von (1815–98) 28–30 Blumenbach, Johann Friedrich 10 Boer Wars 14–16 Bolshevik Revolution (1917) 41 Borah, William E. 20 Bourgeois, Leon 132 Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901) 107 Brest-Litovsk, Treaty of (1918) 43 Briand, Aristide (1862–1932) 56 Britain appeasement policy 92–93 and China 105 economy 15 extremist groups in 69 First World War 35 and France 31, 32, 54 and Germany 91, 94, 95 imperialism 7, 8, 10–12, 13, 14–16, 18 and Italy 74 and Japan 26, 31, 119, 124 and the Locarno Treaties (1925) 56 naval development 31 and Russia 31–32, 61 and the Spanish Civil War (1936–

39) 83 and the United Nations 153–154 Bryan, William Jennings 22 Bulgaria 48, 141

Cecil, Lord Robert 132, 156 Chamberlain, Neville 94, 95 Chen Duxiu 114 Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) 110, 111, 112–113, 117–118

China and Britain 105 communism in 110, 114–118 the disintegration of 103–108 education 107

imperialism 7 industry 107 invaded by Japan 25–27, 37, 107, 108, 117–118, 121–122, 123– 125, 145, 146 May the Fourth Movement 109 nationalism 109, 110–113 and Russia 123 and the United Nations 153 Christianity 10 Churchill, Winston (1874–1965) 94, 152, 154 class systems, Japan 24 Clemenceau, Georges 45 co-operatives 70 coalition governments, definition of

70 collective security 148–150 Colombia 142 colonialism, definition of 7 Comintern 60 Commission for Refugees 143 communications, improvements in Africa 16 communism 41, 97 in China 110, 114–118 in Spain 81 concentration camps, South Africa 15 conferences Dumbarton Oaks Conference (1944) 153–154 Geneva Conference (1946) 156 Genoa Conference (1922) 55 Locarno Conference (1925) 56–57, 87, 91, 148 Paris Peace Conference (1919–20) 42–43, 44–52, 132

San Francisco Conference (1945)

154–155

Washington Naval Conference (1921–22) 54, 63, 103, 119, 120 World Disarmament Conference (1932–33) 58, 89, 149–150 Yalta Conference (1945) 154 conscription, military 91 constitutional monarchy 80 constitutional government 69 Corfu Incident (1923) 73, 144–145 Council of Four 45 covenants 131 Cuba 21–22 cult of leadership 72 Curzon, Lord 10 Czechoslovakia 51, 94–95, 140

英俄协约 (1907) 31–32 反共产国际条约 (1937) 76, 122 双重联盟 (1879) 29 友好协约 (1904) 31 法俄同盟 (1894) 30 凯洛格 - 布里安条约 (1928) 57 小协约60 纳粹苏联条约 (1939) 96, 97 钢铁条约 (1939) 77 罗马柏林轴心 (1936) 76, 92 中苏互不侵犯条约 (1937) 123 三皇同盟 (1873) 29 三国同盟 (1882) ) 29, 30, 134 三国协约 (1907) 32, 134 美国见美国 美国内战 (1861-65) 20 无政府主义者，定义 80 英德海军协定 (1935) 91 英日同盟 (1902) 26, 31英俄协约 (1907) 31–32 英俄贸易条约 (1921) 61 英祖鲁战争 (1879) 14 Annunzio, Gabriele D' 72 反共产国际条约 (1937) 76, 122 绥靖政策 92, 97 仲裁 134 大西洋宪章 152–153 奥地利经济 51 和德国 90, 92 和意大利 74 赔款 143 和圣日耳曼条约 (1919) 48 奥匈帝国 29, 33–35 自给自足 71 易货贸易，定义 24 啤酒馆政变 (1923) 87比利时帝国主义 9, 12 入侵鲁尔 (1923) 59, 144 爱德华·贝尼 94 柏林，1885 年条约 7, 13 1926 61 奥托·冯·俾斯麦 (1815–98) 28–30 约翰·弗里德里希·布卢门巴赫 10 布尔战争 14 –16 布尔什维克革命 (1917) 41 Borah, William E.20 莱昂布尔乔亚 132 义和团运动（1899-1901） 107 布列斯特条约（1918） 43 阿里斯蒂德·布里安德（1862-1932） 56 英国绥靖政策 92-93 和中国 105 经济 15 第一次世界大战中的极端组织 69 35 和法国 31、32、54 和德国 91、94、95 帝国主义 7、8、10–12、13、14–16、18 和意大利 74 和日本 26、31、119、124 和《洛迦诺条约》（1925 年） 56 海军发展 31 和俄罗斯 31–32, 61 和西班牙内战 (1936–39) 83 和联合国 153–154 Bryan, William Jennings 22 保加利亚 48, 141 Cecil, Lord Robert 132, 156 Chamberlain, Neville 94, 95 陈独秀 114 蒋介石 (1887-1975) 110, 111, 112-113, 117-118 中国和英国 105 共产主义 110, 114-118 解体 103-108 教育 107 帝国主义 7 工业 107 日本侵略25–27, 37, 107, 108, 117–118, 121–122, 123–125, 145, 146 五四运动 109 民族主义 109, 110–113 与俄罗斯 123 与联合国 153 基督教 10 温斯顿·丘吉尔 ( 1874–1965) 94, 152, 154 阶级制度，日本 24 克列孟梭，乔治 45 合作社 70 联合政府，集体安全的定义 148–150 哥伦比亚 142 殖民主义，定义 7 共产国际 60 难民委员会 143 通讯，改善非洲 16 共产主义 41, 中国 97 110, 114–118 西班牙 81 集中营，南非 15 会议 敦巴顿橡树园会议 (1944) 153–154 日内瓦会议 (1946) 156 热那亚会议 (1922) 55 洛迦诺会议 (1925) 56 –57, 87, 91, 148 巴黎和会 (1919–20) 42–43, 44–52, 132 旧金山会议 (1945) 154–155 华盛顿海军会议 (1921–22) 54, 63, 103, 119, 120 世界裁军会议（1932-33） 58, 89, 149-150 雅尔塔会议（1945） 154 征兵、军事 91 君主立宪制 80宪政 69 科孚岛事件（1923） 73, 144–145 四人委员会 45 盟约 131 古巴 21–22 领导崇拜 72 寇松勋爵 10 捷克斯洛伐克 51, 94–95, 140

Daladier, édouard 94 Dawes Plan, the (1924) 55, 87, 144 deflation, definition of 65 dictator, definition of 50 Dollfuss, Engelbert 74, 90 Drummond, Sir Eric 138 Dual Alliance (1879) 29 Dumbarton Oaks Conference (1944)

153–154 dynasties 104

Daladier, édouard 94 道斯计划，(1924) 55, 87, 144 通货紧缩，独裁者的定义 65，独裁者的定义 50 Dollfuss, Engelbert 74, 90 Drummond, Sir Eric 138 双重联盟 (1879) 29 敦巴顿橡树园会议 (1944) 153 –154 个王朝 104

economic sanctions 134 economy Austria 51 Britain 15 Germany 87, 88 Italy 70 Japan 25, 37, 121 USA 20–22, 63–65 education Africa 16 China 107 Japan 24 ‘effectively occupied’, definition of 13 Egypt 8 Entente Cordiale (1904) 31 exploitation, in Africa 17–18 explorers, in Africa 9, 10

Falange 81 farming Africa 16–17 Spain 79 fascism 69 Fashoda Incident, the (1898) 13, 18 Ferdinand, Archduke Franz 34 finance see economy Finland 140 Fiume (1923) 72 First World War (1914–18) 35–38, 44 Four Power Treaty (1922) 119 Fourteen Points speech 42–43, 62, 131

France appeasement policy 92–93 and Britain 31, 32, 54 First World War (1914–18) 35 Franco–Prussian War (1870–71)

28 and Germany 55, 59–60, 91, 94 imperialism 7, 12, 13, 18 invasion of the Ruhr (1923)

59, 144 and Japan 119 and the Locarno Treaties (1925) 56 and Russia 30, 32, 61 and the Treaty of Versailles (1919)

50

Franco, General Francisco (1892– 1975) 69, 72, 76, 81, 82, 84–85 Franco–Prussian War (1870–71) 28 Franco–Russian Alliance (1894) 30 Frankfurt, Treaty of (1871) 28

Geneva Conference (1946) 156 Genoa Conference (1922) 55 genocide 18 Germany and Austria-Hungary 29 and Britain 91, 94, 95 declares war on the USA 126 economy 87, 88 First World War (1914–18) 35–36, 44 foreign policy 86–93 and France 55, 59–60, 91, 94 in the Great Depression 65, 88 imperialism 12–13, 18 industry 59 invasion of the Ruhr (1923) 59, 144 and Italy 29, 91 and the League of Nations 147 naval development 31 at the Paris Peace Conference (1919–20) 45–46 propaganda 90 reparations 48, 54, 55, 58, 65 the road to the First World War

33–35

the road to the Second World War

94–97 and Russia 29, 30, 60–61, 96–97 and the Spanish Civil War (1936–

39) 82–83, 84

and the Treaty of Versailles (1919)

46–48, 49–50 unemployment 88 unification of 28–29 Upper Silesia (1921) 141 Gil-Robles, José María (1898–1980)

81

Gobimeau, Joseph Arthur Comte de 10 Great Britain see Britain Great Depression, the 63–65, 88, 148 Greece 73, 141, 144–145 Greece–Bulgaria border dispute (1925) 141

Hacha, Emil 95 Harris, John 18 health, medical advances 9, 16 Health Organization 143 Heihachiro, Admiral Togo 27 Henderson, Arthur 149

Henlein, Konrad 94 Hirohito, Emperor (1901–89) 121 Hitler, Adolf (1889–1945) 69, 72, 76, 81–82, 83, 86–93, 94–99, 126 Hong Xiuquan 105 Hungary 48, 51, 143 Hurst, Cecil 132 Hymans, Paul 132

Ibárruri, Dolores (1895–1989) 83 imperialism 7–19 Industrial Revolution, the 10 industry Africa 17–18 China 107 Germany 59 Japan 24–25, 37 Spain 79 USA 20–21, 63 inflation 69, 70 International Brigades, Spanish Civil War 83–84 International Labour Organisation (ILO) 136, 142 internationalism 62 Iraq 141 isolationism, the USA and 20, 53, 62–63, 147

Italy and Britain 74 Corfu Incident (1923) 73, 144–145 economy 70 First World War (1914–18) 35 foreign policy 70–78 and Germany 29, 91 invasion of Abyssinia (1935)

74–76, 146 and the League of Nations 147 propaganda 71, 74 and the Spanish Civil War (1936–

39) 82–83, 84 strikes in 71 and the Treaty of Versailles (1919)

50

Jameson Raid (1895) 14 Japan attack on Pearl Harbor (1941)

125–128 and Britain 26, 31, 119, 124 democracy in 119–121 economy 25, 37, 121 education in 24 emergence as a world power 24–27 First World War (1914–18) 36–37 and France 119 industry 24–25, 37 invasion of China 25–27, 37, 107,

经济制裁 134 经济 奥地利 51 英国 15 德国 87, 88 意大利 70 日本 25, 37, 121 美国 20–22, 63–65 教育 非洲 16 中国 107 日本 24 “有效占领”，定义 13 埃及 8 友好协约 (1904) 31 剥削，在非洲 17–18 探险家，在非洲 9, 10 长枪党 81 农业非洲 16–17 西班牙 79 法西斯主义 69 法绍达事件，(1898) 13, 18 弗朗茨大公斐迪南 34 金融见经济 芬兰 140 菲乌姆 (1923) 72 第一次世界大战 (1914–18) 35–38, 44 四国条约 (1922) 119 十四点演说 42–43, 62, 131 法国绥靖政策 92–93 和英国 31, 32, 54 第一次世界大战 (1914–1914) 18) 35 普法战争 (1870–71) 28 和德国 55, 59–60, 91, 94 帝国主义 7, 12, 13, 18 入侵鲁尔 (1923) 59, 144 和日本 119 和洛迦诺条约 ( 1925) 56 和俄罗斯 30, 32, 61 和《凡尔赛条约》(1919) 50 弗朗西斯科将军佛朗哥 (1892–1975) 69, 72, 76, 81, 82, 84–85 普法战争 (1870–71) 28 法俄同盟 (1894) 30 法兰克福条约 (1871) 28 日内瓦会议 (1946) 156 热那亚会议 (1922) 55 种族灭绝 18 德国和奥匈帝国 29 和英国 91, 94, 95 对美国宣战 126经济 87, 88 第一次世界大战 (1914–18) 35–36, 44 外交政策 86–93 和大萧条时期的法国 55, 59–60, 91, 94 65, 88 帝国主义 12–13, 18 工业 59鲁尔区 (1923) 59, 144 意大利 29, 91 和国际联盟 147 海军发展 31 巴黎和会 (1919-20) 45-46 宣传 90 赔偿 48, 54, 55, 58, 65第一次世界大战 33–35 通往第二次世界大战的道路 94–97 和俄罗斯 29, 30, 60–61, 96–97 和西班牙内战 (1936–39) 82–83, 84 和凡尔赛条约(1919) 46–48, 49–50 失业 88 统一 28–29 上西里西亚(1921) 141 Gil-Robles, José María (1898–1980) 81 Gobimeau, Joseph Arthur Comte de 10 英国见英国大萧条，63–65, 88, 148 希腊 73, 141, 144–145 希腊-保加利亚边界争议 (1925) 141 Hacha, Emil 95 Harris, John 18 健康、医疗进展 9, 16 卫生组织 143 Heihachiro, Admiral Togo 27 Henderson, Arthur 149 Henlein, Konrad 94 裕仁天皇 (1901–89) 121 希特勒，阿道夫 (1889) –1945) 69, 72, 76, 81–82, 83, 86–93, 94–99, 126 洪秀全 105 匈牙利 48, 51, 143 Hurst, Cecil 132 Hymans, Paul 132 Ibárruri, Dolores (1895–1989) 83帝国主义 7-19 工业革命，十大工业 非洲 17-18 中国 107 德国 59 日本 24-25, 37 西班牙 79 美国 20-21, 63 通货膨胀 69, 70 国际纵队，西班牙内战 83-84 国际劳工组织（ILO） ) 136, 142 国际主义 62 伊拉克 141 孤立主义、美国和 20, 53, 62–63, 147 意大利和英国 74 科孚岛事件 (1923) 73, 144–145 经济 70 第一次世界大战 (1914–18) 35 外交政策 70 –78 和德国 29, 91 入侵阿比西尼亚 (1935) 74–76, 146 和国际联盟 147 宣传 71, 74 和西班牙内战 (1936–39) 82–83, 84 罢工 71 和条约凡尔赛 (1919) 50 詹姆森袭击 (1895) 14 日本偷袭珍珠港 (1941) 125–128 和英国 26, 31, 119, 124 民主 119–121 经济 25, 37, 121 教育 24 世界强国的崛起24–27 第一次世界大战 (1914–18) 36–37 和法国 119 工业 24–25, 37 入侵中国 25–27, 37, 107,

108, 117–118, 121–122, 123–125, 145, 146 and the League of Nations 147 military dictatorship 121–126 naval arms race 119–120 unemployment 121 and the USA 54, 119, 124, 125–128

Kellogg–Briand Pact (1928) 57 Kennan, George 37 Keynes, John Maynard (1883–1946)

58 King, Charles D. B. 143 Kitchener, Lord 13 Kruger, Paul (1825–1904) 14, 16 Kuomintang (KMT), China 110–113, 114–118

land reform, China 112 Lausanne, Treaty of (1923) 54 League of Nations 43, 56, 62 Abyssinia (1935) 75, 76, 146 Corfu Incident (1923) 73, 144–145 failures 97, 144–146 Germany admitted to 88, 89 ineffectiveness 146–150 invasion of Manchuria (1931)

122, 145 organisation 137–139 origins and aims 131–136 similarities and differences to the United Nations 156–158 successes 140–143 USA refuses to join 53, 63 League to Enforce Peace (LEP) 132 Lebensraum 99 Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich (1870–1924)

43, 60

108, 117–118, 121–122, 123–125, 145, 146 和国际联盟 147 军事独裁 121–126 海军军备竞赛 119–120 失业 121 和美国 54, 119, 124, 125–128 凯洛格– Briand Pact (1928) 57 Kennan, George 37 Keynes, John Maynard (1883–1946) 58 King, Charles DB 143 Kitchener, Lord 13 Kruger, Paul (1825–1904) 14, 16 中国国民党 (KMT) 110–113, 114–118 土地改革，中国 112 洛桑条约 (1923) 54 国际联盟 43, 56, 62 阿比西尼亚 (1935) 75, 76, 146 科孚岛事件 (1923) 73, 144–145 失败 97, 144–146 德国承认 88, 89 无效 146–150 入侵满洲（1931） 122, 145 组织 137–139 起源和目标 131–136 与联合国的异同 156–158 成功 140–143 美国拒绝加入 53, 63 同盟执行和平 (LEP) 132 Lebensraum 99 列宁，弗拉基米尔·伊里奇 (1870–1924) 43, 60

Leopold II, King of Belgium (1835– 1909) 9, 12, 18 Leticia (1933–34) 142 Lithuania 141, 144 Little Entente 60 Livingstone, David 10 Lloyd George, David 45, 55 Locarno Treaties (1925) 56–57, 87, 91, 148 Lodge, Henry Cabot 66 Long March, the (1934–35) 115–117

Lothian, Lord 93

比利时国王利奥波德二世 (1835–1909) 9, 12, 18 莱蒂西亚 (1933–34) 142 立陶宛 141, 144 小协约国 60 利文斯通，大卫 10 劳合·乔治，大卫 45, 55 洛迦诺条约 (1925) 56–57, 87, 91, 148 洛奇，亨利·卡伯特 66 长征，(1934–35) 115–117 洛锡安勋爵 93

Lugard, Lord 10, 11 卢格德勋爵 10, 11

Lusitania, sinking of 36 卢西塔尼亚号，沉没 36 艘

Lytton, Lord 145 利顿勋爵 145

malaria 9 Manchu Dynasty, China 105–107

Manchuria (1831) 121–122, 145 mandates 47, 134–135 Mandates Commission 143 Mao Tse-tung (1893–1976) 114–117 March on Rome, the (1922) 71 Marchand, Major 13 May the Fourth Movement 109 McKinley, William 22 medicine advances in 9 Health Organization 143 Mein Kampf (Hitler) 87, 99 member states, League of Nations 147 Memel (1923) 141 Miller, David 132 minority groups, definition of 51 missionaries 10 Monroe Doctrine (1823) 20 Mosul (1924) 141 Mussolini, Benito (1883–1945)

69, 70–78, 81–82, 83, 92, 144–145, 146 Mutsuhiti, Emperor of Japan 24

Nansen, Fridtjof 143 National Socialist German Workers’ Party (Nazis) 86, 87–88, 90, 94 nationalisation 80, 81 nationalism in Britain 19, 33 in China 109, 110–113 in Italy 71, 73 Nazi–Soviet Pact (1939) 96, 97 Nazis see National Socialist German Workers’ Party (Nazis) Neuilly, Treaty of (1919) 48 New Culture Movement, China 109 Nicholas II, Tsar of Russia 27, 41 Northern March, the 112–113 ‘November Criminals’, the 86

‘open-door’ policy 119 Opium Wars, the (1839–42) 105 Orlando, Vittorio 45

Pact of Steel (1939) 77 pacts see alliances and pacts Paris Peace Conference (1919–20) 42–43, 44–52, 132

Pearl Harbor, attack on (1941)

125–128 Peru 142 Platt Amendment (1903) 22 plebiscite, definition of 47 Poland 50–51, 90, 96, 140, 141, 144 Portsmouth, Treaty of (1905) 22, 27 Portugal 12 Pretoria Convention (1881) 14

private enterprise 24 propaganda Germany 90 Italy 71, 74 Russia 72 proportional representation 70 protectionism 21 Purification Movement, China

113

racism 10 Rapallo, Treaty of (1922) 60–61 refugees 143 Reinsurance Treaty (1887) 30 religion 10 reparations for war 48, 54, 55, 58, 65, 143 Rhodes, Cecil (1853–1902) 12, 14 Riga, Treaty of (1921) 51, 144 Rivera, Miguel Primo de (1870–1930)

80 Rome–Berlin Axis (1936) 76, 92 Roosevelt, Franklin D. 125, 128, 152–153, 154

Roosevelt, Theodore (1858–1919)

22, 23 Roosevelt Corollary (1904) 22 Ruhr, invasion of the (1923) 59, 144 Russia Bolshevik Revolution (1917) 41, 54 and Britain 31–32, 61 and China 123 effects of the First World War 43 and France 30, 32, 61 and Germany 29, 30, 60–61, 96–97 invasion of China 26–27 and Japan 26–27, 107, 126 and the League of Nations 147 Polish invasion 144 propaganda 72 relations with the rest of Europe (1919–33) 60–61 road to the First World War 33–35 and the Spanish Civil War (1936–

39) 83, 84

and the Treaty of Versailles (1919)

50 and the United Nations 153–154 Russo–Japanese War (1904–05)

26–27, 107, 126 Saint-Germain, Treaty of (1919) 48 Salisbury, Lord 17 San Francisco Conference (1945)

154–155 Schlieffen, Alfred von 33 Schuschnigg, Kurt 92 ‘scorched earth’ policies 15

疟疾 9 中国满族王朝 105–107 满洲 (1831) 121–122, 145 委任状 47, 134–135 委任状委员会 143 毛泽东 (1893–1976) 114–117 进军罗马，(1922) 71 马尔尚，主要 13 五月四运动 109 麦金利，威廉 22 医学进步 9 卫生组织 143 我的奋斗（希特勒） 87，99 个成员国，国际联盟 147 梅梅尔（1923） 141 米勒，大卫 132 少数群体，51 传教士的定义 10门罗主义 (1823) 20 摩苏尔 (1924) 141 贝尼托·墨索里尼 (1883–1945) 69, 70–78, 81–82, 83, 92, 144–145, 146 日本天皇陆奥希提 24 弗里乔夫·南森 143 国家社会主义德国工人党（纳粹） 86, 87–88, 90, 94 国有化 80, 81 英国的民族主义 19, 33 中国的民族主义 109, 110–113 在意大利 71, 73 纳粹苏联条约（1939） 96, 97 纳粹见德国国家社会主义工人党（纳粹）纳伊条约（1919） 48 新文化运动，中国 109 俄罗斯沙皇尼古拉二世 27, 41 北方游行，112–113“十一月罪犯”，86“门户开放”政策 119 鸦片战争，(1839–42) 105 奥兰多，维托里奥 45 钢铁条约 (1939) 77 条约见联盟和条约 巴黎和会 (1919–20) 42–43, 44–52, 132 珍珠港，袭击(1941) 125–128 秘鲁 142 普拉特修正案 (1903) 22 公民投票，定义 47 波兰 50–51, 90, 96, 140, 141, 144 朴茨茅斯条约 (1905) 22, 27 葡萄牙 12 比勒陀利亚公约 (1881) ) 14 私营企业 24 宣传 德国 90 意大利 71, 74 俄罗斯 72 比例代表制 70 保护主义 21 中国净化运动 113 种族主义 10 拉帕洛条约 (1922) 60-61 难民 143 再保险条约 (1887) 30 宗教 10 战争赔偿 48 , 54, 55, 58, 65, 143 塞西尔·罗德 (1853–1902) 12, 14 里加条约 (1921) 51, 144 米格尔·普里莫·里维拉 (1870–1930) 80 罗马–贝rlin 轴 (1936) 76, 92 罗斯福，富兰克林 D.125, 128, 152–153, 154 西奥多·罗斯福 (1858–1919) 22, 23 罗斯福推论 (1904) 22 鲁尔区，入侵 (1923) 59, 144 俄罗斯布尔什维克革命 (1917) 41, 54 和英国 31– 32, 61 和中国 123 第一次世界大战的影响 43 和法国 30, 32, 61 和德国 29, 30, 60–61, 96–97 入侵中国 26–27 和日本 26–27, 107, 126 和国际联盟 147 波兰入侵 144 宣传 72 与欧洲其他国家的关系 (1919-33) 60-61 第一次世界大战之路 33-35 和西班牙内战 (1936-39) 83、84 和凡尔赛条约(1919) 50 和联合国 153–154 日俄战争 (1904–05) 26–27, 107, 126 圣日耳曼条约 (1919) 48 索尔兹伯里勋爵 17 旧金山会议 (1945) 154–155 Schlieffen, Alfred von 33 Schuschnigg, Kurt 92 “焦土”政策 15

Second World War (1939–45) attack on Pearl Harbor (1941)

125–128 the road to war 94–97 Selassie, Haile (1892–1975) 75 self-determination 48 separatist groups, Spain 79–80 Serbia 33–35 Sèvres, Treaty of (1920) 48 Shanghai Massacre (1927) 113 shares, definition of 63 Shidehara, Kijuro (1872–1951) 120 Shimonoseki Treaty (1895) 25 Sino–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact (1937) 123 slave trade, abolition of 9, 13 Smuts, Jan 132 Sotelo, Calvo 81 South Africa 14–16 South America imperialism in 20, 21–22 Leticia (1933–34) 142 Spain civil war in (1936–39) 81–85, 146 communism 81 farming 79 imperialism 7, 20 industry 79 political instability 79–81 strikes 81 unemployment 80 Spanish–American War (1898) 22 Spanish Civil War (1936–39) 81–85, 146 Stalin, Joseph 69, 72, 83, 96–97, 154, 157 Stanley, Henry Norton 9, 17 Stormtroopers 87 Stresa Front, the 91 Stresemann, Gustav (1878–1929)

56

第二次世界大战（1939-45） 珍珠港袭击（1941） 125-128 战争之路 94-97 海尔塞拉西（1892-1975） 75 自决 48 分离主义团体，西班牙 79-80 塞尔维亚 33-35 塞夫尔、《条约》(1920) 48 《上海大屠杀》(1927) 113 股、定义 63 志出原木十郎 (1872–1951) 120 《马关条约》(1895) 25 《中苏互不侵犯条约》(1937) 123 奴隶贸易、废除 9 , 13 Smuts, Jan 132 Sotelo, Calvo 81 南非 14–16 南美帝国主义 20, 21–22 莱蒂西亚 (1933–34) 142 西班牙内战 (1936–39) 81–85, 146 共产主义 81 农业 79 帝国主义7, 20 工业 79 政治不稳定 79–81 罢工 81 失业 80 美西战争 (1898) 22 西班牙内战 (1936–39) 81–85, 146 斯大林、约瑟夫 69, 72, 83, 96–97, 154, 157 斯坦利，亨利·诺顿 9, 17 冲锋队 87 斯特雷萨前线，91 斯特雷泽曼，古斯塔夫 (1878–1929) 56

strikes Italy 71 Spain 81 successor states 50 Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925) 110–113 Sweden 140

Taft, William Howard 132 Taiping Rebellion (1850–64) 105 Tellini, Enrico 73 Teschen (1920) 140 Third Reich, the 88 Thomas, Albert 142 Three Emperors’ League (1873) 29 ‘Three Principles’, the 111–112 Tirpitz, Admiral 30 Tojo, Hideke (1884–1948) 124–125 totalitarianism 71 trade routes, importance of 8, 12 transport, improvements in Africa

10, 16

treaties Anglo–Japanese Alliance (1902) 26 Anglo–Russian Trade Treaty (1921)

61 Four Power Treaty (1922) 119 Locarno Treaties (1925) 56–57, 87, 91, 148 Nazi–Soviet Pact (1939) 96, 97 Pact of Steel (1939) 77 Reinsurance Treaty (1887) 30 Shimonoseki Treaty (1895) 25 Treaty of Berlin (1885) 7, 13 Treaty of Berlin (1926) 61 Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918) 43 Treaty of Frankfurt (1871) 28 Treaty of Lausanne (1923) 54 Treaty of Neuilly (1919) 48 Treaty of Portsmouth (1905) 22, 27 Treaty of Rapallo (1922) 60–61 Treaty of Riga (1921) 51, 144 Treaty of Saint-Germain (1919) 48 Treaty of Sèvres (1920) 48 Treaty of Trianon (1920) 48 Treaty of Vereeniging (1902) 14 Treaty of Versailles (1919) 46–48, 65, 86, 88–90, 91, 92, 97, 109, 141 Trianon, Treaty of (1920) 48 Triple Alliance (1882) 29, 30, 134 Triple Entente (1907) 32, 134 Triple Intervention, the 26 Truman, Harry S. 155 Tsuyoshi, Inukai (1855–1932) 121 Turkey 48, 54, 141 Twenty-One Demands, the 37, 108

unemployment 69 Germany 88 Japan 121 Spain 80 USA 64 United Nations (UN) 152–158 Upper Silesia (1921) 140–141 USA attack on Pearl Harbor (1941)

125–128 economy 20–22, 63–65 emergence as a world power 20–23 First World War (1914–18) 36, 46 imperialism 7, 21–22 industry 20–21, 63 isolationism 20, 53, 62–63, 147 and Japan 54, 119, 124, 125–128 and the League of Nations 147

‘open-door’ policy 119 unemployment 64 and the United Nations 153–155 Wall Street Crash and the Great Depression 63–65 Wilson’s Fourteen Points speech

42–43

USSR see Russia

Vereeniging, Treaty of (1902) 14 Versailles, Treaty of (1919) 46–48, 65, 86, 88–90, 91, 92, 97, 109, 141 veto, definition of 148 Vilna (1920) 144

Wall Street Crash (1929) 63–64 war of attrition, definition of 35 Washington Naval Conference (1921–22) 54, 63, 103, 119, 120 weaponry, advances in 9 Wilhelm II, Kaiser of Germany (1859–1941) 14, 16, 19, 30, 33, 44, 86 Wilson, Woodrow (1856–1924) 36, 41, 42–43, 45, 50, 62, 131, 132– 133, 134

World Disarmament Conference (1932–33) 58, 89, 149–150

Yalta Conference (1945) 154 Yamamoto, Isoroku (1884–1943) 125 Yataro, Iwasaki 25 Young Plan, the (1929) 58 Yuan Shih-kai (1859–1916) 107, 110 Yugoslavia 50 Yugoslavia–Albania border dispute (1921) 141

Zhu De 114 Zinoviev, Grigori 60

罢工意大利 71 西班牙 81 继承国 50 孙中山 (1866–1925) 110–113 瑞典 140 威廉·霍华德·塔夫脱 132 太平天国起义 (1850–64) 105 恩里科·特利尼 73 特申 (1920) 140 第三帝国，88 托马斯, 阿尔伯特 142 三皇联盟 (1873) 29 “三原则”, 111–112 提尔皮茨海军上将 30 东条秀克 (1884–1948) 124–125 极权主义 71 贸易路线，8、12 运输的重要性，非洲的改善10, 16 条约 英日同盟 (1902) 26 英俄贸易条约 (1921) 61 四国条约 (1922) 119 洛迦诺条约 (1925) 56–57, 87, 91, 148 纳粹苏联条约 (1939) 96 , 97 钢铁条约 (1939) 77 再保险条约 (1887) 30 马关条约 (1895) 25 柏林条约 (1885) 7, 13 柏林条约 (1926) 61 布列斯特-立托夫斯克条约 (1918) 43 法兰克福条约 ( 1871) 28 洛桑条约 (1923) 54 纳伊条约 (1919) 48 朴茨茅斯条约 (1905) 22, 27 拉帕洛条约 (1922) 60–61 里加条约 (1921) 51, 144 圣日耳曼条约 ( 1919) 48 塞夫尔条约 (1920) 48 特里亚农条约 (1920) 48 弗里尼欣条约 (1902) 14 凡尔赛条约 (1919) 46–48, 65, 86, 88–90, 91, 92, 97, 109, 141 《特里亚农条约》（1920 年） 48 三国同盟（1882 年） 29, 30, 134 三国协约（1907 年） 32, 134 三国干预，26 杜鲁门，哈里·S·155 Tsuyoshi, Inukai (1855–1932) 121 土耳其 48, 54, 141 二十一条要求，37, 108 失业 69 德国 88 日本 121 西班牙 80 美国 64 联合国 (UN) 152–158 上西里西亚 (1921) 140– 141 美国偷袭珍珠港 (1941) 125–128 经济 20–22, 63–65 成为世界强国 20–23 第一次世界大战 (1914–18) 36, 46 帝国主义 7, 21–22 工业 20–21, 63 孤立主义 20, 53, 62–63, 147 和日本 54, 119, 124, 125–128 和国际联盟 147 “门户开放”政策 119 失业 64 和联合国 153–155 华尔街崩盘和大萧条萧条 63–65 威尔逊的十四点演讲 42–43 苏联见俄罗斯 Vereeniging，条约 (1902) 14 凡尔赛，条约 (1919) 46–48, 65, 86, 88–90, 91, 92, 97, 109, 141否决权，定义 148 维尔纳 (1920) 144 华尔街崩盘 (1929) 63-64 消耗战，定义 35 华盛顿海军会议 (1921-22) 54, 63, 103, 119, 120 武器装备，9 威廉二世的进步, 德国凯撒 (1859–1941) 14, 16, 19, 30, 33, 44, 86 伍德罗·威尔逊 (1856–1924) 36, 41, 42–43, 45, 50, 62, 131, 132–133, 134 世界裁军会议（1932-33） 58、89、149-150 雅尔塔会议（1945） 154 山本五十六（1884-1943） 125 岩崎弥太郎 25 青年计划（1929） 58 袁世凯（1859-1943） 1916) 107, 110 南斯拉夫 50 南斯拉夫-阿尔巴尼亚边界争端 (1921) 141 朱德 114 季诺维也夫、格里戈里 60

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p.

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p.

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p.

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p.

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p.

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p.

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p.

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p.

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Author Phil Wadsworth has over 30 years’ teaching experience, ten as head teacher of an 11–18 mixed comprehensive school in the UK. As an experienced examiner of AS/A Level History, he has led UK and international training courses to help teachers develop the full potential of their students.

Series editor Patrick Walsh-Atkins has an MA and D.Phil. in Modern History from Oxford University. He has taught 15 to 18 year-olds history and politics in a number of schools in the UK. He has been an A Level examiner for many years, and is also the author of a variety of textbooks for A Level students.

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