# Info about the paper

**Source Based:** The topics for the source-based case study are prescribed and indicated by the symbol (\*) in the syllabus content. Candidates are expected to have a sound knowledge of the prescribed units and an understanding of the ways in which sources may be evaluated.

**Essay:** Candidates are required to answer **2 out of 3 questions** set. The questions will test Objectives 1 and 2 and require candidates to **analyse**, **evaluate and make judgement on events and/or issues**. Each question is worth a total of **10** marks. Questions will be set on **any issue/topic within the units in the syllabus except for the issue assessed in the source-based case study** in Section A in the same year of examination.

# **Topics to be Tested:**

Chapter 1: Paris Peace Conference and The League of Nations in the 1920s Chapter 2: Case Study of Nazi Germany (SBQ) Chapter 3: Case Study of Militarist Japan Chapter 4: The Outbreak of World War II in Europe (SBQ) Chapter 5: The Outbreak of World War II in Asia Pacific Chapter 6: The End of World War II in Europe and the Asia Pacific Chapter 7: Origins and Development of the Cold War in Europe, 1945 - 1955 (SBQ) Chapter 8: Case Study of the Korean War, 1950 - 1953 (SBQ) Chapter 9: Case Study of the Vietnam War, 1954 to 1975 Chapter 10: The End of the Cold War Chapter 9: Case Study of the Vietnam War, 1954 - 1975 Chapter 10: The End of the Cold War

# Chapter 1: Paris Peace Conference and the League of Nations in the 1920s (Essay only)

# Allies (Winners): Britain, France, Italy and United States) Defeated Powers (Losers): Austria-Hungary,

**The Paris Peace Conference:** Took place after WW1 ended in 1919. Aim of world leaders was to reach a settlement that would legally and officially end WW1 (Armistice of Nov 1918 was only an agreement to stop fighting). To officially end the war, must hv treaties between victorious Allies and defeated powers.

Purpose of the PPC: to decide the terms of the treaties

# *Content: Influence of historical actors and public sentiments on negotiations at the Paris Peace Conference*

#### **Public Sentiments:**

- Strong public sentiment that Germany should pay for all the damage and destruction caused by the war
- Apart from USA, all countries that had fought the was were exhausted, economies were in a bad state
- Total British and French casualties amounted to ~9 million
- Case for treating Germany harshly was strengthened by Germany's own harsh peace treaty with Russia in 1918 (Treaty of Brest-Litovsk). Had stripped Russia of huge amts of land and a third of its population.

#### The United States: Woodrow Wilson

- The Idealist

### - GOALS

- Aimed to build a more peaceful world after WW1
- Believed Germany should be punished but not too harshly
- Believed in self-determination (nations should rule themselves rather than being ruled by others)

#### - REASONS

- Not at the forefront of the war, did not suffer heavy casualties
- An idealist who wanted to build a better and more peaceful world
- Believed in self-determination and wanted to strengthen democracy (Wilson's fourteen points)

# Britain: David Lloyd George

### - Middle ground position

- GOALS
- Wanted to rebuild Britain's economy
- Wanted to deter Russia from spreading communist beliefs in Europe
- Punish Germany but not too harshly as a weak Germany was detrimental to Britain's economy and security (why?)- Germany was a major trading partner, Britain wanted G to act as a buffer against communist Russia
- Concerned about idea of self-determination as Britain itself was a coloniser
- REASONS
- Fiercest fighting did not take place on its land
- Losses not as great as the French => did not feel as aggrieved
- Seeking stern justice and deterrence, not vengeance
- Main intention to deter Germany from starting another war

#### France: Georges Clemenceau

#### - GOALS

- To punish Germany severely for the enormous damage inflicted on France during the war
- Wanted to receive reparations
- Wanted Germany to be weakened so that it could not threaten France again
- Concerned about self-determination as France was a coloniser
- REASONS

- Lost 1.4 million men in the war- workforce almost wiped out
- Experienced great destruction and suffering
- WW1 was the second time France had been invaded by Germany
- Public sentiment in France influence: ppl wanted harsh and vindictive punishment for Germany
- Clemenceau's intention was to punish- make Germany pay for the destruction and suffering, cripple Germany to ensure that it would not happen again

# *Content: Eventual terms of the Paris Peace Conference and its immediate impact on Europe in the 1920s*

- 1. Treaty of Versailles and its immediate impact on Germany
- War Guilt Clause, reparations, demilitarisation, territorial reductions (LAMB)

#### War Guilt Clause

- Article 231 of TOV assigned complete blame for starting the war to Germany
- Admission of guilt justified other harsh terms
- UNFAIR: Germany was only pulled into war because of defensive alliance with Austria-Hungary

#### Reparations

- Payment of 6600 million pounds
- Reparations were agreed upon without consulting Germany
- Harsh- Germany was crippled by war to, now they had to rebuild economy + pay reparations

#### Demilitarisation

- army limited to 10 000 men
- Conscription banned (soldiers had to be volunteers)
- Not allowed armoured vehicles/submarines/aircraft
- Navy limited to six battleships
- Rhineland demilitarised- no German troops allowed in
- **Political Impact:** Humiliation, former great power reduced to this state

#### **Territorial Reductions**

- Lost all overseas colonies in Africa and Asia Pacific (Political Impact- no longer a great power, humiliation)
- Lost control of coal rich region, Saar, to French for 15 years, after which plebiscite to let inhabitants choose (economic impact- coal was an impt resource, loss of it hampered economic recovery)

2. Re-drawing of national boundaries and the creation of new nation-states

- Self-determination

# Breakdown of old empires

- After the war, many old empires had collapsed. There was a need to redraw the boundaries of Europe
- Austro-Hungarian Empire -> Broken down into many new states
- Ottoman Empire
- Russian Empire-> Bolsheviks established the USSR/Soviet Union in 1922, which eventually comprised Russia and 14 other socialist republics
- German empire -> Republic of Germany under Friedrich Ebert->Weimar Republic
- Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, forbade Austria from forming a union (Anschluss) with Germany without the consent of the league [opp of self determination]

#### **Self-Determination**

- Formation of new, independent nation-states
- Optimism for Democracy
- After WW2, the fall of old empires allowed old and new states in Europe to establish democracies, a movement inspired by Wilson's fourteen points.
- was a key idea promoted by
- U.S President Woodrow Wilson and became a fundamental principle and nations should have the right to determine their own political status, form of government, and future without external interference.
- however, the application of self-determination was not always straightforward. it often resulted in the redrawing of national boundaries, which sometimes led to territorial disputes
- 3. Attempts at collective security in the 1920s Establishment of the League of Nations
- LON: An international body to help countries resolve disputes. Germany was not allowed to join
- Successes and failures of the League of Nations at peacekeeping in the 1920s

<ul> <li>Successes</li> <li>1921: Territorial dispute between Finland and Sweden. Both countries laid claims on Åaland Islands. LON investigated and gave the Islands to Finland.</li> <li>1921: Both Germany and Poland laid claims to the industrial area of Upper Silesia. The LON conducted a plebiscite and used the results to split the area according to the wishes of residents there.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Failures</li> <li>1921: Poland seized Vilna, the former capital of Lithuania. The LON did not take action.</li> <li>1920-1922: The outbreak of war between Greece and Turkey. The LON was unable to prevent that war.</li> <li>1923: An Italian General was murdered in Greece. In retaliation, the Italian dictator, Mussolini, invaded and occupied the Greek island of Corfu. Greece appealed to the LON for help. The LON decided that Greece should pay compensation to</li> </ul>
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<ul> <li>1925: Greece invaded Bulgaria following a dispute. LON demanded that Greece withdraw from Bulgaria.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Italy, but the money would be held by the LON until the issue was resolved. Mussolini worked behind the LON and made Greece pay the compensation directly to Italy. Greece complied and Mussolini openly boasted that he had managed to bypass the authority of the LON.</li> <li>1923: Germany stopped making its reparation payments to the Allies. France and Belgium occupied the German industrial area of Ruhr. The LON did not take any action.</li> </ul>
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#### Weaknesses of the LON:

- The companies and bodies of the LON did not work together effectively.
- In addition, authorization for any action required both an unanimous vote by the Council and a two-third majority in the Assembly. Making the League seem indecisive and ineffective and biased.
- The League lacked the authority and credibility to enforce its will because of its close association with the Treaty of Versailles due to its limited membership.
- The peacekeeping measures of the League were inadequate
- The League was greatly weakened without the support and membership of these powers: USA, Soviet Union, and Germany.
- The absence of USA, the Soviet Union and Germany weakened its ability to enforce sanctions properly.
- The distrustful post-war attitudes of the major powers was also shown through their unwillingness to disarm.

### Essay Question: Effectiveness/success of the LON (tested 2023 WA1)

The League of Nations was a **success** in the 1920s as it succeeded in one of its **main aims of improving the living and working conditions of people around the world.** 

During the war, <u>millions of refugees had been displaced and diseases were rampan</u>t due to poor war-time conditions. Many countries had opted to focus military manpower on the war instead of border control which led to an <u>increase in the smuggling of illegal goods and human trafficking</u>.

The League had set out to resolve these issues and it largely succeeded. It helped <u>millions of</u> refugees return home; the <u>League's Health Commission helped to control the spread of and</u> casualties caused by the spread of diseases through <u>international vaccination programmes</u> and the League worked to <u>decrease the smuggling of labour</u>, illegal substances and drugs across international borders.

Hence in social and humanitarian work, the League was a success, improving the living and working conditions of people in all parts of the world.

The League of Nations was also a **success** in the 1920s as it succeeded in <u>resolving some</u> <u>conflicts</u>.

In 1921 when <u>both Germany and Poland</u> laid claim to the industrial area of <u>upper Silesia</u>, the League <u>oversaw peaceful plebiscites</u> and <u>divided the region according to the people's wishes</u>, a solution <u>accepted by both countries</u>. The League succeeded in <u>mediating between two</u> <u>countries</u> and finding a <u>mutually acceptable solution</u>.

In 1923, the League's authority was recognised when <u>Greece obeyed the League's demand</u> that it withdraw from Bulgaria. This incident was seen as a major win for the League and led to increased optimism about it.

Hence the League was successful in the 1920s as it managed to <u>resolve 35 out of 66</u> <u>conflicts</u>, accomplishing one of its aims of <u>resolving international disputes peacefully and</u> <u>maintaining collective security</u>.

However, the League of Nations was **not a complete success** in the 1920s as it was <u>ineffective in resolving some conflicts</u>, particularly when it was <u>influenced by the major powers</u> that comprised it.

In 1920 when <u>Poland invaded Vilna</u> and <u>Lithuania appealed to the League for help</u>, the League was <u>unable to intervene</u> as France and Britain <u>saw Poland as a potential ally against</u> <u>Germany.</u>

Another case in 1925 was the <u>Corfu incident</u>. When <u>Italy invaded and occupied the Greek</u> <u>island of Corfu</u> and Greece appealed to the League for help, the <u>League did not intervene</u>. Italy demanded that the matter be settled by the Conference of ambassadors instead of the League and threatened to leave the league if its demands were not met. While Britain wanted to stand up to Italy, France was already involved in a conflict with Germany and did not want to clash with Italy too. Eventually, the League <u>ordered Greece to apologise and compensate Italy</u>.

Hence the League of Nations was not a success in the 1920s as it <u>failed to prevent some acts</u> of aggression, due in part to its <u>susceptibility to the influence of its constituent Great Powers</u>.

# Essay Question: Was the TOV too harsh on Germany? (Look at what Germany did during the war vs the impact of the TOV on Germany) (Tested 2023 WA1, O levels 2023)

<u>Yes</u>

### Blame- War Guilt Clause

The Treaty of Versailles was too harsh on Germany as the **blame** for the war was **laid solely on Germany** <u>without giving it a chance to defend itself</u>. Under the treaty's controversial <u>War</u> <u>Guilt Clause</u>, Germany received <u>total blame for the war</u> and the <u>Allies were absolved of any</u> <u>responsibility</u>. This was despite the fact that <u>Germany had only been dragged into the war</u>

because of its <u>defensive alliance with Austria-Hungary.</u> [4]

With the blame of the war forced on Germany, it had <u>no choice</u> but to accept the crippling terms of the treaty, the impact of which was felt by the people. The German <u>economy was</u> <u>crippled</u> and the <u>reparations of 6600 billion pounds</u> meant that the people would suffer more hardship. [5]

The Treaty was overly harsh as not only was the <u>very premise of the treaty unfair</u>, but this unjust blame was also used as <u>a basis to force other harsh terms on Germany</u>, crippling it.

### <u>Yes</u>

### Right to self-defense

Further, the treaty was too harsh on Germany as it stripped Germany of its **basic right of** self-defense as a sovereign nation.

Germany's army was <u>limited to 100 000 men</u>, <u>six submarines</u> and <u>no Air Force</u>, leaving it <u>vulnerable to attacks from other countries</u>, who <u>had not been disarmed to the same level</u>. [4]

Further, the <u>Rhineland</u>, part of Germany, was <u>forcibly demilitarised and occupied by the</u> <u>French for fifteen years</u> depriving Germany of the <u>basic right to place troops at its own</u> <u>borders to protect itself</u>. Such terms were also <u>extremely humiliating</u> for Germany, as the military had been a symbol of its power. [5]

Hence, the TOV was too harsh as it deprived Germany of its **basic**, **sovereign right of self-defense**, **humiliating it and causing much worry and suffering to the people**.

### <u>Yes</u>

### Territorial losses

Further, the Treaty of Versailles was too harsh as it forced Germany to suffer **heavy territorial losses**. Under the treaty's terms, Germany <u>lost 20% of its pre-war territory</u>, losing the <u>coal-rich region of Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar to the French</u>. In addition, Germany lost all of its <u>overseas colonies in the Asia-Pacific.</u> [4]

This was too harsh as not only did Germany <u>lose its status as a Great Power</u> with the loss of its colonies, but also had its <u>economic recovery hampered</u> as it had depended on the coal-rich Saar and Alsace-Lorraine regions for much of its income. These territorial losses were also a <u>great humiliation</u> for the German people as they <u>did not believe that Germany had lost the war</u> and felt that these losses of territory were <u>unjust</u>. [5]

Hence, the TOV was too harsh on Germany as the **humiliation and economic costs of** these territorial losses was crippling to Germany.

<u>No</u>

# Damage and destruction of the war- need for compensation

However, it can be argued that the Treaty of Versailles was not too harsh on Germany as since **it was responsible for widespread destruction during World War I**, it had to <u>pay the price</u>. Most of WWI was fought in France and Belgium, with upwards of <u>1 million French</u> casualties, nearly wiping out the French workforce. The war had also caused widespread civilian casualties and the <u>destruction of crucial infrastructure</u>, especially during the <u>German</u> invasion of France which had displaced millions, destroyed Paris and killed many others. Thus, the reparations, though substantial, aimed to <u>hold Germany accountable for its role in the conflict</u> and to <u>provide some form of compensation</u> to the affected countries. [4] T

Thus, the Treaty was not too harsh as it was a justifiable response to the immense human and economic toll of the war. [5]

# <u>No</u>

In addition, the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were not harsh on Germany as it had <u>set a</u> <u>precedent</u> with the **Treaty of Brest-Litovsk** it forced on Russia in **March 1918**. In this Treaty, Russia was forced to give Germany <u>large areas of prime agricultural land</u>, industrial areas and <u>much of its coal mines</u>. Russia also lost a <u>third of its population</u> and <u>resources such as oil and</u> <u>iron stores</u>. In addition, Russia was required to pay <u>6 billion marks in reparations</u> to Germany. [4]

Thus, as the terms of the Treaty of Versailles were <u>comparable to that of the treaty they had</u> <u>imposed on Russia</u>, it can be argued that the **Treaty of Versailles was not harsh on Germany**. [5]

### **Conclusion**

In the end, the TOV was **too harsh on Germany**. Although it is true that Germany had caused much damage and did owe compensation, Germany was <u>not the only guilty party</u> in the war, and <u>should not have been liable for all costs</u>. The **entire premise of the Treaty was unjust, and therefore the Treaty's terms were overly harsh towards Germany**.

# <u>Chapter 2: Case Study of Nazi Germany\* (Source Based & Essay)</u>

Timeline

Downfall of the Weimar Government	<u>Rise of Hitler</u>
November 1918: Kaiser abdicates; Germany agrees to armistice to end WW1	
January 1919: Elections held, Ebert's SPD (moderates) elected. Ebert becomes	January 1919: German Workers' Party (DAP) founded by Anton Drexler

president with a coalition government.	<ul> <li>local authorities sent Hitler, then an army intelligence officer, to investigate</li> <li>hitler ended up joining bc he agreed with them lol</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>May 1919: Treaty of Versailles terms announced to German People <ul> <li>most thought that Germany had won the war, therefore harsh terms came as a shock</li> <li>widespread anger, a "diktat"</li> <li>President Ebert was reluctant to sign, but had no choice.</li> <li>Ebert and Weimar politicians called the "November Criminals"</li> <li>Dolchstoss theory- that Germans had been stabbed in the back by the socialist and liberal politicians that had agreed to the Armistice</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	
July-August 1919: Weimar Republic established, constitution established - proportional representation - article 48	
	<ul> <li>September 1919: Hitler joins DAP</li> <li>was an excellent speaker and built a personal following, rising up the ranks</li> <li>argued for nationalist policies</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>1919: The Spartacist Uprising <ul> <li>communists who wanted Germany to be ruled by soviets, like Russia.</li> <li>Spartacists were joined by some soldiers and sailors</li> </ul> </li> <li>Ebert made an agreement with the Freikorps, an anti-communist band of WW1 veterans</li> <li>Freikorps put down rebellion after heavy fighting and large casualties</li> <li>communists uprisings were crushed by Freikorps from 1919-1920, but remained prominent</li> </ul>	
	February 1920: Hitler and Drexler changed name of DAP to National Socialist Workers' Party (NSDAP), AKA Nazi Party - set out main beliefs in the 25-Point

	Programme - Abolition of TOV - Anschluss with Austria - Aryan racial policy - Nationalisation of large industries and businesses - Generous pensions - strong central government
<ul> <li>March 1920: The Kapp Putsch <ul> <li>By the Freikorps (ironically)</li> <li>Wolfgang Kapp led 5000 Freikorps into Berlin in a rebellion, planning to overthrow the Weimar Republic and return Germany to an authoritarian system</li> <li>Weimar gov ordered army to attack Freikorps, but army refused</li> <li>saved by trade unions. 12 million industrial workers declared a general strike. Country had no power, transport, water.</li> <li>All civil servants and gov officials showed support for Ebert and refused to cooperate with Kapp.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	
	<ul> <li>1921: Hitler overthrows Drexler, becomes Nazi leader <ul> <li>consolidates power by appointing allies to key positions</li> <li>Hermann Goering heads the Stormtroopers (SA) <ul> <li>turned into private army</li> <li>acted as security and harassed opponents</li> </ul> </li> </ul></li></ul>
<ul> <li>January 1923: Occupation of the Ruhr and Hyperinflation <ul> <li>TOV terms: reparations of 6.6 billion pounds</li> <li>When Germany failed to make a payment, French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr, Germany's most valuable industrial region and took their payment in the form of raw materials and goods.</li> <li>German response: ordered workers to go on strike</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	

<ul> <li>Sudden halt in industrial production caused currency to crash</li> <li>gov printed more money, but notes became worthless</li> <li>Hyperinflation caused great hardship for Germans.         <ul> <li>Savings wiped out, unemployment widespread</li> <li>&gt; Weimar government lost support from middle class, as they felt that the gov favoured workers, industrialists and politicians instead of them.</li> <li>opponents took advantage to blame Weimar gov for signing TOV</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul> <li>8 November 1923: The Munich Putsch <ul> <li>Nazi membership rose to 50 000,</li> <li>Hitler had support of impt ppl eg. Erich</li> <li>Ludendorff (veteran and national hero)</li> <li>Marched on Munich, expecting local</li> <li>government, police and troops to</li> <li>support him</li> </ul> </li> <li>misjudged situation, fight against armed police broke out</li> <li>Hitler escaped but was arrested after 2 days. Nazi Party banned</li> <li>Ludendorff was released &amp; elected into reichstag in 1924.</li> <li>hitler used trial to promote himself and criticise Weimar gov, allowed by nationalist judge</li> <li>Hitler sentenced to 5 years, only served 9 months (during which he wrote Mein Kampf)</li> </ul>
	their first contested election
<ul> <li>1924: Dawes Plan <ul> <li>by US, Britain, Italy and France</li> <li>helped Germany recover from</li> <li>hyperinflation and restructure</li> <li>reparation payments</li> </ul> </li> <li>removed French and Italian troops from Ruhr, so production could resume to generate money</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>1923-1929: Hitler released from prison,</li> <li>rebuilds Nazi Party <ul> <li>decided to seize power through democratic means</li> <li>created the SS(Blackshirts), at first a small force that acted as hitler's bodyguard <ul> <li>expanded under Heinrich</li> </ul> </li> </ul></li></ul>

- US loaned Germany money	Himmler
November 1925: new chancellor Gustav Stresemann	<ul> <li>Hitler secure as supreme leader of Nazi Party</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>replaced German mark with the Rentenmark</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>by 1929, membership of party more than 100 000</li> </ul>
<ul> <li><b>1929: Young Plan</b> <ul> <li>sought to reduce the reparation amount and extend the repayment period</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	Attempts to win people's support - Problems: from 1923-1929, Weimar government was stable and prosperous
1923-1929: Golden Age of Weimar - economy recovered, democracy	May 1924 elections: 32 seats
worked <ul> <li>relative stability and success</li> </ul>	Dec 1924 elections: 14 seats
	1928 elections: only won 12 seats
1929: Wall Street Crash	
1930: SPD coalition collapsed. Hindenburg	invoked article 48. Failure of democracy.
1930: Nazis win 107 seats in election	
1931: GREAT DEPRESSION	
	<ul> <li>April 1932: Hitler runs for President and loses <ul> <li>Against Hindenburg</li> <li>but raises his profile immensely</li> </ul> </li> <li>Hitler becomes Chancellor <ul> <li>Hindenburg sacks burning, appoints Franz von papen, then calls for election</li> </ul> </li> <li>July 1932: Nazis win 230 seats in the reichstag, becoming the single largest party, but still did not have a majority. Hitler demands to be chancellor but Hindenburg refuses.</li> <li>November 1932: Hindenburg calls</li> </ul>
	<ul> <li>for another election. Nazis remain as the largest party in the Reichstag , but they lose 38 seats and two million votes.</li> <li>December 1932: Kurt von Schleicher appointed as chancellor. Attempts to gain nazis support, but fails and has to resign</li> <li>30 January 1933: HITLER</li> </ul>

<ul> <li>BECOMES CHANCELLOR         <ul> <li>von papen as vice chancellor and few other Nazis in senior cabinet positions                       -&gt; thought they could control Hitler (they were wrong)</li> </ul> </li> <li>1933: Nazi membership rises to over 800         <ul> <li>000</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<ul> <li>27 February 1933: The Reichstag Fire <ul> <li>Reichstag building was burnt down by a lone and mentally unstable communist (irrelevant guy)</li> <li>Hitler capitalised on this and immediately declared that the fire was the beginning of a communist uprising.</li> <li>Persuaded hindenburg to pass the Decree for the Protection of People and State, which gave hitler sweeping emergency powers <ul> <li>Police, SS and SA arrested 4000 communists on the night of the fire</li> <li>Opposition party meetings, newspapers and radio broadcasts were banned, making it difficult for the opposition parties to campaign</li> </ul> </li> </ul></li></ul>
<ul> <li>5 March 1933: another election, Nazis gain majority <ul> <li>Nazis had control of the radio stations, the newspapers and the police</li> <li>Held massive rallies and spent a lot on campaigning</li> </ul> </li> <li>&gt; nazis gained 288 seats, and with the support of 52 delegates from the german national people's party, they had 52% of seats</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>24 March 1933: The Enabling Act. The end of democracy in germany.</li> <li>Enabling act allowed hitler to make and pass laws without consulting the reichstag</li> <li>Only SPD voted against him and</li> </ul>

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communists were in prison, many members did not vote as they were injured or intimidated by the SA and SS. Catholic Centre Party cooperated with the Nazis.
 -> Hitler effectively a DICTATOR
April 1933: Law banning Jews from the civil service - Was impossible to be promoted if you were not a nazi
May 1933: Trade Unions Banned - All local councils and state assemblies had to have a nazi majority - Over 400 locally elected council members and 70 locally elected mayors were forced out of their positions
July 1933: All other political parties banned. Germany becomes a one party state.
<ul> <li>29-30 July 1934: The Night of the Long Knives (purge of the SA and others) <ul> <li>Hitler began to see ernst rohm, leader of the SA that he had picked, as a threat. Growing tension between them by 1933</li> <li>SA was nearly 3 million strong, and its members were fiercely loyal to rohm and supported his calls to tax elite groups such as the industrialists and landowners to help the unemployed -&gt; awkward for hitler be these were the groups that had put hitler into power.</li> <li>Army commanders were suspicious of rohm too. Thought that the SA was disreputable and were unsettled by rohms talk of making SA into a second german army.</li> <li>On weekend of 29-30 july, squads of SS men arrested rohm and other leading SA figures. Hitler accused rohm of plotting to overthrow and murder him.</li> <li>Rohm and ~400 others were executed.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

<ul> <li>Hitler also targeted his old rivals; von papen resigned as vice chancellor.</li> </ul>
2 August 1934: Hindenburg dies. Army swears Oath of personal loyalty to hitler. Hitler becomes Fuhrer of Germany.
1935: reintroduction of conscription
<ul> <li>1935: The Nuremberg Laws <ul> <li>Took away german citizenship from the jews and deprived them of all civil and political rights</li> <li>Forbid jews from marrying pure blooded germans.</li> <li>In schools, jewish children were segregated and humiliated</li> <li>Jews lost jobs, were banned from shops</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<ul> <li>1936: announcement of a Four Year Plan <ul> <li>Aimed to get german economy ready for war in four years.</li> <li>Priority for rearmament</li> <li>Making germany self sufficient in food and industrial production (autarky)</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<ul> <li>November 1938: Kristallnacht (the Night of the Broken Glass)</li> <li>A young jew killed a german diplomat in paris, and the nazis used this as an opportunity to launch a violent attack on the jews</li> <li>Plain clothed SS troopers were given the addresses of jewish businesses and issued with pickaxes and hammers. They ran riot and smashed up jewish shops and workplaces.</li> <li>91 jews were murdered, hundreds of synagogues burned. 20 000 jews taken to concentration camps</li> </ul>

# *Content: Circumstances leading to the rise and establishment of authoritarian rule in Germany*

1. Weaknesses of the Weimar Government

# i) The Weimar Constitution

**System of Proportional Representation:** any party taking part in the elections would gain seats in the Reichstag in proportion to the number of votes it received -> allowed small but competing parties to gain seats

- The system of proportional representation in Germany meant that it was <u>hard for one</u> <u>party to gain a majority in the Reichstag</u>. Even parties opposed to democracy (eg. German Communist Party) could gain seats. Small parties could also win seats in the Reichstag if they managed to get votes in the elections
- As a result of this, the <u>coalition governments that were formed in Germany were often</u> weak. Disagreements between parties also <u>prevented them from making timely</u> decisions. Parties within the coalition <u>refused to compromise their own agenda for the</u> coalition to work. This meant that the <u>coalition governments were often short-lived</u>. Between <u>1919 to 1933</u>, 20 coalition governments broke up in Germany because parties could not agree, causing <u>new elections to be called each time</u>. This projected a disunited and unstable Weimar government to the German people.
- The frequent changes in the government also made it <u>difficult for any laws to be</u> <u>passed</u>. The failure to do so made the <u>Weimar government appear even weaker to the</u> <u>German people</u>. The German people <u>sought a strong leader who could offer more</u> <u>political stability</u>. The German people's perception of the Weimar Republic's weakness was an important factor in facilitating Hitler's rise to power.

#### Article 48:

- allowed the president to bypass the reichstag and rule directly through decree in emergencies.
- Was invoked by Hindenburg in 1930 when the SPD collapsed, setting a precedent of dictatorial rule that was exploited by hitler.
- (note: Hitler DID NOT use Article 48 to gain power. Hitler used the 27 Feb 1933 Reichstag Fire to get the Decree for the Protection of People and State, and then passed the enabling act to bypass the reichstag for 4 years on 24 march 1933 )

### 2. Appeal of Hitler and the Nazi Party

- Role of Hitler- oratorical skills (capitalised on by Joseph goebbels)
- Methods of the Nazi Party (use of propaganda and force, participation in elections)
- Hitler was able to appear as a man of the people, someone who understood them and their problems.
- He promised to solve all their economic and political problems, and offered to return to the days before democracy
- => to the desperate and suffering people, he seemed to be a saviour and people flocked to him.
- Was a powerful and persuasive speaker
- Ran for president in 1932, lost but campaign raised his profile hugely
- Ahead of his time as a communicator, flying by plane to hold rallies all around Germany

### Propaganda

- Joseph Goebbels was in charge
- Used propaganda to exploit the effects of the Great Depression
- Distributed leaflets, newspapers, radio broadcasts
- Blamed the economic problems on the TOV, on the Weimar gov

- Promised strong and decisive actions such as rebuilding the army, which would create millions of jobs
- Offered up culprits, the Jews, to blame for all these problems

=> all these resonated with the people, who had gone through immense suffering. Nazi party addressed all their fears, capitalising on their troubles to gain their support

- 3. Economic challenges
- Inflation, unemployment, and the Great Depression
- Occupation of the Ruhr

#### Content: Consolidation of Nazi rule in Germany (gleichschaltung)

- 1. Establishment of Hitler's dictatorship and one-party rule
- Rebuilding the Nazi Party
- Appointment as Chancellor
- Reichstag Fire
- The Enabling Act
- Gleichschaltung (Coordination)
- The Night of the Long Knives (Arresting leaders of the SA)
- Hitler becomes Fuhrer after Hindenburg's death.

#### 2. Economic Policies

- Reemployment and improvement of working conditions
- Living standards were also improved
- Move towards war economy

#### 3. Social Policies

- German nationalism and persecution of ethnic and minority groups
- Control of German society and responses of the people
- Traditional role of women
- Educational and Hitler Youth

#### Content: Impact of the Great Depression

#### 1. Unemployment

- By 1932, unemployment was at 6 million, or 40% of the workforce
- industrial workers, farmers and the middle class were affected
- small business and shops went bankrupt
- income of the average German fell by 40% between 1929 and 1932
- many Germans were evicted from their homes because they could not pay their rentmakeshift shelters and slums appeared
- -> led to hunger and illness
  - was capitalise on by hitler to gain power
  - 2. Failure of democracy

- When the Great Depression hit Germany, it was under a coalition government led by the SPD (moderates).
- The SPD wanted to increase welfare for the unemployed but its coalition partners refused -> coalition collapsed in 1930.
- President Hindenburg used Article 48 to appoint a new chancellor, Heinrich Bruning, who cut government spending on welfare and cut the wages of government employees. measure were so harsh that reichstag would not pass them, and Hindenburg had to use emergency powers to force the law through
- from that point, Weimar gov effectively failed and parties were so divided it was impossible to form a coalition with a majority.
- Hindenburg continued to rule by decree, using article 48 to decide who became chancellor and to pass new laws.

-> set the precedent for hitler to do the same

#### 3. Rise in communism

- Workers felt that Weimar gov was not managing the economic crisis well; political parties seemed to care more about their own positions
  - some turned to Nazis, but more turned to the German Communist Party (KPD).
- like nazis, communists ad rebuilt their movement during the 1920s. Had local party branches, a youth movement and a very effective publicity machine.
- Between 1929 and 1932, ~1 million workers began to look to KPD rather than moderate SPD; KPD representation in the reichstag went from 10% to 15%.
- rise of communists frightened business leaders (KPD plans to introduce state control of businesses), middle classes and landowners (communist gov in USSR took land and killed landowners)
- Germans did not trust Weimar gov to deal with threat of communists
- created a climate of fear that hitler was able to capitalise on.
- -> turned to the Nazi Party, which seemed able to take control and face the communists.

### Essay: Reasons for the rise of the Nazi Party

Hitler rose to power as the Germans' **disillusionment in the Weimar government** caused them to look for a **stronger alternative party**.

The Weimar government had adopted a system of proportional representation. Parties won seats in parliament based on the number of votes won. This meant many parties gained seats, but no single party could gain total authority. This resulted in many parties forming coalition governments, but they were often unable to compromise to make important decisions and so did not last long. Between 1919 and 1933, there were twenty coalition governments that broke up. This projected a disunited and unstable Weimar government to the people, and led them to seek a strong leader who could offer more political stability, allowing Hitler's Nazi party to win more support. [4]

The Weimar government was also weak due to the lack of support from various groups. The civil service, judiciary, military and wealthy businessmen did not support it and preferred a return to a monarchy. This undermined the authority of the Weimar government, making it look weak and thus it was harder for it to get the support of people.

As such, Hitler could present the Nazi Party as a viable alternative to the weakened government. [5]

However, beneficial circumstances in the form of the **economic crisis** also led to the rise of Hitler as he was able to **exploit the Germans' resentment.** 

#### Occupation of the Ruhr and Hyperinflation

After WWI, Germany was poor, had a weak economy and still had to pay the crippling reparations of 6.6 billion pounds. When Germany failed to make a payment in January 1923, French and Belgian troops occupied the Ruhr, an important industrial region. The German government responded by ordering the workers to go on strike. This sudden halt in industrial production caused the German currency to collapse, and the continued printing of worthless banknotes led to hyperinflation. Many Germans lost their savings and unemployment was widespread. Many opponents linked these economic troubles to the TOV signed by the Weimar politicians, and this led to widespread resentment towards the Weimar government. [4]

#### The Great Depression

Later, the Great Depression also hurt Germany. With the US stock market crash, the US stopped loans to Germany and many German businesses had to close, with millions of Germans losing jobs. The Weimar government could not salvage the situation.

The Great Depression also led President Hindenburg to invoke his powers under Article 48 to appoint Heinrich Bruning as Chancellor and pass his harsh measures, marking the failure of democracy in Germany that set the precedent for hitler to pass the enabling act in 1933 and establish himself as fuhrer in august 1934.

Many workers lost faith in the Weimar Government and some turned to the Nazi party, but more turned to the German Communist Party, which frightened business leaders, the middle classes and landowning farmers. The German people did not trust that the Weimar government could effectively deal with the communists, and this created a climate of fear. As a result, many turned to the Nazi Party, which presented itself as being willing and capable to face the communists.

Due to the suffering from such economic crises, and the view that the Weimar government could not solve these problems, people began to support parties such as the Nazis who promised to make Germany strong again, with Nazi membership rising to over 800 000 by 1933.

Hitler's **charisma and oratorical skills** must also be acknowledged in his rise as he was able to win and **charm the Germans into voting for him.** 

The Nazi's greatest campaigning asset was Hitler, who was a powerful and persuasive speaker who appeared as a man of the people, someone who could understand their problems. After years of unstable coalition governments, hitler promised a return to the stable days before democracy which many Germans still fondly remembered.

Although Hitler lost the presidential election to Hindenburg in 1932, the campaign raised his profile hugely. He was years ahead of his time as a communicator, using film, radio and print

to spread his message to millions, and travelling by plane on a hectic tour of rallies all over Germany. He appeared as a dynamic man of the moment, the leader of a modern party with modern ideas that could bring political stability to the Germans.

Hence, by effectively presenting himself as a saviour of the people who could solve their problems, Hitler gained the widespread support of the people, enabling the Nazis to become the largest party in the Reichstag by 1932, making Hitler Chancellor and paving the way for him to become Fuhrer after Hindenburg's death in 1934.

In conclusion, I disagree that Hitler rose to power mainly due to the Germans' disillusionment in the Weimar government. It was the Great Depression that facilitated the rise of Hitler as prior to 1929, the Nazi party did not manage to garner many votes. The economic disaster brought about by the Great Depression was too much for the Weimar Government to solve, causing the Germans to look for alternative forms of government. It was only after the Great Depression that the Nazi party gained much popularity.

Essay: 'The main reason Hitler <u>kept the support</u> of most Germans was through fear.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

#### Fear

Hitler kept the support of the people by using fear to force the Germans into submission.

He turned Germany into a <u>police state</u> by using the <u>SS (Blackshirts) and the Gestapo</u> to hunt down his opponents. The Gestapo or Nazi secret police had <u>virtually unlimited power</u> to eliminate threats to the Nazis. They were responsible to no one and could detain anyone without trial. They used <u>torture</u>, arrests, intimidation, and murder to stifle opposition. Opponents were sent to <u>concentration camps</u>. The use of violence by the SS and the Gestapo struck fear in the people and helped him to consolidate his control over Germany because <u>no one dared to oppose or challenge his authority for fear of arrest</u>, <u>punishment or</u> <u>being sent to concentration camps</u>. [4] (the night of the long knives)

The people lived in constant fear and suspicion because they <u>did not know whom they could</u> <u>trust</u>, as there were many <u>informers</u> working for the Nazis. All these forced the people to <u>conform and obey the Nazis</u> out of fear of losing their lives. [5]

Thus, the Hitler got the support of the people using the SS and the Gestapo to **strike fear** in the people and **force them into submission**.

#### Censorship and Propaganda

However, Hitler used other means such as **strict censorship** to feed the Germans **positive information** about the Nazis, ensuring the German peoples' continued support for the Nazis.

Goebbels kept very <u>strict control</u> over what Germans were <u>allowed to read, hear, and watch</u>. No books, paintings, or any other art form could be produced without <u>Nazi approval</u>. There was also heavy censorship and newspapers were <u>not allowed to print anti-Nazi ideas</u>. All films had to carry a <u>pro-Nazi message</u>. The newsreels shown along with films all proclaimed <u>Nazi</u>

achievements. The government made cheap radios available so all Germans could buy one and listen to Nazi propaganda when aired.

This strict censorship helped the Nazis to ensure that <u>any information hostile towards them</u> was <u>kept away from the German people</u>. [4]

By constantly feeding the Germans with **positive information** about the Hitler and the Nazi party and **stifling all opposing views**, the Nazis were able to win support of the people. [5]

### Employment

Most importantly, Hitler kept the support of most Germans by providing them with the **employment** they were **desperate** for.

When <u>Hitler came to power</u> in 1933, Germany was badly affected by the <u>Great Depression</u>, with <u>6 million jobless Germans and a farming crisis</u>. Hitler set up the <u>Reich Labour Service</u>, which made it compulsory for males aged 18 - 25 years to work on public works projects. To achieve <u>economic self-sufficiency</u>, he <u>banned imports</u> and created industries to look for substitutes. He started <u>massive public building programmes</u>, such as the <u>construction of autobahns or highways</u>. All these helped to **create jobs** and <u>unemployment fell to only 1/4 million in 1939</u>. This boosted <u>economic recovery</u> and provided many Germans with a livelihood. [4]

This in turn helped them <u>recover from the effects of the Great Depression</u> and saved them from <u>hunger</u>, <u>poverty and economic hardship</u>. This <u>raised the morale</u> of people, which translated into <u>increased support</u> for the Nazis. [5]

Thus, by **providing them jobs**, succeeding in **resolving the economic crisis** and lifting the people **out of poverty**, Hitler received the support of most Germans.

In conclusion, it was Hitler's ability to reduce unemployment that was the most important reason in allowing him to retain support among the Germans as it was the <u>underlying reason</u> that legitimised harsh Nazi rule. The <u>economic prosperity</u> Germans experienced under Hitler's rule <u>sustained the legitimacy of Nazi rule</u> and resulted in the <u>willingness of the Germans to</u> tolerate the harsh restrictions Hitler imposed, such as <u>censorship</u> and his <u>brutal tactics</u>, on the Germans. Hence, it was Hitler's ability to reduce unemployment which was the most important reason in allowing him to retain support among the Germans. [2]

# Chapter 3: Case Study of Militarist Japan (Essay only)

#### 1600-1868: Tokugawa Shogunate

- an agrarian society
- had a strict hierarchy
- was isolated from the rest of the world

#### 1868-1912: Meiji Period

- an era of modernisation under emperor Meiji, to be on par with the west as the west had forced unequal treaties on japan in the past.

Economic Modernisation

- Industrialised its economy
- used western technology
- built infrastructure eg banking system, railroads to support production
- Start of large and powerful corporations called zaibatsu
- began to open up to foreign trade

# Political Change

- became a constitutional monarchy
- although emperor shared power with the government, in actual practice the emperor controlled the government and military by appointing the prime minister and cabinet and commanding the military
- military had disproportionate influence over the cabinet because the cabinet could not be formed without the military sending a minister. (Exploited later on)

Social Change

- population boom
- social hierarchy changed samurai replaced by a national army and navy made of civilian conscripts
  - EDUCATIONAL CHANGE: western-style curriculum to support industrialisation
    - still encouraged loyalty to the emperor, state, family and community
    - praised the military; education incorporated military drills
- education + media newspapers & film -> encouraged nationalism and loyalty to emperor who was viewed as divine

-> all this westernisation made japan stable for a while, but soon the ultranationalists, who opposed these changes as "unjapanese", rose to power

### 1894: First Sino-Japanese War

- Japan won, increased control over Korea, took Taiwan and Liaodong Province in Manchuria
- 1904: Russo-Japanese War

- Japan won again- first time an Asian power defeated a major European power

# 1910: Japan annexes Korea

-> all these military victories were celebrated, military was highly respected in society and was influential in the rise of Japanese militarism

# October 1941- General Tojo becomes Prime Minister -> army has total control of the government

*Content: Circumstances leading to the rise and establishment of an authoritarian regime in Japan* 

- 1. Weaknesses of the democratic government in Japan (During Taisho Democracy, 1905 1931 (Political challenges)
- Politics

- Emperor Yoshihito was sickly, could not be active in politics -> too weak to exercise his authority over gov, no central figure for civilian government to rally diff political factions together- lead to infighting.
- Emergence of party politics- Seiyukai and Minseito, wrestled for power and influence in gov. Divisions made it difficult for PM to gain support of majority and form a strong gov that could combat military influence
- Military leaders were appointed by emperor rather than gov, PM did not have power to remove military officers who did not obey him
- without emperor's control, military began to act against civilian gov without consequence, could stall formation of civ govs they did not like by appointing minister of army and navy -> Civ gov was weak
- London Naval Conference in 1930 which restricted Japanese Naval fleet sizes
- Public perceived it as a betrayal of Japan's security interests, undermining people's faith in the democratic government -> military capitalised on the unpopularity of the gov to build up their own public image, by advocating for a Showa Restoration
- Assasination of Zhang Zuolin, 1928
- Zhang Zuolin- a chinese general in charge of Manchuria
- Kwantung army assassinated Zhang in an attempt to replace him with a more cooperative leader
- Since china and japan were allies, they thought that they could blame it on rivalries between chinese warlords, and force the gov to let them take over Manchuria
- However emperor criticised their actions and demanded that PM discipline them
- But PM had no real authority over military, unable to force military leaders to punish the assassins
- -> revealed how emperor failed to control military, showed that military could defy civilian gov
- Invasion of Manchuria (Mukden Incident), 1931.
- Kwantung army blew up railway tracks at Mukden, blamed chinese government and used it to take control of Manchuria (renamed it Manchukuo in 1932)
- Was done by Kwantung army without government approval -> revealed the lack of control of the civilian gov over the military.
- Invasion succeeded -> removed the effective influence of the civ gov over foreign policy in SEA
- Invasion was popular with the public-> military and militarist policies also more popular
- Lack of effective gov opposition confirmed to the military its superior influence over civ politicians
- Assasination of Prime Minister Inukai, 1932
- Assasination of civilian PM by ultranationalists cripple moderate civ politicians -> was forced to concede to a military dominated cabinet helmed by naval admiral as PM
- Militarists capitalised on it to push for militarist political reform by generating public sympathy for their ultranationalist aims
- Exploited power vacuum and weakness of civ leadership, stalled any attempts by civ politicians to reform the gov -> forced emperor to nominated someone from militarist faction as PM

### 2. Economic Challenges

### - Great Kanto Earthquake, 1923

- High loss of life, government had to pay for the damage, increase of financial hardship for the people

#### - Banking Crisis, 1927

- Collapse of many banks and -> people lost their savings, suffered hardship -> generated animosity towards the civ gov. People held civ gov accountable for the crisis
- Order and stability that the military represented became more attractive military's aim of expansionism to directly control foreign markets would provide sense of stability that internationalist civ gov could not provide
- Great Depression, 1929
- Japan's domestic economy was severely hit as it was heavily dependent on western markets for Japanese silk -> economy fell by 20%
- Civilian gov had developed close ties with zaibatsu, leading people to believe that gov cared only abt the elites and gov itself was profiting -> distrust of the gov
- Loss of trust exacerbated by social problems gov faced -> further undermined credibility
- Military was a more favourable alternative ppl wanted to strengthen japan's economic and industrial foundations and a strong military to protect from external influences
- economic recession heightened fears of communist uprising in japan. Japan in close proximity to soviet union -> security was a key concern for gov. -> enabled the military to increase its intervention in government affairs under justification of national security

#### 3. Social issues

#### - Socio economic divide

- government increasingly supported the *zaibatsu* in furthering the country's economic development -> causing wealth to be concentrated in the hands of large capital owners -> resulting wealth gap generated long-term resentment against the civilian government which was thought to have failed in protecting the people's interests.
- resentment of the populace towards *zaibatsus* and other large capital owners would be capitalised by the military, which promised to address these inequalities.
- Position of women in society/Introduction of Western values
- Traditionalists in japan society became fearful that the internationalist leanings of civilian gov were causing foreign ideas to displace traditional identity and values -> reduced popularity of civilian leadership among conservative circles
- More culturally conservative military was an alternative for traditionalists militaristic and expansionist goals resonated with traditionalists' desire to restore sense of Japanese supremacy and independence from foreign influence.

### 4. Appeal of ultranationalist faction

- Military Successes (Pre- Taisho)
- - First Sino-Japanese war
- Russo-Japanese war
- In both, japan won victories against much larger powers
- -> people took pride in this, military was highly respected in society
- Invasion of Manchuria (Mukden Incident), 1931.
- Kwantung army blew up railway tracks at Mukden
- Was done by Kwantung army without government approval -> revealed the lack of control of the civilian gov over the military.
- Was extremely popular with Japanese public, ppl saw Manchuria as a solution to japan's economic problems
- Japanese press also publicised there and turned public opinion in favour of the invasion
- Assasination of Prime Minister Inukai (May 15 incident), 1932

- Assasination of civilian PM by ultranationalists cripple moderate civ politicians -> was forced to concede to a military dominated cabinet helmed by naval admiral as PM
- Militarists capitalised on it to push for militarist political reform by generating public sympathy for their ultranationalist aims
- Exploited power vacuum and weakness of civ leadership, stalled any attempts by civ politicians to reform the gov -> forced emperor to nominated someone from militarist faction as PM

#### Content: Increased influence of the militarists in Japan from the 1930s

- 1. Consolidation of military power in the government
- increased military influence
- Military officers could take positions in civil service, originally reserved for civ politicians
- Foreign affairs ministry handed over supervision of Manchuria to military
- Successes of the jap military had become a source of national pride
- -> emboldened military to intervene in politics and oppose civilian politicians
- Emergence of control faction in the government- February 26 Incident, 1936
- At first, military was not united
- Was divided between the Imperial Way Faction and Control Faction
- On Feb 26 1936, young officers in the imperial way faction led a military coup, attempted to assassinate key gov leaders and demanded a new gov. Part of their call for a Showa Restoration, aiming to restore japan's glory by honouring the emperor
- Coup failed, emperor condemned their actions
- 19 leading figures were arrested, tried in secret military court and executed
- Failure of coup led to loss of imperial way faction's influence, gave control faction the opportunity to see control of military
- By this time, military had so much influence over cabinet that it could appoint active general as minister of war.
- With new dominance of military and control of gov, control faction prepared for war by modernising jap military

#### 2. Economic policies

- Enabled japan's economy to improve quickly from 1932 onwards, far more quickly than western powers
- Industrialisation
- Emphasis on expanding the empire and preparing for war
- Shifted from developing consumer industries to heavy industries and chemical production
- Led to production of arms and big construction projects such as roads, railways and bridges
- Increased spending to stimulate economy
- Gave rise to new zaibatsu, which made huge profits from gov contracts and were closely linked to and influenced by military
- Military hoped that zaibatsu and industrialisation would enable japan to develop into a self-sufficient and industrially strong state
- Control of the Industry
- Gov started to exercise control over japan's industry and the zaibatsu
- Gov believed that competition between zaibatsu was wasteful and feared that they would seek to make profits at the expense of the country

- Gov passed the Principal Industries Control Law, 1931
- Made it legal for zaibatsu to form cartels to limit competition and regulate the production and prices of products
- At first, cartels were managed by heads of zaibatsu
- Later, gov became directly involved and controlled them
- 1936, officials and military commanders in the cabinet brought the electrical power industry under direct government control. Zaibatsu protested and fought the measure bitterly, but didn't work
- Further state control continued- 1937, gov introduced five-year plans setting production targets in various industries
- Control of Labour unions
- 1920s- gov had encouraged formation of unions as could bring stability to country
- 1936- militarist gov no longer favoured unions, forced thousands of workers to withdraw from union of gov employees
- Campaign for economic revitalisation (CER)
- Great Depression had hit jap farmers hard, farmers were in debt, struggling to pay rent, taxes and feed families
- Gov increased public works in countryside to provide jobs for ppl who lived there
- 1932- ministry of agriculture launched campaign, mix of propaganda and proposals to strengthen the countryside
- Stressed the need to revive the spirit of cooperation in rural areas
- Encouraged farmers to utilise scientific farming methods instead of traditional ones
- Farmers received guidance on how to better manage crops and finances
- -> helped them to increase income, many farmers signed up
- X however, conditions did not improve significantly as gov was more focused on industrialisation

### 3. Social policies

### - Control of thought

- To promote loyalty to the state and the emperor, promote a strong military spirit
- <u>CER</u> emphasised traditional values- contrasted peaceful, hardworking rural peasants with chaotic and corrupting influence of cities. Praised women in rural japan for traditional roles of working the Farm and managing the home
- <u>Strategies to manage workers and improve productivity</u>- 1937- network of discussion councils in all workplaces- made up of worker and manager representatives, told to cooperate to prevent workplace conflicts. Workers told that companies were like families, where every member was equally valuable to emperor
- <u>Censorship of non-conformist beliefs</u> that were seen as threats to Japanese national identity
- Publications Monitoring Department published guidelines for all publishing companies and scrutinised all media, including fiction books
- 1936- Information and Propaganda Committee formed, worked with the PMD to further control media and promote militarist ideas
- Materials that presented military or emperor in a bad light were considered inappropriate and censored
- Individuals were censored- political leaders, intellectuals, university students with socialist beliefs were imprisoned and dismissed from positions
- Kempeitai special military police force set up to enforce this
- Control of education
- Already had a strong emphasis on national pride and the importance of Japanese

traditions, stressed shinto beliefs, loyalty to the emperor, and the community over the individual

- 1937- ministry of eduction published "Fundamentals of Our National Polity", used it as a basis for education system. Was distributed to officials and educators, intended to guide teachers in inculcating Japanese traditional ethics in their students
- Sought to instil a sense of patriotism
- Centered on ultranationalist and military ideals
- Large amounts of physical exercise, military-style drilling and technical lessons designed to prepare youths for war

#### Essay Question: What was the most important reason for the rise of militarism in Japan?

#### Economic Challenges

# The Economic Challenges suffered by Japan in the 1930s led to widespread suffering and discontent among the people, which the military capitalised on to gain power.

During the Great Depression of 1929, Japan's domestic economy was severely hit as it was heavily dependent on the demand of western markets for Japanese silk. As a result, the economy fell by 20%, leading to widespread unemployment and unrest.

Sentiments on the ground called for a strengthening of Japan's economic and industrial foundations, and a strong military to protect them from external influences.

At the same time, the military saw expansionist policies as the solution to Japan's economic woes. In 1931, the Kwantung Army invaded and took over Manchuria, a unilateral action that was supported by the military but was not approved by the government. The invasion was extremely popular with the public, who also saw Manchuria as the solution to Japan's economic problems. This was in contrast to the civilian government, which had developed close ties to the Zaibatsus and was perceived to be neglecting the common peoples' interests.

The military's success and decisiveness, together with the civilian government's seeming inability to solve the economic crisis, led many Japanese to support militarism.

#### Growing opposition to the Civilian Government

Against the backdrop of these economic challenges and the civilian government's inability to address them, opposition to the civilian government grew and many people turned to the military as a more capable alternative.

A network of ultra nationalistic and anti-democratic activists began to grow, one of which was the Showa Restoration Faction, which wanted to remove all aspects of democratic government and restore direct rule to the emperor. They were against civilian political leaders and zaibatsu, whom they regarded as self-serving.

The turning point came in 1932 with the May 15 incident, when young naval officers from the League of Blood assassinated Prime Minister Inukai, attempting a coup. This was a manifestation of the growing opposition, and reflected the widespread dissatisfaction against the civilian leadership. Further, this rebellion was not condemned by the military, effectively

condoning their actions and directly undermining the civilian government.

This overwhelming opposition finally led to the appointment of a Navy admiral as the Prime Minister in May 1932, creating a cabinet composed of mostly military leaders, the first time Japan had officially come under military rule.

#### Government weaknesses and problems

However, there were other reasons why the Japanese military rose to power such as **political problems** that created a **power vacuum for the military to fill**.

<u>Emperor Yoshito was often ill</u> and <u>could not be active in politics</u>. This meant that there was <u>no</u> <u>central figure</u> for the civilian government to <u>rally different political factions together</u> resulting in the civilian politicians being <u>prone to infighting</u> which further <u>weakened their position</u>. Without the emperor's control, the military began to act against the civilian government <u>without</u> <u>consequence</u>, and could <u>stall the formation of civilian governments they did not like</u> by not appointing the minister of army and navy. [4]

In addition, Prime Minister <u>Inukai was assassinated in 1932</u>. The loss of the civilian Prime Minister to ultranationalists <u>severely crippled the moderate civilian politicians</u>. The Japanese <u>military capitalised</u> on the event to <u>push for militarist political reform</u> by generating <u>public</u> <u>sympathy with the aims of the ultranationalist assassins</u>. They also exploited the power vacuum and weakened the position of civilian leadership by stalling any attempts by the civilian politicians to reform the government and finally <u>forcing the emperor to nominate one of their own as the Prime Minister.</u> [5]

### Appeal of Ultranationalist factions/ Social change

This was further assisted by the **rise of ultra nationalistic beliefs** in Japan. Fed up with their <u>economic dependence on the West</u> and their <u>humiliation in the treaty of Versailles</u> where Japan was deemed racially inferior, many Japanese started to <u>favour a return to the</u> <u>authoritarian days of national pride</u>. They remembered the days when the military had <u>won</u> <u>great victories</u> over China and Russia and longed for a return to nationalism.

Additionally, during the 1920s, many young women found jobs in cafes and restaurants leading to greater independence for women. This was seen by some as a threat to traditional Japanese society and values. Traditionalists became fearful that the internationalist leaning of the civilian government was causing foreign ideas to displace their traditional Shinto identity and values, and grew dissatisfied with the government. The military, being more culturally conservative, became a more popular alternative for traditionalists; the militaristic and expansionist goals of the military resonated with the traditionalists' desires to **restore a sense of Japanese supremacy and independence from foreign influence.** 

#### Conclusion

The Japanese military rose to power **mainly due to economic challenges**. The widespread economic suffering translated into discontent, fed the opposition to the civilian government and fueled the increased prevalence of ultranationalist ideals.

# Essay: The main reason the Japanese military was able to control the Japanese was through education.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

The Japanese military was able to **control** the Japanese through **education** as it instilled in them a **sense of loyalty to the country.** 

Japan's education system had a strong emphasis on national pride and the importance of Japanese traditions. It also stressed Shinto beliefs, loyalty to the Emperor and the community over the individual. Due to this, the Japanese had been drilled into since young to put the interests of the community over self, which made it easier to demand sacrifices from them. [4]

In 1937, the Ministry of Education published a document called Fundamentals of Our National Polity and used it as a basis for Japan's education system. The Japanese curriculum sought to instil a sense of patriotism in young Japanese and was centred on ultranationalist and militarist ideals, involving large amounts of military-style exercises and drills designed to prepare youths for war.

Thus, education was used to indoctrinate young Japanese with the ideals that the Japanese military wanted to imbue in them, making them easier to control. [5]

However, the Japanese military was also able to control the Japanese through **propaganda** which **brainwashed** the Japanese with ideals and values that the military wanted to promote.

There was censorship of ideas that did not conform with the government's beliefs. The Publications Monitoring Department published guidelines for all publishing companies and scrutinised all media, including fiction books. In 1936, the government formed the Information and Propaganda Committee which worked with the Publications Monitoring Department to further control the media and promote their militarist ideals. Any materials that presented the military or the Emperor in a negative light were censored. Thus, due to tight censorship, the Japanese were only exposed to what the Japanese military decided on, leading to little dissent.

In addition, anyone who promoted ideals that did not conform to the government were silenced. Individuals with socialist beliefs were imprisoned or dismissed from their positions.

As such, there was little opposition to the Japanese military rule, making the society easier to control. [5]

In addition, the Japanese military sought to control the Japanese through **government policies**.

These government policies were implemented to promote loyalty to the state and the ideal Japanese values. The Campaign for Economic Revitalisation emphasized the traditional values seen in the lives of the peasants in rural Japan. It contrasted the peaceful, hardworking rural peasants with the chaotic and corrupting influence of the cities.

The campaign also praised women in rural Japan for their traditional roles in working on the farm and managing the home. Hence, by putting model Japanese people in the light, more Japanese are inspired to follow in their shoes, making them easier to control. [4]

In 1937, the government also implemented a network of discussion councils in all workplaces.

These councils were made up of worker and manager representatives. They were to co-operate to prevent conflict. Workers were also told that companies were like families where every member was equally valuable to the Emperor.

Thus, this made workers easier to control as they would be more willing to cooperate in the name of family. [5]

In conclusion, I disagree with the statement as control through education only reached out to young Japanese. Instead, the main reason why the Japanese military was able to control the Japanese was due to propaganda and its government policies that were able to reach out and influence more people.

#### Essay: How did the Militarist Government consolidate its rule in Japan?

# The militarist government consolidated its rule in Japan by introducing political reforms to secure military control over the government.

With the successes of the military in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904 and the 1932 annexation of Manchuria, the military was highly regarded by the Japanese people and it capitalised on the support of the people to increasingly intervene in politics and oppose civilian politicians. By 1934, military officers could take positions in the civil service originally reserved for civilian politicians, and the foreign affairs ministry handed over the supervision of Manchuria to the military.

After the failure of the 26 February Incident, the Imperial Way faction lost much of its power and influence, allowing the Control faction to consolidate its power over the military. With the military united and disciplined, the military gained so much influence that it was able to appoint an active general as the Minister of War.

In 1937, Prime Minister Prince Fuminaro permitted the formation of a Cbinet Planning Office made up of mostly military officers, shifting control of Japan's finances to the military. In October 1941, General Tojo Hideki became Prime Minister, signalling the military's total control over the Japanese government.

# The militarist government in Japan further consolidated its rule by introducing economic reforms which brought the economy under further military control.

After the Great Depression, the militarist government sought to prepare Japan for war by shifting its focus to industrialisation, setting up key industries led by new Zaibatsu like Nissan, Nichitsu and Mori, all of whom were closely linked to and influenced by the military, which soon increased its control of the zaibatsus by passing the Principal Industries Control Law in 1931, forming cartels which the government soon controlled. In 1936, the government brought the electric power industry under direct government control, and in 1937, introduced the Five-Year Plans setting targets for production in various industries.

To control the people, the government introduced the Campaign for Economic Revitalisation in 1932, which was a mix of propaganda and practical proposals that guided farmers on how to better manage crops and finances on their farms, increasing their incomes, garnering support for the militarist government.

Hence, by increasing its control over Japan's industries and improving the economic situation of the people, the military further established its rule over Japan.

# Additionally, the militarist government consolidated its rule over japan by introducing social reforms that increased support for, and reduced resistance to militarist rule.

The government used propaganda to promote loyalty to the state and emperor, such as through the 1932 Campaign for Economic Revitalisation which emphasised traditional Japanese values, promoting the countryside as peaceful, praising peasants as hardworking and praising women for their traditional role in working at farms and in homes. Through the Publications Monitoring Department which published guidelines for all publishing companies to follow and scrutinised all media including fiction books, the militarist government censored all ideas that did not conform with government beliefs, placing Japanese thought under military control. In 1936, the government formed the Information and Propaganda committee, which worked with the publications Monitoring Department to further control media and promote militarist ideals. Individuals with socialist beliefs, such as political leaders, intellectuals and university leaderss, were imprisoned or dismissed from their positions.

In 1937, the government published a document called Fundamentals of our National Polity, and distributed it to officials and educators with the intention of further inculcating Japanese traditional ethics such as national pride, loyalty to the emperor and Shinto beliefs into students.

Hence, the social reforms introduced by the militarist government indoctrinated the people and youths with pro-military ideas, making them easier to control.

# Chapter 4: Outbreak of WW2 in Europe (Source Based & Essay)

Timeline

1919: End of WW1, Paris Peace Conference & League of Nations formed

1920s: Prosperity, increased cooperation between nations, trade boom

1929: Wall Street Crash; 1931: Great Depression

led to Economic Nationalism

- Protectionism: countries (inc. Britain, France & US) introduced tariffs to protect their own industries and limit or stop imports -> everyone did it-> trade volume fell
- Calling in loans: US banks called in loans-> banks and businesses collapsed, mass unemployment
- Reamarmanment: countries (inc. Britain, Germany, Italy and Japan) reared to boost industry and create jobs
- Radicalism: Nazis in Germany, Mussolini in Italy, Militarism in Japan

#### 1935-1935: German Rearmament

February 1932: start of Disarmament Conference

July 1932: Germany walks out of disarmament conference

January 1933: Hitler becomes Chancellor of Germany

February 1933: Disarmament conference reconvenes; Germany now led by Hitler

May 1933: Hitler promises not to rearm Germany if other powers disarm in 5 years

October 1933: Hitler pulls Germany out of Disarmament conference and League of Nations

#### December 1934: Wal-Wal incident

1935: Saar Plebiscite

- league force Hitler to agree to it but 90% of people voted to join Hitler's Germany
- increased hitler's confidence and power

October 1935: Italian invasion of Abyssinia

December 1935: Hoare-Laval Pact

March 1936: German remilitarisation of the Rhineland

May 1936: Italy conquers Abyssinia

November 1936: Rome-Berlin Axis

- Agreement signed by Italy and Germany, league could do nothing about it

Content: Key developments leading to the outbreak of World War II in Europe

# 1. Ineffectiveness of the League of Nations in the 1930s (different from chapter 1 about the 1920s)

Failure of disarmament in the 1930s:

1932-1934: The World Disarmament Conference

Aims: to control the destructive power of offensive weapons

**Successes**: resolutions to prohibit the bombing of civilian populations and chemical warfare, limit size of artillery and the tonnage of tanks

**Difficulties**: hard to agree on what offensive and defensive weapons were; attempt to abolish planes capable of bombing failed; individual countries used the conference to raise their own issues

# Dealing with Germany

- most believed that the TOV should be fairer to Germany
- Disagreements on how to make it fairer
  - France opposed allowing Germany to rearm, or Britain and US committed themselves to guaranteeing France's security, which B and US were reluctant to
  - the other powers also did not want to disarm themselves to Germany's level

July 1932: Germany walks out of the conference

- proposes that all countries disarm down to its level
- walks out after countries fail to agree on the principle of "equality"

# February 1933: Conference reconvenes; Germany now led by Hitler

- hitler pretended to really want to disarm, but he had actually already started to rearm in 1933.
- May 1933: Hitler promises not to rearm Germany is all other nations agreed to disarm in 5 years
- Hitler was being smart: appeared to care about disarmament -> presents himself as peace-loving
  - knows that other powers would not disarm down to his level, which would give him the justification to rearm

# October 1933: Hitler pulls Germany out of the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations

# Abyssinian Crisis (1933-1936) and its implications

- Dispute between Italian and Abyssinian soldiers at the Wal-Wal Oasis in Abyssinia
- Mussolini uses it as an excuse and claims the Oasis as Italian territory, demands an apology from Abyssinia and prepares Italian army to invade

Abyssinian emperor appeals to the league for help but is unsuccessful

- Because Britain and France saw Italy as a potential ally against Germany and there're didn't take much action against him
  - signed the Stresa Front agreement in April 1935 to oppose hitler's announced intention to rearm Germany

# December 1935: Hoare-Laval Pact

Foreign ministers of Britain and France were fearful of driving Italy into Germany's arms

- wanted to give Italy two thirds of Abyssinia
- made while the league was still discussing sanctions against Italy
- details were leaked to the Franch press, people regarded the pact as treachery against the league.
- Plan was dropped, Hoare and Laval fired

# October 1935: Full scale invasion of Abyssinia

- League bans arm sales and all loans, as well as the export of rubber, tin and metals to Italy. Bans all imports from Italy

# February 1936: League concludes that stopping oil sales to Italy would exhaust its supply in two months

- but its too late because they took too long to decide
- plus the US refuses to support a ban on oil sales and instead sells more oil to Italy
- Suez Canal remained open to Italy's supply ships as B and F were worried that closing the canal would result in a war with Italy

# May 1936: Italy conquers Abyssinia; Abyssinian emperor goes into exile

# League loses credibility

- leak of Hoare-Laval Pact details damaged reputation
- failure to impose sanctions on Italy led to Italian victory

-> Hitler was convinced that the League would not be able to hinder Germany's plans of expansion

# 2. Germany's aggressive foreign policy Plebiscite in the Saar region, 1935

- 90% of people voted to join Hitler's germany
- increased his confidence and power

# Remilitarisation of the Rhineland, 1936

- TOV banned Germany from entering the Rhineland which acted as a buffer for France
- Hitler declared that this was no longer acceptable as France and the USSR had agreed on the Treaty of Mutual Assistance in February 1936, promising to protect each other against Germany. Hitler claimed he was being encircled and therefore had the right to place troops on his own borders

# - March 1936: German troops enter the Rhineland

- A gamble because the German army was still weaker than the French army
- if France had called his bluff he would have been humiliated and lost the support of the army

- however Britain, France and the LON were still preoccupied with the Abyssinian Crisis, and Britain would not guarantee their support for France against Hitler so no further action was taken other than a condemnation from the League

# The Spanish Civil War, 1936

Hitler and Mussolini helped the nationalist leader General Franco with troops and other equipment

- was an opportunity for Hitler to test out his army and Luftwaffe
- Britain and France stayed out of the war -> encouraged Hitler because he ow believed that Britain and France were not prepared to go to war at all
- USSR became increasingly suspicious of Britain and France because of their reluctance to oppose Hitler and Mussolini

# Anti-Comintern Pact, 1936 (between Germany and japan only)

Japan was expanding aggressively in Asia, and so Germany saw that they had a lot in common with japan and signed the Pact with Japan

- Anti-Comintern Pact was to oppose Communist International (Comintern), set up by the USSR with the goal of spreading communism by promoting uprisings around the world
- agreed not to sign any treaties with the USSR

# The Axis Alliance, 1937

Italy signed the Anti-Comintern Pact

- new alliance between Germany, Italy and Japan formed

Anschluss with Austria, 1938

The Munich Agreement and the invasion of Czechoslovakia,1938–1939 Nazi–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact and the invasion of Poland, 1939

#### 3. Policy of Appeasement <u>Anschluss with Austria, 1938</u>

Hitler encouraged the nazi party in Austria to create disorder to instigate a union with Germany, then convinced the Austrian chancellor that order could only be restored if German troops moved into Austria.

- Austrian chancellor appealed to Britain and France to put pressure on Hitler to withdraw by they did nothing

March 1938: German troops move into Austria

April 1938; Hitler holds a plebiscite on Anschluss in Austria

- Through voter intimidation and fraud, 99.75% of Austrian voters approved of the Anschluss

# Impact of the Anschluss on international relations

- Germany absorbed Austria's population, industry and natural resources, and had access to Austria's reserves of gold -> Germany's size and stature was strengthened

- was breaking the treaty of Versailles, but Britain sympathised with Germany as it felt that the TOV was unfair and that Germans should be able to unite if they wanted to.

#### The Sudetenland

- Czechoslovakia's leader, Edvard Benes, was horrified by the Anschluss and asked for, and received promises from Britain and France that they would protect his country against Hitler
- Hitler was interested in Czechoslovakia as the Sudetenland region was largely populated by Germans
- Hitler encouraged nazi party in Sudetenland to stir up trouble and demand to join Germany

May 1938: Hitler claims it protect Sudeten Germans and threatens to invade Czechoslovakia is they didn't hand over the Sudetenland

#### The Munich Agreement, September 1938

- Britain and France betray Czechoslovakia, and gave in to hitler's demands without even consulting Czechoslovakia or the USSR
- decided that the whole of the Sudetenland would be given to Germany in exchange for a pledge of peace from Hitler
- Chamberlain and Hitler published a joint declaration, and Chamberlain claimed that the agreement would bring "peace for our time". (He was wrong)
- chamberlain was hailed as a hero and greeted by cheering crowds, but not all people though that the Munich agreement would stop Hitler

#### Invasion of Czechoslovakia, March 1939

German troops took over the rest of Czechoslovakia

- too much for chamberlain. Britain and France threatened to declare war on Germany if Hitler invaded Poland

#### The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, 1939

- HItler was worried that Stalin would oppose his invasion of Poland since Poland bordered the USSR
- if the USSR opposed the invasion, there was a possibility that Britain and France would also oppose it, and Germany would face a two-front war
- Stalin was concerned about Hitler but saw that Britain, France and the LON had done nothing to stop Hitler, and had not even consulted him about the Munich Agreement
- while negotiations between the USSR, Britain and France to form an alliance against Germany were ongoing, Stalin was meeting with Germany's foreign minister

#### 23 August 1939: Signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact

- both countries agreed not to attack each other
- privately, they agreed to divide Poland up between them
- in reality neither Hitler nor Stalin had faith in the agreement
  - Stalin was playing for time to get ready
  - Hitler got the guarantee to invade Poland

#### Invasion of Poland, 1 September 1939

#### 3 September 1939: Britain and France declare war on Germany. WWII in Europe begins.

Essay Question: Hitler's foreign policy was the main cause of World War 2. How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

#### <u>Intro</u>

Hitler's **foreign policy was the main cause of World War 2** (WW2). While the League of Nations's (LON) failure and the appeasement policy did contribute to the outbreak of WW2, they merely exacerbated, rather than caused, the original problem.

Hitler's **aggressive foreign policy** eventually led to the outbreak of WW2 when the Allies could no longer tolerate his continuous aggression.

Hitler's aims and beliefs were all <u>extremely nationalistic</u> in nature and included a <u>massive</u> <u>rearmament program</u> in direct defiance of the TOV with the <u>eventual abolishment of the</u> <u>Treaty</u> to <u>end reparations payments</u> and <u>reclaim lost territories</u>. To achieve these aims, Hitler first started <u>conscription and rearmament and walked out of the Disarmament Conference in 1933</u>, and <u>remilitarised the Rhineland in 1936</u>.

His desire to <u>seize lebensraum</u> for the German people and <u>build a "Greater Germany"</u> encompassing ethnic Germans in other territories led first to the <u>1938 Anschluss with Austria</u> and soon after, his demand for the Sudetenland, <u>Czechoslovakia and finally the invasion of</u> <u>Poland in 1939</u>, triggering the start of WW2.

Hitler's **aggressive foreign policy aims led directly to his aggressive actions** and finally the outbreak of WW2 when the **Allies could no longer tolerate his aggression**.

However, the League of Nations's (LON) **failure to function effectively** contributed to the outbreak of WW2 as it **assured Hitler that no one would be able to oppose him, emboldening him to continue his aggressive actions.** 

The LON was <u>unable to fulfil one of its main objectives of disarmament in the 1930s</u>, mainly due to differing interests among the major powers. Britain and France were <u>unwilling to disarm</u> as they focused on protecting themselves while the United States, the only country with sufficient influence, was <u>not in the LON</u>. This <u>infighting</u> among the Allies gave Hitler the impression that they were too distrustful of one another to oppose him effectively and emboldened him to take aggressive actions such as his <u>remilitarisation of the Rhineland</u>.

Further, the League's ineffectiveness in enforcing sanctions on Italy in response to the Abyssinian Crisis from 1934 -1936 further convinced Hitler that the LON had no appetite for force and as such would not be able to hinder Germany's expansion.

Hence, the LON's **failure to function cohesively and effectively** gave Hitler the **confidence to pursue increasingly aggressive policies** which eventually resulted in the outbreak of WW2.

Further **emboldening Hitler was the policy of appeasement** pursued by the Allies, which **facilitated Germany's war preparations** and gave him the impression that the **Allies did not want to oppose him**.

Rather than reacting strongly to his aggression, Britain and France <u>repeatedly negotiated</u> with Hitler and <u>offered him concessions</u>, starting with the <u>Anglo-German Naval Agreement of 1935</u> which <u>directly facilitated Germany's war preparations</u> by allowing Germany to build its navy up to 35% that of britain's, the first step towards Germany's rearmament.

The <u>1938 Munich Agreement</u>, in which Britain and France <u>yet again acceded to Hitler's</u> <u>demand of the Sudetenland</u>, <u>emboldened</u> Hitler so much that he <u>broke the agreement a year</u> <u>later and invaded Poland</u>, triggering WW2.

This <u>repeated lack of condemnation</u> of his actions led Hitler to believe that Britain and France were <u>so desperate to avoid war</u> that they would <u>let him get away with anything</u>, <u>increasing his</u> <u>confidence</u> and leading to <u>more daring and aggressive actions</u> as well as <u>increasingly</u> <u>outrageous demands</u>.

The Allies' policy of appeasement first gave Hitler the <u>opportunity to prepare for war</u>, and later <u>directly resulted in WW2 by encouraging his actions</u>.

#### **Conclusion**

In spite of this, Hitler's <u>aggressive foreign policy</u> was still the <u>underlying</u>, and <u>main</u> cause of World War 2. His aggressive aims, which could only be accomplished through military action, were the driving force behind the sequence of actions that he took while the League of Nations's weaknesses and the policy of appeasement merely encouraged him and brought forward the inevitable. Though exacerbated by other factors, Hitler's aggressive foreign policy was the key motivation behind his aggressive actions, which eventually led to WW2 when the Allies could no longer turn a blind eye to this aggression.

#### Essay Question: How did the Great Depression lead to world war 2?

#### 1. Rise of Authoritarian regimes

**Point:** Economic hardships and political instability in the wake of the Great Depression led to dissatisfaction with democratic governments and widespread embracement of extremist ideologies and authoritarian leaders, whose aggressively expansionist policies led to the outbreak of WW2.

The Great Depression in 1929 resulted in rising inflation, mass unemployment, poverty and widespread suffering. When faced with this, democratic governments were unable to respond quickly and effectively. As a result, many people became increasingly frustrated and lost hope in democracy.

During these times, strong decisive leaders such as Hitler and the militarists in Japan appeared. They criticised democracy for being ineffective, and their promises of solutions to political and economic challenges swayed the masses.

EG. Hitler capitalised on these fears, promised to rebuild the economy and national pride, and built up support for the Nazi Party, became chancellor.

However, these authoritarian governments pursued aggressive expansionist policies which

#### led to WW2.

EG. Hitler took a string of aggressive actions culminating in the invasion of Poland, triggering the start of WW2.

**Link:** The desperation caused by the Great Depression enabled the rise of aggressively expansionist authoritarian leaders, who pursued aggressive actions that led to the start of WW2.

#### 2. Economic hardships lead to desperation for colonies, land and resources. Desperation for self sufficiency -> territorial invasion -> WW2

**Point:** The economic hardships of the Great Depression drove nations to seek to secure their future, which they did through territorial expansion, causing tensions that eventually led to WW2.

The Great Depression led to widespread inflation, poverty and suffering, especially since demand for exports fell. In Japan, the demand for its silk exports fell, causing the economy to fall by 20 percent between 1929 and 1931, affecting the income of the people and the jobs of farmers and small business owners.

As such, many countries sought to protect their national interests by attaining self-sufficiency and reducing their dependence on foreign imports, as they saw how vulnerable they were to economic disruptions. Japan's militarist leaders believed that imperial expansion to Asia would provide access to the resources needed to sustain their economy, and this desire for resources was the key driver behind the invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and China in 1937, which started WW2 in the Asia-Pacific.

Hence, the Great Depression led many countries, especially those without colonies, to see territorial invasion and the annexing of resource-rich colonies as the only way to attain self sufficiency. These aggressive actions led directly to WW2.

- 3. Policy of appeasement because allies also wanted to avoid war due to their own economic hardship
- nationalism Britain, France and the US introduced tariffs to protect their own industries, trading volumes fell -> WAR WOULD BE EXPENSIVE.
- France had a million casualties in ww1, was still recovering

### Chapter 5: Outbreak of WW2 in Asia-Pacific (Essay only)

Key Developments	Evidence
Ineffectiveness of the League of Nations – pgs. 157 - 162	<ul> <li>The Mukden Incident and the invasion of Manchuria</li> <li>Japan wanted to control Manchuria, as it was both economically and strategically important to Japan.</li> </ul>

#### Content: Key Developments leading to the outbreak of WW2 in AP

Contributory factor - allowed japan to continue to pursue expansionist invasion policy without fear of consequences and deterrence	<ul> <li>China was going through political instability. Chiang Kai Shek, leader of the nationalist Guomindang (GMD) was facing many problems from the warlords did not accept his authority and were willing to work with the Japanese to get more power and independence.</li> <li>The Communist Party under Mao was also a serious threat to Chiang.</li> <li>This gave the Japanese an opportunity to expand its influence and annex Manchuria.</li> <li>In September 1931, an explosion along the Japanese-controlled railway near Mukden provided Japan with the pretext for a full-scale invasion of Manchuria.</li> <li>Japan blamed the Chinese government and launched an attack on Manchuria.</li> <li>The Japanese army set up a satellite state, Manchukuo, in Manchuria, under Japanese military control.</li> <li>With its bases in Manchuria, Japanese military began bombarding Shanghai.</li> <li>The civilian government in Tokyo was unable to control the military, signalling that they have military now has control over Japanese foreign policy.</li> <li>China refused to recognise this new puppet state and appealed to the League of Nations for help.</li> <li>The League of Nations set up the Lytton Commission to investigate and concluded that Japan was the aggressor and the League of Nations demanded Japanese withdrawal.</li> <li>Japan refused to abide by the Lytton Report and withdrew its membership from the League.</li> <li>Therefore, the inability of the League of Nations to enforce its decision on Japan and its subsequent non-action against Japan failed to stop the Japanese occupation of Manchuria.</li> <li>Hence Japan's act of aggression went unpunished and the lack of effective deterrent to check Japan emboldened it as the League proved to be powerless in the face of aggression.</li> <li>Moreover, it boosted the prestige of the Japanese Army and enabled it to pressurise the Japanese government to push for more expansion in Asia, making war inevitable.</li> </ul>
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Worsening US- Japan relationship pgs. 166 - 167 <i>Trigger/catalyst</i>	<ul> <li>Great Depression in 1930 led US to introduce tariffs to protect its own economy -&gt; made Japanese good more expensive in US, hurt Japan's export trade badly</li> <li>Japanese invasion of china (1937) was condemned by US, which provided financial and military aid to China, and imposed economic sanctions on Japan</li> <li>1937 invasion, a signal of Japan's aggressive intentions, worried the US -&gt; US announced series of financial and economic measures to halt Japan's expansion         <ul> <li>Initial sanctions were ineffective, Japan occupied French Indochina in 1940</li> <li>Embargo placed on raw materials such as steel and iron, Trading with the Enemy Act, Japanese assets in US seized, preventing it from buying essential goods.</li> <li>Measures cut off almost 90% of Japan's oil supplies, crippling its military.</li> <li>US demanded that Japan withdraw from China and promise not to threaten any US or allied territories</li> <li>Giving in to demands would mean that Japan could be bullied and intimidated by US - only other alternative was to go to war.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Aggression towards China from 1937 pgs. 163 Shows aggressive expansionist policies - main factor	<ul> <li>encouraged by success in Manchuria + instability caused by escalated conflict between CCP and KMT due to death of KMT founder Sun Yat-Sen (1925) -&gt; Japan sought to extend its power and influence</li> <li>Japanese strategy of getting its warlord allies to stir up trouble in a region then invite Japanese troops in to restore order -&gt; led to all out war</li> </ul>
Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere – pg. 168 Shows expansionist foreign policy - main reason	<ul> <li>launched in 1940, aimed at people in Asian Japanese colonies</li> <li>Goal of ridding SEA of the US's, and other Western Powers' influence</li> <li>Message that the people of Asia should unite behind Japan, which would lead the campaign to drive foreigners out of Asia and protect and rule the people of Asia fairly</li> <li>Was actually a program to provide Japan with the massive resources in Asia to prepare for war</li> </ul>
Great Depression – pg 156 Contributory factor - economic survival	<ul> <li>1929</li> <li>Japan's heavy reliance on foreign trade damaged its economy</li> <li>Unemployment and other effects increased pressure on civilian politicians</li> <li>Convinced ultranationalist politicians and military commanders that democracy was failing as it could not solve the people's problems</li> </ul>

Bombing of Pearl Harbour pg. 169 Example of aggressive foreign policy - main reason	<ul> <li>US tariffs which hurt Japan's export trade convinced ultranationalists that other countries could not be relied upon and Japan needed to be self-sufficient</li> <li>Japan decided to invade Southeast Asia because of its severe shortage of resources due to the USA's trade embargo, its refusal to abort its war in China and the fear of incurring the anger from the military faction if Japan decided to abort its war with China.</li> <li>However, the US Pacific Fleet based at Pearl Harbor posed a formidable deterrent and threat to a Japanese invasion of Southeast Asia, as it had the necessary air and sea power to check Japanese advance and defend Southeast Asia. Thus, Japan decided to remove this possible threat by attacking Pearl Harbor to destroy the US fleet.</li> <li>Japanese commanders felt that by weakening the USA, they would be able to invade other territories and get the resources they needed to match US power while the US recovers from the attack.</li> <li>On 7 Dec, Japan launched an attack on the American Naval Base at Pearl Harbour.</li> <li>Although the attack caused widespread damage, it was not successful as the Japanese attack failed to destroy the US repair shop, fuel tanks and other crucial naval installations. Most importantly, the US Pacific Fleet's three aircraft carriers were not destroyed.</li> </ul>
Link: aggressive foreign policy is because of the need for economic survival	in the Asia Pacific.
Economic problems -> expansion	
Worsening political status, US - Japan relations -> because of militarist culture, they resort to military action	

## Essay Question: 'The Japanese waged a war in the Asia-Pacific to ensure their own survival.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

#### **Economic survival**

The Japanese invaded the Asia Pacific in search of resources to ensure its own economic and military survival.

The Great Depression in 1930 led the United States to introduce tariffs on Japanese goods to protect its own economy, making Japanese exports more expensive and hurting Japan's export trade badly.

Further, after Japan's 1937 invasion of China, the US imposed a series of financial and economic measures designed to halt Japanese expansion. After initial sanctions were ineffective, an embargo was placed on raw materials such as oil, steel and iron, and under the Trading with the Enemy Act, Japanese assets in the US were seized, preventing it from buying essential goods. These measures cut off almost 90% of Japan's oil supplies, crippling its military.

Japanese ultranationalist leaders saw expansion into the Asia Pacific as the solution to their economic problems. Conquering Manchuria would ensure access to more fertile land and raw materials, while Japanese control over SEA would offer a constant supply of oil to fuel the Japanese war machine.

#### In Japan: overpopulation, lack of food.

Hence, Japan pursued an aggressive expansionist policy in the AP in order to capture resources necessary for it to become self-sufficient and not have to rely on any foreign powers.

#### Political and territorial survival

Japan waged war in the Asia Pacific to ensure its territorial and political survival.

The communist USSR's border with Japan's empire in Manchuria was a major cause of concern and was another reason why Japan wanted to control more territories in Asia - to hold back the USSR and to gain the resources it would need if it ever warred against the USSR.

Yet, even with the resources that had come with its conquest of Manchuria, Korea and other territories, Japan could not challenge the United States. To safeguard against threats to its territory and power, Japan signed the Tripartite Pact in 1940, making it an ally of Germany and Italy, an alliance that precipitated its entry into WW2.

The attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941 which kickstarted the war in the AP was also born out of Japan's need to protect its growing empire. The preemptive knockout blow against the US was meant to cripple the US Pacific fleet and thus prevent US military intervention, giving Japan time to build up the resources necessary to protect itself.

Hence, Japan waged war in the AP as it was essential to establish a strategic sphere of influence in Asia to safeguard its interests and create a buffer against potential threats.

#### <u>No</u>

#### Expansionist foreign policy of Japan

After the Meiji Restoration and successive military victories, Japan, as a quickly developing nation, wanted to be seen as equal to the Western Powers that had built empires.

A growing ultranationalist faction in the country believed that it was Japan's destiny to remove the Western Powers from Asia and rule over Asia. Such beliefs became extremely popular in Japan, especially after its victories over China and Russia, the conquest of Korea (1894) and the annexation of Manchuria.

These victories, as well as the pursuit of national prestige and a belief in the superiority of the Japanese race, fuelled Japanese ambitions to extend its power and influence in the region, which it did by waging war in China from 1933-1940. Japanese military leaders saw territorial conquest as a means to strengthen the nation's identity and elevate its standing on the world stage.

#### Bc of militarism- war was the knee jerk response to western imperialism

Hence, Japan waged war in the Asia Pacific in order to advance its standing on the world stage and establish its superiority over other nations.

#### Conclusion

Yet, while the military leaders made the decision to wage war motivated in part by their ideological goal of establishing a Japanese Empire, they too were cognisant of the challenges Japan faced to its survival. Ultimately, the timings of Japan's invasions (invasion of Manchuria a year after US tariffs, 2nd Sino-Japanese war two years after further US tariffs) point to the conclusion that the wars were waged mainly in response to threats to Japan's economic and territorial survival.

#### Essay: Why did war break out in the Asia Pacific?

### F1 (Main Factor): War broke out in the Asia Pacific because of the expansionist foreign policy of Japan

After the Meiji restoration and successive military victories over China and Russia in the first Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, Japan, as a quickly developing nation, wanted to be seen as equal to the western powers that had built empires. A growing ultranationalist faction in the country believed that it was Japan's destiny to remove the Western powers and rule over Asia.

Japan's 1931 conquest of Manchuria, as well as the pursuit of national prestige and a belief in the superiority of the Japanese race, fuelled Japanese ambitions to extend its power and influence in the region, which it did by waging war in China from 1933 to 1940, culminating in the Second Sino-Japanese War from 1937 to 1945.

Ultranationalist military leaders saw territorial conquest as a means to strengthen the nation's identity and elevate its standing on the world stage.

Hence, war broke out in the Asia Pacific as a result of Japan's desire to expand its territory and influence.

#### Japan's survival also fueled its expansionist ambitions. (See above)

## F2: War broke out in the Asia Pacific because of the ineffectiveness of the League of Nations.

When Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, China appealed to the League of Nations for international support. In spite of the League's Council calling on Japan to withdraw its troops and the 1932 Lytton Report determining that Japan had acted unlawfully, the Japanese refused to withdraw from China and instead announced in February 1933 that they intended to occupy more of China, rejected the Lytton Report and resigned from the League of Nations.

Without the support of the US and USSR, who were not members of the League, the league's economic sanctions were powerless. Britain also did not sanction Japan as it was more interested in maintaining a good relationship with Japan, and the League could not even ban arms sales to japan as member states could not agree. The League's failure to resolve this dispute and force Japan to back down demonstrated that the League was helpless in the face of aggressor nations, and encouraged Japan to further expand into China from 1933 to 1940.

The increased popularity of militarism in Japan as a result of national pride towards the Manchurian annexation fueled the further spread of expansionist ideas in Japan, and the belief that it could not be opposed successfully by the League emboldened Japan to continue pursuing its expansionist goals, resulting in the Second Sino Japanese War (1937-1945), and the outbreak of WW2 in the Asia Pacific.

### F3: War broke out in the Asia-Pacific as a result of the worsening relationship between Japan and the United States in the 1930s and 1940s.

After Japan's invasion of China in 1937, tensions rose between the US and Japan and the US imposed a series of financial and economic measures designed to halt Japan's expansion. After initial sanctions were ineffective, an embargo was placed on raw materials such as steel and iron, and Japanese assets in the US were seized, preventing it from buying essential goods. These measures cut off almost 90% of Japan's oil supplies, crippling its military. To the Japanese, this was unacceptable as it meant that Japan could be intimidated, and their only alternative was a war against the United States, but this was difficult as the US was an economic and military power.

As such, Japan launched a preemptive attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941 with the intention of inflicting damage that the US would take time to recover from, giving Japan sufficient time to prepare for war. However, the attack failed to cripple the United States, and the US declared war on Japan, triggering the outbreak of war in the Asia Pacific.

Hence, war broke out in the Asia Pacific as a result of the US-Japan tensions which drove Japan to attack the United States, kickstarting the war.

In conclusion, Japan's expansionist foreign policy was the main reason why war broke out in the Asia Pacific. It was Japan's expansionist actions that worsened US-Japan tensions and revealed the League's ineffectiveness, and thus Japan's expansionist foreign policy was the underlying reason behind the outbreak of war in the Asia Pacific.

### <u>Chapter 6: The End of WW2 in Europe and the Asia Pacific</u> (Essay only)

#### Essay: Reasons for Allied Victory

#### 1. Strengths of the Allies

#### a) Importance of the United States - economic and military might

Resources and industrial production power

- before the US entered the war, it supplied food, fuel and equipment to help the British war effort against Hitler through the Lend-Lease scheme in 1941
- US was able to turn Pearl Harbour bombing into a unifying call before pearl harbour, president roosevelt had faced much opposition to US involvement in the war, but after Pearl harbour no more opposition
- The US's vast resources were mobilised in a short time. People, factories, shipyards, farms and the movie industry joined in the war effort
- Within months, US started rebuilding its fleet and training troops, producing weapons and other essential equipment
- Between 1941 1945, US factories produced 250 000 aircraft, 90 000 tanks, 350 naval destroyers, 200 submarines and 5600 merchant ships
- From 1942 onwards, the US supplied the Allies with food, raw material, industrial equipment, weapons and ammunition, troops, ships and aircraft
- by 1944, the US was producing almost half of the weapons being made globally more than twice the production of Germany and japan combined
- US became known as the "arsenal of democracy"
- US also supplied money, weapons and other aid to the Guomindang in China and resistance movements in the Pacific (eg. Viet Minh) to resist the Japanese

#### Control of the Atlantic

Necessary to keep shipping routes to deliver supplies open.

- Canada joined the war in 1939 and sent troops, food and raw material across the Atlantic to Britain, and the US sent resources to Britain and the USSR through merchant ships with naval escorts to protect against German U-boats
- U-boats were very effective early in the Battle of the Atlantic, with Germany sinking over 1000 ships in 1940, 1300 in 1941 and 1661 ships in 1942
- in 1943, British intelligence broke the secret codes used by the u-boats and allowed allied convoys to avoid the u-boats, ensuring that Britain and the USSR had the resources to defend themselves against the axis powers.
- Sheer scale and speed of US industrial production US shipyards built 3 cargo ships in a day in 1943, at a faster rate than the U-boats could sink them.

- 2nd half of 1943: Allies sank 141 U-boats, and Germany called off the U-boat campaign in March 1944, allowing the Allies to gain control of the Atlantic

Island-Hopping Strategy in the Pacific

- Japanese had dug themselves into island strongholds
- Strategy: using air attacks and submarines to isolate Japanese-held areas instead of trying to capture them. Then conquer the poorly defended islands, and use them to further cut off shops that supplied the well defended islands.
- Managed to cut off some areas from their supplies of food, ammunition and other essentials
- allowed the Allies to incur fewer casualties and come within striking distance of Japan itself (would have taken longer if they had tried to conquer every Japanese stronghold)

#### Use of the Atomic Bomb

The turning point in the war. Led directly to Japan's surrender.

- Emperor Hirohito: "Should we continue to fight, it would not only result in an ultimate collapse and obliteration of the Japanese nations but also it would lead to the total extinction of human civilisation"
- 6 August 1945 "Little Boy" dropped on Hiroshima
- 9 August 1945 "Fat Man" dropped on Nagasaki

#### b) Importance of Britain

Britain's ability to resist the German invasion in 1940 - 1941

PM Churchill refused to make a deal with Germany

- British had excellent fighter aircraft like the Supermarine Spitfire and the Hawker Hurricane that were comparable to the Germans'
- Factories were able to keep producing to replace losses
- Had radar
- Because Britain survived, it could become a military base for troops from Canada, the Caribbean and US Made the D-Day landings of 1944 and the Allied bombing campaigns against Germany possible
- Britain's survival was a critical factor in the war against Japan
- Britain was able to keep on resisting Japan in the Asia-Pacific
- Japanese had to fight the armies and navies of Australia, New Zealand, and 120 000 African troops from British colonies alongside US troops
- British Empire included the immense manpower and resources of India
- India provided over 2.5 million men and women and 80% of its wealth to the war effort

#### c) Importance of the USSR

Reorganisation and Resistance after Operation Barbarossa

When the German advance was halted by the Russian winter in late 1941, Stalin took the opportunity to reform the Red Army completely, such as by developing effective new weapons, creating specialist tank armies and an Air Force, implementing radio communications while disrupting the Germans', instating harsh discipline and giving officers greater freedom to act. Stalin was also a leader who was able to inspire confidence and loyalty in his people. These allowed the Red Army to encircle the Germans in the 1943 Battle

of Stalingrad, raising the morale of the Soviets.

#### Resources and Production of the Soviet War Economy

The Soviets were also able to scale up industrial production by enacting harsh measures, requiring adults to contribute to the war effort to get food. As a result, the Soviets were able to produce vast quantities of reliable weapons, surpassing German production in 1942 and producing one and a half times as many aircraft and twice as many tanks as the Germans by 1943. When the Germans captured much of the USSR's agricultural and industrial capacity, the USSR was able to adapt by shifting its major industrial complexes to the Urals, Siberia and Kazakhstan, forcing 25 million workers to migrate east to contribute to the war effort.

Further, Britain and the US contributed vast amounts of food, raw materials and industrial equipment to the USSR, giving the Soviets an advantage that allowed them to win the Battle of Kursk in July 1943 and advance until they reached Berlin in May 1945, winning the war for the Allies.

#### Entry to the Asian-Pacific Theatre of War

As agreed at the Tehran Conference and Yalta Conference, the USSR entered the war against Japan on 8 August 1945, invading simultaneously on three fronts of Manchuria, defeating the Kwantung Army and occupying northern Korea, which contributed to Japan's decision to surrender to the Allies.

#### 2. Weaknesses of the Axis Powers

#### a) Germany's military weaknesses

#### Hitler's Mistakes

In their campaigns, the Germans made several critical errors, which were largely due to an inefficient command structure in which German commanders had to report back to Hitler, who regularly intervened in military decisions despite having little military command experience, resulting in him making several critical errors in judgement, including halting the advance of German troops towards Dunkirk in May 1940, allowing the British and French armies to escape destruction; committing hundreds of thousands of troops to the strategically unimportant Stalingrad that the Germans soon lost; and erroneously declaring war on the United States four days after Pearl Harbour despite having no obligation to do so, bringing the neutral United States into the European theatre of war.

#### The Two-Front War

In 1940, despite failing to defeat the British on one front, Hitler decided to invade the USSR in 1941, placing Germany in a two-front war that prevented him from concentrating resources on a single front, causing the German military to be gradually worn down by the Allied forces.

#### Poor Planning

Further, the Germans put too many resources into building giant battleships which were soon destroyed by the Allies while failing to build aircraft carriers, deployed ineffective small bombers that were unable to carry enough bombs, and neglected to invest in radar, fuel, ammunition and spare parts, affecting the Luftwaffe.

#### b) Japan's Military Weaknesses

#### Inter-Service Rivalry between the Army and Navy

Since the Meiji period, the Japanese army and navy were at odds, and this worsened in the 1930s as both had different strategic goals and ideas on seizing territories and sustaining Japan's economy. During the war, this conflict prevented both groups from sharing resources and exchanging military intelligence, such as in 1942 when the army refused to provide troop support for a naval invasion of Australia.

#### Overstretched Empire

The Japanese were unable to effectively leverage the empire they had expanded form 1931 to 1941 as it was very spread out, making rail and road communications poor and making it difficult for raw materials and workers to be delivered as they had to be delivered by sea.

#### Poor Planning

The Japanese also failed to recognise the importance of air power as compared to traditional battleships in naval warfare, which resulted in them failing to destroy US aircraft carriers in the attack on Pearl Harbour, allowing the US to recover from the attack quickly and wage war against Japan.

#### Lack of Local Support

Further, the Japanese were unable to capitalise on the manpower and resources of their empire as they had treated the people they conquered brutally, abusing locals and forcing thousands into slave labour. As such, the people resisted the Japanese in any way possible, forming resistance movements such as the Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army and the Viet Minh, using guerilla tactics to fight the Japanese.

#### 8 May 1945: Signing of the surrender agreement of the European theatre of war

#### 6 & 9 August: dropping of the atomic bombs

15 August 1945: Emperor Hirohito announces the Surrender of Japan

2 September 1945: surrender of Japan formally signed aboard the USS Missouri

# Chapter 7: Origins and Development of the Cold War in Europe, 1945 - 1955 (Source Based & Essay)

Essay: Explain why the Cold War started

The Cold War started because of the suspicion and mistrust that arose between the USA and the USSR as a result of their ideological differences.

#### Pick two examples:

#### Before WW2

Even before World War 2, the **competing ideologies** of communism and capitalism put the two superpowers **at odds** against each other, laying the **foundations** for their **relationship to worsen after the war.** 

Fearing the spread of communism, the <u>US intervened on the side of the anti-communists</u> (the Whites) in the <u>Russian Civil War (1917 - 1921)</u>. The communists, who eventually won the war and formed the new government, viewed the American intervention as <u>an attempt to</u> <u>undermine the survival of communism in Russia</u>. From the beginning of communist rule in Russia, the two superpowers' <u>opposing ideologies</u> brought them into <u>direct conflic</u>t with each other, sowing the <u>seeds of suspicion and mistrust</u>.

The <u>appeasement policy</u> pursued by Britain and France in the <u>1930s</u> further deepened this mistrust. The Allies <u>permitted Germany to expand into Eastern Europe</u>, partially in the hope that Germany would <u>act as a buffer against communism</u>. To the USSR, this <u>threatened its</u> <u>security</u> as it implied that Hitler <u>was free to take over Eastern Europe</u>, the Soviet sphere of influence. Stalin's <u>suspicion that the Allies were using Germany to oppose communism</u> triggered the USSR to sign the <u>Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact</u> with Germany in 1939, further raising the suspicion of the USA.

#### During WW2

The "<u>marriage of convenience</u>" between the two superpowers during <u>WWII (1939 - 1945)</u> further <u>aroused their suspicions</u> of each other, making the Cold War inevitable once they had achieved their common goal of defeating Germany.

This mistrust can be seen in the <u>delay in the opening of the second front in France</u> against the Germans during WW2, which <u>Stalin wanted in order to relieve the pressure of Germany's</u> <u>continuous attacks on Soviet troops</u>. Although the USSR and the USA were allies in WW2, the second front was <u>only opened in 1944 through Operation Overlord</u>, after <u>Germany had</u> <u>sufficiently weakened the USSR</u>. Stalin perceived the delay as <u>an attempt to weaken Soviet</u> <u>military power</u> by leaving the Soviet army to fight the Germans alone while the <u>Allies</u> <u>minimised their losses</u>. This <u>deepened his mistrust</u> of the US and Britain.

The US's suspicion of Stalin can be further seen in the US's choice to keep the Manhattan Project, which had started in 1941, a secret from Stalin until the Potsdam conference in July 1945. However, Stalin had already been aware of the project through soviet intelligence efforts, and the US's secretiveness further aroused Stalin's suspicions, raising tensions.

Moreover, the <u>US's development of the atomic bomb</u> during the war <u>alarmed Stalin</u>, intensifying the rivalry between the two superpowers and entering both into an <u>arms race</u> that led to the <u>USSR's development of an atomic bomb</u> by 1949.

#### <u>After WW2</u>

Driven by conflicting ideologies, suspicion and mistrust between the superpowers would

#### intensify after WWII, as competition for global influence increased.

#### Yalta Conference (Feb 1945)

At the <u>Yalta Conference (Feb 1945)</u>, the <u>USA supported self-determination</u> in Europe and sought to provide <u>economic aid</u> to support <u>post-war economic reconstruction</u> as a way to <u>expand its sphere of influence</u> and <u>secure trading markets</u> to ensure its <u>continued stability and</u> <u>prosperity</u>. In contrast, the <u>USSR sought to establish buffer states</u> in Eastern Europe that <u>remained friendly to the USSR</u> to <u>protect against a third invasion through Poland</u>. The <u>different plans</u> the Allied leaders had for post-war Europe put them in <u>direct conflict</u>, paving the way towards the Cold War.

<u>Stalin later reneged on their agreement</u> that free elections were to be held in <u>Poland</u>, <u>establishing a communist government</u> in Poland, leading Truman to <u>suspect that Stalin</u> wanted to dominate all of Europe.

#### Potsdam Conference (July - August 1945)

The Potsdam Conference <u>further deepened mistrust</u> as the Allies <u>left many issues unsettled</u>, which made both superpowers even more <u>determined to establish their sphere of influence</u> in Europe <u>before the other did</u>, paving the way for the Cold War. <u>Stalin wanted to extract</u> <u>massive war reparations</u> from Germany to <u>rebuild the soviet economy</u> and <u>negate Germany</u> <u>as a threat</u>, but <u>Truman</u> did not want to repeat the <u>Treaty of Versailles's mistakes</u>. <u>Stalin</u> <u>became suspicious</u> of Truman's desire to protect Germany, while Truman suspected that Stalin wanted to control all of Eastern Europe.

The <u>differing agendas and plans</u> each had for post-war Europe were exposed during the <u>post-war discussions</u> held after WWII, giving rise to suspicion and mistrust and causing <u>bitter</u> <u>disagreements</u> between both that would <u>pave the way for the start of the Cold War</u>.

#### The Truman Doctrine (March 1947)

In March 1947, Truman announced that the United States would provide money, military equipment and advice to democratic countries threatened by communist influences, which marked the beginning of the US's containment policy. When Stalin kept his promise to not help the communists during the Greek civil war while Truman exaggerated the threat of communism in Greece and turkey to gain support for the \$400 million in aid he supplied to Greece and turkey, securing turkey as an US ally, relations between the US and USSR further worsened. The Truman doctrine made it clear that the United States had abandoned its policy of isolationism in favour of actively resisting the spread of communism, and this angered Stalin, who was worried that US domination of Western Europe was the first step towards threatening the USSR's sphere of influence in Eastern Europe.

#### The Marshall Plan (June 1947)

Truman wanted to use the united states' mighty economic power to prevent the spread of communism, and he did this through the June 1947 Marshall Plan which provided \$13 billion in aid to democratic countries in Europe in the hope that a strong and prosperous Western Europe would create stable, democratic, capitalist governments, preventing countries from turning to communism out of desperation.

#### Cominform (September 1947)

- in response to Truman doctrine and Marshall plan

#### Comecon (January 1949)

#### The Atomic Bomb

Despite the US's secretiveness in keeping the news of the Atomic Bomb from Stalin until the Potsdam Conference in July 1945, Stalin had already been aware of the bomb through Soviet spies, and the USSR had begun development of its own atomic bomb. By 1949, both superpowers had atomic weapons. - *actually didn't make the cold war worse, but instead helped to end the Cold War as the nuclear arms race was expensive* 

#### The Berlin Blockade (1948 - 1949)

After the war, the 1944 Morgenthau Plan divided Germany into four zones of occupation with the intention of breaking up Germany and dismantling its industries to ensure that it was never strong enough to wage war again. However, with the increasing tensions between the US and USSR from 1945 onwards, Truman began to see Germany as a possible future ally against the USSR, and Britain and France also became eager to rebuild Germany to reduce the strain of occupying Germany on their economies. As such, in early 1948, Britain, France and the US combined their zones into a single economic unit, the trizone, which to Stalin appeared to be the US rebuilding his enemy.

June 1948 - Stalin carries out the Berlin blockade, cutting the rail and road links from the allied zones to West Berlin, believing that the allies would have to leave Berlin to prevent their people from suffering

The Berlin Airlift - ordered by Truman to counter the Berlin blockade

- For a year, the US and its allies supplied West Berlin with coal, food and medicine by air, and Stalin eventually gave up and lifted the blockade in May 1949.

With the creation of east and west Germany in may 1949 after the blockade, it became clear that Europe as a whole had also been divided into two camps, the Western Europe and the US versus the USSR and Eastern Europe. The Berlin Wall, which divided east and West Berlin, became a physical manifestation of the Cold War.

#### The Creation of NATO, 1949 (during the Berlin blockade)

- western powers met in Washington and agreed to work together, forming the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in April 1949
- all members agree to go to war if any member was attacked
- Soviets saw it as a threat, increasing suspicion and mistrust
- Stalin did not take any immediate action apart from condemning nato

#### The Warsaw Pact, 1955

1955: West Germany was invited to join NATO and was rearmed

- too much for the USSR (stalin had died in 1953)
- USSR saw it as a threat, and created the Warsaw Pact in response.
- All communist states in Eastern Europe except yogoslavia joined

The Warsaw pact strengthened the USSR, effectively giving it control of all the armies of its satellite states. Europe was now divided into two armed camps, and tensions rose. Bi-polarity had emerged

This underlying suspicion and mistrust between the USA and USSR led to competition, rivalry and tensions that escalated, leading to the Cold War.

#### The Cold War started as a result of the US's actions to contain communism

After WW2, the US regarded the <u>Soviet process of satellization</u> to be a <u>hostile</u> move as it <u>threatened democratic government</u>, and therefore shifted from its isolationist foreign policy to a <u>policy of containment</u>.

<u>Kennan's Long Telegram (February 1946) confirmed the US's suspicion</u> that the USSR was becoming <u>more aggressive</u> and had a <u>plan to dominate the world</u>. This provided the US with the impetus to abandon its isolationist policy in favour of a <u>containment policy</u>, which it pursued through the <u>Truman Doctrine (March 1947)</u> and the <u>Marshall Plan (June 1947)</u>.

The <u>Truman Doctrine</u> provided <u>economic and military aid of US\$400 million</u> to <u>anti-communist</u> <u>movements in Greece and Turkey</u>, demonstrating that <u>it would not remain neutral</u> and was <u>willing to act against Stalin</u>. The <u>Marshall Plan</u> saw the US provide <u>US\$13 billion in economic</u> <u>aid</u> to <u>reconstruct Europe's economies</u> in hope that a rich and prosperous Europe would create stable democratic, capitalist governments, preventing countries from turning to communism in desperation. Both of these actions by the USA <u>angered Stalin</u>, and he became <u>concerned that US domination of Western Europe</u> was the first step for the <u>US to threaten</u> <u>Soviet control of Eastern Europe</u>.

Hence, the USA's <u>containment policy</u> angered the USSR and <u>led it to take actions to defend</u> itself, increasing tensions and <u>leading to the Cold War</u>.

#### The Cold War started as a result of the USSR's actions to defend itself

Increasingly threatened by the rise of capitalism and the USA's aggressive containment policy after the war, the USSR took measures to protect itself.

Stalin <u>feared that encirclement by a capitalist Europe</u> would <u>threaten the security and survival</u> of the USSR, and therefore saw the <u>need to establish satellite states</u> as a <u>buffer against</u> <u>Western Europe</u> through <u>repressing anti-communist parties</u> and establishing <u>communist</u> <u>governments that were friendly to the USSR</u>. The US <u>perceived this as hostile</u> due to the <u>possibility of a future alliance of communist states against the USA</u>, and also <u>opposed the move on ideological grounds</u>.

Stalin's fears increased with the US's implementation of the <u>containment policy</u>, and he viewed the <u>Marshall Plan as "dollar imperialism</u>" to assert <u>US political influence</u> in Europe. In response, the USSR set up the <u>Communist Information Bureau</u> (Cominform), which published propaganda to unite all communist satellite states, and the <u>Council for Mutual Economic</u> <u>Assistance (Comecon)</u>, which promoted the idea of a single economic unit under Stalin. Both institutions served to <u>tighten Stalin's hold over his satellite states</u>, isolating them from any US political influence.

The US saw the <u>establishment of communist states</u> in Europe as an <u>aggressive move by the</u> <u>USSR to spread communism and expand its sphere of influence</u>, pushing the US to <u>toughen</u> <u>its stance against the USSR through the containment policy</u>. This <u>intensified tensions</u>, <u>leading</u> to the Cold War.

In conclusion, the main reason for the start of the Cold War was the conflicting ideologies that existed between the USA and USSR; it was the underlying reason that drove both superpowers to pursue plans that were in direct conflict with each other post-WW2. The suspicion and competition that arose between the two superpowers in the race to spread their own ideology led to the US's containment policy and the USSR's defensive measures, eventually resulting in the Cold War when tensions escalated.

#### Essay: "US actions were responsible for the start of the Cold War". HFDYA? EYA.

Yes, the USA's actions were responsible for the start of the Cold War as the USA had taken aggressive actions against the USSR since before WWII.

For instance, the USA intervened in the Russian civil war (1917 - 1921) on the side of the Whites (anti-communists). The communists, who eventually won the war, saw the American intervention as an attempt to undermine the survival of communism in Russia. This intervention by the USA was the first instance of direct conflict between the two superpowers, sowing the seeds for future suspicion and mistrust.

The USA further escalated tensions when they once again acted against communism by delaying the opening of the second front in France against Germany, which resulted in Soviet troops having to bear the full brunt of the Germans' continuous assaults. Stalin believed that the USA deliberately delayed Operation Overlord to 1944 in the hope that Germany would weaken Soviet military power while minimising Allied losses.

As a result of its fear of communism, the US took aggressive actions against the USSR before and during WWII, deepening the USSR's suspicion and mistrust, escalating tensions and leading to the Cold War when the USSR retaliated.

### The USA's adoption of the Containment Policy after the war also contributed to the outbreak of WWII.

Through the Truman Doctrine (March 1947) and the Marshall Plan (June 1947), the USA further acted against communism, angering the USSR.

The Truman Doctrine provided US\$400 million in aid to anti-communist movements in Greece and Turkey, a stark departure from the US's previously isolationist foreign policy that caused Stalin to fear for the security and survival of the USSR, forcing him to take defensive action.

The Marshall Plan saw the US provide US\$13 billion in economic aid to anti-communist European countries, a move that Stalin denounced as "dollar imperialism" and saw as an aggressive move to exert US political influence over Europe and eventually threaten Soviet control of Eastern Europe.

Hence, the US's aggressive actions to contain the USSR led the USSR to fear for its security and survival, leading it to take defensive measures that worsened relations and eventually led to the Cold War.

## However, the USSR's actions to defend itself also played a part in starting the Cold War as its actions were perceived as aggressive by the USA.

Stalin feared that encirclement by a capitalist Europe would threaten the security and survival of the USSR, and therefore saw the <u>need to establish satellite states</u> as a <u>buffer against</u> Western Europe through repressing anti-communist parties, establishing <u>communist</u> governments that were friendly to the USSR. The US perceived this as hostile due to the possibility of a future alliance of communist states against the USA, and also <u>opposed the move on ideological grounds</u>.

In response to the US's containment policy, the USSR set up the <u>Communist Information</u> <u>Bureau (Cominform)</u>, which published <u>propaganda to unite all communist satellite states</u>, and the <u>Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon)</u>, which <u>promoted the idea of a single</u> <u>economic unit under Stalin</u>. Both institutions served to <u>tighten Stalin's hold over his satellite</u> <u>states</u>, <u>isolating them from any US political influence</u>.

The US saw the <u>establishment of communist states</u> in Europe as an <u>aggressive move by the</u> <u>USSR to spread communism and expand its sphere of influence</u>, pushing the US to <u>toughen</u> <u>its stance against the USSR through the containment policy</u>. This <u>intensified tensions</u>, <u>leading</u> <u>to the Cold War</u>.

The USSR's reneging on the terms of the Yalta Conference was also responsible for the start of the Cold War as it severely deepened suspicion and mistrust, heightening tensions.

Despite agreeing to allow free and democratic elections in Poland during the Yalta Conference (February 1945), Stalin soon reneged on this by arresting anti-communist leaders, establishing a communist government in Poland. This deeply angered the USA, which firmly believed in self-determination and had argued fiercely during the Yalta Conference for democracy in Europe. Hence, the USSR's breaking of the Yalta Conference's terms, which was opposed by the US on ideological grounds, deepened suspicion and mistrust, leading to the Cold War.

#### Berlin Blockade, NATO, Warsaw Pact

### <u>Chapter 8: Case Study of the Korean War, 1950 - 1953</u> (Source Based & Essay)

- Korea was occupied by japan during WW2 -> After Japanese surrender, USA and USSR split Korea along 38th parallel at Potsdam conference. (Temporary arrangement till elections could be held to unify Korea)
- May 1948 elections held in South Korea, boycotted by north. Syngman Rhee elected as president of South Korea.
- USSR refused to allow elections in North, appointed Kim II Sung as President of North Korea

#### Content: Why was Korea divided after WW2?

- Korea had lost its independence in 1910 when it had been taken over by Japan and had remained as a Japanese colony until August 1945.
- When the Japanese surrendered after World War II, US and Soviet troops had moved respectively into the South and North of Korea, which was temporarily divided along the 38th parallel, for the purpose of dealing with Japanese troops.
- In December 1945, at the Council of Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow, both the USA and USSR agreed that a **provisional Korean government** should be formed, and, after a period of international supervision, would eventually be allowed to rule a fully independent Korea.
- However, this **Moscow Agreement soon broke down** because, as the Cold War began to develop in Europe, both the USA and USSR became <u>increasingly less willing</u> to cooperate.

Thus, as the Cold War developed, these American and Russian zones of occupation became, in practice, two separate states. These states would eventually become formalised in 1948.

- Although a <u>vast majority of Koreans opposed this division</u>, it would be **made more permanent in May 1948 when elections were held** in South Korea and <u>Syngman</u> <u>Rhee was elected the President of the Republic of Korea (ROK)</u>.
- The <u>recognition of this new state by the UN</u> would **spur the establishment of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in North Korea** under <u>Kim II Sung</u>, who was placed in power by the Soviets.
- The recognition of DPRK by the Soviet bloc would make the division of Korea a permanent one, with each side claiming to be the true representative of the Korean people.

#### Essay: Why did the Korean War break out?

1. The Korean War broke out because both Syngman Rhee and Kim II Sung desired the unification of Korea led by themselves, and were willing to resort to violence to achieve this aim.

After Korea was divided along the 38th parallel in the aftermath of World War II, both leaders wanted to unite Korea under their rule, and took aggressive steps to do so. Kim, seeking the USSR's support, made several trips to Moscow and succeeded in securing military and economic aid. Rhee, who turned to the USA, also obtained military and economic aid.

The conflicting ideologies of the South's capitalism and the North's communism also aroused much animosity between the two leaders, with the hostilities rising with border skirmishes initiated by Rhee in 1949 and continuing with large numbers of casualties until 1950. These only served to raise tensions, reducing the possibility of peaceful reunification and precipitating the outbreak of war.

Hence, the two leader's desire for unification led them to take aggressive steps against each

other that raised tensions and eventually resulted in the outbreak of the Korean War.

#### 2. Soviet support for North Korea's invasion

As the Soviets' strategic situation strengthened from 1949 - 1950, Stalin permitted Kim to attack the South in April 1950, directly leading to the start of the Korean War.

In August 1949, the USSR achieved atomic parity with the USA and in October 1949, the Chinese Communist Party in China won the civil war. These developments removed the US's leverage over the USSR and provided the Soviets with a strong ally through the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance. Combined with the omission of Korea in US Secretary of State Acheson's Defense Perimeter Speech in 1950, Stalin finally felt that he was able to support Korea without risking a direct conflict with the US.

Hence, Stalin sent Soviet advisors to train the NKPA and additional resources such as tanks and fighter planes were provided to North Korea, increasing the advantage of the North Koreans. Stalin also approached Mao to ensure that North Korea had China's support.

With the approval of his communist supporters, Kim would lead 90 000 North Korean forces across the 38th parallel on 25 June 1950, sparking the Korean War.

Hence, Stalin's military support for North Korea and his eventual approval of the invasion of South Korea directly enabled Kim to launch his invasion successfully, kickstarting the Korean War.

#### 3. Military and Strategic imbalance between North and South Korea.

The frequent border skirmishes initiated by Rhee in 1949 also exposed the lacklustre capabilities of the South Korean army in comparison to the much better supplied North Korean army, which received experienced men and weapons from the Chinese and Soviets while US support for the South was limited and its army was ill-prepared and under-equipped.

In contrast to the strong soviet support for North Korea, the United States thought that Rhee was rash and they believed that there was a possibility of Rhee getting the US involved in another war. As such, the US provided only economic aid and limited military aid to rhee, equipping the South Korean army with only light weapons that were insufficient against the better equipped North Koreans.

As such, by 1950, North Korean troops were well-equipped, numbering 200 000 in contrast to the South's poorly-equipped 98 000. These experiences raised Kim's confidence in a Communist victory, and played a part in Stalin's eventual support for a full scale war in 1950.

#### Content: Reasons for involvement of external powers in the Korean War.

The United States: Why did Truman lead the United Nations to intervene in the Korean War?

#### **Containment**

- The US intervened **because of the Cold War rivalry with SU.** It was <u>convinced that</u> <u>the North Koreans had been influenced by the SU to launch an attack against SK.</u> Truman saw the NK invasion as part of <u>SU's masterplan to extend global communist</u> <u>influence</u>. He was worried that if SK fell to the communists, <u>other Asian countries</u> <u>would follow suit</u>. Should this happen, it would <u>affect USA's economic interests</u> in the Asia-Pacific. Hence, he saw American involvement in the war as <u>necessary to ensure</u> <u>the success of global containment</u>. This justified the militarisation of American policy in East Asia.
- The signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance in Feb 1950 between China and the SU. This Treaty provided evidence of rising communist influence in the Asia Pacific. Prompted the National Security Council to prepare a top-secret report (NSC-68) in April 1950, to assess the uncertain political climate in the Asia Pacific. Report proposed an increase in American military capability to preserve the democracy of the West and contain communism. It also predicted a growth of nuclear capability in the SU which could then be used to launch an attack on the USA. This report would influence American containment policy in Korea.
- North Korean invasion of South Korea (25 June 1950) seemed to <u>confirm the</u> analysis of the NSC-68 report. Truman saw North Korea as a puppet of Soviet global expansionism. He saw the war as not only about the 2 Koreas but about USA's prestige and credibility in the global containment of Soviet communism. Kim's invasion was the first real test of the USA's resolve when confronted by Russian aggression. Truman feared that <u>if South Korea fell to the communists</u>, Japan and other Asian countries would be next in line. (Domino Theory)

#### Commitment to principles of self determination, sovereignty and collective security

- The invasion of SK was a direct violation of SK's sovereignty and went against the terms of the UN Charter so the USA believed that UN had to take a firm stand on Korea or risk losing its credibility as an organisation which protected international security. Accordingly, the USA rapidly mobilised the UN to condemn the NK aggression and pass resolutions to take action to support SK. On 27 June, with the support of the UN, Truman initiated policy action to send American and UN forces to resist the invasion of SK.
- Truman's personal commitment to the UN and the principle of collective security also prompted the sharp US response to the invasion. US deployment of its 7th Fleet to patrol the Taiwan Strait after the North Korean invasion with orders to prevent Chinese military activity there would have a huge impact on Beijing as Mao saw the deployment as an initial step towards expanding conflict in Korea. Truman also convinced the US Congress to raise defence spending and mobilise the NATO deterrent in Europe.

#### Reassessment of the strategic importance of Korea

- SU's successful detonation of its first atomic bomb in August 1949 rendered <u>American use of atomic diplomacy irrelevant</u>. Heightened fear of the <u>possibility of a</u> <u>nuclear war</u>. Caused the USA to **reassess the strategic importance of Korea** in the Cold War.
- The triumph of Communism in China (October 1949) and the establishment of the People's Republic of China under Mao Zedong made the <u>communist bloc in</u> East Asia a more prominent threat to the USA and South Korea. Americans <u>criticised</u>

<u>Truman and Secretary of State (Dean Acheson) for the "loss" of China to Communism</u>. The event had signalled a <u>shift in the balance of power in the Cold War</u> in favour of the Communists in the Asia Pacific. This **added pressure on the American government to do more to prevent the spread of Communism**.

Within hours of the invasion, <u>the USA rapidly mobilised the UN to condemn the North Korean</u> <u>aggression and pass resolutions to take action to support South Korea</u>. The UN Security Council passed two resolutions. It called for **immediate cessation of hostilities** and the **withdrawal of North Korean troops** and another resolution supporting **military effort under US leadership to repel North Korean aggression**.

#### The USSR

- Successful detonation of the atomic bomb by the SU in Aug 1949 created atomic parity with the USA which meant that the US <u>could no longer use atomic diplomacy</u> with the SU as an effective threat. SU was more inclined to provide support to a NK invasion without such a threat.
- China and the SU signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance which meant both would come to each other's aid if either was attacked, and that Mao would come to NK's aid if needed. For the SU, this was a significant development as <u>SU's direct intervention and involvement in the KW could be avoided</u>, which made SU more willing to support Kim's ambitions to invade SK.
- Stalin gave his approval for Kim to invade SK as he did not anticipate American intervention. The announcement of the <u>exclusion of Korea from the American</u> <u>Defence Perimeter</u> led Stalin to believe this.
- Kim had also **convinced him that the NK army could easily and swiftly conquer SK**. Kim's plans offered Stalin a chance to <u>strengthen Soviet presence in the</u> <u>Asia-Pacific</u>. Stalin was concerned over the US- Japan alliance and saw Korea as an effective counter way to <u>counter American influence in the region</u>.

#### China

- In addition to the Sino-Soviet alliance, China recognised the need to reciprocate if NK needed support in the war due to their close proximity, as well as historical and cultural ties. Korean Communist guerrillas had provided support to the Chinese communists and fought with the People's Liberation Army during the Chinese Civil War.
- China perceived the USA as an imperialist power which planned to occupy the Korean Peninsula and possibly extend the war beyond Korea into China. It saw American intervention in the Korean War as an attempt by the US to overthrow NK and commit "criminal acts" against a sovereign country. China believed American intervention might reverse the NK invasion and unify the Korean Peninsula under Syngman Rhee's regime. This would <u>undermine communist influence in the Asia-Pacific and the survival of China's communist ally. NK.</u>
- MacArthur's refusal to halt the advance of American troops towards the Yalu River would enlarge the Korean War as it led to China intervening in the war by mid-Oct 1950. American military presence so close to China's borders posed a

security threat to China as it directly threatened China's sovereignty. Chinese Premier Zhou En Lai had warned that if American forces crossed the 38th parallel, it would intervene in the war to defend its border with Korea. China feared America would enter China to overthrow the Chinese Communist Party and bring the Kuomintang back into power. Stalin's reassurance to Mao that the USSR would even provide aircraft in support of China's intervention would further motivate the Chinese to intervene in the Korean War, thereby intensifying the conflict.

#### Essay: Was the Korean War a Civil War or a Proxy War?

#### started as a civil war as both NK & SK leaders wanted reunification

- Was started for reunification an internal issue
- Both superpowers withdrew from Korea

The Korean War broke out in 1950 as a result of the tensions between two opposing factions, led by Kim II Sung and syngman Rhee, both of whom desired the reunification of Korea under their own control.

In 1947, NK requested for Soviet and US forces to be withdrawn from Korea, which was accomplished by 1949. The withdrawal gave the impression that both superpowers had no intentions to involve themselves in Korean internal affairs.

Further, the initial military skirmishes were initiated by SK and repelled by NK forces only without the involvement of any Soviet or US troops. Soviets only supported NK indirectly through weaponry, while US did the same but much more reluctantly. Stalin too was initially reluctant to support Kim as he did not want a military confrontation with the US.

Therefore, Korean War was a civil war as it started out as a war fought between the two factions within the same country with the purpose of attaining internal political control, and both factions were directly involved in the conflict with no direct involvement from other countries.

#### later: USA got involved - proxy war

The Korean War developed into a proxy war with the american entry into the war in 1950 after the invasion of SK by NK.

Truman believed that the invasion was influenced by Stalin to spread communism in Asia, and his belief in the domino theory caused him to believe that american involvement was essential, leading him to mobilise the UN and send american troops to fight in the war alongside the UN's joint force.

Now, the war was no longer merely a fight for political control within the Korean Peninsula; the USA had a vested interest in the war because of the underlying ideological differences with the USSR, another superpower and the Korean War became a fight between western capitalism and eastern communism. The US's motivations of containing the spread of communism led it to train and provide military aid to the SK forces, preventing the defeat of SK forces and thus prolonging the war.

US intervention also influenced the war when MacArthur refused to halt American advance

towards the Yalu River, allowing china, another superpower with ulterior motives, to enter the war. The entry of china also intensified the war

hence, the Korean War was a proxy war as the superpower, the USA, had a vested interest in the outcome of the war and provided military aid to the SOuth Koreans in order to achieve their own goals, affecting the outcome of the war significantly.

#### Later: china got involved- proxy war

When china entered the war when MacArthur crossed the Yalu river in late 1950, the war became a direct conflict between two superpowers in neither of their own territories. Each had their own motivations, and chinas was to support the USSR in spreading communism. After the CCP won the chinese civil war, they established a Sino-soviet alliance which obligated them to help NK. They did not want Korea to be unified under syngman Rhee's rule, which would undermine communist influence in the Asia pacific and the survival of china's communist ally, NK. Interfered in the war because of their own interests -> proxy war.

## it was the decisions made by the USA and SU at the Potsdam conference in jul-Aug 1945 that divided Korea and set the stage for the Korean War.

As korea was a Japanese colony during WW2, the US and SU took control of Korea after japan's surrender, dividing Korea along the 38th parallel. It was also the us and Su that decided at the council of foreign ministers' conference in Moscow in December 1945 that a provisional Korean government should be formed, with independence granted after a period of initial supervision. However as the Cold War developed in Europe, the USA and USSR were less willing to cooperate, resulting in the American and Russian zones of occupation evolving into two separate states, a state of affairs for formalised in 1948.

It was also the UN, with the support of the USA that saw Rhee elated as president of SK, and the USSR that installed Kim as the president of NK in 1948.

Hence, the Korean War was a proxy war as the actions of the two superpowers in dividing Korea led to both desiring unification, leading to the start of the Korean War.

#### armistice talks mostly controlled by superpowers -> proxy war

When both side reached a stalemate in April 1951, both Kim and Rhee wanted to fight, but their own desires meant nothing to the superpowers who pursued their own agendas. The USSR, CHIna and the USA wanted to discuss peace, and conducted negotiations amongst themselves. The superpowers made all the decisions and played the critical roles in bring and end to the Korean War -> proxy war

although Kim and Rhee wanted to fight, the UN refused to support rhee's plans to completely unify Korea, and Eisenhower, president of US, persuaded Rhee to accept armistice and end the war.

Kim also had no choice but to accept peace though he wanted to fight as the NK army was

dependent on the SU and CHina for weapons and troops, without which they could not continue fighting.

hence, since the end of the war was brought about entirely by the decisions of the superpowers and the factional leaders were forced into agreement, the Korean War was in reality a war fought between and decided by the superpowers, whose interests too priority over the North and south Koreans'.

#### Content: Impact of the Korean War on North and South Korea.

#### 1. devastation for the country no its people

- around 3 to 4 million casualties with 1.4 million killed overall
- cities, towns and villages were flattened
- hundreds of thousands of people were forced to become refugees
- north Korea was devastated by US bombing raids

#### 2. economy shattered

- bombing and fighting destroyed infrastructure
  - factories and industries destroyed
    - 70% of the textile industry
    - 70% of the chemical industry
    - 51% of the mining industry

#### 3. Prisoners of war

- around 100 000 NK POWs and 90 000 SK POWs
- while some North Korean POWs chose to return to SK, they were treated with fear and suspicion for fear that they had been brainwashed by the enemy and would act against their home country (and vice versa for SK POWs)

#### the creation of the demilitarised zone (DMZ)

- Both sides agreed to move their troops about 2 km from the border
- separated families for decades, without hope of a reunion as NK does not allow people to defect to SK

#### Essay: How did the Korean War impact the development of the Cold War?

- 1. expansion of Cold War beyond europe
- first case of a proxy war in the Cold War.
- 2. Intensified American involvement in the Asia-pacific
- Impact on US foreign policy in the AP
- Hardened US resolve to pursue its policy of containment in Asia
  - > US set up a network of alliances around the world
    - Central Treaty Organisation (CENTO) Central Asia and middle east
      - Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO)

- USA, Britain, France, NZ, Australia, Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan
- to prevent spread of communism in Asia pacific
- by holding joint military exercises annually
- build strong economic foundations and improve living standards in SEA
- South Korea, japan and Taiwan became central to US foreign policy in Asia stationed significant troops, ships and air power in SK and japan
- Increased military spending
  - > US doubled military size from 1950 to 1951 (US allies in Europe too)
  - NATO military spending increased from 5.5% of GDP to 12% by the time KW ended
  - $\succ$  NATO had 15 army divisions in west Germany by the end of the war

therefore, increased American involvement in the Asia pacific alarmed the USSR the US's actions appeared aggressive, causing the USSR to in turn form alliances to defend itself, escalating tensions - the Warsaw pact, 1955 - to counter anti communist alliance

#### 3. Escalation of military tensions between western and communist bloc in Europe.

- Korean War was the first time the Cold War was fought as a proxy war outside europe
- After KW, superpowers frequently became involved in local conflicts and gave military and economic aid to the side that they supported
- Saw the Cold War spread across the world
  - Vietnam war
  - Cuban missile crisis
  - soviet-afghan war

### Chapter 9: Case Study of the Vietnam War, 1954 - 1975

- Key developments in North and South Vietnam in the 1950s
  - Partition of Vietnam in 1954, consolidation of communist control in North Vietnam and instability in South Vietnam
    - Discontentment over the Geneva Accords
    - Failure to carry out national elections in 1956
    - Unpopularity of Ngo Dinh Diem's actions and the support from the North for the insurgency in the South
- Escalation of tensions between North and South Vietnam from 1954
  - Role of key players in the conflict: North Vietnam, South Vietnam, USA, USSR and China
- The end of the Vietnam War and the immediate aftermath
  - Reunification of Vietnam, beginning of détente

#### Background; First Indochina War, 1946 - 1954

#### After ww2, tussle for control of Vietnam

- French returned, wanted to make Vietnam their colony again
- Viet Minh group that fought against japan in ww2, led by Ho Chi Minh
  - consisted of both non-communists and communists during the war -> after the war, communist arm fighting against French and for North Vietnam became the <u>Viet Cong</u>
  - funded by US, USSR, and guomindang gov in china during ww2 as they fought against jap
  - declared Vietnam independent from the French. Especially after they fought the Japanese for Vietnam's freedom, they were unwilling to return Vietnam to the French -> led to start of the first Indochina war

<ul> <li>Viet Minh         <ul> <li>Used strategies that they had perfected while fighting the Japanese - guerilla tactics, underground tunnels</li> <li>had the support of the CCP                 <ul> <li>supplied them with advisors, training and resources like food, medical supplies and soviet-made weapons</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul> <li>French         <ul> <li>Fought using conventional warfare</li> <li>had the support of the US, which was fearful of the spread of communist ideas in Southeast Asia</li></ul></li></ul>
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- by 1951: French and Viet Minh forces were at a stalemate
- by 1954: two separate states emerged

#### War ended: battle of Dien Bien Phu, 1954

- At dien bien Phu, Viet Minh cut off supplies to the French base. Without medicine, ammunition or food, the French were defeated -> French public lost interest in retaining Vietnam as a colony as losses outweighed benefits (turning point in first Indochina war)

#### The Geneva Conference, 1954 - the division of Vietnam

### Between France, Viet Minh, US, USSR, China and

Britain.

• Viet Minh demanded the withdrawal of French forces from Vietnam and the recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

#### Final decision:

- Vietnam divided into 2 along 17th parallel
- communist north Vietnam under Ho Chi Minh
- non-communist south Vietnam under Ngo Dinh Diem
- <u>elections to be held by 1956</u> to establish a single government ruling a unified Vietnam (elections were cancelled by diem)

<u>impact:</u>

- Brought peace, but not stability
- viet Minh disbanded (later replaced by viet cong)

- french forces withdrew from Vietnam
- Both north and south Vietnam hoped for a single unified Vietnam under their own rules -> relations continued to be tense, nationalism rose

<u>North Vietnam (Communist, led by Ho Chi</u>	<u>South Vietnam (Non-communist, led by</u>
<u>Minh)</u>	<u>Ngo Dinh Diem)</u>
<ul> <li>Ho Chi Minh had the support of the people</li> <li>Was seen as a great leader, a hero who had fought the Japanese and French</li> <li>introduced land reforms <ul> <li>land taken from larger landowners and distributed amongst the peasants. Placed many landlords on show trials</li> <li>led to decline in agriculture, which, coupled with decline in imported foodstuffs, led to famine.</li> <li>Landlords had the expertise - many were killed.</li> <li>Everyone had land, but plots were smaller -&gt; less productive</li> </ul> </li> <li>Regime was harsh and stable <ul> <li>combination of harsh treatment and popular support -&gt; regime was stable</li> </ul> </li> <li>Establishment of the Ho Chi Minh Trail 1959- North Vietnam invaded Laos, establishing the trail to supply and reinforce the viet cong.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Did not have the support of the people</li> <li>Did not carry out land reforms as he wanted the support of the landlords</li> <li>practiced nepotism, appointing family members to key government positions</li> <li>refused to hold local council elections</li> <li>Rigged referendum in 1955 - Diem cancelled previously agreed Vietnam-wide elections, and in October, he held a referendum to remove former Emperor Bao Dai as the head of state, installing himself as president.</li> <li>Results showed that 98% of voters approved, but the results were rigged. In some areas, the number of voters approving diem outnumbered the number of registered voters.</li> <li>introduced Catholicism as a state religion in a Buddhist-dominant country -&gt; protests by Buddhist monks, self immolation <ul> <li>galvanised the people against diem's government</li> </ul> </li> <li>All his actions made the regime very unpopular, causing him to lose the support of the people and leading to protests and an insurgency</li> <li>The Viet Cong Insurgency in South Vietnam</li> <li>1959: Communist gov authorised armed struggle against diem's regime. Ho encouraged armed groups to join together in a collective resistance to overthrow Diem's gov and unify</li> </ul>

#### Content: Life under North and South Vietnam

<ul> <li>Vietnam</li> <li>1960: National Liberation Front (NFL) established in the south. Represented the interest of religious, political, ethnic minority and communist supporter groups <ul> <li>recruited peasants in the south to join guerilla forces, provide information&gt; undermined Diem's control of the countryside</li> </ul> </li> <li>1961: People's Liberation Army Forces (PLAF) (Viet Cong), the military arm of NLF formed to coordinate insurgency in south <ul> <li>received reinforcements from the north through the Ho Chi Minh Trail</li> <li>engaged in guerilla warfare and attacked American Air Force to undermine support for diem's regime</li> </ul> </li> <li>Viet Cong carried out assassinations, killing police officers, judges, gov administrators - anyone suspected of collaborating with the gov.</li> <li>Between 1957 - 1960 - carried out 1700 asssassinations</li> </ul>
Reactions by south Vietnamese government
<ul> <li>Strategic Hamlet Programme         <ul> <li>Relocated peasants by force to fortified villages, breaking away villagers' connections to Viet Cong</li> <li>also helped transform the countryside, part of Diem's modernisation plan</li> <li>Allowed US Air Force and South Vietnamese forces to bomb the countryside to destroy Vietcong without hurting civilians</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

### PROXY WAR: Reasons for the involvement of the USA, USSR and China

<u>China</u>

- 1. Wanted to create an anti-US buffer
- was afraid that if Vietnam became non-communist and fell under US influence, China would be vulnerable to an attack from Vietnam, Taiwan and South Korea
- 2. Wanted to support the spread of communism, establish itself as a leader of the communist world
- Fight between china and USSR for leadership of the communist world
- 3. To unite the Chinese people behind his leadership
- When Mao got involved in Korea, the support and loyalty from the people increased. Was hoping for the same from Vietnam.

#### <u>USSR</u>

Was at first not involved in the conflict because of the Sino-Soviet split, where the two powers were less keen to cooperate.

Changed mind in 1960s, due to fight between china and ussr for the leadership of the communist world

 support for a communist country and standing up to the US was a way to assert its leadership

#### Support for North Vietnam:

- arms and other supplies, eg aircraft, and air defence surface to air missiles.
- Ussr slowly replaced china as the main supplier of weapons to north vietnam

#### <u>USA</u>

- 1. To contain communism Domino Theory
- US was convinced that ussr and china wanted to spread communism to Asia
- afraid that if Vietnam fell, other countries in SEA would also fall under communism
- therefore, US was willing to support any anti-communist government, even corrupt ones like Diem's.
- 2. Tension between US and Communist bloc
- china detonated its first atomic bomb
- leader of USSR, Brezhnev, did not favour peaceful co-existence with the west -> increased tensions between us and communist bloc, motivated president Johnson to look for an opportunity to legally launch an armed attack against north vietnam
- 3. Political instability in south vietnam
- Diem was assassinated in November 1963, leaving a power vacuum.
- No strong leader to replace him -> would easily fall to communists

#### 4. Gulf of Tonkin Incident, 1964 (turning point)

- 2 Aug: USS Maddox is attacked by 3 torpedo boats while carrying out surveillance around north vietnam
- 4 Aug: imaginary 'incident', never actually happened. Bc of miscommunications and deliberate exaggeration by the US to find a legitimate reason to get involved

#### • Gulf of Tonkin Resolution

- US congress gave President Johnson the power to take all necessary measures to prevent future aggression and achieve peace and security.
- Gave president Johnson authority to increase military presence, without a declaration

of war

- Led to direct military involvement in Vietnam
- US, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, South Korea contributed soldiers to the war.

#### US assistance in the war

#### November 1963 - assassination of Ngo Dinh Diem with the knowledge of the US

#### Johnson's escalation, 1963-1969

- Under John f. Kennedy, US involvement increased from 1000 military advisors in 1959 to 23000 by 1964.
- john f Kennedy was assassinated in November 1963, replaced by Lyndon Johnson in 1963.
- Gulf of Tonkin incident was handled by Johnson
- After gulf of Tonkin incident, johnson ordered the deployment of combat units and dramatically increased American troops to 184,000
  - US and south Vietnamese forces relied on air supremacy and overwhelming firepower to conduct search and destroy operations
  - The US conducted a strategic bombing campaign against north Vietnam, spraying over 20 million gallons of toxic herbicides, as well as napalm and agent orange, leading to long term health problems for civilians.
- Tet Offensive, January 1968
- Over 100 cities attacked by over 85000 viet cong troops, including assaults on military installations, headquarter, and government buildings, including the US embassy in Saigon
  - Caught the US by surprise, was an intelligence failure. Shocked by the scale, intensity, deliberative planning as infiltration of personnel and weapons into the cities was accomplished covertly
- cities were recaptured in a week; was a tactical defeat for north Vietnam but a strategic victory, as it caused US domestic support to fade

#### Essay: Explain why the US retreated from Vietnam

The US retreated from Vietnam mainly due to the Tet Offensive conducted by North Vietnam in 1968, which shattered the myth of American superiority in the Vietnam War. The American media and public turned against the US war effort in Vietnam, influencing US politicians in their decision to retreat from Vietnam.

The very fact that the Tet offensive came as a surprise to the US was a major blow, especially after the heavy investment of 500 000 troops and \$20 billion a year on the war.

Although the Tet offensive ended up weakening the Viet Cong and was a victory for the US, the initial success of the attack caused the US politicians and the public to begin questioning the viability of prolonged US involvement and investment in the war.

Further turning public opinion in favour of withdrawal was the media's increasing criticism of the war as a result of the Tet Offensive. When the media, which had initially supported the war effort, turned against the government, public opinion swung heavily in favour of withdrawal. Sensing the tide of public opinion, all main candidates in the 1968 US Presidential election argued for an end to the war. When Richard Nixon was elected, he, together with US National Security advisor Henry Kissinger, began the process of retreating from Vietnam.

## Further contributing to the US retreat from Vietnam was the low morale amongst US troops in Vietnam, which had existed even before the Tet Offensive was launched.

Following the introduction of conscription in the US, most of the soldiers sent to Vietnam were young, inexperienced and did not understand why they were sent to a country far away to fight for people they knew nothing about.

Even more demoralising was the stalemate US forces found themselves stuck in despite their superior firepower. As the war dragged on, with a clear victory eluding the US, morale dropped. When the media and public opinion turned against the US in the aftermath of the Tet Offensive, the soldiers had lost the support of their own countrymen.

Without any sense of purpose or motivation to fight, US troops suffered heavily against the battle-hardened, effective and ideologically driven communists of North Vietnam, eventually forcing the US to retreat.

Additionally, both the South Vietnamese government, and later the US troops did not command the support of the south Vietnamese people, resulting in the US retreat from Vietnam.

From the very beginning, Diem's authoritarian regime in south Vietnam was deeply unpopular as a result of dictatorial decisions such as the 1955 cancellation of the Vietnam-wide elections agreed to at the Geneva Conference, the rampant corruption and nepotism Diem engaged in, and the declaration of Catholicism as the state religion in a Buddhist-majority country. Throughout his tenure, protests against the regime led by influential Buddhist monks were widespread.

The tactics employed by the US against the communists brought further suffering to the people, such as in the 1965 Operation Rolling Thunder in which Vietnamese cities, factories and army bases were bombed, resulting in thousands of civilian casualties.

Frequent "Search and Destroy" missions to hunt down Viet Cong forces also caused massive casualties, and the use of defoliants and napalm as weapons led to long term health problems for civilians.

To already dissatisfied civilians, the US's actions, purported to 'save' them, appeared in the short term to instead harm civilians, causing them much suffering. Hence, support of Diem and the US was low and steadily decreased over the course of the war, contributing to insurgencies, lowering US morale and eventually rendering the situation in Vietnam untenable for the US, resulting in their retreat.

#### Essay: Why did the North Vietnamese win the war?

- 1. The North Vietnamese won the war as they commanded the support of civilians
- Ho's personal popularity was seen as a great leader, a hero who had fought the Japanese
  - land reforms- distributed land to peasants won support
- viet cong was expected to respect and help the civilians, in contrast to US and SK who relocated them forcefully (strategic hamlet programme), bombed them and sprayed defoliants, agent orange that caused long term health issues
- also prepared to kill dissenters 27 000 civilians killed between 1966 1971

therefore, NK's combination of harsh treatment and popular support meant that the regime was stable and able to focus on the war

#### 2. Morale of the soldiers was strong

- viet cong were hardened, experienced fighters who had fought the Japanese in contrast to young, inexperienced US troops
- had fought very hard to remove Japanese and French, were not about to give country up to the US
- Because of their strong determination and resilience, even when 1 million viet cong soldiers had died, they refused to give up without achieving their goal of the complete withdrawal of American forces and the of Vietnam under communists

#### 3. North Vietnamese use of guerilla warfare.

- Tried and tested methods used in ww2, contrast to conventional warfare used by US
- lack of superior weapons so they avoided large scale warfare and instead attacked in small groups with sneak attacks
- viet cong soldiers did not wear uniforms hard to tell apart for peasants, forced US troops to hesitate
- after attacking, would disappear into jungles, villages and tunnels, leaving US troops frustrated by their inability to catch them. ->break morale of American troops

### Chapter 10: The End of the Cold War

#### Reasons for the end of the Cold War:

- 1. The decline of the USSR and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe
- Weaknesses of the command economy
  - structural weaknesses
  - external burdens on the economy
- opposition to communism
  - brezhnev doctrine -> Sinatra doctrine
  - glasnost and perestroika led to criticism of the USSR and increased political opposition
- problems with the socviet political system
  - Aging leadership

- corruption and nepotism
- 2. America's economic and military superiority over the Soviets (Raegan's foreign policy)
- Containment and Confrontation against the USSR
  - by showing Economic superiority;
  - and military superiority
    - renewal of arms race

-> got out of control and too dangerous -> led Raegen to change to a policy of accommodation and cooperation 91985 - 1991) instead

- which ended the Cold War

- 3. Gorbachev's policies
- Glasnost (openness)
- Perestroika (economic reforms)

#### Essay: Reasons for the Decline of the USSR

The Cold War ended because of the decline of the USSR and the collapse of communism in Europe.

A) The USSR declined due to the inherent structural weaknesses and external burdens placed on the soviet command economy, which led to declining confidence in communism.

In the USSR, the soviet government controlled all industries and citizens were not allowed to start their own businesses. Due to this, resources were not always distributed efficiently, and workers suffered from poor morale as there were no incentives for doing better work. All decisions rested with the government, but as the soviet economy grew and expanded by the 1970s, the government struggled to cope with the many companies making different goods. As a result, it acted too slowly and made poor decisions such as delaying bringing new technologies into its industries. These weaknesses had significant consequences for the Soviet economy, with industrial output dropping from double-digit growth to a 3-4 percent decline by the late 1970s. Corruption and nepotism were also widespread, and the emergence of these structural weaknesses led many workers to become disillusioned in the Soviet system.

The USSR also fought many proxy wars such as in Vietnam, Cuba and Afghanistan, and also provided its allies with money, technical equipment, advisors, food and medical supplies, all of which were substantial financial burdens on the soviet economy. Together with the costly arms race the USSR engaged in with the United States, the USSR was spending 30% or 50% of its resources on the military, which took money away from education, wages and research and development in universities, which led to discontent amongst the people who suffered from poor standards of living.

Thus, the structural weaknesses of and the external burdens on the soviet command economy led to a poor standard of living among the people in the USSR and Eastern Europe, resulting in declining confidence in the communist regime.

## B) The USSR declined as a result of increased opposition to communism in Eastern Europe.

The economies of Eastern Europe were closely tied to the success of the soviet economy, and when the soviet economy began to decline, so did the economies of Eastern Europe. These countries found themselves borrowing heavily from western banks in the 1970s, leading to critical levels of debt. Economic repression, combined with decades of soviet political repression, led to a series of reforms and revolutions such as in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution and the 1968 Prague Spring, which were quickly crushed by the other members of the Warsaw Pact led by the USSR and their leaders executed or imprisoned.

When the Brezhnev Doctrine declaring all Eastern Bloc countries communist and calling for military intervention by other Warsaw Pact members in the event of any attempt to reverse communism was introduced after the events in Czechoslovakia in 1968, everyone could now see that these communist governments were entirely dependent on the USSR to prop them up. Opposition and resentment increased among civilians, particularly in Poland where the large, independent trade union Solidarity emerged under Lech Walesa. Although the movements against communism were crushed, they highlighted the failure of communism to provide good living standards, undermined the claim that communism benefited ordinary people and also showed that communism was not indestructible.

This opposition to communist rule ultimately contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

- In the Hungarian revolution of 1956, widespread protests against the communist government led to the formation of a new nationalist government under Imre Nagy, who announced that Hungary would withdraw from the Warsaw Pact and introduce multi-party democracy. The revolution was quickly crushed when soviet forces invaded Hungary, installed a new communist government and executed Nagy.
- In Czechoslovakia, the Prague Spring period in 1968 saw the communist leader, Dubcek, trying to introduce democratic and human rights reforms as he felt that communist regime policies were not working. Similarly, the other members of the Warsaw pact led by the USSR invaded and crushed the new government.

#### C) The USSR declined because of its ageing leadership.

Unlike the US, which regularly renewed its political leaders, the USSR was slow to replace its politicians. By the mid-1970s, the Politburo was increasingly made up of ageing politicians with an average age of 65 in 1974 - the mandatory retirement age in many occupations. The ageing soviet leadership had poor foresight and were ill-equipped to deal with the challenges of economic stagnation and a rejuvenated US leadership. This lack of fresh ideas and leadership ultimately contributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

## The Cold War ended as a result of the United States' economic and military superiority, which president Reagan made full use of against the USSR.

President Reagan, who took power in 1981, pursued an aggressive foreign policy against the USSR, which he declared was an "evil empire". Further, Reagan's liberal economic policies of cutting taxes and encouraging market freedom contributed to an economic boom in the United States at the same time as the Soviet economy was declining. The booming economy gave Reagan and his allies the confidence and the money to champion US values of capitalism and democracy. Reagan increased the US defence budget by a massive \$32.6 billion in his first two weeks in office, and new weapons systems such as the B1 nuclear bomber were introduced.

In 1982, Reagan renewed the arms race by authorising the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) ('Star Wars programme') with the intention of creating a system that could use satellites and lasers to destroy missiles before they hit their targets, which would have made USSR attacks useless. The Able Archer joint military exercise by the US and NATO in 1983 frightened the USSR into preparing its own nuclear forces in preparation for war, bringing the two powers very close to starting a nuclear war. This renewal of the arms race and continuous military tensions put pressure on the struggling Soviet economy to keep up with American levels of spending and production, which led to the end of the Cold War when the USSR realised that it could not keep up with the US.

The near-nuclear war that his policy of Containment and Confrontation had brought about also shocked Reagan, and made him realise that his policy of aggression would only lead to war. As such, when the USSR under Gorbachev in 1985 took a less confrontational stance, Reagan reciprocated, switching US foreign policy to one of accommodation and cooperation. Between 1985 and 1988, Reagan and Gorbachev had five summit meetings, and reached agreements to further reduce their nuclear weapons, halting the nuclear arms race. Hence, Reagan's foreign policy of accommodation and cooperation from 1985 - 1991 brought about an end to the Cold War as it reduced tensions between the US and USSR, reducing suspicion and mistrust.

## The Cold War ended mainly as a result of Gorbachev's domestic and foreign policy reforms when was elected leader of the USSR in 1985.

Gorbachev's domestic Glasnost policy called for open debate on government policy and honesty in facing up to problems, allowing open debate by Communist Party members and criticism of the government in the media. This sudden openness allowed the people to learn of the better quality of life in western European countries and the US, and also exposed the shortcomings of USSR government officials such as inefficiency and corruption, releasing much resentment against the communist government. Together with Perestroika, which encouraged industrial innovation with the intention of increasing efficiency and reducing corruption instead failed to increase economic output and engendered chronic unemployments, black markets and shortages of basic necessities, Gorbachev's well-intentioned reforms instead led to mounting criticism of Gorbachev by both party conservatives and the radical opposition. Further, Gorbachev's open elections of 1989 paved the way for the rise of various opposition groups in the government, which eventually led to the disintegration of the USSR when Boris Yeltsin, who saw no future for the USSR, was elected as President of the Russian Republic in 1990. In addition, Gorbachev brought his New Thinking to foreign policy and the role of the military in the USSR, cutting spending on defence, shrinking the Red Army and cutting arms spending, effectively ending the arms race with the US. With the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty with the US in December 1987, both Gorbachev and Reagan agreed to remove the mobile missiles that were deployed in Europe following 'Able Archer 83', which was the first of many arms reduction agreements between the superpowers, signalling that negotiations could improve relations.

Soviet foreign policy also underwent 'de-ideologisation', which ended all ideologically driven engagements meant to promote communism and challenge the United States. To demonstrate his commitment, Gorbachev withdrew troops from military engagements in Afghanistan and Angola alongside soviet support for communist regimes in Cuba and Vietnam, reducing tensions.

With the Sinatra Doctrine, Gorbachev made a speech at a Warsaw Pact summit in July 1988 stating his intention to withdraw large numbers of soviet troops, tanks and aircraft from other communist states, and made it clear to Warsaw pact leaders in 1989 that the Soviet Army would no longer prop their countries up. The communist countries of Eastern Europe, which had been totally dependent on the Brezhnev doctrine to maintain control over their countries, were now powerless to stop the opposition to communism in their countries. The USSR quickly disintegrated in the following months, with the Berlin Wall falling, the collapse of communist regimes in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Georgia and many other republics, and finally the coup against Gorbachev in the USSR that in the end led to a new government established by Yeltsin. In December 1991, Gorbachev announced his resignation as president of the USSR and the end of the USSR, signalling the end of the Cold War.