



EDEXCEL INTERNATIONAL GCSE (9–1)

HISTORY

A WORLD DIVIDED: SUPERPOWER
RELATIONS, 1943–72

Student Book

Nigel Kelly

Series Editor: Nigel Kelly



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ABOUT THIS BOOK

This book is written for students following the Edexcel International GCSE (9–1) History specification and covers one unit of the course. This unit is A World Divided: Superpower Relations, 1943–72, one of the Depth Studies. The History course has been structured so that teaching and learning can take place in any order, both in the classroom and in any independent learning. The book contains five chapters which match the five areas of content in the specification:

- Reasons for the Cold War
- Early developments in the Cold War, 1945–49
- The Cold War in the 1950s
- Three crises: Berlin, Cuba and Czechoslovakia
- The Thaw and moves towards Détente, 1963–72

Each chapter is split into multiple sections to break down content into manageable chunks and to ensure full coverage of the specification.

Each chapter features a mix of learning and activities. Sources are embedded throughout to develop your understanding and exam-style questions help you to put learning into practice. Recap pages at the end of each chapter summarise key information and let you check your understanding. Exam guidance pages help you prepare confidently for the exam.

Learning Objectives Each section starts with a list of what you will learn in it. They are carefully tailored to address key assessment objectives central to the course.

Timeline Visual representation of events to clarify the order in which they happened.

Extend your knowledge Interesting facts to encourage wider thought and stimulate discussion. They are closely related to key issues and allow you to add depth to your knowledge and answers.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS, 1945–49 SUPERPOWER RELATIONS, 1943–72 21

2.1 SOVIET EXPANSION IN EASTERN EUROPE

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand the steps taken by the Soviet Union to control Eastern Europe.
- Understand why the Soviet Union took those steps.
- Understand how Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe affected its relations with the West.

GROWING EAST–WEST DIVISIONS, 1946–49



THE CREATION OF SOVIET SATELLITE STATES IN EASTERN EUROPE

KEY TERM

satellite state a nation that was once independent but is now under the control of another. In the Cold War, 'satellite states' usually describes nations under the political, economic and military control of the Soviet Union

- In 1944 and 1945, the Soviet Red Army freed many countries in Eastern Europe from the Nazis as it advanced west towards Germany. When the war was over, Stalin did not want to give up control of these countries as they were a useful buffer zone between the Soviet Union and Germany.
- Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia (sometimes called the Baltic States) were conquered by the Soviet Union in 1940. After that they were treated as if they were part of the Soviet Union.
 - Yugoslavia and Albania were also communist countries. However, they were never occupied by the Soviet Red Army, so had more independence than other countries that bordered the Soviet Union.
 - Stalin turned six other countries into **satellite states** with communist governments and little genuine independence from the Soviet Union. Truman saw this as evidence that the Soviet Union wanted to spread communism worldwide, and relations between the USA and Soviet Union became worse.
 - From 1919, Czechoslovakia was the only democracy in Eastern Europe. After the Second World War, a coalition tried to restore the pre-war democracy. Stalin saw this as a threat to the secure buffer zone he was trying to set up. Supported by the Soviet Union, communists overthrow the Czech president, Eduard Benes, in February 1948 and a communist government was set up under Klement Gottwald.
 - In 1944, Poles rebelled against the German occupation in the Warsaw Uprising. The Soviets had promised to help them, but, instead of doing so, the Red Army waited until the uprising had been crushed. Only then did they invade Poland to put a pro-communist government in place. At first, it included some of the London Poles, but after supposedly free elections in 1947, they were forced to flee or face being put in prison.
 - In Hungary, there were elections in 1945. Some communists were elected, but not enough to form a government. In the next election, in 1947, voters

74 BERLIN, CUBA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA SUPERPOWER RELATIONS, 1943–72

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

JAN PALACH
Palach was a 20-year-old university student when, on 16 January 1969, he set himself on fire in Wenceslas Square in Prague as a protest against the Soviet occupation of his country. He died 3 days later. His funeral was attended by 75,000 people. His grave in Prague attracted so many visitors that the government removed the headstone and sent his ashes back to his mother in his home village.

SOURCE P

A young journalist describes the moment when the Soviet troops arrived.

I remember very well the face of the first Soviet soldier I saw. He was carrying a huge machine gun, and looked like he'd just stepped out of a film about the battle of Stalingrad. He was very dirty, and his face was full of sweat. It was absolutely ridiculous, absolutely absurd. I tried to talk to him, but it was pointless, he wouldn't speak to me. Even later on, when I did manage to speak to some of the soldiers, it was useless. They were totally indoctrinated. They believed they had prevented the outbreak of World War III or something.

SOURCE O

Czech citizens on a captured Soviet tank in Prague in August 1968.



Dubcek was arrested, sent to Moscow and ordered to reverse his reforms. Brezhnev sent him back to Prague, but, in 1969, he was removed from office and replaced by Gustav Husak. Husak was an extreme communist who was very loyal to Moscow. He introduced a wave of oppression in which over 1,000 Czechs were arrested. For the next 20 years, the country was firmly under Soviet-approved communist rule.

ACTIVITY

- 1 In a small group, list as many reasons as you can why communism was unpopular in Czechoslovakia before 1968.
- 2 Look at the list of measures Dubcek proposed in the Prague Spring. Explain how each one might make communism more popular.
- 3 Can you think of any reason why Brezhnev sent Dubcek back to Prague in 1968, instead of removing him from office straight away?



▲ Figure 4.6 Reasons for the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia

Key term

Useful words and phrases are colour coded within the main text and picked out in the margin with concise and simple definitions. These help understanding of key subject terms and support students whose first language is not English.

Source

Photos, cartoons and text sources are used to explain events and show you what people from the period said, thought or created, helping you to build your understanding.

Activity

Each chapter includes activities to help check and embed knowledge and understanding.

Recap

At the end of each chapter, you will find a page designed to help you consolidate and reflect on the chapter as a whole.

Recall quiz

This quick quiz is ideal for checking your knowledge or for revision.

Exam-style question

Questions tailored to the Pearson Edexcel specification to allow for practice and development of exam writing technique. They also allow for practice responding to the command words used in the exams.

Skills

Relevant exam questions have been assigned the key skills which you will gain from undertaking them, allowing for a strong focus on particular academic qualities. These transferable skills are highly valued in further study and the workplace.

Hint

All exam-style questions are accompanied by a hint to help you get started on an answer.

Exam guidance

At the end of each chapter, you will find two pages designed to help you better understand the exam questions and how to answer them. Each exam guidance section focuses on a particular question type that you will find in the exam, allowing you to approach them with confidence.

16 REASONS FOR THE COLD WAR SUPERPOWER RELATIONS, 1943-72

SOURCE E
This cartoon, 'The Big Fourth', was published in a British newspaper on 17 July 1945. The label on the bomb reads: 'The terrible weapons of future wars unless agreement is reached on world policy.'

The Big Fourth. The world hoped for so much from the meetings at Potsdam. But the shadow of the uninitiated 'Big Fourth' fell and still falls over the international scene. (July 17, 1945)

ACTIVITIES

- 1 Look at Source E in a small group and discuss why the cartoon is called 'The Big Fourth'. What is the 'Big Fourth'? What does the shadow represent?
- 2 The cartoon was published in July 1945. What message do you think the cartoonist was trying to express?

EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

A01 A02

SKILLS PROBLEM SOLVING, REASONING, DECISION MAKING, ADAPTIVE LEARNING, INNOVATION

MCQ

'The main reason for the Cold War in Europe was the West's fear of communism.' How far do you agree? Explain your answer.

You may use the following in your answer:

- Fear of Communism
- The Second World War.

You must also use information of your own. (16 marks)

50 THE COLD WAR IN THE 1950s SUPERPOWER RELATIONS, 1943-72

RECAP

RECALL QUIZ

- 1 When did North Korea invade South Korea?
- 2 Which side was supported by the Soviet Union?
- 3 Who led the force put together by the United Nations?
- 4 Which country joined NATO in 1955?
- 5 Which country developed its first atomic bomb in 1949?
- 6 What is an ICBM?
- 7 Who was elected US president in 1952?
- 8 Who became leader of the Soviet Union in 1953?
- 9 Which leader introduced reforms in Hungary, leading to a Soviet invasion?
- 10 Give one reason why the USA did not intervene in Hungary.

CHECKPOINT

STRENGTHEN

S1 What new types of weapons were developed in the 1950s?
S2 What is meant by 'deterrence' in the Cold War?
S3 Why was West Germany joining NATO so important?

CHALLENGE

C1 Why did people think there might be an end to the Cold War after Stalin died?
C2 If both the USA and the Soviet Union already had the capability to destroy their rivals by 1950, why did they keep creating new weapons?
C3 Why did Hungarians think their uprising would receive outside support?

SUMMARY

- In 1953, North Korea invaded South Korea.
- The USA and the Soviet Union supported different sides in the war and tension between them increased.
- US involvement in the war led to it making commitments to help stop the spread of communism in Asia.
- Both the USA and the Soviet Union increased spending on defence after the war.
- In the 1950s, the arms race between the USA and the Soviet Union accelerated, with a massive development of nuclear arms on both sides.
- Both sides had enough weapons to destroy each other and the world several times over.
- In 1953, the election of Eisenhower and the death of Stalin seemed to reduce tension in the Cold War.
- When West Germany joined NATO, the Soviets set up the Warsaw Pact.
- A rebellion against Soviet domination of Hungary in 1956 was put down with armed force.
- The Hungarian Uprising did serious damage to East-West relations.

Checkpoint

Checkpoints help you to check and reflect on your learning. The Strengthen section helps you to consolidate knowledge and understanding, and check that you have grasped the basic ideas and skills. The Challenge questions push you to go beyond just understanding the information, and into evaluation and analysis of what you have studied.

Summary

The main points of each chapter are summarised in a series of bullet points. These are great for embedding core knowledge and handy for revision.

Student answers

Exemplar student answers are used to show what an answer to the exam question may look like. There are often two levels of answers so you can see what you need to do to write better responses.

THE COLD WAR IN THE 1950s SUPERPOWER RELATIONS, 1943-72 51

EXAM GUIDANCE: PART (B) QUESTIONS

A01 A02

Question to be answered: Explain two effects of the arms race (1950-58) on relations between the Soviet Union and the USA.

- 1 **Analysis Question 1:** What is the question type asking? In this question you have to demonstrate that you have knowledge and understanding of the key features and characteristics of the period studied. You also have to make judgements about historical events to consider what the effects of them were. In this particular case, it is knowledge and understanding of the arms race and its effect on relations between the Soviet Union and the USA.
- 2 **Analysis Question 2:** What do I have to do to answer the question well? Obviously you have to write about the arms race. But it isn't just a case of writing everything you know. You have to write about two effects. What are effects? They are things that the subject (you are given) causes to happen. The key to explaining the effect of an event is explaining the link between it and an outcome. So, for example, an effect of you doing a lot of revision should be that you can answer the questions in the exam better. You would explain this by emphasising how you know more facts, how you have to spend less time trying to remember things, how you have looked at more examples of how to answer questions, etc.
- 3 **Analysis Question 3:** Are there any techniques I can use to make it very clear that I am doing what is needed to be successful? This is an 8-mark question and you need to make sure you leave enough time to answer the other two questions fully (they are worth 22 marks in total). Remember you are not writing an essay here. You are providing two effects and enough historical detail to explain why the event had these effects. Therefore, you need to get straight in to writing your answer. The question asks for two effects, so it's a good idea to write two paragraphs and to begin each paragraph with phrases like 'One effect was...' 'Another effect was...'. The use of phrases in your answer such as 'this led to...' as a result of this; 'this brought about'; 'this resulted in' will help demonstrate that you are focussing on effects. The word 'explain' is important because it tells you that you have to do more than just state what the effect was. You need to use your knowledge of the period to explain how the effect led to the outcome. So 'this led to...' states an effect, but 'this led to...' because at this time... is moving towards an explanation. You cannot get more than 4 marks if you explain only one effect. However, you are required to explain only two effects and you will not gain credit for a third. If you do write about more than two, your better two will be credited and the third will be disregarded.

Advice on answering the question

Three key questions about the exam question are explained here in order to answer what the question is testing and what you need to do to succeed in the exam.

Pearson Progression

Sample student answers have been given a Pearson step from 1 to 12. This tells you how well the response has met the criteria in the Pearson Progression Map.

Commentary

Feedback on the quality of the answer is provided to help you understand their strengths and weaknesses and show how they can be improved.

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Answer A

In 1945, the USA was the only country with atomic weapons. President Truman knew that the atomic bomb gave the USA an important advantage because the Soviet Union only had conventional weapons. However, by 1949 the Soviet Union had developed its own atomic bomb. Then the USA developed a hydrogen bomb in 1952. This was 1000 times more powerful than the atomic bomb and restored the American advantage. One year later, the Soviet Union also had a hydrogen bomb. In 1957, the USA developed the ICBM (inter-continental ballistic missile). A few months later, the Soviet Union was testing its first ICBMs.

Both the USA and the Soviet Union spent huge sums of money on building up large armies, navies, submarine fleets and stocks of conventional and nuclear missiles. The weapons that were being developed were so powerful that, from the early 1950s, both the USA and the Soviet Union could have destroyed the world many times over.

What are the strengths and weaknesses of Answer A?

The only strength that this answer has is that it contains a lot of information about the arms race. There is no discussion of effects, just the story of the arms race. There is no mention of relations between the USA and the Soviet Union, so this answer would score very few marks indeed.

Answer B

One effect of the arms race was that it brought the United States and the Soviet Union into competition with each other and increased tension between them. So, every time one of the countries seemed to be getting an advantage over the other, there was a great effort put into developing new types of weapons to try and counter the advantage. When the United States was the only country with atomic weapons, the Soviet Union worked hard to produce its own bomb. Then the United States developed a hydrogen bomb and so did the Soviet Union. All this competition just reinforced the idea that they were competing in the Cold War.

However, we could say that another effect was to actually make relations between them less likely to lead to war. Before atomic and nuclear weapons were developed, countries produced weapons expecting to use them to win wars. What was happening now was that nuclear weapons were being developed to act as deterrents. The idea was that no country would go to war with you because they know that you could destroy them with your weapons. Even a victory would be at enormous cost. So, the effect on relations was to make the Soviet Union and the USA less likely to go to war.

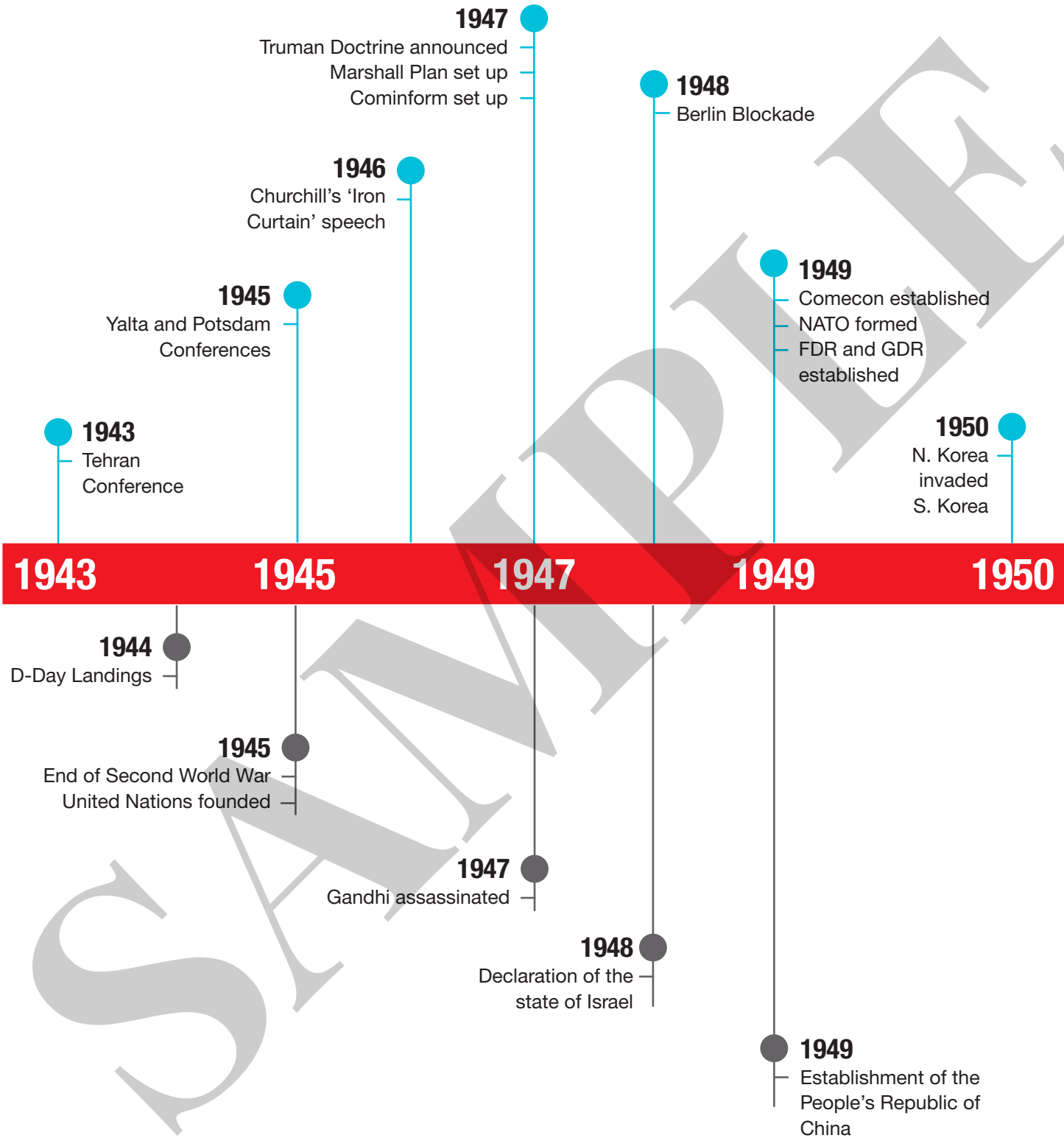
What are the strengths and weaknesses of Answer B?

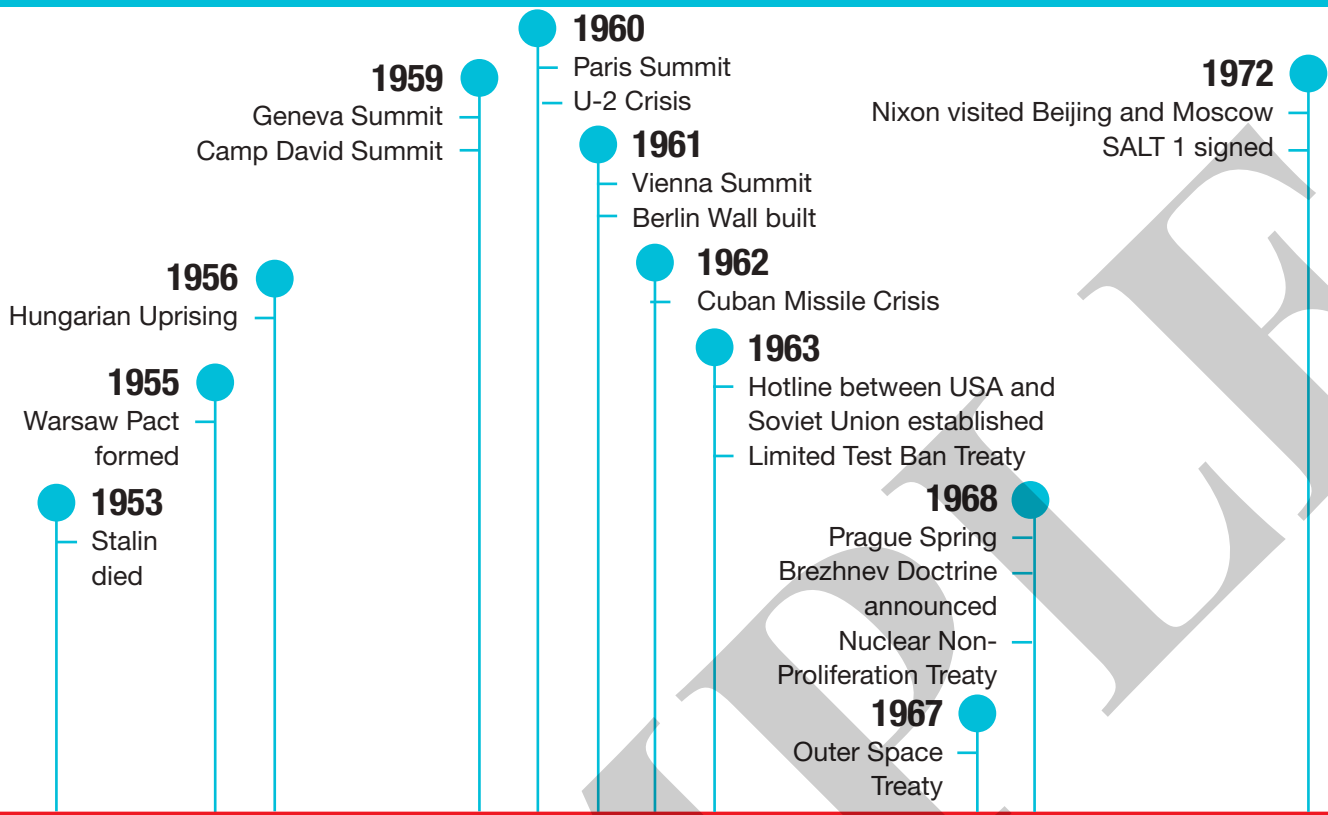
This is much more what is required. It identifies two effects and then uses knowledge of the arms race to explain how it changed relations. In the time there is to answer the question, it is difficult to see what else the student could have done.

Challenge a friend

Use the Student Book to set a part (B) question for a friend. Then look at the answer. Does it do the following things?

- Provide two effects
- Provide 3-4 lines of detailed historical knowledge to explain why the event caused the outcome (effect) you have identified.

TIMELINE – SUPERPOWER RELATIONS, 1943–72**TIMELINE – WORLD**

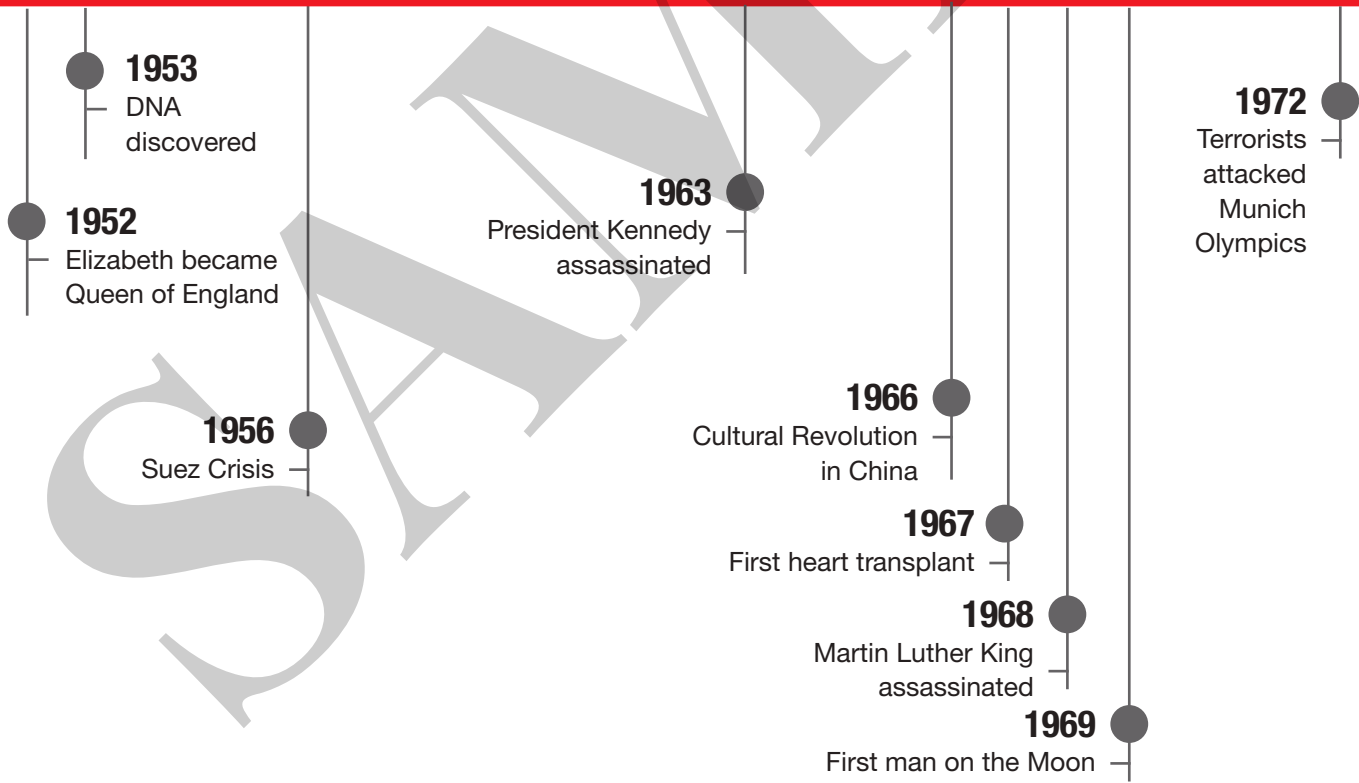


1955

1960

1965

1970



2. EARLY DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COLD WAR, 1945–49

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand how relations between East and West became worse in the years 1945–49
- Understand the steps taken by both the USA and the Soviet Union to protect their interests
- Understand how the division of Germany became accepted.

As the war came to an end, the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the USA, were becoming increasingly suspicious of each other. Stalin looked to protect the Soviet Union by establishing communist governments in countries on his western border. This led to the USA introducing the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan as part of its policy of containment to prevent the spread of communism.

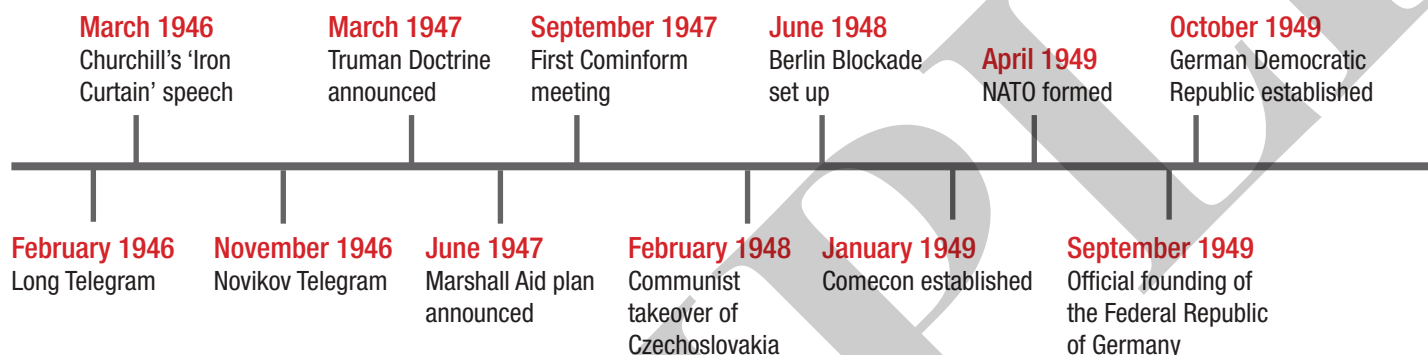
Stalin tested the USA's determination in 1948 when he placed a blockade around Berlin, but the USA broke that blockade and, a year later, brought the Western nations together in a military alliance (NATO). As the 1940s ended, relations between East and West remained poor.

2.1 SOVIET EXPANSION IN EASTERN EUROPE

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand the steps taken by the Soviet Union to control Eastern Europe
- Understand why the Soviet Union took those steps
- Understand how Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe affected its relations with the West.

GROWING EAST–WEST DIVISIONS, 1946–49



THE CREATION OF SOVIET SATELLITE STATES IN EASTERN EUROPE

KEY TERM

satellite state a nation that was once independent but is now under the control of another. In the Cold War, 'satellite states' usually describes nations under the political, economic and military control of the Soviet Union

In 1944 and 1945, the Soviet Red Army freed many countries in Eastern Europe from the Nazis as it advanced west towards Germany. When the war was over, Stalin did not want to give up control of these countries as they were a useful buffer zone between the Soviet Union and Germany.

- Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia (sometimes called the Baltic States) were conquered by the Soviet Union in 1940. After that they were treated as if they were part of the Soviet Union.
- Yugoslavia and Albania were also communist countries. However, they were never occupied by the Soviet Red Army, so had more independence than other countries that bordered the Soviet Union.
- Stalin turned six other countries into **satellite states** with communist governments and little genuine independence from the Soviet Union. Truman saw this as evidence that the Soviet Union wanted to spread communism worldwide, and relations between the USA and Soviet Union became worse.
- From 1919, Czechoslovakia was the only democracy in Eastern Europe. After the Second World War, a coalition tried to restore the pre-war democracy. Stalin saw this as a threat to the secure buffer zone he was trying to set up. Supported by the Soviet Union, communists overthrew the Czech president, Eduard Benes, in February 1948 and a communist government was set up under Klement Gottwald.
- In 1944, Poles rebelled against the German occupation in the Warsaw Uprising. The Soviets had promised to help them, but, instead of doing so, the Red Army waited until the uprising had been crushed. Only then did they invade Poland to put a pro-communist government in place. At first, it included some of the London Poles, but after supposedly free elections in 1947, they were forced to flee or face being put in prison.
- In Hungary, there were elections in 1945. Some communists were elected, but not enough to form a government. In the next election, in 1947, voters

were threatened in a campaign supported by Moscow and a Communist Party government was elected. By 1949, Hungary was a one-party, communist state.

- In 1944 and 1945, the Soviet Red Army took control of Bulgaria, Romania and the eastern parts of Germany. As in Poland, there were ‘free’ elections, but, in reality, voters were frightened into voting for Communist Party candidates. Communist governments were elected in all three areas.

▼ **Figure 2.1** Eastern Europe under Soviet control



SOURCE A

Klement Gottwald speaking at a communist rally in Prague, February 1948. After a coalition government was overthrown, Gottwald became president of a communist Czechoslovakia.



RISING TENSIONS

Both Truman and Stalin were worried by the break-up of the wartime alliance and that increased tension might lead to future conflict. They wanted to know how their rivals were thinking and, in 1946, both asked their **embassies** to report on attitudes in each other's countries. These reports came in the form of telegrams – a written message sent over a telegraph line.

KEY TERM

embassy the building where diplomats from a foreign country are based

SOVIET ATTITUDES: GEORGE KENNAN'S VIEW IN THE LONG TELEGRAM

George Kennan, the USA's ambassador in Moscow, lived and worked in the Soviet Union as a diplomat. When he sent a telegram discussing US–Soviet relations, his views were taken seriously by the American government. While most telegrams were very short, Kennan's telegram was more like a letter, so his message became known as the Long Telegram.

It contained a message that worried the American government. He reported that Stalin wanted to see the destruction of capitalism and felt the world outside the Soviet Union was unfriendly and looking to destroy communism. However, Kennan also believed that the Soviet Union was not self-destructive, so if faced with strong resistance, it would soften its position. This was a

KEY TERM

containment limiting the spread of something. In American foreign policy, it came to mean preventing the spread of communism

SOURCE C

From the Novikov Telegram sent from Washington to Moscow by Nikolai Novikov, Soviet ambassador to the USA, on 27 September 1946.

US foreign policy has been characterized in the postwar period by a desire for world domination. All these steps to preserve the great military potential are not an end in itself, of course. They are intended only to prepare conditions to win world domination in a new war being planned by the most warlike circles of American imperialism...

ACTIVITY

- 1 With a partner, re-read Sources B, C and D. Try to summarise the message in each source into just one or two sentences.
- 2 What term does Churchill use in his speech to describe the imaginary line between East and West in Europe?
- 3 Set up a debate, with one group representing the USA and the other representing the Soviet Union. Argue that the worsening of relations after 1941 was not your fault, but was all down to 'the other side'. What will you say?

really important message, which played a key role in American policy towards the Soviet Union in the coming years. The American government agreed with what Kennan said and believed there should be a determined policy of '**containment**' to stop communism spreading.

SOURCE B

From the Long Telegram sent to Washington by the US ambassador to the Soviet Union, George Kennan, on 22 February 1946.

We have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that... it is desirable and necessary that... our traditional way of life be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken, if Soviet power is to be secure... But... the problem is within our power to solve... without... military conflict.

US ATTITUDES: THE VIEW OF NIKOLAI NOVIKOV

Nikolai Novikov was a Soviet diplomat working in Washington. His telegram to the government in Moscow shows that some Soviets equally did not trust the West. Novikov's telegram said the USA wanted to use its massive military power to dominate the world. He believed that, since Roosevelt's death, the Americans no longer wanted to co-operate with the Soviet Union and the American people would support their government if this led to war. Such a view had a major impact in Moscow. If this was how the USA was thinking, it was vital to develop as much protection as possible in Eastern Europe. Stalin accepted what Novikov said and the telegram further encouraged him to take control of the countries on his border.

A BRITISH POINT OF VIEW: WINSTON CHURCHILL'S IRON CURTAIN SPEECH

In March 1946, Winston Churchill was no longer British prime minister, but he still had enormous influence. On a visit to Fulton, Missouri, in the USA, he gave a speech that is now seen as a defining moment in US–Soviet relations. In the speech, he made it clear that he thought the Soviet Union was a threat to freedom and world peace. He chose to make this speech because communist governments had recently been set up in Hungary, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria.

Churchill was speaking in the USA and must have shown his speech to Truman first. So Stalin thought what Churchill said was reflecting American beliefs too. The speech, along with the Novikov Telegram, increased tension and led the Soviet Union to strengthen its forces and step up a campaign of anti-Western propaganda. Whether he intended it or not, Churchill's speech made the hostility between East and West worse.

SOURCE D

From a speech given by Winston Churchill on 5 March 1946 at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri. Here he describes the Soviet Union's growing control over Eastern Europe.

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe... all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in some cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow.

2.2 THE IMPACT ON US–SOVIET RELATIONS OF THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE AND MARSHALL PLAN

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand why President Truman introduced his ‘Truman Doctrine’
- Understand how the Marshall Plan supported the Truman Doctrine
- Understand how the US policy of containment affected its relations with the Soviet Union.

Kennan’s Long Telegram (see pages 23–24) had confirmed Truman’s worst fears. It said the Soviet Union intended to spread communism throughout Europe. Truman’s military advisers assured him that the Soviet Union was not strong enough to fight a successful war against the West, but Truman knew that the Soviets might not need to go to war to increase their territory and power. After the Second World War, many European countries were in ruins. Homes, factories and infrastructure, like roads and railways, had been destroyed. In these economic conditions, communism looked very attractive to poorer members of society because, in a communist state, the wealth of the richest people would be redistributed and shared by all. Stalin did not need to fight a war. He just needed to influence the unhappy people of Europe to support communism and help set up communist governments, as he had been doing in Eastern Europe.

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE – STATING THE US POSITION

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

THE GREEK CIVIL WAR

During the Second World War, the German occupation of Greece was resisted by two separate groups in Greece, a communist group and a pro-royalist group. After the Germans left, the two groups fell out. The British restored the Greek monarchy and put down a communist rebellion. When the communists renewed their fight in 1946, the British tried to suppress them, but asked the USA to take over in 1947. The communists were finally defeated in 1949 and fled to Albania.

KEY TERM

isolationism staying apart, not getting involved in the affairs of others. The USA followed a policy of isolationism after the First World War. It was forced to abandon this policy in 1941, when Japan bombed Pearl Harbor. However, in 1945, when the war ended, many Americans hoped the country would return to isolationism

The USA had hoped that wealthier European countries, such as Britain, might be able to help rebuild Europe’s broken economies (and make communism look like a less attractive option). But, after 6 years of war, Britain was nearly **bankrupt** and providing **aid** to other countries was becoming impossible. When the British government announced in 1947 that it could no longer provide military support to the Greek government against communist **guerrillas**, President Truman decided it was time for the USA to take action.

On 12 March 1947, President Truman delivered a speech to the US Congress (see Source E). The speech was officially given to announce an economic aid package to Greece and Turkey. Truman announced that the USA would provide \$400 million in aid to Greece and Turkey, and send American civilian and military personnel to the region.

However, Truman also used the opportunity to make a clear statement of what he saw as the differences between democracy and communism. He spoke of two alternative ways of life between which every nation must choose. The first way, he said, offered majority rule and freedom from political **oppression**. The second was for the will of the minority to be forced upon the majority, which Truman said was what communism did. Truman believed choosing democracy over communism was like choosing good over evil. He said communism should not be allowed to grow and that the USA was prepared to send troops and economic aid to those countries trying to resist it.

These ideas became known as ‘the Truman Doctrine’ and indicated the beginnings of a new approach to international relations for the USA. Before the Second World War, the USA had followed a policy of **isolationism**. This policy was now abandoned. The USA was setting itself up as the leader of the fight against communism, and isolationism was replaced with containment.

ACTIVITY

Read Source E.
What criticisms is Truman making about communism?

SOURCE E

From the Truman Doctrine speech delivered on 12 March 1947 to the US Congress. Immediately before this extract, Truman described the first way of government as American-style democracy with majority rule and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio; fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms. I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

A01

A02

Explain **two** effects of the Truman Doctrine on superpower relations. (8 marks)

HINT

Remember that this question is asking for two effects. If you explain only one, you won't be able to get more than half marks.

SOURCE F

A British cartoon from 1947. It is suggesting that the USA needs to 'prop up' western Europe.



NEIGHBOURS

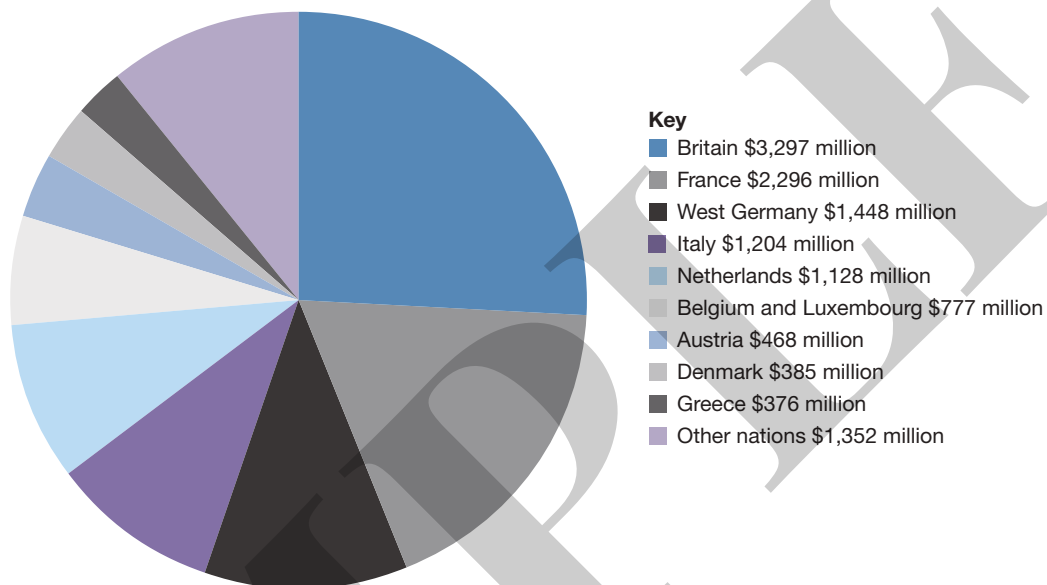
"Come on, Sam! It's up to us again."

THE MARSHALL PLAN – FIGHTING COMMUNISM WITH FINANCIAL AID

The USA had not suffered damage to its infrastructure and industry during the war in the same way as European countries had, so it was well placed to provide economic aid to Europe. Three months after Truman's speech, details were given on how that aid would be provided in a speech by the US secretary of state, George Marshall.

The Marshall Plan was a practical outcome of the Truman Doctrine: providing economic aid to help war-torn countries in order to stop communism from taking over in Western Europe. Between 1948 and 1952, the USA gave \$13.7 billion of aid, in addition to \$13 billion already given by the USA before the Marshall Plan went into action. The European countries helped by the Marshall Plan were: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and West Germany. Britain received more than a quarter of the total aid package.

► **Figure 2.2** The money given to European nations under the Marshall Plan was shared out according to population and how industrialised they were before the war



SOURCE G

American and British officials watching Caribbean sugar, sent under the Marshall Plan, being unloaded at Woolwich Docks in London in 1949.



The economic impact of Marshall Aid in Western Europe was enormous, although it took until the 1950s for the full effects to be seen. The British foreign secretary, Ernest Bevin, called it ‘a lifeline to sinking men, giving hope where there was none’.

In the USA, there was much debate about whether to offer aid to the Soviet Union and the satellite states. It was decided that it could be offered, but (as in Western Europe) countries would first have to agree to a thorough review of their finances. However, the USA knew Stalin would not allow this, so in practice, Eastern European countries did not benefit from the Marshall Plan.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

SMALLER-SCALE MARSHALL AID

Marshall Aid was not just loans and grants to governments. It also involved making direct grants to groups in need. It included nets for Norwegian fishermen, donkeys for Greek farmers and food for starving people. One hungry boy who received free soup from the back of a lorry in his school was called Helmut Kohl. He grew up to be the first chancellor of a reunited Germany after the Cold War.

SOURCE H

From a speech made by US secretary of state, George Marshall, on 5 June 1947. Marshall said Europe could not possibly meet its own needs for food and essential products for the next 3–4 years and needed substantial help.

Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist...

‘DOLLAR IMPERIALISM’ – THE SOVIET RESPONSE

President Truman saw his new policy as a defensive measure to contain communism. Not surprisingly, Stalin did not see it like that at all. He believed the Truman Doctrine showed that the USA was trying to extend its influence in Europe. He also thought it was weakening the international role of the United Nations by suggesting that it was the USA’s job to protect the world. Stalin argued that the Marshall Plan was a way of using economic might to divide Europe in two and establish an American **economic empire** there. The Soviets called this ‘**dollar imperialism**’.

The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan had a huge impact on international relations from 1947.

- Any remaining belief that there was still a Grand Alliance was gone, as the USA had now set itself up in direct opposition to the communist Soviet Union – and invited other nations to join it.
- Stalin’s suspicions of the West were strengthened. He believed he now had evidence that the USA was trying to destroy the Soviet Union.
- The Marshall Plan successfully tied Western European countries into supporting the USA. As Stalin rejected it (and set up his own economic plan, Comecon – see page 29), Europe became divided into two economic and political camps.
- The history of Europe for the next 50 years became one of extreme rivalry between the two superpowers and attempts to win diplomatic and political victories over their opponents.

ACTIVITY

- 1 Look at Sources H and E. In what ways does Marshall’s speech (Source H) support what Truman says in Source E? In what ways is the message different?
- 2 Look at Source I.
 - a How does its view on the Marshall Plan differ from that of Source H?
 - b Why do you think it says different things to Source H?

SOURCE I

From a speech by the Soviet foreign minister, Andrey Vyshinsky, given at the United Nations in September 1947.

It is becoming more and more evident 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 in those countries. Moreover, this plan is an attempt to split Europe into two camps, and with the help of Britain and France, to complete the formation of a group of countries hostile to the interests of the democratic countries.

THE FORMATION OF COMINFORM AND COMECON

The Marshall Plan set Stalin an economic and political challenge. He therefore set up two new organisations for the communist countries of Europe.

- Cominform, the Communist Information Bureau, was a political organisation set up in 1947.
- Comecon, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, was an economic organisation set up in 1949.

Stalin's strengthening of power in turn led to a **stand-off** in Berlin in 1948 (see page 31) and to the USA and Western European countries creating a new military alliance, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), in 1949.

COMINFORM, 1947

Cominform was set up on Stalin's orders on 22 September 1947. It was an association of Communist parties from all over Europe. The new body gave Stalin a way of directing and controlling the governments of the satellite states. At its first meeting, it rejected the Marshall Plan. Cominform spread propaganda and accused America of being no different from Nazi Germany. It was also responsible for ending opposition to Moscow and ensuring the loyalty of Eastern European governments.

COMECON, 1949

Stalin wanted communist states to keep their independence from capitalist governments and did not want the USA to become powerful in Eastern Europe, so he would not allow the satellite states to accept Marshall Aid. He also knew that he needed to offer a positive alternative to American aid if he was to keep the satellite states under his control. He therefore created an aid package based on communist beliefs.

Comecon was established on 25 January 1949, 2 years after the Marshall Plan was announced. Its members were the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania. East Germany and Albania joined the following year. Comecon was in direct competition with the Marshall Plan and aimed to support economic development in its member states. It also discouraged trade with the USA and Western Europe.

2.3 THE 1948 BERLIN CRISIS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

- Understand why Stalin established the Berlin Blockade
- Understand how the USA broke that blockade
- Understand how the blockade led to the creation of East and West Berlin.

Europe was now divided into two very different political and economic camps. Soon there would also be two military camps, but first Stalin was determined to test the Western alliance to see just how strong it was.

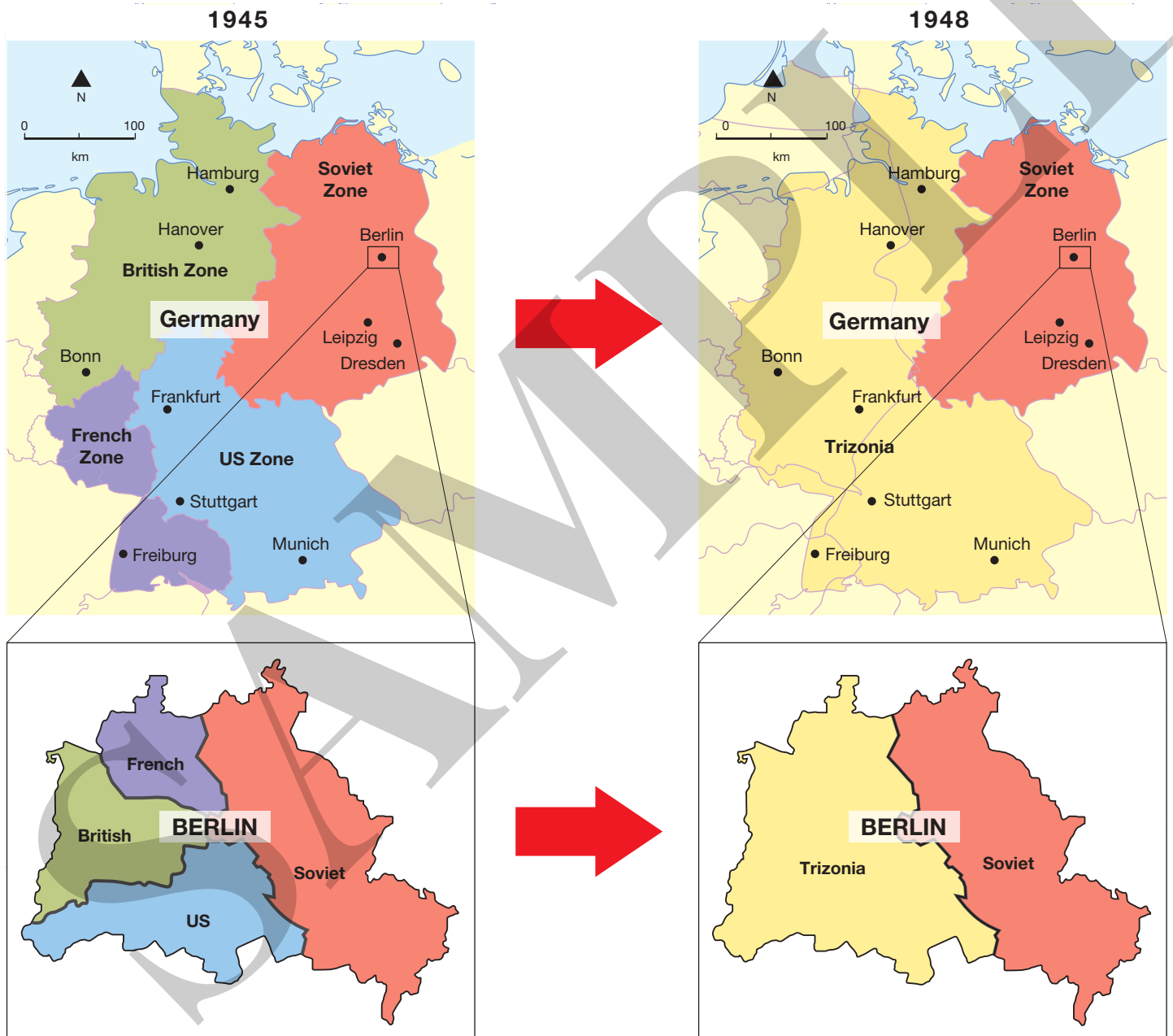
GERMANY DIVIDED

At Potsdam, the Grand Alliance agreed to divide Germany, and its capital Berlin, into four separate occupation zones administered by the Soviet Union, the USA, Britain and France. The division was meant to be temporary, but

ended up lasting for many years. The Allied Control Commission (ACC) was the central organisation for the four zones. There were soldiers on the streets and, in Berlin, military checkpoints between zones.

There were disagreements between the occupying powers. The three Western countries and the Soviet Union had different ways of looking at Germany. The Soviets wanted to take as much material as possible back to help rebuild the Soviet Union, whilst the Western countries wanted to build up Germany's economy. They hoped that, if Germany could become wealthy, it would not only be a better trading partner, but would also find it easier to resist communism. In December 1947, talks between the foreign ministers of the occupying powers broke down and the Soviets stormed out.

▼ **Figure 2.3** Berlin and Germany in 1945, divided into four zones, and in 1948, after the Western zones were joined together as Trizonia (though the various zones of occupation continued in Trizonia)



UNITING THE WESTERN ZONES

With the Soviets no longer co-operating, the remaining allies (the USA, Britain and France) had to decide how to run their part of Germany. The British and Americans had already combined their zones into 'Bizonia' in 1947 and, in March 1948, the French added theirs to create 'Trizonia'. The result was that Germany and Berlin were now split into two parts, western Trizonia and eastern Soviet-controlled Germany.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

GERMAN ATTITUDES TO THE SOVIETS

Stalin hoped that, after the war, a united Germany might become communist. But this was very unlikely. Even in the Soviet zone, the Soviets were not popular. As the Red Army advanced into Germany at the end of the Second World War, its soldiers carried out violent acts in revenge for what the Nazis had done in the Soviet Union. This created deep anger amongst many Germans.

Then, in June 1948, the three allies created a single currency, the Deutschmark, to give Trizonia economic unity. The decision to introduce the Deutschmark took place at an ACC meeting in Berlin. The Soviets were furious about the decision for two reasons.

- The new single currency in Trizonia created a separate economic unit from the East.
- It accepted that there were, in effect, two Germanys: West and East.

To Stalin, this was a further example of the West 'ganging up' on the Soviet Union. He saw the formation of Trizonia as a means of developing the three zones more effectively and deliberately forcing the Soviet zone into poverty. He was now even more determined to stand firm and protect Soviet interests in Germany. He believed Germany should be one united country and that it should follow communist ideology.

THE BERLIN BLOCKADE

Stalin knew that the Western-occupied zones of Berlin were easy to attack, as they were entirely surrounded by Soviet-occupied territory. In addition, there were just two agreed land routes and two air routes, or 'corridors', across the Soviet zone of Germany into Western-occupied Berlin.

In June 1948, Stalin decided to shut off the land routes across Soviet-controlled Germany into Berlin, in what has become known as the '**Berlin Blockade**'. He wanted to show the USA, Britain and France that a divided Germany would not work. Trizonia would no longer be able to communicate with the capital, Berlin, and the people of Berlin would soon run short of food. If the blockade was successful, Stalin would win a huge propaganda success at the expense of the West. It might also mean that the Western powers would give up control of their zones in Berlin and allow the whole of the capital to be controlled by the Soviet Union. This was a direct challenge to Truman – Stalin knew Truman could not ignore the blockade because of his recent speech about defending the world from communism (see page 26).

The West knew that an attempt to force supplies into Berlin along the closed land routes would be seen as a potential act of war and might lead to direct military confrontation. However, if they flew supplies into their zones in Berlin, the only way they could be stopped was if Stalin had the aeroplanes shot down. That would make him the aggressor and Truman doubted that Stalin was prepared to go that far.

THE BERLIN AIRLIFT

On 26 June, the Western Allies began Operation Vittles, better known as the Berlin Airlift. They flew food, coal and other essential supplies into the city from the Allied zones, along the air corridors. The pilots were taking a huge risk as they could not be sure the Soviets would not shoot them down.

The people of West Berlin and Western troops in the city joined together to create a new airport at Tegel so that supplies could be landed in the Western zones. Ordinary citizens helped to unload the planes and hand out the essential supplies to all who needed them. The Americans were soon able to

fly in at least 1,000 tonnes of supplies every day and the British achieved a similar rate. In the peak month of flying, January 1949, no fewer than 170,000 tonnes of supplies were sent into Berlin by Western aircraft.

On 9 May 1949, nearly a year later, the Soviets gave in and lifted the blockade. The airlift had worked and West Berlin had survived. Stalin's attempt to win a propaganda victory over Britain, France and the USA had not worked. The West had responded in a peaceful way to what now looked like a foolish and aggressive act by Stalin.

SOURCE J

A photograph of children watching as a supply aeroplane arrives in Berlin during the Berlin Airlift.



EXTRACT A

A modern historian writing about the Berlin Airlift.

Special difficulties arose over Berlin, which became a centre of Cold War conflict. The communists saw Berlin as a capitalist base in eastern Europe. It provided an escape route to the West for people in the East. It was a hotbed of western spies operating in eastern Europe. It could be used as a western base to attack the Soviet Union's allies. Soviet policy was to remove the West from Berlin as soon as possible. Stalin hoped to do this by cutting off communications between the western zones and West Berlin.

EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

A04

SKILLS

ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION,
CREATIVITY

Study Extract A.

What impression does the author give about the reasons for the Berlin Blockade?

You **must** use Extract A to explain your answer.

(6 marks)

HINT

Note the question tells you that you must use the source to explain your answer. That means quoting the part of the source that led you to have your view on the author's impression.

EXTEND YOUR KNOWLEDGE

OPERATION LITTLE VITTLES

While he was landing at Tempelhof Airport to deliver supplies, the American pilot Gail Halvorsen saw children watching from the fence. He decided that, on his next flight, he would parachute-drop sweets to them. Soon other pilots did the same. Their actions were nicknamed 'Operation Little Vittles'.

ACTIVITY

- 1 List the practical steps the British and US armed forces took to set up the Berlin Airlift. What did citizens of Berlin do to help the airlift succeed?
- 2 Write a short paragraph explaining why the USA was so determined to keep the Western zones of Berlin out of Soviet hands.
- 3 In a small group, discuss what the results might have been if:
 - a the Western Allies had not carried out the Berlin Airlift
 - b Stalin had shot down the first aeroplanes flying supplies to Berlin.

THE CREATION OF EAST AND WEST GERMANY

After the Berlin Blockade, it was clear that the division of Germany would continue. The Western Allies quickly moved to create a separate West Germany.

- 8 May 1949: just 3 days after the end of the blockade, the USA, Britain and France permitted their zones to come together as a state known as the Federal Republic of Germany.
- 14 August 1949: Germans in the new country were allowed to elect their own parliament, called the Bundestag.
- 15 September 1949: the first democratically elected chancellor of the Federal Republic, Konrad Adenauer, took office.
- The Federal Republic's new capital was Bonn. The new country was much bigger than East Germany.
- The three Western-controlled zones of Berlin continued and became known as West Berlin.

Stalin responded by creating the German Democratic Republic in October 1949. Only the communist bloc countries recognised it as a nation. The Federal Republic refused to recognise that Germany had been split in two until the 1970s.

For the next 40 years, people would talk about West Germany and East Germany but, for most of this time, each German regarded their own state as the only real one.

THE CREATION OF NATO

SOURCE K

An extract from the NATO Charter. Article 5 stated:

The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them... will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

Stalin's threat to Berlin and the communist takeover in Czechoslovakia, which happened the same year, persuaded the Western powers that they needed a formal military alliance to protect themselves from the Soviet Union. They also wanted to send Stalin a message about their determination to stand firm against communism.

In April 1949, the USA, Britain, France and nine other Western countries joined together in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The members of NATO agreed that, if any member was attacked, all members of NATO would come to its assistance. The British foreign secretary, Ernest Bevin, played a major part in bringing about this alliance. He made a speech in the British parliament in which he said that European countries would welcome American involvement and called on other Western European countries to connect with the USA.

Until now the USA was not certain to get involved directly in the defence of Western Europe after the Second World War. The Truman Doctrine said the USA would offer assistance, but the creation of a formal military alliance was a major step beyond this. NATO resulted in the Americans keeping bases in Europe throughout the Cold War, which has continued right up to the present day.

ACTIVITY

- 1 Imagine you are a radio reporter working for an American radio station. You have been asked to give a 1-minute broadcast on 'How the USA saved Europe from communism in the years 1947–49'. What would you say?
- 2 Now imagine that Stalin has asked you to explain to him in just 1 minute how American policy was a threat to the Soviet Union in the years 1947–49. What would you say to Stalin?

EXAM-STYLE QUESTION

A01

A02

SKILLS

PROBLEM SOLVING, REASONING,
DECISION MAKING, ADAPTIVE
LEARNING, INNOVATION

'The main reason for the worsening relations between the Soviet Union and the USA in the years 1945–49 was the Berlin Crisis (1948–49).'

How far do you agree? Explain your answer.

You may use the following in your answer:

- the Berlin Crisis (1948–49)
- the Marshall Plan.

You **must** also use information of your own.

(16 marks)

HINT

Remember that this question is not asking for a description of an event or policy. It is asking why that event or policy made relations worse. Make sure you explain how the factors you write about increased the tension between East and West.

RECAP

RECALL QUIZ

- 1 In which country was a communist government established in February 1948?
- 2 Where did Churchill make his 'Iron Curtain' speech?
- 3 What was the Truman Doctrine?
- 4 Which country received more than a quarter of the aid given out under the Marshall Plan?
- 5 What did the Soviet Union set up to rival the Marshall Plan?
- 6 What was Cominform?
- 7 What was Operation Vittles?
- 8 What was Trizonia?
- 9 When was NATO formed?
- 10 Who was the first democratically elected chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany?

CHECKPOINT

STRENGTHEN

- S1** What was important about the Truman Doctrine?
S2 Which countries received the most aid from the Marshall Plan?
S3 What was the role of Comecon?

CHALLENGE

- C1** Why was Cominform set up?
C2 In what way was the USA's signing of the NATO treaty a change from past policy?
C3 Challenge a partner to see who can give the best 1-minute speech about 'How the Cold War developed, 1945–49'. As you listen to your partner's speech, list any important events you think have been missed. What would you include in a short summary?

SUMMARY

- Towards the end of the war, the Soviet Union began taking control of countries in Eastern Europe.
- The West became concerned that an 'Iron Curtain' was being formed.
- In the Truman Doctrine, Truman promised to defend democratic countries against communism.
- George Marshall, the US secretary of state, promised massive aid to Europe, launching the Marshall Plan.
- Western European countries welcomed the Marshall Plan, but Soviet-controlled countries were not allowed to accept aid. Stalin set up Cominform and Comecon as rivals to the Marshall Plan.
- West Berlin was blockaded by the Soviet Union. Britain and the USA organised a successful airlift to rescue the city.
- The USA agreed to keep military bases in Europe and, with Britain's encouragement, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was formed.
- The Western-controlled areas of Germany were combined to form Trizonia, which eventually became the Federal Republic of Germany.
- The Soviet zone became the German Democratic Republic.

EXAM GUIDANCE: PART (A) QUESTIONS

Study Extract A.

EXTRACT A

From a history of superpower relations published in 2009.

The Marshall Plan promised large sums of American financial aid to Europe. Churchill said it was the most unselfish act in history, but the motives of the Americans were more than just humanitarian. Without financial assistance, Europe would not be able to act as a market for American goods. In addition, there were political considerations. The Americans saw poverty as the perfect breeding ground for the hated communism. But the Soviet Union saw the Marshall Plan as interference in the states of Europe and labelled the plan ‘dollar imperialism’*

[Dollar imperialism* = using financial aid to win support for your country.]

A04
SKILLS

 ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION,
CREATIVITY

Question to be answered: What impression does the author give about the Marshall Plan?

You must use Extract A to explain your answer.

(6 marks)

1

Analysis Question 1: What is the question type testing?

In this question you have to make an inference from what the extract says to show what impression the author set out to create. The key to analysing the extracts is to understand that the author deliberately chooses how he/she writes. He/she will make a choice about what language to use, what tone to adopt and what content to include to create an impression.

2

Analysis Question 2: What do I have to do to answer the question well?

Obviously you have to read the extract carefully and work out what the author is trying to make you think. Has the author set out to give a positive or negative impression or has he/she set out to suggest that an event/policy or movement was significant/ineffective, successful/unsuccessful. The language and tone of the source will help you see this. Are there any especially ‘emotional’ words? Has the author deliberately included things or left things out?

3

Analysis Question 3: Are there any techniques I can use to make it very clear that I am doing what is needed to be successful?

This is a 6-mark question and you need to make sure you leave enough time to answer the other two questions fully (they are worth 24 marks in total). So you want to answer this question as quickly as you can. A good way to do this is to answer the question straight away.

So why not begin with ‘The impression the author is trying to give about the importance of the Marshall Plan is...’.

So now you have to prove it. A good way to do this is to say, ‘I think this because of the language and tone...’, then quote Extract A to prove what you are saying about language and tone.

Another way is to say, ‘I also think this is true because of the content the author has chosen...’ then quote Extract A to prove what you are saying about content choice. For example, the author shows its importance by writing how both the USA and the Soviet Union think the Marshall Plan is important.



Answer A

The author gives the impression that the Marshall Plan affected relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. I know this because the author has adopted a tone and used language that suggests that the Marshall Plan made relations worse between the two countries.

What are the strengths and weaknesses of Answer A?

*Well, this is probably the correct answer, but it isn't going to get many marks! The problem is that there is no attempt to prove what is being said. The question says, 'You **must** use Extract A to explain your answer' (it even says it in bold!), but there is no use of Extract A here. When the student decided what to write, he/she must have read something in Extract A to make him/her think like this. So why not put it in the answer? If that had been done, then the answer would have been very good.*

Has Extract A got any emotive language? How about 'unselfish', 'perfect breeding ground', 'interference', 'dollar imperialism'? Has the author deliberately chosen to include some points, but not others? Well, evidence that both countries thought it was important has been included. However, it is interesting that the author talks about how Churchill thought the Marshall Plan was unselfish. He didn't have to say that, so it must have been included to create an impression.



Answer B

The author gives the impression that the Marshall Plan affected relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. I know this because the author has written that the Marshall Plan was introduced because 'poverty was the perfect breeding ground' for communism. So it is anti-communist and the Soviet Union was a communist country. The Soviet Union will recognise it as being against them. The extract also says that the Marshall Plan was considered by Churchill to be an 'unselfish' action. So the British are saying the plan is good. That's going to make the Soviet Union even more annoyed and damage relations. Then the author tells us that the Soviets considered that the Marshall Plan was 'interference'. So that shows they were annoyed and that they must have felt less positive about what the Americans were doing. Throughout the extract the language is selected to create an impression of the Marshall Plan being a good thing. It is described as 'unselfish', 'more than humanitarian' and against 'hated communism'. The language also shows that it is harming relations by saying the Soviets saw it as 'interference' and 'imperialism'.

What are the strengths and weaknesses of Answer B?

This is a very good answer. The student has identified the overall impression of the source and provided plenty of evidence from the extract to support the impression.

Challenge a friend

Find a passage about the Marshall Plan in a history book and set a part (a) question for a friend. (Remember to choose a passage that has got some opinion in it. We can't answer this type of question easily if the extract is just straightforward narrative of what happened.) Then look at the answer. Does it do the following things?

- State a valid impression from the source
- Provide 3–4 lines explaining how language, tone and content choice prove this.

If it does, you can tell your friend that the answer is very good!