

HODDER **GCSE** HISTORY FOR **EDEXCEL**



SUPERPOWER RELATIONS AND THE COLD WAR

1941–91

Steve Waugh • John Wright

KEY TOPIC 1

The origins of the Cold War, 1941–58

This key topic examines the major developments in the Cold War from the Teheran Conference of 1943, through the origins of and early Cold War, to the Hungarian Crisis of 1956. This was a period of great change in the relations between the two superpowers – from being allies during the Second World War, to the build-up of rivalry and tension from as early as 1948–49 in the Berlin Crisis. By 1956 the USA and the Soviet Union had formed two rival alliance systems and were competing with each other in nuclear weapons development and the space race.

Each chapter within this key topic explains a key issue and examines important lines of enquiry as outlined in the boxes below.

There will also be guidance on how to answer the following question types:

- the consequence question (page 19)
- the narrative question (page 30)

CHAPTER 1 EARLY TENSION BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

- The Grand Alliance. The outcomes of the Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences.
- The ideological differences between the superpowers and the attitudes of Stalin, Truman and Churchill.
- The impact on US–Soviet relations of the development of the atomic bomb, the Long and Novikov telegrams and the creation of Soviet satellite states in eastern Europe.

CHAPTER 2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLD WAR, 1947–49

- The impact on US–Soviet relations of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, 1947.
- The significance of Cominform (1947), Comecon (1949) and the formation of NATO (1949).
- Berlin: its division into zones. The Berlin Crisis (blockade and airlift) and its impact. The formation of the Federal Republic of Germany and German Democratic Republic.

CHAPTER 3 THE COLD WAR INTENSIFIES, 1949–58

- The significance of the arms race and the formation of the Warsaw Pact.
- Events in 1956 leading to the Hungarian Uprising, and Khrushchev's response.
- The international reaction to the invasion of Hungary.

TIMELINE 1941–58

1941	The formation of the Grand Alliance	1948	Beginning of Berlin Blockade
1943	The Tehran Conference	1949	Setting up of Comecon.
1945	The Yalta and Potsdam Conferences. The USA explodes the first atomic bombs		End of Berlin Blockade.
1946	Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech. Long and Novikov telegrams		The formation of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic and the setting up of NATO
1947	Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan. Setting up of Cominform	1955	Setting up of Warsaw Pact
		1956	The Hungarian Uprising

1 Early tension between East and West

The alliance between the USA, Britain and the Soviet Union during the Second World War (1939–45) was very much a marriage of convenience or necessity, the necessity being to defeat Nazi Germany. Once Germany had been defeated, differences began to emerge between Stalin and the Soviet Union on one side, who wanted security against future invasion by controlling eastern Europe; and the USA and Britain on the other, who feared the spread of Soviet communism to western Europe. These differences began to emerge at the peace conferences at Yalta and Potsdam in 1945.

1.1 Differences between the superpowers

The Cold War between the USA and the **Soviet Union** was in many ways due to ideological differences between the **superpowers** as well as the differing aims and views of their leaders, especially Harry Truman (USA) and Joseph Stalin (Soviet Union).

What was the Cold War?

A hot war is a conflict in which actual fighting takes place. A cold war is a war waged against an enemy by every means short of actually fighting. The expression was first used to describe the frosty atmosphere that developed between the superpowers in the years following the end of the Second World War.

The Cold War started in 1945–46 and lasted for over 40 years. At first it was confined to Europe, but during the 1950s and 1960s it spread into Asia and then worldwide as the superpowers competed for influence or control over newly independent states, especially in Africa.

The Cold War had nearly all the features of a hot war:

- It had causes and consequences.
- There were two sides – East vs. West, or the USA and its supporters vs. the Soviet Union and its supporters.
- There were two rival armed camps – **NATO** vs. **Warsaw Pact** (see page 31).
- The two sides competed for influence all over the world, often assisting rival sides in civil wars such as the conflicts in Korea (1950–53) and Vietnam (1960s).

However, the two superpowers did not ever directly fight each other.






Table 1.1 on page 8 outlines the main features of the Cold War.

ACTIVITY



Draw a diagram to show the similarities and differences between a hot war and a cold war.

▼ **Table 1.1** Main features of the Cold War

Spying 	Both sides spied on each other. This was mainly to find out any military developments. They even used spy planes which could fly at a great height and take photographs. One example was the American U2 spy plane which could fly high enough to avoid being shot down by Soviet fighters. Spying increased the rivalry between the two sides.
Propaganda 	Both sides used propaganda to create the worst possible image of the other side and ensure that national public opinion supported the government. The Soviet Union even used success in sport, especially the Olympics, to illustrate the superiority of the communist system.
Arms race 	There was competition in conventional weapons as well as nuclear weapons . Each side wanted more weapons and newer technology than the other. By the 1960s, both sides had enough nuclear weapons to destroy each other many times over. This was called 'Mutually Assured Destruction' or MAD theory. In reality this acted as a deterrent against war, although it did not stop each side from trying to develop even more advanced nuclear weapons.
Space race 	Each side competed for success in the space race. At first it was to launch the first satellite, then the first man in space and finally the first man on the Moon. Success in this field was again very effective propaganda for both the USA and the Soviet Union.
Loans and aid 	Each side competed to provide loans and aid to less developed and often newly independent states in order to win their support in the Cold War.

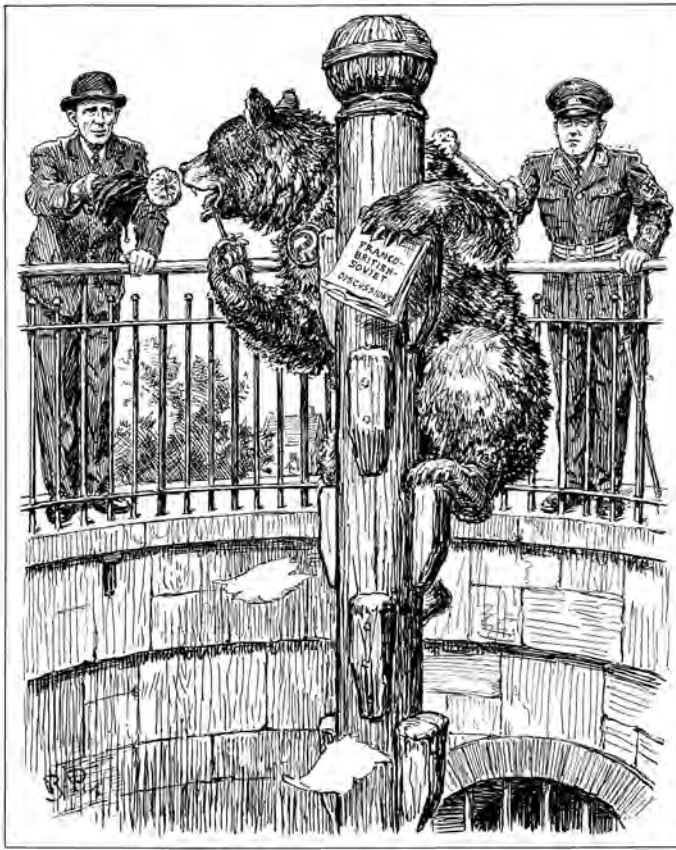
Ideological differences

Superpower rivalry was not new. The differences and rivalry go back to the **Bolshevik Revolution** in Russia in 1917. The Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, seized control of the government and over the next few years established a communist government. They believed in world revolution. So, at the heart of the rivalry were the conflicting ideas of the two sides – communism and capitalism (see Table 1.2 below).

▼ **Table 1.2** The differences between communism and capitalism

	Communism	Capitalism
Politics	Only one political party – the Communist Party. No choice. People unable to change their government.	Several parties – voters may choose and change their government.
Economy	No private industry or businesses. No private profit. All industry and businesses owned by the state for the benefit of everyone.	Most industry and businesses privately owned.
Beliefs	Everyone equal. Belief in world revolution, that is, encouraging communism in other countries. Censorship of the media.	Some will be wealthier than others. Spread influence to other countries to encourage trade and investment. Very little censorship of media.

Countries such as Britain, France and the USA, who believed in capitalism, feared the spread of communism. They intervened in the Russian Civil War, 1918–21, giving arms and supplies to the groups in Russia who were fighting to overthrow Lenin and the communists. Despite their victory in the civil war, Lenin and other leading Bolsheviks were very suspicious of the West. Differences between Bolshevik Russia and the West can be seen in the sources on page 9.



THE CALCULATING BEAR

▲ **Source A** A British cartoon from *Punch* magazine in 1939 showing the Soviet Union represented by the bear

Source B From a speech by Lenin in 1919

England, America and France are waging war against Russia. They are avenging themselves on the Soviet Union for having overthrown the landlords and capitalists. They are helping the landlords with money and supplies.



▲ **Source C** A Bolshevik propaganda poster. The three figures represent France, the USA and Britain. The sign says: 'Capitalists of the World Unite'.

Source D From a speech by Winston Churchill, 1919, who was a member of the British government

Of all the tyrannies in history, the Bolshevik tyranny is the worst, the most destructive and the most degrading. Lenin and his government are committing the worst atrocities possible.

ACTIVITIES



- 1 What do you think the bear is doing in the cartoon (Source A)? What message is the cartoonist in Source A trying to get across?
- 2 What message is the cartoonist trying to put across in Source C? How does the cartoonist get across this message?
- 3 Describe the key features of superpower rivalry before 1945.
- 4 Does Source D support the evidence of Source B about the Bolsheviks and their aims?
- 5 Odd one out:
 - a) Identify the odd word out in the following: communism one-party private industry
 - b) Explain your choice.
 - c) Add a word that replaces the odd one out and links with the other two.
 - d) Put together your own example of 'odd one out' based on Superpower rivalry before 1945.
 - e) Try it out on someone in your class.

1.2 The Grand Alliance

The Soviet Union allied with Britain and the USA during the Second World War in what became known as the Grand Alliance. Stalin was forced into this arrangement by the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. During the war the Grand Alliance held two conferences. The first meeting of the 'Big Three' – President Franklin Roosevelt of the USA, Prime Minister Winston Churchill of Great Britain and Stalin of the Soviet Union – was held in Tehran, the capital of Iran, in 1943. The second was in Yalta, a Soviet resort on the Black Sea, in 1945.

Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill

There were strains in the Alliance during the Second World War because of the different attitudes of the three leaders.

Stalin was annoyed that Britain and the USA delayed opening a second front (they did so only in 1944 with the D-Day landings). Stalin was convinced that the British and Americans were waiting until the Soviet Union had been seriously damaged by the German invaders.

Winston Churchill had been a staunch opponent of the Bolshevik Revolution. As secretary of state for war, he had supported the Bolsheviks' enemies in the Civil War of 1918–21 (see page 8). As British prime minister during the Second World War, he was suspicious of Stalin's motives in eastern Europe. He was convinced that Soviet troops would remain in countries they liberated from the Germans.

Britain had gone to war in September 1939 to maintain the independence of Poland. However, Stalin believed that Soviet control of Poland was essential to prevent future invasions. Churchill became even more suspicious of Stalin's motives in Poland when, in April 1943, German troops discovered a mass grave in the Katyn Forest near Smolensk. This grave contained the bodies of 10,000 Polish officers murdered by the Soviets in 1939.

In August 1944 the Polish resistance organised an uprising in Warsaw against the German forces occupying the city. The Soviet army, which had reached the outskirts of the city, halted its advance and stood by as the uprising was brutally crushed by the Germans. This defeat left the Poles defenceless against a Soviet occupation.

The Tehran Conference, November 1943

Roosevelt was keen to improve relations between the three Allies and agreed to hold the meeting in Tehran, Iran, near to the Soviet Union in November 1943.

The meeting was mainly a success for Stalin who achieved most of what he wanted. This was because Roosevelt was not well during the Conference and, in any case, tended to side with Stalin rather than Churchill. For example, Churchill's idea of an Allied invasion through the Balkans, thereby preventing the **Red Army** from taking over all of eastern Europe, was rejected. The main agreements were:

- Britain and the USA agreed to open up a second front by invading France in May 1944.
- The Soviet Union was to wage war against Japan once Germany was defeated.
- A **United Nations** organisation was to be set up after the war.
- An area of eastern Poland was added to the Soviet Union. At the insistence of Stalin, the borders of post-war Poland were to be along the Oder and Neisse rivers (see Figure 1.1 on page 14).

The Yalta Conference, February 1945

By early 1945 Allied armies were closing in on Berlin, and Germany was close to defeat. The three Allied leaders met at Yalta in early 1945 to consider what to do with Germany and Europe once victory was achieved. The Big Three were still fearful of Hitler and, for the most part, were able to reach agreement on key issues.

Yet this was the last meeting of the Big Three. Within months, Roosevelt had died and Churchill had lost a general election. Stalin wanted the Germans to pay huge **reparations**, but Roosevelt and Churchill agreed that it was not sensible to punish Germany too harshly. Stalin and Roosevelt apparently enjoyed a warm relationship, and as a result, Churchill felt isolated for most of the Conference.

At the Yalta Conference the Big Three agreed:

- the Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan once Germany had surrendered
- to divide Germany into four zones: US, British, French and Soviet
- to divide Berlin into four zones in the same way
- to hunt down and try Nazi war criminals in an international court of justice
- to allow countries that had been liberated from occupation by the German army to have free elections to choose the government they wanted
- to join the new United Nations Organisation in order to maintain peace once the war ended
- that eastern Europe would be a Soviet '**sphere of influence**'.

However, at the Yalta conference there was a clash between the three leaders on some issues. They could not agree on how much Germany was to pay in reparations. Stalin wanted a much higher figure than either Roosevelt or Churchill. The decision was delayed until the next conference.

They also disagreed about Poland – Stalin wanted the Polish/German border to be much further to the West than the western allies. He also wanted a ‘friendly’ Polish government so that his country would have some protection from Germany. The western powers feared that this would be a Soviet-controlled government. They persuaded Stalin to agree to allow free elections in Poland.

Source E Milovan Djilas, vice-president of Yugoslavia, writing about Yalta in 1948

In the hallway of Yalta we stopped before a map of the world on which the Soviet Union was coloured in red. Stalin waved his hand over the Soviet Union and exclaimed: ‘Roosevelt and Churchill will never accept the idea that so great a space should be red, never, never!’

Source F Churchill writing to Roosevelt shortly after the Yalta Conference

The Soviet Union has become a danger to the free world. A new front must be created against her onward sweep. This front should be as far east as possible. A settlement must be reached on all major issues between West and East in Europe before the armies of democracies melt away.

ACTIVITY

What do Sources E and F suggest about relations between the three leaders at the Yalta Conference?

Practice question

Explain the importance of the Grand Alliance for relations between Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt in the years 1941–45. (For guidance, see page 53.)



▲ The ‘Big Three’ (from left to right, Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill) at the Tehran Conference, 1943.

The Potsdam Conference, July 1945

In the five months between the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, a number of changes took place that greatly affected relations and the outcome of the conference at Potsdam.

- Soviet troops liberated countries in eastern Europe but did not remove their military presence. By July they occupied Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania (see Figure 1.1 on page 14).
- Stalin had set up a communist government in Poland, ignoring the wishes of the majority of Poles and the agreements made at Yalta. Stalin ignored protests from Britain and the USA. He insisted that his control of eastern Europe was a defensive measure against possible future attacks.
- The Red Army was the biggest in the world, but Stalin refused to cut down his armed forces after the war. While there was **demilitarisation** in the West, the Soviet Union continued to expand its armed forces.
- In April 1945, Roosevelt died. His Vice-President, Harry Truman, replaced him. Truman was totally different from Roosevelt and distrusted Stalin. He was convinced that the Soviet Union intended to take over the whole of Europe and was determined to stand up to the Soviet leader.
- On 16 July 1945, the Americans successfully tested an atomic bomb at a desert site in the USA. At the start of the Potsdam Conference, Truman informed Stalin about this. The Soviet leader was furious that he had not been consulted beforehand.
- Halfway through the Potsdam Conference, Churchill was defeated in the British general election and was replaced by Clement Attlee.

Agreements made at Potsdam

A number of agreements were made at the Potsdam Conference:

- Germany and Berlin to be divided as previously agreed. Each of the four zones of Germany and four sectors of Berlin would be occupied and administered by one of the Allies. The Soviet Zone would be in East Germany and the French, British and US zones would be in the West.
- Germany to be demilitarised.
- Democracy to be re-established in Germany, including free elections, a free press and freedom of speech.

- Germany to pay reparations to the Allies in equipment and materials. Most of this would go to the Soviet Union, which had suffered most. The Soviet Union would be given a quarter of the industrial goods made in the western zones in return for food and coal from the Soviet zone.
- The Nazi Party was banned. Nazis were removed from important positions and leading Nazis were put on trial for war crimes at Nuremberg in 1946.
- Full participation in the United Nations Organization.
- Poland's frontier to be moved westwards to the rivers Oder and Neisse (see Figure 1.1 on page 14).

Disagreements

There were further disagreements at Potsdam:

- The leaders could not reach agreement over what to do about Germany. Twenty million Russians had died during the war and Stalin wanted massive compensation that would have totally and permanently crippled Germany. Truman refused. He saw a revived Germany as a possible barrier to future Soviet expansion. Stalin wanted to disable Germany completely to protect the Soviet Union against future threats. Truman did not want Germany to be punished the way it had been by the **Treaty of Versailles** in 1919. The treaty was a peace settlement signed at the end of the First World War, ending the war between Germany and the victorious allies. Germany was unable to negotiate the terms of the settlement and as a result the Treaty was hated by the Germans.
- They also differed in their views about free elections. Truman wanted free elections in the countries of eastern Europe occupied by Soviet troops. Stalin refused to submit to US pressure, believing it was unwelcome interference. Truman was furious and began a 'get tough' policy against the Soviet Union.

Source G Stalin speaking about the takeover of eastern Europe, 1945

This war is not as in the past. Whoever occupies a territory also imposes on his own beliefs and social system. Everyone imposes his own system as far as his army has power to do so. It cannot be otherwise.

Source H Clement Attlee recalling the Potsdam Conference in 1960

The Russians had shown themselves even more difficult than anyone expected. After Potsdam, one couldn't be very hopeful any longer. It was quite obvious they were going to be troublesome. The war had left them holding positions far into Europe, much too far. I had no doubt they intended to use them.



▲ Attlee, Truman and Stalin (left to right) at the peace conference at Potsdam, July 1945

ACTIVITIES



- 1 What can you learn from Source G about Stalin's aims in eastern Europe?
- 2 Source H gives Attlee's views of Potsdam. What are his fears?
- 3 What do you think Truman would have said about Potsdam and Stalin? Put together your own source, consisting of five or six lines from Truman about Potsdam. Remember that Truman was determined to prevent the spread of communism and ensure free elections.
- 4 Explain why relations between the USA and the Soviet Union grew worse as a result of the peace conferences at Yalta and Potsdam.
- 5 Working in pairs, make a copy of and complete the following table about the peace conferences in the years 1943–45.
 - a) One of you should complete the list of similarities between the conferences.
 - b) The other should complete the list of differences.

	Similarities	Differences
Tehran and Yalta		
Tehran and Potsdam		
Yalta and Potsdam		

Practice question

Write a narrative account analysing the key events of the peace conferences in the years 1943–45.

You may use the following in your answer:

- The Tehran Conference 1945
- The Potsdam Conference 1945

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

(For guidance, see page 30 and page 62.)

1.3 Soviet expansion

In the years immediately following the end of the Second World War, the Soviet Union tightened its grip on those states in eastern Europe that it had liberated. The map below shows the areas of Soviet expansion. This increased the rivalry with the USA who were genuinely concerned about the spread of communism.

The Soviet Union expanded in 1945 for several reasons.

Memory of what happened 1918–39

During the interwar years most eastern European countries had been hostile to the Soviet Union. Poland had signed a non-aggression pact with France and, during the Second World War, Hungary and Romania fought on the side of Germany, against the Soviet Union.

Percentages deal

Towards the end of the war, Stalin and Churchill had reached an understanding known as the percentages deal (see Source I). Stalin believed that Churchill was accepting the influence of the Soviet Union in eastern Europe.

Strategic importance of Poland

The Soviet Union's future security was dependent on a friendly Polish government. Indeed, in 1945, Stalin wanted to move the Polish frontier so that most of Poland became part of the Soviet Union. He also wanted a communist government in what would remain of Poland. As Stalin said:

For Russia it is not only a question of honour, but security – not only because we are on Poland's frontier, but also because throughout history, Poland has always been a corridor for attack on Russia.

Source I Churchill describes making the percentages deal with Stalin in 1954

I said to Stalin: 'Let us settle affairs in eastern Europe. For example, how would it do for you to have 90 per cent influence in Romania and for us to have 90 per cent influence in Greece? While this was being translated, I wrote on a sheet of paper:

Romania – Soviet Union 90 per cent, the others 10 per cent

Greece – Great Britain 90 per cent, Soviet Union 10 per cent

Yugoslavia – 50 per cent–50 per cent

Hungary – 50 per cent–50 per cent

Bulgaria – Soviet Union 75 per cent, others 25 per cent

I pushed this across to Stalin. He made a large tick and passed it back.



► Figure 1.1 Map showing Soviet expansion into eastern Europe

Security

The Soviet Union had been invaded from the west by Germany on two occasions, in 1914 and 1941, and had suffered huge casualties during the ensuing world wars. Stalin wanted to create a zone of 'friendly' or, better still, Soviet-controlled states in eastern Europe as a buffer against future invasions.

As Stalin wrote in the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* in March 1946:

The Soviet Union's loss of life has been several times greater than that of Britain and the United States put together. The Soviet Union cannot forget them. And so why is it surprising that the Soviet Union is anxious for its future safety and is trying to ensure that governments loyal to the Soviet Union should exist in these countries?

Soviet expansionism

The USA, Britain and France believed that Stalin's motives were political – the expansion of the Soviet empire and communism throughout Europe.

The Long and Novikov telegrams

George Kennan was the USA's **Deputy Chief of Mission** at the US Embassy in Moscow in 1946. He saw the Soviet Union as aggressive and suspicious and recommended firm action by the USA against what he viewed as Soviet expansion in eastern Europe. His telegram, which became known as the 'Long Telegram', greatly influenced Truman's policies in the Cold War, especially his policy of **containment** (see page 20).

The Soviet Union knew about the Long Telegram. In September 1946 they retaliated with the 'Novikov telegram', which was sent to Stalin by Nikolai Novikov, the Soviet Ambassador to the USA at the time. This telegram did much to harden Stalin's attitude towards the USA and to worsen relations between the two superpowers.

Source J George Kennan was a US official in Moscow. In 1946 he wrote a telegram to Truman warning the American president about the Soviet Union's determination to expand

It is clear that the United States cannot expect in the foreseeable future to be close to Soviet regime. It must continue to regard the Soviet Union as a rival, not a partner, in the political arena. It must continue to expect that Soviet policies will reflect no abstract love of peace and stability, no real faith in the possibility of a permanent happy coexistence of the communist and capitalist worlds. Rather, Soviet policies will be a cautious, persistent pressure toward the disruption and weakening of all rival influence and rival power.

Source K From Novikov's telegram to Stalin, 1946

Obvious indications of the U.S. effort to establish world dominance are also to be found in the increase in military potential in peacetime and in the establishment of a large number of naval and air bases both in the United States and beyond its borders. In the summer of 1946, for the first time in history of the country, Congress passed a law on the establishment of a peacetime army, not on a volunteer basis but on the basis of universal military service. The size of the army, which is supposed to amount to about one million persons as of July 1, 1947, was also increased significantly.

ACTIVITIES

- 1 Study Sources J and K. What similarities and differences are there between Kennan and Novikov in their view of the early Cold War?
- 2 What message is the British cartoonist trying to put across in Source L?
- 3 Did the 'percentages deal' (Source I) give the Soviet Union dominant influence throughout eastern Europe? Explain your answer.
- 4 In what way would Britain and the USA have questioned Stalin's views about Poland?



Source L A British cartoon showing Stalin overseeing communism throughout eastern Europe

1.4 How Soviet control was carried out, 1945–47

Having freed much of eastern Europe from the Nazis, the Red Army remained in occupation and the Soviet Union established communist governments in countries that were closely controlled from Moscow. These countries became known as **satellite states**. The same pattern was followed in each country:

- Coalition governments were set up in which the communists shared power with other political parties.
- Backed by Stalin, the communists took over the civil service, media, security and defence.
- Opposition leaders were arrested or forced to flee.
- Elections were held, but were fixed to ensure support for the communists.
- ‘**People’s democracies**’ were set up.

Poland

In June 1945 a coalition government of several parties was set up in Poland. In January 1947 elections were rigged to ensure the election of a totally communist government. The leader of the main opposition party, Stanislaw Milokajcyk, fled to London.

Romania

As with Poland, a coalition government was set up in early 1945. Then in January 1945 the communists, encouraged by Stalin, took part in demonstrations to disrupt the government. Finally, in March 1945, the Soviet army intervened. It disarmed the Romanian army and forced the King to appoint a government dominated by the communists under Petru Groza. In November 1946 elections were held and the communists gained 80 per cent of the votes. In the following year the communist government abolished the monarchy.

ACTIVITIES

- 1 What can you learn from Source M about the elections in Romania in 1946?
- 2 Draw your own cartoon or diagram giving a similar message about events in one of the other countries taken over by Soviet-controlled communists.



▲ **Source M** A member of the Communist Party holding a gun threatens the Romanian opposition in Bucharest during the elections of 1946

Practice question

Write a narrative account analysing the key events of the Soviet expansion in eastern Europe in the years 1945–48.

You may use the following in your answer:

- The Soviet Union re-establishes control
- Hungary and Czechoslovakia

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

(For guidance, see page 30 and page 62.)

Hungary

The largest party in 1945 was the Smallholders' Party, which won over 50 per cent of the vote in the elections of August 1945. However, the country began to experience an economic crisis, and the Communist Party was able to seize control of the Ministry of the Interior, which controlled the police. They used this control to great effect in 1947, arresting Bela Kovacs, the leader of the Smallholders' Party. The Prime Minister, Imre Nagy, was forced to resign. In the general election of August 1947, the communists secured a large share of the vote and took over the government. All other parties were then banned.

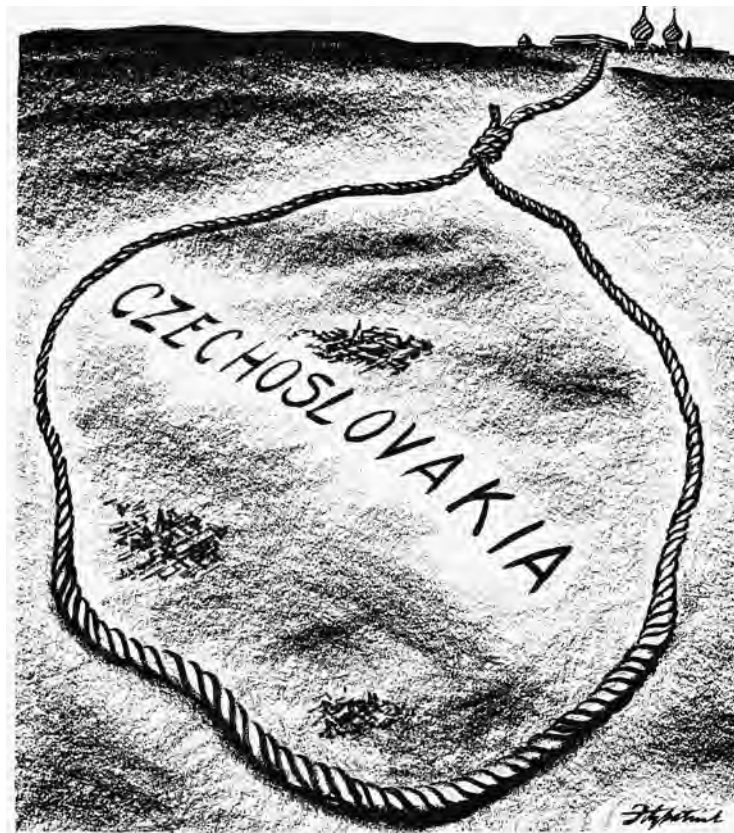
Bulgaria

In late 1944 a communist-dominated government was set up. In November 1945 the communists won rigged elections and, in the following year, banned all other parties.

Czechoslovakia

The communists already had great support in Czechoslovakia. By 1947 they were the largest party in the coalition government and controlled the police and the armed forces. In 1948, supported by the Soviet Union, they used the army to seize control of the country.

Many non-communists were arrested and the foreign secretary, Jan Masaryk, a non-communist, was murdered. Rigged elections brought a communist victory. Soon after, all other political parties were banned.



► **Source N** A British cartoon of 1948 showing the Kremlin (government of the Soviet Union) in the background

Yugoslavia

The communist resistance fought bravely against the Germans during the war. Its leader, Marshal Tito, was elected President. However, Tito had no intention of taking orders from Stalin. Yugoslavia was therefore expelled from the Communist International Bureau (Cominform) and other communist countries applied economic **sanctions**. To challenge Stalin further, Tito then accepted aid from the West.

1.5 Impact on US–Soviet relations

Britain and the USA were alarmed by Stalin's actions in eastern Europe. Roosevelt and Churchill had agreed that eastern Europe should be a 'Soviet sphere of influence' (see page 10) and that Stalin would heavily influence the region. However, they had not expected such complete Soviet domination. They were convinced that democratically elected governments, which would have also remained friendly to the Soviet Union, could have been set up in each country. This is when the major differences began to develop:

- Stalin believed that he could only ensure the support of the countries of eastern Europe by setting up Soviet-controlled communist governments.
- US President Truman saw this as a blatant attempt by Stalin to spread communism throughout Europe.

'Iron Curtain' speech

In March 1946, Winston Churchill, who was no longer British Prime Minister, made a speech in the small town of Fulton in the USA while on a visit to the country (see Source O). This became known as the Iron Curtain speech, with the Iron Curtain being an imaginary line that divided the communist East from the capitalist West in Europe. Churchill suggested an alliance between the USA and Britain to prevent further Soviet expansion. The speech further worsened relations between the two sides in the Cold War with Stalin seeing it as deliberately provocative.

Source O Part of a speech made by Winston Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, USA, March 1946

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent of Europe. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of central and eastern Europe. All these famous cities and the populations around them lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject not only to Soviet influence but to a very high measure of control from Moscow.

ACTIVITIES



- 1 What can you learn from Source O about Europe in 1946?
- 2 What do you think the Soviet Union would have objected to in Churchill's speech?
- 3 Working in pairs, write a Soviet response to Churchill's speech in Source O for a Soviet newspaper.

Practice question

Explain the importance of Soviet expansion in eastern Europe for the development of the Cold War. (For guidance, see page 53.)

1.6 Examination practice

This section provides guidance on how to answer the consequence question. Look at the following question:

Explain **two** consequences of the Potsdam Conference of July 1945.

How to answer

- 1 **Underline key points** in the question. This will ensure that you focus sharply on what the examiner wants you to write about.
- 2 Begin each paragraph by **stating the consequence** and then give a fully developed statement about the consequence. One developed consequence is worth two marks.
- 3 Aim to write **two** developed consequences.

Step 1
State the consequence.

Example

One consequence of the Potsdam Conference was that it led to differences over free elections between Truman and Stalin.

Step 2
Explain the consequence.

Example

Truman wanted free elections in the countries in eastern Europe occupied by Soviet troops. Stalin refused to submit to US pressure, believing it was unwelcome interference from the USA.

Step 3
State a second consequence.

Example

A second consequence was that Germany and Berlin were divided up as previously agreed at Yalta.

Step 4
Explain the consequence.

Example

Each of the four zones of Germany and the four sectors of Berlin was occupied and administered by one of the Allies, with the Soviet zone in East Germany and the French, British and American zones in the West.

Now try the following question:
Explain **two** consequences of the Yalta Conference of February 1945.