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CIE IGCSE HISTORY 0470

THE 20TH CENTURY: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SINCE 1919

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NOTES

1. WERE THE PEACE TREATIES OF 1919-23 FAIR?

1.1 The Peace Treaties

- Treaty of Versailles signed by Germany, 28th June 1919: took away 13% land, 12.5% population, 16% coalfields, nearly 50% iron and steel industry, $\frac{3}{4}$ iron ore.
- **Terms:** **GARGLE**
 - **G**uilt: Article 231 appointed blame, called 'diktat'.
 - **A**rms restrictions: Army (100,000 soldiers), Navy (6 battleships, 15,000 sailors & no submarines), Airforce forbidden, demilitarized Rhineland, conscription ban
 - **R**eparations: 6.6 billion pounds,
 - **G**erman Territory: Alsace Lorraine to France, Danzig to Poland, West Prussia & Posen form Polish corridor, East Prussia separated from rest of Germany, Colonies: Togoland, Cameroon, German South West Africa, and German East Africa given to victors.
 - **LE**: League of the Nations established.
- **Treaty of St. Germaine with Austria, 1919:**
 - Established Anschluss ban
 - Imposed reparations
 - Reduced army to 30,000 men
 - Ended dual monarchy
 - Gave Galicia to Poland, Bohemia & Moravia to Czechoslovakia & Bosnia & Herzegovina to Yugoslavia
 - Severe economic problems as a result as industrial land gone to Czechoslovakia
 - Displacement of people
- **Treaty of Trianon with Hungary, 1920:**
 - Induced economics crisis in Hungary
 - Transylvania to Romania, Slovakia & Ruthenia to Czechoslovakia; Slovenia, Croatia to Yugoslavia
 - 3 million Hungarians displaced
- **Treaty of Neuilly with Bulgaria, 1919:** because it was a minor player in the war, gained territory from Turkey. Reduced army to 20,000 men armed force, 100 million pound reparations, lost lands to Greece, Romania, Yugoslavia, access to Mediterranean Sea.
- **Treaty of Sevres with Ottoman Empire, 1920:** Negotiation on territorial terms led by Mustafa Kemal which led to war between Greeks and Turks - unsuccessful treaty, [Arabs were promised Arab state for siding with Britain & France to defeat Germany, Palestine problem till date.](#)

- **Treaty of Lausanne with Ottoman Empire, 1923:** gave disputed region of Smyrna back to Turkey [after Young Turk revolution](#)

The Outcome:

- Czechoslovakia (carved out of old Austrian empire and Germany - Bosnia & Herzegovina, Bohemia, & Moravia)
- Yugoslavia (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats & Slovenes then named 'land of the South Slavs')
- Poland renewed, via Danzig granted access to the sea, (Polish Corridor made = West Prussia and Posen) page 96 - they wanted it to be a watchdog on Germany, buffer against communism, although 30% not ethnically Polish so some demographic problems, unfair amount of territory taken from Russia immediately led to war with Russia in 1921
- Syria and Lebanon=French Mandate; Palestine, Transjordan & Iraq=British Mandate. Article 119 TOV: [All Germany's colonies taken and given to France and Britain as 'mandates'.](#)

1.2 What were the motives and aims of the Big Three at Versailles?

Why was (any of three leaders) dissatisfied with TOV?

- French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau was a realist, wanted punitive peace and compensation, aimed to weaken Germany as much as possible and blame them alone, wanted reparations (compensations for infrastructural damage - France been invaded twice since 1870), wanted military restrictions - Germany broken into [smaller confederations + independent Rhineland + permanent control of Saarland.](#)
- American President Woodrow Wilson was an idealist, wanted to punish Germany but not too harshly, [worried about spread of communism if too weak and revenge from Germans](#), wanted to strengthen democracy based on '14 points' = disarmament, League of Nations, self-determination. wanted to build more peaceful world but

There were problems with some of the main ideas:

- Problems with self-determination: people of Eastern Europe scattered across many countries e.g.: 25% of the people who lived in Czechoslovakia were not Czechs or Slovaks. 30% of Poland not Polish. 3 million Hungarians being ruled by foreigners. Some people were bound to end up being ruled by another group with different customs and language because borders were artificially imposed.

- Problems with LON: 'toothless' without military, structurally insufficient & confusing, unanimous vote required, 'mandates' seen as colonialist, membership problems: US, Germany, USSR absent, org seemed euro-centric and imperialist, supported TOV = seen as unfair
- British Prime Minister Lloyd George was a mediator, wanted a punitive but just peace, wanted Germany to lose colonies and navy as they threatened hegemony of British Empire but did not want Germany to seek revenge under pressure to 'make Germany pay', wanted to recover as trade partners as it created British jobs.

1.3 Why did all the victors not get everything they wanted?

They all made compromises.

- Clemenceau wanted harsh peace: a broken-up Germany and an independent Rhineland and disarmed German along with compensation. He got limited compensation and military restrictions, a unified Germany and demilitarized Rhineland. He felt this was not harsh enough, didn't get independent Rhineland or control of Saarland,
- Wilson wanted a just peace based on 14 points: he did not want Germany blamed (article 231 & reparations) in TOV but they were. He successfully established self-determination in Eastern Europe and League of the Nations. Demilitarization was not achieved except by force in Germany and TOV/LON ultimately not ratified.
- Britain wanted a compromise peace; was happy that German armed and naval forces were restricted, Lloyd received hero's welcome, although the spread of communism still worrying him.
- There were disagreements over self-determination & 'access to sea' clause, the harshness of the treaty and LON (Wilson wanted world parliament, Lloyd wanted to get together in emergencies only.) Clemenceau resented Wilson's generosity, wanted strong League with army.
- Clemenceau felt that Britain was happy to treat Germany fairly in Europe which threatened France yet were less happy to treat them fairly when it came to concessions of colonies and military which threatened Britain.

1.4 What was the impact of peace treaties on Germany up to 1923?

Reactions:

- Horror & outrage, war guilt clause was particularly hated

- Betrayed, blamed 'November Criminals', Jews, Communists, Germans did not feel that they had lost the war as most of war went well for Germany.
- Angry because government not represented at Versailles conference (diktat).
- German army limited but disarmament not practiced by other countries.
- Reparations pushed country deeper into state of near-starvation, feared it would cripple economy
- Colonies taken double standards for self-determination: Germans displaced, not allowed to rule themselves

Impact:

- New government had many **enemies**: Communists, Nationalists, Army Internal scapegoats - **Jews, Communists, November Criminals ('Stab in back theory')**
- Political **violence**- Spartacists 1919, Kapp Putsch 1920, Munich Putsch, Ruhr Invasion 1923 (French killed 100 German workers and expelled 100,000)
- Economic problems & eventually, **hyperinflation**
- Rise of **Hitler**- Hitler used unpopularity of TOV to his advantage by luring people to nationalist ideas of restoring homeland's former glory

Was it fair?

- **No**: Too harsh, blamed the wrong people as Germany had a new democratic government (forming it was one of conditions of peace agreement), German economy crippled and people in near-starvation state, Germans not fairly represented at the conference, 'diktat', other countries were not blameless, expected treaty based on 14 points, war had devastating physical effects:
 - farmers were recruited in army>disruptive
 - by 1918 only 50% milk production, 60% meat and butter production of pre-war levels
 - potato supply run out 1916-1917 winter
 - combined effects of hunger and disease kill ¾ million Germans
- **Yes**: economic troubles were self-inflicted as other countries raised taxes and practiced more rigorous fiscal policy to pay for reparations (Britain had greater debt and paid off more than Germany by introducing high taxes, too), Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was much harsher – 32% land, 34% population, 54% industry, 300 million gold Ruble, nearly ¾ of its iron ore & half of its industry

1.5 Could the Treaties be justified at the time?

- **No:** TOV led to rise of Hitler as army crippled = cruel, genocidal regime, defeated nation's disadvantage was exploited so vengeance was probable, treaty ignored it, bound to fail. Some were ineffective such as Treaty of Sevres which were re-drawn after 3 years failed to maintain peace.
- **Yes:** Mood of post-war urgency, state of near-starvation and infrastructural ruin, public pressure to punish defeated parties, some people thought it was not harsh enough, and that German problems were self-inflicted by bad fiscal policy and Brest-Litovsk hypocrisy.

2. TO WHAT EXTENT WAS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS A SUCCESS?

2.1 How successful was the league in 1920s?

Aims:

- Discourage aggression- seemed strong as it had both means of arbitration (tribunals) and means of influence (collective security). Aaland Islands, Upper Silesia, Bulgaria, BUT Vilna, Corfu, Ruhr Invasion
- Encourage cooperation in business and trade- Locarno treaties=successful but had nothing to do with LON. Encouraged economic recovery (Dawes plan), attempted to strengthen league failed (1924) BUT could not impede the Great Depression or reduce its impact and was impaired permanently by it. Thereafter, competition and hostility in business and trade increased.
- Disarmament-only German disarmed. Disarmament tried to limit tonnage of tanks, limit size of artillery, prohibit civilian bombing and prohibit chemical warfare but... all countries unlikely to follow so plan doomed from start. Britain and France divided on the issue, no unified approach. Planes capable of bombing civilians & manufacture of chemical weapons not banned. Successful disarmament efforts had little to do with LON. e.g.: Washington Disarmament Conference (1922) to limit size of navies. Attempts to disarm rejected by Britain in 1923. AND after Great Depression, militarism radically increased anyway

* Aaland Islands: Dispute between Sweden and Finland, given to Finland, Sweden accepts ruling

- Improving living and working conditions –helped USSR with plague in Siberia. Helped with cholera, dysentery, small pox, malaria, yellow fever, leprosy. Emancipated 200,000 slaves in Sierra Leone and 400,000 repatriated. Started WHO & ILO, still present. Tanganyika railway work conditions improved (even though there was still 5% fatality rate). Introduced 48-hour working week (but not all countries implemented it). Provided valuable information on drug trafficking, prostitution and slavery successful to a large extent. (Page 239)

2.2 How far did weakness in League's organization make failure inevitable?

- Role of League's Weaknesses: (page 234) unanimous voting meant crisis resolution was inefficient and slow.
- Secretariat understaffed and a muddle.
- Permanent court of justice did not have means of influence, **could only give advice.**
- Structure was **confusing**
- **US absent**, weakened economic sanctions
- Absence of army meant that LON relied on major powers' help which led to Britain and France **pursuing their own interests.** Great powers had different rules from those that applied to smaller countries.
- Role of other factors: League had some successes even with structural disadvantage. Bigger role played by the great depression>goodwill was gone as trade and industry deteriorated, the leadership of LON (Britain, France, Italy)
 - Great depression increased pursuit of self-interest due to domestic crises (high unemployment and discontent, trade issues, rise of extremism)
 - Great depression increased economic competition between markets, people willing to fight for markets and therefore led to rearmament. France rearmed worried about German development-work began at Maginot Line
 - Countries considered imperialistic and aggressive means to feed its people and keep up morale (e.g.: Japan- Manchuria, Italy- Abyssinia) and gained support as people were desperate for solutions.
 - Great depression led to appeasement being a viable option to deal when dealing with aggressors.

- Inevitably: it was not inevitable, serious successes with humanitarian work, undermined by the decision of weak, selfish, imperialistic leaders, great depression encouraged pursuit of self-interest and made failure inevitable.

2.3 How successful was the League in the 1930s?

Discourage aggression: **Unsuccessful**

- **Manchuria (1931):** in order to resettle their growing population, revive export industry and gain resources, Japan achieved these aims militaristic ally by invading Manchuria. Lord Lyton Commission takes 1 year to issue report. By this time, Japan already set up Manchukuo government. Japan ignores LON orders, leaves in 1933 and points out cruelty of British conquest in China when criticized. Britain & France are **financially and militarily unprepared**, make excuses: too far, too chaotic. No action was taken. USA's absence would weaken any economic sanction. FAILED as aggressors who are permanent members of LON broke rules and left. Japan took over all of China at Nanking. This encouraged Hitler and Mussolini as they learnt aggression paid due to LON's weaknesses. Made League seem weak and ineffective when standing up to big powers.
- **Abyssinia(1935-6):** Italy's Motives: **Revenge** for 1896 when Italy was defeated by tribesmen in Abyssinia, victory = good **propaganda** during great depression, more **resources** and **market** to resolve economic disarray, learnt from Hitler and Kwatung Army, was **successful previously with Corfu (1923)**. Mussolini invades violently at Wal-wal oasis, League could not impose any effective sanctions such as on oil* or at Suez Canal as they would hurt British economy. (Page 251). Britain and France signed the Hoare-Laval Pact to appease Mussolini. Invited him in early 1935 to join formalized anti-German protest: Stresa Front: Abyssinia not mentioned at this conference at all. France and Britain need Italy as ally against Hitler.
- **Contextual notes:**
 - Manchuria = North-East China. China was a good buffer against communism, weak due to civil war. The Kwatung army already controlled South Manchurian Chinese railway. Bombing at Mukden, blaming China = excuse to take over 'to restore peace'. Manchukuo= Puppet government set up by Japan February 1932. Claimed to be merely settling a local difficulty, China

- was in state of anarchy, invasion to ensure self-defense for peace.
- Abyssinia next to Anglo-Egyptian territory of Sudan and British colonies of Uganda, Kenya, and Somalia i.e. right at the League's footsteps.

- **Disarmament:** Geneva Disarmament Conference (1932-4): conference disrupted by Hitler's demand for 'equality of status' and permission to rearm. France outraged and reluctant. Britain more optimistic. Failed due to pursuit of self-interest by Britain*. Divide in approach to aggressors due to different vulnerabilities = major weakness. 1933 onwards: open disarmament (rearming also good for employment).
- Why did disarmament fail?
 - Only Germany expected to disarm - unfair basis
 - No one was serious about it. France blatantly ignored the covenant
 - Depression increased economic competition. Military provided jobs and defense for colonies/markets. Depression led to extremism in badly affected countries with few colonies like Germany, Italy & Japan
 - Britain and France were divided on the issue
- Both disarmament and aggression curbing efforts failed in the 1930s.

3. WHY HAD INTERNATIONAL PEACE COLLAPSED BY 1939?

3.1 What were the long term consequences of the peace treaties of 1919-1923?

- Made LON look **less credible** as it upheld a treaty that was seen unfair. Britain abandoned France when it came to enforcing the terms.
- Hitler used discontent over **TOV terms** to rise to power: war guilt, disarmament, reparations, and colonies.
- Discontentment from peace treaties, in combination with the great depression that fostered the rise of **extremism** and political violence, spurred aggression from Japan, Italy and Germany
- Disarmament and self-determination clauses also caused problems:
 - Only Germany disarmed. Hitler exploited disadvantage to rise power by exposing the hypocrisy of the League.
 - Displacement of nationalities. Lots of small economically weak states drained League's resources

3.2 What were the consequences of the failures of the League in the 1930s?

- Manchuria and Abyssinia, along with disarmament failure, led to LON losing all credibility. 'Nail in the coffin' for its authority.
- Exposed League's weaknesses
- Britain & France unprepared for war and wanted to avoid it as much as possible. Needed to buy time to prepare. Led to appeasement, which made Hitler more confident
- Led to the second world war

3.3 How far was Hitler's foreign policy to blame for the outbreak of war in 1939?

- Role of Hitler's foreign policy: expansionism intent clearly outlined in Mein Kampf, Nazi Party gained support in Germany and he gambled his way to rearmament, Rhineland, Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia, Poland. Willingness to fight for his interest would ultimately lead to war.
- Role of other factors: his foreign policy was more gambling* than planned; encouraged by appeasement (e.g. Rhineland 29 Czechoslovakia). Failure of the League meant there was no condemnation or collective security to impede him. Treaty of Versailles weaknesses exploited and this discontent largely shaped his foreign policy. Expansionist intent not new to Germany-'greater Germany' vision resonated by Kaiser also- German foreign policy' and aggressive nationalism in general to blame for war, not just Hitler's nationalism.

*1960s view of British Historian AJP Taylor – Hitler; a logical gambler not planner

3.4 Describe the events comprising evidence of Hitler's aggression

Really Stealthy, Rad Attacks Sometimes May Cause Problems

- **Rearmament (1935):** initially secret rearmament to reduce unemployment, Hitler disrupted Geneva conference, took Germany out of LON. This boosted Nazi support as people wanted Rearmament. Britain thought reasonable & not good enough for war and good buffer against communism, thought TOV unfair so did nothing
- **Saar plebiscite (1935):** 90% wanted to return to German rule = good morale booster

- **Rhineland (1936):** 30,000 German troops reoccupied the Rhineland strip. British public perceived it as reasonable to want to defend backyard. Violation of TOV & Locarno, very big risk as if failed Hitler would've lose support of army, humiliating, negative propaganda and would be forced to withdraw. Hitler chose carefully even though they were outnumbered and lacked essential equipment & air support. Triggered by: USSR-France mutual support treaty (1935), Hitler claimed 'encirclement threat'
- **Anschluss (1938):** Nazis demonstrated, some Austrians wanted union, riots in Austria, Hitler persuaded Australian Chancellor Schuschnigg that Anschluss only way to solve crisis was union, on being refused help from Britain and France he called referendum. This was an Election of intimidation, in March 1938 Hitler's troops walked in without military interference. Britain felt it was right, Lord Halifax assured Hitler
- **Spanish Civil War:** Hitler & Mussolini supported General Franco's right wing extremist rebels against communist supporter of the Republican government. LON helpless. Condor legion bombed Guernica. (Nationalist victory). Dress rehearsal/testing ground for WW2.
- **Munich Pact (1938):** Czechoslovakia (pg 267) Triumph? Averted war, gain time, people learnt to not trust Hitler (Opinion poll Oct 1938- 93% did not believe his claim of have no more territorial ambition in Europe) or Sell out? Public relief overstated-not really peace just preparation period, appeasement failed, Allies lost important ally. Trigger: claim that Czech government mistreating Germans in Sudetenland, wanted to 'rescue' them by 1st Oct. Britain sees demands as unreasonable and mobilizes army, war imminent. Resolved with Munich pact & joint declaration (peace for our time) on 29th September 1938. Czechs and USSR not consulted about conceding Sudetenland to Germany.
- **Czechoslovakia:** 15 March 1939, invaded with no resistance from Britain or France.
- **Poland invasion:** 1st September 1939

3.5 Was the policy of appeasement justified?

(Coined by Chamberlain and Deladier)

- **Yes:** major domestic problems: high unemployment and large debts, militarily and economically weak & needed to buy time, LON failed ∴ appeasement only feasible option, saw Hitler's demands as reasonable, no support for a war within commonwealth & US and memories of war still strong Hitler 'standing up to communism'

- **No:** encouraged Hitler's aggression mistook Hitler for sane politician and trusted Hitler too much, allowed Germany to grow strong and it alienated the USSR, leading to Nazi-Soviet pact that made the war more likely, lost Czechoslovakia as important ally.

3.6 Why did Britain and France declare war on Germany in September 1939?

- Hitler's actions and policies- Hitler was determined to undo Treaty of Versailles from very beginning, would happen sooner or later
- League of the Nations failed after Manchuria, Abyssinia and unsuccessful disarmament attempts.
- Appeasement intensified Hitler's aggression. Britain and France unprepared for war and had little other choice
- Nazi Soviet Pact paved way for the invasion of Poland gave USSR time in rearm
- Violation of the Munich Pact & Polish guarantee led to war

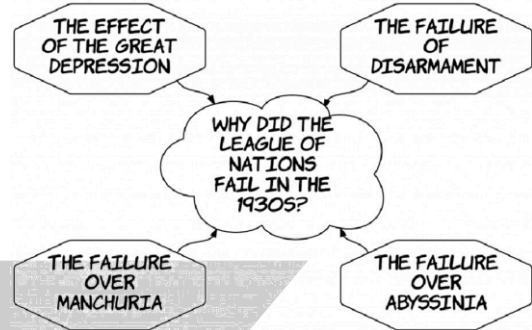
However other important factors also played a role in starting the war:

- Appeasement also very important in causing war by encouraging Hitler's aggression
- Failure of League caused by Great Depression meant appeasement inevitable & Hitler aggression unchecked
- Polish guaranteed invasion would certainly result in war
- Treaty of Versailles inspired Hitler's revenge therefore very large role to play

3.7 How important was the Nazi-Soviet Pact?

- **Background:** Stalin was alarmed by Hitler's aggression as he had openly stated his intent to destroy communism. Stalin joined LON in 1934 for security purposes but it was soon powerless. France and Britain had not resisted German Rearmament or expansion in east Europe, failed to stand up to Hitler in Rhineland and Czechoslovakia. Stalin signed mutual Defense treaty with France in 1935 but did not trust France. Attempts to form alliance with Britain and France failed in March 1939 as Chamberlain did not trust Stalin. Stalin did not trust Hitler, saw Britain's Polish guarantee, which was intended to warn Hitler, as support for USSR's potential enemies.
- Nazi Soviet Pact signed between Molotov and Ribbentrop on 24th August 1939. Stalin signed because:
 - Could not rely on Britain and France for defense against Hitler due to appeasement

- Hitler would led Stalin expand control into Baltic States which Britain and France would never allow
- Allowed USSR to buy time to prepare for war
- Significance:
 - Cleared the way for German invasion of Poland
 - Poland fell
 - Guaranteed war with Britain and France
 - Established that appeasement had failed



4. WHO WAS TO BLAME FOR THE COLD WAR?

Agreement from Yalta on Feb 1945 Deteriorating in July 1945 at Potsdam

- Spirit of cooperation had deteriorated to open disagreement (no common enemy) due to change of leadership (Truman staunch anti-communist)
 - Agreements to form Germany being split into 4 zones deteriorated over details of borders.
- Agreement to form reparation commission deteriorated over exact amounts. Soviets wanted indefinite reparations from Soviet Zones and 10% of Industrial equipment from West-Zones. Britain and France thought this was too much.
- Agreements to form Polish 'government of national unity' deteriorated as Stalin had non-communists arrested.
- Free elections that were agreed on did not take place in Europe. Communists were coming to power which violated the percentages agreement.
- Agreements to have Russia join war against Japan with US were ignored as Truman dropped atomic bomb.

4.1 Why did the USA-USSR alliance begin to break down in 1945?

- Ideological differences: politics, lifestyle, post-war aims: USSR - communist with dictator, one party state with secret police, totalitarian, terror, propaganda, no civil liberties, USA had capitalism, multiparty elections, freedom

- And civil liberties. USSR wanted weak Germany, sphere of influence and reparations, USA wanted strong Germany and no reparations.
- Hostility in the past: white counter-revolutionary forces tried to destroy USSR in 1917 Russian Revolution and Polish invasion in 1921, USSR signed Nazi-Soviet pact + USSR signed Nazi-Soviet pact
- increasing tension due to:
 - Stalin refusing to join UN
 - Delay of D-Day and opening a second front.

4.2 How had USSR gained control over Eastern Europe?

Trigger: political vacuum and anarchy, want to restore law and order

- Red Army had occupied Eastern Europe according to Percentages Agreement (right) spheres of influence. However, Stalin
- Wanted to occupy more and wanted a buffer zone after loss of 20 million lives.
- By July 1945, USSR controlled Baltic States, Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania.
- In 1945, communists took power in Albania, Bulgaria (elected by coalition, executed opposition), & E Germany
- In 1947, communists took over Romania (abolished monarchy), Poland (arrested opposition, won by election)
- Hungary – arrested and executed opposition using secret police churches were attacked.
- In 1948, communist leader Gottwald took power in Czechoslovakia by controlling the radio, army, police and arresting opposition. Non-communist minister Masaryk committed suicide.
- 1949, GDR was established

4.3 How did the USA respond to Soviet expansionism?

- US gave aid to Greece and Turkey during their civil wars when Britain withdrew (Feb 1947) to prevent
- The Truman doctrine (12th March 1947) introduced containment* and Marshall plan to extenuate Soviet foothold in Europe, prevent breeding ground for totalitarianism by eliminating poverty. Containment: USA accepted Eastern Europe as communist sphere but would 'contain' any further expansion. Prepared to send money, equipment and advice to any country under

- communist threat e.g. Greece and Czechoslovakia. Initially not approved by congress, when communists won the civil war in Czechoslovakia (1948), Marshall Aid worth \$17 billion was released. (March 1948).
- Marshall Aid offered to all countries including USSR & discussed during Paris Conference (July 1947) but Stalin forbade communists to go. Started Cominform (Oct 1947) and COMECON to support iron curtain economies.
- Iron curtain speech led to an atmosphere of tension, recrimination and mutual demonization.
- **What were the aims of the Marshall Plan?**
 - To aid rebuilding of Europe
 - To restore economy and curb communism's appeal and spread capitalism
 - Form allies close to USSR & extenuate their foothold
 - Expand markets to prevent worldwide slump
 - Dominate Europe by making them dependent on \$
- **Cominform aims:**
 - Spread revolution and provide assistance to Soviet satellites & communist parties
 - Defend satellites against US influence
 - Keep a close eye on satellites
 - Ensure loyalty
 - All Eastern European countries must be communist

4.4 What were the consequences of the Berlin Blockade?

- **Background:** As Marshall Aid (response to Czech communists – paranoia) was started in March 1948, Stalin began partial blockage on roadways to Berlin. **Aim:** to stamp his authority on Berlin as he was helpless about everything else, force allies out of Berlin, making West Berlin dependent on USSR, he wanted to destroy Germany & saw Marshall Aid as dollar imperialism which was a threat to USSR, also to stop Germany recovering to prevent threat to USSR. On 1st June 1948, West Germany was a new country – FDR and on 23rd June had a new currency = which led to economic crisis for USSR.
- **Consequences:** Germany permanently divided. Iron curtain concept strengthened. An open confrontation of the cold war, tensions got much worse. NATO formed in 1949 and Warsaw Pact in 1955 - two armed camps. Arms race also began set up a 'tense balance' with no hot war which was symbolic of the cold war period. Tensions increased as allies merged zones (1946 – Trizonia), new currency/new countries/iron curtain speech, Berlin blockade, Marshall Aid. (1945- 1949)

- **Destalinization:** Policy started by Khrushchev during the era of peaceful coexistence. Tito (Yugoslavia) was allowed autonomy to ease relations, who then left Warsaw Pact. Closed down Cominform as a part of his policy of reconciliation with Tito. Khrushchev thought Stalin was inhumane so he invited Tito to Moscow and dismissed Molotov, executed Beria (head of state secret police), set free political prisoners, pulled out of Austria, met western leaders at post war summits (July '55) and criticized Stalin's Purges, terror, tyranny on 20th party congress, eased relation with China, reduced arms expenditure, improved living standards. Main aim did not change: must create buffer against attack from West through Warsaw Pact.

4.4 Who was more to blame for the cold war?

- Blame USSR for radical ideology dedicated to world revolution and justifies perception of threat
- Blame USA for underestimating USSR's loss and misperceiving defense as hostility
- Blame both for miscommunication, tension, and ideological differences.

5. HOW EFFECTIVELY DID USA CONTAIN THE SPREAD OF COMMUNISM?

5.1 America and events in Cuba

- American reaction to Cuban revolution (1958, led by Fidel Castro Castro-claimed he wanted to merely run Cuba without American interference. However, by summer 1960 he was receiving arms from USSR):
 - frosty relationship with no direct confrontation
 - Castro nationalized American assets, therefore;
 - US banned the buying of sugar July 1960
 - US ended all trade relations by Oct 1960
 - US broke off diplomacy with Cuba in January 1961.
 - Not prepared to tolerate Soviet satellite 160 km off coast of Florida.
- April 1961–Bay of Pigs invasion: 1400 anti-Castro CIA trained exiles attempt to overthrow Castro. Met by 20,000 troops armed with tanks and modern weapons, all captured or killed. Kennedy humiliated.
- Aftermath: Bay of Pigs fiasco encouraged spread of communism, consolidated Castro's power & popularity, led to Cuba being aligned with Moscow. May 1962: USSR publicly announced military support for Cuba. July 1962:

Cuba best equipped army in Latin America. On 11th Sept., US warned USSR against nuclearisation of Cuba

- **Cuban Missile Crisis:**

- Ongoing tensions at all time high: competition, space race, arms race, nuclear testing, Vietnam war, failed Vietnam summit and Berlin Wall
- On 14th Oct 1962, an American U-2 spy plane flew over Cuba and discovered nuclear missile bases, also 20 ships carrying missiles from USSR

- **Kennedy's options (page 349):**

- Do nothing: would be very dangerous to overreact but did not want to show weakness
- Surgical air attack: destroy missiles but if any were left they may be used in counter attack and
- There may be soviet collateral damage. Attack without advance warning was immoral.
- Invade Cuba by sea and air: would guarantee soviet response to protect Cuba or within soviet sphere of influence
- Diplomatic pressures through UN: would avoid conflict but US would look weak
- Blockade/quarantine: show US was serious but not an act of war, but would not get rid of existing missiles

- **Khrushchev's intent:**

- To defend Cuba
- To rest American strength – whether they would back off or face up
- To trap the USA into nuclear war – he did not even try to hide them
- To get upper hand in arms race due to concern over missile gap would prevent US ever launching 1st strike
- To bargain with USA for concessions: remove military bases in Turkey & Italy (events of pg. 350 = important!)

- **Aftermath:** helped to thaw relations and allayed pursuit of brinkmanship. White House to Kremlin hotline set up, 1963 – Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

5.2 American involvement in Vietnam

Who were the Viet Minh?

- During the Second World War, when France (ex-colonial ruler of Vietnam) was defeated by Germany, Japan took control of Vietnamese resources (coal, rice, rubber, railways, roads) which led to the formation of a strong anti-Japanese resistance movement called Viet Minh, led by communist Ho Chi Minh, who inspired Vietnamese peasants to flight for an independent Vietnam. In 1945 they entered Hanoi and declared independence > led to

war in 1946 between French and Viet Minh. When communists took over in China, American paranoia grew and they spent \$500 million a year to keep up anti-Viet Minh effort and keep Vietnam non-communist.

What was the domino theory?

- American theory that USSR trying to spread communism all over Asia; Laos, Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, India may fall to communism one after the other like a row of dominoes after Vietnam, the first domino.

What were the Geneva agreements of 1954?

- They split up Indochina into different countries like Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Thailand
- Split Vietnam at 17th parallel.
- Vietminh pulled out of south (replaced by Diem), French pulled out of north (replaced by Ho Chi Minh)
- Free elections to take place July 1956

Why did US get involved?

- Containment: domino theory – paranoia about Indochina, China had turned communist in 1949 – Viet Minh seen as Chinese puppets and containment in Korea failed had to compete with USSR.
- French army (AVRN) too weak, ill equipped and inefficient to defeat Viet Cong (Viet Minh) and could not cope with guerrilla warfare. South Vietnam could not win by itself.
- US had been attacked by North Vietnamese patrol boats – [USS Maddox in the Gulf of Tonkin \(August 1964\)](#); February 1965 – Vietcong had attacked [US airbases](#), US soldiers killed

How did the US get involved?

- US was attacked and needed to face up to communism
- Had been pouring in \$500 million to support the French against Viet Minh communists already
- Supported Diem's corrupt and inefficient government who would have to give in to communists on their own.

How did US get out?

- Pressure on USSR and China – they had fallen out of an alliance, USA tried to improve relations with them individually (SALT with USSR, Feb 1972 Nixon visited China) to persuade them to pressure North Vietnam to end the war
- Peace negotiations with North Vietnam – early 1969 – Henry Kissinger met with Vietnamese Le Duc Tho
- [Vietnamization of the war effort – building up South Vietnamese forces and withdrawing 400, 000 US troops from April 1969 to end of 1971](#)

- Bombing – increased bombing campaigns against North Vietnam to show he was not weak. Also, invaded Viet Cong bases in Cambodia.

Why did US fail to defeat the Viet Minh?

- US had hi-tech tactics that used B-52 bombers, artillery and helicopters and killed innocent people demoralizing their own troops and losing local support (South Vietnamese peasants) whereas the Viet Minh used guerrilla warfare tactics, which were appropriate to the nature of the war and the relief features of Vietnam – they used booby traps, land mines, did not wear uniform and mixed with and helped the peasants which made it difficult to distinguish them and they won local support.
- American troops were inexperienced and South Vietnamese government was inefficient and corrupt, whereas Viet Cong represented people well and had been fighting with Japan since World War 2 and later on with the French. They were determined to achieve independence and victory, whatever the cost. American troops had hit rock bottom morale, it was an unpopular war – whereas Viet Cong was motivated for unification.
- US had supplies coming from 8000 miles away whereas Viet Cong were supplied weapons by USSR and China through HO Chi Minh trail. Could not attack this trail without escalating the war.

Why did the war rouse so much opposition in America?

- Casualties, fighting for their country 8000 miles away – public did not buy it, failures & horrors of war and My Lai massacre publicized. Johnson had to cancel 'The Great Society' reform plan due to the cost. Even Martin Luther King opposed the war. Containment had failed and 58, 000 casualties. 1973 Truman Doctrine abandoned.

Vietnam & containment: A failure

- Militarily
- Politically = sped up domino effect. By 1975, both Laos and Cambodia were communist

6. HOW SECURE WAS THE USSR'S CONTROL OVER EASTERN EUROPE, 1948-1989?

6.1 Opposition to Soviet control in Hungary & Czechoslovakia, USSR's reaction?

Hungarian uprising causes:

- [Poverty](#) due to reparations, [patriotism](#) (hatred of AVH and censorship and Soviet presence – troops, shops, streets, schools), [religion](#) ban (cardinal mindzentsky out

in jail), hated lack of **freedom**, encouraged by **destalinization** and expected **US (Eisenhower) to help**. Riots by students on 23rd October: smashed statue of Stalin and attacked AVH (secret police). Imre Nagy asked Russia to withdraw from Warsaw Pact and declared neutrality for Hungary and freedom achieved on 29 Oct.

- **Soviet reaction:** 4th November = rebellions crushed, Nagy killed, Janos Kador replaces Nagy. Results:
 - 200, 000 refugees fled to Austria
 - Repression and control by USSR in Hungary continued
 - 30,000 Hungarians killed
 - West is horrified, polarization of cold war
 - US gains determination to contain communism.
- **Player motives:** Eisenhower did not think Hungary was worth war.
 - USSR vetoed investigations.
 - Britain and France were preoccupied with Suez Crisis.
 - Russia wanted to keep buffer zone of friendly states and could not have Nagy leave Warsaw Pact.
 - Nagy too capitalistic, hard liners within USSR and China pushed USSR to stop damaging communism by allowing Nagy to rule.
- **Prague spring background:** 1967, Czechoslovakia students and writers complain about lack of freedom and economic problems. Novotny (Czech leader) received no help from Brezhnev (USSR leader). On 5th January 1968, Dubeck (reformer) took over as a leader of KSC (communist party). Announced 'Action Plan' in April – more freedom of speech, 'socialism with a human face' – removed state controls over industry – new model of socialism 4 months = freedom in Czechoslovakia.
- **Causes:** driven by detente (improving relations with the west) and Romania's break free from Warsaw Pact. Czechs hated economy control and censorship. They thought US would help.
- **Soviet reaction:** 3rd August 1968 – declaration on Czechoslovakia to politically stabilize
- Brezhnev under pressure from Ulbricht (hardline leader of East Germany) and Gomulka (hardline leader of Poland) to restrain reform of communism as they were worried that their people would demand capitalist freedoms. Brezhnev was criticized for being too liberal.* announced Brezhnev doctrine = would not allow any Eastern European country to reject communism, would not be allowed to abandon communism 'even if it meant a third world war'.

- On 20th August 1968, 500,000 Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia. Dubeck arrested and replaced by Gustav Husak.
- **Effects:** return to communist control, 47 anti-communists were arrested and publishing companies were sacked.
- In 1968, Albania resigned from Warsaw Pact because it thought USSR too liberal since Stalin died.
- Unlike Czechoslovakia which was strategically and centrally placed and industrious, Brezhnev did not think it was important and made no effort to force Albania back into the Pact.

6.2 Why was the Berlin Wall built in 1961?

- Growing tensions – fighting in Vietnam and Laos & Bay of Pigs invasion
- Refugees: Brain drain in poor, strict East Germany led to economic loss. 2000 refugees per day moved to West Berlin. 3 million had moved to West Berlin.
- Sabotage – West Berlin used for espionage
- 13th August 1961 = Berlin wall barbed wire all of border except for checkpoint Charlie47, USSR propaganda success, hundreds killed trying to escape over next decades48
- It was a symbol of division portrayed differently by the East (who portrayed it as a protective shell) and West portrayed it as a prison wall)
- Causes:
 - Worries about the arms race – nuclear testing was expensive, immoral, damaging to the environment, there was Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in the West
 - Arms race limitation efforts due to economic strain (also due to rising oil prices)>SALT 1 (1972) and SALT 2
 - End and shock of the Vietnam War: USA, USSR and China improved relations
 - Shock of Cuban Missile crisis and state of near-thermonuclear war
- The Helsinki Agreement recognized Soviet control over Eastern Europe, concluded a trade agreement, and Russia promised to respect human rights.
- **Helsinki conference (August 1975), Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963) which led to Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT, 1968), China joining UN were major achievements.**

- **Limitations:**

- Non-Proliferation Treaty did not stop other countries developing nuclear weapons - Israel, China
- SALT 1 ineffective as neither USA nor USSR complied. SALT 2 had collapsed as signing was delayed and in June 1969 US did not ratify.
- America supported Israel and Russia supported Egypt and Syria in Arab Israeli war. Division and proxy wars ritual continued.
- The Helsinki Agreement achieved nothing, USSR continued to repress soviet sphere.
- Table tennis and space meetings were just one-off propaganda stunts.
- USSR (Brezhnev) still committed to anti-capitalist world revolution.
- US improved relations with China specifically to drive a wedge between USSR and China and diplomatically isolate the Soviet Union.
- Why did Cold War freeze again in the 1980s? pg. 411

6.3 Significance of 'Solidarity' in Poland for decline of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe

- **Background to Solidarity:**

- Regular protests in Poland usually about low wages or high food prices
- In the late 1970's the economy hit crisis & government could not solve the problems with propaganda.
- 1976 – 1979 were terrible years for Polish industry, 1979 being the worst.
- Small independent trade unions were set up and strikes broke out all over the country.
- 1980 free trade union (Solidarity started by Lech Walesa) they wanted free trade unions & right to strike
- Government agreed all 21 of their demands.
- Membership of solidarity grew to 9.4 mill. (Jan 1981)
- Poland sinks into chaos.
- December 1981 Brezhnev orders Red Army maneuvers on Polish border, introduces Marshall Law imprisons Lech Walesa and 10,000 others & suspends solidarity.

- **Why Soviet/Polish government accepted Solidarity in 1980:**

- Union was strongest in most important industries – ship building and heavy industry – general strike would cripple economy.
- Not seen as a threat to communist party. Only 5% members thought Solidarity plans > government

- Lech Walesa tried to avoid provoking any disputes and portrayed and accepted as folk hero.
- Solidarity spirit attracted West & was good propaganda

- **Why Soviet/Polish government clamped down by martial law on Solidarity in December 1981:**

- Increasing signs Solidarity acting as a political party – more of a threat. Talked of setting up new government without communist party.
- Poland sinking into chaos – food shortages, rationing, rising unemployment, strikes out of control. Russia worried people would turn to Solidarity and not communism.
- Solidarity was also sinking into chaos. Many different groups in the union, one group issued a statement that Poles were fighting “for your freedom and ours”. Groups threatened to pull Solidarity apart – Lech Walesa unable or unwilling to control them. Threat to Russia.

6.4 Responsibility of Gorbachev for the collapse of Soviet control of Eastern Europe?

- **Role of Gorbachev:**

- Brezhnev ignored the needs for reforms in the 1980s, internal corruption, USSR in crisis, locked in costly and unwinnable war in Afghanistan ('Soviet Vietnam'), economy did not generate growth, chronic alcoholism and demotivation amongst workers draining economy, too much money spent on arms race, genuinely wanted to introduce economic reform and recovery.
- Introduced 'Perestroika' (restructuring) open debate on economy, 'Glasnost' (openness) made it legal to buy and sell for profit
- Abandoned Brezhnev doctrine
- Encouraged nationalism in soviet sphere

- **Role of other factors:**

- Arms race/costs of competing with USA, industrially, militarily and in proxy wars, especially Afghanistan, cause too much strain
- Nationalism in satellite states and rise of Solidarity in Poland
- There were also spiritual influences from the Pope and Islam and the attraction of western consumption due to reduction in censorship
- Drastic fall in oil prices in the 1980s which deprived the Soviet Union of resources that were necessary at a critical time.

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