

OCR GCSE (9–1) **SECOND EDITION**

# HISTORY A

EXPLAINING THE  
MODERN WORLD

Updated  
for exams  
from **2021**  
onwards



Aly Boniface  
Catherine Priggs  
Lizzy Simons  
Harriet Salkeld  
Martin Spafford

# My revision planner

This book covers the most popular options. You will use Chapter 1 (everyone studies the same period study) and one other chapter from each section. But remember that certain thematic studies are paired with certain British depth studies. Make sure that you revise the right one!

- Highlight the chapters you are studying and cross out the ones you are not.
- To track your progress, tick each topic as you complete it. One tick when you have learned the content, another tick when you have tackled all the revision tasks.

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86	5.6	The changing relationship with Scotland	<input type="checkbox"/>
88	5.7	Imperial warfare	<input type="checkbox"/>
90	5.8	The First and Second World Wars	<input type="checkbox"/>
92	5.9	War since 1945	<input type="checkbox"/>
94	5.10	Think thematic!	<input type="checkbox"/>
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98	6.2	The Norman Conquest and its impact	<input type="checkbox"/>
100	6.3	Struggles over power in the medieval period	<input type="checkbox"/>
102	6.4	Tudor government	<input type="checkbox"/>
104	6.5	Civil War to Restoration	<input type="checkbox"/>
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108	6.7	Parliament and the people, c.1800–1918	<input type="checkbox"/>
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<b>7</b>	<b>Migration to Britain c.1000 to c.2010</b>		
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126	7.6	The era of the First World War, 1900–1920s	<input type="checkbox"/>
128	7.7	The era of the Second World War, 1920s–1948	<input type="checkbox"/>
130	7.8	Commonwealth immigration after the Second World War	<input type="checkbox"/>
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<b>9</b>	<b>The English Reformation c.1520–c.1550</b>		
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160	9.5	Responses to the Dissolution of the Monasteries	<input type="checkbox"/>
162	9.6	Reforming the churches	<input type="checkbox"/>
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<b>10</b>	<b>The Impact of Empire on Britain 1688–c.1730</b>		
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174	10.5	The role of the East India Company	<input type="checkbox"/>
176	10.6	The British economy	<input type="checkbox"/>
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# 1 International Relations: the changing international order 1918–1975

## 1.1 The Versailles Peace Settlement

REVISED

### The Treaty of Versailles was an unhappy compromise between the USA, Britain and France

- There were three leaders (the **Big Three**) at the conference that was set up to negotiate peace at the end of the First World War: David Lloyd George (Britain); Georges Clemenceau (France); and Woodrow Wilson (USA).
- The Big Three had very different agendas: Clemenceau wanted to punish Germany severely. Woodrow Wilson wanted a lenient peace that would reduce the likelihood of another war.
- Lloyd George was stuck in the middle, because while the British people wanted revenge (like France), Britain needed Germany's economy to recover.
- Ultimately, the Treaty was a compromise. It stripped Germany of:
  - all of its colonies
  - ten per cent of German land
  - 12.5 per cent of the German population
  - and limited its armed forces to 100,000 men and six small naval vessels.
- Crucially, Germany had to accept the blame for the war.
- Germany was banned from uniting (*Anschluss*) with Austria.
- The League of Nations was established as an international police force, but Germany was barred from joining.

### Versailles was wildly unpopular in Germany and many people saw it as a mistake

- The reaction against the Treaty in Germany was immediate and it was heavily criticised in the media.
- Many Germans believed Germany had signed an armistice, but had not lost the war. The Treaty was therefore seen by many as a betrayal.
- The reparations terms were hugely unpopular, and it was felt that **Article 231** – the **War Guilt clause** – was unfair in blaming only Germany.
- The resentment of the Treaty was used by many German politicians, particularly Hitler, to discredit the new German government (see Chapter 2).

### The League of Nations was established to maintain peace

- The League of Nations was the idea of President Wilson. It comprised:

- **The Council:** the main decision-making body of the League. Met five times a year or when there was an emergency. The council was established so nations could bring their grievances to be **arbitrated** rather than resorting to war

- **The Court of International Justice:** helped settle disputes between countries

- **The Assembly:** a parliament which met once a year

- A number of committees:
  - **Financial Committee:** promoted trade throughout the world in the belief that countries who were trading with each other were less likely to fight
  - **Refugee and Health Committee:** designed to improve the quality of life and organise people fleeing from zones of warfare or disease
  - **International Labour Organisation:** designed to improve the rights of workers. (This was also designed to limit the spread of Communism from the USSR, which had recently experienced a revolution)

#### Key point

The terms of the Versailles Peace Settlement severely punished Germany for the First World War.



#### Practice question

Outline the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.  
(5 marks)



#### Test yourself

- 1 Who represented Britain, France and the United States at the Paris Peace Conference?
- 2 Why did David Lloyd George have a more difficult agenda to achieve than Wilson and Clemenceau?
- 3 Which clause of the Treaty of Versailles allowed the Allies to punish Germany?

## The League of Nations was fundamentally weakened by the absence of the USA

- President Wilson wanted the League of Nations to be the organisation which would prevent war and encourage peace and prosperity throughout the world. The rest of the United States did not feel the same way, and so chose not to join the League (see page 9).
- This left the League in the hands of Britain and France. Both countries were recovering financially from the effects of the war. They worked as best they could to lead the League, but they did not have the money or will to make a major impact.



### Stretch and challenge

Explain why the absence of the United States made the League so much weaker.



### You're the examiner

Below are a sample exam-style question and a paragraph written in answer to this question. Read the paragraph and the mark scheme provided on pages 188–90. First, decide which level you would award the paragraph. Then decide where in the level you would place it. Write the level below, along with a justification for your choice.

**Outline the functions of the League of Nations.**

**(5 marks)**

The League of Nations was designed to maintain world peace by eliminating the causes of war. Most importantly, all member states could bring their grievances against others before the Council which would then decide fairly and reasonably which side should win. It also aimed to tackle the problems which had been at the heart of conflict in the past: poverty, trade and resources. To this end, the League set up several bodies to address these issues. They set up a Refugee and Health Committee designed to save lives and improve the living conditions of ordinary people. They also attempted to prevent the spread of Communism from the Soviet Union with the International Labour Organisation, which was designed to improve the pay and conditions of workers throughout the League of Nations.

Level:

Reason for choosing this level: \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_



### Eliminate irrelevance

Below are a sample exam-style question and a paragraph written in answer to this question. Read the paragraph and identify parts of the paragraph that are not directly relevant to the question. Draw a line through the information that is irrelevant and justify your deletions in the margin.

**Why did the absence of the United States weaken the League of Nations? Explain your answer.**

**(10 marks)**

Woodrow Wilson was an idealist who wanted to ensure world peace. One of his main aims at the Paris Peace Conference was to ensure this by creating the League of Nations. The League was designed to act as the world's policeman, and it was going to need a lot of money and men to be able to do this. The US Senate decided that it did not want to waste money and lives on conflicts that had nothing to do with the USA, so it voted not to join. This meant that the League had lost the richest country in the world, and the only country that would have had the real desire to lead the League. Instead, Britain and France were left in charge of the League, and both countries were more interested in their own agendas and running their empires rather than ensuring peace.



## 1.2 The League of Nations in the 1920s

REVISED

### The League dealt **successfully** with **minor** international disputes

Early 1920s	1921	1920–29	1922–23
The League co-ordinated efforts to help 400,000 people who had been displaced at the end of the First World War, and helped ensure that a major influenza outbreak was not considerably worse	The first test for the League was between the newly independent Finland and Sweden for control of the Åland Islands. Despite some vote manipulation by the Finnish, the rules of the League were obeyed and the Council settled the dispute quickly and effectively. There was also the settlement of the division of Upper Silesia between Germany and Poland	The Polish army seized control of Vilna, the capital of Lithuania. Lithuania appealed to the League for help, but since Britain and France wanted Polish help in a potential future war against the Communist Soviet Union, help was not given	Hungary and Austria received financial aid to prevent them from experiencing <b>anarchy</b>

### The League had two major tests in the 1920s: **Corfu** and **Bulgaria**

- In 1923, the new **dictator** of Italy, Benito Mussolini, wanted a major incident to consolidate his position of power. When an Italian general was killed in Greek territory, he used it as an excuse to capture the Greek island of Corfu. The League condemned his actions.
- However, the British and French could not agree on a course of action and finally judged that the Greeks must apologise and pay compensation to Italy.
- This was a win for Mussolini and a failure for the League.
- In 1925, having been the victims against Italy, the Greeks tried to create an identical incident against the Bulgarians to get compensation. On this occasion, however, the League acted as it was supposed to and thus the Greeks were punished appropriately.
- The Great Powers were in agreement over the issue in Bulgaria and so the League acted successfully.

#### Key point

The League did not suffer any major failures in the 1920s, but it also did not face many major challenges.

### Several **international agreements** were reached **outside the League of Nations**

- The League of Nations was meant to attempt to eliminate the large armed forces that had led to the First World War. Only Germany had been forced to disarm as a result of the Treaty of Versailles.
- The League failed in this pursuit. At the **Washington Conference** of 1921, the USA, Japan, Britain and France agreed to limit the size of their navies. This, however, was the only **disarmament** agreement of note in the 1920s, and many countries developed and improved their armed forces.
- There were, however, several international agreements reached during the 1920s, outside the League of Nations – although the League helped to create the spirit of internationalism that they needed:
  - Through the **Dawes Plan** (1924) the USA lent money to Germany to help its industry recover and rebuild.
  - Through the **Young Plan** (1929) the overall reparations burden was reduced.
  - Germany and other Western powers signed the **Locarno Treaties** (1925). Germany agreed to its western borders, but said nothing about its eastern borders with Poland, implying they might change.
  - The **Kellogg–Briand Pact** (1928) was signed by 65 countries as an official agreement to never go to war.



#### Test yourself

- 1 Which two countries were involved in the Corfu Crisis?
- 2 Which islands were disputed by Sweden and Finland?
- 3 Name the agreement of 1924 that made Germany's reparations burden easier.

## The League of Nations was fundamentally weakened by a number of factors

- Most of the questions you will be asked about the League will focus on success or failure. It is important to understand that the League only appears to be relatively successful in the 1920s because of the catastrophes of the 1930s.
- By choosing not to join the League, the United States made it very unlikely that it would ever succeed. Though they made some effort to be leaders, neither Britain or France was wealthy, powerful or committed enough to try to make the League a strong force in the 1920s.
- The Corfu crisis was exactly the kind of event the League had been set up to deal with, but it failed to protect this small country against a large aggressor.
- Above all, no major progress was made at international cooperation or disarmament. There were a few successes in improving conditions for workers, but ultimately the League achieved little.



### Practice question

Outline the successes of the League of Nations in the 1920s. (5 marks)



### Stretch and challenge

Create a small profile of what the USA, Britain and France wanted and achieved throughout the 1920s.



### Complete the paragraph

Below are a sample exam-style question and a paragraph written in answer to this question. The paragraph contains a point and specific examples, but lacks a concluding explanatory link back to the question. Complete the paragraph, adding this link in the space provided.

**Why was the absence of the United States a major blow to the League of Nations? Explain your answer.**

(10 marks)

*It was critically important that the League had serious sanctions available to it that all member states would take seriously. Without American money, the League would not be able to ...*

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### You're the examiner

Below are a sample exam-style question and a paragraph written in answer to this question. Read the paragraph and the mark scheme provided on pages 188–90. First decide which level you would award the paragraph. Then decide where in the level you would place it. Write the level below, along with a justification for your choice.

**Outline the actions of the League in dealing with the Corfu and Bulgarian crises.**

(5 marks)

*Both the Corfu and Bulgarian crises were cases of a more powerful country trying to intimidate a less powerful country into cooperating and surrendering land or money. In the case of Italy bullying Greece, the League, notably Britain and France, did not feel powerful enough to deal with Italy's actions appropriately. In contrast, the League was more than powerful enough to intimidate Greece when it attempted to bully Bulgaria in 1925, and so the Greeks backed down.*

Level:

Reason for choosing this level: \_\_\_\_\_

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## 1.3 The impact of the Great Depression

REVISED

### America's central role in global finance led to financial collapse

**Boom:** America had experienced a colossal **technological and economic boom**. The USA lent money to Britain, France and Germany, and encouraged heavy spending in those countries

**Crash:** the Wall Street Crash in October 1929 caused financial panic. US loans were stopped and recalled. Countries struggling to deal with the Crash then fell into **economic depression**

**Depression:** Britain and France were forced to cut a great deal of public spending, and recalled their own loans from Germany




**Collapse:** Germany owed loans to the USA and to Britain and France, all of which were demanding immediate repayment. Germany fell into economic depression and unemployment soared

#### Key point

The Wall Street Crash caused a global economic disaster which led directly to the rise of Germany, Japan and Italy as major aggressors, and ultimately to the collapse of the League.

### Powerful dictatorships emerged because of the Great Depression

- The global financial collapse led many countries to elect more extreme governments, or in some cases (such as Spain and Poland) for democratically elected governments to be removed and replaced with dictatorships:

Germany		Hitler offered radical economic solutions including rearmament, state control of industry and the end of Versailles reparations. These promises led to his seizure of power in 1933.
Italy		Mussolini, dictator of Italy, tightened his grip on the country by taking over its banks and industries. Mussolini was able to use the international situation to increase his power and popularity at home.
Japan		Japanese trade was severely affected by the economic downturn, particularly as <b>tariffs</b> had been imposed by China and the USA. As people turned against the government, Japan effectively became a military dictatorship.

- In each of these countries, the leaders also had military ambitions which threatened to destabilise international peace.

### The League of Nations failed to protect Manchuria

- The Japanese decided on **military expansion** to seize resources for their economy. In September 1931, the Japanese used troops disguised as Chinese soldiers to stage an attack on a Japanese railway line, near the Chinese–Korean border.
- The Japanese response to this ‘aggression’ was to invade and seize Manchuria, the north-eastern region of China. China turned to the League of Nations for help.
- The League sent a delegation to ‘investigate’ which took a year to report back.
- When it finally rendered judgement, the League merely condemned the Japanese and ordered them to withdraw. The League’s members were incapable of matching Japan’s military strength and sanctions would have had little effect without the backing of the USA.
- The Japanese instead invaded more of Manchuria, claiming that the area was unstable. In March 1933 Japan resigned from the League.
- The League had shown that if a strong nation took aggressive action, it could and would do nothing.



#### Practice question

What was the impact of the Great Depression on international relations? Explain your answer.

(10 marks)



## The Abyssinian crisis effectively destroyed the League of Nations

- Mussolini decided to test the League's powers, closer to home.
- In late 1934, an 'incident' took place at Wal-Wal, 50 miles inside Ethiopian territory: a force of Italians was attacked and this was used by Mussolini as an excuse to invade.
- Unlike the Manchurian crisis, Britain and France were ideally placed to offer military assistance to the Abyssinians. They had armed forces in colonies all around Abyssinia, and they controlled the **Suez Canal**, which was the route that Italian forces were taking. They could easily have intervened with little cost to themselves.
- Instead, the British and the French tried to secretly negotiate a scheme (known as the **Hoare-Laval Pact**) wherein Italy would get two-thirds of Abyssinia in exchange for support against Hitler. Details of the plan were leaked in the press. This not only humiliated the British and French, but effectively destroyed the League.
- Immediately after this, Mussolini abandoned Britain and France and signed an alliance with Hitler – the **Rome-Berlin Axis**. Hitler had also used this moment of distraction to remilitarise the Rhineland.



### Test yourself

- 1 What disguise did the Japanese soldiers who blew up the railway at Mukden use?
- 2 What could the British and French have closed to prevent the Abyssinian Crisis?
- 3 Name the British and French foreign ministers who tried to give much of Abyssinia to Italy.



### Spot the mistake

Below are a sample exam-style question and a paragraph written in answer to this question. Why does this paragraph not get into Level 5? Once you have identified the mistake, rewrite the paragraph so that it displays the qualities of Level 5. The mark scheme on pages 188–90 will help you.

**How did the Great Depression lead to the effective collapse of the League? Explain your answer. (10 marks)**

*Because of the major financial problems caused by the Great Depression, it made Japan and Italy want to take over other countries to get their money and resources. To do this, they both made excuses to invade countries they wanted to conquer. These actions were popular with their people because their people were poor because of the Wall Street Crash.*



### Developing the detail

Below are a sample exam-style question and a paragraph written in answer to this question. The paragraph contains a limited amount of detail. Annotate the paragraph to add additional detail to the answer.

**Outline the failures of the League of Nations between 1930 and 1936. (5 marks)**

*The League of Nations was led by Britain and France. During the 1930s, they were not prepared to go to war to defend other countries. They did not help China when it was invaded by Japan. They did not make enough of an effort to stop Hitler rearming. The British and the French tried to let Mussolini take over some of Abyssinia, but they were exposed and humiliated.*



### Stretch and challenge

Once you have been through this whole section (pages 6–29), come back to this topic, and make a note of how you think that Hitler would have reacted to each of the crises of the 1930s, and what he would have learned about the League, and the British and French.

## 1.4 The origins of the Second World War

### The 1930s saw the failure of disarmament

- US President Herbert Hoover called the **Disarmament Conference** in 1932. It recognised that it was unfair that only Germany had been forced to disarm as a result of the Treaty of Versailles, but struggled to find an agreement for disarmament.
- In 1933, Hitler took power in Germany and immediately began rearming in secret.
- In October 1933, Hitler walked out of the conference and in 1935 openly announced **rearmament**.

#### Key point

Throughout the 1930s, Hitler took increasingly aggressive steps until finally war was declared in September 1939.

- By this time, other nations had suspected German rearmament and had themselves begun to rearm.
- In fact, he had already expanded the army to three times the size allowed by Versailles.

### Hitler was unchallenged when he bombed Guernica and seized control of Austria

- In 1936 a **civil war** broke out in Spain between a Republican force supported by Britain, France and Russia, and a Fascist force supported by Germany and Italy. Britain and France refused to intervene militarily.
- On 26 April 1937, the **Luftwaffe** (German air force) bombed, and effectively destroyed, the Republican city of Guernica in the north of Spain. Hundreds of people were killed.
- This bombing highlighted the military strength of Germany and the inability to act by Britain and France when Hitler was clearly acting against the terms of the Treaty of Versailles.
- Another clause of the Treaty banned Germany from uniting with Austria (*Anschluss*). In March 1938, the Austrian people voted in a **plebiscite** (referendum) to join with Germany and Hitler marched troops into Austria. Nothing was done to stop him.

### Chamberlain pursued a policy of Appeasement to prevent war

- Later that year, Hitler started a campaign to try to **annex** (take control of) the Sudetenland region of Czechoslovakia. He claimed, as with Austria, that he wanted to bring Germans back into the Fatherland.
- Czechoslovakia had promises from Britain and France that they would protect the country against a German invasion.
- In September 1938, Chamberlain organised a conference in Munich between Britain, France, Italy and Germany. Czechoslovakia was not invited.
- Hitler initially demanded just some of the Sudetenland, then when the British and French agreed, he upped his demand to the whole of the Sudetenland.
- The British and the French gave in and the **Munich Agreement** was signed.
- Chamberlain arrived back in Britain a hero, claiming 'Peace in our time'. The British and French had shown that they and their people were quite unwilling to go to war.

### Hitler took one gamble too many and war was declared

- Despite the agreement, in March 1939, Hitler invaded the rest of Czechoslovakia.
- There were major protests from Britain and France, who promised to declare war on Germany if it invaded Poland.
- Hitler did have his sights set on Poland. He was sure Britain and France would do nothing in response, but he was concerned about the threat of the USSR on the border with Poland.
- The leader of the USSR, Josef Stalin, had grown impatient with the ineffective response of Britain, France and the League in the face of the German threat. In August 1939, after several failed attempts to ally with Britain and France against Hitler, he signed the **Nazi–Soviet Non-Aggression Pact**.
- The Pact secretly divided Poland into two halves.
- Despite last-minute warnings from Britain and France, Hitler invaded Poland on 1 September 1939. Britain and France declared war the following day. The Second World War had begun.



## Checklist

Below is a list of events that *may* have taken place in the lead-up to the outbreak of the Second World War. Tick or highlight those events which you know *did* take place.

- Hitler began German rearmament in 1933.
- Britain began arms sales to the Nazis in 1934.
- Saar plebiscite a huge success for the Nazis in 1935.
- Spanish city of Salamanca destroyed by the *Luftwaffe*.
- Stalin attempted to create alliance with Britain and France.
- *Anschluss* between Austria and Germany.
- Chamberlain handed over all of Czechoslovakia at the Munich Conference.
- The Nazi–Soviet Pact was signed in 1939.
- Britain and France declared war after Nazi invasion of Poland.



## Spot the mistake

Below are a sample exam-style question and a paragraph written in answer to this question. Why does this paragraph not get into Level 5? Once you have identified the mistake, rewrite the paragraph so that it displays the qualities of Level 5. The mark scheme on pages 188–90 will help you.

**How did Appeasement help lead to the Second World War? Explain your answer.**

**(10 marks)**

*Appeasement was a policy of ensuring that Hitler did not get what he wanted, and to contain him within Germany. Because of this, the British and French continually clashed with Hitler, which led to Neville Chamberlain choosing to declare war in September 1939.*



## Stretch and challenge

You will need to know the details of events in the 1930s to answer questions on Appeasement. Make a timeline of the key events on the road to war from 1933 to 1939.



The Sudetenland not only contained a great deal of Czechoslovakia's natural resources, but was also their natural defence against Germany – a line of mountains and fortresses that the Germany army would have found it very hard to break through.



## Test yourself

- 1 Was Hitler ever serious about the disarmament process?
- 2 Name the region of Czechoslovakia given to Germany at Munich.
- 3 Molotov and Ribbentrop negotiated which pact?



## Practice question

How did Hitler's actions lead to the outbreak of the Second World War? Explain your answer.

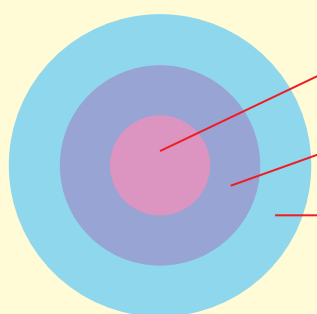
**(10 marks)**

## 1.5 Controversy 1: Appeasement

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### TIP

The two controversies on your Paper 1 are worth 50 marks, which is a quarter of your overall grade. It is very important that you understand exactly what these questions are looking for, and how you need to answer them effectively. In order to get the best marks, you must have a clear idea of what **issues** the historians might disagree over, and what **influenced** their thinking at the time. The best way to look at it is to consider the interpretations from inside to outside.



**Context:** what influenced the views of the author?

**Content:** what **specifically** did the author say or think?

**Controversy:** what did other historians say or think about this view?

### Key point

Opinions on the strategy of Appeasement have varied widely and have developed in the years following the Second World War. You have to understand what those views were and why historians changed their minds.

### View 1 (1936–39): **pro-Appeasement policy** – Chamberlain's actions reflected public opinion

<b>Context</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Many people supported <b>Appeasement</b> because they could still remember the horrors of the First World War, and they knew that Britain was not prepared to fight a war</li> </ul>
<b>Content</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Appeasement was the policy adopted by Prime Minister Chamberlain in an attempt to prevent war with Germany. He sought conciliation over conflict</li> <li>People believed Chamberlain was doing what he thought was best to prevent a war</li> </ul>
<b>Controversy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Not everyone in Britain agreed with this view and there were several notable people such as Winston Churchill who were strongly against Appeasement</li> <li>Furthermore, this attitude dropped away sharply after Czechoslovakia was conquered, and there was a very strong feeling among the British people of the need to work with the USSR before the Nazi–Soviet Pact was signed</li> </ul>

### View 2 (1940–48): **'Guilty Men'** – Appeasement was a disaster and Chamberlain was a fool

<b>Context</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Popular attitudes towards Appeasement changed when Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia and as the war continued</li> <li>Against this background, three historians, who gave themselves the name <b>Cato</b>, wrote a book entitled <i>Guilty Men</i>, condemning Neville Chamberlain personally and in great detail</li> <li>The public also felt a sense of shame at the willingness of the people to support Appeasement without criticism</li> </ul>
<b>Content</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A huge assault on Chamberlain and his advisers personally. They were branded as cowards and as having made defeat to Germany a very real possibility</li> <li>They further attacked Chamberlain's government for Britain's woeful lack of preparation going into the war – massive underspending on the military meant that Britain's forces were simply not ready for the conflict</li> </ul>
<b>Controversy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This view was almost universal at the time, due to the conquest of France and the very real possibility of defeat by Nazi Germany. Views on Chamberlain softened somewhat after he died in 1940. All subsequent views have been more favourable than this</li> </ul>

### View 3 (1948–1960s): **‘orthodox’ view** – Appeasement was a mistake but the leaders had good intentions

<b>Context</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>With the defeat of the Nazis in 1945, views about Appeasement softened slightly from <i>Guilty Men</i>, if only because the defeat that was looming in 1940 had not happened. He was regarded as a good man who made the wrong decision</li> <li>The main figure behind this view was Churchill who, after being defeated in the 1945 general election, wrote <i>The Gathering Storm</i>, a book about the causes of the Second World War</li> </ul>
<b>Content</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The critical difference between this view and <i>Guilty Men</i> is that this view does not contain direct attacks on Chamberlain personally</li> <li>The view makes it clear that Chamberlain was a decent man who had to be reasonably personally brave in order to follow a policy that was at least trying to save lives and prevent war</li> </ul>
<b>Controversy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some historians have criticised the view, and Churchill personally, for using the book more as a way to make himself look good, rather than to promote a balanced viewpoint</li> <li>At this time, the Cold War was developing (see Section 2.1, page 32) and Churchill was keen to ensure that the mistakes of Appeasement were not repeated</li> </ul>

### View 4 (1960s–1990s): **revisionist view** – Chamberlain was in an impossible position and did the best he could

<b>Context</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The orthodox view of Appeasement remained well into the 1960s, but gradually altered as historians became more critical of Cold War politics, and as more information became available</li> <li>In Britain, most government documents are classified top secret, so they cannot be read by the public for 30 years. In the 1960s they became public</li> <li>This was also a time of radical thinking in other areas of society. The USA’s conflict in Vietnam was going badly at that time and some interpreted this as proof that Appeasement may not have been a bad policy</li> </ul>
<b>Content</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Historians such as Donald Cameron Watt and Paul Kennedy held this view. When the documents about 1936–39 became available in 1966–69 they revealed that Britain was not prepared for a war before 1939. Britain did not have the money, the military or the technology to take on Germany, leaving Appeasement as the only reasonable choice</li> </ul>
<b>Controversy</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This view is the only historian’s view that supports the idea that Appeasement was a good policy (View 1, the view from the time, was not a historian’s opinion). This is one that is particularly worth revising as it is likely that the given interpretation is likely to disagree with it</li> <li>The problem with the documents that were used by these historians is that they came from the government at the time, and so reflect what the government thought at the time</li> </ul>

### View 5 (1990s–present): **counter-revisionist view** – Chamberlain was a fair politician but with an inexplicable (and inexcusable) view on Appeasement

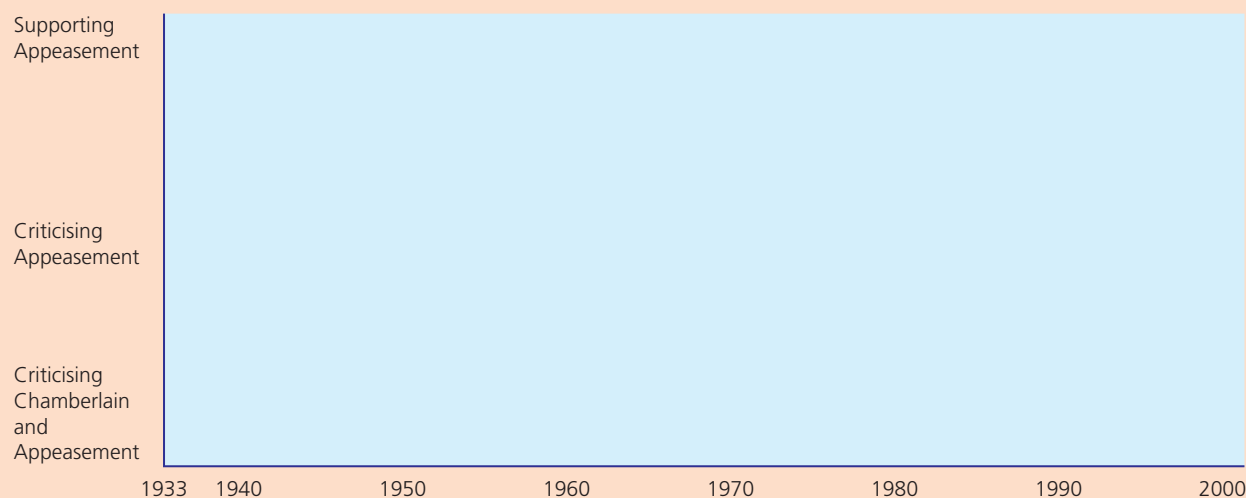
<b>Context</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>By the mid-1990s, the view that Chamberlain had no choice in appeasing had started to be challenged, particularly with the release of new documents from the USSR which showed its attempts to work with Britain</li> <li>The new view of Chamberlain and Appeasement began with historian Robert Parker in 1993. Chamberlain was not attacked, but his ability to deal with Hitler, and his strange refusal to listen to anyone who tried to push him to stand up to Hitler, were questioned</li> </ul>
<b>Content</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The biggest criticism of Chamberlain in this view, which is still the view held by most historians, is that Chamberlain betrayed Czechoslovakia. However, most historians now say that apart from his pursuit of Appeasement, Chamberlain was a decent man and a reasonable politician</li> <li>Like most modern interpretations, there are a variety of criticisms and slight differences within this view. Some historians have used <b>counter-factual history</b> to try to work out what would have happened if Chamberlain had gone to war earlier</li> </ul>





## Review question

The interpretation questions are the most challenging questions in the whole of your History GCSE. It is essential that you know not only what historians have believed about Appeasement, but also what was happening in the world at the time to make them believe this. To help you remember this, complete the timeline below for Appeasement, to show how and why views have changed over time.



## Review summary

Fill in the table below to summarise all the views on Appeasement as clearly as possible.

View	When was this view held	Who held this view	Pro/anti Chamberlain	Pro/anti Appeasement	Who would they disagree with?
Pro-Appeasement					
<i>Guilty Men</i>					
<b>Orthodox</b>					
<b>Revisionist</b>					
Counter-revisionist					



## Practice question

Study Interpretation A.

Explain why **not** all historians would agree with Interpretation A. Use other interpretations and your own knowledge to support your answer.

(20 marks)

**INTERPRETATION A** *An extract from Chamberlain and Appeasement: British Policy and the Coming of the Second World War by British historian Robert Parker, 1993.*

Chamberlain succumbed to the temptation to believe that actions which were specifically his own were triumphing. Hitler helped. He appealed to Chamberlain's vanity and encouraged Chamberlain to think he had a special influence over him. Sir Neville Henderson, the British Ambassador in Berlin, encouraged Chamberlain even though he lost the confidence of his own colleagues in the Foreign Office. Chamberlain's appeasement was not a feeble policy of surrender. He never pursued 'peace at any price'. But he made big mistakes, especially after Munich. He could have built a strong alliance with France. He could have tried to ally with the USSR but he refused to try in any serious way. Chamberlain refused to listen to alternative views and his powerful personality probably stifled serious chances of preventing the Second World War.

## 1.6 Fairness questions

### What is fairness?

- Which of these three points is a fair comment about Neville Chamberlain's approach to Hitler and Appeasement in the lead-up to the Second World War?
- In order to help understanding, we must remember that all of the views you see come from historians. Therefore we must be very careful to avoid suggesting that they might be dishonest.
- We are considering interpretation, which means we must evaluate whether something has been too harsh or too kind about a given person, action or event.
- Use the table below to evaluate the three statements – none of them is entirely fair, and none is entirely unfair. Identify which elements are fair and unfair.

#### Key point

The 'fairness question' is asking you to evaluate how valid the points posed in the interpretation are, and what other historians would have felt about the strengths and weaknesses of the ideas in the passage.

View 1	View 2	View 3
Chamberlain had no choice but to appease Hitler. This was because the British public and British military were not prepared for war, even when it broke out in September 1939.	Chamberlain was a fool who let Hitler trick him into giving him what he wanted. Germany could have been dealt with easily at any time between 1935 and 1938.	Chamberlain was a relatively good politician overall, but his failure to listen to advice or public opinion meant that appeasement of Germany over Czechoslovakia, and the failure to make an alliance with the USSR were major errors and caused the Second World War.
What is fair? _____ _____	What is fair? _____ _____	What is fair? _____ _____
What is unfair? _____ _____	What is unfair? _____ _____	What is unfair? _____ _____

### How can we tell whether a point is fair?

- When we are trying to consider the nature of fairness, it is important to reflect on your own knowledge of the events in question.
- In particular, you must be confident enough in your knowledge to challenge the view of a historian. Do not forget that you are a historian as well, and that is what the examiner is looking for.
- You must critically examine the text and make your own judgement as to whether small points or the whole passage is fair or unfair by assessing it according to the three concepts of 'content, context and controversy'. Consider this extract below from David Dilks' book written in 1972.

*Not only was Chamberlain's policy sensible, popular and of long standing, it was also skilfully executed: at Munich, Hitler was out-manoeuvred.*

*Appeasement Revisited: An inaugural lecture*

Context – moderately unfair	Content – deeply unfair	Controversy – unfair
Revisionist historians of Appeasement tried excessively hard to excuse Chamberlain in response to previous historians' criticisms.	It is quite obvious that Appeasement was a bad policy, even though it might have been popular with the public. It was Hitler who out-manoeuvred Chamberlain, as he got exactly what he wanted.	No other views would see this as fair at all – even Churchill who went out of his way to be reasonable about Chamberlain after his death would have said this view was unfair.

- Consider these two further examples and complete the assessment and colour-coding yourself.

*The British Government did not exert itself to any great extent in the arming of our country, even after we had clashed into war with the most tremendous military power of all times.*

*Guilty Man*, by 'Cato', 1940

Context	Content	Controversy

*The personality of Chamberlain is central to the discussion of Appeasement. He had a rather inflated sense of his own judgement and abilities and was unwilling to listen to anyone but himself.*

*Personalities and Appeasement*, Donald Cameron Watt, 1991

Context	Content	Controversy



## Considering interpretations

In the exam, you will have limited time to consider your passage, but you should take the time to break the passage down, examine it, and decide on the extent to which it is fair.

If we consider the example below, see what details have been selected, and why the judgement we would make is that this is relatively fair.

This is broadly true – he was very slow and ignored Stalin's attempts to make an alliance, so Stalin felt forced to sign the Nazi–Soviet pact instead.

**INTERPRETATION A** *British historian Louise Shaw, writing in 1987.*

To the dismay of his British colleagues and his French allies, Chamberlain alone, motivated by his anti-Bolshevik prejudice, deliberately sabotaged the chance of an Anglo–Soviet alliance in 1939. Such an alliance would have been a workable solution for discouraging, or if necessary defeating, Hitler.

There was indeed some dismay, but there were many people in government who were anti-communist.

Whilst both sides considered that an alliance against Hitler was possible, it would still have been very difficult to defeat Germany.

Now attempt similar annotations around the passage below.

**INTERPRETATION B** *An extract from The Gathering Storm by Winston Churchill, published in 1948.*

There was widespread and sincere admiration for Mr Chamberlain's efforts to maintain peace. However, in writing this account it is impossible for me not to refer to the long series of miscalculations and misjudgements which he made. The motives which inspired him have never been questioned. The course he followed required the highest degree of moral courage. To this I paid tribute two years later in my speech after his death.

## 1.7 Emerging superpower rivalry, 1945–49

REVISED

### The USA and USSR had fundamental differences in ideology

- The USA, USSR and Britain had successfully worked together during the war in what is known as the **Grand Alliance**, but with the end of the conflict this alliance was short-lived. The main reason for this was the different ideology held by each country:

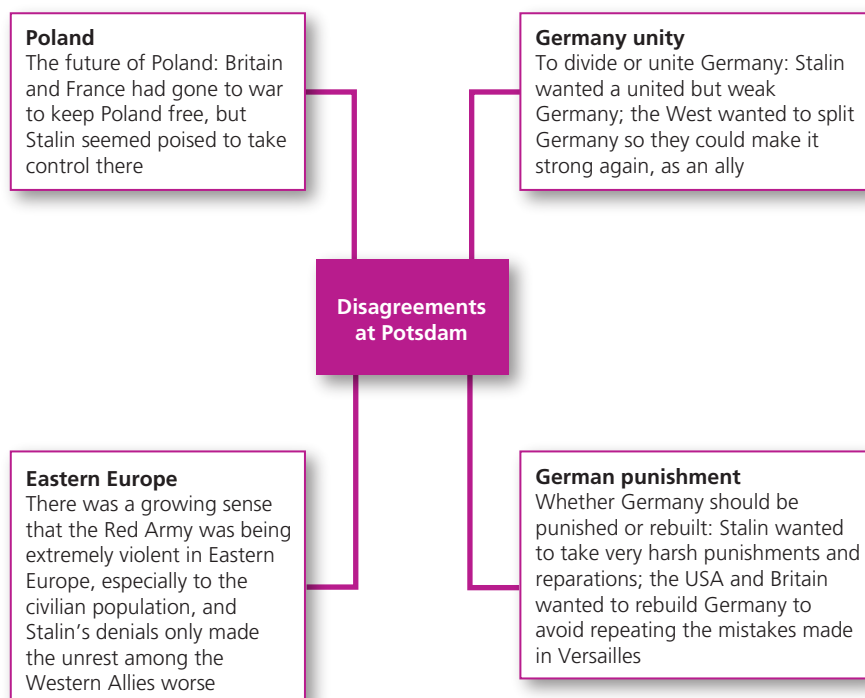
USA	USSR
<b>Capitalist</b>	<b>Communist</b>
Democracy	Dictatorship
Believed people should be free from the controls of government	Believed the rights of individuals were less important than the good of society as a whole so the lives of individuals were tightly controlled
Believed other countries should be run in the American way	Believed other countries should be run in the Communist way

#### Key point

The Cold War began largely because of the fundamental differences in ideology, economy and views on the future of Europe, between the USA and USSR.

### The Potsdam Conference highlighted the differences between the USA and USSR

- With the defeat of Hitler imminent in February 1945, the Big Three (Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill) met at Yalta in the Crimea. Roosevelt maintained a harmonious relationship between the three.
- At the **Potsdam Conference** in July 1945, relations changed. Roosevelt had died, and was replaced by Harry Truman. The relationship between Truman and Stalin was poor, and the successful American test of the **atomic bomb** worsened tensions.



- Following Potsdam, Germany was split into four zones under the control of Britain, France and Germany in the West, and the USSR in the East.

## The USSR took control in Eastern Europe, 1945–48, prompting the USA to respond with aid

- Stalin was determined to secure the USSR and during this period established Communist governments in many Eastern European countries: East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania.
- Stalin created **COMINFORM** to protect and oversee these Communist governments.
- The West was suspicious of this expansionism and in response Truman introduced the **Truman Doctrine**. Its purpose was to stop the spread of communism by supporting any country threatened with a Communist takeover, with weapons, money and resources.
- The USA established **Marshall Aid** to provide up to \$17 billion to the countries of Europe, again to help prevent communism. It rapidly accelerated recovery in Western Europe.
- Stalin viewed this aid as an economic attack on communism and forbade the countries of Eastern Europe from receiving it.

## By 1949 Germany was firmly divided into two nations

- After the war, Germany was divided into four zones controlled by France, Britain, the USA and the USSR.
- Believing that a stronger Germany would be a better ally, in 1946 the Western powers combined their zones.
- Berlin was also divided into four zones, but lay deep within Soviet territory in East Germany.
- Feeling threatened by the strength of West Germany, Stalin used the Red Army to **blockade** (seal off) West Berlin to prevent people or supplies from reaching the city. Stalin hoped this would force West Berlin to turn to the Communists for help.
- The Allies responded by airlifting all of the resources the city needed over a period of ten months.
- By May 1949, the blockade had failed and as a result Germany was divided into two nations:
  - the Western-controlled zone officially became the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), known as West Germany
  - the Soviet zone became the **German Democratic Republic (GDR)**, or East Germany.
- In 1949, the Western powers met and agreed to the formation of **NATO**.



### Stretch and challenge

Create a list of the factors and elements which caused the breakdown of the Grand Alliance. Once you have done this, use highlighters to colour-code who was to blame for each point: Stalin, the USA or both.



### Practice question

Outline the events which caused the breakdown of the relationship between the USA and USSR between 1945 and 1948. (5 marks)





## Identify an argument

Below are a series of definitions, a sample exam-style question and two sample conclusions. One of the conclusions achieves a high level because it contains an argument. The other achieves a lower level because it contains only description and assertion. Identify which is which. The mark scheme on pages 188–90 will help you.

- **Description:** a detailed account.
- **Assertion:** a statement of fact or an opinion which is not supported by a reason.
- **Explanation:** a statement which explains or justifies something.
- **Argument:** an assertion justified with a reason.

**Why did the relationship between the superpowers deteriorate so rapidly between 1945 and 1949?**

Explain your answer.

(10 marks)

The two sides of the Cold War were Communist and capitalist. They had totally different beliefs, and they disagreed about what to do with Eastern Europe. Stalin wanted a buffer zone which would make it more difficult for the USSR to be invaded again. The USA wanted Europe to recover so that it could trade with it again. Both sides believed the other to be a threat.

The fundamental reason for the deterioration of relations between the two sides was the defeat of Hitler. Without a common enemy, the fact that the USSR and USA were Communist and capitalist was always going to cause conflict as they were actively seeking to stop each other having influence. This was particularly the case in Europe, where Stalin had effectively conquered the countries in the east. The situation was made more serious by the fact that each side was treating their half of Germany very differently, leading to conflict in the Berlin Blockade.



## Flow chart

Below is a blank flow diagram into which you must put the five key events that led to the breakdown of the Grand Alliance. For each you should indicate who was responsible for that act, the USA or the USSR. The first one has been completed for you. A list of events that you could have chosen can be found on page 20.

Roosevelt's death				
-------------------	--	--	--	--



## Test yourself

- 1 Which came first, the atomic test or Roosevelt's death?
- 2 How many countries became satellite states?
- 3 How did the USA and Britain respond to the Berlin Blockade?

## 1.8 The Berlin Wall and the Cuban Missile Crisis

REVISED

### West Berlin remained a problem for the USSR

- Following the division of Germany into East and West, Berlin was also divided. West Berlin increasingly became a problem for the Soviets for a number of reasons:

Strategically	Ideologically	Economically	Intellectually
It was a notable area of territory, controlled by their potential enemy, deep within the Soviet sphere of influence	East Germans were very aware of the higher standard of living, the greater access to resources and to freedom which were being enjoyed in West Berlin	Hundreds of thousands of East Germans were fleeing to West Berlin every year – making a total of 3.5 million by 1961	Educated East Germans were staying in the East long enough to get a free education and then fleeing to high-paying jobs in the West. This was a <b>brain drain</b>

- In July 1961, Khrushchev demanded that President John F. Kennedy (the new US president) remove all troops from Berlin. Kennedy refused and instead increased troops there.
- In August 1961, Khrushchev ordered a barbed-wire fence to be erected between the two zones of Berlin. This was soon replaced by a wall. All free movement between the two sides was forbidden.
- The creation of the Berlin Wall did not lead to war, but it remained a symbol of the division between the two superpowers throughout the Cold War.

#### Key point

The 1950s and early 1960s saw a steady increase in Cold War tension as new weapons technology developed nuclear weapons and the missiles to deliver them.

### Cuba became the next hotspot in the Cold War

- In 1959, the anti-Communist dictator of Cuba, Batista, was overthrown by the Communist Fidel Castro. Castro was then supported by funds from the USSR to protect Cuba against the USA.
- President Kennedy attempted to overthrow Castro in 1961, but the **Bay of Pigs** was a disaster and a humiliation for Kennedy.
- On 14 October 1962, a US U-2 spy plane took a series of photographs over Cuba. In doing so, it spotted what was quickly realised to be launch facilities for nuclear weapons.
- The US reaction was swift: Kennedy was informed and he quickly established **ExComm**.
- The solution agreed on was a naval blockade around Cuba. (The Soviets did not have the technology to bring in the equipment by air.)
- On 22 October, Kennedy made a speech on live TV to announce the blockade. The world was on the brink of nuclear war.

### Secret negotiations led to an end to the conflict

- Throughout the crisis, there had been the suggestion that in return for the Soviet withdrawal from Cuba, the USA would remove its **Jupiter IRBMs** from Turkey.
- The USA was already planning to remove these missiles, but it would have been politically disastrous for Kennedy to withdraw the missiles due to Soviet pressure.
- During the middle of the night of 26 October, Kennedy's brother Robert, who was attorney general, met in secret with Soviet ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin. They agreed to the mutual withdrawal, with Robert Kennedy insisting that the US withdrawal from Turkey be kept secret.



#### Test yourself

- What was the brain drain?
- When was the first version of the Berlin Wall erected?
- In the Cuban Missile Crisis what happened on:  
14 October?  
22 October?  
26 October?

## The end of the Cuban Missile Crisis led to improved relations

- As both sides realised how close they had come to global nuclear war, the period following the crisis saw an improvement in relations.
- A 'hotline' telephone was set up between the White House and the Kremlin and in 1963 the **Nuclear Test Ban Treaty** was agreed.
- The Cuban Missile Crisis was the last direct confrontation between the two countries in the Cold War.



### Practice question

How did the Berlin crisis end without resorting to war? Explain your answer. (10 marks)



### Event overview grid

Complete a one-sentence summary of the events listed in the grid below.

The Berlin Wall

The Cuban Revolution

The Bay of Pigs invasion

Spy photographs of Cuba

Quarantine of Cuba

Meeting of Kennedy and Dobrynin



### Eliminate irrelevance

Below are a sample exam-style question and a paragraph written in answer to this question. Read the paragraph and identify parts of the paragraph that are not directly relevant to the question. Draw a line through the information that is irrelevant and justify your deletions in the margin.

**Outline the factors that led to the resolution of the Berlin crisis.**

(5 marks)

The Berlin crisis was caused by Khrushchev's desire to show strength at the time when he had just seized power. He thought that a good way to show his strength to people in the Communist Party was to solve a problem that Stalin failed to solve with the Berlin Blockade. The various efforts he made, however, were all political and both Eisenhower and Kennedy correctly guessed that he was largely bluffing about his willingness to go to war. Their refusal to act, and Kennedy's willingness to call up extra soldiers and increase defence spending, forced Khrushchev to consider a radical solution. The construction of the Berlin Wall is viewed as a failure for the USSR because it forced them to admit that brain drain was costing them dearly. Around 2.7 million East Germans had fled from the East and into the West during this period to seek a better life. The building of the wall brought this to a sudden end and thus brought the crisis to a swift close.



### Stretch and challenge

'One of the most positive things to come out of the Cuban Missile Crisis was a greater willingness for the USA and USSR to work together.'

- Go back through this section and highlight examples of the USA and USSR cooperating.
- Predict why the USA and USSR might be more willing to work together as a result of the Cuban Missile Crisis.
- Use this information to say whether or not you agree with the statement.

## 1.9 The Vietnam War

### Vietnam was **divided** into North and South with USSR and USA involvement

- For nine years following the end of the Second World War, the **Viet Minh**, who controlled the north of Vietnam, fought against the French, who controlled the south, for independence.
- The Viet Minh received funding from the USSR, so the USA gave financial support to the French. However, France pulled out of Vietnam in 1954.
- The Geneva Conference that followed, divided the country into North and South and planned for elections to be held.
- The Americans knew that the Communist leader, Ho Chi Minh, would win a huge victory, so they did not hold the elections, and instead supported dictator Ngo Dinh Diem, who set up the Republic of South Vietnam.
- Diem's regime was corrupt and unpleasant: despite a huge amount of US support, he began losing control of the countryside to the **Viet Cong**, who were a mixture of North Vietnamese Army soldiers and people from the South who wanted to fight against Diem's regime.
- The USA sent advisers to train the **South Vietnamese Army (ARVN)**. Diem was so unpopular that he was overthrown by his own generals, but even this did not help and the South looked in danger of turning Communist.

#### Key point

Events of the Cold War played out in foreign wars which were costly failures for both the USA and USSR.

### The USA was unable to defeat the **tactics** used by the Viet Cong

- The USA decided to intervene directly, starting at the Battle of Ia Drang in November 1965. The USA had far greater resources to fight against the Viet Cong, but Ho Chi Minh's tactics were superior. He:
  - used **guerrilla** warfare
  - had the support of the people
  - used the Ho Chi Minh trail to supply the Viet Cong from Laos and Cambodia
  - had committed and resilient fighters.
- The Americans' frustration with these tactics led them to use unpleasant tactics:
  - **bombing**: the USA dropped more bombs on Vietnam than were dropped on Germany during the Second World War
  - **search and destroy**: villages were destroyed and people killed as soldiers searched for Viet Cong
  - **chemical weapons**: **napalm** and **Agent Orange** were used against people and villages.

### Changing **attitudes** in America led to a US **withdrawal**

- Several factors led to a change in the support for the war in the USA:
  - **the Tet Offensive**: Viet Cong fighters took the US by surprise by attacking over 100 cities and other military targets
  - **the media**: after the Tet Offensive the media became more critical of the US position in Vietnam

- **the My Lai massacre:** US forces killed 300–400 civilians in an atrocity in the village of My Lai. Americans began to question whether the USA was fighting on the right side.
- The change in support ultimately led to an end to the conflict as the peace movement gained strength.
- President Richard Nixon worked to end US involvement in the war and in January 1973 a peace agreement was signed.
- Within two years South Vietnam had fallen to the Communists.



## Test yourself

- 1 Name the corrupt leader of South Vietnam.
- 2 What tactics did the Viet Cong use?



## Practice question

Outline the reasons for the US entry into the Vietnam War. (5 marks)



## Spot the mistake

Below a sample exam-style question and a paragraph written in answer to this question. Why does this paragraph not get into Level 5? Once you have identified the mistake, rewrite the paragraph so that it displays the qualities of Level 5. The mark scheme on pages 188–90 will help you.

**How did Viet Cong tactics force the withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam in 1973? Explain your answer. (10 marks)**

*The Viet Cong used a variety of tactics to fight the US forces in Vietnam. It used a combination of guerrilla tactics to sneak attack and surprise US forces on the ground, and the tactic of destroying the jungle with weapons like napalm and Agent Orange.*



## Event overview grid

Complete a one-sentence summary of the events listed in the grid below.

<b>The Geneva Conference</b>	
<b>US support for Ngo Dinh Diem</b>	
<b>Viet Cong tactics</b>	
<b>US tactics</b>	
<b>US public opinion</b>	



OCR GCSE (9–1) SECOND EDITION

# HISTORY A

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Updated to reflect changes made by OCR to the date range of the International Relations period study, which will affect examinations from 2021 onwards.

*This revision guide covers the following options:*

### Period study

- 1 International Relations: the changing international order 1918–c.1975

### Non-British depth studies

- 2 Germany 1925–1955
- 3 The USA 1919–1948
- 4 The USA 1945–1974

### British thematic studies

- 5 Power: Monarchy and Democracy in Britain c.1000 to 2014
- 6 War and British Society c.790 to c.2010
- 7 Migration to Britain c.1000 to c.2010

### British depth studies

- 8 The English Reformation c.1520–c.1550
- 9 Personal Rule to Restoration 1629–1660
- 10 The Impact of Empire on Britain 1688–c.1730

### Study of the historic environment

- 11 Kenilworth Castle
- 12 Spitalfields