

Option B: Twentieth century topic**WERE SOVIET SUSPICIONS ABOUT THE MARSHALL PLAN JUSTIFIED?**

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer **all** the questions.

Background Information

After the end of the Second World War Soviet influence was extended in Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Suspecting a deep-laid Soviet plot to take over countries in these areas and then to make a move on the rest of Europe, the USA developed policies to defend against communism. A particular worry was that if Europe did not recover economically, it would turn to communism. To help economic recovery, the USA announced the Marshall Plan in June 1947. This involved giving money to participating countries to help them rebuild. This money was offered to Western and Eastern Europe.

The Soviet Union regarded the Marshall Plan with great suspicion and prevented Eastern European countries from taking American aid. The USSR saw the Marshall Plan as economic imperialism and as an attempt by the USA to gain control over Europe. Were the Soviets right to be suspicious?

SOURCE A

In the spring of 1947 the Americans were aware of the need to avoid any conduct that would put the responsibility for starting the Cold War on them. There was every reason for the Americans to tempt the Russians to participate in a programme of reconstruction for all Europe. The Marshall Plan posed no problem for the Europeans, though it could have done, had it been a challenge to Moscow. The crucial question was whether the Russians would come in or stay out. The door was being held open for them. If they and their satellites stayed out then Europe would be split and the Cold War would be under way.

However, Moscow feared being encircled by capitalistic-imperialistic nations. This would force Moscow to tighten its grip on Eastern Europe. Moscow now made a miscalculation. Thinking the West was about to fall into chaos, it underestimated the West's basic strength. Stalin responded with ruthless aggressiveness and acted like a barbarian chief who uses his boots on the bodies of his opponents. Nothing in the Marshall Plan could have been interpreted as threatening to Moscow. The West Europeans were simply seeking their own salvation but their decision to do so identified them as members of the camp opposed to Moscow, and therefore as proper objects of its hostility.

From a history book published in 1967.

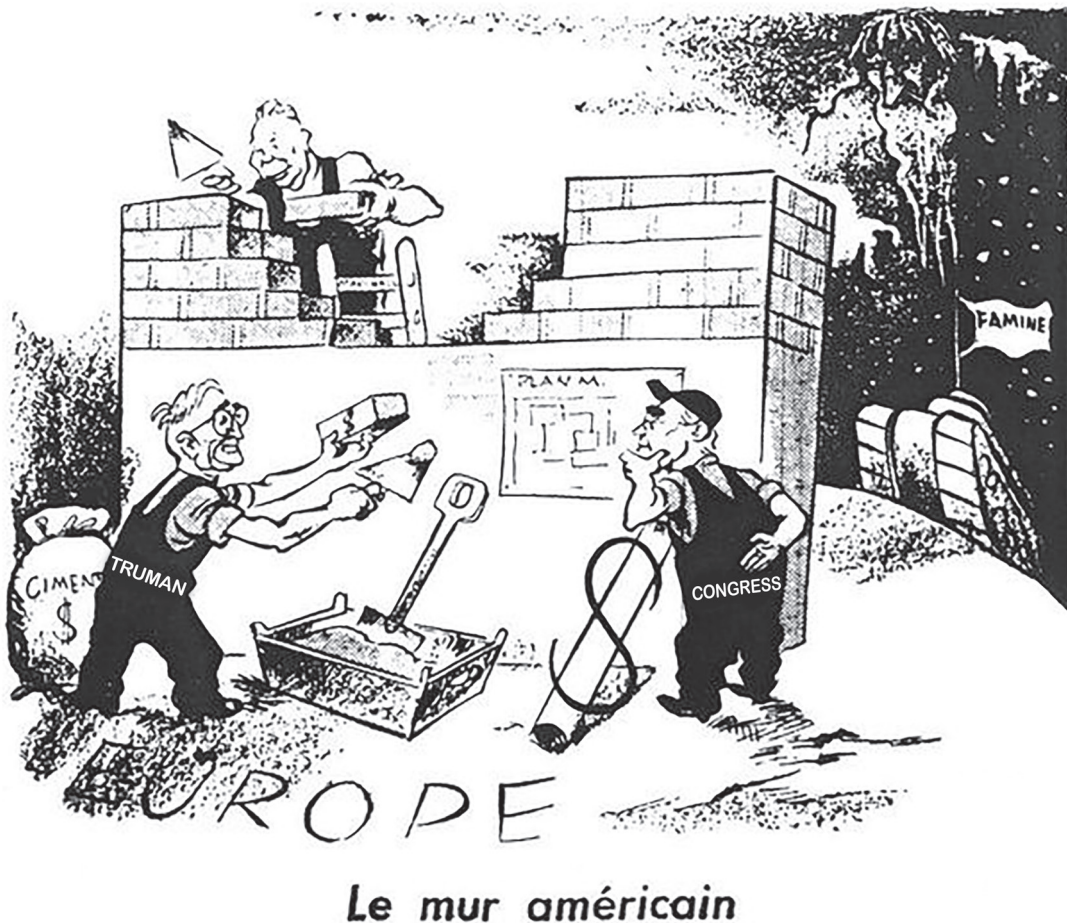
SOURCE B

The all-important question was how to handle the Russians. Outwardly, the Soviet bloc was invited to join the Plan. In reality the Americans made Russian acceptance unlikely by demanding that economic records of each nation be open for scrutiny. They also suggested that the Soviet economy, devastated by drought and famine, participate in the Plan by shipping Soviet goods to Europe. No one in the American government wanted the Soviets included. Truman believed that communists had to be fought, not fed.

The Russians gave the Plan serious consideration. However, when Western countries rejected Soviet demands for new controls over Germany, Molotov announced the Plan would revive Germany, allow Americans to control Europe and divide Europe into two groups. A revived Europe offered many advantages to the USA. It would remove the appeal of communism, maintain the demand for American exports, and free Europeans from economic problems so they could help the USA militarily. The Marshall Plan served as an all-purpose weapon for Truman's foreign policy. Truman proved to be correct in saying that the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan 'are two halves of the same walnut'. Rebuilding Europe through the Plan would tie it closer to American economic power and restore Western Germany. The Plan was also aimed at breaking up Soviet control of Eastern Europe. Stalin reacted sharply and, in early 1948, communists assumed full control of Czechoslovakia. The Cold War was well under way.

From a history book published in 1967.

SOURCE C



A cartoon published in France, 4 October 1947. The caption at the bottom means 'The American Wall'. The figures on the left represent Truman and Marshall.

SOURCE D

Europe's requirements for the next few years of foreign food and other essential products are so much greater than its ability to pay that it must have substantial help or face social and political deterioration of a very grave character. Apart from the possibilities of disturbances arising as a result of the desperation of the people concerned, the consequences to the economy of the United States should be clear to all. The United States should do whatever it can to assist the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.

From George Marshall's speech announcing the Marshall Plan, June 1947.

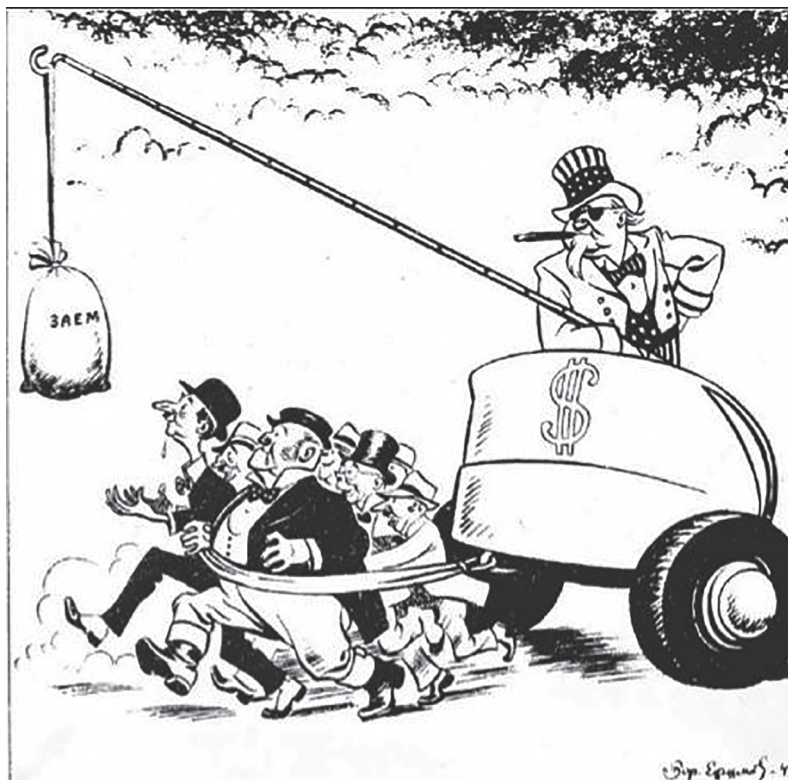
SOURCE E

It is becoming more and more clear that the implementation of the Marshall Plan will mean placing European countries under the economic and political control of the United States and direct interference by the United States in the internal affairs of those countries. This Plan is an attempt to split Europe into two camps and to complete the formation of a bloc of several European countries hostile to the interests of the democratic countries of Eastern Europe and most particularly to the Soviet Union.

An important feature of this Plan is to use Western Germany as one of the most important economic bases for American expansion in Europe, in disregard of the national interests of the countries which suffered from German aggression.

From a speech by Andrey Vyshinsky to the United Nations, September 1947. Vyshinsky was the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister.

SOURCE F



A cartoon, entitled 'American motor of the latest type', published in the Soviet Union, 1947. The figures to the left represent European nations. The bag on the left is full of money.

SOURCE G



"He's finally getting the hang of it."

A cartoon published in an American newspaper, April 1949.

Now answer **all** the following questions. You may use any of the sources to help you answer the questions, in addition to those sources which you are told to use. In answering the questions you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

1 Study Sources A and B.

How far do these two sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [7]

2 Study Source C.

Why was this cartoon published in France in October 1947? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Sources D and E.

How far does Source D make Source E surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Source F.

How useful is this cartoon as evidence about the Marshall Plan? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source G.

What is the cartoonist's message? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [7]

6 Study **all** the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the Soviet Union was justified in being suspicious about the Marshall Plan? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

Permission to reproduce items where third-party owned material protected by copyright is included has been sought and cleared where possible. Every reasonable effort has been made by the publisher (UCLES) to trace copyright holders, but if any items requiring clearance have unwittingly been included, the publisher will be pleased to make amends at the earliest possible opportunity.

To avoid the issue of disclosure of answer-related information to candidates, all copyright acknowledgements are reproduced online in the Cambridge Assessment International Education Copyright Acknowledgements Booklet. This is produced for each series of examinations and is freely available to download at www.cambridgeinternational.org after the live examination series.

Cambridge Assessment International Education is part of the Cambridge Assessment Group. Cambridge Assessment is the brand name of the University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate (UCLES), which itself is a department of the University of Cambridge.