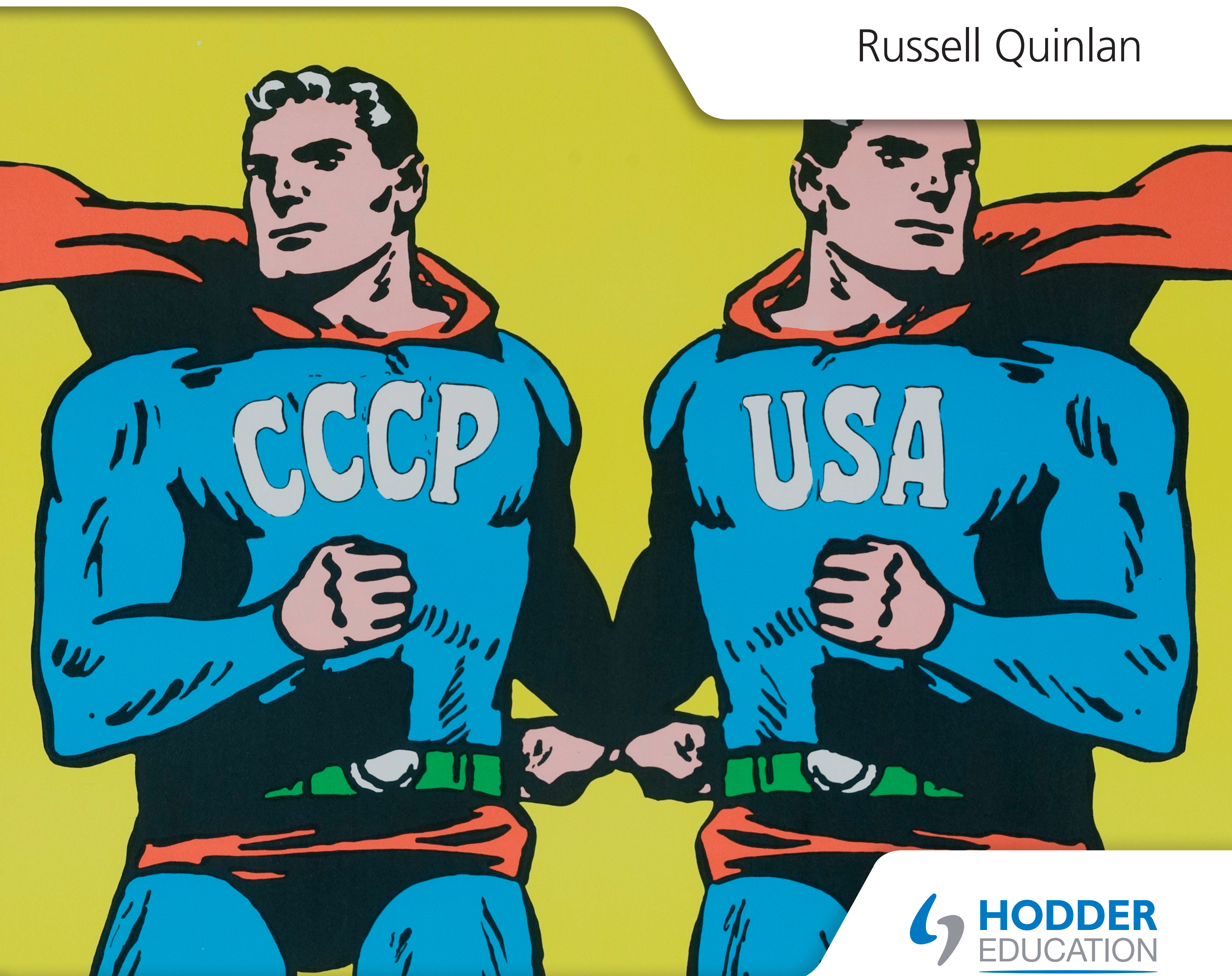


The Cold War: Superpower tensions and rivalries

Study and Revision Guide

PAPER 2

Russell Quinlan

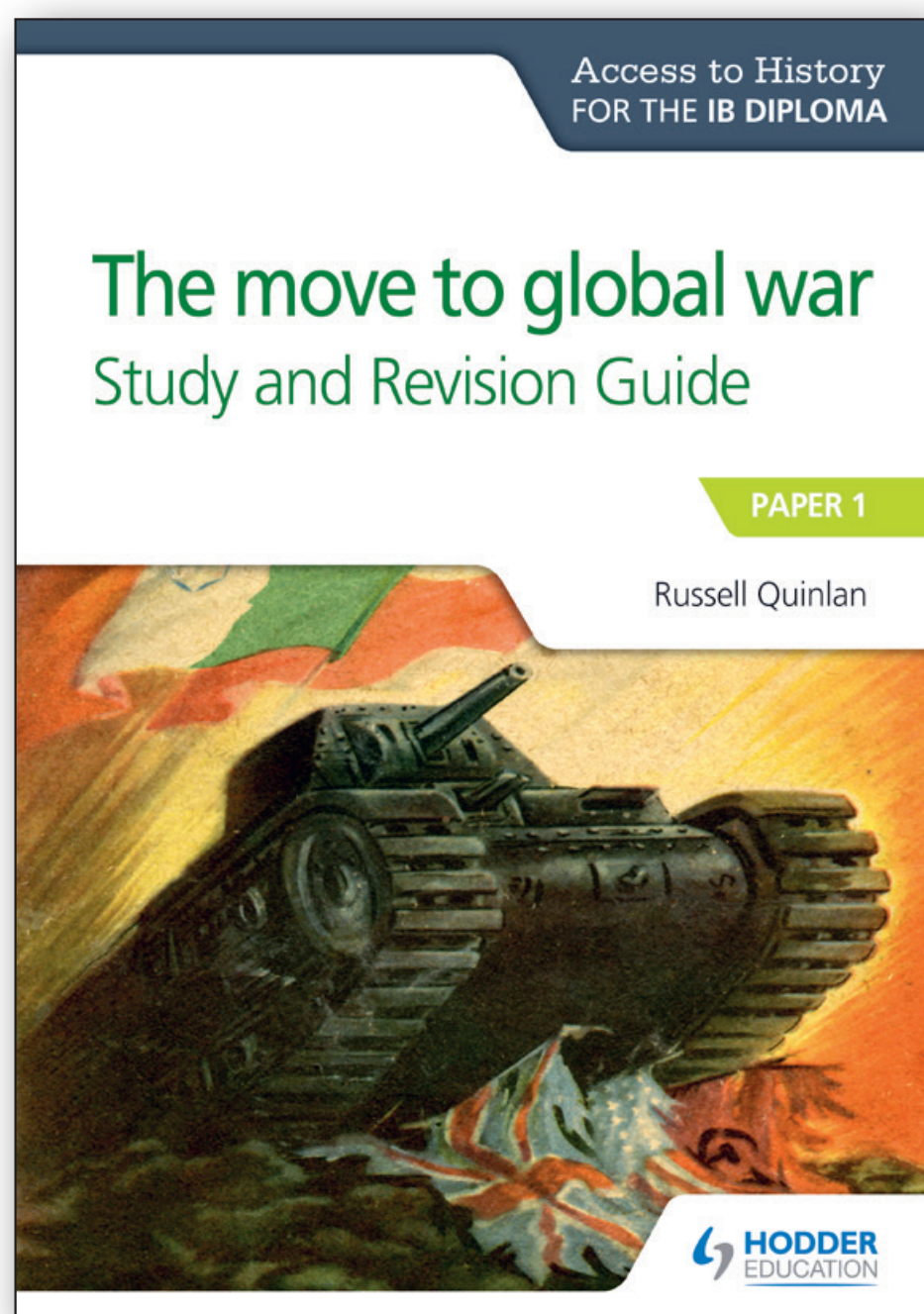


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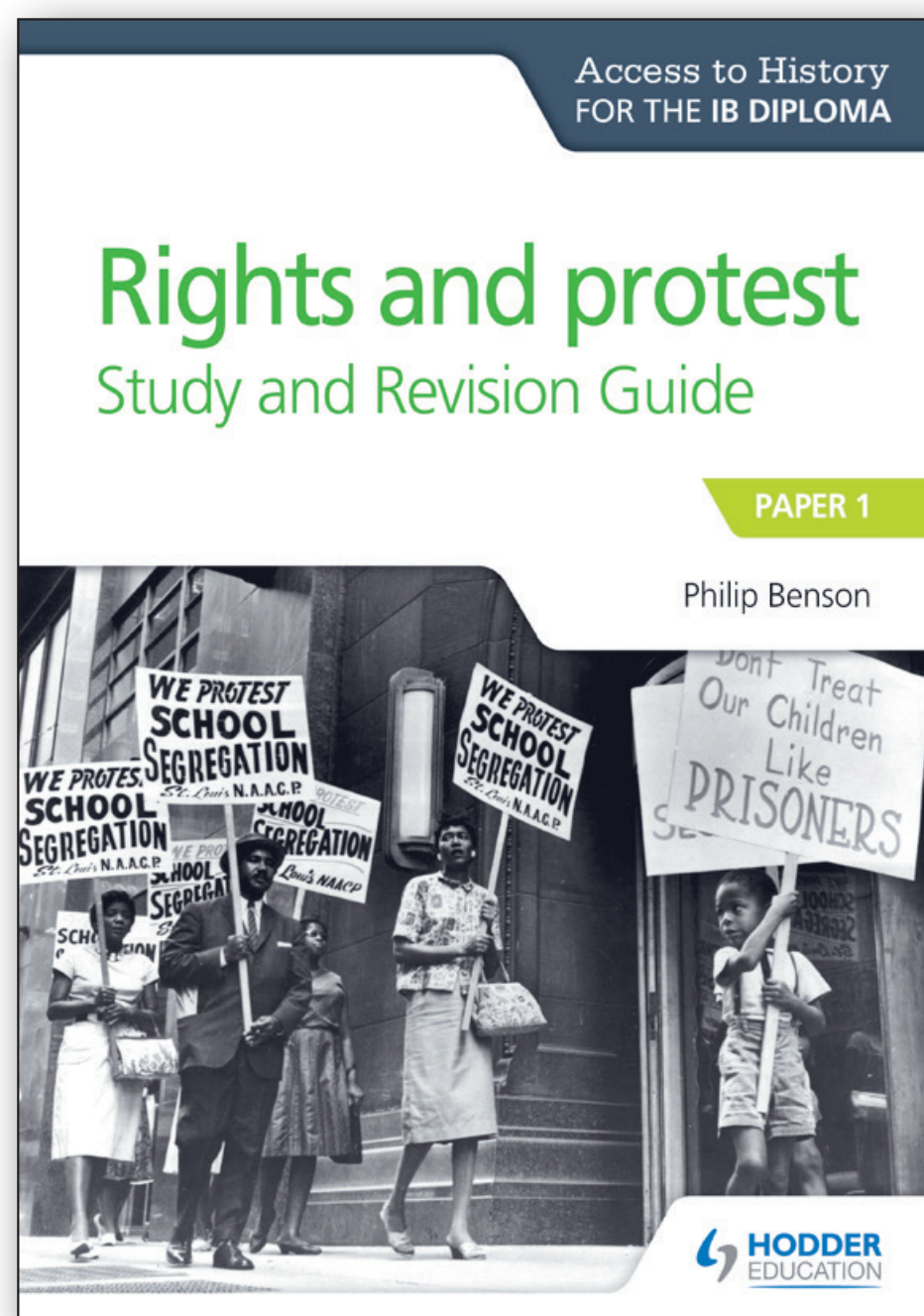
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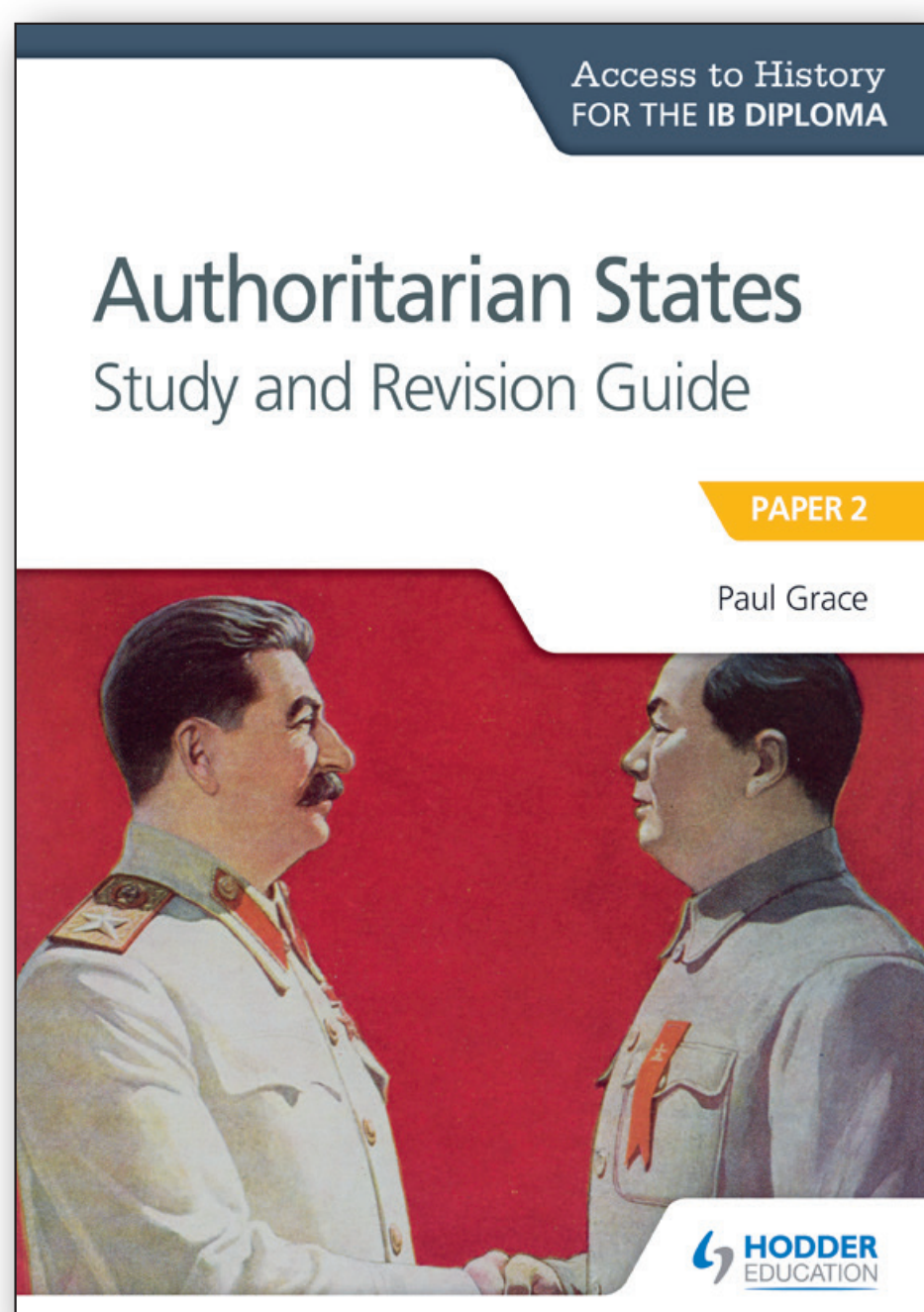


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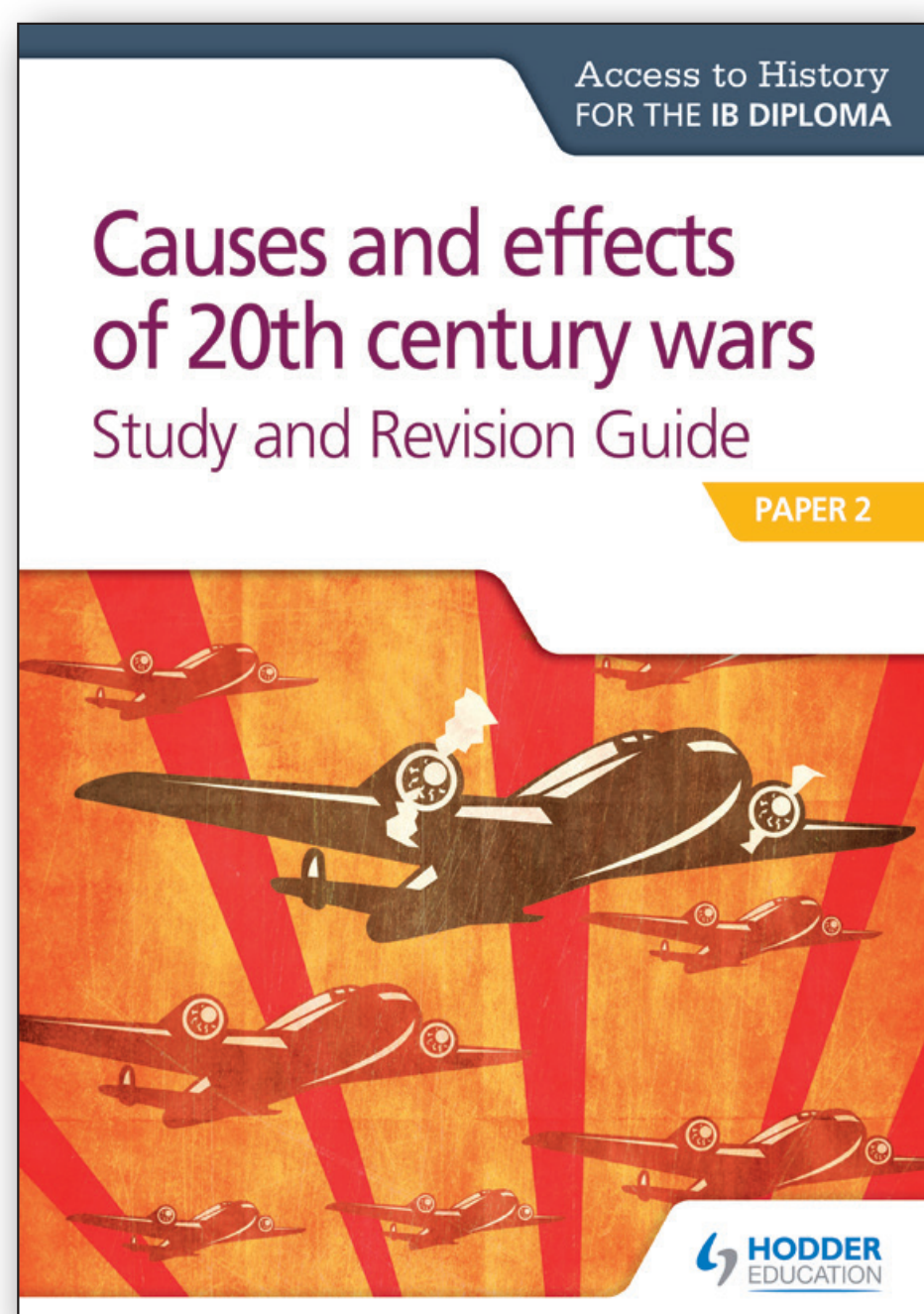


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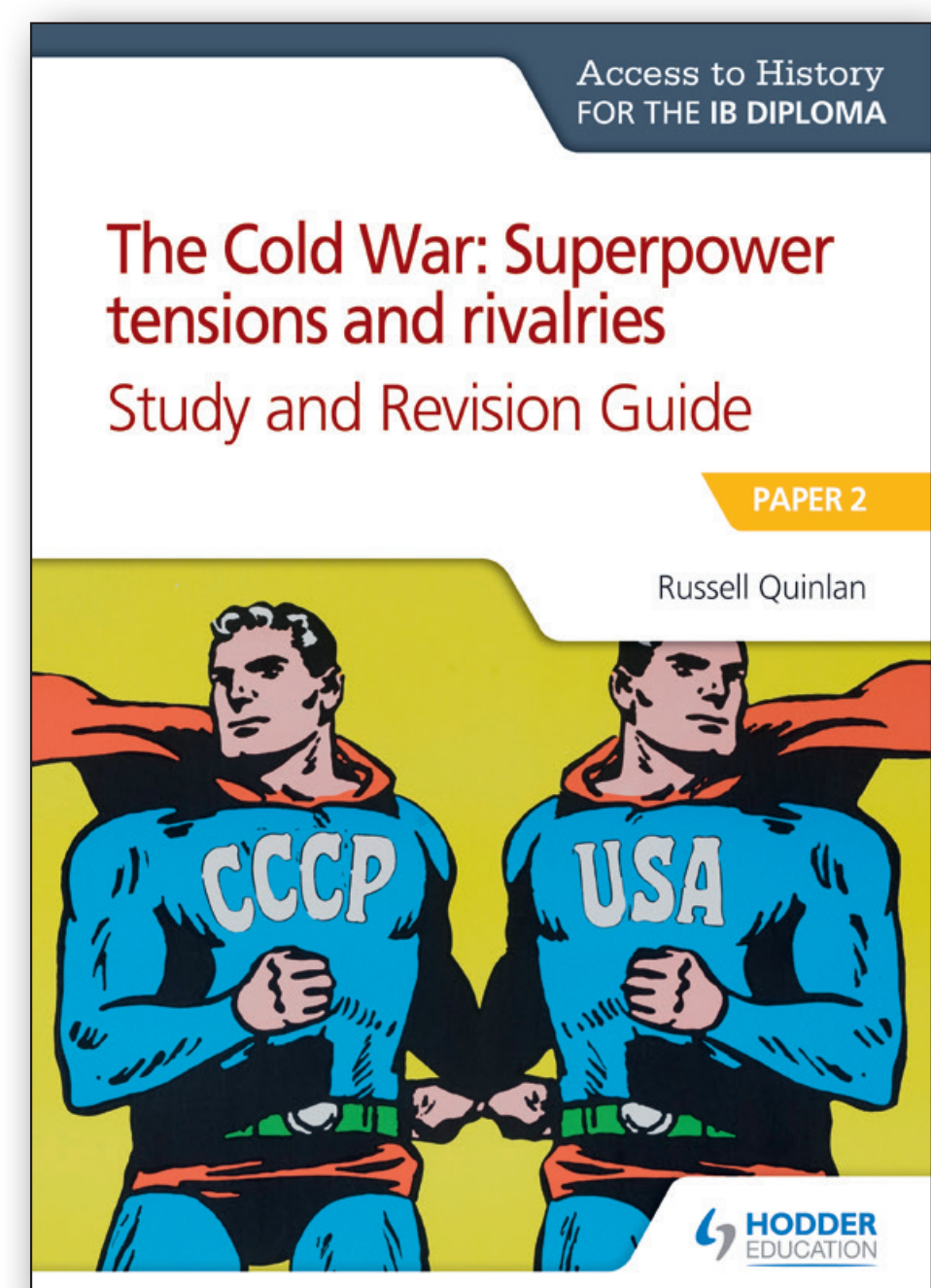
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The Cold War: Superpower tensions and rivalries

Study and Revision Guide

PAPER 2

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How to use this book

- Welcome to the *Access to History for the IB Diploma: The Cold War: Superpower tensions and rivalries: Study and Revision Guide*. This book has been written and designed to help you develop the knowledge and skills necessary to succeed in the Paper 2 examination. The book is organized into double-page spreads.
- Each double-page spread contains a summary of the key content you will need to learn and exam-focused activities related to and testing this content.
- Words in bold in the key content are defined in the glossary and key figures list (see pages 158–64).
- The exam-focused activities include Paper 2 exam-style questions so that you can develop your essay-writing skills. Answers for some of the activities can be found at the back of the book.
- At the end of each chapter you will find an exam focus section. For the first chapter, you will find guidance on the History Paper 2 exam and the essay structure, as well as a checklist designed to help you write a successful essay. For the subsequent chapters, you will find specific guidance and student answer examples with examiner comments and annotations to help you understand how to improve your grades and achieve top marks. There is also a ‘mock exam’ set of questions for you to try.

Together, these two strands of the book will provide you with the knowledge and skills essential for examination success.

CASE STUDY 2 From wartime allies to post-war enemies, 1945–7

1 Transition from war to fragile peace, 1945–6

Revised

The Grand Alliance succeeded because of a common enemy and an agreement on key principles for defeating Germany. After Germany's defeat, it became more difficult for the Allies to agree on key principles in post-war Europe.

■ **US President Harry Truman**
Harry Truman became president of the USA on 12 April 1945, when President Roosevelt died. Truman was more aggressive than Roosevelt and had been vice president for less than three months.

The USA was concerned about Soviet policies in Poland. Truman agreed to reduce **lend-lease** shipments to the USSR, hoping to persuade Stalin to abide by the Yalta Agreement. Stalin saw it as US economic aggression to force political concessions from him.

■ **The creation of the United Nations**
 In August 1944, Britain, the USA, the USSR and China agreed on the establishment of the UN, in which:

- all nations would be represented
- Britain, the USA, the USSR and China would be permanent members of the Security Council with the power to veto decisions made by the Assembly. France became a permanent member of the Security Council in 1945.

There were some disagreements about:

- permanent members of the Security Council maintaining the right to veto a decision by the Council
- Soviet demands that all sixteen of its republics become members of the UN.

Eventually, it was decided that:

- permanent members had the right to veto
- two Soviet republics were granted membership in the UN: Ukraine and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

■ **The impact of the atomic bomb**
 On 6 August 1945, the USA dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan. On 9 August, a second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, Japan. Also on 9 August, the USSR invaded **Manchuria**. Japan was forced to surrender.

While some in the USA wanted to maintain its nuclear monopoly, US Under **Secretary of State Dean Acheson** cautioned Truman that the Soviets would soon catch up with the USA in nuclear science. A few months later, a Soviet espionage network was discovered, but only after it had sent significant information about the atomic bomb to the USSR.

■ **The United Nations Atomic Energy Commission**
 In November 1945, Britain, Canada and the USA called for the creation of a UN commission to create rules for controlling nuclear weapons.

The USSR agreed to the establishment of the UN Atomic Energy Commission in December 1945, but wanted it controlled by the Security Council, where it could use its veto. The USA proposed that no nation could use its veto in respect to atomic weapons.

■ **Breakdown of the agreement**
 The USSR would not relinquish its demands to use its veto and called for the immediate destruction of all atomic weapons. The USA rejected this plan, claiming it was impossible to verify total destruction of the weapons. In December 1946, agreement on the UN Atomic Energy Commission broke down.

1 Transition from war to fragile peace, 1945–6

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.

COMPLETE THE PARAGRAPH

- Below is a sample Paper 2 question and a sample paragraph written in response to the question.
- The paragraph contains a main argument and a concluding explanatory link back to the question, but lacks details.
- Complete the paragraph, adding details in the space provided.

Discuss the causes of tensions in the Grand Alliance from 1945 to 1946.

Despite agreement to establish the United Nations (UN), disagreements about membership, the Security Council and the UN's role in atomic weaponry caused tensions among members of the Grand Alliance.

An inability to agree on the role and function of the UN, as well as the role of the members of the Grand Alliance in the UN, contributed to tensions between Grand Alliance members.

Key historical content

Exam-focused activities

At the end of the book, you will find:

- Glossary, Key figures and Timeline – key terms in the book are defined, key figures are highlighted and key dates are included in a timeline.
- Answers for the exam-focused activities.

Getting to know the exam

■ Types of questions

Paper 2 requires you to write two essays, each from a different topic. There will be a choice of two questions for each topic. You should answer only one of these questions for Topic 12: The Cold War: Superpower tensions and rivalries and a second question for the other topic you have studied. Questions for Topic 12 may address:

- an aspect of a Cold War leader of your choice
- aspects of two Cold War leaders of your choice
- various aspects of Cold War crises, including causes, impact and significance, and more.

■ Command terms

A key to success is to understand the demands of the question. Questions use key terms and phrases known as command terms.

Command term	Description
Compare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Discuss the similarities of leaders, referring to both throughout your answer and not treating each separately ● You should not give an overview of each leader but should focus on the most important similarities, rather than every tiny detail
Compare and contrast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Discuss the similarities and differences of leaders, referring to both throughout your answer and not treating each separately ● You should not give an overview of each leader and should focus on the most important similarities and differences, rather than every tiny detail
Contrast	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Discuss the differences between leaders, referring to both throughout your answer and not treating each separately ● You should not give an overview of each leader and should focus on the most important differences, rather than every tiny detail
Discuss	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Review various arguments regarding a leader or leaders and conclude with an argument supported by evidence
Evaluate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Make a judgement based on how strong or weak evidence may be
Examine	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Analyse the strengths and weakness of various arguments with a concluding opinion
To what extent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Determine the extent to which something is true or false, with answers usually being 'to no extent', 'to some extent' or 'to a great extent'

■ Answering questions

- You will have five minutes of reading time at the start of the examination. It is during this time that you should review the questions in the two or more topics you have studied.
- Once you have identified which ones you are able to address, choose the Topic 12 question for which you have the most knowledge and whose demands you fully understand.
- Many students may have great knowledge regarding one or more Cold War crises or leaders, but they may not understand fully what the question wants them to do. If you find the wording of a question confusing, consider addressing another question if you feel more comfortable doing so.
- Once you have chosen your question for Topic 12, you should look at your other topic of study and repeat this exercise.
- Once you have made a decision on your second question for Paper 2, return to your Topic 12 question and begin to think about how you will address it, waiting for the end of the reading time.

■ **Marks**

All questions on Paper 2 are worth 15 points each for a total of 30 possible points for this paper. In order to attain the highest mark band (13–15), your essays should include:

- answers that clearly address the demands of the question and are well structured and clear
- correct, relevant historical knowledge used appropriately to support your argument
- evidence that is critically analysed
- historical events that are placed in their context
- evidence that you understand there are different historical interpretations.

■ **Timing your writing**

- You will have 1 hour 30 minutes to complete both Paper 2 essays. This breaks down to 45 minutes per essay on average.
- Part of your writing time, however, should be spent preparing a basic outline which will help you keep your answer structured and focused.
- You should spend perhaps five minutes on this.

■ **Defining your terms**

It is important that you define the terms you use in the introduction of your essay.

If the question asks you:	Be sure to ...
● about some political ideology	● explain what that ideology means
● to discuss two rulers, each from a different region	● state clearly the region the rulers are from
● to discuss propaganda	● explain what propaganda is and what formats you will address, such as radio, posters, cinema, or perhaps even education policy

■ **Making an argument**

- Your essays should make an argument, not just repeat details about a leader and their rule.
- Your argument should be stated explicitly in your essay’s introduction and conclusion with the supportive evidence discussed in the body of the essay.
- To strengthen your argument, you may wish to acknowledge historians with whom you agree, preferably by naming them and either summarizing their remarks or quoting them.
- You may even have enough knowledge on the issue being examined to be able to discuss opposing historians’ viewpoints and why you disagree with their conclusions.
- This historical debate in which evidence is interpreted differently is called historiography and, if it is used wisely and correctly, it can help you to achieve marks in the upper mark band. An example of a historiographical debate could be the extent to which a leader was fully in control of his state.

Good luck with your studies and the exam!

The origins of the Cold War, 1917–45

Revised

1 The ideology of the Cold War

In 1945, the writer George Orwell predicted ‘a peace that is no peace’ between the USA and the **USSR**. Each country would be ‘unconquerable and in a permanent state of cold war’ with one another. It was in Orwell’s context that the term Cold War is used to describe the period from 1945 to 1991.

Ideologies and beliefs about **communism**, **capitalism**, democracy and civil rights shaped Cold War tensions.

■ Capitalism and communism

■ Communism

The nineteenth-century political philosophers **Friedrich Engels** and **Karl Marx** developed the idea of communism. They argued the following:

- Capitalist and industrial society was oppressive.
- Only a violent revolution by the workers or ‘**proletariat**’ against the **bourgeoisie** could end the oppressive system.
- A ‘**dictatorship of the proletariat**’ would then be needed to destroy the remnants of the old order.
- All people would be equal in the new communist society.
- Economic concerns would be used for human welfare instead of for profit.
- The dictatorship of the proletariat would then dissolve itself.

The communist system of Marx and Engels formed the basis of **Marxism–Leninism**.

■ Marxism–Leninism

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin adapted Marx’s ideas into what is now called Marxism–Leninism. Russia, in the early twentieth century, was primarily an agricultural society, not an industrial one. Lenin could not wait for a proletariat revolution to naturally develop. Lenin argued that:

- a small band of highly committed, organized and reliable communist revolutionaries could overthrow the Tsarist regime
- the new revolutionary state would be a ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’
- the proletariat state would use force and terror against any opponent.

Lenin’s ideology shaped the **Bolshevik Party** and, later, the development of the USSR into an authoritarian, communist state with extensive control that used force and terror.

■ Capitalism

- Capitalism is based on the production of goods with the goal of earning a profit.
- Individual business enterprises make economic decisions based on their ability to make a profit, unlike a **command economy**.

By the 1940s, the major Western economies such as the USA, Britain and Canada were mixed economies – where private enterprise played a significant role, but with the state becoming increasingly involved in some key sectors.

■ Ideological clashes

■ Political systems

Western powers distrusted communism’s lack of democracy. **Parliamentary government** and **representative government** emphasized:

- individual liberty
- legal equality, not economic equality
- challenging the right of any individual or party to have a monopoly of power
- opposition to dictatorship.

The USSR saw democracy as a disguise for capitalism’s inequality and oppression.

■ Religion

Marxism–Leninism bitterly opposed religion. Its proponents believed that:

- economics and material conditions determined the fate of people, not an all-powerful God
- religion – ‘the opium of the masses’ – fooled the proletariat into accepting the oppressive conditions created by capitalism and rulers.

In Europe, religious institutions and leaders played key roles in opposing communism:

- Catholic-dominated parties in Germany and Italy played significant roles in government.
- **Pope John Paul II** of Poland (reigned 1979–2005) challenged communist rule.

COMPLETE THE TABLE

- Use your understanding of the material on the opposite page and above to complete the table below.
- For each power, explain the belief(s) that shaped their understanding of economics, political systems and religion.

	USA and the West	USSR
Economics		
Political systems		
Religion		

COMPLETE THE PARAGRAPH

- Below is a sample Paper 2 question and a sample paragraph written in response to the question.
- The paragraph contains a main argument and a concluding explanatory link back to the question, but lacks details.

Complete the paragraph, adding details in the space provided.

To what extent did ideology play a role in causing the Cold War?

Ideology played a significant role in the development of tensions between the USA and the USSR that caused the Cold War.

Although other factors played a role, ideological beliefs concerning economics, political systems and religion had a significant influence in causing the Cold War.

2 The Soviet Union and the Western powers, 1917–41

Revised

Lenin believed that Bolshevik Russia could not survive as the lone communist country. The power and animosity of the capitalists made Russia vulnerable. Communism could survive only if it spread globally. Lenin's belief greatly affected Soviet relations with the rest of the world.

■ The USA and Russia

Some historians, such as Howard Roffman, believe that the Cold War began when the Bolsheviks succeeded in coming to power. Tensions were then raised when the USA, as well as Britain, France and Japan, intervened in the Russian Civil War (1918–22) siding with the **White Army** against the Bolshevik **Red Army**. Ideological differences between Lenin and US President **Woodrow Wilson** further increased tensions.

US President Woodrow Wilson's **Fourteen Points** clashed with Lenin's ideology. It called for:

- **self-determination** of people
- creation of democratic states
- free trade
- **collective security**
- a **League of Nations**.

In contrast, Lenin:

- agitated for world revolution and communism
- rejected Russia's foreign debt obligations
- nationalized all businesses in Russia, including foreign-owned ones.

However, the US Congress refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and join the League of Nations. The USA began a period of **isolationism** lasting until 1941. These actions kept tensions between the USA and USSR at a low level.

■ The Russian Revolution and Allied intervention

■ The Russian Civil War

Despite the Bolsheviks' successes in seizing major Russian cities in 1917, they faced opposition from the Whites that resulted in a long, violent civil war that lasted until 1922.

The **Allies** assisted the White Army in the Russian Civil War to:

- destroy Bolshevism
- stop it spreading to Germany
- prevent communist revolution then spreading across the whole of Europe.

Allied intervention was ineffective. In 1922, the Red Army achieved victory over the Whites. The Soviets never forgot the Allied intervention and grew increasingly suspicious of the Western powers.

■ The Polish–Russian War, 1920

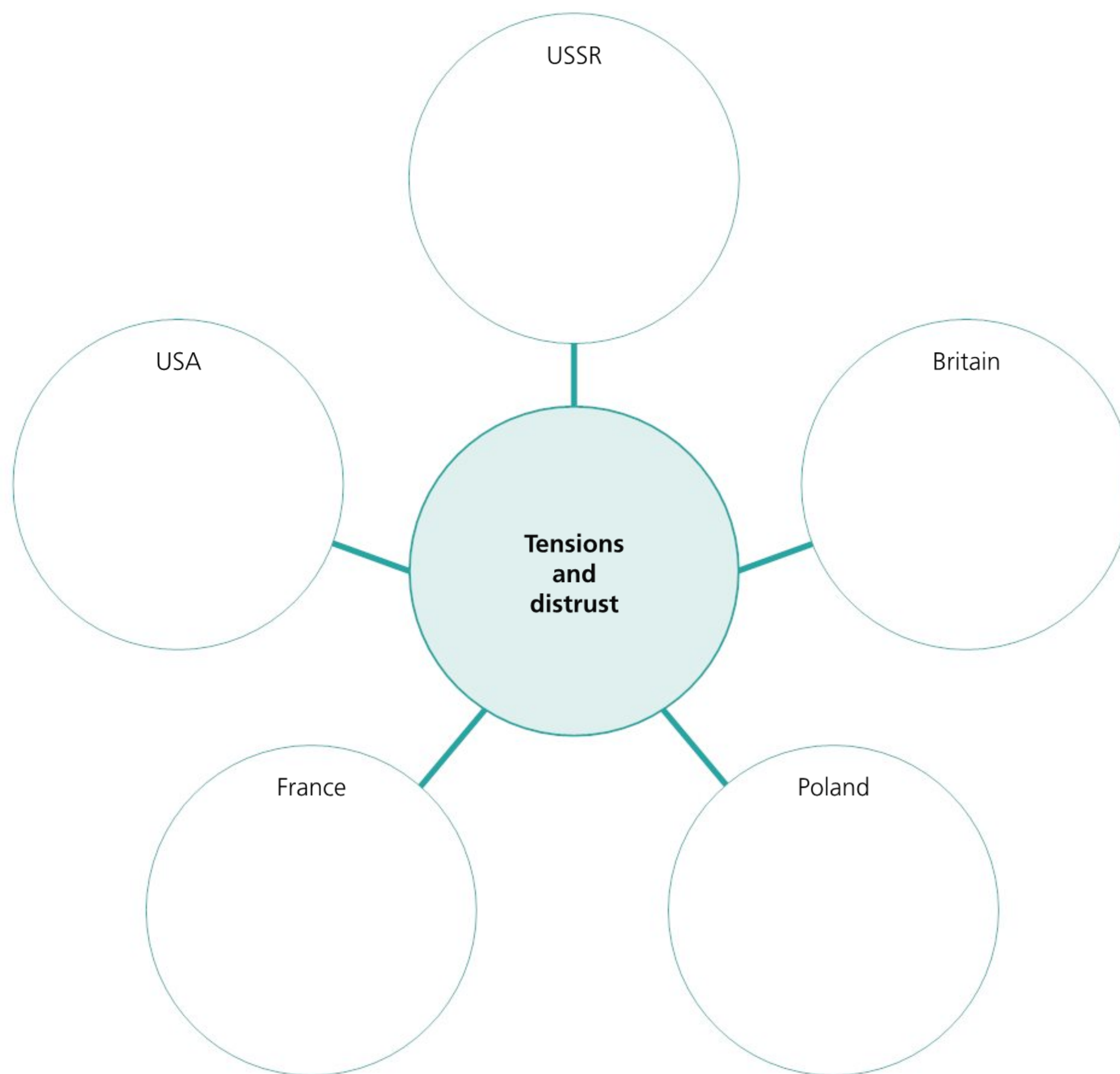
At the **Paris Peace Conference** in 1920, British Foreign Minister Curzon proposed that Poland's border with Russia should be established about 160 kilometres (100 miles) east of Warsaw; this became known as the Curzon Line. Poland, however, desired more territory to the east. Poland:

- invaded the Ukraine, a breakaway region from Russia, in 1920, taking advantage of the chaos from the Russian Civil War
- needed help from France after almost being defeated by the Red Army
- eventually drove the Red Army out of its desired territory
- signed the Treaty of Riga with Soviet Russia, gaining significant areas of the Ukraine and Byelorussia.

The USSR became geographically isolated from western and central Europe as a result of Poland pushing its border so far east. The creation of Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania added to the geographical isolation. The new borders established a *cordon sanitaire*, a zone of states that prevented the westward spread of communism. The recovery of lost Russian territory became a major foreign policy goal for the USSR prior to 1939.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.

**ACCURATE AND RELEVANT KNOWLEDGE**

- Paper 2 criteria require students to use accurate and relevant knowledge in their essays.
- The markband descriptor for the highest markband (13–15) reads: 'Knowledge of the world history topic is accurate and relevant' (*History Guide*, first examinations 2017, page 81).
- Relevance is determined by the demands of a question. In other words, what are the requirements of a question?

Below is a Paper 2 type question. Based on the demands of the question and using the information from the opposite page, place an 'X' in the box next to those statements identified as relevant knowledge.

Explain the development of tensions between the USA and the USSR that caused the Cold War.

Knowledge statement	Relevant knowledge
US President Woodrow Wilson's call for self-determination	
Poland invades the Ukraine in 1920	
US troops intervene in the Russian Civil War	
The US Congress refuses to ratify the League of Nations	
US President Woodrow Wilson's call for free trade	

■ Soviet foreign policy, 1922–45

Despite concentrating on consolidating communism inside the USSR, the USSR established the **Comintern** in 1919 to co-ordinate communist activities outside the USSR. In the 1930s, building industrial and military capabilities became a main focus of Soviet policy.

■ Hitler and Stalin, 1933–41

Foreign policy in Nazi Germany sought to defeat communism and to annex Soviet territory. The USSR altered its foreign policy by:

- joining the League of Nations in 1934
- signing agreements with France and Czechoslovakia.

In 1938, **Stalin** was apparently ready to intervene against German aggression towards Czechoslovakia. However, the **Munich Agreement** ended the threat of war between Germany and Czechoslovakia. The failure to invite Stalin to the Munich Conference strengthened his worries that Britain, France and Germany would cooperate in opposition to the USSR.

■ Anglo-French negotiations with the USSR, April to August 1939

Germany's invasion of Czechoslovakia in March 1939 led Britain, France and the USSR to explore a defensive alliance against Germany:

- Mutual mistrust hindered negotiations.
- The USSR demanded the right to intervene in small states on its western borders if they were threatened by Germany.
- Britain rejected the Soviet demand, believing the USSR wanted to expand its empire instead of defending these states from Germany.
- Stalin suspected Britain and France wanted the USSR to fight Germany and minimize British and French losses.

When the USSR demanded the right to pass through Poland and Romania in the event of war, Poland rejected the demand, ending negotiations.

■ The Nazi–Soviet Pact

Due to German aggression in early 1939, Poland agreed to the **Anglo-French Guarantee**. **Hitler** began exploring the possibility of temporary cooperation with the USSR.

An agreement with Germany aligned with Stalin's goals of defending the USSR and regaining former Russian Empire territory. On 24 August, Germany and the USSR signed a non-aggression pact that included:

- neutrality in the event of war
- a Soviet **sphere of influence** in the Baltic states and Bessarabia in Romania
- an agreement to divide territory in Poland between them.

On 1 September 1939, Germany invaded Poland. Britain and France declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939. The USSR invaded Poland on 17 September 1939. By early October, Poland was defeated and divided between the USSR and Germany.

■ Territorial expansion, October 1939 to June 1941

With the defeat of Poland, Soviet foreign policy focused on defending the USSR against possible future aggression by Germany. This goal matched the aim of restoring land lost from the Russian Empire:

- In October 1939, Stalin signed a mutual assistance pact with Estonia and Latvia forcing Lithuania to accept the establishment of Soviet bases on its territory.
- In March 1940, after a brief war with Finland, the USSR acquired a major naval base and other territory along their mutual border.
- The USSR annexed the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania after the German defeat of France in June 1940.
- The USSR also annexed Bessarabia and northern Bukovina from Romania in June 1940.

Germany invaded the USSR in June 1941. Stalin and the USSR then became allies with Britain against Germany, with the USA joining this alliance in December 1941.

ESSAY STYLE OUTLINE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question.
- Use your own knowledge and the information from the opposite page to produce a plan for this question.
- Choose three main points. For each main point, provide four pieces of specific information that support the main point.
- Use the table below to organize your thoughts.

'Ideology played a significant role in the early development of the Cold War.' To what extent do you agree with this statement?

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
1				
2				
3				

INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

- grabs the reader's attention
- addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
- identifies your argument's main points
- transitions into the first main point of the argument.

An effective concluding paragraph reminds the reader of the key points of your argument and the conclusion of your argument. Therefore, it should also be brief: about three sentences. The conclusion is a short summary of your argument. Do not include new information in the conclusion. An effective concluding paragraph:

- restates your argument's conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using the question from the previous activity above and the table you completed for the activity, write an introduction and a conclusion for an essay that responds to the demands of the question.

3 The Grand Alliance, 1941–5

Revised

After the USA's entry into the Second World War in December 1941, a Grand Alliance was formed between the USA, Britain and the USSR. However, the greatest burden of fighting was done by the USSR, which suffered vast destruction and some 25 million deaths.

■ The conflicting aims of the Big Three

With defeat of the **Axis** powers more certain, the Allies each developed conflicting aims for post-war Europe.

■ The USSR's aims

Stalin had clear aims for the post-war world:

- security for the USSR
- **reparations** from the Axis powers
- regain territory the USSR had annexed in 1939–40.

Stalin planned for a post-war Europe consisting of three different areas:

- a zone of friendly governments under direct Soviet control in eastern Europe
- an 'intermediate zone' with **Yugoslavia**, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Finland where communists shared power with more liberal parties
- a non-communist western Europe.

Stalin wished to continue cooperating with Britain and the USA after the war ended.

■ The USA's aims

In the 1950s, historians believed that the USA gave little consideration to the post-war political situation because it was too busy fighting the war and thought that cooperation with Britain and the USSR would continue after the war ended. **Revisionist** historians, in the 1960s and 1970s, claimed that security concerns shaped US aims.

The historian Melvyn Leffler argued that Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor and developments in air technology created a sense of vulnerability to foreign attacks in the USA. The USA began planning for global military bases and control of both the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans as early as 1943–4. Leffler contended that US actions alarmed Stalin, contributing to 'a spiral of distrust' between the USSR and the USA.

US President **Roosevelt** sought to create a worldwide free trade zone and to establish democratic states. These goals meant:

- abolishing **tariffs** and **economic nationalism**
- a US determination to prevent **autarchic economies**
- Britain and France would allow other nations to trade with their empires
- US support for **decolonization** of European empires.

Roosevelt's ideas were embodied in the **Atlantic Charter** that he and British Prime Minister **Winston Churchill** signed in August 1941. The democratic world order was to be bolstered by the United Nations (UN). All countries would be represented in the UN and a Security Council would possess real power. The members of the Security Council would consist of the major powers: the USSR, the USA, Britain, France and China.

■ Britain's aims

The British government's primary aims were to:

- maintain Britain's independence as a Great Power
- continue friendly relations with both the USA and the USSR
- preserve its empire.

Britain was concerned with the spreading Soviet influence in central Europe and the eastern Mediterranean Sea, where Britain had vital strategic and economic interests. Of significant worry was the Suez Canal, which connected Britain to its empire in India. Increasing reliance on oil made the Middle East another concern for Britain. It also desired a democratic government in Warsaw.

TABLE OF DIFFERENCES

- The Grand Alliance of the USSR, the USA and Britain cooperated in the fight against Germany, but differences remained between the Allies.
- Using information from the opposite page, identify possible points of tension between Allies and post-war aims.
- Use the table below to record your notes.

	Britain’s aims	US aims	Soviet aims
Britain’s problems with			
US problems with			
Soviet problems with			

BODY PARAGRAPHS

- Knowledge and understanding of historical topics, historical context and history concepts are demonstrated in body paragraphs.
- Body paragraphs are also where critical analysis and evaluation are developed, and different perspectives are demonstrated.
- Effective body paragraphs should have one topic that addresses the demands of a question.
- Within the body paragraph, students elaborate on the topic with the use of accurate and relevant content knowledge and use their knowledge to support critical analysis of the topic.

Using the table and your notes from the activity above, write a body paragraph for each country from the table that addresses the following question:

Analyse the role of post-war aims in causing the Cold War.

■ Inter-Allied negotiations, 1943–4

■ The foreign ministers’ meeting at Moscow, October 1943

The foreign ministers of the USA, USSR and Britain met for the first time in Moscow, where they:

- established the European Advisory Council to finalize plans for the post-war occupation of Germany
- issued the ‘Declaration on General Security’ calling for an international organization to maintain peace and security based on Roosevelt’s UN.

Stalin informed the USA that the USSR would enter the war against Japan after the defeat of Germany.

■ Teheran Conference, 28 November to 1 December 1943

Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met for the first time at the Teheran Conference to discuss post-war plans:

- The USSR would claim all territories it had annexed from Poland and the Baltic states.
- Poland would be compensated with German territory.
- British, British Commonwealth and US forces would land in Normandy instead of the Balkans.
- With Normandy the invasion site, the USSR would be in a position to create a sphere of influence throughout eastern Europe.

■ The Churchill–Stalin meeting, October 1944

A year after the Teheran Conference, Churchill flew to Moscow to protect British interests in the eastern Mediterranean. He proposed dividing south-eastern Europe into distinct spheres of interest:

- The USSR in Romania and Bulgaria.
- Britain in Greece.
- Yugoslavia and Bulgaria divided equally between the USSR and Britain.

Shortly thereafter, Churchill dropped this agreement due to concerns over how it would affect relations with the USA. His proposal matched Stalin’s intentions for eastern Europe and recognized Britain’s interests in Greece. Churchill’s concerns about the USA were valid. Roosevelt and the USA were taking a global perspective on the post-war world.

Conflicting post-war aims		
USA	USSR	Britain
<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Access to raw materials● Global free trade● Creation of the UN● Continue the alliance with the USSR and Britain	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Security from further attack● Reparations from Germany● Territorial gains in eastern Europe● Friendly, pro-Soviet governments in eastern Europe	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Preservation of the British Empire● Remain on friendly terms with the USA and USSR● Preserve British influence in south-eastern Europe and the Middle East● An independent, democratic government in Poland

KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING

- To understand causation, it is necessary to connect events and developments that occurred prior to the start of an event, in this case the Cold War.
- Using the information on the opposite page, complete the table below as a way to connect Allied negotiations to post-war aims as a possible source of causing the Cold War.
- Place an 'X' in the column for the country (or countries) whose aims were addressed at the specified negotiations.

Addresses post-war aims			
	USA	USSR	Britain
The foreign ministers' meeting at Moscow, October 1943			
Teheran Conference, November to December 1943			
Churchill–Stalin meeting, October 1944			

SIGNIFICANCE

- Significance examines the relative importance of people, events, ideas and so on, and whether evidence supports the claim of significance.
- Using the information on the opposite page and from earlier in the chapter, rate the significance of the general points below in causing the Cold War.

Write the number of the general point in the appropriate box on the spectrum below.

- 1 Ideological differences
- 2 Paris Peace Conference
- 3 Russian Civil War
- 4 Comintern
- 5 Munich Agreement
- 6 Nazi–Soviet Pact
- 7 Grand Alliance
- 8 Post-war aims

Did not cause the Cold War				Important cause of the Cold War		

4 The liberation of Europe, 1943–5

Revised

The liberation of Europe by the USSR from the east and the Anglo-American forces from the west set the context for the Cold War in Europe.

■ Eastern Europe, 1944–5

Post-war political concerns developed from tension between **Allied Control Commissions** (ACCs), governments-in-exile and local partisan groups, and the links between communist parties and the USSR.

■ Allied Control Commissions

ACCs were established by the **Allied powers** to administer liberated territories in the name of the Allies:

- The first ACC was established in Italy with US and British officials.
- Soviet officials dominated ACCs in eastern Europe following Soviet liberation of these territories.

■ Governments-in-exile and partisan groups

States occupied by German and Italian forces (Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Greece) established governments-in-exile in London, consisting mainly of politicians who were able to escape from their home countries. **Partisan groups** fighting Axis forces often were not willing to take directives from London. Many of the strongest partisans were communists.

■ Communist parties

Communist parties formed alliances with liberal, socialist and peasant parties in liberated territories, especially in eastern Europe. By this method, Stalin was able to help the communists seize power in these territories.

■ Poland

The structure of a post-war government in Poland formed one of the most complicated problems for the Allies:

- Britain and France had gone to war because Germany invaded Poland.
- Britain desired a democratic government in Poland.
- Stalin wanted a pro-Soviet government in Poland.
- At the Teheran Conference, the USA and Britain agreed that eastern Poland up to the Curzon Line could be annexed into the USSR.

■ The Soviet advance into Poland

In early January 1944, the Red Army had advanced into eastern Poland, allowing the USSR to annex that territory. By July, Soviet forces had crossed the Curzon Line:

- **Nationalist** Polish resistance groups, known as the **Polish Home Army** were destroyed by Soviet forces.
- Stalin established the Committee of National Liberation in Lublin, which became known as the Lublin Committee, to administer Soviet-occupied Poland.
- It was expected that the Lublin Committee would form the basis of a pro-Soviet Polish government.

■ The Warsaw Uprising

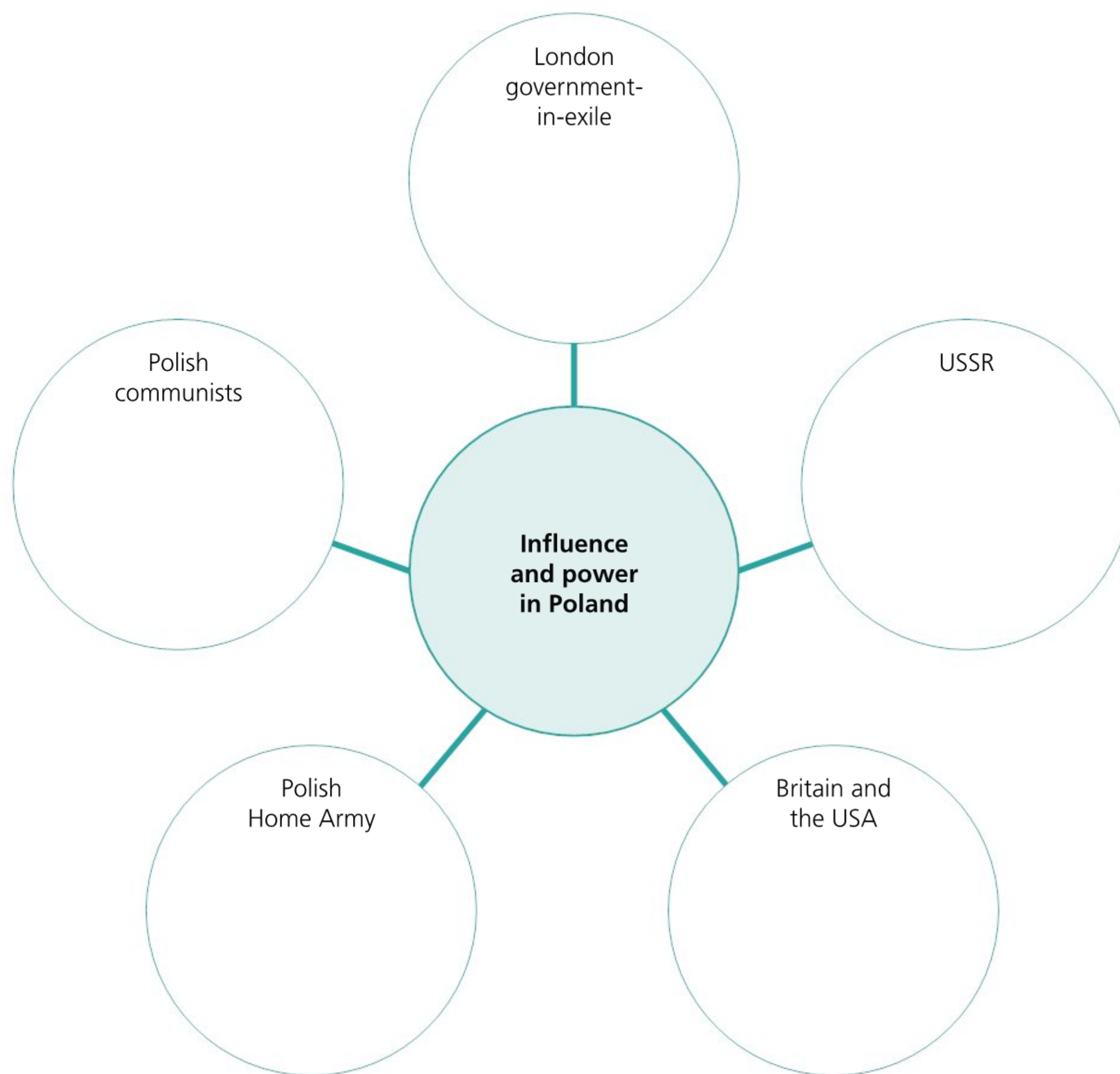
The Polish Home Army rose up in revolt against the Germans in Warsaw in August 1944. The Home Army hoped to establish a non-communist government after defeating the Germans. Soviet forces were within twenty kilometres (twelve miles) of Warsaw, but Stalin refused to aid the Home Army, who were crushed by the German Army. As the Red Army pushed further west, the **NKVD**, assisted by Polish communists, killed or imprisoned members of the Home Army.

■ Britain, the USA and Poland

Roosevelt and Churchill were concerned with maintaining Allied unity and held out hope that a compromise over Poland could be reached with Stalin. In January 1945, the USSR recognized the Lublin Committee as the **provisional government** in Poland independent of the Polish government-in-exile in London. Roosevelt and Churchill played down its significance.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



COMPLETE THE BODY PARAGRAPH

Using the information from the mind map in the previous activity, information from the opposite page and your own knowledge, complete the body paragraph addressing how developments in Poland at the end of the Second World War affected power and influence in Poland.

Explain how developments in Poland at the end of the Second World War affected power and influence in Poland.

Fighting against the Germans in Poland by partisan groups and after the Red Army invasions shaped political power and influence in the country.

Although communist partisan groups had some success fighting the German occupation of Poland, it was Stalin's decisions and the actions of the Red Army that led to communist power and influence in Poland at the end of the Second World War.

■ Romania and Bulgaria

The USSR launched an offensive to drive the German Army out of the Balkans, causing pro-German governments to collapse in Romania and Bulgaria. Friendly pro-Soviet governments in both states consolidated Soviet influence in the region and provide security from attack to the USSR's south-western borders.

■ Romania

On 23 August 1944, Romania's king deposed the pro-German government, hoping to negotiate a new government with a minimal communist presence. However, because British and US forces were not present in the Balkans, the king had no option except to sign an **armistice** with the USSR on 12 September:

- Soviet officials created and dominated an ACC.
- A coalition government, known as the Ploughman's Front, was formed between multiple parties.
- The coalition government was paralysed by an inability to agree among its parties.
- The National Democratic Front (NDF) was formed by communists and their allies with the support of Soviet officials on the ACC.
- The NDF encouraged peasants to seize land from landowners and encouraged workers to create communist-dominated committees in factories.

Stalin established a new Soviet-friendly government in March 1944, similar to Britain intervening in Greece to form a pro-British government in December 1944. This was known as the NDF government.

■ Bulgaria

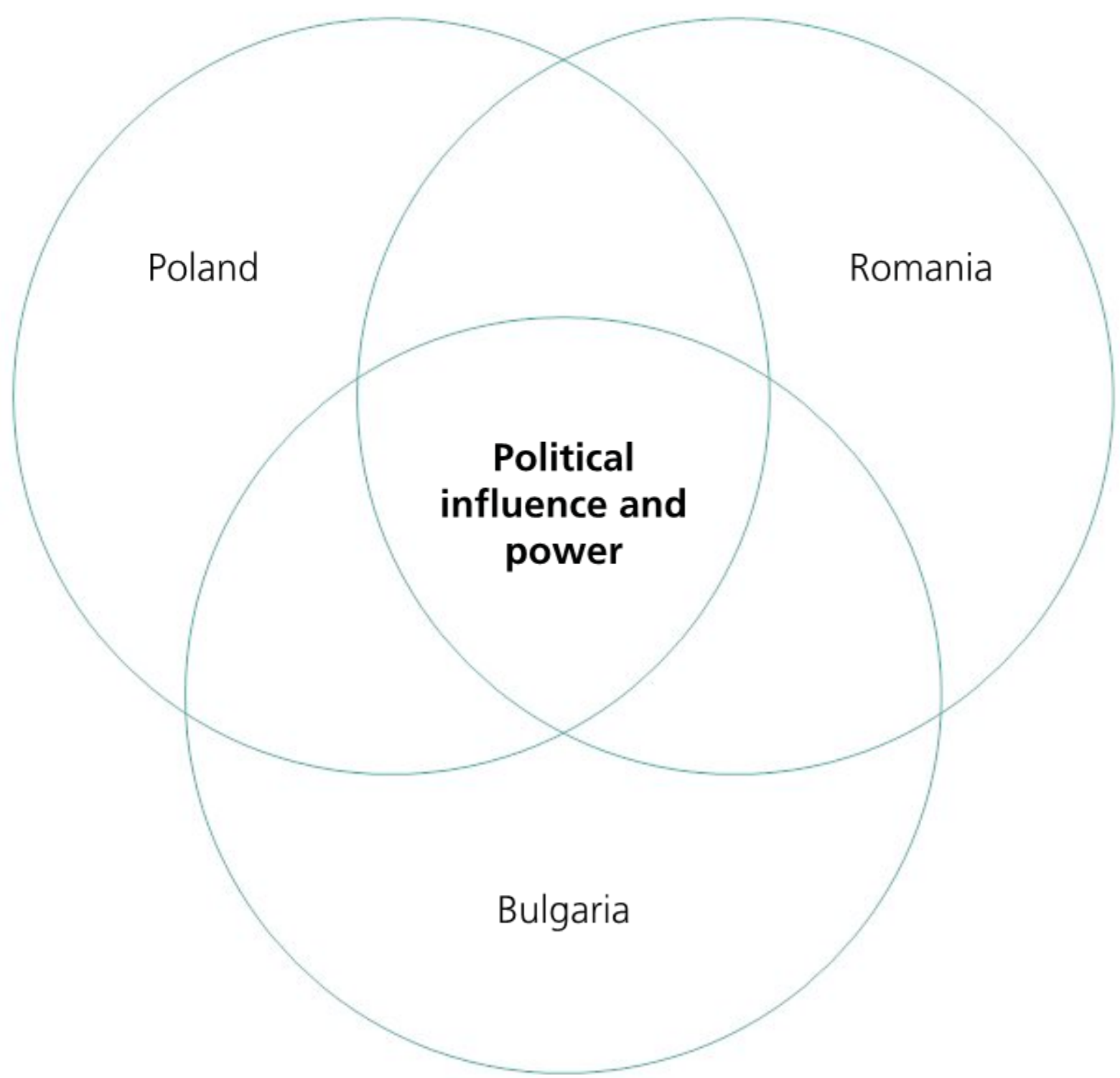
Soviet occupation of Romania provided the opportunity for the USSR to invade Bulgaria in September 1944 and to create an ACC soon afterwards.

The Patriotic Front, an alliance of **left-wing** forces, formed a government in Sofia before the Red Army arrived there. This success led to a communist uprising resulting in over 10,000 executions and communist dominance in trade unions and the police.

Stalin did not wish to antagonize the Western Allies because of Bulgaria. Germany was still fighting and tensions over Poland were developing between the USSR and its allies. Stalin attempted to persuade the government to be more tolerant of opposition while working within the framework of the Patriotic Front coalition. Compromise proved difficult as communists were determined to seize power, sometimes with the assistance of Soviet officials on the ACC.

VENN DIAGRAM

For each given country, record the key actions of Stalin and the Red Army at the end of the Second World War that affected political power and influence.



CAUSATION

- Causation addresses how a certain set of circumstances came into being.
- Historians understand that for most developments there are multiple factors and interconnections that shape causation.
- Using information from the opposite page and from the previous pages, as well as your own knowledge, identify significant circumstances that shaped political power and influence in the given countries at the end of the Second World War.
- Use the table below to record your notes.

	Poland	Romania	Bulgaria
Power/weakness of communist partisans			
Power/weakness of non-communist partisans			
Government-in-exile			
Red Army victories			
Stalin's decisions			

■ Yugoslavia and Greece

Josip Broz (Tito) was a successful partisan leader in German-occupied Europe. He would become the most powerful leader in south-eastern Europe as the head of a newly established communist Yugoslavia. His independence and self-confidence caused Stalin many problems.

■ Yugoslavia

Tito's effectiveness as a partisan leader fighting the Germans led to the British giving him assistance despite his communist ties. In addition to fighting the Germans, Tito's partisans fought a civil war against non-communist Serb and Croat nationalists. His power was further enhanced when the USSR joined with partisans in an attack against Belgrade.

Soviet desire to forge a military and political alliance between Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and the USSR did not prevent Tito from trying to develop independent policies. By November 1944, he had established communist governments in Yugoslavia and Albania.

Stalin was able to prevent Tito from creating a federation between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria that would have resulted in Bulgaria becoming a Yugoslav province. Tito was forced to subordinate his regional goals to Soviet foreign policy.

■ Greece

The communist-controlled People's Liberation Army (ELAS), similarly to Tito's partisans, was the most effective partisan force fighting the Germans in Greece and it also fought non-communist guerrilla forces. In 1944, it attempted to seize control of Greece. However, Stalin, abiding by his agreement with Churchill, did not support its efforts. Stalin prevented Tito from aiding the ELAS and did nothing to prevent the British defeating it.

■ Hungary and Czechoslovakia

Stalin had no immediate plans for communist control in Hungary and Czechoslovakia. He ordered communists in these countries to work with democratic coalition governments and then to consolidate their power within the democratic framework.

■ Hungary

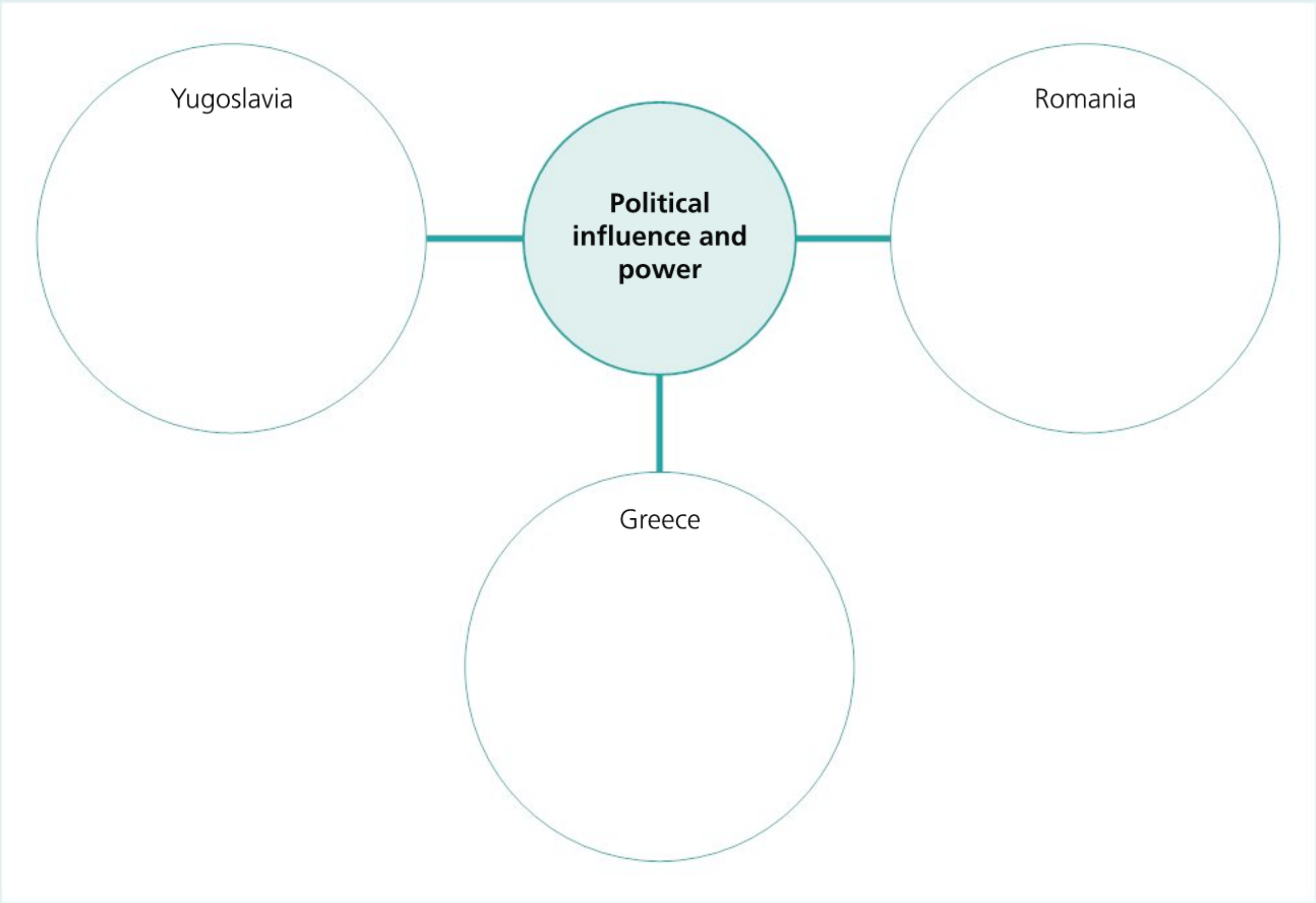
The Anglo-American decision to start a second front in France instead of the Balkans ensured that the USSR would decide Hungary's fate. In September 1944, Hungary's Head of State Admiral Miklós Horthy sought a ceasefire with the USSR. However, Germany took his son prisoner and encouraged the ultranationalists, the **Arrow Cross Party**, to seize power in western Hungary, where they held out until late 1944.

Unlike in Yugoslavia and Greece, the communists were weak in Hungary. They were forced to cooperate with the Socialist Party and several others. Elections in 1945 resulted in only seventeen per cent of votes cast for the communists, who did manage to attain three key posts in the provisional government.

Because Hungary had been a German ally, Stalin's primary aim in Hungary was to remove anything that could be used as war reparations. Throughout 1945 he was not convinced that Hungary should become part of the emerging **Soviet bloc**.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



CAUSATION

- Causation addresses how a certain set of circumstances came into being.
- Historians understand that for most developments there are multiple factors and interconnections that shape causation.
- Using information from the opposite page and from the previous pages, as well as your own knowledge, identify significant circumstances that shaped political power and influence in the given countries at the end of the Second World War.
- Use the table below to record your notes.

	Yugoslavia	Greece	Hungary
Power/weakness of communist partisans			
Power/weakness of non-communist partisans			
Government-in-exile			
Red Army victories			
Stalin's decisions			

■ Czechoslovakia

In 1943, the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, under **Edvard Beneš**, negotiated an alliance with the USSR. After the Munich Agreement of 1938, the USSR was seen as the power that would restore Czechoslovakia's pre-1938 borders.

The Communist Party, led by Klementi Gottwald, gained influence in Czechoslovakia as the USSR liberated the territory. Stalin, however, forced Gottwald to recognize Beneš as president and for the communists to work within a coalition government. Beneš was willing to cooperate with the communists. A Provisional Government was formed in 1945, with the communists holding eight cabinet posts.

■ Finland

Soviet forces invaded Finland in June 1944. Despite working closely with Germany, Marshall C.E.G. Mannerheim was allowed to remain as president until 1946 and Finland was granted a generous armistice, but did have to pay reparations to the USSR. The need for reparations prevented Stalin from forming a repressive occupation policy. In addition, the Communist Party in Finland was weak.

■ The liberation of Italy and France

Italy and France were liberated by the Western Allies. The Communist Party gained legitimacy by resisting the Germans and **puppet governments** in both countries.

■ Italy

The Allies landed in Sicily in July 1943, leading to the overthrow of Mussolini's government. The new Italian government signed an armistice in September. However, Germany occupied all of Italy not under Allied control. Fighting did not end until April 1945. The Allies established the Anglo-American ACC to supervise the newly established Italian government in liberated areas. Britain and the USA rejected all requests from the USSR to be involved in the ACC, setting a precedent for Stalin to exclude them from eastern Europe.

The communists, under Palmiro Tagliatti, were ordered to:

- form a coalition government with the Socialist Party
- avoid aggressive actions or civil war
- develop economic programmes that appealed to peasants and the working class.

The communists gained further support due the important role they played combating the Germans in the winter of 1944–5. Tagliatti and his party became partners in a coalition government in which Tagliatti served as minister of justice.

■ France

General **Charles de Gaulle**, leader of the **Free French**, established an independent government following the liberation of Paris in August 1944. He signed the Franco-Soviet Treaty of Mutual Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the USSR in December 1944. It committed both states to cooperate in the event of another defensive war against Germany. De Gaulle also used it to minimize Anglo-American predominance in post-war western Europe.

The communists had played an important role in resisting German occupation in France, making them a major political force. Their leader, Maurice Thorez, was ordered to support the Soviet–French alliance and to work with socialists in creating a left-wing coalition with the goal of forming a government.

CAUSATION

- Causation addresses how a certain set of circumstances came into being.
- Historians understand that for most developments there are multiple factors and interconnections that shape causation.
- Using information from the opposite page and from the previous pages, as well as your own knowledge, identify significant circumstances that shaped political power and influence in the given countries at the end of the Second World War.
- Use the table below to record your notes.

	Czechoslovakia	Finland	Italy	France
Power/weakness of communist partisans				
Power/weakness of non-communist partisans				
Government-in-exile				
Military that liberated the country				
Stalin's decisions				
Other politicians				

TO WHAT EXTENT

- 'To what extent' questions command students to '[c]onsider the merits or otherwise of an argument or concept' (*History Guide*, first examinations 2017, page 97).
- 'Merits' can most easily be understood as significance or justification of an argument. 'Otherwise' can most easily be understood as ways in which the argument is not significant or is not justified based on evidence.
- 'To what extent' questions provide some argument whose merit must be examined.
- The question below asks 'To what extent were powerful communist parties and communist partisans responsible for the political power and influence of communists in post-war governments in liberated Europe?' The demand is to address the role of 'powerful communist parties and communist partisans' in shaping post-war governments.
- Therefore, the response should give significant focus to this demand – a good estimate is between 70% and 80% of the essay.
- The question also implies that other factors, arguments, concepts and so on were responsible. These must be addressed.
- Students should also explicitly state to what extent they agree or disagree, for example 'Powerful communist parties and partisans played vital roles in ...' or 'Powerful communist parties played limited roles in ...'.

Using the table above and tables on previous pages, outline a response to the following question.

To what extent were powerful communist parties and communist partisans responsible for the political power and influence of communists in post-war governments in liberated Europe?

5 The Yalta Conference, February 1945

Revised

The Yalta Conference was the last of the wartime conferences. It also was the final meeting of the Big Three: Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt. In addition to plans to end the war, the conference addressed the shape of post-war Europe. One of the key decisions was to divide Germany into four zones of occupation under Four-Power Control (Britain, France, USA, USSR).

■ Poland

What to do with Poland was the major point of disagreement between the Big Three. An agreement was reached, but with ambiguous terms that could be interpreted in different ways:

- Poland's eastern border would be the Curzon Line.
- Just as they had agreed in Teheran, Poland would receive substantial territories in the north and west from Germany.
- The provisional government would include democratic politicians from Poland and the London government-in-exile.
- Elections would be held.

Lack of specific details meant that Stalin could manipulate the terms. Another problem came from specifying what German territories would be granted to Poland. Finally, the term 'democratic' had more than one meaning. For Stalin, it meant Communist Party domination. For Churchill and Roosevelt, it meant domination by non-communist parties.

■ Declaration on Liberated Europe

Roosevelt believed in the right of liberated states to determine their own governments. He convinced Churchill and Stalin to agree to the Declaration on Liberated Europe. The declaration committed the Allies to help liberated states, as well as to encourage democracy.

Stalin viewed Poland and the other eastern European countries as a buffer zone to protect the USSR from attack from Germany or western Europe. He was determined to forge friendly, communist governments in Poland and elsewhere.

■ The end of the war in Europe

The war in Europe ended with Germany's surrender on 8 May 1945, three months after the Yalta Conference. In the last stages of the war:

- US troops raced to Trieste, Italy, to prevent Yugoslav forces seizing the port.
- The British Army raced across northern Germany, crossing the Elbe River to prevent Soviet troops reaching Denmark.
- Churchill urged the USA to prioritize taking Berlin and Prague ahead of the USSR. US generals were not willing to risk their soldiers for what they saw as political, not military, reasons.
- The Red Army captured both Berlin and Prague.
- Anglo-American forces occupied more than half the territory designated as the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany, but were withdrawn from these areas by early July.
- US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt died on 12 April 1945.

SIGNIFICANCE

- Significance examines the relative importance of people, events, ideas and so on, and whether evidence supports the claim of significance.

For the given historical developments, place an 'X' in the table for those that were significant in developing tensions between the USSR and the Western Allies.

Creating tensions	
Historical development	Significant in causing tensions
Declaration on Liberated Europe	
US President Roosevelt's death	
An agreement that Poland's provisional government would include officials from the government-in-exile	
Anglo-American forces occupied more than half the territory designated as part of the USSR's zone of occupation in Germany	
The definition of democracy	

INTRODUCTION

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief: about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

- grabs the reader's attention
- addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
- identifies your argument's main points.

Review the key points listed below and choose the significant key points to include in an introduction to the sample exam question below. Write the introduction.

Analyse the causes of the Cold War up to the end of the Second World War.

Key points:

- ideological differences
- inter-Allied negotiations
- post-war aims
- Russian Civil War
- Allied Control Commissions
- liberation of occupied Europe.

SECTION 1 Exam focus

Exam guidance

The History Paper 2 exam requires students to respond to two questions, each chosen from a different topic, in essay format. For each topic, there are two questions from which students choose one to answer. One of the topics is The Cold War: Superpower tensions and rivalries. Students are given 90 minutes to write two essays. Therefore, it is important to use time wisely and to write a focused response to the Paper 2 question.

There are four elements of an effective essay:

- organization
- developing an argument
- relevant and accurate supporting evidence
- effective conclusion.

■ Organization

Effective organization provides clarity to the essay and assures that the demands of a question are fully addressed. The basic organizational structure of the essay should be established in the introduction with succeeding body paragraphs paralleling the introduction.

■ Developing an argument

An argument consists of rational conclusions made by the writer in response to a question. Each argument should consist of main points (three to five) that show command of historical understanding that explains the historical topic(s) addressed in the essay. It demonstrates understanding of different historical perspectives.

■ Relevant and accurate supporting evidence

A powerful argument needs accurate and relevant supporting evidence that shows rational conclusions are valid. Mastery and command of History requires demonstrating understanding of accurate and relevant historical knowledge.

■ Effective conclusion

An effective conclusion summarizes the main points and conclusions of an argument. Because this is the last section read, it should remind the reader of the strength of the developed argument and an understanding that the demands of the question have been addressed. Adding new information in the conclusion can leave a reader with new questions and a sense of dissatisfaction that these questions have not been addressed. If new information placed in the conclusions is determined to be important, it would be more effective to integrate the information into one of the body paragraphs.

■ Outlines

Because an effective essay must be focused, develop an argument and support the argument with relevant and accurate evidence, it is wise to take a few minutes to outline the essay before beginning to write. The time devoted to an outline will help keep you focused as well as clarify your thoughts.

Sample question and guidance

Below is an example of a Paper 2 type question. The question will form the basis for examining demands of a question and historical concepts.

Analyse the causes of the Cold War up to 1945.

■ Demands of the question

‘Demands of the question’ refers to the task, skills and understanding that you are expected to demonstrate in responding to a question. The question above consists of three demands:

- Analyse.
- Causes of the Cold War.
- Consider and analyse only causes that occurred up to and including 1945. Do not include any causes of the Cold War that occurred after 1945.

Anything in the essay that does not address one or more of these demands is not relevant. Material that is not relevant to the demands of the question, and does not contribute to the final mark for the essay, may limit the awarding of marks for the essay and uses time that could be used to develop relevant material that does help to achieve marks.

■ Concepts

For this question, one of the six historical concepts is a main focus: causation. Addressing the demands of the question will demonstrate understanding of this concept. However, when a concept is part of the demands of the question, it is an opportunity to develop another concept. A good concept to also develop is perspective because there is more than one perspective that explains the causes of the Cold War.

Exam practice

Now it's your turn to take a mock exam. Below are two examples of questions related to Case study 1: The origins of the Cold War, 1917–45.

- 1 Analyse the causes of the Cold War to 1945.
- 2 Discuss the effect of the Second World War on the development of the Cold War.

OUTLINE TEMPLATE

Introduction:

- addresses the demands of the question
- identifies three to five points of an argument (P1, P2, P3, P4, P5).

Body paragraphs:

- P1 identified in topic sentence (parallels listing from the introduction):
 - list important relevant and accurate historical knowledge (HK) that supports the point
 - if applicable, list historical perspectives connected to P1
 - if applicable, list a historical concept that connects to P1 and supporting HK
- Repeat for P2, P3, P4, P5.

Conclusion:

- List the main conclusion(s) from your argument.

ESSAY CHECKLIST

Below is a checklist that can be used to help guide you in structuring an essay or in reviewing an essay to determine its strengths and weaknesses.

Organization:

- ☐ address the question asked
- ☐ identify points of the argument in the introduction
- ☐ use the points of the argument to organize information
 - ☐ organize body paragraphs in the same order as points of the argument are listed in the introduction
- ☐ one point per paragraph
 - ☐ identify the point in the topic sentence.

Developing an argument:

- ☐ the argument addresses the demands of the question
- ☐ multiple points of an argument are identified and used to address the demands of the question
- ☐ connect points of the argument, claims and supporting evidence for the points to the question
- ☐ identify and incorporate one to three History concepts (causation, consequence, change, continuity, perspective, significance)
- ☐ use multiple interpretations/perspectives (could include historiography)
- ☐ use critical commentary.

Relevant and accurate supporting evidence:

- ☐ use historical knowledge (HK) that addresses the demands and scope of the question (this is known as relevant HK)
- ☐ prioritize HK and use most important and relevant HK:
 - ☐ addresses the demands of the question
 - ☐ supports the points of the argument
 - ☐ explains concepts, assertions and/or demands of the question
- ☐ use specific, detailed HK:
 - ☐ use historical terms
 - ☐ use metaphors carefully (metaphors that stand alone do not demonstrate command of specific HK)
- ☐ do not simply list HK for the reader to make connections:
 - ☐ always connect HK to a point, concept or demand of the question
- ☐ identify:
 - ☐ significant changes
 - ☐ important people, events, dates, policies, ideas and developments.

Conclusion:

- ☐ effectively summarizes the points of the argument
- ☐ effectively summarizes the conclusions of the argument
- ☐ effectively connects the summary to the question addressed
- ☐ avoid putting new information in conclusion.

From wartime allies to post-war enemies, 1945–7

1 Transition from war to fragile peace, 1945–6

Revised

The Grand Alliance succeeded because of a common enemy and an agreement on key principles for defeating Germany. After Germany's defeat, it became more difficult for the Allies to agree on key principles in post-war Europe.

■ US President Harry Truman

Harry Truman became president of the USA on 12 April 1945, when President Roosevelt died. Truman was more aggressive than Roosevelt and had been vice president for less than three months.

The USA was concerned about Soviet policies in Poland. Truman agreed to reduce **lend-lease** shipments to the USSR, hoping to persuade Stalin to abide by the Yalta Agreement. Stalin saw it as US economic aggression to force political concessions from him.

■ The creation of the United Nations

In August 1944, Britain, the USA, the USSR and China agreed on the establishment of the UN, in which:

- all nations would be represented
- Britain, the USA, the USSR and China would be permanent members of the Security Council with the power to veto decisions made by the Assembly. France became a permanent member of the Security Council in 1945.

There were some disagreements about:

- permanent members of the Security Council maintaining the right to veto a decision by the Council
- Soviet demands that all sixteen of its republics become members of the UN.

Eventually, it was decided that:

- permanent members had the right to veto
- two Soviet republics were granted membership in the UN: Ukraine and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic.

■ The impact of the atomic bomb

On 6 August 1945, the USA dropped an atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan. On 9 August, a second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, Japan. Also on 9 August, the USSR invaded **Manchuria**. Japan was forced to surrender.

While some in the USA wanted to maintain its nuclear monopoly, US Under **Secretary of State Dean Acheson** cautioned Truman that the Soviets would soon catch up with the USA in nuclear science. A few months later, a Soviet espionage network was discovered, but only after it had sent significant information about the atomic bomb to the USSR.

■ The United Nations Atomic Energy Commission

In November 1945, Britain, Canada and the USA called for the creation of a UN commission to create rules for controlling nuclear weapons.

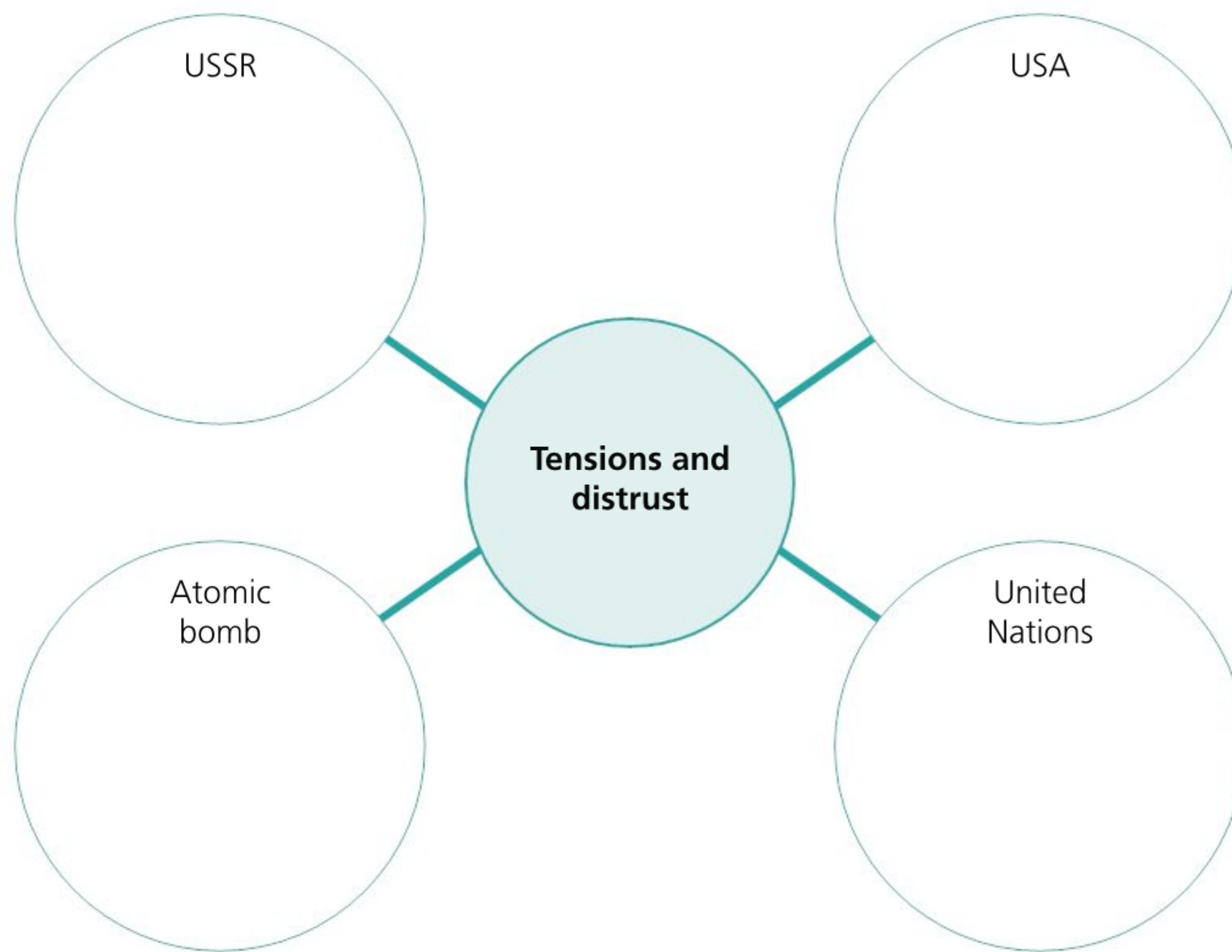
The USSR agreed to the establishment of the UN Atomic Energy Commission in December 1945, but wanted it controlled by the Security Council, where it could use its veto. The USA proposed that no nation could use its veto in respect to atomic weapons.

■ Breakdown of the agreement

The USSR would not relinquish its demands to use its veto and called for the immediate destruction of all atomic weapons. The USA rejected this plan, claiming it was impossible to verify total destruction of the weapons. In December 1946, agreement on the UN Atomic Energy Commission broke down.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



COMPLETE THE PARAGRAPH

- Below is a sample Paper 2 question and a sample paragraph written in response to the question.
- The paragraph contains a main argument and a concluding explanatory link back to the question, but lacks details.
- Complete the paragraph, adding details in the space provided.

Discuss the causes of tensions in the Grand Alliance from 1945 to 1946.

Despite agreement to establish the United Nations (UN), disagreements about membership, the Security Council and the UN's role in atomic weaponry caused tensions among members of the Grand Alliance.

An inability to agree on the role and function of the UN, as well as the role of the members of the Grand Alliance in the UN, contributed to tensions between Grand Alliance members.

■ Potsdam Conference, July to August 1945

On 17 July 1945, Stalin, Churchill and Truman met in Potsdam to discuss post-war developments in Europe and the end of war against Japan. Churchill lost an election and was replaced by the new British prime minister, **Clement Attlee**, on 26 July.

There is speculation that Truman delayed the meeting until after the testing of the atomic bomb in order to use it in negotiating with Stalin. While Stalin was impressed by the weapon, it did not affect his goals for eastern Europe.

■ Germany

Britain, the USA and the USSR agreed on German demilitarization, **denazification** and punishing war criminals. However, only minimal agreement about the future of Germany could be reached on administering occupied Germany and reparations.

■ The Allied Control Council

An Allied Control Council consisting of military officers from each of the occupying powers was formed. The Soviets insisted that each commanding officer be responsible for his own zone to prevent being out-voted by the Western powers. Germany would not be administered as a whole unit.

■ Reparations

The USSR wanted Germany to pay severe reparations for the war. Britain and the USA wanted the German economy to be strong enough to pay for its basic food and raw material needs.

A compromise was reached:

- Each power would take reparations from their own zone of occupation.
- Britain and the USA would grant ten per cent of their reparations to the USSR.
- Britain and the USA would pay another fifteen per cent for food and raw material imported from the Soviet zone.

■ Poland

It was agreed at Yalta that Poland would receive German territory in compensation for Polish lands annexed by the USSR. Britain and the USA were not pleased with the new German–Polish border at the Oder and western Neisse Rivers that was unilaterally determined by the USSR. They believed Poland received too much land. But, with Soviet troops occupying the territory, there was little they could do about it. Both powers recognized the Oder–Neisse Line until a permanent agreement could be reached at a future conference.

■ The Council of Ministers

The Council of Ministers, composed of the foreign ministers of Britain, China, France and the USSR and the US secretary of state, was formed at Potsdam. It was given the responsibility of negotiating peace treaties with the former Axis powers of Italy, Romania, Bulgaria, Finland and Hungary. They were also charged with creating a peace settlement with Germany once a new German government was established by the Allies.

COMPLETE THE TABLE

- Use your understanding of the material on the opposite page to complete the table.
- Identify the terms of agreement for each key topic discussed at the Potsdam Conference, July 1945.

Potsdam Conference, July 1945	
Topic of discussions	Agreed-upon term(s)
Germany	
Allied Control Council	
Reparations	
Poland	
Council of Ministers	

INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

- grabs the reader's attention
- addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
- identifies your argument's main points
- transitions into the first main point of the argument.

An effective concluding paragraph reminds the reader of the key points of your argument and the conclusion of your argument. Therefore, it should also be brief: about three sentences. The conclusion is a short summary of your argument. Do not include new information in the conclusion. An effective concluding paragraph:

- restates your argument's conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using your own knowledge and the table you completed for the above activity, as well as the mind map from the previous section, write an introduction and a conclusion for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Discuss the causes of tensions in the Grand Alliance from 1945 to 1946.

■ The Paris Peace Treaties with Italy and the minor Axis powers, 1945–7

From the first meeting of the Council of Ministers in September 1945, there were serious disagreements about the treaties. The USSR wanted:

- a harsh peace with Italy
- the armistices it signed with Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary and Romania to be the basis of the new treaties.

The USA and Britain insisted on:

- a more lenient treaty with Italy
- establishing new governments in eastern Europe with which to negotiate peace treaties.

US Secretary of State **James Byrnes** flew to Moscow in December 1945 and negotiated a compromise: treaties for all the defeated Axis powers would be negotiated simultaneously.

Despite increasing tensions in the ensuing months between the four Allied powers, they all wanted to conclude peace treaties. The Paris Treaties were signed in February 1947.

■ Italy

Because Italy had surrendered and made peace with the Allies in 1943, and then had effectively joined the Allied side by 1945, the USA and Britain argued that the terms of a treaty should not be as harsh as for other former Axis powers. However, Soviet demands for a share of the former Italian colony of Libya caused concern about Soviet presence and power in the Mediterranean Sea. Therefore, the USA and Britain agreed to harsher terms for Italy:

- loss of all Yugoslav territories seized before and during the Second World War
- large reparation payments
- limits on the size of its military.

The USSR agreed to accept UN trusteeship for all former Italian colonies.

■ Eastern Europe

In eastern Europe, the Soviets wanted to end the Allied Control Council and begin collecting reparations as soon as possible. Soon, new governments were formed in the former Axis states. Britain, France and the USA were ready to settle peace terms. Peace treaties for Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary and Romania were signed on 10 February 1947. A treaty with Austria was delayed until 1955 because of disagreements over the value of German property to be given to the USSR.

No peace treaty could be signed with Germany. Disagreements between the four occupying powers in Germany prevented the re-establishment of an independent German government until 1990.

ACCURATE AND RELEVANT KNOWLEDGE

- Paper 2 criteria require students to use accurate and relevant knowledge in their essays.
- The markband descriptor for the highest markband (13–15) reads: 'Knowledge of the world history topic is accurate and relevant' (*History Guide*, first examinations 2017, page 81).
- Relevance is determined by the demands of a question. In other words, what are the requirements of a question?

Below is a Paper 2 type question. Based on the demands of the question and using the information from the opposite page, place an 'X' in the box next to those statements identified as relevant knowledge.

Explain the development of tensions between the Western Allies and the USSR that caused the Cold War.

Knowledge statement	Relevant knowledge
The USA and Britain agreed to harsher terms for Italy because of Soviet demands for a share of Libya	
The Paris Treaties were signed in February 1947	
The Soviets wanted the terms of their armistices in Eastern Europe to be the basis of peace treaties in Eastern Europe	
No peace treaty could be signed with Germany	

2 Germany, June 1945 to April 1947

Revised

The 'German question' was one of the key points of disagreements and tensions during the Cold War. Germany's potential wealth, military and economic power were great incentives for the USSR and the Western powers to prevent the other from dominating the country. As tensions rose, both sides considered the value of a rehabilitated Germany as an ally.

■ Soviet aims in Germany

Stalin hoped to bring a unified Germany into the Soviet sphere of influence. He planned to use the German Communist Party (KPD) to gain political power while the Red Army controlled the Soviet zone of occupation. The KPD would win workers' support in the Soviet and western zones in order to become part of a new coalition government in Germany. The KPD could then gain eventual control of the entire German government.

■ The creation of the Socialist Unity Party (SED)

Stalin forced the merger of the KPD with the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in the Soviet zone. After violent intimidation and imprisonment of Social Democrats in the eastern zone, the SPD agreed to the merger. In February 1946, the Socialist Unity Party (SED) was formed.

■ Reaction in western Germany

Shocked and wary of the Soviets, SPD members in the western zones of Berlin rejected the proposed merger by 82%. Germans in the western zones of occupation and the Western Allies grew increasingly suspicious of the USSR.

■ The problem of reparations

By the spring of 1946, the reparations compromise was beginning to break down. German refugees from territories now part of Poland and Czechoslovakia were flooding into the western zones, placing an economic burden on the Western Allies.

■ British and US economic policy in Germany

Britain and the USA desired a moderate economic recovery for Germany. They sought to:

- delay delivering their reparations quotas to the USSR
- have the USSR deliver food to the western zones.

When the Soviets opposed these, US General **Lucius Clay**, governor of the US zone, announced in May 1946 that the USA would not deliver reparations goods to the USSR.

■ Soviet response

The Soviets saw this as an attempt to force capitalism on to the German economy. Stalin believed Britain and the USA planned to integrate Germany into the western trading system. The Soviets seized east German companies and increased industrial production in their zone.

■ The Conference of Foreign Ministers, July 1946

At the Conference of Foreign Ministers, Soviet Foreign Minister **Vyacheslav Molotov** demanded that Germany pay the equivalent of \$10 billion in reparations. Secretary of State Byrnes countered that reparations could be paid only after Germany had a **trade surplus** that would cover the cost of food and raw materials imported into the western zone. Byrnes then offered to unify the US zone economically with the other four zones. Only Britain agreed. France feared a reunified Germany and the USSR feared US dominance in a unified Germany.

ESSAY STYLE OUTLINE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question.
- Use your own knowledge and the information from the opposite page to produce a plan for this question.
- Choose three main points.
- For each main point, provide four pieces of specific information that support the main point.
- Use the table below to organize your thoughts.

Explain the role of post-war Germany in developing tensions between the Western Allies and the USSR.

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
1				
2				
3				

INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

- grabs the reader’s attention
- addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
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- restates your argument’s conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using the question from above and the table you completed for the above activity, write an introduction and a conclusion for an essay that responds to the demands of the question.

■ The creation of Bizonia, January 1947

In January 1947, Britain and the USA economically merged their zones, creating Bizonia. The USA justified Bizonia by claiming it would provide the economic prosperity necessary to fulfil the reparations agreement of the Potsdam Agreement.

The USSR saw Bizonia as the first step in creating a capitalist Germany. The Soviets argued that Britain and the USA did not have the authority to create Bizonia without France or the USSR agreeing to it. The Soviets also believed Bizonia would lead to the creation of a separate German state in the western zones of occupation.

■ The Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers, March to April 1947

The Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers was a key turning point in relations between the USSR and the Western Allies. The Soviets, determined to destroy Bizonia, demanded the immediate creation of a new central administration of the whole of Germany under Four-Power Control, as agreed at Yalta.

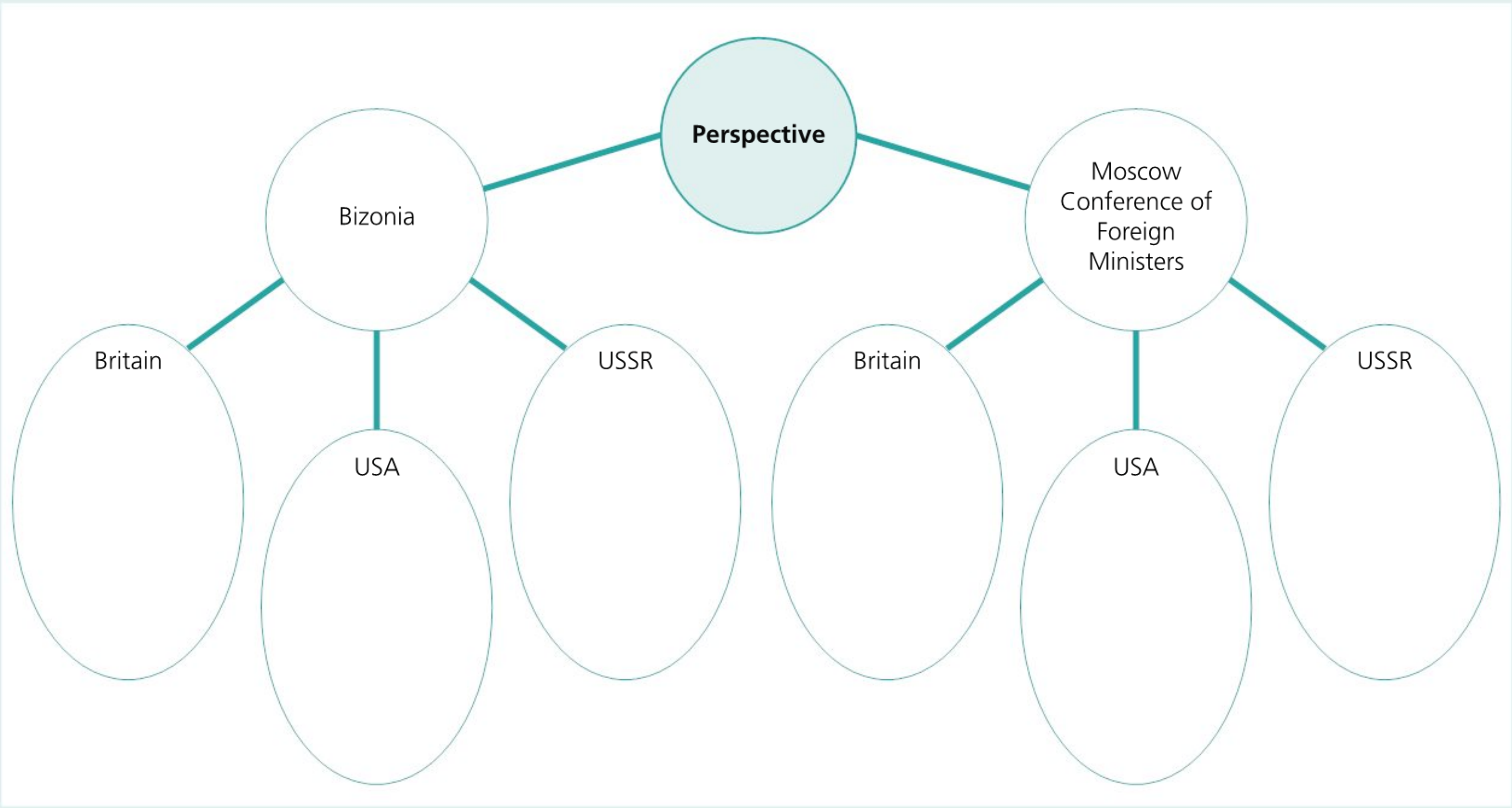
In response, Britain's Foreign Minister **Ernest Bevin** proposed revising the terms of reparations from the Potsdam Agreement:

- The USSR would return some of the reparations seized in the eastern zone to help the Western Allies pay for imports into their zones.
- The USSR would not receive coal or steel until Germany could pay for the import of all its food and raw materials.
- The Soviets rejected Bevin's proposal, believing they were making all the economic concessions although the USSR had suffered much greater death and destruction during the war.

Without an agreement at the Moscow Conference, Britain and the USA continued operating independently in their zones. Bizonia's economy improved. Britain and the USA allowed for greater political independence in Bizonia as well. In addition, France increasingly accepted the British and US perspective on German economic development.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



KNOWLEDGE AND UNDERSTANDING

- To understand causation, it is necessary to connect events and developments that occurred prior to the start of an event, in this case the Cold War.
- Using the information on the opposite page, place an 'X' in the column of the table below identifying which country would be dissatisfied with the historical development.

Actions that led to dissatisfaction	USA	USSR	Britain
Soviet rejections of Bevin’s proposed revision of reparations			
Britain and the USA merged their zones economically, creating Bizonia			
The Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers 1947			
Greater political independence in Bizonia			

3 The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan

Revised

Many historians believe that the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan mark the start of the Cold War. They are the beginning of US military and economic engagement in Western Europe.

■ The Truman Doctrine

On 21 February 1947, Britain informed the USA that it could not meet its military and financial assistance obligations to Greece and Turkey after 31 March. Britain faced several serious problems:

- political unrest in British-controlled India, Palestine and Egypt
- the expense of maintaining a large military presence in Germany, Italy, the Middle East and Asia
- a domestic economic crisis.

Relations between the USA and the USSR worsened because of Germany, Soviet military and political pressure on Turkey and Iran, and a civil war in Greece between communist rebels and the pro-Western government.

■ Iran

In 1942, British and Soviet troops entered Iran to protect oil reserves. They agreed to remove their troops six months after the war ended. However, the USSR increased the number of its troops at the end of the war. The USA protested and Iran asked the UN Security Council to order the removal of Soviet troops, which left in March 1946.

■ Turkey

The USSR proposed a joint Soviet–Turkish defence of the **Dardanelles** in August 1946. The USA viewed this as a Soviet attempt to establish a naval base there. The USA encouraged Turkey to resist the Soviet proposal and sent elements of its Mediterranean naval force into the eastern Mediterranean in September 1946. In October, the USSR dropped its demands in the Dardanelles.

■ Greece

Stalin abided by his agreement that Greece was part of Britain's sphere of influence. He offered no assistance to communist forces rebelling in Greece. The Greek Communist Party received aid from Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania. Despite this, Truman saw the communist rebels as instruments of the USSR. He believed a communist victory in Greece would lead to a **domino effect** in the region, with Turkey and other countries falling into the Soviet sphere of influence.

■ The announcement of the Truman Doctrine

On 12 March 1947, Truman appealed to the US Congress to approve aid to non-communist forces in areas vulnerable to Soviet and communist pressures. He emphasized the growing division between the USA and the USSR and the need to financially support Greece and Turkey. In his speech, Truman stated: 'I believe it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.'

The Truman Doctrine was the beginning of a new US policy that was soon augmented with substantial financial and economic aid known as the **Marshall Plan**. Together, the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were the first actions taken to prevent the spread of communism in Europe, a new approach that came to be known as the **Containment Policy**.

- Significance examines the relative importance of people, events, ideas and so on, and whether evidence supports the claim of significance.
- Using the information on the opposite page and from earlier in the chapter, rate the significance of the general points below in causing the Cold War.
- Write the number of the general point in the appropriate box on the spectrum below.

- | Did not cause the Cold War | | | | Important cause of the Cold War | | |
|----------------------------|--|--|--|---------------------------------|--|--|
| | | | | | | |

Using the information from the opposite page and your own knowledge, complete the body paragraph found below in answer to the question.

Political rivalry in Greece, Turkey and Iran helped lead to the declaration of the Truman Doctrine, but so did political tensions in Germany and eastern Europe.

41

■ The Marshall Plan

The US government provided financial support to Western Europe to prevent economic collapse and support. By 1947, the USA believed a stable, economically and politically integrated Western Europe would address the complex economic and political issues responsible for the Second World War, the Great Depression and the increasing appeal of communism.

■ Marshall's offer

US Secretary of State **George C. Marshall** offered economic aid for Europe in July 1947. The USA insisted on the creation of a European **supranational** organization that would plan how to use US economic aid. With the necessary mechanisms of distributing aid established, and with increasing tensions between the USA and the USSR, in spring 1948, the US Congress approved funding for the Marshall Plan, officially known as the European Recovery Program.

■ Paris negotiations on Marshall Aid

Britain and France quickly called for a conference in Paris to formulate plans to accept US assistance. The USSR sent Foreign Minister Molotov. Molotov and Stalin opposed a supranational organization, however, fearing it was a way for the USA to involve itself in domestic European politics and undermine Soviet influence in eastern Europe. When their proposal was rejected, Molotov left.

On 16 July, the Conference of European Economic Co-operation, with representatives from sixteen Western European nations, began negotiations for the acceptance of the Marshall Plan. Eastern European countries were invited, but prevented from attending by Stalin. Progress was difficult:

- France supported a **customs union**, but demanded preference over Bizonia.
- Britain opposed creating a strong supranational organization, concerned about preserving its national **sovereignty**.

Each country submitted individual requests for assistance instead of working towards economic integration and cooperation:

- Overall requests totalled more than the USA was willing to grant.
- The British foreign minister, fearing the collapse of the conference, called for a meeting where the USA could propose cuts to the proposals.

By September, limited progress had been made, with agreements that:

- allowed imports from states participating in the Marshall Plan
- Germany needed to recover economically, but needed to be controlled
- established cooperation in developing hydroelectric power sources and cross-frontier railway freight services
- production targets be set for coal, oil, steel and agriculture.

There was no agreement on a supranational organization.

However, the first instalment of Marshall Aid was approved in spring 1948, to be administered and distributed by the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC). Member nations did not surrender individual authority to the OEEC.

SPOT THE MISTAKE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question and a sample body paragraph written in response to the question.
- Underline or highlight evidence that is not relevant to the demands of the question.

To what extent was US foreign policy responsible for the Cold War?

The Marshall Plan caused many differences and tensions that helped cause the Cold War. Stalin perceived it as a way for the USA to increase its political role in Europe. He was concerned that Europeans in both east and west would be pleased with US economic assistance. The USSR could not afford to provide economic help and would have looked inferior to the USA. But problems and tensions were not only found in eastern Europe. The French were concerned that the USA would prioritize German recovery before providing aid to France. The British were worried that the Marshall Plan would limit their sovereignty, causing tensions between them and the USA. The US demand that aid be organized by a supranational organization caused tensions in the Western nations, which, like Britain, did not want to sacrifice national sovereignty. Even though the Marshall Plan gave economic aid to Western European countries, it created distrust among some Western nations towards the USA, while the USSR saw it as an attempt at economic dominance by the Americans.

4 The 'Iron Curtain'

Revised

Stalin's prevention of eastern European governments participating in the Marshall Plan marked the end of Soviet cooperation with the USA and the end of the Grand Alliance. The Communist Information Bureau (**Cominform**) was formed to co-ordinate the policies and tactics of communist parties in eastern and western Europe. The USSR fully supported communist parties to gain political control in their areas.

Andrei Zhdanov, chairman of the Soviet Union, declared that the world was divided into two hostile camps: the imperialist bloc in the west and the anti-imperialist, democratic bloc in the east.

■ Opposition from French and Italian communist parties

Cominform instructed communist parties in France and Italy to oppose support for the Marshall Plan.

■ France

In January 1947, the Communist Party joined in a coalition government. However, disputes over economic, foreign and colonial policies led to the expulsion of the Communist Party from the government in May 1947.

The Communist Party organized a series of strikes throughout France that led to riots and violence. However, the strikers joined separate political parties. The communists failed to prevent France's participation in the Marshall Plan.

■ Italy

In January 1947, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) was part of a coalition government. Friction between the PCI and the **Christian Democrats** collapsed the coalition. The PCI were not members of the new government, allowing for the acceptance of the Marshall Plan in Italy.

Cominform ordered the PCI to oppose the government both politically and through strikes. The public saw PCI opposition as preventing the much-needed US aid for a poor economy. In April 1948, the Christian Democrats won a huge electoral victory over the PCI, giving them total control of the government.

■ The formation of the Soviet bloc, 1946–7

The USSR controlled all of eastern Europe, except Finland, by the end of 1947. The USA and Britain were not willing to risk war with the USSR. Their focus turned to stopping the spread of communism into western Europe.

■ Poland

In accordance with the Yalta Agreement, the Provisional Government of Unity was formed in June 1945. The government included seventeen pro-Soviet politicians and four non-communist representatives. There was considerable resistance to the USSR in Poland:

- A large non-communist majority existed.
- There was resentment of the forced annexation of eastern Poland by the USSR.
- There was animosity towards the brutality of the NKVD to impose a pro-Soviet dictatorship.
- A guerrilla war continued between the former Polish Home Army and the Soviet-dominated provisional government.

Stalin wanted a friendly government in Poland as security against another attack from the west.

The national elections were held on 19 January 1947. The Provisional Government used force and intimidation to deny people the right to vote and to put pressure on voters to choose approved candidates. The pro-Soviet bloc won an overwhelming majority of 80.1% of the votes.

Britain and the USA protested, but there was little they could do to alter the results or change Soviet policy in Poland.

■ Romania

In March 1945, the National Front Democratic Government comprised of communists, socialists and liberal representatives was formed. Soviet pressure guaranteed communist domination of the government.

In 1946, the National Democratic Front grew stronger with the:

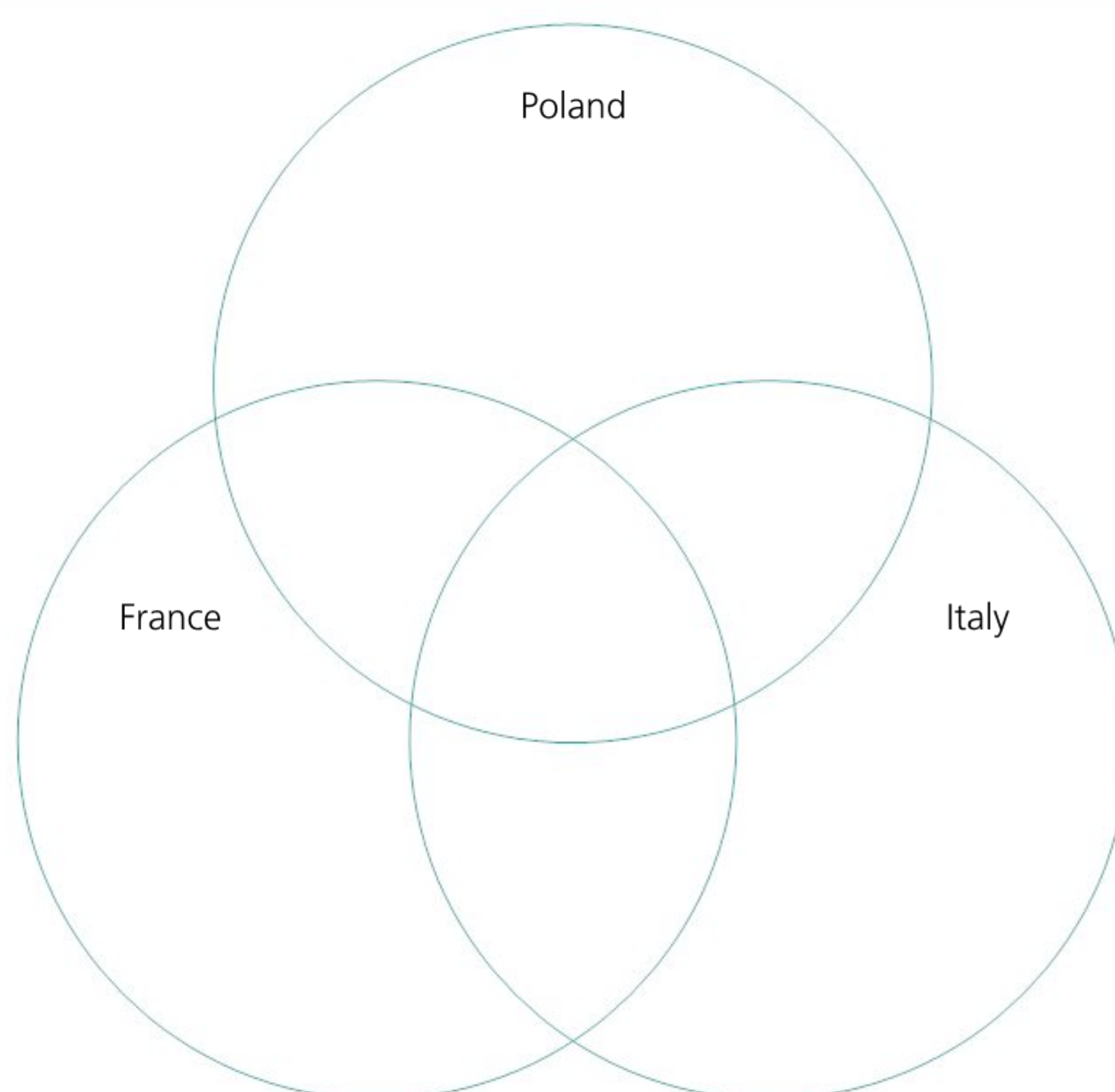
- merger of the Romanian Socialist Party and the Communist Party
- inclusion of several pro-communist parties and communist-controlled organizations in the government.

Elections were held in November and, as in Poland, force, intimidation and murder were used against the opposition despite their enjoying broad political support. The National Democratic Front won more than 80% of the votes.

Romania refused Marshall Plan aid, joined Cominform, and its king was forced to abdicate. In April 1948, a communist people's republic was formed.

VENN DIAGRAM

For each given country, record the key actions of Cominform and the communist parties in each country.



INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

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- restates your argument's conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using the Venn diagram above, information from the opposite page and your own knowledge, write an introduction and a conclusion for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Examine the development of Communist Party influence in Europe from 1945 to 1947.

■ Bulgaria

By December 1945, the Communist Party dominated the Bulgarian government. To prevent friction with the West before a treaty was signed, Stalin forced the communists to permit a new Labour Party to form. Elections in October 1946 resulted in opposition parties winning one-third of the total votes. However, the announcement of the Truman Doctrine and increasing US involvement in Greece led Stalin to change his approach to Bulgaria. He permitted the Communist Party to remove its opponents. In April 1947, all opposition parties were banned and Bulgaria instituted collectivized agriculture and nationalized all industries, imitating Stalin's policy in the USSR twenty years earlier.

■ Yugoslavia

Unlike in other eastern European countries, the Communist Party and its leader, Tito, came to power independently of the Red Army. The People's Front, dominated by the Communist Party, won 90% of the vote in November 1945 elections.

Tito's goals clashed with British and US policies. Yugoslavia aided Greek communists in their civil war. Yugoslavian partisans occupied key territories bordering Italy, including the important port of Trieste, before British and US troops forced them out. Stalin supported Yugoslav claims to Trieste and at the Paris negotiations in 1947, a compromise was reached. Trieste was divided into two parts: one controlled by the Anglo-Americans and one by Yugoslavia.

■ Czechoslovakia

The Red Army withdrew from Czechoslovakia by December 1945. Communists won 38% of the votes in elections in May 1946 and they did not oppose the coalition government led by President Beneš. Growing Cold War tensions changed the political situation.

Czechoslovakia's leaders decided to attend the Paris Conference on the Marshall Plan and then were summoned to Moscow. The Soviets forced the government to reconsider. Foreign Minister Jan Masaryk stated: 'I went to Moscow as the foreign minister of an independent sovereign state; I returned as a lackey of the Soviet government.' The Communist Party seized power in February 1948, in what is known as the 'Prague Coup'.

■ Hungary

Stalin permitted free and transparent elections in Hungary in November 1945. For two years there was a free press, open debates in Parliament and a free border with Austria. However, the USSR dominated the Allied Control Council.

In 1947, a key opposition leader was arrested for conspiring against the Soviets. Yet, communists received only 45% of the votes in August elections. Hungary rejected the Marshall Plan and joined Cominform. Soviet pressure resulted in the merger of the Communist and Socialist Parties in early 1948. The Communist-dominated Hungarian People's Independent Front formed in February 1949 and only its members were permitted to stand in elections in May 1949.

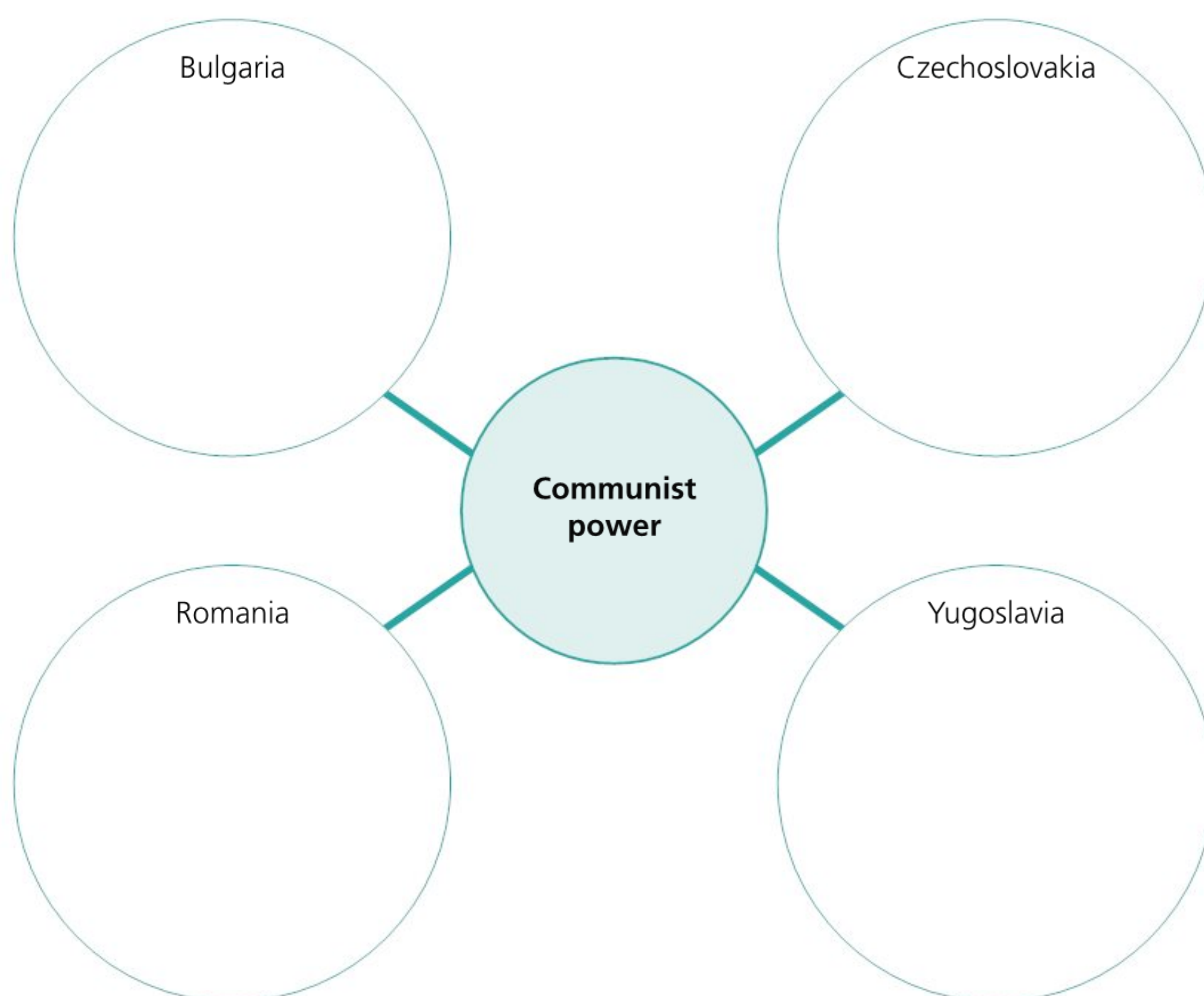
■ Finland

Finland's coalition government was headed by a conservative politician and composed of members from the Communists, Social Democrats and Agrarian Parties. The Communist Party was relatively weak and received no assistance from the USSR. It appears that Stalin's aims in Finland were achieved in the peace treaty.

Finland maintained its neutrality by declining an invitation to the Paris Conference on the Marshall Plan and by not joining Cominform.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



COMPLETE THE BODY PARAGRAPH

Using the information from the opposite page and your own knowledge, complete the body paragraph below in answer to the following question.

Analyse the development of communist-controlled countries in eastern Europe from 1945 to 1947.

Force and repression played a significant role in communist parties gaining power in eastern European countries.

Although the type of force differed, force and repression led to Communist Party control in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia.

5 Key debate: Did the USA or the USSR start the Cold War, 1945–7?

Revised

There is great debate as to why the Cold War happened and who caused it. The traditional, Western perspective blames Stalin. The revisionist perspective places more blame on the USA. With increased access to Soviet archives after 1990, it became clear that Stalin's policies in Europe were more varied than originally believed.

■ The origins of the Cold War

■ Traditionalist interpretation

The traditionalist interpretation placed the blame on Stalin for starting the Cold War. Historians argued that:

- Stalin ignored promises to support democratically elected governments
- Stalin placed communist puppets in power
- the USA responded defensively to Soviet aggression because Britain and France could not defend western Europe from the USSR.

Historians such as Herbert Feis and Arthur Schlesinger supported this interpretation. John Lewis Gaddis argued that the Cold War was unavoidable because Stalin's paranoia led to actions similar to those he took against opposition within the USSR.

■ Revisionist historians

Revisionist historians contend that the USA's use of power, especially economic, caused the Cold War. William Appleman Williams believed that the USA tried to force the USSR to join the global economy and opens its borders to US imports and political ideas. Gabriel Kolko claimed US policy was designed to restructure the world economy to benefit US trade and businesses.

■ Post-revisionist historians

Post-revisionist interpretations developed after the opening of the Soviet archives. They asserted that local communists in the Soviet zone had more influence on policies in their states, even, at times, counter to Stalin's intentions. They agree that Stalin sought to create satellite states in eastern Europe, but also emphasize his flexibility in individual cases. Among post-revisionist historians are John Lewis Gaddis, Vladislav Zubok, Constantine Pleshakov and Norman Naimark.

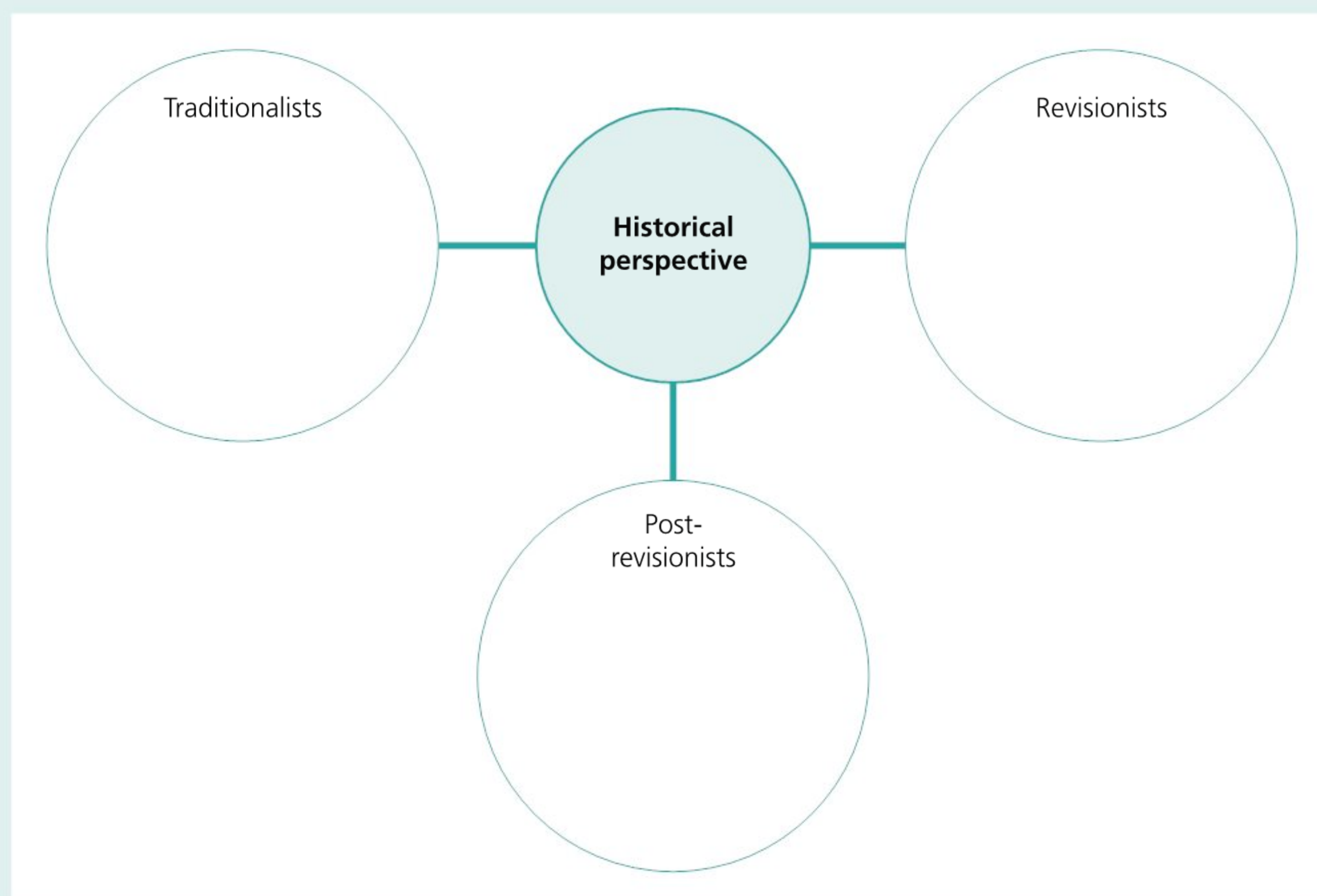
TABLE OF DIFFERENCES

Using information from previous pages, identify key differences in the development of Communist Party power for the given country or region.

Communist Party power					
France	Italy	Poland	Czechoslovakia	Hungary	Yugoslavia

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



SECTION 2 Exam focus

Sample question and guidance

Below is an example of a Paper 2 type question. The question will form the basis for examining demands of a question and historical concepts.

To what extent was the United States responsible for causing the Cold War?

■ Demands of the question

‘Demands of the question’ refers to the task, skills and understanding that you are expected to demonstrate in responding to a question. The question above consists of several demands:

- To what extent: determine the extent to which something is true or false, with answers usually being ‘to no extent’, ‘to some extent’ or ‘to a great extent’.
- Analyse: break down in order to bring out the essential elements or structure.
- Consider actions by the USA that were responsible for causing the Cold War.
- Because this is a ‘to what extent’ question, consideration of other factors should be examined.
- There is no date given in the question. It is important for the student to establish and justify when the Cold War started. It could be a specific date or it could be a specific development or event.

Anything in the essay that does not address one or more of these demands is not relevant. Material that is not relevant to the demands of the question, and does not contribute to the final mark for the essay, may limit the awarding of marks for the essay and uses time that could be used to develop relevant material that does help to achieve marks.

■ Concepts

‘To what extent’ questions provide an excellent opportunity to develop the concept of perspective. Section 5, the key debate, contains several perspectives that can be integrated into the response. A ‘to what extent’ question also provides an opportunity to develop significance because the selection of historical knowledge and perspectives shapes the response to such a question.

Read through the extract from the sample response to the question. Read the teacher annotations and comments.

To what extent was the United States responsible for causing the Cold War?

United States economic policies and decisions provoked distrust, suspicion, and a breakdown of the Grand Alliance that resulted in the start of the Cold War by 1948. Economic tension began as early as the question of German reparations. The USSR wanted harsh reparation terms for Germany to compensate for the devastation in the USSR from the fighting of the Second World War. The USA along with Britain, opposed Soviet reparations aims and preferred that Germany's economy be rebuilt to an extent to pay for the importation of food and raw materials. Because most German refugees were in the western zones, the USA and Britain attempted to delay delivery of reparations to the USSR as promised in the Potsdam Agreement. Soviet distrust and anger increased with the creation of Bizonia, which integrated the economies of the British and US zones of occupation. The Soviets suspected Bizonia was the first step towards a capitalist Germany. Here the effect of ideology can be seen in the Soviet perception of US and British aims. Soviet suspicions were magnified with the announcement and implementation of the Marshall Plan in 1947. The USA believed the only hope for a revitalized Western Europe free from communism was to rebuild its economy. Traditionalists like Arthur Schlesinger see the Marshall Plan and other economic decisions by the USA as responses to the threat of communism. The USSR viewed the Marshall Plan as American capitalist imperialism designed to weaken the USSR and to create a market for US industry. This Soviet perspective is similar to the revisionist interpretation of the causes of the Cold War. When the USA introduced the *Deutschmark* in western Germany, the Soviets were convinced the USA was waging economic war on them and that any hope of agreement or compromise was gone.

The topic sentence identifies a key component to be developed that determines the relevant history to be developed in the paragraph.

Effective word choice with 'opposed' makes it clear that US actions affected tensions with the USSR.

Effective use of relevant historical knowledge to support claims made in the topic sentence.

Showing that ideology contributed to tensions demonstrates perspective.

The integration of historical interpretations demonstrates multiple perspectives and effectively connects the interpretation to relevant historical knowledge instead of simply listing different historical interpretations.

Exam practice

Now it's your turn to take a mock exam. Below are two examples of questions related to Case study 2: From wartime allies to post-war enemies, 1945–7.

For more guidance on the History Paper 2 exam and its structure, please refer to pages 28–29. You can also use the checklist designed to help you write a successful essay.

- 1 Discuss the causes of the Cold War.
- 2 Evaluate the role of ideology in causing the Cold War.

CASE STUDY

3

The impact of Cold War tensions on Germany and Europe, 1948–52

1 The division of Germany

Revised

In November 1947, the foreign ministers of Britain, France and the USSR and the US secretary of state met in London to address the German problem:

- The USA supported **Western European integration**.
- The USSR wanted a unified Germany.
- **Walter Ulbricht**, leader of the SED, under orders from the Soviets, organized the 'German People's Congress for Unity and a Just Peace' to represent Germany in London. Only one-third of its delegates came from the west and most of them were communists.
- British Foreign Minister Bevin refused to seat Ulbricht's group because it did not fully represent all Germans.

The ministers could not reach an agreement and ended the London Conference on 15 December:

- The Soviets accused Britain and the USA of violating the Potsdam Agreement, including the agreed reparations terms.
- The Western powers feared that a united Germany would fall under Soviet control.

Four-power cooperation had ended.

■ The decision to create a West German state

Britain, France, the USA and the **Benelux states** held a second London Conference in 1948 to discuss establishing a separate West German state. France opposed such a state, fearing a revived Germany. To ease French worries:

- The USA pledged to keep troops in Western Europe to maintain peace.
- Britain and the USA promised to keep tight control on the new state.
- The **International Ruhr Authority**, controlled by the Western Allies, was established to control industrial production in the **Ruhr**.
- The new state would have to accept the **Occupation Statute** which granted Britain, France and the USA far-reaching political and economic power.

West Germans received permission to create a constitution for a democratic, **federal** West Germany on 7 June.

■ Currency reform

On 20 June, the Western powers introduced a new currency for western Germany, the *Deutschmark*. They did not consult the USSR. The Soviets responded by introducing their own currency for eastern Germany, the *Ostmark*. The first steps towards the development of two separate German states had been taken.

■ The Soviet response: the Berlin Blockade

The Soviets attempted to stop plans for a new West German state. West Berlin was controlled by the Western Allies, but located in the Soviet zone. The Soviets could control the amount of food and resources reaching West Berlin by restricting the use of rail and road lines.

■ The blockade begins

The introduction of the new *Deutschmark* caused the USSR to block the movement of all food, goods and people into and out of West Berlin on 23 June, as well as cutting off the electricity. A blockade had begun.

■ The Western response: the Berlin Airlift

The US **military governor**, General Clay, considered sending an armed convoy from western Germany through the Soviet zone into West Berlin. The British worried this would lead to an armed clash. Instead, the Western Allies decided to supply West Berlin by aircraft. The **airlift** used specific air routes or corridors that the USSR had granted the Western Allies in 1945.

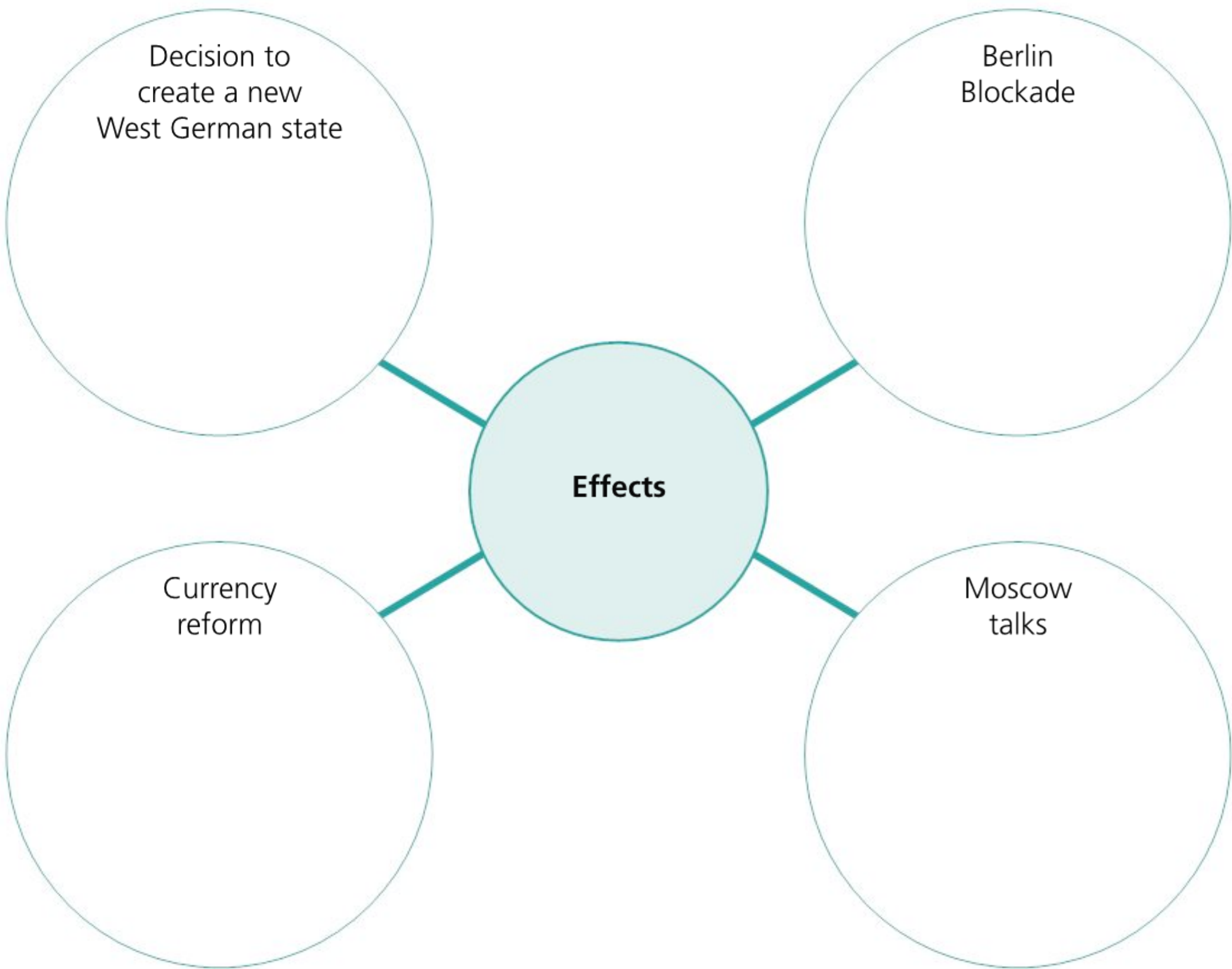
The Berlin Airlift began on 26 June 1948. By the end of July 1948, British and US aircraft were flying 2000 tons of supplies into West Berlin daily. During the winter, they would need to average 5000 tons per day.

■ The Moscow talks

On 2 August, the three Western Allies met the USSR in Moscow to resolve the crisis. The Soviets interpreted the talks as indicating their blockade was succeeding. There also were discussions on the circulation of the *Ostmark* in the whole of Berlin. But no compromise could be reached and talks ended on 7 September.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page and above to add details to the mind map below.



ACCURATE AND RELEVANT KNOWLEDGE

- Paper 2 criteria require students to use accurate and relevant knowledge in their essays.
- The markband descriptor for the highest markband (13–15) reads: ‘Knowledge of the world history topic is accurate and relevant’ (*History Guide*, first examinations 2017, page 81).
- Relevance is determined by the demands of a question. In other words, what are the requirements of a question?

Below is a Paper 2 type question. Based on the demands of the question, and using the information from the opposite page, place an ‘X’ in the table next to those statements identified as relevant knowledge.

Explain the effects of the breakdown in four-power cooperation in December 1947.

Knowledge statement	Relevant knowledge
West Berlin was controlled by the Western Allies, but located in the Soviet zone	
The USSR blockaded West Berlin	
General Clay considered sending an armed convoy through the Soviet zone into West Berlin	
The decision to create a West German state	
Introduction of new currencies	

■ Failure of the United Nations

On 28 June, the UN Secretary General Trygve Lie suggested that the UN could invoke **Article 99 of the UN Charter** to broker an end to the crisis. A UN mediating council proposed an end to the blockade followed by a meeting of the four military governors to introduce the *Ostmark* to the whole of Berlin. The proposal was rejected by all four occupying powers.

In December, a UN financial committee recommended the *Ostmark* be controlled by a new German **Bank of Emission** and be made the currency of Berlin. The Western Allies opposed the recommendation because the Soviets would have a majority of representatives in the proposed bank. In March 1949, the Western Allies introduced the *Deutschmark* as the sole currency of West Berlin.

■ End of the blockade

By the end of January 1949, it had become clear that the Soviet blockade was failing. By the end of April, the daily average tonnage had increased to 8000 tons per day. At its peak, one plane landed every 45 seconds at Berlin's Tempelhof Airport.

On 31 January, Stalin indicated he was not willing to go to war over Berlin. Negotiations to end the crisis began soon thereafter, with an agreement reached on 4 May. The Berlin Blockade ended on 12 May.

■ The emergence of the two German states

By the end of 1948, the Western Allies were committed to a new German state and would soon establish the **Federal Republic of Germany (FRG)**. Stalin countered the new Western government with the creation of new communist government in the east, the **German Democratic Republic (GDR)**. Berlin, however, remained occupied.

■ The Federal Republic of Germany

A constitution was approved for a new West German government in spring 1949 and elections were held in August. **Konrad Adenauer** became the first West German chancellor. Independence was not complete, however. A **High Commission** replaced the military government. Britain, France and the USA held ultimate authority on West German foreign policy, security and exports, among other issues.

■ The German Democratic Republic

Stalin preferred to work towards a unified Germany that would be either neutral or pro-Soviet. The creation of an East German state would end any hope of a unified Germany. If a West German state could be prevented, Stalin was resistant to a new East German state.

Walter Ulbricht, leader of the SED, claimed to be working for a unified Germany. He accused those in the West, both Germans and the Allies, of plotting to keep Germany separated. In March 1948, the SED established the German People's Council to draft a constitution for a new unified Germany. The council included representatives from the West, all communists. Ulbricht believed if he could not achieve a unified Germany, the German People's Council constitution would provide the basis of a new state: East Germany.

The constitution created the appearance of a democracy, but masked that it would be a single-party state. In May 1949, an election for a new Parliament was held. All candidates were preapproved and supported SED positions, a typical method used in Soviet-dominated Eastern Europe.

The Soviets delayed implementing the new constitution and government. When the German Communist Party (KPD) won only 5.7% of the vote in West German elections, Stalin knew that all hopes for a unified Germany were lost.

On 12 October 1949, the GDR was formed, ending Soviet military occupation. Like in the West, the new East Germany had limited independence. The Soviets retained significant control through the new Soviet Control Council.

■ Berlin

Throughout autumn 1948, the SED used intimidation in the Berlin city assembly. West Berliners established their own city government, which was anti-communist and led by Mayor Ernst Reuter. West Berlin was permitted to send representatives to the *Bundestag* in the new FRG capital of Bonn, but they had no right to vote. Legally, all of Berlin was under **Four-Power Control**. However, East Berlin became the capital of the GDR.

COMPLETE THE TABLE – CONSEQUENCES

Consequences refer to the short- and long-term effects or results of actions and historical developments. In the table below, identify the short-term effects of a given historical development.

Effects on:	Britain	France	USA	USSR
London Conference in 1948 to discuss establishing a separate West German state				
Introduction of the <i>Deutschmark</i>				
Berlin Blockade				
Berlin Airlift				

COMPLETE THE PARAGRAPH

- Below is a sample Paper 2 question and a sample paragraph written in response to the question.
- The paragraph contains a main argument and a concluding explanatory link back to the question, but lacks details.
- Complete the paragraph, adding details in the space provided.

Discuss the effect of increased Cold War tensions from 1945 to 1947 on the West Berlin.

Increased Cold War tensions between 1945 and 1947 resulted in a series of decisions that led to the Berlin Crisis of 1948–9.

Growing distrust between the Western Allies and the USSR led to the failure of the London Conference of 1947, Western challenges to the agreements on administering occupied Germany, which ultimately led to the Berlin Crisis of 1948–9 and the breakdown of four-power cooperation.

2 Western European rearmament

Revised

The creation of West Germany caused concern and worry, not only in the USSR, but also in many states in the West which had suffered from two world wars against Germany. To calm those in the West, Britain proposed a defensive alliance.

■ The Brussels Pact

On 17 March, the Brussels Pact was signed by Belgium, Britain, France, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. The pact was a defensive alliance against any aggressor nation(s). A **Consultative Council** was formed for pact members to discuss issues of concern. Pact members believed it would be stronger if the USA joined.

■ The North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Because of the Prague Coup and the Berlin Blockade, the USA determined it was vital to commit to the defence of Western Europe. The USA began laying the framework for a military alliance with Western Europe as early as spring 1948. The planned alliance with US membership helped alleviate fears of a new West Germany as well.

US President Truman emphasized that Article 5 of the treaty did not commit US forces to combat without US Congress' approval. The Western European states used Article 3, which called for continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid as a means to bring the USA closer to Western Europe.

On 4 April 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed by Canada, the USA, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Portugal and the Brussels Pact nations to form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

■ The rearmament of the FRG

■ Soviet strength

In August 1949, the USSR successfully tested an atomic bomb. The Soviets already had begun enlarging their military in response to the formation of NATO and the FRG. In October 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (**CCP**) defeated the Chinese Nationalists. China's civil war was over and the communists controlled China.

■ Limited Western integration

Moving to an integrated Western Europe was slow progress. Fears of a renewed Germany dominating Western Europe contributed to limited integration. The USA worried that unless Germany could be fully integrated into Western Europe, a possibility remained that the USSR could persuade the German people that a neutral, unified Germany was preferable. If the German people democratically voted for a neutral, unified Germany, the Western Allies could do nothing to stop it. If that happened, the Soviets might eventually come to dominate in the new Germany.

■ The impact of the Korean War

On 25 June 1950, communist North Korea invaded South Korea. It was assumed the Stalin had ordered the invasion. East Germany's leader, Ulbricht, supported North Korea and appeared to suggest a similar action could unite Germany. The Western Allies began viewing integration from a new perspective.

■ The European Defence Community

The Korean War and Ulbricht's statements led to the integration of the FRG into a common European defence mechanism. France's prime minister, **René Pleven**, proposed creating the European Defence Community (EDC), known as the Pleven Plan. It provided for a unified European military under supranational control. The FRG's military would be limited in terms of deployment.

■ The Spofford Compromise

The Pleven Plan was more of a French plan to control German rearmament than to create an effective military. Only Belgium and Luxembourg considered it. However, the Pleven Plan led to discussions that led to an agreement to militarily integrate Germany. Charles Spofford, the deputy US representative in NATO, suggested that practical military steps be taken to strengthen the defence of Western Europe. Political problems could be solved at a later date. This became the Spofford Compromise. Medium-sized German units would serve under tight supervision of the Western Allies.

ESSAY STYLE OUTLINE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question.
- Use your own knowledge and the information from the opposite page and above to produce a plan for this question.
- Choose three main points.
- For each main point, provide four pieces of specific information that support the main point.
- Use the table below to organize your thoughts.

Analyse the effect of the creation of the FRG on the rearmament of Western Europe.

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
1				
2				
3				

COMPLETE THE BODY PARAGRAPH

Using the information from the opposite page and above, the table from the previous activity and your own knowledge, complete the body paragraph found below in answer to the question.

Analyse the effect of the creation of the FRG on the rearmament of Western Europe.

The creation of the FRG raised fears and concerns among the Western Allies that shaped the rearmament of Western Europe.

■ Strains within NATO, December 1950 to June 1951

Negotiations to establish the EDC began in February 1951. During this period, normalized relations with the FRG continued developing. The official state of war with Germany ended and discussions for a more appropriate treaty with the FRG began.

Several issues caused strain among NATO members:

- the German rearmament issue
- US policy in Korea
- worries the USA would use the atomic bomb, thereby triggering a third world war.

The SPD claimed that joining the EDC ended any hope of unifying Germany. Adenauer asked for greater independence from the Western Allies to show Germany could gain greater equality. But France would not agree.

In November 1950, the People's Republic of China sent troops to support North Korea against South Korea and UN forces led by the USA. China's intervention increased fears of a third world war. British Prime Minister Clement Attlee advised Truman to enter negotiations, but Truman refused, unwilling to **appease** communists in Asia. Instead, domestic political pressure led Truman to prioritize US rearmament.

■ Franco-German agreement on the EDC

US pressure led to the start of EDC negotiations in October 1951. At the same time, talks began between the high commissioners and the FRG to replace the Occupation Statute with an agreement recognizing the FRG as a semi-independent state.

France vetoed German membership in NATO and insisted on limiting the size of German forces in the EDC. The EDC treaty was signed on 26 May 1952, replacing the Occupation Statute. However, ratifying the treaty met resistance and delay in both France and West Germany.

■ Financing Western European rearmament

US President Truman's decision to focus on rearmament in Europe had a significant economic impact. Marshall Aid went to Western European industries that were important for rearmament. This was replaced by direct military assistance. The size and scale of rearmament threatened to destabilize NATO.

■ The economic and political costs of rearmament

NATO members almost doubled spending on rearmament between 1949 and 1951. This caused a production boom that drove up imports of raw materials. It also shifted investment from civilian to defence production and led to higher taxes. As a result, these states faced several problems:

- inflation
- increased cost of living that surpassed wage increases
- negative **balance of payments** imbalance
- growing political challenges from communist and conservative nationalists.

■ Guns and butter

The OEEC grew concerned about an economic crisis in Western Europe. The OEEC and NATO worked together to stop rearmament from preventing economic recovery. The OEEC proposed:

- expanding industrial production by 25% from 1951 to 1956
- providing financing for both rearmament and consumer goods production: production of both **guns and butter**.

The plan succeeded in both the short and long term. For twenty years, Western Europe experienced a period of unprecedented prosperity. With growing prosperity came further economic and political integration of Western Europe.

■ Stalin's response to rearmament

Threatened by NATO and German rearmament, Stalin:

- formed the communist-led World Peace Movement for disarmament and peace
- sought the creation of a neutral, united Germany.

In March 1952, Stalin proposed free elections for the establishment of a unified Germany to the Western Allies, supervised by the former four occupying powers. The new unified Germany would:

- be neutral
- be prohibited from joining the EDC and NATO
- have a limited military
- be free from reparations.

The Western Allies and Adenauer rejected the proposal. They were concerned that a neutral, unified Germany could fall into the Soviet sphere of influence.

COMPLETE THE TABLE – CONSEQUENCES

Consequences refer to the short- and long-term effects or results of actions and historical developments. In the table below, identify the short-term effects of a given historical development.

Historical development	Consequences
US President Truman’s decision to focus on rearmament in Europe had a significant economic impact	
The near doubling of spending on rearmament by NATO members between 1949 and 1951	
The OEEC’s response to increased military spending	

INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

- grabs the reader’s attention
- addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
- identifies your argument’s main points
- transitions into the first main point of the argument.

An effective concluding paragraph reminds the reader of the key points of your argument and the conclusion of your argument. Therefore, it should also be brief: about three sentences. The conclusion is a short summary of your argument. Do not include new information in the conclusion. An effective concluding paragraph:

- restates your argument’s conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using the table from above, information from the opposite page and your own knowledge, write an introduction and a conclusion for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Examine the effects of the creation of a new West German state.

3 The consolidation of the rival blocs

Revised

■ Western economic integration

Two key factors shaped Western European integration: one shaped by the USA and the other by France and the smaller Western European countries.

France and the smaller states supported greater political and economic integration because:

- they benefited from the great industrial potential of the FRG
- this provided economic and political strength to fight communism and the USSR
- it lessened the risk of a powerful Germany.

The USA sought to re-create Western Europe in its own image as a United States of Europe. An economically and politically integrated Western Europe would:

- become as wealthy as the USA
- diminish the appeal of communism
- increase world trade
- provide valuable markets for US products
- eventually draw Eastern European nations away from the Soviet sphere of influence.

Britain opposed further integration. Instead, Britain preferred:

- improving its ties to the USA and the British **Commonwealth**
- rearming Germany and aligning it with NATO member states.

France opposed Britain's ideas for Germany, fearing it would face an economically and militarily powerful Germany once the Cold War ended.

■ The European Coal and Steel Community

In May 1950, France's foreign minister, **Robert Schuman**, proposed creating the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which became known as the Schuman Plan. Schuman viewed the proposed supranational organization as a way for Western Europe to benefit from Germany's vast coal and steel resources while minimizing the risk of Germany becoming a strong independent nation. West German Chancellor Adenauer quickly endorsed the Schuman Plan. Adenauer believed economic and political integration with Western Europe was vital to German prosperity and security from communism and the Soviet threat. Britain declined an invitation to join because it did not want to lose control of its newly nationalized coal and steel industries.

The ECSC was founded in July 1952 with six member states: the three Benelux countries, France, Italy and the FRG. ECSC regulation of the coal and steel industries guaranteed that all member nations received raw materials for their economic needs.

The ECSC laid the foundation for the future economic and political integration of Western Europe. NATO and the ECSC significantly strengthened the **Western bloc**.

■ The consolidation of the Eastern bloc, 1948–52

From 1948, the communists dominated Eastern European states. Although theoretically independent, each state developed identical policies. The formation of the Eastern bloc was enhanced by two supranational organizations: Cominform and COMECON.

■ Cominform

Established in 1947, Cominform promoted ideological unity among communist parties throughout Europe. Its main tasks were to:

- complete the **Sovietization** of the satellite states
- co-ordinate Communist Party activities
- combat **Titoism**.

■ Cominform and the Peace Movement

Stalin hoped to use a peace movement as a means to develop opposition to Western European rearmament and NATO. He charged Cominform with mobilizing the Peace Movement.

In 1950, the Soviet-dominated World Peace Council, assisted by Cominform, demanded the banning of atomic weapons and declared that any nations that used them were war criminals. This

became known as the Stockholm Appeal. Support came mostly from Soviet bloc countries. It had little impact on NATO.

■ COMECON

Founded in 1949 in response to the Marshall Plan, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) consisted of members from the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania, with the GDR joining in 1950. Its main task was to integrate the economies of Eastern European countries. It was not until 1959 that the organization was given the appropriate authority to effectively accomplish its task. However, Soviet bloc states followed the Soviet pattern of economic development:

- the **collectivization of agriculture**
- centrally planned economies
- **Five Year Plans** providing the basis for industrialization.

SIGNIFICANCE

- Significance examines the relative importance of people, events, ideas and so on, and whether evidence supports the claim of significance.
 - Using the information on the opposite page and from earlier in the chapter, rate the significance of the general points below in causing the consolidation of the rival blocs.
 - Write the number of the general point in the appropriate box on the spectrum below.
- 1 Berlin Crisis 1948–9
 - 2 The European Coal and Steel Community
 - 3 Britain’s opposition to full West German integration
 - 4 Cominform and COMECON established
 - 5 The Stockholm Appeal
 - 6 Marshall Plan

Did not lead to rival blocs				Important cause of rival blocs		

COMPLETE THE BODY PARAGRAPH

Using the information from the opposite page and above and your own knowledge, complete the body paragraph found below in answer to the question.

Analyse the causes of the consolidation of rival blocs in the Cold War up to 1949.

Several key factors affected the consolidation of the Western and Soviet blocs: the development of multinational organizations, US foreign policy in Europe and Soviet responses to growing Western European integration.

■ Soviet control of Eastern Europe

A network of **bilateral** treaties of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance connected the USSR to the Eastern European countries and also connected the individual satellite states. The terms of the treaties included:

- a mutual defence agreement
- a ban on joining a hostile alliance
- an agreement not to interfere in the domestic affairs of each state.

The USSR, however, was able to achieve obedience by:

- summoning leaders to Moscow for talks and instructions
- using Soviet ambassadors and advisers to influence internal affairs in satellite states
- maintaining Red Army presence in satellite states
- integrating the militaries of the satellite states with Soviet military assistance and with Soviet military commanders possessing ultimate command of all forces.

■ The cult of Stalin

The **Stalin cult** was another unifying factor in the Eastern bloc states. Stalin was portrayed as the builder of socialism in the USSR and the great liberator of Eastern Europe. Political leaders were expected to model themselves on Stalin.

■ The Yugoslav–Soviet split

Within the Eastern bloc, friction existed between the USSR and Yugoslavia. Stalin did not approve of Tito's desire to play an independent role in the Balkans.

During the winter of 1947–8, Tito talked about creating a Balkan Federation comprised of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Greece and Romania. Bulgaria and Romania responded positively to the proposal. Tito sent Yugoslav troops into Albania to support Greek communist guerrillas without consulting Stalin or **Enver Hoxha**, the communist leader of Albania. Stalin worried about the growing strength of the Yugoslav Communist Party as a force in the Balkans. He also worried that Tito's actions could provoke the USA.

■ The break with Stalin

Stalin summoned the leaders from Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to Moscow in February 1948. He vetoed Tito's stationing of troops in Albania and the Balkan Federation. A Bulgarian–Yugoslav union was proposed, with each state required to consult with the USSR on foreign policy. Tito rejected the union. He feared giving the USSR any opportunity to seize control of his foreign policy or of Yugoslavia. In response, Stalin withdrew Soviet personnel from Yugoslavia. Tito and other Yugoslav leaders were condemned as political and ideological criminals.

Stalin forced other Eastern bloc states to join in the Soviet isolation of Yugoslavia. At the second Cominform meeting in June 1948, Yugoslavia was expelled from the organization. Yugoslavia was the first communist state to act independently of the USSR.

■ Stalin attempts to remove Tito

Tito quickly purged his party of pro-Cominform suspects. The USSR attempted to assassinate Tito, pressured Yugoslavia with a **trade embargo** and concentrated troops on the Yugoslav border. A Hungarian general who fled to the West claimed plans for an invasion of Yugoslavia were put on hold when the Korean War broke out, indicating the view that the USA and NATO may have responded with force.

■ Tito and the West

Tito turned to the West for assistance. He abandoned his support of Greek communist rebels. He accepted arms and financial support from Britain and the USA. The **CIA** and Yugoslav secret service developed close ties. In 1954, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey signed the Balkan Mutual Defence Pact.

Tito broke with the Soviet economic model. In 1950, workers were given some management authority in factories through elected workers' councils. The government ended price controls and permitted exports of goods without government control.

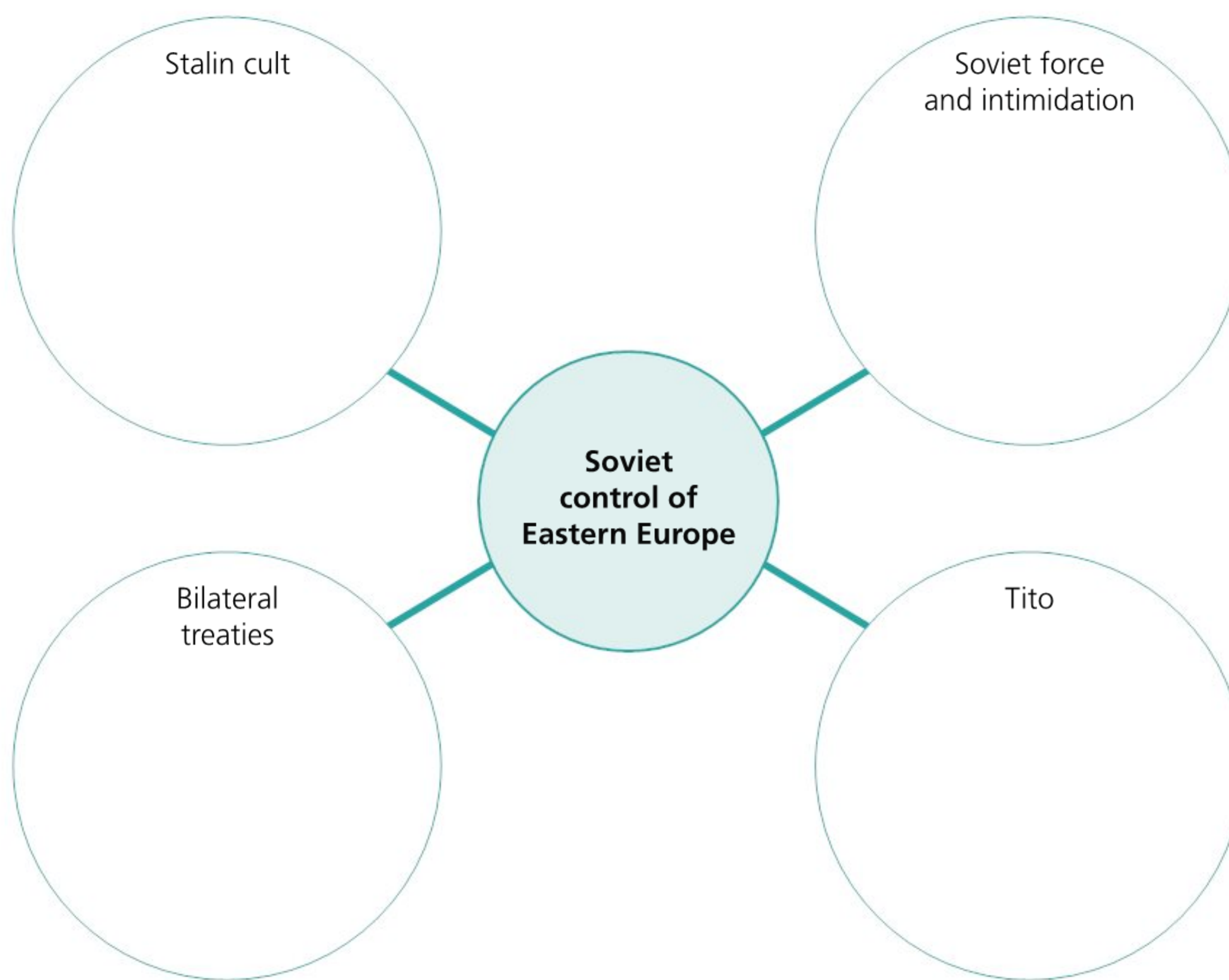
■ Western attempts to destabilize the Soviet bloc

Tito's break with the USSR encouraged the West to explore ways to weaken the Soviet influence in Eastern Europe:

- The USA and Britain unsuccessfully tried to remove Enver Hoxha, the communist leader of Albania.
- The USSR was accused in the UN of human rights abuses in Eastern Europe as a way to undermine its authority.
- Eastern European refugees received financial support as a means to encourage others to flee.
- Radio Free Europe, sponsored by the USA, broadcast propaganda into the Soviet bloc.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



SPOT THE MISTAKE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question and a sample body paragraph written in response to the question.
- Underline or highlight evidence that is inaccurate or not relevant to the demands of the question.

Discuss the methods the USSR used to establish control in Eastern Europe.

The USSR established control in Eastern Europe through economic policies, the power of the Stalin cult and the use of intimidation. The USSR tied the economies of Eastern European countries to the USSR and to one another. COMECON integrated the economies of the Soviet bloc, as did a number of bilateral treaties. Perhaps more effective was the Stalin cult. Because Stalin was seen as the father of socialism in the USSR and the great liberator of the Second World War, Eastern European leaders were expected to follow his lead. Tito was an example of this. However, Tito's ambition led to a break with Stalin. Stalin turned to intimidation for leaders, like Tito, who did not conform to his expectations. For example, a leader might be summoned to Moscow as a means to ensure his cooperation with the USSR. In Tito's case, Stalin forced Cominform to expel Yugoslavia.

SECTION 3 Exam focus

Sample question and guidance

Below is an example of a Paper 2 type question. The question will form the basis for examining demands of a question and historical concepts.

Examine the effects of rising Cold War tensions on Germany 1948–52.

■ Demands of the question

‘Demands of the question’ refers to the task, skills and understanding that you are expected to demonstrate in responding to a question. The question above consists of several demands:

- Examine: analyse the strengths and weakness of various arguments with a concluding opinion.
- Cold War history of Germany from 1948 to 1952.
- More than one argument must be analysed for strengths and weaknesses.

Anything in the essay that does not address one or more of these demands is not relevant. Material that is not relevant to the demands of the question, and does not contribute to the final mark for the essay, may limit the awarding of marks for the essay and uses time that could be used to develop relevant material that does help to achieve marks.

■ Concepts

An effect is the change that results from an action or development. The *IB History Guide* 2017 describes consequence as ‘how significant events and people have had both short-term and long-term effects ...’ (*History Guide*, first examinations 2017, page 95). Consequence is the concept that students must demonstrate understanding of when answering an effect questions.

Read through the extract from the sample conclusion to the question. Read the teacher annotations and comments.

Examine the effects of rising Cold War tensions on Germany 1948–52.

Two German states, the FRG and GDR, instead of a single, occupied German state, emerged as a consequence of rising Cold War tensions. Ideological differences were mirrored in the differing political and economic systems found in the two new German states. It could be argued that the US and Western European responses to communist aggression led to greater Western European integration. This is supported in the use of intimidation and force by the USSR in its satellite states. However, claims that the USSR responded to Western aggression and broken promises from wartime conferences have some merit. Ultimately, Germany’s division solidified with the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 until the collapse of communism allowed for German reunification in 1990.

Accurate use of the word ‘consequence’ clearly shows the student understands the concept.

Three different arguments are summarized: an ideological, a traditionalist and a revisionist interpretation.

Statements on the Berlin Wall and German reunification suggest material outside the relevant dates was examined in the essay. If not and they were added for colour, reference to irrelevant material reduces the power of a concluding paragraph.

Exam practice

Now it's your turn to take a mock exam. Below are two examples of questions related to Case study 3: The impact of Cold War tensions on Germany and Europe, 1948–52.

For more guidance on the History Paper 2 exam and its structure, please refer to pages 28–29. You can also use the checklist designed to help you write a successful essay.

- 1 Compare and contrast the methods used in consolidating rival Cold War blocs.
- 2 Examine the role of economics on the integration of Western Europe.

CASE STUDY

4

The spread of communism in Asia, 1945–54

1 Japan and the Cold War, 1945–52

Revised

Japan's military expansion in Asia before and during the Second World War weakened imperial governments and created opportunities for communist movements, including the CCP's victory in the Chinese Civil War.

■ The US occupation of Japan

At the Yalta Conference, the USSR agreed to declare war on Japan three months after Germany's defeat. In return, the USSR received Russian territories and rights held prior to Russia's defeat in the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, including:

- the Kuril Islands and the southern half of Sakhalin Island
- the naval base at Port Arthur
- control of two vital railroads in China.

The Soviets invaded Japanese-held Manchuria on 9 August 1945 – the same day the USA dropped an atomic bomb on Nagasaki, Japan. On 15 August, Japan announced its unconditional surrender to the Allies. Despite Japan's announcement, the Soviets continued advancing into Manchuria and then into northern Korea. US General **Douglas MacArthur** became the military ruler of Japan on 28 August and Japan signed a formal surrender on 2 September.

■ US–Soviet negotiations on the occupation of Japan

At the Council of Foreign Ministers meeting in September 1945, the USSR proposed that Japan be divided and then administered by an Allied Commission consisting of **Nationalist China**, Britain, the USA and the USSR. The USA rejected the proposal.

In December 1945, the USA agreed to the establishment of the Allied Council of Japan with representatives from Britain, Nationalist China, the British Commonwealth, the USA and the USSR. However, the council had no real power to make decisions in Japan. Power rested with General MacArthur as supreme commander. He needed to consult the Allied Council, but did not need to enact its recommendations. The majority of the occupying forces in Japan were US troops.

■ US policy in Japan, 1946–52

US policy aimed to form Japan into a liberal capitalist democracy:

- Japan's emperor kept his title, but with limited power.
- A multi-party Parliament was established.
- Large industrial conglomerates were divided into smaller independent businesses.
- Independent trade unions were formed.

In 1947, with Cold War tensions building in Europe and communists successfully fighting in China, the USA decided to make Japan into an economic ally. It was believed a strong Japanese economy would encourage trade and prosperity in the region, making it more difficult for communism to spread there.

■ The Treaty of Peace with Japan

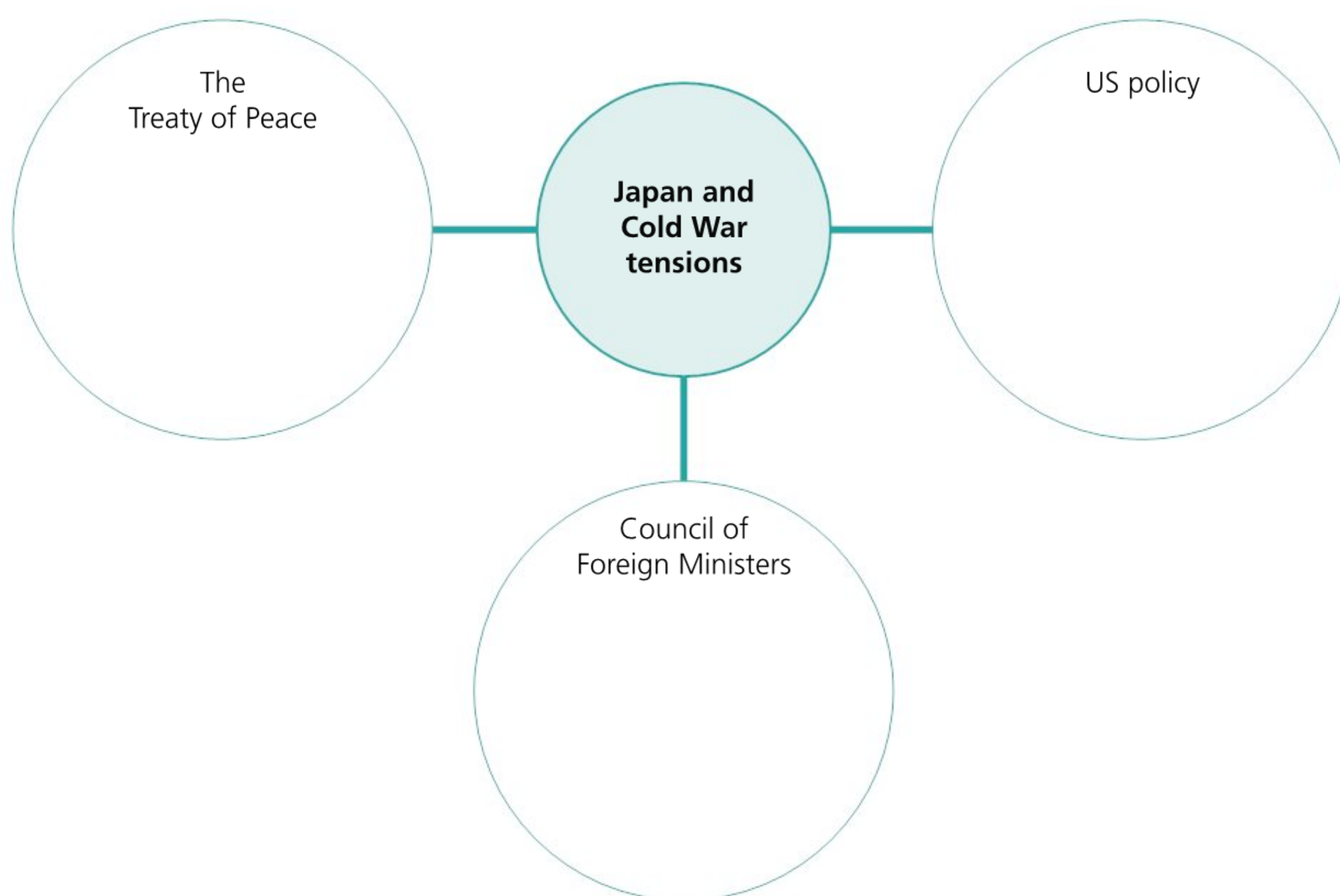
The Treaty of Peace with Japan was signed on 4 September 1951:

- Military occupation ended.
- Japan surrendered rights and claims in Korea, Taiwan and China.
- Japan would compensate Allied civilians and prisoners of war who have lost property or suffered Japanese abuses and crimes.
- Japan would pay reparations to states affected by its war.

The USSR refused to sign the treaty. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister **Andrei Gromyko** argued that the treaty turned Japan into an American military base and an ally of the USA. Four days later, the USA and Japan signed an agreement permitting the USA to base troops in Japan.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



ACCURATE AND RELEVANT KNOWLEDGE

- Paper 2 criteria require students to use accurate and relevant knowledge in their essays.
- The markband descriptor for the highest markband (13–15) reads: 'Knowledge of the world history topic is accurate and relevant' (*History Guide*, first examinations 2017, page 81).
- Relevance is determined by the demands of a question. In other words, what are the requirements of a question?

Below is a Paper 2 type question. Based on the demands of the question and using the information from the opposite page, place an 'X' in the box next to those statements identified as relevant knowledge.

Discuss the causes of Cold War tensions in relation to Japan.

Knowledge statement	Relevant knowledge
Japan's emperor kept his title, but with limited power	
The establishment of the Allied Council of Japan	
The Treaty of Peace with Japan	
Yalta Conference	
General MacArthur's rule as supreme commander	

2 The Chinese Civil War

Revised

■ Nationalists and Communists in China, 1927–45

In 1927, General **Chiang Kai-shek**, leader of the Chinese Nationalist Party (**KMT**), attempted to crush the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) with which he had formed an alliance. The attempt failed to destroy the CCP and sparked a civil war. The CCP eventually were forced to flee in the **Long March** to north-west China. **Mao** emerged as the leader of the CCP. In 1937, Japan invaded China, starting the Second Sino-Japanese War, 1937–45. The KMT and CCP renewed an uneasy alliance to combat Japan. However, occasional fighting between KMT and CCP troops continued during the war. In 1943, Britain and the USA recognized Chiang as China's leader and an important ally against Japan.

■ The Wannan Incident, 1941

In early 1941, the Communist Fourth Army was relocating from Wannan when KMT forces attacked its troops. The USA and the USSR prevented the renewal of the civil war. In 1943, Chiang announced that the CCP would have no role in post-war China. The CCP responded by calling for resistance to Chiang and his dictatorship.

■ Mao's strategy, 1944–5

By late 1944, the KMT had suffered significant defeats fighting the Japanese. In addition, high inflation and corruption contributed to falling support for Chiang and the KMT.

Meanwhile, Mao had strengthened the CCP. Economic, social and land reforms brought peasant support to the CCP. The CCP's army had grown to almost a million troops with an additional support from a million **militia** members.

At the end of 1944, Mao moved to strengthen his position against Chiang:

- CCP troops pushed south of the Yangtze River, establishing bases from which to fight the KMT after the war ended.
- Mao proclaimed himself the true leader of China and called for a coalition government to replace Chiang's dictatorship.
- Mao tried to gain support from the USA by emphasizing KMT incompetence and corruption.

■ Chiang's response

In June 1945, Chiang announced that 'Japan is our enemy abroad and the CCP is our enemy at home'. He would accept a coalition government only if he was given complete control of the CCP's military. The Nationalists blockaded areas of China that the CCP had liberated from Japan.

■ The surrender of Japan, August 1945

Mao ordered his forces to cooperate with the USSR after it declared war on Japan. He also directed his officers to prepare for war against the KMT.

On 12 August, Chiang, as the recognized leader of China, ordered CCP forces to remain where they were and not to accept the surrender of Japanese troops. Because Chiang and the KMT were concentrated in China's south, he could not prevent the CCP from doing so in the areas of the north it controlled.

■ Soviet and US policy in China, 1945

Both the USA and the USSR believed that the KMT would establish control over China after the war. Both states also supported a coalition government that included Mao and the CCP.

■ The USSR

In 1945, Stalin's main concern in China was securing the economic rights held by Russia in China and Manchuria prior to the Russo-Japanese War and promised at the Yalta Conference. In August, Stalin signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance with Chiang. The USSR received Port Arthur and the Changchun Railway. Stalin recognized Chiang as the leader of China and

China’s sovereignty over former Chinese territory conquered by Japan. Stalin agreed not to aid the CCP against the KMT.

The treaty was a setback to Mao, who had assumed Stalin would never support Chiang. Stalin pressured Mao into accepting an invitation from Chiang to establish peace in China.

■ The USA

The USA also encouraged Chiang and Mao to negotiate a compromise peace to bring order to China. The USA was worried about growing Soviet influence in Asia that would benefit the USSR if civil war restarted. The USA also helped Chiang by airlifting KMT troops to areas surrendered by Japan.

COMPLETE THE TABLE

- It is important to understand the strengths and weaknesses of the KMT and CCP to fully understand the history of China from 1927 to 1945.
- Use the table below to identify key strengths and weaknesses of the KMT and CCP.

1927–45	Strength	Weakness
KMT		
CCP		

INTRODUCTION

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

- grabs the reader’s attention
- addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
- identifies your argument’s main points
- transitions into the first main point of the argument.

Using your own knowledge and the table you completed for the above activity, write an introduction for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Compare and contrast the strengths and weaknesses of the KMT and CCP to 1945.

■ The Chongqing negotiations, August to October 1945

Under pressure, Mao agreed to meet Chiang in Chongqing on 26 August 1945. The talks broke down in October due to:

- Chiang demanding command of CCP troops
- Chiang rejecting Mao's proposal to mutually reduce CCP and KMT troops
- disagreements over a democratic constitution.

During the talks, fighting broke out between the CCP and KMT forces.

■ Soviet–US tension in Manchuria

The USSR secretly supported the CCP in Manchuria. CCP forces were allowed to occupy, but not in the cities. The USSR agreed not to turn the region over to the KMT when its forces left Manchuria, giving the CCP a major advantage because it already controlled much of Manchuria. In October 1945, the Soviets halted the movement of KMT troops into Soviet-occupied areas while allowing the CCP to increase its forces in Manchuria. Mao then began an offensive to take control of Manchuria. When Soviet troops left in spring 1946, they handed over Japanese weapons and provided officer training to the CCP.

Chiang appealed to the USA for help. He accelerated the movement of KMT troops into north-east China. The US Navy patrolled the seas near Port Arthur where Soviet ships were harboured. The increased threat of civil war and US–Soviet confrontation led the USSR to reduce support for the CCP and the CCP to halt armed action in Manchuria.

■ The Marshall mission

Truman announced that he would assist the KMT, but not intervene militarily. General George Marshall travelled to China to mediate between Chiang and Mao. He hoped to negotiate a coalition government with the CCP as a minority member. Neither Chiang nor Mao was interested in a compromise and Marshall left China in January 1947 after almost a year of fruitless talks.

■ Defeat of the Nationalists, 1946–9

In July 1946, Chiang attacked the CCP giving the KMT control of the Yangtze region by October. However, the KMT failed to take Manchuria. After Marshall's mission failed, Chiang renewed his attacks against the CCP, taking their capital, Yanan, in spring 1947. By the autumn, the KMT had lost the momentum and the CCP took the offensive. From December to March 1948, there were a series of CCP successful offensives in Manchuria and northern China. By autumn 1948, the CCP had advanced into central China.

■ Soviet assistance to the CCP, 1948–9

In spring 1948, Stalin decided to increase support for the CCP, but retained contacts with the KMT. Worried that a **Republican Party** victory in the November US presidential elections would bring a president willing to militarily intervene in China, Stalin responded positively to a request from Chiang to mediate an end to the fighting. Mao, confident of victory, rejected the mediation offer.

■ The USA

Truman was encouraged to increase financial and military support to Chiang by US diplomats, the **joint chiefs of staff** and the secretary of defence. Truman and Marshall, now US secretary of state, instead limited support to only financial assistance. Both Truman and Marshall were concerned that an increase in military support to Chiang could lead to possible war with the USSR.

■ Mao's triumph

The CCP enjoyed significant military success throughout 1949. In January, CCP forces captured Beijing and defeated KMT forces north of the Yangtze River. They crossed the Yangtze River in April, capturing Shanghai in May and Guangzhou in October.

On 1 October 1949, the People's Republic of China (PRC) was proclaimed. Chiang fled to Taiwan in December, where he maintained the Nationalist government and claimed it to be the legitimate government of China. Britain, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka recognized the PRC in January 1950 on the grounds that it had the backing of the majority of the people. The USA did not recognize the PRC until 1979.

■ The Sino-Soviet Pact

In February 1950, Stalin and Mao signed the Sino-Soviet Pact. The USSR and China agreed to:

- mutually defend each other in the case of an attack by Japan or its ally (meaning the USA)
- negotiate a peace treaty with Japan that would consider the interests of both China and the USSR
- refrain from entering agreements aimed at the other member of the pact
- consult closely on matters of mutual interest.

In addition, China supplied the USSR with supplies of tungsten, tin and antimony at low prices for ten years. The USSR provided military support for the PRC, including air-defence installations along its coast near Taiwan.

COMPLETE THE TABLE

- It is important to understand the strengths and weaknesses of the KMT and CCP to fully understand the history of China from 1945 to 1950.
- Use the table below to identify key strengths and weaknesses of the KMT and CCP.

1945–50	Strength	Weakness
KMT		
CCP		

CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH

An effective concluding paragraph reminds the reader of the key points of your argument and the conclusion of your argument. Therefore, it should be brief: about three sentences. The conclusion is a short summary of your argument. Do not include new information in the conclusion. An effective concluding paragraph:

- restates your argument’s conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using your own knowledge and the table you completed for the above activity, as well as the table in the previous section, write a conclusion for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Compare and contrast the strengths and weaknesses of the KMT and CCP from 1927 to 1949.

3 The Korean War, 1950–3

Revised

Japan occupied Korea in 1905 and made it a colony in 1910. The USA, Britain and Nationalist China proclaimed that Korea should be free and independent in the Cairo Declaration issued during the Second World War. In May 1945, a **trusteeship** was announced for Korea to be supervised by the USA, the USSR, Nationalist China and Britain.

■ Korea, 1945–9

The Red Army entered Korea on 12 August 1945 and quickly set up communists in local power. Based on a US recommendation, the USA and the USSR divided Korea along the 38th parallel, with Japanese forces surrendering to the USSR in the north and the USA in the south. When US forces reached Korea's capital, Seoul, to the south of the 38th parallel, **Kim Il-sung** already had declared his intention to rule Korea as a communist state. Also in Seoul, **Syngman Rhee**, a fervent anti-communist, proclaimed that he headed the provisional government of Korea. Kim and Rhee, bitter rivals, each determined to unify Korea without the other.

■ The creation of North and South Korea: ROK and DPRK

In December 1945, at the Moscow Conference for Foreign Ministers, steps were taken to establish a trusteeship for Korea. Disagreements over the character of a democratic government led the USA to refer the problem to the UN in November 1947.

The UN General Assembly sent a commission to supervise elections in Korea. The USSR refused commission members permission to enter the north. Rhee's Nationalist Party won an overwhelming majority in the south and created the Republic of Korea (ROK). In September 1948, Kim formed the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) under Soviet protection. Both new states claimed to be the legitimate representatives of all Korea.

■ Soviet withdrawal

When Soviet forces withdrew from northern Korea at the end of 1948, they left large supplies of military hardware and equipment. The USSR continued to send military supplies to the DPRK. Stalin was determined that North Korea would be strong enough to protect Soviet interests in Manchuria, especially if the CCP lost its war against Chiang.

■ US withdrawal

In the USA there was debate about the US role in the ROK:

- Korea was not within the USA's **Asian defence perimeter** and its occupation troops should be moved elsewhere.
- Removing the US presence in the ROK would weaken US prestige and allow North Korea to occupy the ROK.

Truman and US Secretary of State Dean Acheson decided Korea was not worth the expense of a prolonged military presence. When the UN General Assembly passed a resolution calling for the removal of occupation troops from the Korean peninsula, the USA withdrew all its troops by June 1949.

■ Soviet and Chinese support

North Korea and South Korea claimed to be the legitimate government of the whole of Korea. However, both Korean states needed outside military assistance to defeat their rival. The USA had pulled its troops out of the ROK. Kim and North Korea gained the support of the PRC and a more cautious USSR.

■ Kim's talks with Stalin

Kim visited Stalin in April 1948. When Kim complained about ROK violations of the frontier, Stalin urged him to strike the south. Historians debate whether Stalin meant guerrilla strikes or a full-scale invasion. After US troops withdrew from South Korea, Kim sent guerrilla troops into the ROK, but they failed in their mission. Kim decided to unite Korea by invading and defeating the ROK and Syngman Rhee. Kim met Stalin in May 1950, seeking backing for an invasion. Stalin supported Kim for several reasons:

- The USSR could dominate Korea and it would compensate for not being part of the occupation of Japan.

- Korea could be a useful ally to counter Japan being a US ally.
- Kim's victory would secure Soviet interests in Manchuria.
- Stalin thought the USA would not intervene after US Secretary of State Acheson did not specify South Korea as part of the US defensive perimeter in the Pacific in a speech given in January 1950.
- Kim would win a relatively easy victory and the threat of direct war between the USA and USSR was minimal.

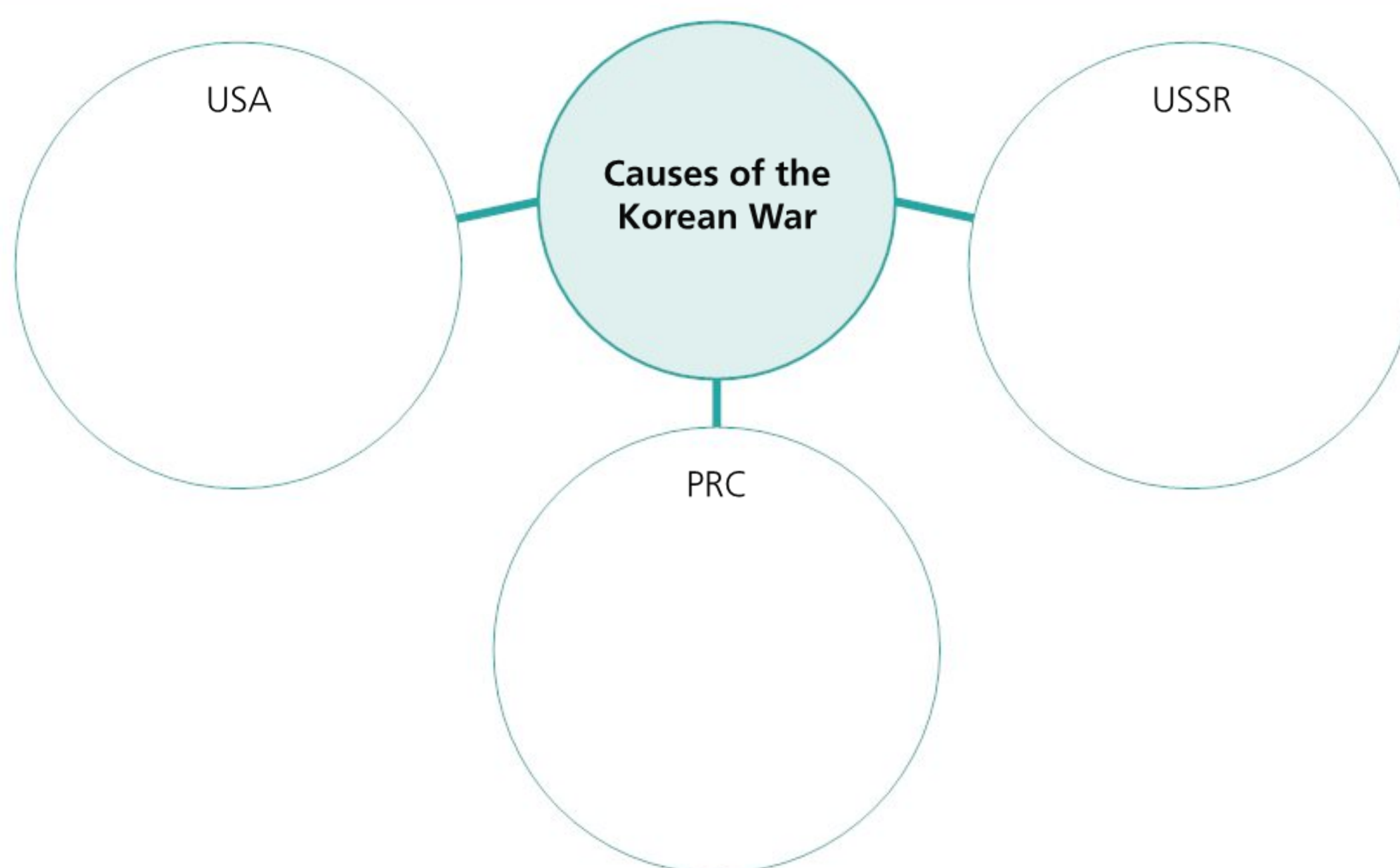
Stalin cautioned Kim that the USSR would not join in the fight for Korea. He told Kim to ask Mao for support. Stalin's final approval also was dependent on Mao giving his consent to Kim.

■ Kim's talks with Mao

Kim visited Mao in April 1950. Kim received Mao's approval because Mao believed that the USA would not intervene. In addition, Kim suggested to Mao that Stalin was more supportive than he really was.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



COMPLETE THE PARAGRAPH

- Below is a sample Paper 2 question and a sample paragraph written in response to the question.
- The paragraph contains a main argument but lacks details.
- Complete the paragraph, adding details in the space provided.

Examine the effect of foreign intervention in causing the Korean War.

A significant factor in causing the Korean War was foreign involvement by the USA, the USSR and the PRC.

■ The outbreak of the Korean War

With secret Soviet military assistance, North Korea's military strength far surpassed that of South Korea. On 25 June 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea.

■ US intervention

The US response to the invasion surprised Stalin and Kim. The USA believed that a major attack had to be countered to prevent communist aggression elsewhere in the world.

The USA appealed to the UN Security Council to authorize a military force to be sent to aid South Korea. Because the USSR was boycotting the UN's failure to recognize the PRC, the Soviet representation could not veto the resolution that allowed member states to assist South Korea.

Britain, France and the USA quickly ordered troops to South Korea. Earlier, Stalin had secretly informed Truman that US intervention in Korea would not be a reason for war between the USA and the USSR. Truman also sent the US Navy into the Taiwan Strait to prevent fighting between the Nationalists in Taiwan and the PRC.

The presence of the US Navy in the Taiwan Strait, as well as increasing US military aid to the Philippines and **French Indochina**, led Mao to suspect that the USA was preparing for war with the PRC. Mao decided to confront the USA in Korea before an American attack occurred on China. In July, Mao formed the Northeast Border Defence Army, which was supplemented by 122 fighter aircraft from the USSR.

■ The UN counter-attack

By early August, North Korean forces had captured over 90% of South Korea. Only a small area around the port city of Pusan (Busan) remained uncaptured, known as the Pusan Perimeter. US troops and supplies from Japan reinforced the ROK, which broke out of the Pusan Perimeter at the end of August. On 9 September, UN troops, led by General Douglas MacArthur, landed far behind the front lines in a seaborne invasion at Inchon. On 1 October, UN forces crossed the 38th parallel and soon captured Pyongyang, North Korea's capital. MacArthur continued the UN advance northward towards the Korean border with the PRC.

■ The PRC's entry into the war

Kim asked Stalin for military assistance. Stalin refused, but he did urge Mao to intervene. Mao hesitated until Stalin agreed to provide further military support to the PRC.

On 18 October, the PRC intervened in the Korean War. By the end of October, PRC forces had crossed the Yalu River in massive numbers. By the end of 1950, UN troops had been driven back across the 38th parallel.

Truman suggested that the USA might use atomic weapons against PRC forces. US allies worried that such a move would lead to war with the Soviets, who now possessed their own atomic bombs. Mao dared Truman to use atomic weapons, claiming that they would have no effect because of the immense size of the PRC army. Truman refrained from using atomic weapons in Korea.

■ Attempts to end the Korean War

Attempts to end the war began as early December 1950, but the war continued until July 1953.

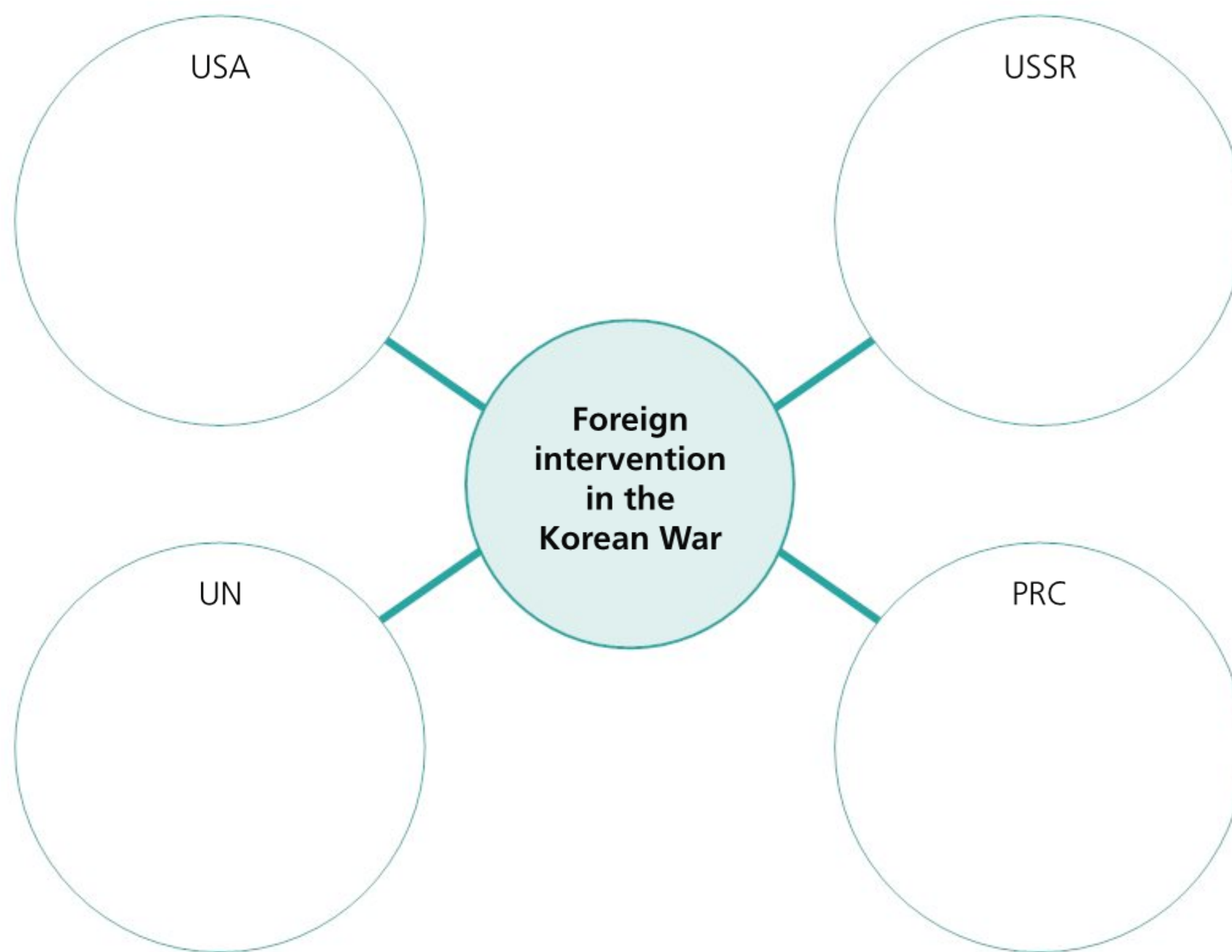
■ India's ceasefire proposal

On 5 December 1950, thirteen non-Western states, led by India, sent a peace proposal to the PRC and the UN. It called for PRC troops to halt at the 38th parallel and a conference to find a settlement. The UN endorsed the proposal.

The USA supported the proposal in the hope that the PRC would reject it and appear to be the aggressor. Mao was committed to fighting the USA. PRC military successes led to Mao rejecting the proposal. Mao then ordered an offensive that captured Seoul on 4 January 1951.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.

**COMPLETE THE PARAGRAPH**

- Below is a sample Paper 2 question and a sample paragraph written in response to the question.
- The paragraph contains a main argument but lacks details.
- Complete the paragraph, adding details in the space provided.

Examine the effect of foreign intervention in causing the Korean War.

Intervention by foreign forces had a significant impact on the course of the Korean War.

■ Armistice negotiations

A failed spring offensive led Mao to agree to negotiations for a truce. He hoped an agreement would lead to the withdrawal of UN forces from Korea. By May, the USA had solidified its position and agreed to negotiations.

Fighting had stabilized along the 38th parallel by July 1951. Negotiations dragged on for two years and fighting continued with little change in territory.

■ The Korean armistice

In January 1953, **Dwight D. Eisenhower** became president of the USA. He was determined to end the war. In March, Stalin died. Now both the US and Soviet leaderships wanted to end the war. Eventually, Mao realized that a total victory in Korea was impossible. On 27 July 1953, an armistice was signed designating the 38th parallel as the border between North Korea and South Korea.

■ The consequences of the war

■ Consequences for China

Mao used the Korean War to make revolutionary changes and to create hatred for 'American arrogance'. Mao suppressed opponents and drastically altered the economic and social life of China. The CCP promoted victories in the Korean War as avenging over a century of humiliation by Western powers.

■ Consequences for the USSR: Sino-Soviet relations

The war on one hand brought the USSR and PRC closer together, but, on the other hand, began the process of creating rifts in their relationship. Mao had depended on Stalin's consultation and Soviet military assistance. Mao viewed Stalin as opportunistic, such as charging exorbitant prices for military and other goods. Mao perceived the war as a fight against imperialism. He developed a sense of moral superiority when contrasting China to the USSR.

■ Consequences for Western Europe

The Korean War strengthened NATO, increased Western integration and led to the rearmament of West Germany.

■ Consequences for the USA

The Korean War strengthened the perception that communism was a global threat to the USA. The USA tripled its military budget, permanently stationed troops in Europe and rearmed Germany. It also formed a series of global alliances to fight communism: the South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (**CENTO**).

ESSAY STYLE OUTLINE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question.
- Use your own knowledge and the information from the opposite page to produce a plan for this question.
- Choose three main points. For each main point, provide four pieces of specific information that support the main point.
- Use the table below to organize your thoughts.

Examine the effects of the Korean War.

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
1				
2				
3				

BODY PARAGRAPHS

- Knowledge and understanding of historical topics, historical context and history concepts are developed in body paragraphs.
- Body paragraphs also are where critical analysis/evaluation, as well as demonstrating different perspectives, are developed.
- Effective body paragraphs should have one topic that addresses the demands of a question.
- Within the body paragraph, students elaborate on the topic with the use of accurate and relevant content knowledge and use their knowledge to support critical analysis of the topic.

Using the table and your notes from the activity above, write a body paragraph for each main point from the table that addresses the following question:

Examine the effects of the Korean War.

4 Indochina, 1945–54

Revised

Ho Chi Minh, leader of the League for the Independence of Vietnam, **Viet Minh**, proclaimed an independent, communist Republic of Vietnam on 29 August 1945 in Hanoi. His goal was to free Vietnam from Japan and then France.

■ The Indochinese War, 1946–54

Japan occupied French Indochina in 1940 but allowed French officials to continue to administer the government. In March 1945, Japan took total control in response to growing Viet Minh opposition. After Japan's surrender, Nationalist Chinese troops occupied northern Indochina and British forces occupied southern Indochina. Britain released and rearmed French troops who had been captured by Japan. France sent more troops to Indochina. Soon, clashes between the Viet Minh and France began.

The USSR had little interest in Indochina. The USA desired decolonization in Asia, but did not oppose France in Indochina. Britain supported France. In the Sino-French Agreement, February 1946, Nationalist China gave control of northern Indochina to France. Ho Chi Minh agreed to Vietnam being a self-governing, semi-independent state inside French Indochina.

■ The outbreak of hostilities

The compromise between Ho and France did not last long. France wanted full control of Vietnam and attacked Viet Minh forces in November 1946. Until 1949, France faced opposition primarily in mountainous regions. After Mao's victory in 1949, he provided military assistance to Ho. Mao believed it was his duty to encourage communist revolution in east Asia.

■ France on the defensive, 1950–4

In 1952, the PRC general, Chen Geng, co-ordinated an offensive campaign for and provided direct assistance to the Viet Minh along the PRC–Vietnam border. By December, the Viet Minh controlled much of north-west Vietnam. France sent more troops to Vietnam in mid-1953. General Henri Navarre chose to concentrate attacks in the south.

■ Dien Bien Phu

The Viet Minh decided to advance through Laos and Cambodia and attack Saigon, the largest city in southern Vietnam. In response, France, fortified the village of Dien Bien Phu on the Laos–Vietnam border. The Viet Minh surrounded the village and prevented supplies reaching the French. Six months later, on 7 May 1954, the French troops surrendered.

■ The USA and the Indochina War

In June 1949, with the support of the USA and France, Bao Dai, the former emperor of Vietnam, became the head of state of a semi-independent Vietnam that remained part of France's empire. It was hoped that Bao Dai would have a nationalist appeal and represent a patriotic and capitalist government. The plan failed.

Bao Dai had no programme, no ideology and little support. The structure of government gave him little power. In effect, the USA now supported a colonial war in Vietnam.

The situation in Dien Bien Phu led US Secretary of State **John Foster Dulles** to recommend US air strikes against the Viet Minh. If they failed, he suggested using **tactical nuclear weapons** and sending US troops to Vietnam. Britain and the US military chiefs of staff opposed Dulles's recommendations.

■ The Geneva Conference, 1954

By mid-1953, both the PRC and USSR considered a compromise in French Indochina. Both states feared US involvement in the war. After years fighting the KMT, Japan, and in Korea, the PRC was ready for peace and to concentrate on its economy. After Stalin's death, the new leaders in the USSR also wanted to focus on domestic issues and benefit from relaxed international tensions. On 28 September 1953, the USSR called for an international conference to solve problems in Korea and Indochina.

Britain and France supported the conference. The French people were tired of the war. However, France hoped a victory at Dien Bien Phu would strengthen its negotiating position. US Secretary

of State Dulles thought a compromise in Indochina would lead to communist gains throughout the region. However, the USA did not want to damage relations with its allies and reluctantly agreed to the conference.

■ The conference

The Geneva Conference began on 26 April 1954. After France’s defeat at Dien Bien Phu, the USA urged France to continue the fight. However, elections in June led to the formation of a new French government led by Pierre Mendès-France, a strong critic of the Indochina war. After suffering heavy casualties, the Viet Minh were ready to compromise. Britain, France, the USSR and the PRC reached a compromise in June. The USA refused to sign the compromise, but did not oppose it either. The PRC and USSR persuaded Ho to unify Vietnam peacefully through elections.

■ The Geneva Accords

The terms of the Geneva Accords included:

- independence for Cambodia and Laos
- the division of Vietnam at the 17th parallel of latitude
- French forces would withdraw north of the parallel while Viet Minh forces south of the parallel withdrew to the north
- democratic elections for a united Vietnam would be held in two years
- North Vietnam and South Vietnam were not to form military alliances with foreign states or allow foreign armies be stationed in their territories.

ESSAY STYLE OUTLINE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question.
- Use your own knowledge and the information from the opposite page and above to produce a plan for this question.
- Choose four main points. For each main point, provide four pieces of specific information that support the main point.
- Use the table below to organize your thoughts.

To what extent did Cold War tensions affect the course and outcome of the Indochinese War, 1946–54?

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
1				
2				
3				
4				

BODY PARAGRAPHS

- Knowledge and understanding of historical topics, historical context and history concepts are developed in body paragraphs.
- Body paragraphs also are where critical analysis/evaluation, as well as demonstrating different perspectives, are developed.
- Effective body paragraphs should have one topic that addresses the demands of a question.
- Within the body paragraph, students elaborate on the topic with the use of accurate and relevant content knowledge and use their knowledge to support critical analysis of the topic.

Using the table and your notes from the activity above, write a body paragraph for each main point from the table that addresses the following question:

To what extent did Cold War tensions affect the course and outcome of the Indochinese War, 1946–54?

SECTION 4 Exam focus

Sample question and guidance

Below is an example of a Paper 2 type question. The question will form the basis for examining demands of a question and historical concepts.

Compare and contrast the spread of communism in China and Indochina through 1954.

■ Demands of the question

‘Demands of the question’ refers to the task, skills and understanding that you are expected to demonstrate in responding to a question. The question above consists of three demands:

- Compare and contrast: give an account of similarities and differences between two or more items or situations, referring to both of them throughout the essay.
- The response must consist of both similarities and differences between China and Indochina through 1954.
- Comparing and contrasting must be integrated. Do not write one section on China and a separate section on Indochina.

Anything in the essay that does not address one or more of these demands is not relevant. Material that is not relevant to the demands of the question, and does not contribute to the final mark for the essay, may limit the awarding of marks for the essay and uses time that could be used to develop relevant material that does help to achieve marks.

■ Concepts

Investigating the spread of communism involves understanding change – one of the six concepts in History. By focusing on how and why change happened demonstrates deep understanding of the concept. As a compare and contrast question, there are opportunities to explore differing perspectives on how and why change occurred in two or more places.

Read through the extract from the sample body paragraph to the question. Read the teacher annotations and comments.

Compare and contrast the spread of communism in China and Indochina through 1954.

Communism successfully spread in China and Indochina because of war. In China, the CCP prevailed over the KMT in the Chinese Civil War; whereas, in Vietnam, the Viet Minh fought a colonial war of independence against France. In both wars, communist forces received assistance from a powerful communist state: the USSR aided the CCP and the PRC assisted the Viet Minh, but the USSR did not help the Viet Minh. The USA provided support both to Chiang's Nationalist government in China and to France in Indochina. In both wars, US support did not extend to military intervention. Military victories secured the establishment of communist states. CCP military victory resulted in communist control of all of mainland China. However, in Vietnam, Viet Minh victory at Dien Bien Phu led to the Geneva Accords, an international conference that negotiated the establishment of communist rule only in Vietnam north of the 17th parallel of latitude. Victory in a second war would be needed before communists controlled a unified Vietnam.

The topic sentence establishes the organization of the paragraph and identifies a similarity between the two wars.

Good use of the transition word 'whereas' signifies a difference.

The phrase 'in both wars' clearly identifies a similarity.

Similarities and differences are integrated, not addressed separately throughout the entire paragraph, for example, the differing outcomes of military victory.

Exam practice

Now it's your turn to take a mock exam. Below are two examples of questions related to Case study 4: The spread of communism in Asia, 1945–54.

For more guidance on the History Paper 2 exam and its structure, please refer to pages 28–29. You can also use the checklist designed to help you write a successful essay.

- 1 To what extent was force responsible for the spread of communism in Asia, 1945–54?
- 2 Evaluate the role of the USSR in the spread of communism in Asia, 1945–54.

CASE STUDY

5

From *détente* to the Berlin Wall, 1953–61

1 The thaw, 1953–5

Revised

Tensions between the USSR and the West eased from 1953 to 1955. A summit meeting was held in Geneva in 1955 between Britain, France, the USA and the USSR. The talks were cordial and led to a new atmosphere which came to be known as the 'Geneva Spirit'. However, no solutions to the German problem or the arms race were reached.

■ The new leaders, 1953

■ President Eisenhower

In January 1953, Dwight D. Eisenhower became US president. He pledged to take a tougher approach to the USSR and suggested he would work towards liberating the 'captive nations' of Eastern Europe. He spoke of using the atomic bomb in Korea and Indochina, but was not willing to risk a greater war with the USSR. On 1 November 1952, the USA successfully tested the first **hydrogen bomb**, which was about 500 times more powerful than the atomic bomb dropped on Nagasaki, Japan, at the end of the Second World War. A year later, the USSR exploded its first hydrogen bomb. Each nation possessed long-range aircraft that could deliver the massive bombs to the other. Eisenhower realized the only rational policy was to contain the USSR in Europe, not to remove the USSR from Eastern Europe.

■ Changes in the USSR

Joseph Stalin died on 5 March 1953. For three years, five men shared power in the USSR while each manoeuvred to secure power for himself. As a group, they desired to improve living standards and break up Stalin's police state. Such changes could happen only with a decrease in military spending. Only improved international relations would allow them to reduce spending on the military. In the **Supreme Soviet**, one of the leaders, Georgi Malenkov, announced that all problems could be settled by discussions leading to mutual agreements between nations.

■ The West and *détente*

The new Soviet desire for **détente** helped lead to the end of the Korean War, the Geneva Accords and a possible solution to the German problem.

■ Eisenhower's response, 1953

Eisenhower tied improved relations to free elections in Eastern Europe. Winston Churchill, once again British prime minister, proposed a Four-Power Conference to discuss German reunification and demilitarization. Both Eisenhower and German Chancellor Adenauer, as well as Churchill's own government, disliked Churchill's proposal and worried that a neutral Germany could lead to the removal of Western European economic and military ties, making Germany vulnerable to the USSR. As a result of political pressure for peace from Western Europeans, a foreign ministers' meeting was scheduled for December 1953 to discuss a possible agenda for a conference.

■ The USSR and the GDR, April to June 1953

■ Soviet concern

The possibility of a revolt in the GDR meant that the USSR might need to intervene militarily to stabilize the country, which would harm its policy of *détente*. Some among the Soviet leadership began questioning the value of the GDR. In the Soviet **Presidium**, **Levrentia Beria**, head of the Soviet secret police (KGB), recommended forming a neutral Germany. The recommendation was not authorized.

However, Walter Ulbricht was summoned to Moscow. He was ordered to be more conciliatory and slow the pace of social and economic reform. Ulbricht ignored the order and maintained industrial production quotas. It was believed that Ulbricht wanted to provoke an uprising in the GDR which would force Soviet intervention and end discussions of a unified Germany. By doing so, the GDR would remain communist and Ulbricht would stay in power.

COMPLETE THE TABLE

- Use your understanding of the material on the opposite page to complete the table.
- For each leader, identify changes and continuity in policies and actions compared with those of his predecessor.

Leader	Change	Continuity
Eisenhower		
Khrushchev		

COMPLETE THE PARAGRAPH

- Below is a sample Paper 2 question and a sample paragraph written in response to the question.
- The paragraph contains a main argument but lacks details.
- Complete the paragraph, adding details in the space provided.

Discuss the effect of the change of leadership in the USA and USSR on the Cold War, 1952–61.

In 1953, Eisenhower became president of the USA and Stalin died. The change in leadership, especially the emergence of Khrushchev in the USSR, had a significant impact on Cold War tensions.

■ The East German Uprising

Strikes and riots broke out across East Germany on 16 June 1953. There were demands for wage increases, greater political freedom and the re-establishment of the German Socialist Democratic Party, and calls for the government to resign.

The government asked the USSR to intervene. On 17 June, Soviet troops and tanks went into the streets. When all the demonstrations subsided, 129 people had been killed.

The uprising surprised both the USA and the USSR.

■ US reaction

Eisenhower did not interfere in response to the Soviet intervention. He believed that images of violent Soviet suppression in the GDR would negatively affect the perception of the USSR and communism, which would benefit US foreign policy. The USA also hoped that Adenauer would benefit from Soviet intervention in an upcoming election. But doing nothing could have a negative political impact on the USA in Western Europe. The USA:

- called for a foreign ministers' conference on the future of Germany
- used radio broadcasts into East Germany to encourage unrest.

The strategy succeeded and Adenauer easily won re-election.

■ The Berlin Conference, 25 January to 18 February 1954

The foreign ministers met in Berlin in early 1954. However, hopes for a solution had ended. In the USSR, Beria had been arrested and executed for treachery. Plans for a unified Germany were proposed by each side and rejected by the other. The problem of a unified Germany remained unsolved.

■ French rejection of the European Defence Community, August 1954

The FRG ratified both the entry into the European Defence Community (EDC) and the General Treaty in 1953. In August 1954, France rejected the EDC.

■ FRG's entry into NATO, May 1955

The FRG's membership in NATO was a priority for the USA and Britain. French fears were allayed by:

- limiting the size of the West German army to that stipulated in the EDC treaty
- the renouncement of nuclear weapons by the FRG
- Britain agreeing to keep a military force in West Germany.

An agreement for FRG membership and recognition of FRG independence was reached in October 1954. The Western Allies agreed to keep troops in the FRG and to Four-Power Control in Berlin until a united Germany was integrated into Western Europe. On 9 May 1955, the FRG joined NATO. Its membership solidified its integration into Western Europe. It also deepened the rift between the West and East, strengthening ties between the GDR and the Soviet bloc.

■ The Warsaw Pact

On 14 May 1955, the Warsaw Pact was formed. It was a counter to FRG entering NATO. It committed the USSR and its Eastern European satellites to mutual consultation and support in the event of an attack.

■ The 'Geneva Spirit' and its limitations

The first major conference since Potsdam met in Geneva in July 1955.

■ The Geneva Conference

The agenda included:

- the reunification of Germany
- European security
- disarmament
- the development of contacts between East and West.

Despite the atmosphere of *détente* and the ‘Geneva Spirit’, there was a limitation to cooperation. The USSR agreed to withdraw from Austria if Austria remained neutral and outside NATO. There was an agreement for foreign ministers to meet further to discuss Germany, security and disarmament. However, little substantive agreement on key issues was reached.

■ **Adenauer’s visit to Moscow, September 1955**

In September 1955, Adenauer travelled to Moscow to discuss the return of German prisoners of war and to establish formal diplomatic relations with the USSR. However, his visit increased Cold War tensions.

The USSR had recognized the GDR as an independent state. Adenauer feared that exchanging ambassadors with the USSR would be interpreted as recognizing the GDR as a legal state. Adenauer proclaimed the Hallstein Doctrine, which declared:

- Any state, other than the USSR, recognizing the GDR would be considered an unfriendly act towards the FRG.
- The FRG would end diplomatic relations with any state that recognized the GDR, except for the USSR.

The Hallstein Doctrine increased the division of the two Germanys.

ACCURATE AND RELEVANT KNOWLEDGE

- Paper 2 criteria require students to use accurate and relevant knowledge in their essays.
 - The markband descriptor for the highest markband (13–15) reads: ‘Knowledge of the world history topic is accurate and relevant’ (*History Guide*, first examinations 2017, page 81).
 - Relevance is determined by the demands of a question. In other words, what are the requirements of a question?
- Below is a Paper 2 type question. Based on the demands of the question, and using the information from the opposite page and your own knowledge, place an ‘X’ in the box next to those statements identified as relevant knowledge.**

Explain the effect of the decreasing likelihood of German unification, 1953–5.

Knowledge statement	Relevant knowledge
Hallstein Doctrine	
USSR recognized GDR as an independent state	
Warsaw Pact formed	
Strikes and riots in the GDR	
The Berlin Wall was built	

INTRODUCTION

- An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:
- grabs the reader’s attention
 - addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
 - identifies your argument’s main points
 - transitions into the first main point of the argument.

Using your own knowledge and the table you completed for the above activity, write an introduction for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Explain the effect of the decreasing likelihood of German unification, 1953–5.

2 The emergence of the Third World and the Non-Aligned Movement

Revised

By 1955, several former colonies had gained independence from imperial powers. Independence movements and calls for decolonization continued to spread around the globe.

■ The USSR and the Third World

The **Third World** became a term used to identify many areas and people who claimed to have been economically repressed and enslaved by imperial powers. In newly independent states, the Cold War presented a dilemma. Most wanted to maintain friendly relations with the USSR and also to receive aid from the USA. They wanted to avoid choosing sides in the Cold War.

■ Khrushchev and the Third World

Nikita Khrushchev, who had emerged as the leader in the USSR, understood the value of involvement in the Third World. The USSR could exploit anti-colonial sentiment there and weaken the West. The new Soviet leadership attacked colonialism and imperialism as the age-old enemies of the world and pledged to cooperate with Third World countries.

■ PRC–Soviet cooperation

The USSR increased cooperation with the PRC in 1954–5. It returned military bases in Lushan (Port Arthur) and increased financial and technical assistance to the PRC. The Soviets also provided assistance in nuclear technology.

■ The Bandung Conference and the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement

■ The Bandung Conference

Leaders from Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Burma and Sri Lanka – all post-war independent states – planned to meet in Bandung in 1955. It was decided to invite leaders of independence in Africa, Asia and South America to the conference, which was also attended by the PRC.

Although there was talk of their Cold War dilemma, the main topic of discussion was the struggle for liberation and independence from the West. The attendees agreed on:

- economic and cultural cooperation among Third World states
- developing a joint policy in petroleum, which eventually led to the creation of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)
- avoiding alliances or mutual defensive assistance that would benefit the superpowers.

Eisenhower worried about support for socialism in Third World states. Khrushchev was concerned that growing cooperation between Third World countries would limit the USSR's influence on them.

■ The Non-Aligned Movement

In 1961, the **Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)** was formed by representatives from India, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Ghana and Algeria. Members of the NAM were committed to principles set at Bandung:

- self-determination
- mutual economic assistance
- neutrality.

By 1964, the NAM consisted of over 50 members.

SIGNIFICANCE

- Significance examines the relative importance of people, events, ideas and so on, and whether evidence supports the claim of significance.
- Using the information on the opposite page and from earlier in the chapter, rate the significance of the general points below in the creation of the NAM.
- Write the number of the general point in the appropriate box on the spectrum below.

- 1 Independence from Western colonialism
- 2 Increased Sino-Soviet cooperation
- 3 Khrushchev understood the value of involvement in the Third World
- 4 Desire to maintain good relations with both the USA and USSR
- 5 Mutual economic assistance

Limited cause of NAM				Important cause of NAM		

CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH

An effective concluding paragraph reminds the reader of the key points of your argument and the conclusion of your argument. Therefore, it should also be brief: about three sentences. The conclusion is a short summary of your argument. Do not include new information in the conclusion.

An effective concluding paragraph:

- restates your argument's conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using information from the opposite page and your own knowledge, write a concluding paragraph for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Analyse the reasons for the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement.

3 1956: The year of crises

Revised

Several crises in 1956 made it a pivotal year for the Cold War. The year began with *détente*, but the USSR was confronted with serious questions about its role in Eastern Europe. A crisis in Egypt further increased tensions.

■ De-Stalinization

De-Stalinization and its seeming promise of greater independence had a powerful impact on the Soviet satellite states. Beria's execution in 1953 resulted in the breakdown of his secret police network throughout Eastern Europe. Jailed leaders such as **Władysław Gomułka** in Poland and **János Kádár** in Hungary were freed and re-entered politics.

■ Khrushchev's speech, February 1956

In February 1956, Nikita Khrushchev gave a stunning speech at the Twentieth Party Conference of the Communist Party. Khrushchev denounced Stalin and blamed him and his cult of personality for crimes against the party, being unprepared for the Second World War and other problems. Khrushchev also declared that satellite states had the right to find their own paths to socialism, which implied greater independence for them. The speech is often referred to as the Secret Speech, because it was not intended for a public audience. However, the US Central Intelligence Agency obtained a copy of it and broadcast it by radio into Eastern European countries. The USA hoped that calls for independence would lead to political change.

■ Yugoslavia

De-Stalinization paved the way for Yugoslavia to be readmitted into the Soviet bloc. Stalin was blamed for the break in Soviet–Yugoslav relations. Khrushchev hoped to bring Yugoslavia and its leader, Tito, back into the Soviet sphere of influence. Tito saw himself as the new model for a new generation of Soviet bloc leaders. In June 1956, Khrushchev and Tito declared there were many paths to achieve communism and attempts to impose uniformity were unacceptable.

■ The Polish Crisis, June to October 1956

In June 1956, riots broke out in Poznań to protest at raised industrial production quotas. Police brutally ended the riots. The Polish Workers' Party, Poland's Communist Party, returned Gomułka to lead the government as first secretary. The move was made to minimize criticism of police brutality and the government's use of force. The Soviet government, however, feared Gomułka would lead Poland to independence. A Soviet delegation arrived in Warsaw to stop the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party electing Gomułka. Simultaneously, Soviet military forces were sent as a show of force against Gomułka's election. Gomułka refused to step aside and was elected first secretary. Soviet troops returned to their bases.

■ The Hungarian Uprising, 1956

Under pressure from Khrushchev and Tito, the Hungarian Communist Party replaced the Stalinist Mátyás Rákosi with the more liberal Ernő Gerő. For Khrushchev, this was part of de-Stalinization. Tito hoped an independent Hungary would emerge, allowing him to increase his influence in the region.

■ The appointment of Imre Nagy

On 23 October 1956, demonstrations demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops and a new government headed by **Imre Nagy** broke out in Hungary's capital, Budapest. After violence erupted, Gerő appointed Nagy, a communist who wanted reforms similar to those in Yugoslavia, as prime minister.

Despite mobilizing Soviet troops, Khrushchev abided by his claim for greater independence in the satellite states. He issued a declaration to develop a legal framework for Soviet military bases in Eastern Europe. It had little effect. Nagy threatened to pull Hungary out of the Warsaw Pact. The Soviets worried this would lead other satellite states to withdraw from the pact as well, beginning a domino effect of independence in the Eastern Europe.

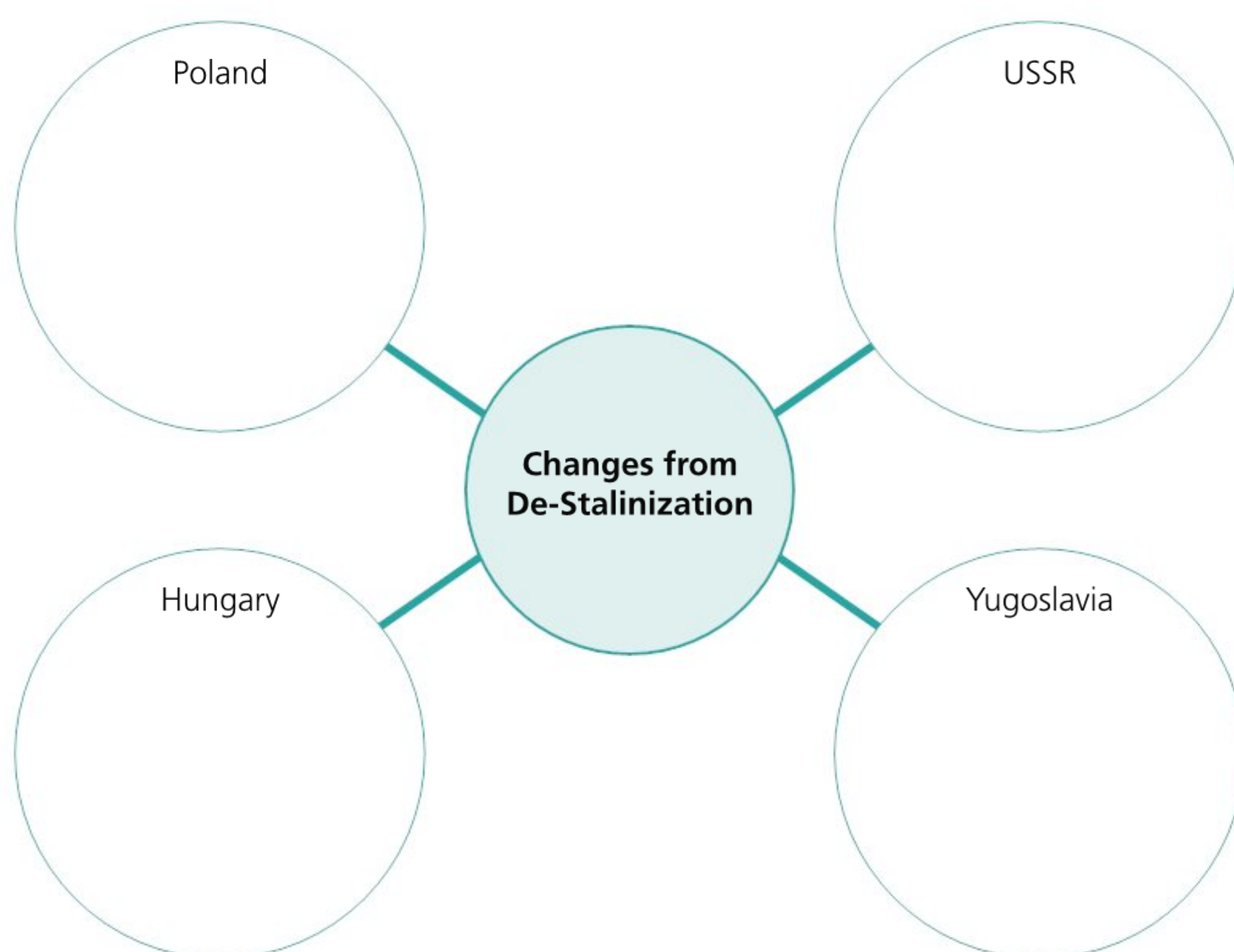
Clashes between Soviet troops and Hungarians occurred in several regions of Hungary.

■ US policy

Radio Free Europe, a US-sponsored radio station, broadcast propaganda into Hungary encouraging the revolt. Worried about escalating the crisis, Eisenhower notified the Soviets he had no intention of intervening in Hungary. On 4 November, Soviet troops moved into Hungary and fierce fighting broke out. A few days later the Soviets placed János Kádár as head of a new loyal government.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



BODY PARAGRAPHS

- Knowledge and understanding of historical topics, historical context and history concepts are developed in body paragraphs.
- Body paragraphs also are where critical analysis/evaluation, as well as demonstrating different perspectives, are developed.
- Effective body paragraphs should have one topic that addresses the demands of a question.
- Within the body paragraph, students elaborate on the topic with the use of accurate and relevant content knowledge and use their knowledge to support critical analysis of the topic.

Using the mind map and your notes from the activity above, write a body paragraph that addresses the following question:

Evaluate the effect of de-Stalinization in Eastern Europe.

■ The Suez Crisis

A crisis in Egypt greatly affected the Hungarian Uprising.

■ Nasser and the 'Bandung Spirit'

Abdel Nasser became president of Egypt in 1954. Nasser was a leader of the independent, anti-colonial movement. He developed close ties with several communist states. His goal was to rid the Middle East and north Africa of European colonial powers and return Palestinian refugees to their homeland, lost with the creation of Israel in 1948. Nasser wanted to use superpower tensions and concerns to gain concessions from both sides.

■ The Czechoslovakia arms deal

The USA offered to supply weapons to Egypt for defensive purposes, but required US military advisers to supervise training. Nasser rejected those terms. In September 1955, Nasser signed an agreement with Czechoslovakia for it to provide Egypt with weapons, including tanks and military aircraft.

■ The Aswan Dam

In response to Nasser's purchase of weapons from Czechoslovakia, Britain and the USA worked with the **World Bank** to raise funds for the construction of the Aswan High Dam, an important project that would allow Egypt to generate electricity for industrialization. Nasser claimed that the required financial guarantees would lead to the World Bank running Egypt's economy. The USSR offered Nasser a substantially larger loan at low interest and without further necessary financial guarantees. Nasser hoped to use this offer to bargain with the USA. On 19 July, Britain and the USA withdrew their offer to help build the dam. Nasser's anti-Western policies were a factor influencing the USA's decision to rescind its offer.

■ Nationalization of the Suez Canal

Although the **Suez Canal** was owned by an Anglo-French company, it was controlled by a series of British military bases along its shores. Britain agreed to withdraw its troops from the canal in 1954, but with right of return if Egypt was attacked. Nasser used the withdrawal of Anglo-US funding for the Aswan High Dam as an opportunity to control the entire canal and use its profits to build the Aswan Dam and other national projects. He **nationalized** the Suez Canal on 26 July 1956.

■ Anglo-French collusion with Israel

Britain, France and Israel responded to the nationalization of the Suez Canal by planning to remove Nasser from power. Nasser endangered British and French colonial influence in the region. Nasser's call for the end to the European **Zionist** occupation of Palestine threatened Israel's existence. Israel also saw an opportunity to expand its state into Egypt's Sinai Peninsula.

In October, Britain, France and Israel developed a plan to invade Egypt. Israel would attack Egypt, heading towards the Suez Canal. Britain and France would then send troops to defend the canal, in accordance with the Anglo-Egyptian agreement. On 29 October, Israel attacked Egypt, capturing much of the Sinai Peninsula. When Britain and France demanded the withdrawal of all troops from the canal, Nasser refused. Britain bombed Egyptian airfields.

■ The Suez Crisis and Hungary

Khrushchev faced two problems: possible setbacks in Hungary and the likelihood of Nasser's defeat, which would jeopardize Soviet influence in Egypt.

■ US intervention

On 5 November, British and French forces landed along the Suez Canal. In Washington, President Eisenhower was upset with British and French actions. Not only was Eisenhower in the middle of presidential elections, he believed the Suez Crisis harmed US interests among Arab nationalists and the West's position against Soviet intervention in Hungary.

During the Suez Crisis, Khrushchev proposed a joint US–USSR peacekeeping operation under UN control along the Suez Canal. He threatened to send Soviet troops even if the USA did not do so. The USA had to choose between supporting Anglo-French colonialism and backing Arab nationalism. Eisenhower and US Secretary of State John Foster Dulles chose to back Arab nationalism, believing it would allow the USA to better counter Soviet influence in the Middle East and the Third World.

The USA put financial and diplomatic pressure on Britain and France. Eisenhower managed to end the fighting on 6 November. Israel withdrew from the Sinai Peninsula in 1957 under pressure from the USA.

■ The Soviet missile threat

The split between the USA and its NATO allies, Britain and France, provided Khrushchev with a major political opportunity. On 5 November, he threatened to use nuclear weapons against Britain, France and Israel unless they ceased fighting Egypt. It was a bluff. He had no way to carry out any such attack. But the next day a ceasefire went into effect. It appeared Khrushchev’s ultimatum, not Eisenhower’s political manoeuvring, had saved Egypt and defeated the Western imperialists.

ESSAY STYLE OUTLINE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question.
- Use your own knowledge and the information from the opposite page to produce a plan for this question.
- Choose three main points. For each main point, provide four pieces of specific information that support the main point.
- Use the table below to organize your thoughts.

To what extent did Cold War tensions influence Nasser’s policies in Egypt to 1956?

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
1				
2				
3				

COMPLETE THE BODY PARAGRAPH

Using the information from the opposite page, the table from the previous activity and your own knowledge, complete the body paragraph found below in answer to the question:

To what extent did Cold War tensions influence Nasser’s policies in Egypt to 1956?

Cold War tensions had a significant affect on Nasser’s decisions in Egypt, but nationalism and economics were factors as well.

4 The aftermath of the Hungarian Uprising and Suez Crisis, 1957–8

Revised

The goals of the superpowers did not always perfectly align with those of their allies.

■ The Soviet Bloc

As a result of crises in Poland and Hungary, the USSR understood that encouraging reforms in satellite states ran the risk of their developing into democracies. The crises also emphasized the difficulty of implementing common policies within the Soviet bloc.

■ Moscow Conference of International Communist Leaders, October 1957

The Moscow Conference of International Leaders passed a resolution that recognized Soviet power and leadership in the Soviet bloc. The USSR would provide economic assistance to satellite states and tolerate some differences. But it was clear that satellite states must follow the Soviet political and economic model. Poland and Yugoslavia did not support the resolution. Tito broke with the USSR and helped form the NAM in 1961.

■ Growing criticism from the PRC

Mao publicly supported Khrushchev at the Moscow Conference. However, Mao opposed de-Stalinization and criticized Khrushchev's handling of the crises in Poland and Hungary. He began to suggest he, not Khrushchev, was Stalin's rightful successor as head of the communist world.

■ Khrushchev and nuclear diplomacy

Khrushchev's role in Hungary and the Suez Canal allowed him to strengthen his power in the USSR. He was appointed Soviet prime minister in 1958 while retaining his role as first secretary of the party. US Secretary of State Dulles believed that Khrushchev was more willing to take risks than Stalin had been, perceiving him as a larger threat to peace and the USA.

After his success in the Suez Crisis, Khrushchev implemented **nuclear diplomacy**, using the threat of nuclear weapons to support diplomatic negotiations. Nuclear diplomacy would be used to put pressure on NATO over the problems of Berlin. Khrushchev's credibility increased in 1957 when the USSR developed its first **intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM)** in August and launched Earth's first artificial satellite, **Sputnik**, into orbit in October. These technical achievements gave the perception that the USSR was building a large number of nuclear weapons. But the reality was that the USSR possessed only four ICBM by 1960 and the USA had already far surpassed this number. The negative balance of nuclear weapons did not prevent Khrushchev from exaggerating Soviet capability in international relations.

■ NATO, 1957–8

The Suez Crisis created disturbed relations between the USA, Britain and France, which weakened NATO. The USA and Britain reconciled, but the rest of Europe grew more wary of the USA's interests in relation to Europe's interests.

■ Britain

In March 1957, an Anglo-American conference helped improve relations between the USA and Britain. At the conference, an agreement led to basing **intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs)** in Britain, under joint US–British control. In 1958, the two countries supported pro-Western governments in Lebanon and Jordan against pressure from the United Arab Republic, a short-lived political union of Egypt and Syria.

■ France

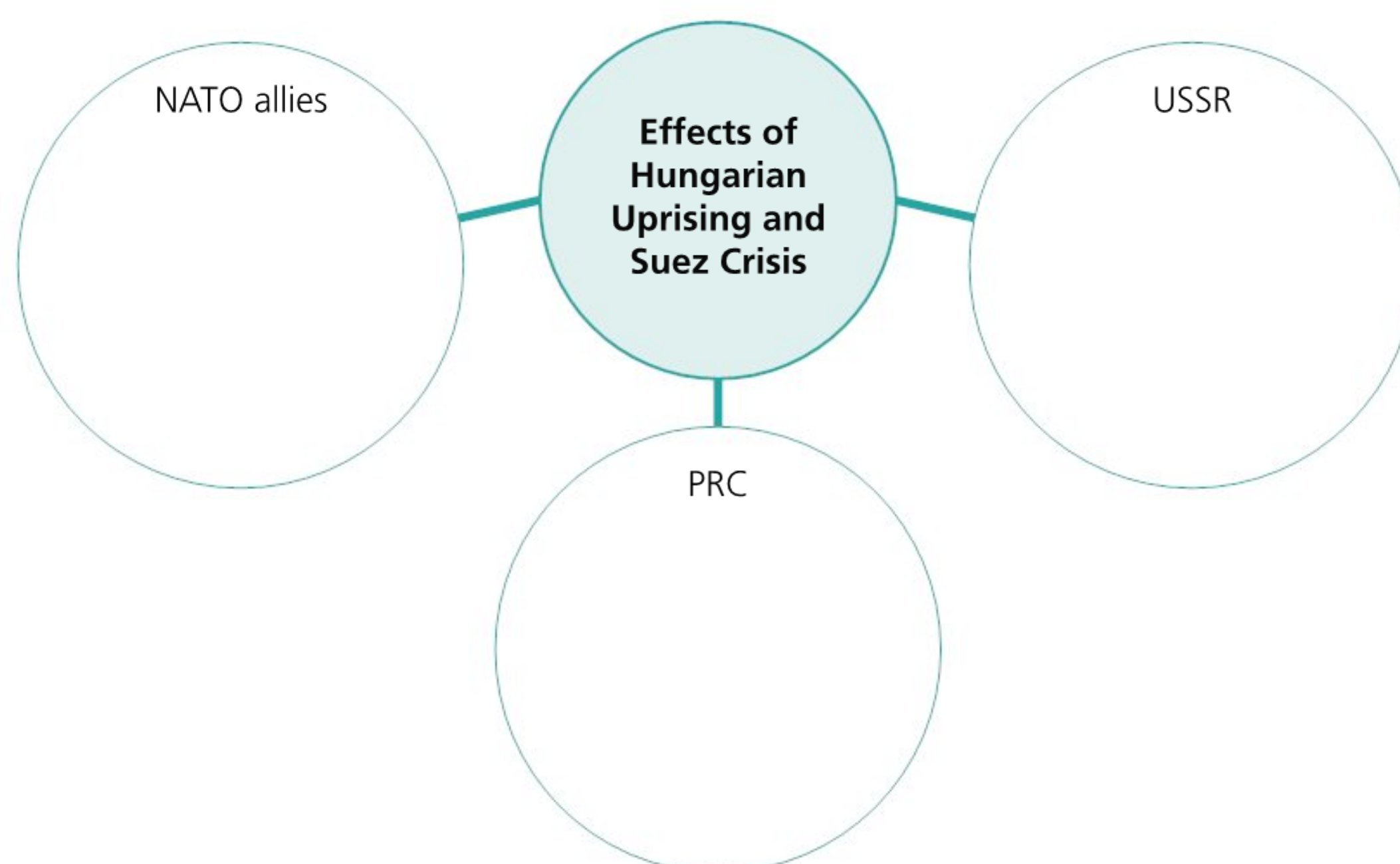
France responded to the Suez Crisis by seeking greater military and economic independence from the USA. Led by President Charles de Gaulle, elected in 1958, France began developing its own nuclear weapons. De Gaulle also sought greater economic independence for Europe with the newly established European Economic Community (EEC). France and the FRG worked together to strengthen the EEC.

■ **FRG**

Chancellor Adenauer wanted to use the EEC to increase Western European integration and as a link to US economic power. However, Adenauer was unsure that the USA would maintain ties to Europe once the USSR developed weapons that could reach the American mainland. He feared that in such a situation, the USA would withdraw its forces from Europe and allow West Berlin to fall into the Soviet bloc.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page and above to add details to the mind map below.

**CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH**

An effective concluding paragraph reminds the reader of the key points of your argument and the conclusion of your argument. Therefore, it should be brief: about three sentences. The conclusion is a short summary of your argument. Do not include new information in the conclusion. An effective concluding paragraph:

- restates your argument's conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using your own knowledge and the mind map you completed for the above activity, as well as the table in the previous section (page 91), write a conclusion for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Compare and contrast the effects of the Hungarian Uprising and Suez Crisis on the Western Allies and communist states.

5 The Berlin Crisis, 1958–61

In 1958, the USSR decided to strengthen the GDR.

■ The GDR

NATO states did not recognize the GDR. They argued that it had not been formed legitimately via democratic elections. Therefore, it was still part of the Soviet-occupied zone. Legally, Berlin remained under Four-Power Control. If the USSR threatened to close the border between West and East Berlin it would be likely to cause a major crisis with NATO.

In addition, the GDR was not popular among its own inhabitants. It was completely dependent on the USSR. It possessed a stagnant economy and was an oppressive state. It stood in stark contrast to the economically prosperous FRG, separated by an open border.

The open border meant it was easy for dissatisfied residents of the GDR to cross into West Germany. Many highly skilled residents fled to the West for better conditions and opportunities, draining the GDR of their vital skills. Between 1945 and 1961, about one-sixth of the entire population of the GDR left for the FRG. The loss of skilled workers needed to be stopped if the GDR hoped to improve its economy.

■ Khrushchev's ultimatum, November 1958

Khrushchev hoped to force Britain, France and the USA to recognize the GDR, withdraw from Berlin and give the GDR the right to control Berlin's borders. On 10 November, Khrushchev called for a peace treaty for the two German states, sparking the Berlin Crisis. Seventeen days later, he issued an ultimatum demanding a demilitarized West Berlin, the withdrawal of Western troops, and making Berlin into a **free city**.

If the Western Allies would not sign a peace treaty between the two German states, Khrushchev threatened to:

- sign a peace treaty with the GDR only
- recognize GDR sovereignty over East Berlin.

With sovereignty of East Berlin, the GDR could control access to West Berlin. In that case, the Western Allies would not be able to work with Soviet officials. They would be forced to work with East German officials, leading to *de facto* recognition of the GDR and a violation of the Hallstein Doctrine.

■ Western reaction, 1959–60

Despite rejecting Khrushchev's ultimatum, the Western Allies agreed to discuss the German problem at a foreign ministers' conference. Tensions increased between the Anglo-Americans, French and West Germans when British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan visited Moscow and US President Eisenhower invited Khrushchev to the USA.

■ The Geneva Conference, May to August 1959

At the Geneva Conference, the Western Allies demanded free, democratic elections. The USSR called for the formation of a **confederation** that would gradually evolve into a unified state. The West conceded to discussing Berlin as a separate issue. Khrushchev saw this as a success and maintained pressure on the Western Allies.

■ Summit meetings, September 1959 to May 1960

A series of summits occurred between 1959 and 1961. Khrushchev alternated between *détente* and threats.

Britain and the USA, occasionally with France, discussed several options for a nuclear-free zone in central Europe and legal recognition for Poland's western borders. West German Chancellor Adenauer worried about the impact on the FRG from such talks.

In May 1960, the USSR shot down a US spy plane over Soviet territory, leading to Khrushchev cancelling further summits until a new US president was elected in November. This event changed the history of Berlin and Germany.

■ The construction of the Berlin Wall

The new US president, **John F. Kennedy**, did not soften the US stand against the USSR as Khrushchev had hoped.

■ President Kennedy and Berlin

Kennedy increased US troop presence in Europe, urged negotiations on the German question and declared that the USA wanted to maintain free access to West Berlin from all of the FRG. He signalled that the USA would fight to preserve West Berlin’s freedom, but the USA would not interfere if the GDR closed the frontier between West and East Berlin.

■ Economic crisis in the GDR

Khrushchev did not want to cut off East Berlin from West Berlin. An economic crisis in the GDR forced him to make a decision about **Berlin’s open frontier**.

The collectivization of farmers in the GDR had led to severe food shortages. The rate of people fleeing to West Germany soared.

In August, Khrushchev decided it was necessary to seal the border between East and West Berlin. His decision was confirmed at a Warsaw Pact meeting. On the night of 13 August 1961, the border was closed, barbed wire was put in place and construction of a permanent wall began.

■ Conclusion

Khrushchev’s Berlin Crisis did not force the Western Allies to withdraw troops or negotiate an end to the German problem. However, the Berlin Wall meant that the GDR was not going to end. Eventually, the FRG dropped the Hallstein Doctrine. The Western powers’ toleration of the GDR meant *de facto* recognition of it. The wall meant people had to stay in the GDR. It also guaranteed Ulbricht’s continuation as leader of the GDR.

COMPLETE THE TABLE

- Use your understanding of the material on the opposite page and above to complete the table.
- For each country, identify changes and continuity in policies and actions regarding German unification between 1947 and 1961.

Country	Change	Continuity
USA		
USSR		

COMPLETE THE PARAGRAPH

- Below is a sample Paper 2 question and a sample paragraph written in response to the question.
- The paragraph contains a main argument but lacks details.
- Complete the paragraph, adding details in the space provided.

To what extent did Cold War tensions cause the Berlin Crisis, 1958–61, and the construction of the Berlin Wall?

In addition to political tensions, economic factors greatly contributed to the Berlin Crisis and the building of the Berlin Wall, 1958–61.

SECTION 5 Exam focus

Sample question and guidance

Below is an example of a Paper 2 type question. The question will form the basis for examining demands of a question and historical concepts.

Discuss the effect of Khrushchev on the Cold War, 1953–61.

■ Demands of the question

‘Demands of the question’ refers to the task, skills and understanding that you are expected to demonstrate in responding to a question. The question above consists of three demands:

- Discuss: review various arguments regarding a leader or leaders and conclude with an argument supported by evidence.
- Focus must be on the consequences Khrushchev had on the Cold War.
- Only historical evidence from the years between 1953 and 1961 should be considered.

Anything in the essay that does not address one or more of these demands is not relevant. Material that is not relevant to the demands of the question, and does not contribute to the final mark for the essay, may limit the awarding of marks for the essay and uses time that could be used to develop relevant material that does help to achieve marks.

■ Concepts

Because this is an ‘effect’ question consequences will be examined. This question also provides an opportunity to explore change and continuity, because Khrushchev’s policies differed significantly from Stalin, his predecessor. However, despite changes from one leader to another, there are often areas of continuity that remain. These changes and continuities can be emphasized.

Read through the extract from the sample conclusion to the question. Read the teacher annotations and comments.

Discuss the effect of Khrushchev on the Cold War, 1953–61.

Khrushchev’s policy of de-Stalinization significantly changed the goals and policies inside the USSR that affected the Cold War. In terms of foreign policy, Khrushchev’s peaceful coexistence provided opportunities to improve relations with the Western Allies, leading to early developments of *détente* and the ‘Geneva Spirit’. However, that spirit of *détente* did not extend to Soviet satellite states. In Hungary, Khrushchev, like Stalin, relied on force to end threats to communist rule there. Nor was Khrushchev willing to change Soviet policy on Berlin. However, conditions in the GDR ultimately forced Khrushchev to build the Berlin Wall and abandon the desire for a unified, Soviet-friendly Germany.

Good summary of significant effects Khrushchev had on the Cold War.

Effective summary identifying continuity in Soviet policies.

Overall, the conclusion effectively summarizes key aspects of the essay and refrains from relying on detailed historical knowledge better suited for a body paragraph.

Exam practice

Now it's your turn to take a mock exam. Below are two examples of questions related to Case study 5: From *détente* to the Berlin Wall, 1953–61.

For more guidance on the History Paper 2 exam and its structure, please refer to pages 28–29. You can also use the checklist designed to help you write a successful essay.

- 1 To what extent can the period 1953–61 be considered a period of *détente*?
- 2 Examine the effect of Cold War tensions on Germany, 1953–61.

CASE STUDY

6

The global Cold War, 1960–78

1 The Sino-Soviet split

Revised

The USSR appeared to be in ascendancy in the late 1950s. At this moment, tensions between the USSR and the PRC led to open hostility.

■ Increasing tensions, 1958–60

The Sino-Soviet split resulted from several factors. A key cause was long-term Chinese resentment of Russian imperial encroachment along China's northern border. The other key source was Mao, who viewed Khrushchev as giving in to NATO and the USA. Mao also despised Khrushchev's de-Stalinization policy. Mao believed he was the rightful heir to communist leadership after Stalin's death. Soviet leadership suspected Mao intended to make China the leader of the communist movement.

■ The 'Great Leap Forward', 1958–60

In 1958, Mao began the Great Leap Forward, an economic policy designed to improve agriculture and increase industrial production, especially of steel, in the PRC. **Communes** replaced private farming. Without significant factories and advanced industrial technology, Mao relied on China's massive population for steel production. Thousands of small, backyard furnaces were built to smelt steel.

The Great Leap Forward was an economic disaster. Agricultural practices proved ineffective and the small furnaces produced such low-quality steel it was unusable. A massive famine gripped China, killing at least 60 million people. Soviet economic and technical advisers, sent to the PRC as early as 1956, cautioned PRC officials about the limitations and dangers of the Great Leap Forward.

■ USSR accused of imperialism, 1958

Attempts to cooperate led to further deterioration of relations. Mao was willing to accept Soviet assistance, but unwilling to provide the USSR with access to military bases or joint operation of naval forces. Mao interpreted Soviet requests for naval cooperation as steps towards subordinating the PRC's military to the USSR.

■ The Quemoy Crisis, 1958

In August 1958, the PRC bombarded the Nationalist-controlled Taiwanese island of Quemoy. Mao did not notify the USSR in advance. The USA threatened nuclear retaliation to protect its ally, Taiwan, and sent a naval force to the area. The USSR sent Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko to Beijing to diffuse what was becoming a world crisis. The PRC informed Gromyko that the bombardment was intended to distract the USA from other parts of the world and to draw attention to the Taiwan issue. The explanation satisfied Gromyko.

■ The Beijing meeting, October 1959

By autumn 1959, Sino-Soviet relations had worsened. Khrushchev refused to assist the PRC in developing nuclear technology. India accepted the **Dalai Lama's** government-in-exile when it fled Chinese oppression in Tibet, an area in western China, leading to a dispute and frontier violence between India and the PRC. The USSR questioned the legitimacy of the PRC's border claims and a major critic of the failed Great Leap Forward was accused of being a Soviet spy. Khrushchev visited Beijing to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the founding of the PRC. Talks between the Soviet and Chinese officials descended into insults against one another.

■ Breakdown, 1964–9

After Khrushchev recalled Soviet economic advisers from the PRC, Mao blamed them for the failures of the Great Leap Forward. Mao asserted that his effort to create communism in China was also an effort to defend China from foreign enemies such as the USA and the USSR. Mao called for **continuous revolution**. After Khrushchev fell from power, initial attempts to improve Sino-Soviet relations failed.

The Cultural Revolution, 1966

In August 1966, Mao launched the **Cultural Revolution**. Mao claimed that ‘revisionists’ (those who revised Marxist–Leninist doctrine) were responsible for China’s problems. For Mao, revisionism began with Khrushchev’s de-Stalinization policy. The USSR was the original source of revisionism and Mao and the CCP viewed the USSR as the PRC’s main enemy.

The Sino-Soviet border conflict, 1969

In the nineteenth century, Russia gained control of several Chinese regions and incorporated them into the Russian Empire. The USSR never returned these regions to the PRC.

In 1969, a dispute broke out along the border between the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region in China and Soviet-controlled Tajikistan. In March, fighting erupted on Zhenbao Island, which was occupied by the USSR, but on the PRC side of the border. Periodic clashes between Soviet and Chinese forces occurred along the border for several months; war threatened to erupt.

Soviet Premier **Alexei Kosygin** met Chinese Premier **Zhou Enlai** in Beijing in September. In October, the two made a truce.

A major consequence of the border conflict was the desire for both countries, the USSR and the PRC, to seek improved relations with the USA. In 1972, the USA and the PRC came to an understanding directed against the USSR. Relations between the PRC and the USSR remained split until 1989, thirteen years after Mao died.

COMPLETE THE TABLE

- Use your understanding of the material on the opposite page and above to complete the table.
- Identify accurate and relevant historical knowledge that indicates responsibility by country for the Sino-Soviet split and place it in the table.

	PRC	USSR
Historical evidence indicating responsibility for the Sino-Soviet split		

INTRODUCTION

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

- grabs the reader’s attention
- addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
- identifies your argument’s main points
- transitions into the first main point of the argument.

Using your own knowledge and the table you completed for the above activity, write an introduction for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

To what extent was the USSR responsible for the Sino-Soviet split?

2 The impact of the Cold War on tensions in Congo, 1960–5

Revised

By 1960, the process of de-colonization was increasing in Africa. The end of European imperial power created power vacuums in which the PRC, the USSR and the USA competed for influence. Congo, a nation of strategic importance and of vast natural resources, including copper and uranium, became a primary focus for control.

■ Independence, July 1960

No national political organization existed in Congo as Belgian colonial rule ended. Only **Patrice Lumumba**'s Congolese National Movement (CNM) had even a slight national appeal. In the May 1960 elections, the CNM emerged as the largest party. When independence was granted in June 1960, Lumumba formed a government.

■ Patrice Lumumba

Lumumba, a trade union movement leader, initially was willing to work with the Belgian colonial government. However, after spending time in prison, Lumumba moved closer to the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). As prime minister, Lumumba wanted to make Congo completely independent of Belgium and the West. He contacted the USSR for assistance. It appeared to Belgian and US officials, as well as leading Belgian communists, that Congo was heading for a communist takeover, giving the USSR control of Congo's natural resources. In 1960, the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) bribed Congolese officials in an attempt to prevent Lumumba becoming prime minister. After coming to power, some CIA officials believed Lumumba posed a bigger threat to the USA than **Fidel Castro** did in Cuba.

■ The secession of Katanga, July 1960

Congo's independence brought upheaval throughout the country. The army mutinied in Leopoldville (Kinshasa), threatening Belgian officials and the non-African population. The South Kasai region declared its own independence. Katanga, home to more than half of Congo's mineral resources, seceded on 11 July. In Katanga, **Moïse Tshombe**, assisted by the Belgian mining company, Union Minière, and Belgian troops, became the **puppet ruler**. In effect, Union Minière ruled Katanga.

■ United Nations intervention, July 1960

Lumumba appealed to the United Nations (UN) for help securing Congo against mutinies, Belgian troops and **separatists** in Katanga. The UN Security Council authorized sending peacekeeping troops and demanded the withdrawal of Belgian soldiers. Belgian troops withdrew into Katanga and the UN chose not to pursue them any further.

Unhappy with the lack of UN support, Lumumba turned to Khrushchev for help. The USSR sent some aid, but could do little to intervene on Lumumba's behalf.

On 5 August, the USSR demanded Katanga be absorbed into Congo and Belgian troops leave the region. The Security Council declared Katanga an internal matter outside UN jurisdiction to intervene. UN Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld negotiated for UN troops to replace Belgian troops in Katanga. US policy was to secure Katanga from Lumumba's pro-Soviet government.

■ Mobutu's seizure of power, September 1960

The USA considered armed intervention to prevent the USSR bolstering Lumumba's government, as well as assassinating Lumumba. On 16 September, the USA and Belgium supported General **Joseph Mobutu**'s seizure of power and ending of relations with the USSR. Soviet and Chinese personnel were pressured to leave Congo. Lumumba was placed under house arrest. By October, four different governments existed in Congo.

■ Lumumba's murder

Lumumba escaped from house arrest and called for an uprising against Mobutu. In December, he was captured by Congolese troops and handed over to his enemies in Katanga. He was brutally murdered.

■ US involvement, 1961–5

US President Kennedy continued Eisenhower's support for Mobutu, but forced Mobutu to install a civilian government under Cyrille Adoula. After Tshombe was forced to flee from UN troops, US pressure led to reuniting Katanga into Congo. The Congo Republic recaptured South Kasai in December 1961. With the reunification of Congo, UN forces left in June 1964.

■ Threats to the new regime

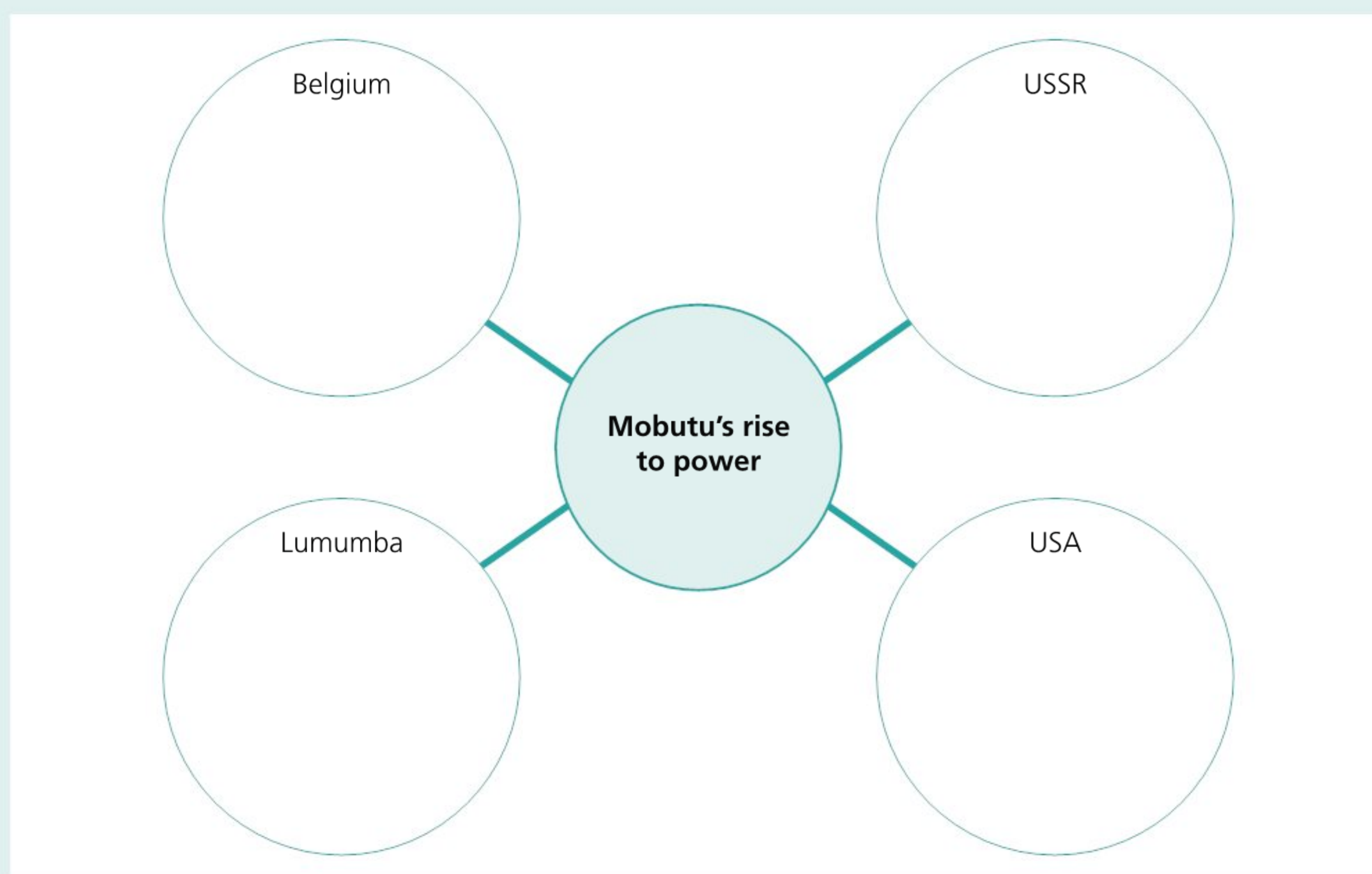
By autumn 1964, civil war threatened Congo; pro-Lumumba Marxist guerrilla forces led a rebellion. Many independent African countries opposed to US and Belgian involvement in the region supported the guerrillas. The PRC, the USSR, Cuba and Egypt provided military assistance.

The USA did not become deeply involved in Congo, because it was increasing its presence in Vietnam. US President **Lyndon Johnson** relied on covert support for Congo. The USA recruited South African mercenaries who were supplied by the CIA. When guerrilla forces captured Kisangani, seizing hundreds of European hostages, Johnson authorized an airlift of Belgian troops to rescue them.

By 1965, the rebels had been defeated. Mobutu overthrew the civilian government and established a military dictatorship that ruled until 1977.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



COMPLETE THE PARAGRAPH

- Below is a sample Paper 2 question and a sample paragraph written in response to the question.
- The paragraph contains a main argument but lacks details.
- Complete the paragraph, adding details in the space provided.

Compare and contrast the role of the USA and USSR in Mobutu's rise to power in Congo.

The USA played a more significant role than the USSR in Mobutu's rise to power in Congo.

3 The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962

Revised

■ Causes of the crisis

In the 1950s, the USSR recognized South America as part of the US sphere of influence. However, resentment towards US domination grew in South America. In Cuba, Fidel Castro waged a **guerrilla war** against the US-backed dictator **Fulgencio Batista**. In January 1959, Batista fled and Castro became the leader of Cuba.

■ The Cuban Revolution

Castro was an anti-US Cuban nationalist, not a communist, when he came to power. Castro's economic policies and moves towards the NAM caused opposition from Cuba's middle class and the USA. When Castro nationalized American businesses and property, US opposition intensified through summer of 1960. Worsening relations with the USA led Castro to fear American intervention in Cuba, as had happened several times in the twentieth century. Castro looked to the USSR as a way to protect Cuba from the USA. After an official Soviet visit to Havana in February 1960, the Soviet leadership saw reminders of their own Russian Revolution and became champions of the Cuban Revolution. US President Eisenhower ordered the CIA to train anti-Castro Cuban refugees for possible action against Castro. Also, the USA placed an embargo on the sale of Cuban sugar to the USA, the dominant export of Cuba. The move pushed Castro closer to the USSR. Khrushchev threatened to send Soviet troops to Cuba to protect the revolution. He also demanded the USA end the **Monroe Doctrine**.

■ The Bay of Pigs, April 1961

In April 1961, a CIA-trained military force of Cuban exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs intending to start an insurrection against Castro. Cuba's military defeated the exiles and imprisoned the survivors. Although the US military was not directly involved, Khrushchev and Castro interpreted the Bay of Pigs as a warning that the USA would continue to attempt to remove Castro. The CIA developed plans to assassinate Castro and the USA used large-scale military manoeuvres in the Caribbean region as an implicit threat.

■ The Soviet decision to place missiles on Cuba, 1962

In August 1962, Cuba and the USSR signed a secret treaty allowing the Soviets to place missiles on Cuba. Soon, medium-range nuclear missiles arrived in Cuba along with 40,000 Soviet troops to defend them. Khrushchev made this decision because the missiles threatened the USA, countered NATO missiles deployed in Turkey near the Soviet border, and to defend Cuba. Because Cuba was only about 150 kilometres (90 miles) from the USA, the missiles based there could reach the USA in a matter of minutes.

■ The height of the crisis, 14–28 October 1962

On 14 October, an American U-2 spy plane discovered the Soviet missiles in Cuba. The USA established **ExComm** to deal with the crisis. The USA would issue an ultimatum demanding the missiles be removed. In case the ultimatum failed, the US military developed plans for an invasion of Cuba.

■ The quarantine zone

The US Navy established a quarantine zone around Cuba. Ships entering were stopped and searched. President Kennedy publicly announced news of the Soviet missiles and the US quarantine on 22 October. He also stated that if missiles were fired from Cuba then the USA would retaliate with a massive nuclear strike on the USSR. The missile installations were not completed when they were discovered. Determined to complete them, Khrushchev ordered Soviet ships to challenge the American blockade.

■ Soviet decision to withdraw the missiles

The USA put its military on highest alert. On 23 October, UN Secretary-General U Thant suggested a solution to the crisis:

- the USSR would withdraw missiles from Cuba
- the USA would promise not to invade Cuba.

Khrushchev communicated agreement to Kennedy through official channels. However, Khrushchev worried these terms would make him look weak to his critics in the USSR and PRC. The next day he informed Kennedy that Soviet missiles would be removed only if the USA withdrew its missiles from Turkey. Kennedy accepted the terms of the first letter, ignoring the second letter. He publicly declared that the USA would not invade Cuba. Secretly, he told the USSR that the missiles in Turkey would be removed. If the Soviets publicized his secret promise, it would be withdrawn. The crisis ended.

■ The aftermath of Cuba

Kennedy’s prestige increased dramatically as the man who caused the USSR to back down. Mao and Castro criticized Khrushchev for surrendering to the USA. Khrushchev’s position within the USSR was weakened and he was removed from office in October 1964, although this was due more to domestic politics than to the Cuban crisis.

■ Cuba

Castro saw the Soviet actions as a betrayal. He developed a revolutionary strategy and identity for Cuba, and Cuban advisers became active in communist movements throughout the Third World.

■ The USSR

The Soviets were surprised by the US demonstration of nuclear superiority during the crisis. The USSR focused on building its nuclear programme further, especially ICBMs, and increasing the size of its navy.

■ Reduction in international tensions

The USA and the USSR realized how close they had come to nuclear war in Cuba. The two sides worked to control the proliferation of nuclear weapons and their testing. They also developed a **hotline** allowing the two leaders to directly communicate with one another.

ESSAY STYLE OUTLINE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question.
- Use your own knowledge and the information from the opposite page and above to produce a plan for this question.
- Choose three main points. For each main point, provide four pieces of specific information that support the main point.
- Use the table below to organize your thoughts.

Analyse the causes and effects of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
USSR				
USA				
Cuba				

CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH

An effective concluding paragraph reminds the reader of the key points of your argument and the conclusion of your argument. Therefore, it should be brief: about three sentences. The conclusion is a short summary of your argument. Do not include new information in the conclusion. An effective concluding paragraph:

- restates your argument’s conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using your own knowledge and the table you completed for the above activity, as well as the table in the previous section, write a conclusion for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Analyse the causes and effects of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

4 Vietnam, 1954–75

Revised

When South Vietnam was threatened by communist insurgents, the USA directly intervened to support South Vietnam. As the situation escalated, the USSR and PRC gave assistance to North Vietnam.

■ The growing crisis in Indochina, 1954–63

The USA agreed to the general principles of the Geneva Accords in 1954. However, the USA did not want elections held because they would probably result in a communist victory that reunited all of Vietnam. The USA also helped establish the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), but it proved to be an ineffective organization.

■ Ngo Dinh Diem

Ngo Dinh Diem became prime minister of South Vietnam in June 1954. His support quickly evaporated due to broken promises for land reform and giving preferential treatment to the minority Roman Catholics at the expense of Buddhists.

■ Formation of the National Liberation Front

In 1957, communist leaders in South Vietnam wanted to prepare for an armed uprising supported by North Vietnamese troops. Leaders in North Vietnam, the USSR and the PRC opposed the idea. With Diem's popularity significantly decreased, North Vietnam decided to intervene in South Vietnam.

In spring 1959, North Vietnam announced the resumption of hostilities with South Vietnam. Men, weapons and supplies used the **Ho Chi Minh Trail** as a route to South Vietnam.

The Viet Cong, the communist movement in South Vietnam, formed the National Liberation Front for South Vietnam to rally support by promising land reform and the desire to create a unified, independent Vietnam.

■ US President Kennedy, 1960–3

Crises in Vietnam and Laos confronted Kennedy when he became US president in January 1961.

■ Laos

At the Geneva Conference in 1954, Laos became an independent, non-communist neutral state. The **Pathet Lao**, a communist-supported independence movement, controlled much of the country in 1954. By December 1959, a civil war raged in Laos. The CIA supported the rebels of Major General Phoumi Nosavan, who had been ousted from power in a coup led by Souvanna Phouma. The Pathet Lao, which received supplies from the USSR, provided assistance to Souvanna. To prevent Soviet encroachment in South-East Asia, Kennedy considered military intervention. With the crisis in Berlin, Khrushchev agreed to a diplomatic solution.

The USA agreed to the creation of a coalition government that included the Pathet Lao. The civil war ended, but fighting continued to break out. In April 1963, the Pathet Lao left the government and resumed guerrilla warfare.

■ South Vietnam

The Viet Cong controlled large areas of South Vietnam by autumn 1961. Diem asked for more US assistance. An American fact-finding mission to South Vietnam recommended sending more equipment and 8000 US troops.

Kennedy received opposing opinions on Vietnam:

- The USA should reduce its military presence and negotiate a settlement with North Vietnam because Diem was highly unpopular.
- The USA should increase its military presence to 200,000 troops.

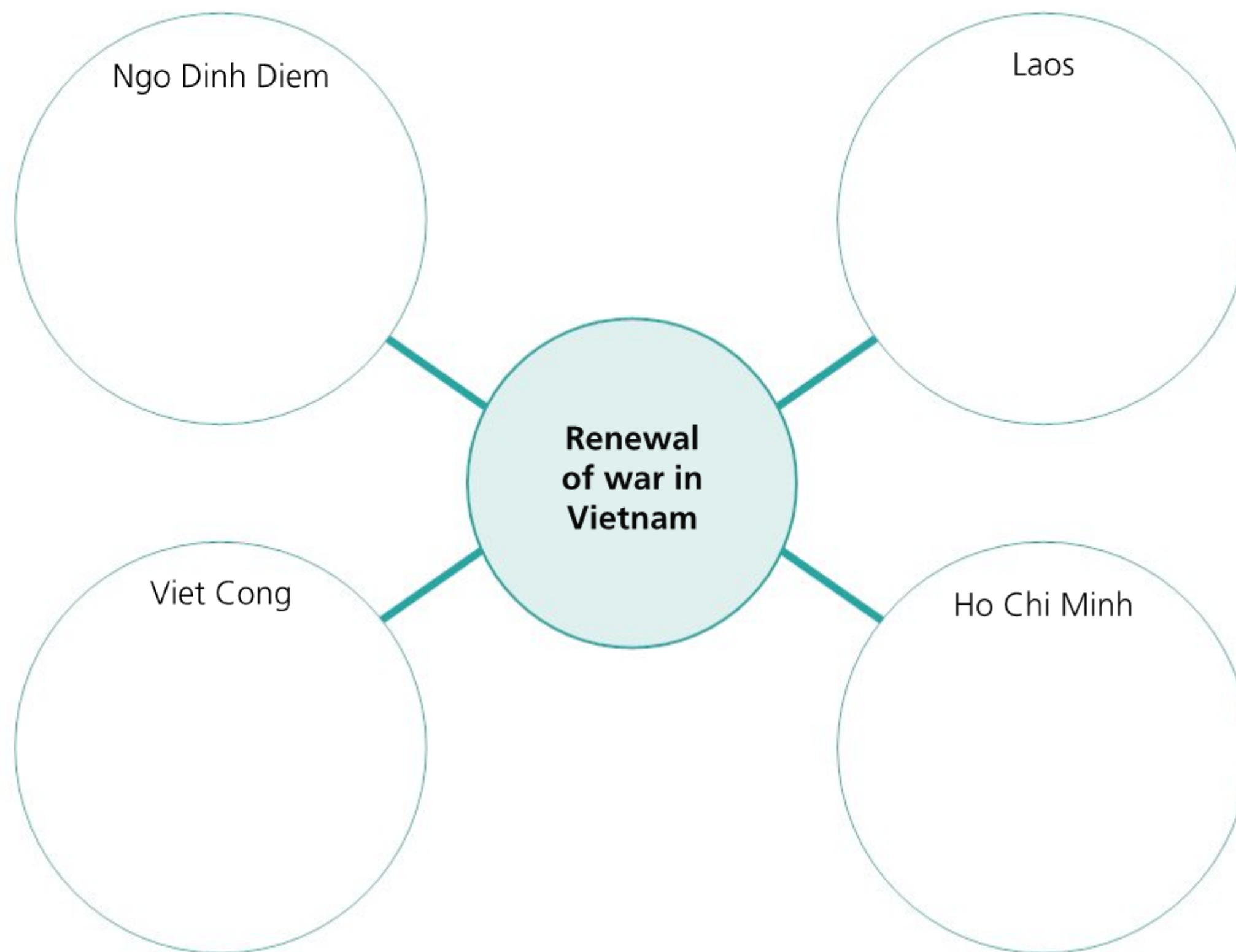
Kennedy decided to increase aid and the number of US military advisers.

■ The Battle of Ap Bac

South Vietnamese forces had success seizing territory in 1962. But, as soon as they left, the Viet Cong quickly reasserted control. In January 1963, weaknesses in South Vietnam forces became obvious when a large force was defeated by the Viet Cong at the Battle of Ap Bac.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



INTRODUCTION

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

- grabs the reader's attention
- addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
- identifies your argument's main points
- transitions into the first main point of the argument.

Using your own knowledge and the mind map you completed for the above activity, write an introduction for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Examine the causes of renewed conflict in Vietnam, 1955–62.

■ The fall of Diem's government

Diem continued to lose support throughout 1963. His government did not control much of the country. He continued to oppress Buddhists, for example, when government troops fired into a crowd celebrating Buddha's birthday. A series of angry protests swept the country, with some Buddhist monks protesting with **self-immolations**.

Incompetence, lack of popular support and rumours that Diem and his brother were considering negotiating with North Vietnam led the USA to lose faith in Diem. Kennedy supported a coup led by South Vietnam military leaders that occurred on 1 November. Diem and his brother were murdered during the coup. General Nguyen Khanh became the new leader of South Vietnam.

■ President Johnson, November 1963 to November 1964

President Kennedy was assassinated on 22 November 1963. Lyndon Johnson became President of the USA. Johnson wanted to avoid a large US military presence. With presidential elections in November 1964, Johnson could not look weak in Vietnam. He pressured Khanh to become more aggressive in fighting the Viet Cong.

■ The US search for allies

Only Australia among the SEATO nations assisted the USA in Vietnam. French President de Gaulle called for a reunified Vietnam free of outside interference. De Gaulle also asserted that military intervention would fail. Britain was pessimistic of US success, but not in public pronouncements.

■ The Tonkin Gulf incidents, August 1964

On 2 August 1964, two North Vietnamese patrol boats attacked the US destroyer *Maddox*. The *Maddox* suffered one bullet hole while damaging the North Vietnamese patrol boats. Two days later, the US destroyer *C. Turner Joy* responded to a perceived attack. But there had been no attack. The incident seemed to result from false radar readings. Johnson used the incident to authorize air strikes against North Vietnam. On 7 August, the US Congress overwhelmingly voted to authorize the use of full military measures to defend US forces in South-East Asia. This is known as the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

■ The USSR, the PRC and Vietnam, 1960–4

■ The USSR

The USSR wanted stability in the region and preferred a diplomatic settlement in Vietnam. The Soviets believed increased fighting would lead to the USA and the PRC having greater influence in South-East Asia. They provided only limited support to the National Liberation Front (NLF). By 1964, Khrushchev had lost patience with North Vietnam and refused an NLF request for more assistance in the aftermath of Diem's fall from power.

■ The PRC

With the failures of the Great Leap Forward, the PRC initially took a cautious approach to Vietnam, because the PRC did not want the situation to escalate to a conflict with the USA. In 1964, as US involvement increased, the PRC began providing military and economic aid to North Vietnam. The PRC also pledged to support North Vietnam 'by all possible and necessary means' if the USA attacked North Vietnam.

Domestic politics influenced the decision to take a more active role with North Vietnam. Mao wanted to portray US intervention in Vietnam as an external threat to the PRC to speed up the process of revolutionizing Chinese society. He also could portray himself as defending revolution and attack his opponents as traitors.

■ Contrasting reactions to the Tonkin incidents

The PRC transferred 400 aircraft to the PRC–North Vietnam border to act as a deterrent to the USA. Khrushchev sent Johnson a letter cautioning him on the dangers of war in Vietnam.

ACCURATE AND RELEVANT KNOWLEDGE

- Paper 2 criteria require students to use accurate and relevant knowledge in their essays.
- The markband descriptor for the highest markband (13–15) reads: ‘Knowledge of the world history topic is accurate and relevant’ (*History Guide*, first examinations 2017, page 81).
- Relevance is determined by the demands of a question. In other words, what are the requirements of a question?

Below is a Paper 2 type question. Based on the demands of the question, and using the information from the opposite page, place an ‘X’ in the box next to those statements identified as relevant knowledge.

To what extent did Cold War tensions influence US President Johnson’s actions regarding Vietnam in 1963–4?

Knowledge statement	Relevant knowledge
Diem’s overthrow and murder	
Buddhist protests against South Vietnam government	
US presidential elections in 1964	
Gulf of Tonkin incidents	
PRC assistance to the Viet Cong	

BODY PARAGRAPHS

- Knowledge and understanding of historical topics, historical context and history concepts are developed in body paragraphs.
- Body paragraphs also are where critical analysis/evaluation, as well as demonstrating different perspectives, are developed.
- Effective body paragraphs should have one topic that addresses the demands of a question.
- Within the body paragraphs, students elaborate on the topic with the use of accurate and relevant content knowledge and use their knowledge to support critical analysis of the topic.

Using the table and your notes from the activity above, write a body paragraph for each piece of relevant knowledge from the table that addresses the following question:

To what extent did Cold War tensions influence US President Johnson’s actions regarding Vietnam in 1963–4?

■ The war escalates

The USA effectively took over the war in January 1965. A massive bombing campaign against North Vietnam began in March. From May 1965 to the end of 1967, the number of US troops in Vietnam increased from 47,000 to nearly 500,000.

Despite its massive military presence and advanced weaponry, the USA's tactics proved ineffective against Viet Cong guerrilla tactics.

■ PRC assistance, 1965–70

US escalation after the Tonkin incidents surprised PRC leaders. In summer 1965, the PRC agreed to:

- provide material support
- defend the North
- send troops if the USA invaded North Vietnam.

PRC assistance allowed North Vietnam to send large numbers of troops into South Vietnam to assist the Viet Cong's fight against the USA.

By 1969, the PRC was forced to limit aid to North Vietnam. The Cultural Revolution left the PRC on the brink of social and economic collapse. Ruined relations with the USSR led PRC leaders to identify the USSR as their main enemy. Also, relations between North Vietnam and the USSR had improved.

■ Soviet assistance

With Khrushchev's fall from power, the USSR improved relations with North Vietnam and took a more assertive approach towards the USA. Soviet aid increased in response to US escalation in 1965. Soviet military advisers trained North Vietnamese troops. The USSR approached the PRC for cooperation in Vietnam, but their efforts were rebuffed.

■ The Sino-Soviet split and North Vietnam

Although North Vietnam and the PRC began the war as close allies, they became bitter enemies by the end.

PRC military advisers promoted communism as practised in China, which North Vietnam saw as interference in their internal politics. In March 1966, a North Vietnamese delegation attended the Twenty-third Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In 1968, fighting broke out between Chinese and Soviet military experts in Vietnam. North Vietnam supported the Soviets. The PRC reduced aid to North Vietnam in 1969. When Vietnam invaded Cambodia in 1979, PRC troops entered North Vietnam as punishment.

■ Negotiations to end the war, 1968–73

North Vietnam and Viet Cong forces launched the **Tet Offensive** in January 1968. The offensive resulted in massive casualties and a defeat for North Vietnam and the Viet Cong. However, Viet Cong troops managed to enter the US Embassy in Saigon. Images from fighting at the US embassy and elsewhere created the impression that the USA was losing the war. Dissatisfaction with, and opposition to, the war in the USA grew significantly after the Tet Offensive. Johnson announced that he would not seek re-election in November elections. He began negotiations with North Vietnam for a ceasefire.

■ US President Nixon, 1968–72

Nixon wanted to withdraw from Vietnam 'with honour'. However, this proved difficult to achieve. National Security Adviser **Henry Kissinger** tried to tie peace in Vietnam with a treaty on Strategic Arms Limitation with the USSR, without success. The USSR increased support for North Vietnam and later condemned US aggression in Vietnam. Nixon's move to improve relations with the PRC had no impact because North Vietnam had moved closer to the USSR.

■ **Withdrawal of US troops, 1972**

Nixon developed a policy of Vietnamization, which meant more responsibility for fighting was placed on South Vietnamese troops and, in return, US troops in Vietnam were reduced. However, the USA increased air attacks targeting Viet Cong supply depots in Cambodia. US troops also crossed into Cambodia. There was renewed public outrage at this escalation. The US Congress prohibited using US troops in Cambodia and Laos. The last US combat troops left Vietnam in August 1972.

ESSAY STYLE OUTLINE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question.
- Use your own knowledge and the information from the opposite page to produce a plan for this question.
- Choose three to five main points. For each main point, provide four pieces of specific information that support the main point.
- Use the table below to organize your thoughts.

Analyse the effect of Cold War tensions on the conflict in Vietnam, 1955–72.

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

BODY PARAGRAPH

Using the information from the opposite page, the table from the previous activity and your own knowledge, write a body paragraph in answer to the question:

Analyse the effect of Cold War tensions on the conflict in Vietnam, 1955–72.

■ The Paris Peace Accords

North Vietnam realized that US airpower prevented its victory over South Vietnam, a key factor for signing a treaty. On 27 January 1973, the Paris Peace Accords were signed and a ceasefire came into effect. American prisoners of war would be returned and the USA would recognize the 1954 Geneva Agreement. Free elections were to be held in both North and South Vietnam. The treaty addressed only US involvement in Vietnam so the war did not end. In April 1975, North Vietnamese forces captured Saigon. Images of the evacuation of the US embassy helped create a perception of US humiliation and defeat. Vietnam was united as a communist state.

■ International consequences

Vietnam became a symbol of a Third World country defeating the US superpower.

■ Cambodia

The Communist Khmer Rouge Party led by **Pol Pot** seized power in 1975. More than 2 million citizens died under Pol Pot's regime. Vietnam invaded Cambodia in December 1978, ending Pol Pot's rule. The People's Republic of Kampuchea was formed.

■ Laos

In November 1975, the Pathet Lao seized power in Laos and established the Lao People's Democratic Republic. Vietnam sent political and economic advisers to Laos.

■ Indonesia

Indonesian President Ahmed Sukarno was a leader of the NAM. In 1963, he was determined to destroy the newly created Malaysia and turned to the PRC for assistance, cooperating with the Indonesian Communist Party. In September 1965, the military seized power and forced Sukarno to resign.

■ Thailand

The Thai military suppressed an uprising by the Communist Party of Thailand (CPT). The CPT, with aid from the Khmer Rouge, managed limited attacks against Thai and US military installations. After the fall of the Khmer Rouge, the CPT was ineffective against a strengthening Thai government helped by massive US aid.

■ Philippines

The Communist Party launched an attack against Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos in 1970. However, it achieved little success and failed to take power when Marcos fell from power in 1986.

■ The creation of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed in 1967 by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. The ASEAN nations cooperated to stop the spread of communism in the region.

■ The Vietnam–China War

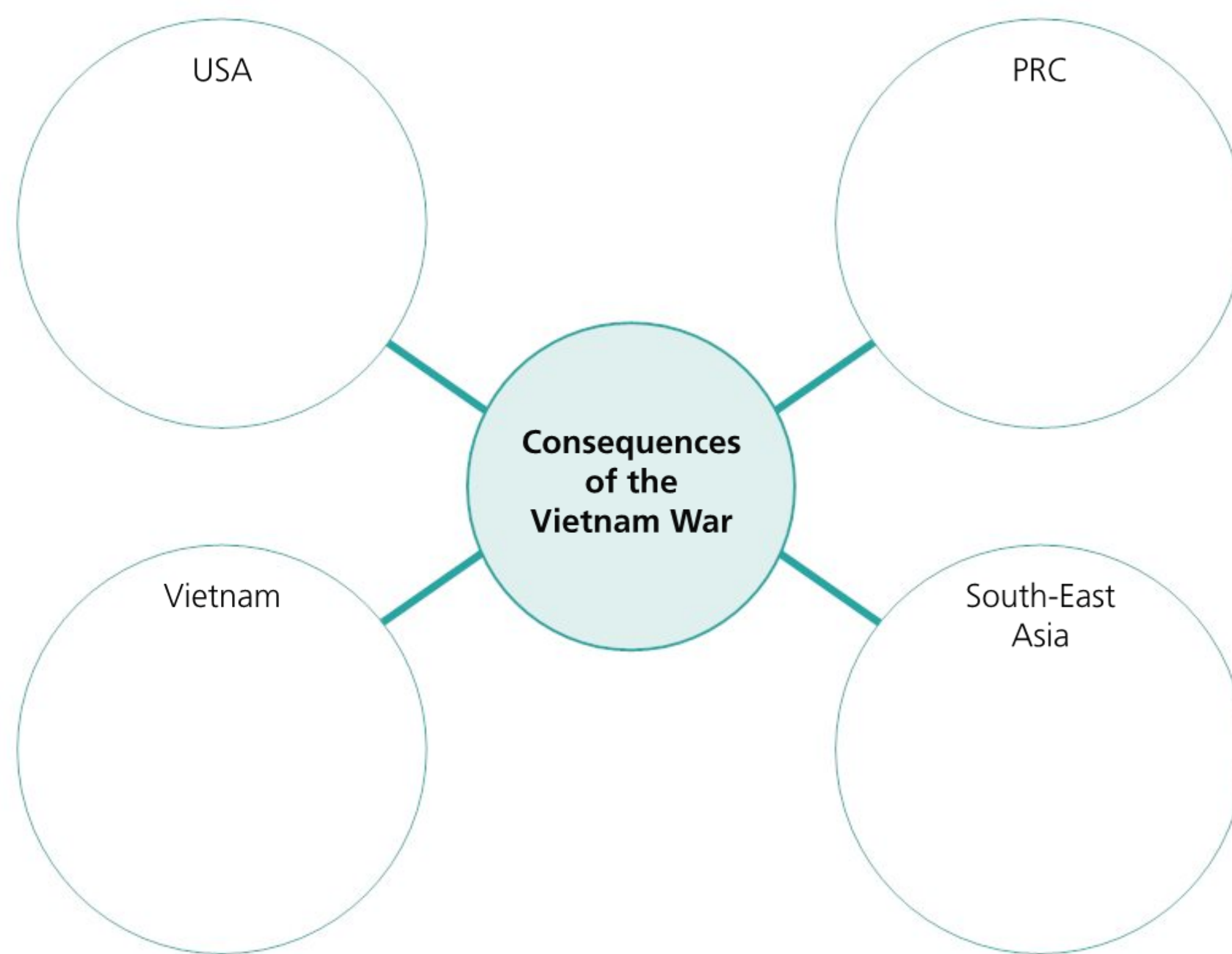
In June 1978, Vietnam joined the Soviet economic bloc. Vietnam invaded Cambodia in December. **Deng Xiaoping**, leader of the PRC, feared a pro-Soviet Vietnamese–Cambodian bloc on China's frontier. The PRC invaded Vietnam and soon withdrew claiming victory, but the attack had little impact. Vietnam remained in Cambodia until 1989.

■ The USA

Defeat in Vietnam and the **Watergate scandal** damaged American prestige and self-confidence. The USA reduced interventions in the Third World after 1975. The USA assisted regional powers to counter communist movements. Despite the humiliation of defeat in Vietnam, the USA was winning the Cold War.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH

An effective concluding paragraph reminds the reader of the key points of your argument and the conclusion of your argument. Therefore, it should be brief: about three sentences. The conclusion is a short summary of your argument. Do not include new information in the conclusion. An effective concluding paragraph:

- restates your argument's conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using your own knowledge and the mind map you completed for the above activity, as well as the table in the previous section, write a conclusion for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Explain the consequences of the Vietnam War.

5 What was the impact of Cold War tensions on the Middle East, 1957–79?

Revised

From 1957 to 1979 a series of crises occurred in the Middle East, including two wars.

■ US–Soviet rivalry in the Middle East, 1957–66

A political vacuum developed in the Middle East as a result of the decreased power of Britain and France in the region. The USSR strengthened its ties to Egypt. The USA sought to prevent communism spreading in the region.

■ The Eisenhower Doctrine, 1957

US President Eisenhower developed a policy to protect territories and states from communist aggression, a policy known as the Eisenhower Doctrine.

■ The United Arab Republic

In 1954, the socialist and pan-Arab Ba'ath Party attained power in Syria. By 1957, the USSR and Syria formed close ties, including Soviet military aid to Syria. Pro-Western governments in Turkey, Iraq, Jordan and Lebanon considered ousting the Ba'ath Party, but Soviet and Egyptian support for Syria prevented an overthrow of government.

In January 1958, Egypt and Syria formed the United Arab Republic. Communists in Syria did not support the new union. Syria withdrew from the union in 1961, but remained allies with Egypt.

■ The Iraqi Revolution, July 1958

Iraq's king, crown prince and prime minister were killed by a military coup in July 1958. A republic was declared and it sought support from Nasser. Jordan and Lebanon asked for assistance from the USA and Britain against the new Iraqi Republic. The USA sent troops to Lebanon and Britain sent troops to Jordan.

Khrushchev had been pleased with the coup in Iraq, which overthrew the pro-Western government. The response of the USA and Britain to the Iraqi coup worried Khrushchev. The USSR used large military manoeuvres in Eastern Europe as a warning to the USA and Britain. When Khrushchev proposed a summit meeting to address Middle East tensions, the USA rejected the proposal.

However, the presence of US and British troops eased tensions and they were soon withdrawn.

■ Nasser leans towards the USA

In September 1958, the pro-Nasser Iraqi government was ousted by Brigadier General Abdul Karim Qassim, a close ally of the Iraqi Communist Party. The USSR began military assistance to Qassim. Nasser responded by persecuting the Egyptian Communist Party and supporting an uprising in Iraq against Qassim, which failed. Khrushchev and Nasser traded criticisms of one another. In October 1958, Nasser moved Egyptian students studying at Soviet universities to US universities.

Despite US concerns that Iraq would become a Soviet puppet state, Qassim asserted his authority independently of the Iraqi Communist Party.

■ The Six-Day War, June 1967

Arab–Israeli tensions were the greatest threat to peace in the Middle East. The Arab states and Egypt sought to remove Israel, which they claimed was illegally created and a security threat. The Arab states and Egypt accepted assistance from the USSR. The USSR saw Israel as an extension of the USA.

Bogged down in Vietnam, the USA desired stability in the Middle East. The Americans worked to maintain good relations with the Arab states and Israel. The USA was most concerned with preventing revolutionary change and increased Soviet influence in the region. Western access to Arab oil was another key factor for the USA.

■ Path to war, 1966–7

In early 1967, Israel was shelled by Syria from the Golan Heights, and Palestinian guerrillas, supported by Syria, raided across the border. On 16 May, Nasser expelled UN forces from the Sinai and replaced them with Egyptian troops. Six days later, Nasser announced a blockade of the Israeli

port of Eilat. Nasser hoped a show of force would boost his popularity in Egypt, where economic problems caused much hardship. Arab leaders expected Israel to mobilize its forces, which would put stress on its economy.

■ **US reaction**

US President Johnson tried to persuade Egypt and Israel to take actions to reduce tensions, but with little success. Johnson even reached out to the Soviets to work together for a solution to the situation. By early June it was clear that Egypt’s blockade of Israel needed to end to prevent war.

COMPLETE THE TABLE

- Use your understanding of the material on the opposite page and above to complete the table.
- For each country listed, identify how superpower relations shaped its development.

Country	USA	USSR
Iraq		
Egypt		
Syria		
Israel		

BODY PARAGRAPHS

- Knowledge and understanding of historical topics, historical context and history concepts are developed in body paragraphs.
- Body paragraphs also are where critical analysis/evaluation, as well as demonstrating different perspectives, are developed.
- Effective body paragraphs should have one topic that addresses the demands of a question.
- Within the body paragraph, students elaborate on the topic with the use of accurate and relevant content knowledge and use their knowledge to support critical analysis of the topic.

Using the table and your notes from the activity above, write one body paragraph for the USA and one for the USSR based on the question below.

Evaluate the role of the superpowers on Middle East politics, 1957–67.

■ Israel's attack, 5 June 1967

On 5 June, Israel's air force attacked Egypt's air bases and destroyed most of Egypt's warplanes. An hour later, Israel's army invaded the Sinai and, combined with air attacks, incapacitated much of Egypt's military. A day later, Israel controlled the Sinai Peninsula. Syria and Jordan responded by attacking Israel, but were quickly defeated. Israel occupied the West Bank in Jordan and the Golan Heights in Syria.

The USA and the USSR worked together to achieve an end to the war. Nasser agreed to a ceasefire on 8 June. On 9 June, Syria and Israel agreed to stop fighting the next day. Both countries manoeuvred for territory. At one point it appeared as if Israel would control significant territory in Syria. The USSR threatened to intervene and the USA put pressure on Israel to halt and retreat.

■ The aftermath

The effects of the war made a permanent peace difficult to attain. Israel was unwilling to surrender its large territorial gains. In order to preserve its good relations, the USSR quickly rearmed Egypt and the Arab states.

■ The October War, 1973

The Six-Day War ended with a ceasefire, not a peace treaty. The USSR sent military aid to Egypt, Syria and Iraq. The USA provided Israel with modern weaponry.

■ The War of Attrition, 1969–70

In 1969, the War of Attrition began with Egyptian attacks on Israeli positions, mostly in the Sinai Peninsula. When Israel retaliated, the USSR sent military supplies, troops and ships to Egypt. Soviet actions led the USA to press Israel to agree to a ceasefire in October 1970.

■ President Sadat

On 28 September 1970, Nasser died and was succeeded by **Anwar El Sadat**. Sadat hoped to negotiate peace with Israel and a return of Egyptian territory, including the Sinai Peninsula. Sadat moved closer to the USA, believing that the Americans would help him attain peace with Israel. However, US President Nixon was engulfed in a scandal. Therefore, Sadat decided a quick military strike would weaken Israel and force it to the negotiating table.

■ The October War

On 6 October 1973, during Ramadan, in a surprise attack, Egyptian forces crossed the Suez Canal. After establishing control on the eastern side, they halted in accordance with Sadat's plan. It was Israel's first military defeat. Syria then entered the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights with a large armoured force. The USA sent emergency military aid to Israel.

On 11 October, Israel counter-attacked Syrian tanks with an air assault. Egypt then moved further into the Sinai Peninsula. Israel's air force attacked Egypt's forces while Israel's army encircled Egypt's troops. Israeli forces continued westward and crossed the Suez Canal.

The USA and USSR sought a ceasefire before the conflict escalated further. The UN Security Council ordered a ceasefire on 22 October, which Israel ignored. The USSR threatened Israel with military intervention and US forces went on high alert. The USSR declared its troops would enter the region only with UN approval, easing tensions with the USA. Fighting ended on 26 October and Israel's forces returned to the Sinai while Egypt's troops crossed back to the west side of the Suez Canal.

■ Consequences

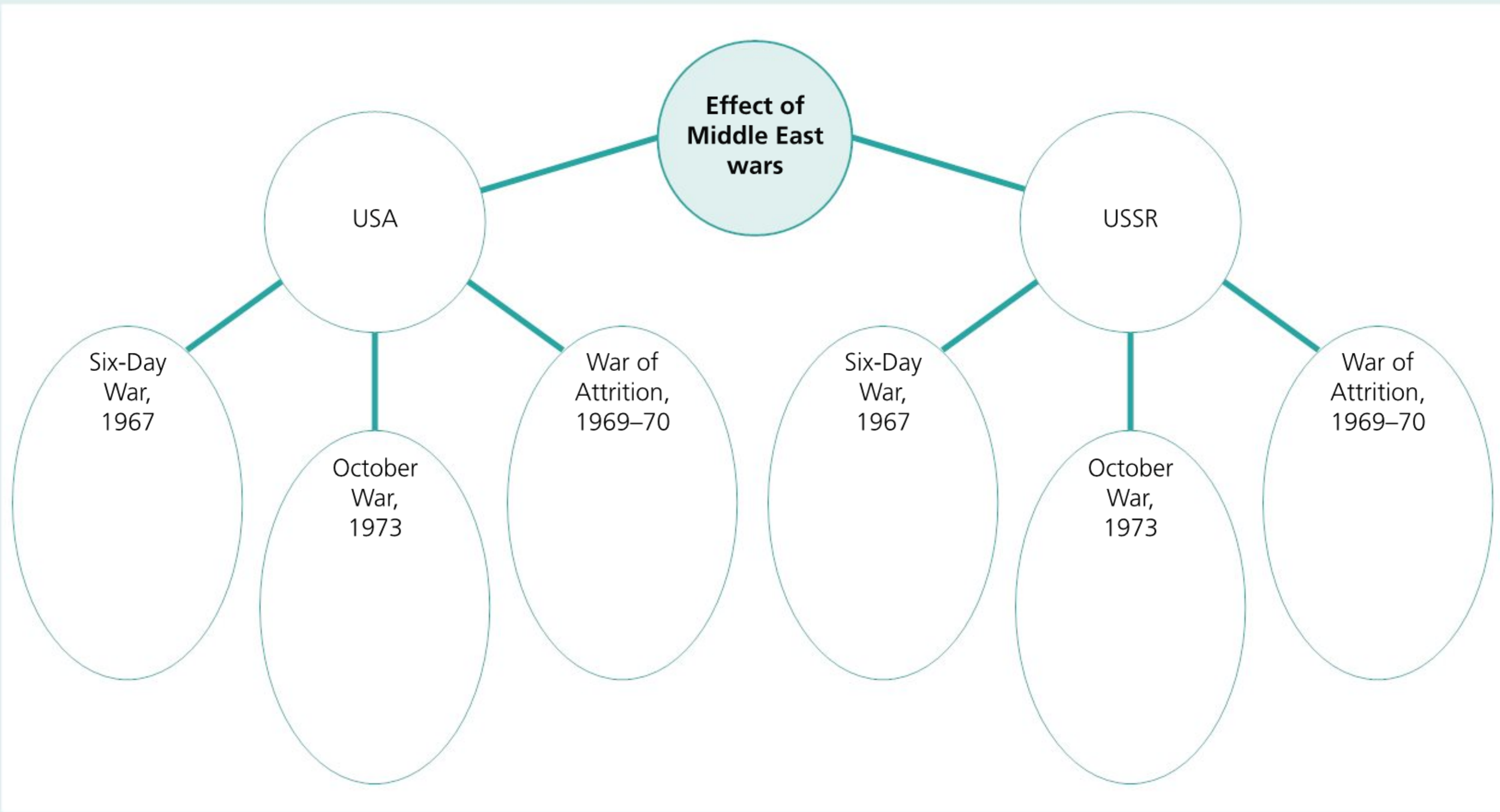
Egypt improved relations with the USA in order to help find a diplomatic solution and Sadat ended a friendship treaty with the USSR. When Israel refused to meet to discuss finding a resolution, Sadat stunned the world. He made an unprecedented visit to Israel to speak directly to Israel's Parliament. Sadat's visit opened discussions between Egypt and Israel.

US President **Jimmy Carter** acted as a mediator between Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin. The talks took place at the US president's retreat, Camp David. The Camp David Accords, signed in 1979, normalized relations between Egypt and Israel, and returned the Sinai to Egypt.

The USSR played no part in early negotiations and lost all influence in Egypt. The USSR turned its support to Syria and Iraq. It also increased aid to the **Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO)**.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



SPOT THE MISTAKE

Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question and a sample body paragraph written in response to the question. Highlight or underline evidence that is not accurate or relevant to the demands of the question.

Examine the effect of Middle East wars on Cold War tensions.

Middle East wars had some impact on Cold War tensions, but they occurred at a time of *détente*, US involvement in Vietnam, and changing relations between the USA, the USSR and the PRC. The biggest impact was bringing the USA and Israel closer while the USSR developed better relations with the Arab states with the exception of Egypt. The Iraqi Revolution led Nasser to turn to the USA for assistance and support. When Nasser died, Sadat improved relations with the USA as the only hope for achieving peace with Israel, which was the reason for Egypt's attack on Israel that started the October War.

6 The Cold War in Africa, 1964–79

Revised

The Cold War affected colonial independence movements in Africa.

■ Revolts against the Portuguese, 1964–74

By 1965, Portugal was having difficulties maintaining its colonies in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau.

■ Mozambique

The Mozambique Liberation Front, **FRELIMO**, waged a guerrilla war inside Mozambique from across the border in Tanzania beginning in 1964. By 1967, FRELIMO controlled twenty per cent of Mozambique. In 1969, fighting intensified with FRELIMO terrorizing the Portuguese civilian population.

The USA was sympathetic to FRELIMO, but could not aid the group because Portugal was a member of NATO. FRELIMO received considerable assistance from the USSR and to a lesser extent from the PRC, Cuba and the GDR.

■ Angola

Unlike in Mozambique, three different groups fought for liberation in Angola:

- The National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) received assistance from Mobutu in Congo and the CIA, but was hostile both to the West and to communism.
- The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was assisted by the Portuguese Communist Party.
- The National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA) declared its rivals to be military ineffective.

Portugal withdrew from Angola in 1974 because of a coup in Portugal, not because of the resistance movements.

■ Guinea-Bissau

The African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC) received considerable aid from Cuba. By 1973, it controlled more than half of the country with a competent civilian administration.

The colonial wars in Africa put great pressure on the Portuguese populace, which resented military conscription and economic problems from the wars. By 1973, the dictatorship of Marcelo Caetano was highly unpopular. Two military generals, Francisco da Costa Gomes and António de Spínola, called for a political solution to the wars.

In April 1974, a military coup placed General de Spínola as president. The new government:

- granted Guinea-Bissau independence
- agreed to give FRELIMO power in Mozambique
- negotiated with the three liberation movements in Angola to form a transition government Angola that would lead to independence in November 1974.

SIGNIFICANCE

- Significance examines the relative importance of people, events, ideas and so on, and whether evidence supports the claim of significance.
- Using the information on the opposite page, rate the significance of the general points below in the development of independence in Portugal’s African colonies.

Write the number of the general point in the appropriate box on the spectrum below.

- 1 US support for colonial independence movements
- 2 Communist liberation movements
- 3 War
- 4 Economic and political problems in Portugal

Not important				Important		

BODY PARAGRAPHS

- Knowledge and understanding of historical topics, historical context and history concepts are developed in body paragraphs.
- Body paragraphs also are where critical analysis/evaluation, as well as demonstrating different perspectives, are developed.
- Effective body paragraphs should have one topic that addresses the demands of a question.
- Within the body paragraph, students elaborate on the topic with the use of accurate and relevant content knowledge and use their knowledge to support critical analysis of the topic.

Using the activity above, write a body paragraph for each important point that addresses the following question:

Discuss the reasons for colonial independence of Portugal’s colonies in Africa.

■ The Angolan Civil War

Despite the agreement in Portugal, civil war soon erupted in Angola.

■ US, Chinese and South African aid, 1975

The USA was reluctant to get involved in Angola after its experience in Vietnam. However, an MPLA victory would mean Soviet influence in Angola. The USA provided funds for mercenaries and for training and equipping FNLA/UNITA forces.

The Chinese also did not want the Soviets to have influence in Angola. The PRC sent 300 instructors to the FNLA.

South Africa governed **Namibia** in accordance with a 1919 League of Nations mandate. South Africa worried about the war in Angola, because it bordered Namibia. Therefore, South Africa created a buffer zone between Namibia and Angola containing 2500 South African troops. UNITA was allowed to establish a base of operations in the buffer zone.

■ MPLA's victory, 1976

By November 1975, UNITA forces, supported by South Africa troops, neared the capital of Angola, Luanda. UNITA victory was prevented by a large-scale intervention by Cuba, approved by the USSR. Cuban troops, missiles and tanks were sent to Angola. Within a few weeks, Cuban soldiers had twice defeated the UNITA/South African forces.

The US Senate blocked funding for American covert actions in Angola in order to prevent an escalation into another Vietnam. Without US support, South Africa withdrew its troops from Angola. By March 1976, the MPLA had won.

■ Consequences

With the MPLA victory in Angola and communism established in Vietnam, it appeared that Soviet-style communism would spread throughout the Third World. The US influence in the Third World appeared to be diminishing. In the USA, anti-interventionism sentiment grew stronger after the failure in Angola.

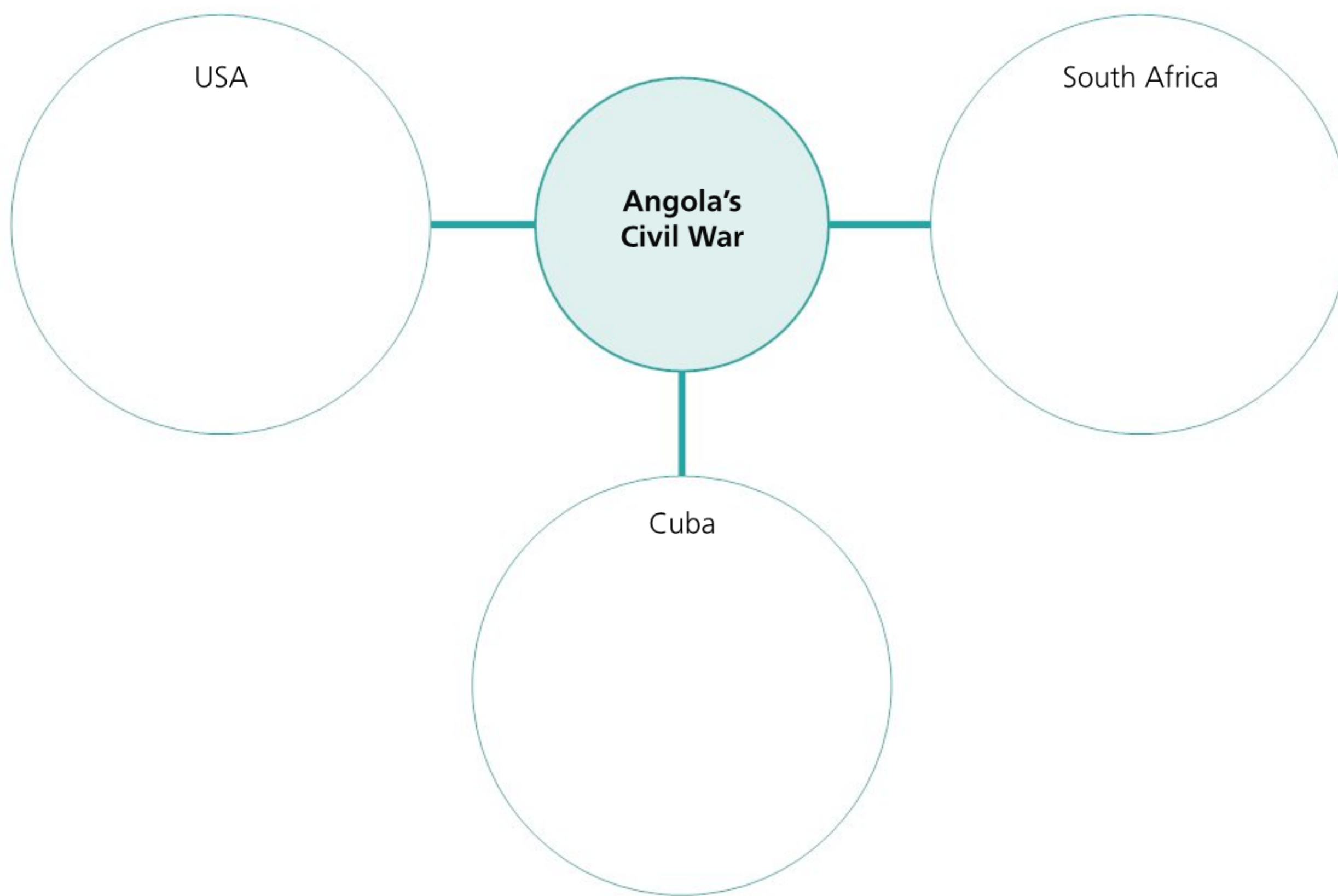
Independence victories in Angola and Mozambique encouraged African independence movements in Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe). Mozambique allowed the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) to establish guerrilla bases inside its border. In Angola, Cuban troops trained the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) forces. In 1980, Rhodesia agreed to majority African rule.

South Africa also came under increased pressure from opposition forces operating out of Angola. From inside Angola, Soviet and Cuban advisers trained guerrillas for the South West African People's Organisation (**SWAPO**), fighting for the liberation of Namibia, and for the African National Congress (**ANC**), fighting the repressive government in South Africa. A protest by African students in Soweto against the introduction of Afrikaans as the sole language of instruction was violently put down by South African security forces. More than 700 protesters were killed in what was known as the **Soweto Uprising**. The Soweto Uprising resulted in large numbers of South African refugees joining the ANC.

In 1987, South African troops invaded Angola to stop SWAPO guerrilla attacks into Namibia. Cuban forces halted the South African advance. South Africa withdrew its forces from Angola and signed a ceasefire with SWAPO. In 1991, Namibia gained its independence.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



INTRODUCTION

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

- grabs the reader's attention
- addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
- identifies your argument's main points
- transitions into the first main point of the argument.

Using the mind map and your notes from the activity above, write an introduction to the sample exam question below.

To what extent did foreign intervention affect the outcome of the Angolan Civil War?

■ Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa

By 1973, the younger generation of Ethiopia's professional classes sought changes inspired by the radical student movements in Western Europe and the USA. The global oil crisis of 1974 caused extreme economic problems in Ethiopia. In 1974, Emperor **Haile Selassie** was deposed by the military and executed. A *Derg* or co-ordinating committee ruled.

■ Haile Mengistu

Haile Mengistu, the most radical left-wing member of the *Derg*, developed sweeping plans for reforms that were opposed by local landlords and separatists in **Eritrea**. In February 1977, Mengistu seized sole power by murdering most of his rivals and then he eliminated his remaining opponents in a 'Red Terror'.

■ US reaction

Despite helping Haile Selassie throughout the 1960s, the Watergate scandal and defeat in Vietnam led to the USA offering no help to Selassie in 1974. The *Derg* did not trust the USA and turned to the USSR for assistance. In April 1978, US President Carter recalled all American personnel from Ethiopia, claiming the move was in protest at the Red Terror.

■ Soviet policy

The USSR had acted with caution in Ethiopia. But Mengistu's coup and vow of loyalty to the USSR changed Soviet attitudes. The alliance with Ethiopia gave the USSR a sphere of influence in the Horn of Africa.

■ The Ogaden War, 1977–8

Ethiopia had received the territory of Ogaden when Somali territories were divided among Britain, France and Italy in the late nineteenth century. In 1960, the new state of Somaliland was formed from two territories controlled by Britain and Italy. Somaliland claimed Ogaden.

In 1969, Major-General Siad Barre seized power in Somalia and sought Soviet assistance. In 1975, the Somali government created the Western Somali Liberation Front (WSLF) to conduct guerrilla raids in Ogaden. In 1977, WSLF guerrillas and Somali troops invaded Eritrea.

■ Soviet assistance

The USSR sent a large amount of military equipment along with military troops to organize Ethiopian resistance to Somali encroachment. Castro also sent a significant number of Cuban troops to Ethiopia. With Soviet and Cuban assistance, Ethiopia's forces defeated the Somali army, ending the war. However, the WSLF continued a guerrilla campaign in Ogaden until 1980.

■ Ethiopia's Marxist–Leninist revolution

With the Marxist–Leninist revolution in Ethiopia, the USSR became a major factor in Africa. Many African leaders saw the USSR as a counter to US and European influence in the region.

Mengistu reformed Ethiopia along Soviet lines. The USSR provided its largest assistance programme since the 1950s in the PRC. It had minimal impact on Ethiopia. Many Ethiopian workers and peasants resisted Soviet teachings. Conflict between Ethiopia and the Marxist-led Eritrea separatist movement continued. New collective farming techniques led to massive soil erosion and famine by 1984.

■ The impact on US–Soviet relations

Soviet intervention in Ethiopia threatened the spirit of *détente* with the USA. The strains on *détente* were a factor in the election of **Ronald Reagan** as US president in November 1980.

ESSAY STYLE OUTLINE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question.
- Use your own knowledge and the information from the opposite page to produce a plan for this question.
- Choose three to five main points. For each main point, provide four pieces of specific information that support the main point.
- Use the table below to organize your thoughts.

Explain the effect of independence movements in Africa on the Cold War.

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

BODY PARAGRAPHS

- Knowledge and understanding of historical topics, historical context and history concepts are developed in body paragraphs.
- Body paragraphs also are where critical analysis/evaluation, as well as demonstrating different perspectives, are developed.
- Effective body paragraphs should have one topic that addresses the demands of a question.
- Within the body paragraph, students elaborate on the topic with the use of accurate and relevant content knowledge and use their knowledge to support critical analysis of the topic.

Using the table and your notes from the activity above, write a body paragraph for each main point from the table that addresses the following question:

Explain the effect of independence movements in Africa on the Cold War.

SECTION 6 Exam focus

Sample question and guidance

Below is an example of a Paper 2 type question. The question will form the basis for examining demands of a question and historical concepts.

Evaluate the impact on the Cold War of one superpower policy in a region of your choice, excluding Europe, from 1960 to 1978.

■ Demands of the question

‘Demands of the question’ refers to the task, skills and understanding that you are expected to demonstrate in responding to a question. The question above consists of several demands:

- Evaluate: make a judgement based on how strong or weak evidence may be.
- Choose one region: Asia, Africa or the Americas.
- Use only historical evidence from your chosen region.
- The Cold War affected multiple countries in your chosen region, as well as those of the superpowers. Cover the impact on all affected countries.
- Only developments between the years 1960 and 1978 should be developed.

Anything in the essay that does not address one or more of these demands is not relevant. Material that is not relevant to the demands of the question, and does not contribute to the final mark for the essay, may limit the awarding of marks for the essay and uses time that could be used to develop relevant material that does help to achieve marks.

■ Concepts

Because ‘evaluate’ requires students to make judgements based on the strength or weakness of evidence, students must identify and evaluate significant evidence. ‘Evaluate’ provides students with an opportunity to focus on the concept of significance. It also allows students to examine perspective, because judgements are involved.

Read through the extract from the sample introduction to the question. Read the teacher annotations and comments.

Evaluate the impact on the Cold War of one superpower policy in a region of your choice, excluding Europe, from 1960 to 1978.

US policy had a significant impact in Asia, especially with Vietnam, but also with the PRC and its relations with the USSR during the late 1960s and early 1970s. To a lesser extent, US policy affected Laos and Cambodia, countries where Vietnam had a larger impact. In Japan and Korea, US policies changed little from those of the immediate post-war years. The most significant US policy was its war in Vietnam, which had a great impact on the entire region.

The first sentence sets a clear understanding of the entire essay and identifies which region will be examined.

Use of the words ‘significant’ and ‘lesser’ indicates evaluation will be developed in the essay.

Exam practice

Now it's your turn to take a mock exam. Below are two examples of questions related to Case study 6: The global Cold War, 1960–78.

For more guidance on the History Paper 2 exam and its structure, please refer to pages 28–29. You can also use the checklist designed to help you write a successful essay.

- 1 Compare and contrast the effect of superpower intervention in any two regions.
- 2 Analyse the causes of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

The politics of *détente*, 1963–79

1 US–Soviet relations, 1963–72

Revised

The Cuban Missile Crisis caused the USA and the USSR to consider ways to reduce the possibility of conflict between themselves and their allies.

■ Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1963

After the Cuban Missile Crisis, Khrushchev called for peaceful coexistence. Kennedy responded positively in the ‘peace speech’.

■ Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, 5 August 1963

On 5 August, Britain, the USA and the USSR signed the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. Nuclear explosions in the atmosphere, under water and at sea were banned; underground testing was permitted.

■ Johnson and Brezhnev: *détente* stalls, 1964–9

By late 1964, *détente* stalled because the new Soviet leadership (**Leonid Brezhnev**, **Alexei Kosygin** and **Nikolai Podgorny**) disagreed about defence and economic policies and the USA escalated its involvement in Vietnam.

■ The Glassboro Summit, June 1967

Superpower talks resumed when Johnson and Kosygin met in Glassboro, New Jersey, to discuss the Middle East, Vietnam and nuclear arms control.

■ The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, July 1968

In early 1968, Johnson’s policies towards Vietnam changed, easing tensions. In July, Britain, the USA and the USSR signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty agreeing not to transfer nuclear weapons to other countries and not to aid other countries in building them.

■ The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia

The Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968 only temporarily impeded *détente*. In November, the superpowers began negotiations that eventually led to the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I).

■ Nixon and *détente*

When Richard Nixon became US president, he attempted to tie the SALT talks to the USSR putting pressure on North Vietnam to end the war. The USSR rejected the proposal.

■ The anti-ballistic missile challenge

The USSR developed a system of **anti-ballistic missiles** (ABMs) to defend Moscow and other key sites. The USA worried that the ABM system would make the USSR more willing to use nuclear weapons.

The USA responded by developing **multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles** (MIRVs), which were nuclear missiles with multiple nuclear warheads. Each warhead had a separate target, making it more difficult for Soviet defences to succeed.

Eventually, the USSR agreed to discuss limiting ABMs because they worried the USA would develop a more effective ABM system.

■ The SALT negotiations, April 1970 to May 1972

The definition of ‘strategic arms’ hindered negotiations on SALT I. When the USA agreed to limit ABMs based on the Soviets freezing their ICBMs at the current level, a compromise was reached. On 26 May, Brezhnev and Nixon signed the ABM and SALT I treaties.

■ **Treaty on the Limitation of Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems, 26 May 1972**

The treaty permitted each country to deploy two fixed, ground-based defence sites: one to protect each capital and one to protect an ICBM base.

■ **Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty, 26 May 1972**

In SALT I, the USA and the USSR agreed to halt:

- construction of nuclear missile launchers for five years
- building intercontinental and submarine-launched ballistic missiles.

COMPLETE THE TABLE

Use the table below to record causes and effects of the given terms.

Cause		Effect
	Nuclear Test Ban Treaty	
	Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty	
	Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I)	

COMPLETE THE PARAGRAPH

- Below is a sample Paper 2 question and a sample paragraph written in response to the question.
- The paragraph contains a main argument but lacks details.
- Complete the paragraph, adding details in the space provided.

Discuss the reasons for superpower cooperation, 1963–72.

A significant motivator for superpower cooperation was nuclear weapons.

■ Sino-US *rapprochement*, 1972

By 1968, the Sino-Soviet alliance had ended. The Sino-Soviet split made the USSR more willing to pursue *détente* with the West. The split strengthened the USA despite its problems in Vietnam.

On 13 August, major fighting occurred between PRC and Soviet troops. The PRC mobilized its forces along the USSR–Mongolia border. A few days later, a Soviet diplomat asked a US official how the USA would react to a Soviet pre-emptive attack on PRC nuclear installations. Nixon would not tolerate such an attack. In September, Kosygin and Zhou Enlai met and agreed that continued conflict would only benefit the USA.

In late 1969 and early 1970, friendly diplomatic talks began between the PRC and the USA for the first time. In May 1971, US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger secretly travelled to China to arrange a visit by Nixon, which occurred in February 1972. Nixon's visit led to an agreement between the PRC and the USA that:

- neither country would seek dominance in Asia and oppose efforts by other powers (that is, the USSR) to gain dominance in Asia
- a peaceful settlement would be reached on Taiwan
- the USA would end naval patrols in the Taiwan Straits and the PRC would agree not to invade Taiwan.

The Sino-US *rapprochement* stunned the world. The USSR decided to improve relations with the USA as a way to prevent an alliance between the PRC and the USA.

■ The expulsion of Taiwan from the United Nations

In October 1971, the United Nations (UN) Assembly expelled Taiwan and recognized the PRC as the legitimate representative of China, which Nixon did not seriously oppose.

■ US–PRC relations, 1973–6

Despite disagreements on Taiwan and Tibet, relations improved between the PRC and the USA through 1976.

■ The Moscow Summit, May 1972

The USSR rejected a proposed summit with the USA in summer 1971. As a result, Nixon's successful visit to the PRC in February 1972 strengthened his negotiating position when the USA and the USSR met at the Moscow Summit in May 1972.

■ Results of the summit

The Moscow Summit was a success for both countries. The ABM and SALT I treaties were signed. Brezhnev agreed to take a US proposal for peace to the North Vietnam government. The USA agreed to sell grain to and expand trade with the USSR. Agreement was reached for a conference on European security.

■ Conflicting interpretations of *détente*

The USSR sought *détente* because it wanted to:

- stabilize the arms race and reduce spending on nuclear weapons
- gain legal recognition of the GDR, and Poland's and Czechoslovakia's post-1945 borders
- improve East–West trade
- prevent a US–PRC alliance.

The USA hoped *détente* would:

- strengthen its relations with its NATO allies
- lead to an agreement on Vietnam
- stop the escalation of nuclear arms
- limit the USSR's ability to undermine NATO and the USA.

■ Conclusion

Détente did not end the Cold War, but it did create a new framework of Soviet–US relations.

COMPLETE THE TABLE

Use the table below to record causes and effects of the given terms.

Cause		Effect
	Sino-US <i>rapprochement</i>	
	The Moscow Summit	
	Superpower <i>détente</i>	

BODY PARAGRAPHS

- Knowledge and understanding of historical topics, historical context and history concepts are developed in body paragraphs.
- Body paragraphs also are where critical analysis/evaluation, as well as demonstrating different perspectives, are developed.
- Effective body paragraphs should have one topic that addresses the demands of a question.
- Within the body paragraph, students elaborate on the topic with the use of accurate and relevant content knowledge and use their knowledge to support critical analysis of the topic.

Using the table and your notes from the activity above, write one body paragraph for the USA and one for the USSR based on the question below.

Compare and contrast the impact of Nixon and Brezhnev on the Cold War.

2 Détente in Europe, 1963–9

Revised

After the construction of the Berlin Wall and the peaceful resolution of the Cuban Missile Crisis, a period of stability and increasing accommodation developed in Europe.

■ France and Germany

The reliance on the USA became less significant for the leading NATO nations:

- The improved economy meant US economic aid was no longer needed.
- France and the FRG began doubting US commitment to defend Western Europe and risk nuclear war with the USSR.
- US involvement in Vietnam caused widespread hostility among Western European states by 1968.

■ France, 1963–9

French President de Gaulle was the major critic of the USA. He believed the Americans dominated NATO, which threatened France's independence. The USA refused to share nuclear technology with France, but did send nuclear missiles to the UK. In response, France vetoed the UK's application for membership to the European Economic Community (EEC). De Gaulle refused to sign the 1963 Test Ban Treaty, arguing that France needed to defend itself. In 1966, he withdrew French forces from NATO and forced the NATO headquarters to leave Paris. De Gaulle believed that US multinational corporations threatened European economic independence. France initiated an economic policy that caused the US dollar to weaken against other currencies.

■ De Gaulle's concept of *détente*

For de Gaulle, *détente* meant improving relations with the USSR and establishing relations with individual Warsaw Pact members and encouraging them to be more independent of the USSR. The USSR appreciated the problems de Gaulle caused NATO and his hatred of the USA. In 1966, de Gaulle visited the USSR and Kosygin travelled to France. The two states began collaborating on issues of European security and exploring ways to improve European cooperation. In 1967–8, de Gaulle visited Poland and Romania and called for European states to break away from the 'bloc mentality'. De Gaulle also praised Romanian dictator **Ceaușescu** for asserting independence from the USSR.

■ FRG: the beginning of *Ostpolitik*

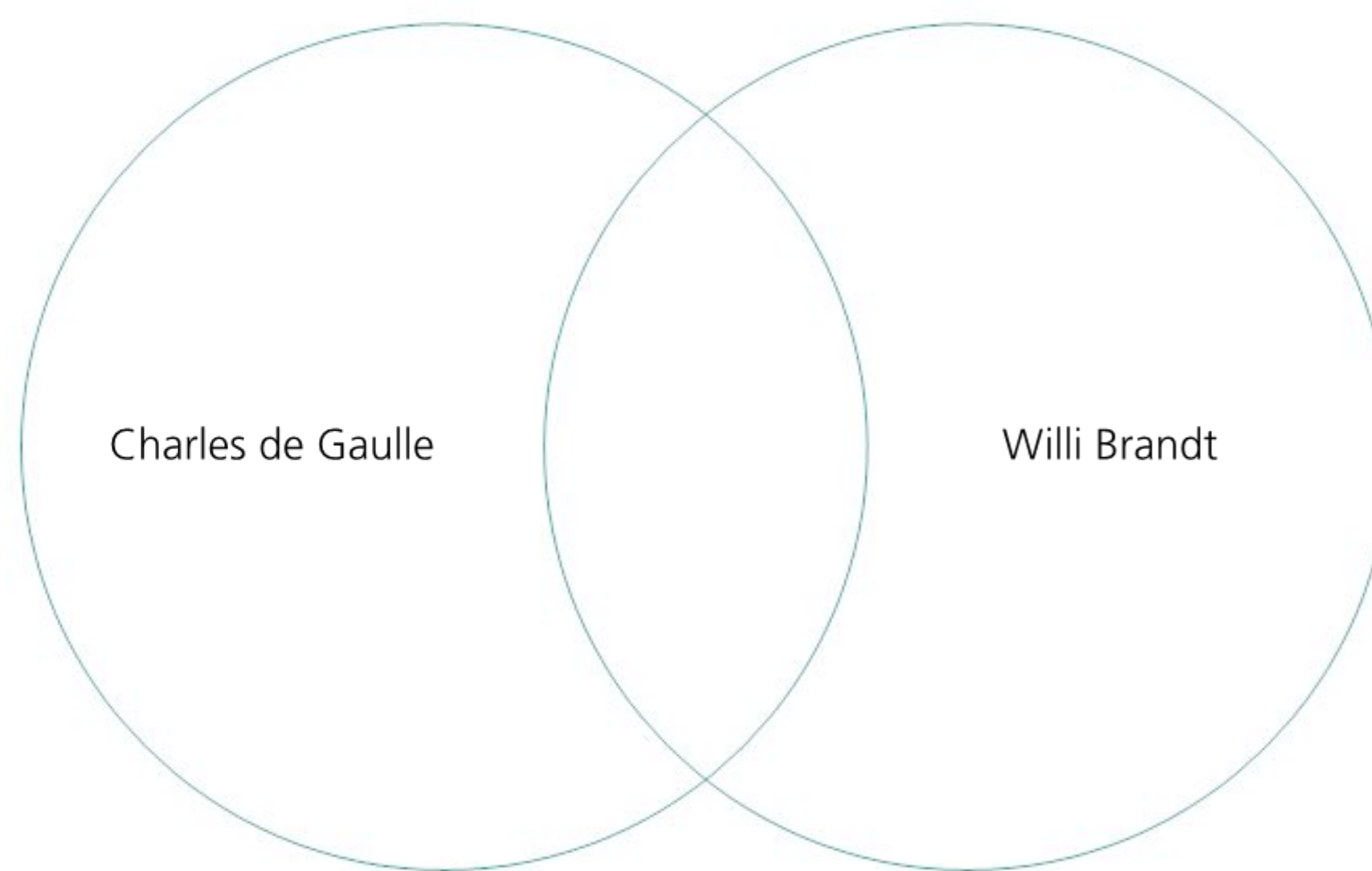
The FRG's chancellor refused to recognize the GDR, including the development of the Hallstein Doctrine. In 1965, GDR leader Ulbricht visited the Middle East, leading to ten countries recognizing the GDR and breaking relations with the FRG.

During the 1960s, FRG leaders began re-examining their policy towards the GDR and the Hallstein Doctrine. West Berlin Mayor **Willi Brandt** of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) developed ***Ostpolitik***. In December 1963, Brandt began negotiating directly with East Berlin.

In 1966, the **Grand Coalition** formed with Willi Brandt as foreign secretary. The Grand Coalition pursued *Ostpolitik* by establishing **trade missions** with Yugoslavia and Romania, and began relations with Czechoslovakia. In April 1967, the FRG made several proposals to the GDR for improving inter-German trade and communications. The SPD proposed talks with the Socialist Unity Party (SED). Ulbricht rejected the possibility, arguing that unity would happen only with two socialist Germanys. The USSR also was sceptical of *Ostpolitik*.

VENN DIAGRAM

Identify the key foreign policy beliefs and actions of Charles de Gaulle and Willi Brandt.



INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

- grabs the reader's attention
- addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
- identifies your argument's main points
- transitions into the first main point of the argument.

An effective concluding paragraph reminds the reader of the key points of your argument and the conclusion of your argument. Therefore, it should also be brief: about three sentences. The conclusion is a short summary of your argument. Do not include new information in the conclusion. An effective concluding paragraph:

- restates your argument's conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using the Venn diagram above, information from the opposite page and your own knowledge, write an introduction and a conclusion for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Compare the impact on the Cold War of Charles de Gaulle and Willi Brandt.

■ NATO and *détente*

Détente required NATO to adapt.

■ The USA and NATO, 1963–9

In the 1960s, Vietnam was the main focus of US foreign policy and created tension with its Western European allies. The USA began considering reducing its presence in Western Europe.

The USA supported *détente* in Europe. President Johnson opened arms control discussions with the USSR, designed to reduce the likelihood of nuclear war.

■ The Harmel Report and NATO

France's withdrawal from NATO caused great disruption and worry that other members would leave the alliance. The FRG demanded a greater voice in NATO. France and Britain rejected a proposal for a co-ordinated allied nuclear force, the Multilateral Force (MLF). US intervention in Vietnam strained relations within NATO.

In 1966, Belgium's Foreign Minister **Pierre Harmel**, and NATO officials, produced a report that declared NATO would defend Western Europe and seek *détente* with Warsaw Pact states. The Harmel Report prevented political tensions from destroying NATO.

■ Division within the Warsaw Pact

Détente and the Sino-Soviet split weakened Soviet control in Eastern Europe.

■ Albania

Enver Hoxha, leader of Albania, distanced his country from the USSR, including withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact in 1968. Hoxha drew closer to the PRC and launched his own Cultural Revolution in 1967. Hoxha effectively freed Albania from the USSR.

■ Romania

Nicolae Ceaușescu modified the Soviet model with an emphasis on nationalism and independence from the USSR. Romania, Poland and Bulgaria forced the USSR to abandon economic integration of the Eastern bloc. Ceaușescu remained in the Warsaw Pact, but limited Romania's role in it.

■ Bulgaria

Todor Zhivkov, Bulgaria's communist leader, remained a close ally of the USSR and supported Brezhnev's policy of *détente*.

■ Poland

After promising to protect communism in Poland in 1956, Gomułka forged a special status for Poland. Poland did not collectivize agriculture and received aid from the USA to purchase grain. Poland also had the highest trade volume with the West in the Eastern bloc. The USSR tolerated Poland's policies.

■ Hungary

János Kádár maintained close ties to the USSR following the failed Hungarian Uprising in 1956. In economic policy, Hungary moved away from the Soviet model. Kádár introduced the New Economic Mechanism in 1968, which permitted businesses some freedom.

■ Czechoslovakia: the Prague Spring

In 1968, **Alexander Dubček** became first secretary of the Czech Communist Party. He introduced plans for democracy and economic modernization in April 1968 that began the **Prague Spring**. In June, Dubček ended censorship, resulting in the publication of significant anti-Soviet propaganda. Dubček's actions worried Brezhnev and other Eastern bloc leaders.

On the night of 20–21 August, Warsaw Pact forces invaded Czechoslovakia. Dubček's government agreed to stay in power and cancel all reforms.

In April 1969, Dubček was forced from power. Brezhnev justified the invasion with the Brezhnev Doctrine, claiming that any threat to socialism in a Warsaw Pact state was a threat to all members of the Warsaw Pact.

ESSAY STYLE OUTLINE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question.
- Use your own knowledge and the information from the opposite page to produce a plan for this question.
- Choose three main points. For each main point, provide four pieces of specific information that support the main point.
- Use the table below to organize your thoughts.

Evaluate the impact of *détente* on military alliances, 1963–9.

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
1				
2				
3				

BODY PARAGRAPHS

- Knowledge and understanding of historical topics, historical context and history concepts are developed in body paragraphs.
- Body paragraphs also are where critical analysis/evaluation, as well as demonstrating different perspectives, are developed.
- Effective body paragraphs should have one topic that addresses the demands of a question.
- Within the body paragraph, students elaborate on the topic with the use of accurate and relevant content knowledge and use their knowledge to support critical analysis of the topic.

Using the table and your notes from the activity above, write a body paragraph for each main point from the table that addresses the following question:

Evaluate the impact of *détente* on military alliances, 1963–9.

3 Ostpolitik

Revised

In October 1969, Willi Brandt became West German chancellor with widespread support for his policy of *Ostpolitik*. Brandt made it clear that the FRG would remain a part of NATO and the **European Community**. From 1970 to 1972, the FRG signed several treaties that impacted the Cold War.

■ The Moscow Treaty, 1970

On 12 August 1970, the USSR and FRG signed the Moscow Treaty. The FRG:

- recognized the inviolable borders of Poland's western frontier and the inner German frontier
- promised to negotiate treaties with the GDR, Poland and Czechoslovakia
- ended the Hallstein Doctrine
- agreed that both the FRG and GDR would become members in the UN.

The USSR and FRG declared they had no territorial claims against other states.

■ The Warsaw and Prague Treaties

The Warsaw Treaty was signed in December 1970. Poland and the FRG agreed that the Oder–Neisse line was inviolable and that neither country had territorial claims against the other. Ethnic Germans living in Poland were permitted to emigrate to West Germany.

In June 1973, the Prague Treaty was signed, but not ratified by the FRG until January 1974. The treaty revoked the Munich Agreement that ceded Sudetenland to Germany, and recognized the FRG–Czechoslovakian border and that no territorial claims existed between the two states. Czechoslovakian residents with German citizenship were permitted to emigrate to West Germany.

■ Four-power negotiations over Berlin

On 3 September 1973, the Four-Power Treaty on Berlin was signed. The treaty guaranteed unimpeded traffic between West Berlin and the FRG, recognized West Berlin's ties to the FRG, and permitted West Berliners to visit East Berlin. The Western powers conceded that West Berlin was not legally part of West Germany.

■ GDR–FRG negotiations

Brezhnev warned **Erich Honecker**, who had replaced Ulrich, not to negotiate a *rapprochement* with the FRG because Brandt intended to turn the GDR into a social democrat state like the FRG. Early agreement focused on **transit traffic** between the GDR and the FRG.

■ The Basic Treaty

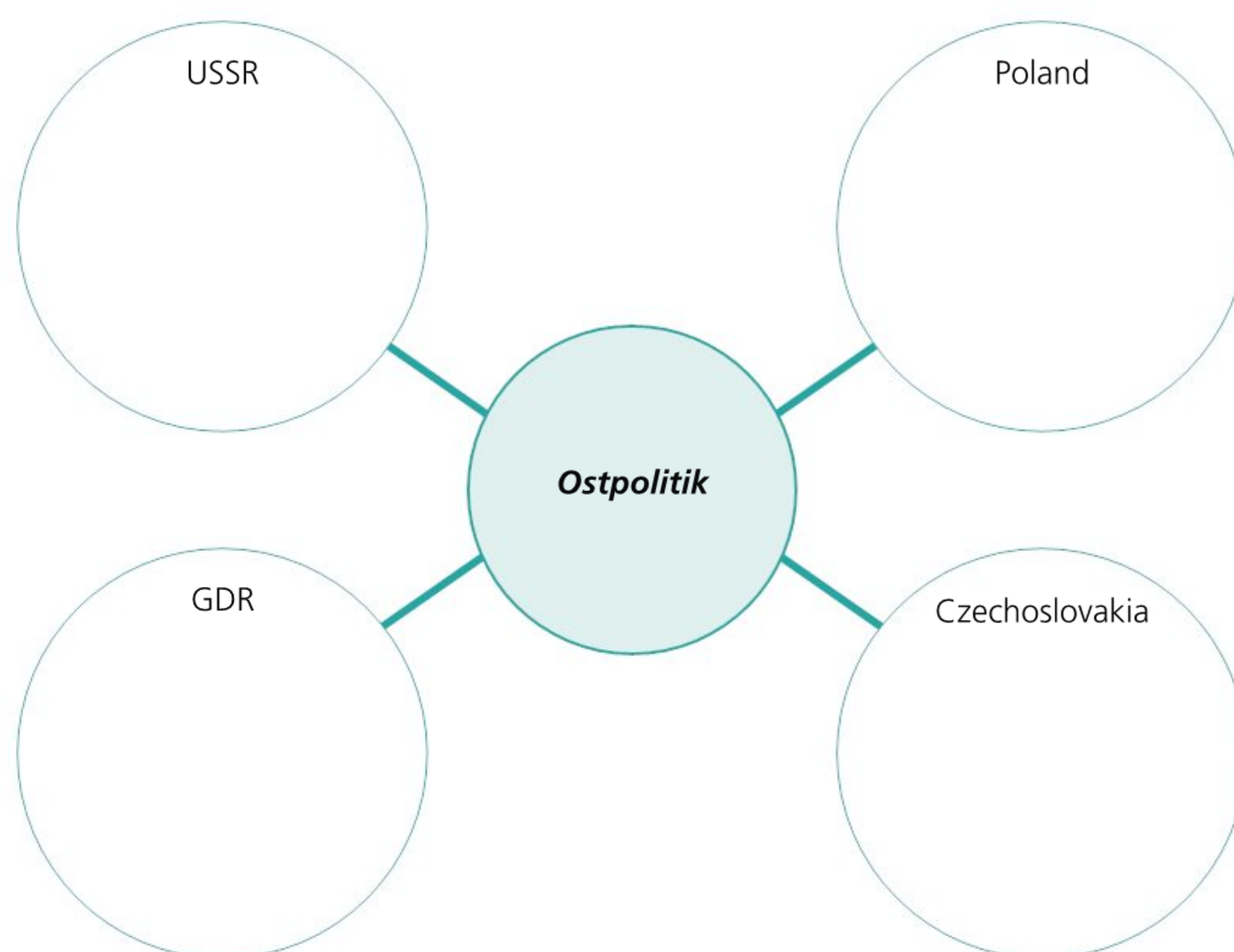
In December 1972, the Basic Treaty was signed. The FRG recognized the GDR as a sovereign and separate state and that both states would be represented in the UN. The two states joined the UN in 1973.

The FRG stated that it considered that citizens of GDR had a common citizenship. The FRG announced that it intended to work towards a peaceful reunification of Germany.

The treaties recognized the two German states as legal equals. However, economically, the GDR lagged far behind the FRG. Many GDR citizens did not fully support the state and would be likely to vote for a united Germany. Its existence rested entirely on Soviet support.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



INTRODUCTION

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

- grabs the reader's attention
- addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
- identifies your argument's main points
- transitions into the first main point of the argument.

Review the key points listed below and choose the significant key points to write an introduction to the sample exam question below.

Discuss the impact of Willi Brandt on Cold War tensions.

4 Helsinki Accords and SALT II, 1975–9

Revised

In July 1973, the Conference on Security and Co-operation began in Helsinki, Finland. The USSR aimed for permanent recognition of territorial and political decisions made at Yalta. The USSR also hoped to increase economic, scientific and technological cooperation. The USA wanted Soviet agreement to negotiate a reduction of troops and armaments in central Europe and in Berlin. NATO state ministers intended to include resolutions on **human rights** and the free movement of people.

Brezhnev was reluctant to include human rights as part of an agreement. However, the desire for legal acceptance of post-war communist regimes led Brezhnev to accept human rights concessions. USSR Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko reassured Brezhnev that human rights concessions were insignificant.

On 1 August 1975, 33 European states, Canada and the USA signed the Helsinki Accords.

■ Terms of the Helsinki Accords

The Helsinki Accords were divided into three sections or 'baskets', as they were called:

- Basket 1 focused on security and guiding principles on inter-state relationships that included principles on settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal state affairs and the inviolability of frontiers.
- Basket 2 addressed cooperation in economics, science, technology and environmental affairs.
- Basket 3 concentrated on issues of expanding trade, tourism and cultural exchanges, as well as reuniting families split by the Cold War.

■ The SALT II Agreement

In 1973, talks began to develop a mutually balanced programme of arms reduction. However, negotiations stagnated due to complex details involved with arms reduction. To stimulate progress, nuclear weapons became the sole focus of discussions. Progress was slow as both sides sought advantages and with the resignation of Nixon due to the Watergate scandal in August 1974.

■ The Vladivostok Summit, November 1974

Progress was made between Nixon's successor, Gerald Ford, and Brezhnev at Vladivostok. The two leaders agreed to reach numerical parity in missile launchers and bombers by 1985. Technical details led to a delay in signing an agreement.

■ President Carter

In 1977, Jimmy Carter became US president. He demanded a larger reduction of arms. Although the USSR rejected further reductions, talks continued and, by February 1977, an agreement was close. An increase in global tensions and contention over details delayed signing the agreement until June 1979.

■ The SALT II Agreements

SALT II placed a limit of 2400 warheads that each side could possess and a limit of 1320 missiles that could carry warheads. Both sides agreed to discuss further reductions.

Many members of the US Senate and US military opposed SALT II, believing the USA made too many concessions to the USSR. At the time, the USSR was strengthening its position in Africa and had invaded Afghanistan. In January 1980, Carter decided not to submit SALT II for Senate ratification in protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

SIGNIFICANCE

- Significance examines the relative importance of people, events, ideas and so on, and whether evidence supports the claim of significance.
- Using the information on the opposite page and from earlier chapters, rate the significance of the general points below in the development of *détente*.
- Write the number of the general point in the appropriate box on the spectrum below.

- 1

Helsinki Accords
- 2

SALT I
- 3

SALT II
- 4

Cuban Missile Crisis
- 5

PRC–US *rapprochement*
- 6

Ostpolitik
- 7

Charles de Gaulle
- 8

Leonid Brezhnev

Did not aid <i>détente</i>				Significant factor in <i>détente</i>		

INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

- grabs the reader’s attention
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- transitions into the first main point of the argument.

An effective concluding paragraph reminds the reader of the key points of your argument and the conclusion of your argument. Therefore, it should also be brief: about three sentences. The conclusion is a short summary of your argument. Do not include new information in the conclusion. An effective concluding paragraph:

- restates your argument’s conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using the activity above, information from the opposite page, and your own knowledge write an introduction and a conclusion for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Evaluate the significance of one leader on the Cold War, 1963–79.

SECTION 7 Exam focus

Sample question and guidance

Below is an example of a Paper 2 type question. The question will form the basis for examining demands of a question and historical concepts.

Compare and contrast the impact on the Cold War of the policies of two leaders, each chosen from a different region.

■ Demands of the question

‘Demands of the question’ refers to the task, skills and understanding that you are expected to demonstrate in responding to a question. The question above consists of these demands:

- Compare and contrast: give an account of similarities and differences between two or more items or situations, referring to both of them throughout the essay.
- Choose two leaders from different regions.
- The response must consist of both similarities and differences between the two leaders.
- Comparing and contrasting must be integrated. Do not write one section on one leader and a separate section on the second leader.
- Do not give an overview of each leader. Instead, focus on the most important similarities and differences, rather than every tiny detail.

Anything in the essay that does not address one or more of these demands is not relevant. Material that is not relevant to the demands of the question, and does not contribute to the final mark for the essay, may limit the awarding of marks for the essay and uses time that could be used to develop relevant material that does help to achieve marks.

■ Concepts

The question asks about the impact of the Cold War on policies. Impact refers to effect or influence. Therefore, the question provides a good opportunity to develop two concepts: cause and consequence. Cause can be addressed by examining how Cold War developments caused leaders to formulate and implement policies. The effects of such policies can be used to address consequences. Compare and contrast questions, especially about leaders, also offer chances to examine perspective.

Read through the extract from the sample conclusion to the question. Read the teacher annotations and comments.

Evaluate the impact on the Cold War of the policies of two leaders, each chosen from a different region.

Nixon and Brezhnev negotiated a number of agreements that contributed to *détente* in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Unlike Brezhnev, Nixon made dramatic changes in US policy to take advantages of opportunities to change the character of the Cold War. This is most clearly seen in his establishing relations with the PRC, which forced Brezhnev to act. Both leaders dealt with difficulties caused by the Cold War: Brezhnev with trouble in satellite countries and Nixon with the war in Vietnam.

The first sentence refers to leaders from different regions and identifies a commonality.

Use of the words ‘unlike’ and ‘both’ makes clear indications of differences and similarities.

The conclusion summarizes key similarities and differences that indicate an effective development of a compare and contrast response.

Exam practice

Now it's your turn to take a mock exam. Below are two examples of questions related to Case study 7: The politics of *détente*, 1963–79.

For more guidance on the History Paper 2 exam and its structure, please refer to pages 28–29. You can also use the checklist designed to help you write a successful essay.

- 1 Examine the reconciliation of one country with its Cold War rivals.
- 2 Analyse the causes of the *détente*.

The end of the Cold War, 1976–91

1 'New Cold War', 1976–85

Revised

Between 1976 and 1980, US–Soviet relations deteriorated to a low point not seen since the early 1960s.

■ The weakening of *détente* in Europe

In 1976, the USSR placed medium-range nuclear missiles in central Europe that could strike every NATO state. In response, plans were made to deploy US medium-range missiles in Europe by 1983 unless an agreement was reached prior to that date.

In November 1981, US President Reagan proposed destroying all existing medium-range missiles. At this time, only the USSR had deployed medium-range missiles, therefore, the USSR rejected Reagan's proposal, citing that only their missiles would be destroyed. The USSR also hoped growing protests and opposition to US missiles in Western Europe would prevent their deployment. However, US missiles were installed in five NATO countries by 1987.

■ The invasion of Afghanistan

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan ended *détente*.

■ Communist coup in Afghanistan, April 1978

In 1973, Prime Minister Mohammed Daoud Khan seized power from his cousin King Zahir Shah. Daoud tried to modernize Afghanistan, but conservative Afghan leaders opposed his plans. Despite significant Soviet aid and influence in Afghanistan, Afghan communists criticized Daoud for being too cautious.

In April 1978, the Afghan Communist Party assassinated Daoud and most of his family in a coup. The communist government, led by Hafizullah Amin, began a radical modernization programme backed by widespread repression. Opposition grew among conservative Muslims.

■ Reasons for Soviet intervention

By November 1979, the USSR intervened because:

- Amin's government was unstable and might seek US assistance
- a conservative Islamic government might form in Afghanistan that along with the conservative Islamic government in Iran might spread Islamic militancy across the border into the USSR.

■ Soviet military operations

The USSR began flying troops into Kabul, Afghanistan's capital, on 24 December 1979. Three days later, Soviet forces attacked the presidential palace, assassinated Amin, and replaced him with **Babrak Karmal**. The Soviet military then focused on eliminating Muslim fundamentalist rebels and stabilizing Karmal's government. However, the Afghan military disintegrated, leaving the USSR to fight alone, and Karmal was an unpopular leader.

Muslim fundamentalist guerrillas, known as *mujahedin*, controlled twenty per cent of the country. By 1985, it was clear the USSR could not win the guerrilla war. The war put a significant strain on the Soviet economy.

■ US reaction, 1978–87

The US banned the export of grain to the USSR, refused to ratify the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) and boycotted the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games.

In Afghanistan, the USA supplied the *mujahedin* with weapons and communications equipment. The USA worked with conservative Islamic states in the region to raise funds for the *mujahedin*.

■ PRC

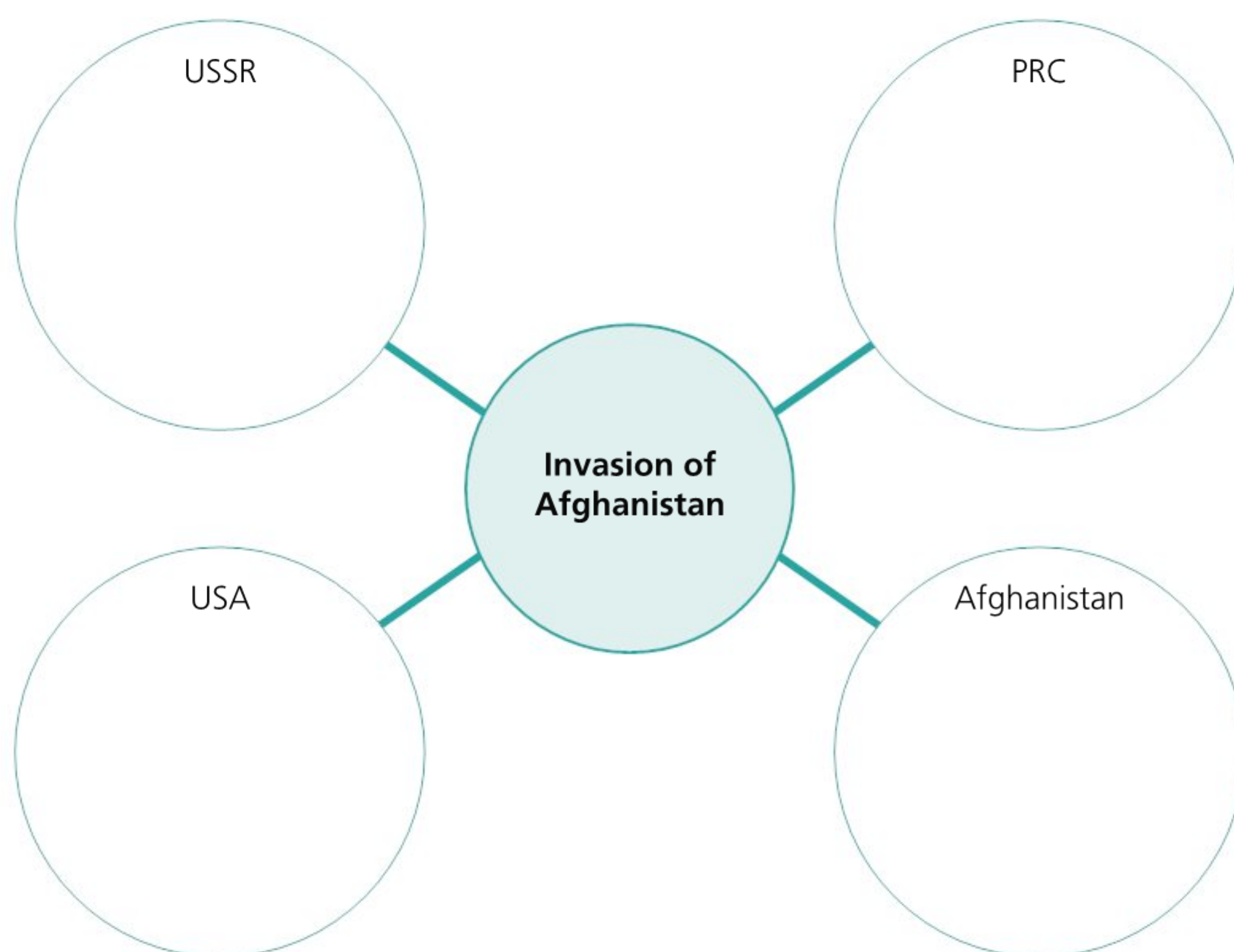
The PRC increased arms shipments to the *mujahedin*, cancelled planned talks with the USSR and drew closer to the USA.

■ Western Europe

Western European states condemned the USSR, but were careful not to harm progress made by *Ostpolitik*.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



COMPLETE THE PARAGRAPH

- Below is a sample Paper 2 question and a sample paragraph written in response to the question.
- The paragraph contains a main argument but lacks details.
- Complete the paragraph, adding details in the space provided.

Examine the impact of one military conflict during the Cold War.

The conflict in Afghanistan increased Cold War tensions between the USSR and other major powers.

■ Solidarity in Poland, 1980–2

■ The Baltic Crisis, 1970–1

Poland did not collectivize agriculture although most Polish farms were small and inefficient. In 1970, Poland's government increased food prices by 30%, hoping farmers would use increased profits to improve farming techniques. The price increase caused strikes, political demonstrations and attacks on Communist Party offices, leading to 45 deaths. Gomułka was replaced by **Edward Gierek**. Prices were returned to their previous levels. To help stabilize the economy, Poland received a substantial loan from the USSR.

■ June 1976 riots

Attempting to improve the economy, Poland borrowed heavily from Western Europe to pay for the importation of Western technology to produce goods that could be sold to the West for **hard currency**. The debt worsened economic problems. In June 1976, Poland increased food prices, causing riots across the country until food prices returned to their previous level.

■ Political opposition

In 1975, Gierek proposed changes to the constitution that increased central government power and formalized power for the Polish United Workers' Party (**PUWP**). New protests broke out. Opposition groups increased their efforts and reach, including making connections with foreign sympathizers. In May 1979, Pope John Paul II, who had been born in Poland, visited the country, with massive displays of affection from the Polish populace.

■ The emergence of Solidarity (*Slidarność*)

By 1980, government economic and modernization policies had failed. In August, the government announced food price increases, causing strikes across the country. In Gdansk, **Lech Wałęsa** led a strike that shut down the Lenin Shipyards. Despite reaching an agreement with management, the workers refused to end their strike until all strikes in Poland had been resolved. It was the first step in the Solidarity Movement challenging the power of the PUWP. On 31 August, Solidarity and the government signed the Gdansk Agreement, which recognized Solidarity as an independent trade union and guaranteed the right to strike, freedom of speech and access to the media. In return, Solidarity recognized the leading role of the PUWP. By December, Solidarity membership reached nearly 8 million and received the support of the Catholic Church.

■ Threat of Soviet intervention, December 1980

Brezhnev and other Warsaw Pact leaders wanted the government to crush the opposition. Warsaw Pact forces were mobilized, but the new Polish prime minister, Stanisław Kania, convinced Brezhnev he could solve the crisis.

■ Martial law, 1981

The economic crisis continued throughout 1981 with no progress in political solutions between the PUWP, Solidarity and the Catholic Church. In December 1981, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, with Brezhnev's approval, declared **martial law**, arrested Solidarity's leaders, and, in October 1982, outlawed Solidarity.

■ US and NATO reaction

Martial law was condemned in the West. The USA wanted tough sanctions imposed on Poland and called for the cancelling of a planned gas line from the USSR to Western Europe. Leaders in Western Europe rejected this, opting to restrict exporting advanced technology to the Soviet bloc.

■ Years of tension, 1981–4

US President Reagan took an aggressive approach with the USSR, including:

- a massive increase in US military spending
- rejecting SALT II
- supporting the *mujahedin*
- deploying missiles in Europe.

■ Yuri Andropov

In November 1982, Brezhnev died and was replaced by **Yuri Andropov**. Shortly thereafter, Reagan announced plans for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), which would build a defence system that could destroy Soviet nuclear missiles in flight. If developed, SDI would make the USA the dominant nuclear power. On 1 September 1983, a Soviet fighter plane shot down a South Korean passenger aeroplane killing 269 people, including 61 US citizens. The USSR rejected blame for the incident. Reagan referred to the Soviets as barbarians. Andropov declared that the USSR could not work with the USA. Relations were so bad that the USSR believed that a NATO military exercise in November 1983 might be a ruse for a real attack on Soviet bloc forces.

■ Reduced tensions, 1984–5

By late 1983, increased military spending allowed the US military to far surpass their Soviet counterparts. However, European allies called for a less belligerent USA. Reagan decided it was time to ease tensions with the USSR and reduce the possibility of war between the superpowers.

■ Konstantin Chernenko

Andropov died in February 1984 and was replaced by **Konstantin Chernenko**. Chernenko chose to reopen discussions with the USA for a Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). START talks began in March 1985, the same month Chernenko died.

SIGNIFICANCE

- Significance examines the relative importance of people, events, ideas and so on, and whether evidence supports the claim of significance.
- Using the information on the opposite page and from earlier chapters, rate the significance of the general points below in the creation of Solidarity in Poland.
- Write the number of the general point in the appropriate box on the spectrum below.

1 Martial law

2 Increased food prices

3 Proposed constitutional changes

4 Support from Pope John Paul II

5 Gdansk Agreement

6 Death of Brezhnev

Not a factor

Important factor

--	--	--	--	--	--	--

INTRODUCTION

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

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- addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
- identifies your argument’s main points
- transitions into the first main point of the argument.

Using your own knowledge and the activity above, write an introduction for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Examine the rise of opposition to one communist state.

2 Mikhail Gorbachev and renewed *détente*, 1985–9

Revised

Mikhail Gorbachev became general-secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union after Chernenko died. Unlike his predecessors, he was young and dynamic and wanted to reform the USSR. Gorbachev understood the USSR could survive only if the Cold War ended and the economy reformed.

■ The USSR's economic weaknesses

Gorbachev emphasized economics before politics or ideology. Placing politics before economics in the USSR had led to an emphasis on heavy industry and a command economy, neglecting agriculture and consumers' needs.

In the 1960s, Czechoslovakia implemented decentralization decisions made by local factory managers. In addition, business taxes were lowered, wages were allowed to differentiate and a limited free market was introduced. The Prague Spring ended economic experimentation throughout the Soviet bloc.

■ The 1970s

Western economies experienced economic change and crises in the 1970s:

- OPEC quadrupled oil prices in response to Western support for Israel in the October War.
- The coal and steel industries contracted.
- Unemployment increased.

These economic disruptions caused adaptations and development of new technologies in the West.

In contrast, the Soviet bloc continued emphasizing heavy industry. In the short term, this worked well as a result of increased loans from the West due to *détente* and *Ostpolitik*. As an oil exporter, the USSR benefited from high oil prices.

■ 1980–5

By 1980, the inability of the USSR and Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) states to develop new technologies and industries began affecting their economies. Western loans had been used for modernization, resulting in large debt at high interest rates throughout the Soviet bloc. In the early 1980s, oil prices dropped by more than 50% putting a great strain on the Soviet economy at the time Gorbachev came to power.

■ *Détente* renegotiated, 1985–8

Gorbachev needed to end the Cold War because military expenses prevented reforms. He aimed to modernize and reform the USSR with *glasnost* and *perestroika*. Gorbachev also changed Soviet foreign policy. He aimed to achieve international cooperation and real coexistence between the two rival systems. Prior Soviet foreign policy was based on Marxist–Leninist revolutionary ideology. Gorbachev believed these changes would improve the USSR, allowing it to survive.

Gorbachev quickly agreed to previously planned negotiations on arms reduction and preferred dramatic cuts in arms. His conciliatory approach would benefit the USSR and could improve the Soviet image and relations in Western Europe, in contrast to Reagan's bellicosity.

At the Reykjavík Summit in 1986, Gorbachev failed to achieve his goal. In 1987, Gorbachev accepted a NATO plan for total withdrawal of medium-range missiles in Europe by both sides.

■ Human rights, 1986–8

In May 1986, Gorbachev decided that Basket 3 of the Helsinki Accords on human rights was important. The USSR:

- released Soviet dissidents from exile and prison
- eased conditions for Soviet Jews to emigrate to Israel
- allowed foreign government media to be broadcast in the USSR.

A new sense of intellectual and cultural freedom developed in the USSR.

ESSAY STYLE OUTLINE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question.
- Use your own knowledge and the information from the opposite page to produce a plan for this question.
- Choose three main points. For each main point, provide four pieces of specific information that support the main point.
- Use the table below to organize your thoughts.

Evaluate the causes of the renewed *détente*, 1985–9.

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
1				
2				
3				

BODY PARAGRAPHS

- Knowledge and understanding of historical topics, historical context and history concepts are developed in body paragraphs.
- Body paragraphs also are where critical analysis/evaluation, as well as demonstrating different perspectives, are developed.
- Effective body paragraphs should have one topic that addresses the demands of a question.
- Within the body paragraph, students elaborate on the topic with the use of accurate and relevant content knowledge and use their knowledge to support critical analysis of the topic.

Using the table and your notes from the activity above, write a body paragraph for each point from the table that addresses the following question:

Discuss the impact of the Cold War on the domestic policies of one leader.

■ Global *détente*

Four **proxy conflicts** were fought during the 1980s.

■ Afghanistan

Gorbachev understood that the USSR needed to withdraw from Afghanistan. Fighting between the Afghan government and the *mujahedin* continued. The USSR assisted the Afghan government and the USA continued providing aid to the *mujahedin*.

■ Cambodia

In 1979, Vietnam invaded Cambodia and established the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Vietnamese military units remained in Cambodia while the PRC, the USA and ASEAN states provided support to opposition groups. Gorbachev put pressure on Vietnam to remove its troops from Cambodia. A ceasefire was negotiated in 1991.

■ Nicaragua

In 1979, Nicaragua's US-supported leader, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, was overthrown and replaced by the Marxist-leaning Sandinista Party. Soon, the Nicaraguan Civil War broke out with the Soviets supporting the Sandinistas and the Americans supporting the rebels known as the *Contras*. In 1988, the USSR, the USA and Central American states agreed to end foreign assistance to combatants and called for free elections to end the Nicaraguan Civil War.

■ Angola and Namibia, 1988

In 1987, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA), South African and Cuban forces fought in Angola. The USA and USSR pressured the combatants to agree to a ceasefire. In December 1988, South Africa agreed to Namibia's independence.

■ Ethiopia

Despite receiving Soviet assistance, Mengistu asked for US economic support in 1990. A year later he was removed from power in a coup.

■ PRC–Soviet relations, 1976–89

After Mao died, Deng Xiaoping became the new leader of the PRC in 1978.

■ Deng's policies

Deng ended the policies of class struggle and continuous revolution. He focused on improving the economy, where aspects of capitalism were permitted. Political reforms allowed open political discussions and local elections, but the CCP remained as the ruling organization.

■ US–PRC cooperation

The PRC's economic reforms, and deteriorating US–Soviet relations, allowed for closer cooperation between the USA and China in the late 1970s. The two states came to an agreement on Taiwan and exchanged ambassadors.

Deng insisted Britain return Hong Kong to China after its lease expired, but agreed Hong Kong would retain **autonomy**. Deng and Carter reached agreement on US **monitoring stations** in China and the sale of US military **reconnaissance technology** to China.

■ End of the PRC–Soviet dispute

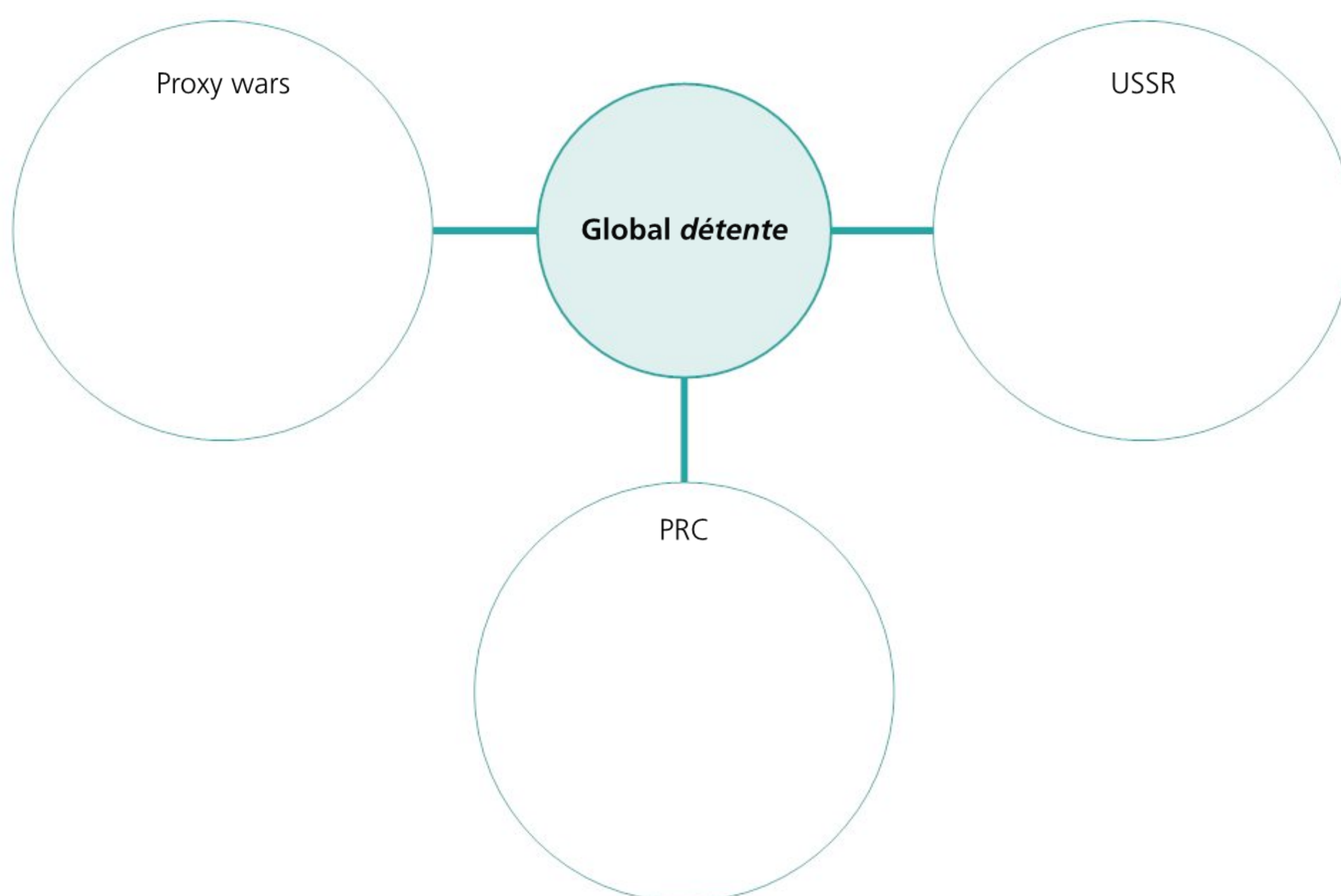
Withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan and the PRC–Soviet border, as well as Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, led to improved relations between the PRC and USSR. In 1989, Gorbachev visited Beijing and restored full diplomatic relations between the two states.

■ Tiananmen Square

Glasnost and *perestroika* encouraged a desire for political reform in the PRC. Large demonstrations began during Gorbachev's visit to Beijing. The day after he left, martial law was declared and PRC forces ended the demonstrations, resulting in many deaths. The CCP had asserted its rule.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page to add details to the mind map below.



CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH

An effective concluding paragraph reminds the reader of the key points of your argument and the conclusion of your argument. Therefore, it should be brief: about three sentences. The conclusion is a short summary of your argument. Do not include new information in the conclusion. An effective concluding paragraph:

- restates your argument's conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using your own knowledge and the mind map above, as well as the table in the previous section, write a conclusion for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Examine the effects of *détente* on the PRC, 1983–9.

3 The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, 1989–90

Revised

Gorbachev ended the Brezhnev Doctrine and encouraged economic and political reform in Eastern European states, with communists remaining in power. Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria considered reforms. However, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Albania had no intention to reform. In Yugoslavia, nationalism threatened political stability.

■ Developments in Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria, 1988–9

Ruling communist governments in Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria supported political changes in what was known as ‘negotiated revolutions’.

■ Poland

In 1988, a large increase in food prices, combined with corruption, led to strikes throughout Poland. In response, the government legalized Solidarity. Soon, the government, Solidarity and the Catholic Church began negotiations. In April 1989, the three groups signed the Round Table Agreement. Solidarity was recognized as a political party and a new constitution allowed for free elections, but communists were assured a majority presence in Parliament. Gorbachev supported the agreement.

In June, Solidarity won almost all of the seats in Parliament permitted to them in the constitution. The communists won all the seats reserved for them, but only 25% of the people voted. The Communist Party could not agree about Solidarity’s role in a new government. The impasse was resolved by allowing Solidarity to form a government with communists holding a minority of ministerial positions. On 18 August, Solidarity led a coalition government that included only four communist members. Solidarity announced Poland would remain in the Warsaw Pact and Gorbachev asserted he would not interfere in Poland’s internal affairs. After communism fell, Lech Wałęsa was elected president in November 1990.

■ Hungary

Beginning in the 1960s, János Kádár allowed limited capitalism and political criticism as long as the legitimacy of communist rule was not threatened. Because Hungary remained in the Warsaw Pact, the USSR tolerated Kádár’s policies. By 1987, economic troubles and corruption led to increased criticism of the government.

In 1988, Kádár was replaced by Károly Grósz, a reformer. In 1989, the Hungarian Socialist Workers’ Party (**MSZMP**) accepted multi-party democracy to prevent revolution. In June, the government and opposition groups agreed to hold free parliamentary elections in 1990. In March 1990, the MSZMP won only eleven per cent of the vote.

■ Bulgaria

By 1989, Todor Zhivkov had been the leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party for 35 years. Zhivkov gave privileges and advantages to family members and his favourites in the party. His nepotism created many enemies.

In July 1989, Bulgarian Foreign Minister Peter Mladenov informed Gorbachev of an impending change in leadership, which Gorbachev did not oppose. Mladenov and several ministers forced Zhivkov to resign on 9 November 1989. Opposition groups entered talks with the government and free elections were scheduled for 1990. The Bulgarian Communist Party transformed itself into a socialist party and won. In the next election in 1991, the party was defeated.

■ The GDR on the brink of collapse

The sudden collapse of the GDR surprised the USSR, the USA and Western European states. The position of the GDR strengthened in the 1970s due to:

- diplomatic recognition by the West
- full employment and increasing supplies of consumer goods
- an understanding between the GDR and Protestant Churches.

■ Protest movements

More East Germans desired closer contact with the FRG and political reforms as a result of *Ostpolitik* and the Helsinki Accord proclamations on human rights. By 1987, the economy had significantly worsened. Protests movement grew enough to challenge the government.

■ Popularity of visits to the FRG

In 1986, East Germans were allowed to visit friends and relatives in the FRG if they guaranteed that they would return to the GDR (usually by leaving a relative at home in the GDR). The visits proved popular, but the use of hostages stressed the lack of freedom in East Germany.

ACCURATE AND RELEVANT KNOWLEDGE

- Paper 2 criteria require students to use accurate and relevant knowledge in their essays.
- The markband descriptor for the highest markband (13–15) reads: 'Knowledge of the world history topic is accurate and relevant' (*History Guide*, first examinations 2017, page 81).
- Relevance is determined by the demands of a question.
- In other words, what are the requirements of a question?

Below is a Paper 2 type question. Based on the demands of the question and using the information from the opposite page, place an 'X' in the box next to those statements identified as relevant knowledge.

Discuss the effect of reforms in eastern European countries, 1989–90.

Knowledge statement	Relevant knowledge
The Round Table Agreement	
The Bulgarian Communist Party became a socialist party	
The GDR economy worsened	
Hungary accepted multi-party democracy	

INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

- grabs the reader's attention
- addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
- identifies your argument's main points
- transitions into the first main point of the argument.

An effective concluding paragraph reminds the reader of the key points of your argument and the conclusion of your argument. Therefore, it should also be brief: about three sentences. The conclusion is a short summary of your argument. Do not include new information in the conclusion. An effective concluding paragraph:

- restates your argument's conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using the table above, information from the opposite page and your own knowledge, write an introduction and a conclusion for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Discuss the effect of one Cold War leader on a region of your choice.

■ Hungary opens its borders

On 2 May 1989, barriers between Hungary and neutral Austria began to be removed. In July, thousands of East Germans travelled to Hungary intent on crossing into Austria, but were denied permission to do so. On 7 August, 200 East Germans broke into the West German embassy in Budapest and refused to leave. On 11 September, Austria agreed to allow the East Germans to cross the border into Austria.

■ Growing unrest in the GDR

By September, 3500 GDR citizens occupied the FRG embassy in Prague, Czechoslovakia. With a pending visit to the GDR by Gorbachev, Honecker permitted East Germans in Czechoslovakia to enter the FRG but stipulated they needed to travel through the GDR and then into the FRG. The GDR–Czechoslovak border would then be closed. West German television stations broadcast the details and train routes through the GDR. Large crowds demonstrated along the train route. In Dresden, thousands of people stormed the train station and tried to board the trains.

■ The Leipzig demonstrations, 25 September to 16 October

In response to peaceful protests in Leipzig, the GDR used a non-violent approach to control the demonstrations because Gorbachev stated that the GDR needed reforms and GDR **Politburo** members could not agree on how to respond to the demonstrations.

Honecker refused to reform and was replaced by Egon Krenz. Krenz's reforms included holding elections based on the current constitution, which would preserve Socialist Unity Party (SED) power. Meanwhile, local officials were negotiating concessions with Protestant Church leaders.

■ The Berlin Wall collapses

Demonstrations continued to grow throughout the GDR. On 4 November, 500,000 people demonstrated in East Berlin for political reforms and the right to travel. On 9 November, the GDR granted its citizens the right to receive exit visas for any border crossing, including West Berlin. On that night, a large crowd gathered at the Berlin Wall. Border guards opened the crossing point and East Germans crossed into West Berlin.

■ Consequences of 9 November

The GDR's opening of the Berlin Wall affected Czechoslovakia and Romania.

■ The 'Velvet Revolution': Czechoslovakia

In 1989, communist hardliners had controlled Czechoslovakia since the Prague Spring. However, events and developments in Poland and Hungary had an influence in Czechoslovakia. The government announced economic reforms, but not political reforms. The number of opposition groups increased. Major demonstrations occurred on the anniversary of the Prague Spring.

Shortly after the fall of the Berlin Wall, a massive protest against the government occurred that caused a series of events that led to the end of communist rule in Czechoslovakia, known as the Velvet Revolution. On 7 December, the communist government resigned and a coalition government with a majority of non-communist was formed. On 29 December, Václav Havel, the leader of the opposition group Charter 77, was elected president.

Havel and Civic Forum, which was formed from twelve opposition groups, convinced the USSR to withdraw its troops from Czechoslovakia while keeping the country in the Warsaw Pact.

■ Romania

Nicolae Ceaușescu's economic policy, nepotism and extravagant spending, such as his 1100-room palace, led to major opposition to his rule. Plans for an internal coup existed as early as November 1988. The opening of the Berlin Wall and the Velvet Revolution helped spark revolts throughout the country against Ceaușescu. When the army sided with the demonstrators, Ceaușescu tried to flee, but was arrested by the army and, along with his wife, executed on 25 December.

A Council for National Unity was formed and elections were held in May 1990. The National Salvation Front (NSF) won the election and Ion Iliescu, a leading communist, was elected president.

COMPLETE THE TABLE

Use the table below to record causes and effects of the given terms.

Cause		Effect
	Growing unrest in the GDR	
	Collapse of the Berlin Wall	
	Velvet Revolution	

BODY PARAGRAPHS

- Knowledge and understanding of historical topics, historical context and history concepts are developed in body paragraphs.
- Body paragraphs also are where critical analysis/evaluation, as well as demonstrating different perspectives, are developed.
- Effective body paragraphs should have one topic that addresses the demands of a question.
- Within the body paragraph, students elaborate on the topic with the use of accurate and relevant content knowledge and use their knowledge to support critical analysis of the topic.

Using the above table and your own knowledge, write one body paragraph that addresses the question below.

Compare and contrast the impact of Gorbachev's policies on two Eastern European countries of your choice.

■ Yugoslavia and Albania

■ Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia had greater contact with the West throughout the Cold War and allowed more freedom than other Soviet bloc states. It also allowed aspects of capitalism in its economy. However, economic and political problems led to its end.

After Tito's death in 1980, leaders exploited ethnic rivalries and used nationalism to strengthen their individual power and influence. Economic problems and desires for political changes led to increasing ethnic rivalries in Yugoslavia.

Influenced by events in Eastern Europe, Federal Prime Minister Ante Markvić removed the Communist Party from its leading role and called for multi-party federal elections. After state-level elections, individual states demanded independence. Calls for independence led to warfare in Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Kosovo. Only Macedonia and Montenegro gained independence without warfare.

■ Albania

Enver Hoxha broke relations with the USSR in 1961. After Hoxha's death in 1985, Ramiz Alia continued Hoxha's policies. In 1989, Alia announced reforms based on Gorbachev's *perestroika*. Anti-communist demonstrations developed after Ceaușescu's fall in Romania. Alia announced limited economic and electoral reforms. A major demonstration in 1990 caused Alia to agree to legalize political parties, but also to delay elections until March 1991. The Socialist Party of Albania, the former Communist Party, won a majority of seats in the election and formed a new government. In June, a general strike led to the fall of the government. In 1992, the Democratic Party won a clear majority and formed a new government.

■ Unification of Germany

In December, Hans Modrow, who had replaced Krenz as leader of the GDR, met opposition group leaders and Protestant Church leaders and agreed to hold free elections. The elections were held in March 1990 and the communists received only 16.4% of the vote. The Christian Democratic Union (CDU) won 40.8% of the vote. The March elections effectively ended communist rule.

FRG Chancellor **Helmut Kohl** did not want full unification with East Germany, preferring a loose confederation. France, Britain and the USSR did not favour unification. East German public opinion convinced Kohl that unification was the only option.

■ Bonn–Moscow–Washington talks

German unification could not happen without the USA, the USSR, Britain and France agreeing to it. Because only the USA and the USSR could prevent unification, Kohl began negotiations with them. After initially opposing the dissolution of the GDR, Gorbachev informed Kohl, in February 1990, that unification should be decided by the Germans. A few days later, US President Bush agreed with Gorbachev and proposed 'two-plus-four talks' between the two German states and the four former occupying powers which still retained **residual rights** in Berlin. A series of negotiations led to an agreement on German unification. The unified Germany would be a member of NATO and the European Community.

On 12 September, the Two-Plus-Four Treaty was signed. It ended the division of Germany, as well as the residual rights of the former occupying powers, and recognized the Oder–Neisse line as the border between Poland and the new Germany. On 2 October, Germany was formally reunified.

■ Concluding the Cold War

The Cold War effectively ended with German unification. In November 1990, NATO and Warsaw Pact representatives signed the Treaty of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe. The treaty established equal reduction of conventional weapons. The Charter of Paris for a New Europe also was signed to create a secretariat to organize an annual meeting between heads of government and establish a Conflict Prevention Centre. In July 1991, the Warsaw Pact was dissolved.

ESSAY STYLE OUTLINE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question.
- Use your own knowledge and the information from the opposite page to produce a plan for this question.
- Choose three to five main points. For each main point, provide four pieces of specific information that support the main point.
- Use the table below to organize your thoughts.

Analyse the reasons for the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe.

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

BODY PARAGRAPHS

- Knowledge and understanding of historical topics, historical context and history concepts are developed in body paragraphs.
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- Effective body paragraphs should have one topic that addresses the demands of a question.
- Within the body paragraph, students elaborate on the topic with the use of accurate and relevant content knowledge and use their knowledge to support critical analysis of the topic.

Using the table and your notes from the activity above, write a body paragraph for each point from the table that addresses the following question:

Analyse the reasons for the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe.

4 The collapse of the USSR, 1991

Revised

Despite being a superpower since the end of the Second World War, the USSR had many weaknesses. The costs of maintaining a large military force and supporting its satellite states, and an increasing desire for independence among its ethnic groups contributed to its weaknesses. Although it experienced numerous successes in the 1970s, economic stagnation and an inability to modernize its economy led to growing disillusionment with communism within the USSR.

■ Gorbachev's reforms

Gorbachev's reforms sought to improve the economy by increasing investment in technology, increasing decentralization (*perestroika*) and giving workers greater rights and incentives.

■ *Glasnost*

Gorbachev developed *glasnost*, a policy of openness that permitted political debate in the USSR. Censorship decreased and foreign broadcasts were permitted. With the war in Afghanistan and the disaster at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant, problems and failures were made known. Investigative journalism developed, with many stories on the corruption of the Communist Party. The image of the party suffered.

■ Climax of *glasnost*

Glasnost led to the growth of political organizations, publications of books by dissidents and religious toleration. In 1989, delegates for the USSR Congress of People's Deputies were elected. The Congress was not a Parliament, but did have the right to debate and criticize government policies and selected members for the new Supreme Soviet.

In February 1990, solitary Communist Party rule ended. In elections held in March, most long-serving officials lost. Gorbachev was elected the first president of the USSR.

■ Growing economic crisis

Perestroika failed to solve Soviet economic problems. By 1989, the USSR experienced severe shortages of goods and a falling standard of living.

■ The nationalities problem

Glasnost and *perestroika* led to increased nationalism in the many republics that comprised the USSR. Although fifteen republics existed, the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), consisting of mostly ethnic Russians, dominated all the other republics. Growing ethnic tensions and economic collapse led to increased demands for independence.

■ The Baltic states

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had gained independence after the collapse of the Russian Empire in the First World War. The USSR reabsorbed them in 1940. Gorbachev's reforms caused demands for independence. Pro-independence movements won majorities in all three Baltic republics in the February 1990 national elections in the USSR. By May, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were independent states.

Gorbachev imposed a blockade on Lithuania in April 1990 and sent Soviet troops into all three republics in April 1991. Massive demonstrations forced the Soviets to withdraw.

■ The Armenian–Azerbaijan conflict

The policy of *glasnost* encouraged Armenians to protest for the return of Nagorno-Karabakh, which Stalin had granted to Azerbaijan. In February 1988, Nagorno-Karabakh voted to become part of Armenia. Gorbachev vetoed the merger and anti-Armenian riots took place in Azerbaijan. Gorbachev removed the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan, but failed to solve the crisis. Nationalism grew in both republics.

The central Soviet government took control of Nagorno-Karabakh. The USSR Supreme Soviet decided to return the area to Azerbaijan. The Armenian Supreme Soviet ignored the ruling and integrated Nagorno-Karabakh into Armenia. The Popular Front of Azerbaijan, an opposition group seeking Azerbaijan independence, organized a blockade of Armenia and held anti-Armenian demonstrations in Baku, Azerbaijan's capital, which led to the deaths of 91 Armenians living in Baku. In January 1989, the Azerbaijan Popular Front seized control of the government. Gorbachev declared martial law and sent Soviet troops into Baku, where over 130 protesters were killed. Soviet actions intensified nationalism and the desire for independence in Azerbaijan.

MIND MAP

Use the information from the opposite page and above to add details to the mind map below.

```
graph TD; A((Glasnost and perestroika)) --- B(( )); A --- C(( )); A --- D(( )); B --- B1(Baltic states); C --- C1(Armenia); D --- D1(Azerbaijan);
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INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH

An effective introduction prepares the reader for the argument that answers the demands of the question. Therefore, it should be brief, perhaps about three to four sentences. The introduction is not the proper place for long, detailed descriptions. An effective introduction:

- grabs the reader's attention
- addresses the demands of the question (a thesis statement is one effective method)
- identifies your argument's main points
- transitions into the first main point of the argument.

An effective concluding paragraph reminds the reader of the key points of your argument and the conclusion of your argument. Therefore, it should also be brief: about three sentences. The conclusion is a short summary of your argument. Do not include new information in the conclusion. An effective concluding paragraph:

- restates your argument's conclusion(s)
- restates the main points in relation to your conclusion(s)
- summarizes key evidence for each main point.

Using information from the opposite page and your own knowledge, write an introduction and a conclusion for an essay that responds to the demands of the Paper 2 type question below.

Examine the impacts of *glasnost* and *perestroika* on the USSR.

■ Georgia

Soviet forces entered Tbilisi, Georgia, in response to a demonstration by more than 100,000 people demanding independence. Soviet troops killed twenty people and wounded over 200 others. The violence strengthened Georgian nationalism and support for independence.

Gorbachev attempted to end corruption in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan by removing top officials. This action led to rising nationalism that led to demonstrations and riots. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan declared independence in 1991.

■ The western republics and Russia

■ Moldavia

In Moldavia, a movement for greater cultural independence from the USSR transformed into a movement for political independence. The Popular Front of **Moldova** succeeded in making Moldovan the official state language in 1989. It became the largest political party with its victory in elections in March 1990.

■ Ukraine

Ukraine was the second largest republic in the USSR and any movement towards independence threatened the existence of the USSR. Protests in western Ukraine for greater toleration of Ukrainian Christians and culture encouraged the creation of the republic-wide Ukrainian Popular Front Movement, known as *Rukh*. In October 1990, *Rukh* abandoned its goal for greater autonomy within the USSR in favour of a goal of full Ukrainian independence.

■ Belarus

Inspired by the Baltic Popular Front, the Belarus Popular Front led the movement for democracy and independence in Belarus. After the discovery of a mass grave of victims of the Soviet government near Minsk, Belarus' capital, independence was viewed as the only security from the USSR for Belarus.

■ Russia

Reformers won a majority of seats in the **Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies** in March and April 1990. **Boris Yeltsin**, a Gorbachev rival, was elected chairman of the Congress. On 12 June, the Congress declared Russia a sovereign state.

■ 'The summer of sovereignty'

Every republic held elections for its Supreme Soviet in March and April 1990. Every republic declared its sovereignty, except Latvia, which already had declared its independence.

■ The end of the USSR

As a result of the March and April elections, Gorbachev proposed a new Union Treaty in November 1990. In March 1991, a referendum was held on the creation of a 'renewed federation of equal sovereign states'. The Baltic states, Moldavia, Georgia and Armenia boycotted the referendum vote but the referendum was passed in all other republics.

■ Gorbachev under threat

Gorbachev was now president of a defunct USSR and vulnerable to political opponents: communists in the army, party and KGB; and reformers, led by Boris Yeltsin.

■ The coup of 18–19 August 1991

Two days before the Union Treaty was to take effect, leading communists who wanted to preserve the USSR launched a coup attempt while Gorbachev was on holiday. Crowds filled the squares and streets in protest. Yeltsin played a leading role in opposing the coup. With Gorbachev far away, Yeltsin became the hero who saved the new Russia. Shortly after the coups failed, the Communist Party was made illegal in Russia.

■ The consequences

The failed coup attempt caused the nine republics to refuse to implement the Union Treaty they had signed. Gorbachev proposed a new treaty, but it was rejected. When Ukraine declared independence in December 1991, it effectively ended the USSR.

In December, the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** was established by Ukraine, Russia and Belarus. Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan joined the CIS later that month. On 25 December, Gorbachev resigned as president of the USSR. On 31 December 1991, the USSR ceased to exist.

ESSAY STYLE OUTLINE

- Below is a Paper 2 exam-style question.
- Use your own knowledge and the information from the opposite page and above to produce a plan for this question.
- Choose three to five main points. For each main point, provide four pieces of specific information that support the main point.
- Use the table below to organize your thoughts.

Analyse the reasons for the collapse of the USSR.

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
1				
2				
3				
4				
5				

BODY PARAGRAPHS

- Knowledge and understanding of historical topics, historical context and history concepts are developed in body paragraphs.
- Body paragraphs also are where critical analysis/evaluation, as well as demonstrating different perspectives, are developed.
- Effective body paragraphs should have one topic that addresses the demands of a question.
- Within the body paragraph, students elaborate on the topic with the use of accurate and relevant content knowledge and use their knowledge to support critical analysis of the topic.

Using the table and your notes from the activity above, write a body paragraph for each point from the table that addresses the following question:

Analyse the reasons for the collapse of the USSR.

SECTION 8 Exam focus

Sample question and guidance

Below is an example of a Paper 2 type question. The question will form the basis for examining demands of a question and historical concepts.

Examine ideological challenges and dissent during the Cold War in one region.

■ Demands of the question

‘Demands of the question’ refers to the task, skills and understanding that you are expected to demonstrate in responding to a question. The question above consists of these demands:

- Examine: analyse the strengths and weaknesses of various arguments with a concluding opinion.
- Focus the response on one region.
- Develop both ideological challenges and dissent.

Anything in the essay that does not address one or more of these demands is not relevant. Material that is not relevant to the demands of the question, and does not contribute to the final mark for the essay, may limit the awarding of marks for the essay and uses time that could be used to develop relevant material that does help to achieve marks.

■ Concepts

Ideological challenges and dissent were common throughout the Cold War. Therefore, this question provides a good opportunity to examine continuity and change.

Read through the extract from the sample introduction to the question. Read the teacher annotations and comments.

Examine ideological challenges and dissent during the Cold War in one region.

Ideological challenges and dissent were a common occurrence in Europe, especially in the Soviet bloc countries, during the Cold War. The nature of the challenges and dissent changed over time from Tito’s challenges to Stalin to more localized challenges, such as in Hungary and Czechoslovakia, to widespread challenges and dissent as communism ended. While the nature of these challenges and dissent changed, Soviet responses to them maintained a degree of consistency until finally changing during the end stages of communism. In the West, the widespread acceptance of capitalism and democracy meant there was little dissent or ideological challenges.

The first sentence identifies a commonality in the region of focus.

The introduction effectively establishes the scope of the essay.

The introduction establishes an effective organization to fully develop an effective, relevant response to the question.

Exam practice

Now it's your turn to take a mock exam. Below are two examples of questions related to Case study 8: The end of the Cold War, 1976–91.

For more guidance on the History Paper 2 exam and its structure, please refer to pages 28–29. You can also use the checklist designed to help you write a successful essay.

- 1 Compare and contrast the roles of Reagan and Gorbachev in ending the Cold War.
- 2 Analyse the impact of the Cold War on two countries, excluding the USA and the USSR.

Glossary

Airlift The transport of food and supplies by aircraft to a besieged area.

Allied Control Commissions These were set up in each occupied territory, including Germany. They initially administered a particular territory in the name of the Allies.

Allied powers Commonly referred to as the Allies during the Second World War, this group first consisted of Poland, France, Britain and others, with the Soviet Union and the USA joining in 1941.

Allies In the First World War, an alliance between Britain, France, the USA, Japan, China and others, including Russia until 1917.

ANC The African National Congress, which aimed to end the rule of South Africa by those of European descent and the racist system that the South African government imposed on the African majority.

Anglo-French Guarantee Britain and France guaranteed Polish independence, in the hope of preventing a German invasion of Poland.

Anti-ballistic missiles Missiles designed to destroy enemy missiles.

Appease To conciliate a potential aggressor by making concessions.

Armistice The official agreement of the suspension of fighting between two or more powers.

Arrow Cross Party A Hungarian ultra-nationalist political party that supported Germany in the Second World War.

Article 99 of the UN Charter 'The Secretary-General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security.'

Asian defence perimeter A line through east and south-east Asia that the USA was willing to defend against any other nation.

Atlantic Charter A statement of fundamental principles for the post-war world. The most important of these were: free trade, no more territorial annexation by Britain or the USA, and the right of people to choose their own governments.

Autarchic economy An economy that is self-sufficient and protected from outside competition.

Autonomy Self-government.

Axis The alliance in the Second World War that eventually consisted of Germany, Italy, Japan, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania, as well as several states created in conquered areas.

Balance of payments The difference between the earnings of exports and the cost of imports.

Bank of Emission The bank responsible for the issue of a currency.

Benelux states Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg.

Berlin's open frontier There was no physical barrier between communist East Berlin and capitalist and democratic West Berlin until the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961.

Bilateral Between two states.

Bolshevik Party The Russian Communist Party which seized power in a revolution in October 1917.

Bourgeoisie The middle class, particularly those with business interests, whom Marx believed benefited most from the existing capitalist economic system.

Capitalism An economic system in which the production of goods and their distribution depend on the investment of private capital with minimal government regulation and involvement.

CCP Chinese Communist Party, led by Mao.

CENTO Central Treaty Organization, also known as the Baghdad Pact, formed in 1955 by Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey and the UK; it was dissolved in 1979.

Christian Democrats Moderately conservative political party seeking to apply Christian principles to governing the country.

CIA The Central Intelligence Agency was established by the Americans in 1947 to conduct intelligence and counter-intelligence operations outside the USA.

Collective security An agreement between nations that an aggressive act towards one nation will be treated as an aggressive act towards all nations under the agreement.

Collectivization of agriculture Abolishing private farms in favour of large, state-owned farms where peasants worked together.

Cominform The Communist Information Bureau established in 1947 to exchange information among nine Eastern European countries and co-ordinate their activities.

Comintern A communist organization set up in Moscow in 1919 to co-ordinate the efforts of communists around the world to achieve a worldwide revolution.

Command economy An economy where supply and pricing are regulated by the government rather than market forces such as demand, and in which all the larger industries and businesses are controlled centrally by the state.

Commonwealth Organization of states formerly part of the British Empire.

Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

A voluntary organization eventually of twelve of the successor states of the USSR. Any decision made by it was not binding on its members.

Communes Communities of approximately 5000 households that organized and managed all resources within their control, including tools, seeds, farmland and housing.

Communism A political and economic system in which all private ownership of property is abolished along with all economic and social class divisions.

Confederation A grouping of states in which each state retains its sovereignty; looser than a federation.

Consultative Council A council on which the member states of the Brussels Pact were represented.

Containment Policy A policy of halting the USSR's advance into Western Europe. It did not envisage actually removing Soviet control of Eastern Europe. Also known as the Doctrine of Containment.

Continuous revolution The conviction that revolution must be continuous, since if it is not going forward it will inevitably go backwards.

Cultural Revolution A mass movement begun by Mao's supporters to purge the CCP and PRC society of those opposed to Mao's version of communism.

Customs union An area of free trade.

Dardanelles The strait connecting the Mediterranean and Aegean Seas with the Black Sea, separating Europe from Asia Minor.

De-Stalinization The attempts to liberalize the USSR after the death of Stalin in 1953.

Decolonization Granting of independence to colonies.

Denazification The process of removing Nazi Party ideology, propaganda, symbols and adherents from all aspects of German life.

Détente A state of lessened tension or growing relaxation between two states.

Dictatorship of the proletariat A term used by Marx to suggest that, following the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, government would be carried out by and on behalf of the working class.

Domino effect The belief that the fall of one state to communism would result in a chain reaction leading to the fall of other neighbouring states.

Economic nationalism An economy in which every effort is made to keep out foreign goods.

Eritrea Formerly a colony of Italy, which became part of Ethiopia in 1951.

European Community The European Economic Community (EEC) had changed its name to the European Community (EC).

ExComm The Executive Committee of the US National Security Council.

Federal A country formed of several different states that have considerable autonomy in domestic affairs.

Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) Capitalist state established in western Germany in 1949 following the Berlin Blockade, which involved amalgamating the British, American and French zones of occupation.

Five Year Plan Plan to modernize and expand the economy over a five-year period.

Four-Power Control Under the joint control of the four occupying powers: Britain, France, the USA and USSR.

Fourteen Points A list of points drawn up by US President Woodrow Wilson on which the peace settlement at the end of the First World War was based.

Free city Self-governing and independent city-state.

Free French The French who supported de Gaulle after the fall of France in June 1940, when he established his headquarters in London.

FRELIMO *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* or Mozambique Liberation Front.

French Indochina A French colony consisting of today's Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam.

German Democratic Republic (GDR) Communist state set up in eastern Germany in 1949 following the Berlin Blockade.

Glasnost Openness regarding the USSR's economic and political systems, including public discussion and debate.

Grand Coalition Coalition between West Germany's two biggest parties: the SPD and CDU.

Guerrilla war A war fought by small groups of irregular troops. The term means 'little war' in Spanish.

Guns and butter Phrase used initially in the US press in 1917 to describe the production of nitrates both for peaceful and military purposes; now usually used to describe the situation when a country's economy can finance both increased military and consumer goods production.

Hard currency A globally traded currency such as the dollar, usually from a highly industrialized country.

High Commission The civilian body charged with the task of defending the interests of the Western Allies in Germany.

Ho Chi Minh Trail An infiltration route of hundreds of kilometres that allowed the movement of troops and war material through neighbouring countries into South Vietnam.

Hotline A direct communications link between US and Soviet leaders.

Human rights Basic rights such as personal liberty and freedom from repression.

Hydrogen bomb A nuclear bomb hundreds of times more powerful than an atomic bomb.

Intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) Missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads and reaching great distances.

Intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs) Missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads and travelling up to 5000 kilometres (3000 miles) in distance.

International Ruhr Authority Established how much coal and steel the Germans should produce and ensured that a percentage of its production should be made available to its western neighbours. It was replaced in 1951 by the European Coal and Steel Community.

Isolationism When a state has no alliances or close diplomatic contacts with other states.

Joint chiefs of staff Committee of senior military officers who advise the US government on military matters.

KMT Kuomintang, the Chinese Nationalist Party led by Chiang Kai-shek.

League of Nations International organization established after the First World War to resolve conflicts between nations to prevent war.

Left-wing Liberal, socialist or communist.

Lend-lease The US programme (started in March 1941) that gave over \$50 billion (\$650 billion in today's terms) of war supplies to Allied nations. This money was to be paid back at the end of the war.

Long March A retreat by the Chinese Communist Party from southern to north-western China, covering 12,500 kilometres (7800 miles) in approximately one year, and in which 90% of all participants died.

Manchuria A region in the far north-east of China, occupied by the Japanese in 1931 until the end of the Second World War.

Marshall Plan US economic aid programme for post-war Western Europe, also known as Marshall Aid.

Martial law Military rule involving the suspension of normal civilian government.

Marxism–Leninism Doctrines of Marx which were built on by Lenin.

Military governor The head of a zone of occupation in Germany.

Militia Part-time military reservists.

Moldova The traditional spelling applied to Moldavia before its annexation by Russia.

Monitoring stations Stations set up to record and track the testing of Soviet missiles across the border in the USSR.

Monroe Doctrine The doctrine formulated by US President Monroe (1817–25) that the European powers should not intervene in the affairs of North or South America.

MSZMP *Magyar Szocialista Munkáspárt*, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Communist Party in Hungary between 1956 and 1989.

Multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles Missiles capable of carrying multiple nuclear warheads, each destined for a different target.

Munich Agreement An agreement between Britain, France, Italy and Germany that the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia would become part of Germany.

Namibia A former German colony which was entrusted to South Africa to govern under a 1919 League of Nations mandate; it became independent in 1991.

Nationalist Someone devoted to the interests and culture of their nation, often leading to the belief that certain nationalities are superior to others.

Nationalist China The regions of China controlled by the Nationalist Party of China led by General Chiang Kai-shek.

Nationalization A state takeover of privately owned industries, banks and other parts of the economy.

NKVD Soviet security organization responsible for enforcing obedience to the government and eliminating opposition.

Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Organization of states committed to not joining either the Western or Soviet bloc during the Cold War, founded in Belgrade in 1961 and based on the principles agreed at the Bandung Conference.

Nuclear diplomacy Negotiations and diplomacy supported by the threat of nuclear weapons.

Occupation Statute A treaty defining the rights of Britain, France and the USA in West Germany.

Ostpolitik West Germany's policy towards Eastern Europe, beginning in 1969, which involved recognition of the GDR and the post-war boundaries of Eastern Europe.

Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) A Palestinian nationalist organization created in 1964 that operated as a political and paramilitary group.

Paris Peace Conference The peace conference held in Paris in 1919–20 to deal with the defeated Germany and its allies. It resulted in the Treaties of Versailles, St Germain, Neuilly and Sèvres.

Parliamentary government A government responsible to and elected by Parliament.

Partisan groups Resistance fighters or guerrillas in German- and Italian-occupied Europe.

Pathet Lao Independence movement in Laos, supported by the Viet Minh.

- Perestroika** Transformation or restructuring of the Communist Party to make it more responsive to the needs of the people.
- Polish Home Army** The Polish nationalist resistance group that fought German occupation during the Second World War.
- Politburo** The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party that was the executive committee of the Party responsible for making policy.
- Prague Spring** A period of political and economic reforms initiated in Czechoslovakia in 1968 that included multi-party elections, freedom of speech and the press, as well as reducing government control of the economy.
- Presidium** Soviet inner council or cabinet.
- Proletariat** Marx's term for industrial working-class labourers, primarily factory workers.
- Provisional government** A temporary government in office until an election can take place.
- Proxy conflict** A war in which greater powers use third parties as substitutes for fighting each other directly.
- Puppet government** Government that operates at the will of and for the benefit of another government.
- Puppet ruler** Leader of a country controlled by another power.
- PUWP** The Polish United Workers' Party, the Communist Party in Poland between 1948 and 1989.
- Reconnaissance technology** Technology such as radar and unmanned aircraft to investigate and explore areas.
- Red Army** The army of the USSR.
- Reparations** Materials, equipment or money taken from a defeated power to make good the damage of war.
- Representative government** A government based on an elected majority.
- Republican Party** One of the two main US political parties.
- Residual rights** The remaining privileges from 1945 that the four occupying powers of Britain, France, the USA and the USSR still retained in the FRG.
- Revisionist** In the sense of historians, someone who revises the traditional or orthodox interpretation of events and often contradicts it.
- Ruhr** The centre of the German coal and steel industries and at that time the greatest industrial region in Europe.
- Russian Federation Congress of People's Deputies** The Russian Parliament in the era of the Soviet Union.
- Secretary of state** The US foreign minister.
- Self-determination** Giving nations and nationalities the right to be independent and to form their own governments.
- Self-immolation** Burning oneself alive as a sacrifice and act of protest.
- Separatists** Those wishing to break away from an existing state to create an independent country.
- Sovereignty** National political independence.
- Soviet bloc** A group of states in Eastern Europe controlled by the USSR.
- Sovietization** Reconstructing a state according to the Soviet model.
- Soweto Uprising** A protest on 16 June 1976 by at least 20,000 African students against the introduction of Afrikaans, the language of many European South Africans, as the sole language of educational instruction in schools; 700 protestors were killed and 4000 injured by government forces.
- Sphere of influence** An area where one power is able to exercise a dominant influence.
- Sputnik** Russian for 'fellow traveller', or supporter of the USSR, and the name of the world's first artificial satellite placed in the Earth's orbit.
- Stalin cult** The propaganda campaign vaunting Stalin as the great ruler and saviour of the USSR.
- Suez Canal** Canal located in Egypt connecting the Mediterranean and Red Seas.
- Supranational** Transcending national limits.
- Supreme Soviet** Set up in 1936 by Stalin. It consisted of two bodies: the Soviet of the USSR and the Soviet of Nationalities. Each Soviet republic had a Supreme Soviet or Parliament, as did the overall USSR.
- SWAPO** South West African People's Organisation, which aimed to liberate Namibia from South African rule.
- Tactical nuclear weapons** Small-scale nuclear weapons that can be used in the battlefield.
- Tariffs** Taxes placed on imported goods to protect the home economy.
- Tet Offensive** North Vietnamese and Viet Cong offensive against South Vietnamese and US troops, which was launched despite an agreed truce during Tet Nguyen Dan, the Vietnamese New Year festival.
- Third World** Developing states, many of which had been colonies or under the control of predominantly European states.
- Titoism** Communism as defined by Tito in Yugoslavia.
- Trade embargo** A suspension of trade.
- Trade missions** Organizations to promote trade between states.
- Trade surplus** The situation that occurs when a country sells more than it buys from other countries it trades with.
- Transit traffic** Traffic crossing through another state.

Trusteeship Responsibility for the government and welfare of a state handed over temporarily to other powers.

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the name given to communist Russia and states under its control from 1922, also known as the Soviet Union.

Viet Minh 'League for the Independence of Vietnam' (English translation).

Watergate scandal On 17 June 1972, Republican Party officials broke into the headquarters of the opposition Democratic Party in the Watergate Building in Washington DC to find material which could be used to discredit Democrats. The break-in was discovered and eventually led to Nixon's resignation in 1974.

Western bloc An alliance of Western European states and the USA.

Western European integration The process of creating a Western Europe that was united politically, economically and militarily.

White Army The term given to a wide group of military forces that fought the Bolshevik Red Army during the Russian Civil War. The various armies acted as a loose confederation united by anti-Bolshevik beliefs. Although they were united by a desire to defeat the Bolsheviks, they had few other common beliefs, goals or agendas and often acted independently of one another.

World Bank International financial institution that provides loans to developing countries for large-scale engineering projects.

Yugoslavia In 1918, the kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was formed. In 1929, it officially became Yugoslavia. The Serbs were the dominating nationality within this state.

Zionism A form of Jewish nationalism that supported the foundation of a Jewish state in the historic land of Israel.

Key figures

Acheson, Dean (1893–1971) US secretary of state, 1949–53.

Adenauer, Konrad (1876–1967) Chancellor of the FRG, 1949–63.

Andropov, Yuri (1914–84) Leader of the Soviet Union, 1982–4.

Attlee, Clement (1883–1967) Prime minister of the United Kingdom, 1945–51.

Batista, Fulgencio (1901–73) Military dictator of Cuba, 1952–9.

Beneš, Edvard (1884–1948) President of Czechoslovakia, 1935–8 and 1945–8. He was also president of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile between 1939 and 1945.

Beria, Levrentia (1899–1953) Chief of the Soviet secret police under Stalin, 1938–53. After Stalin's death, he was arrested and executed for treachery.

Bevin, Ernest (1881–1951) British foreign minister, 1945–51.

Brandt, Willi (1913–92) Mayor of West Berlin, 1957–66. Chancellor of the FRG, 1969–74.

Brezhnev, Leonid (1906–82) General secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, 1964–82.

Broz, Josip (Tito) (1892–1980) Communist leader of Yugoslavia, 1943–80.

Byrnes, James (1882–1972) US secretary of state, 1945–7.

Carter, James 'Jimmy' (1924–) President of the USA, 1977–81.

Castro, Fidel (1926–2016) Revolutionary leader of Cuba, 1959–2008.

Ceaușescu, Nicolae (1918–89) Communist leader of Romania, 1965–89.

Chernenko, Konstantin (1911–85) Leader of the Soviet Union, 1984–5.

Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975) Leader of the Guomindang and the Republic of China.

Churchill, Winston (1874–1965) Prime minister of the United Kingdom, 1940–5 and 1951–5.

Clay, Lucius (1898–1978) US general, governor of the US zone of post-war Germany, 1947–9.

Dalai Lama (1935–) Religious and political leader of Tibet and of Tibetan Buddhism.

De Gaulle, Charles (1890–1970) President of France, 1959–69. During the Second World War, he led the Free French resistance movement and a government in exile from London. He was the head of the provisional government following the liberation of France in 1944.

Deng Xiaoping (1904–97) Important Chinese Communist Party leader who was purged during the Cultural Revolution but later became paramount leader of China.

Dubček, Alexander (1921–92) First secretary of the Czech Communist Party, 1968–9. He introduced plans for democracy and economic modernization, but was forced to resign following invasion by Warsaw Pact forces.

Dulles, John Foster (1888–1959) US secretary of state, 1953–9.

Eisenhower, Dwight D. (1890–1969) President of the USA, 1953–1961.

Engels, Friedrich (1820–95) German philosopher and social theorist, co-authored *The Communist Manifesto* with Karl Marx.

Gierek, Edward (1913–2001) First secretary of the ruling Polish United Workers' Party, 1970–80.

Gomułka, Władysław (1905–82) First secretary of the ruling Polish United Workers' Party, 1956–70.

Gorbachev, Mikhail (1931–) Leader of the Soviet Union, 1985–91.

Gromyko, Andrei (1909–89) USSR minister of foreign affairs, 1957–85.

Harmel, Pierre (1911–2009) Prime minister of Belgium, 1965–6. As minister of foreign affairs in 1967, he authored a report with NATO officials that declared NATO would defend Western Europe and seek *détente* with Warsaw Pact states.

Hitler, Adolf (1889–1945) Leader of Germany, 1933–45.

Ho Chi Minh (1890–1969) Vietnamese Communist revolutionary leader who was the first president of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), 1945–69.

Honecker, Erich (1912–94) General secretary of the ruling Socialist Unity Party of the GDR, 1971–89.

Hoxha, Enver (1908–85) Communist leader of Albania, 1944–85.

John Paul II, Pope (1920–2005) Head of the Catholic Church, 1978–2005.

Johnson, Lyndon (1908–73) President of the USA, 1963–9.

Kádár, János (1912–89) Communist leader of Hungary, 1956–88. Installed by the USSR following the failed Hungarian revolution.

Karmal, Babrak (1929–96) President of Afghanistan, 1979–86.

Kennedy, John F. (1917–63) President of the USA, 1961–3.

Khrushchev, Nikita (1894–1971) Leader of the Soviet Union, 1953–64.

Kim Il-sung (1912–94) North Korean dictator, 1948–94.

Kissinger, Henry (1923–) US national security adviser, 1969–75. US secretary of state, 1973–7.

Kohl, Helmut (1930–2017) Chancellor of Germany, 1982–1998. He served as chancellor of West Germany until 1990, and as the first chancellor of the reunified Germany until 1998.

Kosygin, Alexei (1904–80) Premier of the USSR, 1964–80.

Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich (1870–1924) Led the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution, and under his leadership set up the USSR.

Lumumba, Patrice (1925–61) Prime minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 1960.

MacArthur, Douglas (1880–1964) US general who played a significant role in the Pacific theatre during the Second World War. He was supreme commander for the Allied Powers during the Allied occupation of Japan, between 1945 and 1951. In 1950, he became commander-in-chief of the United Nations Command in Korea, following the invasion of South Korea by North Korean forces, a position he was relieved of the following year by President Truman.

Mao Zedong (1893–1976) Leader of the People's Republic of China, 1949–76.

Marshall, George C. (1880–1959) US secretary of state, 1947–9. US secretary of defence, 1950–1. Gave his name to the Marshall Plan, a programme of financial support to aid the recovery of Western European economies following the Second World War.

Marx, Karl (1818–83) German political theorist whose writings developed the idea of communism.

Mengistu, Haile (1937–) President of Ethiopia, 1977–91.

Mobutu, Joseph (1930–97) President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 1965–97.

Molotov, Vyacheslav (1890–1986) Soviet minister of foreign affairs, 1939–49 and 1953–6.

Nagy, Imre (1896–1958) Prime minister of Hungary, 1953–5 and 1956. He was installed for a second term as prime minister as a result of the anti-Soviet revolution of 1956. When the revolution was put down by Soviet invasion, he was arrested. He was executed two years later.

Nasser, Gamal Abdel (1918–70) President of Egypt, 1956–70.

Ngo Dinh Diem (1901–63) Prime minister of South Vietnam, 1954–5. President of the Republic of Vietnam, 1955–63.

Nixon, Richard (1913–94) President of USA 1969–74 who was associated with the improved relationship with the People's Republic of China.

Pleven, René (1901–93) Prime minister of France, 1950–1 and 1951–2. Proposed creating the European Defence Community (EDC), known as the Pleven Plan.

Podgorny, Nikolai (1903–83) Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, 1965–77.

Pol Pot (1925–98) Communist leader of Cambodia, 1975–8.

Reagan, Ronald (1911–2004) President of the USA, 1981–9.

Rhee, Syngman (1875–1965) President of South Korea, 1948–60.

Roosevelt, Franklin D. (1882–1945) President of the USA, 1933–45.

Sadat, Anwar El (1918–81) President of Egypt, 1970–81.

Schuman, Robert (1886–1963) Prime minister of France, 1947–8. As foreign minister in 1950, proposed creating the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), which became known as the Schuman Plan.

Selassie, Haile (1892–1975) Emperor of Ethiopia, 1930–74.

Stalin, Joseph (1878–1953) Authoritarian leader of the USSR, 1929–53.

Truman, Harry (1884–1972) President of the USA, 1945–53.

Tshombe, Moïse (1919–69) President of secessionist State of Katanga, 1960–3. Prime minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, 1964–5.

Ulbricht, Walter (1893–1973) First secretary of the ruling Socialist Unity Party of the GDR, 1950–71.

Wałęsa, Lech (1943–) President of Poland, 1990–5. In 1980 he led a strike at the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk that was to lead to the foundation of Solidarity, an independent trade union.

Wilson, Woodrow (1856–1924) President of the USA, 1913–21.

Yeltsin, Boris (1931–2007) President of Russia, 1991–9.

Zhivkov, Todor (1911–98) Communist leader of Bulgaria, 1954–89.

Zhou Enlai (1898–1976) Leading member of the Chinese Communist Party who served as premier, 1949–76.

Timeline

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| <p>1917 Oct: Russian Revolution</p> <p>1918 April: Wilson's Fourteen Points</p> <p>1919 March: Comintern set up</p> <p>1922 USSR created</p> <p>1925 March: Chiang Kai-shek became the leader of Nationalist China</p> <p>1939 Sept: Britain and France declared war on Germany; Hitler and Stalin partitioned Poland
Nov: Stalin attacked Finland and annexed territories along the Soviet border</p> <p>1941 June: Germany invaded USSR
Dec: Japan bombed Pearl Harbor</p> <p>1943 Nov–Dec: Teheran Conference</p> <p>1944 June: Allied forces invaded France
July: Red Army entered central Poland</p> <p>1945 Feb 4–11: Yalta Conference
May: Unconditional German surrender
July–Aug: Potsdam Conference
Aug: USSR declared war on Japan; USA dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki
Japan surrendered and was occupied by USA</p> <p>1946 March: Churchill's Iron Curtain speech
June: CCP–GMD civil war resumed in China
Nov: Guerrilla warfare began in Vietnam</p> <p>1947 March: Truman Doctrine announced
June: Marshall Aid Programme announced
Oct: Cominform founded</p> <p>1948 June: London Six-Power Conference recommended calling of a West German Constituent Assembly; currency reform in western zones; Berlin Blockade began</p> <p>1949 April: NATO set up
May: USSR lifted Berlin Blockade; FRG approved by Western Allies
Aug: USSR successfully tested an atomic bomb
Oct: GDR set up; People's Republic of China proclaimed</p> <p>1950 Feb: USSR–PRC Treaty
June: Outbreak of Korean War
Oct: PRC entered Korean War</p> <p>1951 April: European Coal and Steel Community Treaty (Schuman Plan)
Sept: Peace treaty signed with Japan</p> <p>1952 May: European Defence Community (EDC) Treaty signed in Paris</p> | <p>1953 March: Stalin died
June: Strikes and riots in the GDR
July: Korean War ended</p> <p>1954 May: French defeated by Viet Minh at Dien Bien Phu
July: Geneva Agreements on Vietnam</p> <p>1955 April: Bandung Conference
May: The FRG became a sovereign state and joined NATO; Warsaw Pact signed
July: Geneva Summit</p> <p>1956 Feb: Khrushchev attacked Stalin's record at Twentieth Party Congress
Oct–Nov: Suez Crisis; Hungarian Uprising halted</p> <p>1957 March: Eisenhower Doctrine approved by Congress
Aug: USSR fired first ICBM</p> <p>1958 Nov: Berlin Crisis began</p> <p>1959 Jan: Castro set up a revolutionary government in Cuba</p> <p>1960 May: US U-2 spy plane shot down over USSR
June: Belgian Congo gained independence
July: Soviet experts recalled from PRC; Katanga seceded from Congo</p> <p>1961 April: Bay of Pigs incident in Cuba
Aug: Border between East and West Berlin closed; construction of Berlin Wall began</p> <p>1962 Oct: Cuban Missile Crisis</p> <p>1963 Aug: Test Ban Treaty</p> <p>1964 Aug: Gulf of Tonkin incidents
Oct: Fall of Khrushchev</p> <p>1965 Feb: US bombing of North Vietnam began
Nov: Mobutu established military dictatorship in Congo</p> <p>1967 June: Six-Day War in the Middle East
Glassboro Summit
Dec: Harmel Report</p> <p>1968 Jan: Tet Offensive in South Vietnam
Aug: Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia</p> <p>1969 March: USSR–PRC border conflict
July: Non-Proliferation Treaty</p> <p>1970 Aug: USSR–FRG Moscow Treaty
Dec: Warsaw Treaty</p> <p>1971 Sept: Four-Power Treaty on Berlin</p> |
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| <p>1972 May: SALT I Moscow Summit
Dec: Basic Treaty between FRG and GDR</p> <p>1973 Jan: Paris Peace Accords signed between USA and North Vietnam
Oct: October War in the Middle East</p> <p>1974 April: Military coup in Portugal
Sept: Mozambique gained independence</p> <p>1975 April: North Vietnam occupied South Vietnam
Aug: Helsinki Accords
Nov: Angola gained independence</p> <p>1976 March: Victory of MPLA in Angola
Sept: Death of Mao</p> <p>1977 Feb: Mengistu seized power in Ethiopia</p> <p>1978 March: With Soviet and Cuban help, Ethiopia recaptured Jijiga from Somali forces</p> <p>1979 Dec: NATO decision to install Cruise and Pershing missiles in Western Europe in the event of no arms agreement with USSR; Soviet invasion of Afghanistan</p> <p>1980 May: General Biao, PRC's defence minister, visited the USA
Nov: Reagan elected US president</p> <p>1981 Dec: Martial law declared in Poland</p> <p>1983 March: Reagan announced development of SDI</p> <p>1985 March: Gorbachev became USSR party leader</p> <p>1986 Oct: USSR–US summit at Reykjavík</p> | <p>1987 Dec: Gorbachev signed treaty banning intermediate-range nuclear missiles</p> <p>1988 April: Geneva Accords signed between Pakistan and Afghanistan with the USSR and USA as guarantors</p> <p>1989 Feb: Soviet troops withdrawn from Afghanistan
April: Tbilisi killings in Georgia
May: PRC–USSR relations normalized
June: Elections in Poland
Sept: Hungary allowed GDR citizens through frontier to Austria
Nov: Berlin Wall breached
Dec: Ceauşescu executed</p> <p>1990 May: Latvian Supreme Soviet announced its aim to achieve independence
Oct: Germany reunified
Nov: Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe</p> <p>1991 Jan: Soviet forces intervened in the Baltic republics
March: Referendum on future of USSR
Aug: Failure of attempted military coup in USSR
Dec: Commonwealth of Independent States founded and USSR formally dissolved</p> |
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Answers

Case Study 1: The origins of the Cold War, 1917–45

Page 11, Accurate and relevant knowledge

Knowledge statement	Relevant knowledge
US President Woodrow Wilson's call for self-determination	✗
Poland invades the Ukraine in 1920	
US troops intervene in the Russian Civil War	✗
The US Congress refuses to ratify the League of Nations	
US President Woodrow Wilson's call for free trade	✗

Page 13, Essay style outline

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
1 USSR	Marxism–Leninism	Communist political system and command economy	USSR foreign policy: Comintern	USSR foreign policy: Poland, Romania and the Baltic states
2 USA	Capitalism	Democracy	Religion	Fear of communism
3 Ideological conflicts	Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points	Allied intervention in the Russian Civil War	The Munich Agreement	The Nazi–Soviet Pact

Page 17, Knowledge and understanding

Addresses post-war aims			
	USA	USSR	Britain
The foreign ministers' meeting at Moscow, October 1943	✗ Declaration on General Security addressed FDR's aim of a United Nations		
Teheran Conference, November to December 1943		✗ Many of the decisions addressed Soviet aims of territorial gain in eastern Europe	
The Churchill–Stalin Meeting, October 1944		✗ The USSR's concerns with safety and security in eastern Europe were addressed	✗ Britain's desire to maintain influence in south-eastern Europe were addressed

Page 27, Significance

Creating tensions	
Historical development	Significant in causing tensions
Declaration on Liberated Europe	✗ Differing perspectives on the meaning and commitment to the declaration by the Allies caused misunderstandings and distrust
US President Roosevelt's death	
An agreement that Poland's provisional government would include officials from the government-in-exile	✗ The Western Allies believed this meant the government-in-exile would play a major role in shaping Poland's post-war government whereas Stalin did not intend that to be the case
Anglo-American forces occupied more than half the territory designated as part of the USSR's zone of occupation in Germany	Because the Allied forces withdrew from this territory, it did not play a significant role in creating tensions
The definition of democracy	✗ Differing perspectives on the meaning of democracy by the Allies caused misunderstandings and distrust

Case study 2: From wartime allies to post-war enemies, 1945–7

Page 33, Complete the table

Potsdam Conference, July 1945	
Topic of discussions	Agreed-upon term(s)
Germany	Germany would be demilitarized and denazified. War criminals would be punished
Allied Control Council	Officers from each occupying power would administer their zone of occupation
Reparations	Each power would take reparations from their own zone of occupation; Britain and the USA would grant ten per cent of their reparations to the USSR; Britain and the USA would pay another fifteen per cent for food and raw material imported from the Soviet zone
Poland	The Oder–Neisse Line would mark Poland's western border until a more permanent agreement could be reached
Council of Ministers	The Council of Ministers would consist of representatives from Britain, China, France, the USA and the USSR. It would negotiate peace settlements with each defeated Axis power

Page 35 Accurate and relevant knowledge

Knowledge statement	Relevant knowledge
The USA and Britain agreed to harsher terms for Italy because of Soviet demands for a share of Libya	✗
The Paris Treaties were signed in February 1947	
The Soviets wanted the terms of their armistices in eastern Europe to be the basis of peace treaties in eastern Europe	
No peace treaty could be signed with Germany	The fact that no peace treaty was signed with Germany is not relevant to causing tensions. The reasons for a treaty not being signed might be relevant to the creation of tensions, however

Page 37, Essay style outline

Main point	Specific information 1	Specific information 2	Specific information 3	Specific information 4
1 Soviet aims in Germany	Each occupying power would administer their zone of occupation instead of a unified ACC	Stalin wanted unified Germany in Soviet sphere of influence	The KPD would gain control of a new German government	
2 Reparations	The USSR wanted harsh reparations imposed on Germany	Britain and the USA preferred more lenient reparations	A flood of refugees put great economic pressure on the USA and Britain	US General Lucius Clay, governor of the US zone, announced, in May 1946, that the USA would not deliver reparations goods to the USSR
3 Conference of Foreign Ministers, July 1946	Inability to compromise on reparations	USA demanded that Germany should have a trade surplus	US proposal to Byrnes then offered to unify the US zone economically with the other four zones	

Page 39 Knowledge and understanding

Actions that led to dissatisfaction	USA	USSR	Britain
Soviet rejections of Bevin's proposed revision of reparations	✗		✗
Britain and the USA merged their zones economically, creating Bizonia		✗	
The Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers 1947	✗	✗	✗
Greater political independence in Bizonia		✗	

Page 43 Spot the mistake

The Marshall Plan caused many differences and tensions that helped cause the Cold War. Stalin perceived it as a way for the USA to increase its political role in Europe. He was concerned that Europeans in both east and west would be pleased with US economic assistance. The USSR could not afford to provide economic help and would have looked inferior to the USA. But, problems and tensions were not only found in eastern Europe. The French were concerned that the USA would prioritize German recovery before providing aid to France. The British were worried that the Marshall Plan would limit their sovereignty, causing tensions between them and the USA. The US demand that aid be organized by a supranational organization caused tensions in the Western nations, which, like Britain, did not want to sacrifice national sovereignty. Even though the Marshall Plan gave economic aid to Western European countries, it created distrust among some Western nations towards the USA, while the USSR saw it as an attempt at economic dominance by the Americans.

The underlined material addresses some concerns of Western European nations about the Marshall Plan. However, the Cold War pitted the USA and Western Europe against the USSR and communist European nations. Therefore, the underlined material does not address causes of the Cold War.

Case study 3: The impact of Cold War tensions on Germany and Europe, 1948–52

Page 53, Accurate and relevant knowledge

Knowledge statement	Relevant knowledge
West Berlin was controlled by the Western Allies, but located in the Soviet zone	Control of West Berlin pre-dated the increase in Cold War tensions from 1945 to 1947
The USSR blockaded West Berlin	✗
General Clay considered sending an armed convoy through the Soviet zone into West Berlin	General Clay’s consideration of an armed convoy to relieve West Berlin was a result of increased tensions. However, considering such a move is not relevant to the history of the Cold War
The decision to create a West German state	
Introduction of new currencies	✗

Page 63, Spot the mistake

The USSR established control in Eastern Europe through economic policies, the power of the Stalin cult and the use of intimidation. The USSR tied the economies of Eastern European countries to the USSR and to one another. COMECON integrated the economies of the Soviet bloc, as did a number of bilateral treaties. Perhaps more effective was the Stalin cult. Because Stalin was seen as the father of Socialism in the USSR and the great liberator of the Second World War, Eastern European leaders were expected to follow his lead. Tito was an example of this. However, Tito’s ambition led to a break with Stalin. Stalin turned to intimidation for leaders, like Tito, who did not conform to his expectations. For example, a leader might be summoned to Moscow as a means to assure his cooperation with the USSR. In Tito’s case, Stalin forced Cominform to expel Yugoslavia.

Case study 4 The spread of communism in Asia, 1945–54

Page 67, Accurate and relevant knowledge

Knowledge statement	Relevant knowledge
Japan’s emperor kept his title, but with limited power	
The establishment of the Allied Council of Japan	✗
The Treaty of Peace with Japan	✗
Yalta Conference	
General MacArthur’s rule as supreme commander	✗

Page 69 Complete the table

1927–45	Strength	Weakness
KMT	Britain, the USA and Stalin recognized Chiang as China’s leader Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance US military assistance	High inflation and corruption contributed to falling support for the KMT
CCP	CCP reforms led to peasant support The CCP accepted Japan’s surrender	Stalin agreed not to aid the CCP against the KMT Early defeats in the civil war

Page 71 Complete the table

1945–50	Strength	Weakness
KMT	The USA provided support Military victories until 1948 US recognized Chiang's National Government in Taiwan	The USA would not intervene militarily to assist the KMT The USA supported a coalition government that would include the CCP
CCP	The USSR secretly supported the CCP in Manchuria Military victories, 1948–9 Complete victory in October 1949 Britain, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka recognized the PRC in January 1950 The Sino-Soviet Pact	Stalin urged mediation talks

Case study 5: From *détente* to the Berlin Wall, 1953–61

Page 83, Complete the table

Leader	Change	Continuity
Eisenhower	Tougher approach to USSR Detonated the hydrogen bomb	Need to contain the USSR in Europe Insistence on free elections in Eastern Europe
Khrushchev	De-Stalinization Reduced military spending <i>Détente</i> Focus on improving living standards Questioned the value of GDR	Summoned Ulbricht to Moscow as means of intimidation

Page 85, Accurate and relevant knowledge

Knowledge statement	Relevant knowledge
Hallstein Doctrine	✗
USSR recognized GDR as an independent state	✗
Warsaw Pact formed	The Warsaw Pact was created in response to the FRG joining NATO. Therefore, it has limited relevance to the question
Strikes and riots in the GDR	These issues were not related to the question of unified Germany
The Berlin Wall was built	The Berlin Wall was built after 1955, in 1961

Page 95, Complete the table

Country	Change	Continuity
USA	Established the FRG in Western Europe economically and militarily	Maintained free access to West Berlin Demanded free elections Refused to recognize the GDR
USSR	Recognized the GDR as an independent state Authorized building the Berlin Wall to end East Germans leaving for the FRG Berlin Wall ended the goal of a unified, Soviet-friendly Germany	USSR attempted to force Western Allies out of West Berlin Economic problems in GDR

Case study 6: The global Cold War, 1960–78

Page 99, Complete the table

Some possible responses include:

	PRC	USSR
Historical evidence indicating responsibility for the Sino-Soviet split	Mao believed he should be the leading communist leader Mao rejected Soviet requests for military bases in China PRC blamed Soviet economic advisers for the failures of the Great Leap Forward The Cultural Revolution	De-Stalinization Khrushchev refused to provide nuclear assistance to the PRC USSR questioned the PRC’s claims on Tibet

Page 107, Accurate and relevant knowledge

Knowledge statement	Relevant knowledge
Diem’s overthrow and murder	
Buddhist protests against South Vietnam government	
US presidential elections in 1964	✗
Gulf of Tonkin incidents	✗
PRC assistance to the Viet Cong	✗

Page 115, Spot the mistake

Middle East wars had some impact on Cold War tensions, but they occurred at a time of *détente*, US involvement in Vietnam, and changing relations between the USA, the USSR and the PRC. The biggest impact was bringing the USA and Israel closer while the USSR developed better relations with the Arab states with the exception of Egypt. The Iraqi Revolution led Nasser to turn to the USA for assistance and support. When Nasser died, Sadat improved relations with the USA as the only hope for achieving peace with Israel, which was the reason for Egypt’s attack on Israel that started the October War.

Case study 7: The politics of *détente*, 1963–79

Page 129, Venn diagram

For this exercise, it is necessary to draw conclusions about commonalities between de Gaulle and Brandt that will be entered in the Venn diagram overlap section:

- Increased independence from US policies and goals.
- Improving relations with Soviet bloc states.

Page 135, Significance

The rating of significance is influenced by a historian’s interpretations that shape perspective. Therefore, in general, there are no certain answers to this activity. However, in this activity, the Cuban Missile Crisis occurred prior to the development of *détente*. Many historians see the Cuban Missile Crisis as the event that caused the superpowers to begin a dialogue with one another. In this sense, it can be considered a long-term cause, but many other developments were necessary for *détente* to develop.

Case study 8: The end of the Cold War, 1976–91

Page 147, Accurate and relevant knowledge

Knowledge statement	Relevant knowledge
The Round Table Agreement	✗
The Bulgarian Communist Party became a socialist party	✗
The GDR economy worsened	
Hungary accepted multi-party democracy	✗

Notes

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