indifferent to the high unemployment in the 1930s. They thought labour was most likely to deliver.

- They thought labour was most likely to implement the Beveridge report (although it was written by a liberal, supported by the Conservatives and criticised by Labour). It offered better prospects for the working class.
- Conservatives blamed for ‘hungry decade’ of the 1930s and for appeasement, while labour were seen as proponents of collective security and supporters of Churchill in 1940.
- Churchill, although popular, was seen somewhat apart from the Conservatives. He did not help their campaign by aggressive campaigning and making associations between Labour and the Gestapo. The labour leaders by 1945 were known to have been loyally in the war.
- Great achievements of the USSR pointed the way to greater economic control and social reform by the state, something that labour with its socialist origins promised to deliver.
- Many saw a vote for labour as a vote for more social change and a less class-ridden society - because the war produced more social ability eg. Women and the war effort and more opportunity for ordinary people

Unit 3: Churchill and international diplomacy 1939-1951

Churchill’s view on Britain’s world and imperial role

- He believed it was Britain’s role with its civilised, democratic and Christian values to defend against the dark forces of Nazism and dictatorship.
- It was also Britain’s role to maintain the Empire which used violent repression, race control and did not allow most of its non-white subjects the right to vote.

To defend Britain’s values, Churchill was a key part of the coalition dominated by the ‘Big Three’, and despite being defeated in Norway and in France in 1940, was by 1941 playing a considerable role in the world. It maintained links with the empire and sustained alliances with the USSR and USA and played a major role in determining how the war was fought.

Relationships with other war time leaders (Roosevelt, Stalin and De Gaulle) (sentences in red are negative aspects/ failures of relationship)

Roosevelt:

- Churchill had to work very hard to maintain his relationship with Roosevelt, who didn’t like Churchill when they first met in 1918 and was quite a difficult person who had a reputation for not committing himself.
- Churchill had hoped for US intervention in the war, but public opinion was against a war in Europe and there was a danger of war with Japan.
- Roosevelt did offer some support (whilst not intervening):
  - Anglo American naval cooperation (October 1939) and when the USA declared a neutral zone along the entire coast of the USA and South America
resisting this allowed Britain to focus on the Mediterranean and north Africa.

- August 1941 - joint partition with the USSR of Persia. Despite Persian neutrality Churchill agreed to invade and partition it to secure its oil supplies for the allies. This also reinforces Britain's valuable hold over the middle east, where control of the Suez Canal was vital.

- In 1942, Churchill realised that he had to appease the Russians so shrank from opposing Stalin's territorial demands in Easter Europe, in order to keep the USSR in the war, whilst realising that the Soviets now had a free hand in determining the future of much of Europe.

- May 1942 - Treaty of friendship between USSR and Britain. Churchill sacrificed Britain's anti communist values.

- August 1942 - Churchill met Stalin in Moscow where Churchill was angered by Stalin's criticisms of the failure of Britain's invasion of Europe.

- October 1944 - Churchill and Stalin made the ‘percentages agreement’ /'Naughty document'. Britain suggested a 50/50 share Yugoslavia and almost total British influence over Greece, which Stalin agreed to. This gave Stalin a free hand in Europe. Britain was no longer idealistic but was playing cynical power politics.

- Feb 1945 - At Yalta Churchill had to accept that Poland would lose her eastern territories to Russia and be dominated by a pro-Russian government, as Chamberlain had to accept German gains in Czechoslovakia. Britain was not strong enough to prevent this. Britain failure to open a second front was a great tool of the Russians but also a good bargaining tool.

- Churchill and Stalin had surprisingly good relations and both had limited sympathy for self determination, both wanting to maintain their empire. British and soviet troops were not fighting together and no British troops were under Russian command, compared to the USA.

**De Gaulle**

- Churchill loved France and was devastated by the French surrender eg. He was willing to send further forces even after Dunkirk and even offered a Union between Britain and France to keep France in the war.

- May 1940 - Dunkirk evacuation - France was now occupied by Nazi Germany but many British soldiers were saved.

- June 1940 - French surrender. Britain’s last ally (at the time) had fallen. Vichy France established.

- Churchill also destroyed the French fleet to stop it from falling into German hands. The actions were brutal and some thought unnecessary - 1297 French servicemen were killed. This soured relationships between Vichy France and Britain.

- French saw British retreat as betrayal, and De Gaulle came to represent French resistance.

- Churchill admired De Gaulle but found him very difficult to work with. He was uncompromising and uncooperative and was disliked by the Americans. Churchill and Roosevelt did not accept him as leader of post-war France.
De Gaulle would not work closely with former Vichy leaders in North Africa which annoyed Roosevelt and embarrassed Churchill.

Churchill had to work hard and restrain his temper and impatience. De Gaulle, despite being dependent on Britain, felt no obligation and relations between himself and Churchill were stormy throughout the war.

**Contribution to international conferences**

**Atlantic conference (August 1941 - Churchill and Roosevelt)**

- **Aims:** Churchill wanted to establish personal contact with Roosevelt and pressure the USA to enter the war.
- **Methods:** Churchill had to accept the Atlantic Charter which went against Britain’s imperialist interests and gained no real assurance that the US would enter the war.
- **Successes:** Churchill did establish a personal bond with Roosevelt and the Atlantic charter referred to plans ‘after the destruction of the Nazi tyranny’ showing that America were committed to defeating Nazi Germany before fighting against Japan in the Pacific.
- **Failures:** Atlantic Charter which went against Britain’s imperialist interests and gained no real assurance that the US would enter the war as it lay in the hands of congress.

**Quebec conference (August 1943 - Churchill, Roosevelt and King)**

- **Aims:** Discussing plans for D-Day and the war in the Far East.
- **Methods:** respect for Churchill was declining. Sir Alan Brooke said Churchill was becoming childish. Churchill had to accept that he was becoming less influential at the conferences than Stalin and Roosevelt.
- **Successes:** D-day date set for 1944.
- **Failures:** Relations between Roosevelt and Churchill had changed. Churchill got no commitment for post-war financial assistance for Britain. Churchill’s plan of bringing Turkey into the war and setting up a Balkan front was rejected. Britain had to agree on a date for opening a second front.

**Tehran Conference (Nov 1943 - Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin)**

- **Aims:** First meeting of the Big Three. Came up with final strategy for the war against Nazi Germany. Date for the invasion of Northern France set.
- **Methods:** Churchill faced humiliating put downs by Roosevelt and reacted uncontrollably and did not hide his displeasure. Churchill wanted to meet with Roosevelt privately beforehand, which Roosevelt refused.
- **Failures:** Roosevelt clearly favoured Stalin over Churchill. There were bitter exchanges about the invasion of Northern France.

**Yalta Conference (Feb 1945 - Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin)**

- **Aims:** First plans for defeat of Germany. Plans for post-war Europe. Set date for United Nations Conference. Soviet Union’s entry into war against Japan.