

BEN WALSH HISTORY



**PEARSON EDEXCEL
GCSE (9-1)**

- Superpower relations and the Cold War
- The American West
- Weimar and Nazi Germany


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SECTION 1

Superpower relations and
the Cold War, 1941–91



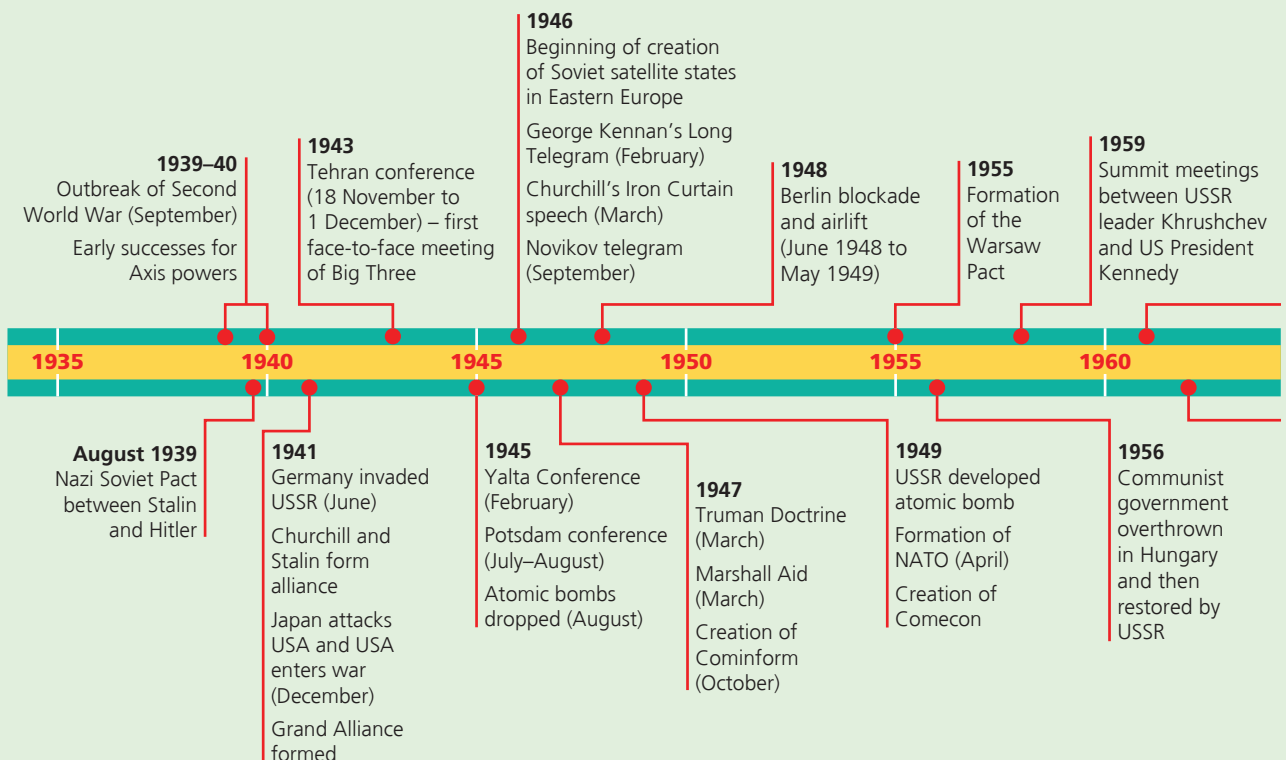


SECTION 1

Superpower relations and the Cold War, 1941–91

In this part of your course, you are going to be looking at superpower relations in 1941–91.

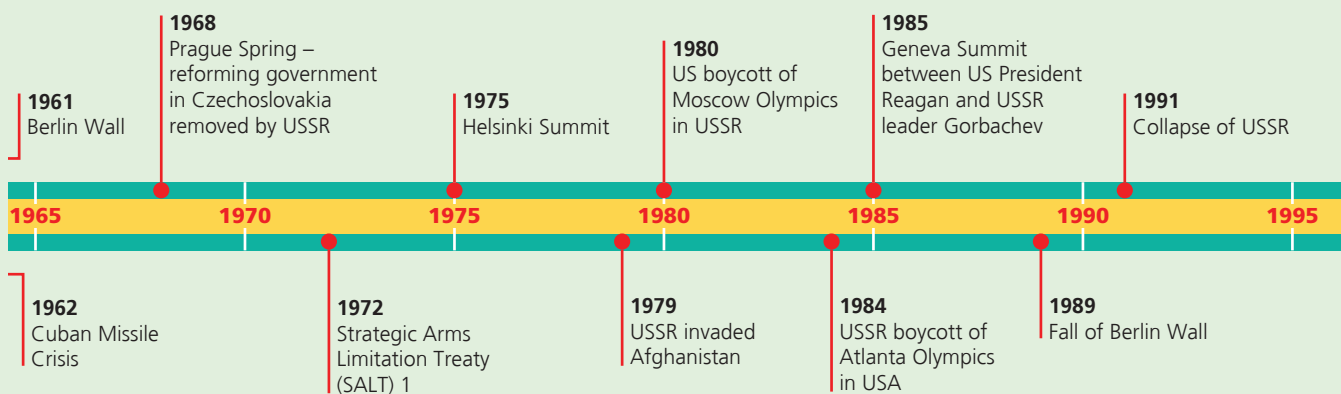
The course starts in 1941 because this is when the USA and the USSR entered the Second World War and joined Britain in a Grand Alliance to fight against Germany and its ally Japan.



In Key Topic 1, you will investigate how well this Alliance worked during wartime and how and why it began to crumble in 1945, and then turn into rivalry and hostility soon after. Historians called this rivalry the Cold War, because although the former allies never went to war directly with each other, they were engaged in a struggle using politics, propaganda, sport, culture and even proxy wars – supporting different sides in conflicts without fighting each other openly.

In Key Topic 2, you will investigate the most serious crises which took place during the Cold War, some of them so serious that a nuclear war between the USA and USSR seemed really possible.

The Cold War eventually thawed. In Key Topic 3, you will also look at what led to improved relations between the superpowers and why the Cold War finally ended in the early 1990s.



KEY TOPIC 1

The origins of the Cold War, 1941–58

In 1941, the USA and the USSR joined Britain in a Grand Alliance to fight against Germany and its ally, Japan.

In 1.1, you will investigate how well this Alliance worked during wartime and how and why it began to crumble in 1945, and then turn into rivalry and hostility soon after. You will write your own narrative of these four turbulent years, 1943–46.

In 1.2, you will continue the story from 1947 to 1949 as the superpowers became increasingly distrustful of each other. You will examine how the USA and USSR tried to influence other countries in Europe and how each move deepened suspicion and rivalry on both sides. You will analyse the consequences of each move in this period of great tension and suspicion.

In 1.3, you will take the story forward from 1949 to 1956 as the nuclear arms race and the Soviet Union's occupation of Eastern Europe turned the games of bluff and propaganda into serious confrontation – culminating in the killing of 20,000 Hungarian citizens. You will evaluate the importance of each development in deepening Cold War rivalry.

SOURCE 1



An American cartoon from 1948 showing Truman and Stalin playing chess.

SUMMARY OF SPECIFICATION CONTENT

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.

The development of the Cold War

- ✓ 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) of 1948–49 and its impact. The formation of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

The Cold War intensifies

- ✓ 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 Soviet invasion of Hungary.

FOCUS

In 1941, Britain, the USA and the USSR formed a Grand Alliance against Germany and its allies. In this section, you are going to examine just how strong that alliance was and how well it lasted during the Second World War and how well it lasted once the Second World War was over. You will practise writing a narrative about how the Alliance changed in the years 1943–46.

SOURCE 2

A Soviet cartoon from 1941. The figure in the centre is the Nazi leader, Adolf Hitler.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

- 1 Source 2 is trying to suggest how strong and united the Grand Alliance was. How does it do this?
- 2 The caption 'Love conquers all' for Source 3 is very sarcastic. If the cartoonist had given the cartoon a more direct title what might he have called it?
- 3 Explain two ways in which Sources 2 and 3 have different views about the Grand Alliance.

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

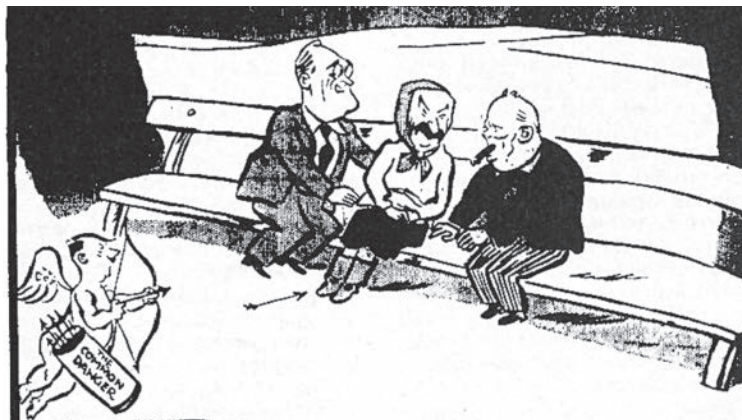
- 1 Who were the Big Three?
- 2 What was the purpose of the Grand Alliance?

1.1 Early tension between East and West

The Grand Alliance, 1941

The Grand Alliance was between Britain, the USA and the USSR. They fought together against Nazi Germany and its allies, Italy and Japan (known as the Axis Powers), in the Second World War. The Alliance was formed in two stages:

- **Stage 1:** In June 1941, the Nazis invaded the USSR. British leader Winston Churchill quickly seized this opportunity and formed an alliance with Soviet leader Josef Stalin.
- **Stage 2:** In December 1941, Germany's ally Japan attacked the USA's navy at Pearl Harbor. Until then, the USA had been neutral, but US President Franklin D Roosevelt quickly joined Stalin and Churchill's alliance.

SOURCE 3

A British cartoon from 1941, with the caption 'Love conquers all'. The figure in the centre of the bench is Stalin and he is being charmed by US President Roosevelt (on the left) and British leader Winston Churchill. The small figure is Hitler. Hitler is shown as Cupid, a legendary figure whose arrows cause people to fall in love.

How united was the Grand Alliance?

Churchill came up with the name 'Grand Alliance'. **Propaganda** presented it as strong and united. The new friends would 'smash' the enemy (see Source 2). However, not everyone was convinced by the propaganda. The truth is it was a **strategic wartime alliance**, not a bond of brotherhood as Churchill claimed. The USSR had been a communist country for more than 30 years. The majority of politicians and business leaders in Britain and the USA disliked and feared communist ideas. In the past, both Britain and the USA had helped the enemies of the communists. This made the USSR wary of Britain and the USA.

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- 1 Why was the Grand Alliance an unlikely alliance?
- 2 Why was Tehran chosen for the first meeting of the Big Three?
- 3 What did the Big Three plan to talk about at Tehran?

FIGURE 1



Europe at the end of 1943.

SOURCE 4



The ceremony at which Churchill presented Stalin with the ceremonial sword at the Tehran Conference.

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- 4 What were the four main things the Big Three agreed at Tehran?

The Tehran Conference, 1943

By the end of 1943, it was becoming increasingly clear that the Grand Alliance would defeat the Axis Powers. So, in November 1943, **the Big Three** met for the first time in person in Tehran, in Iran (see Figure 1). Tehran was chosen because it was neutral ground and it was relatively safe from enemy attack.

What happened at Tehran?

The conference got off to a poor start. Stalin was unhappy that the USSR was the only one of the Big Three which was directly fighting the Germans on the ground, suffering massive casualties and enormous destruction. Stalin wanted the USA and Britain to attack Germany in a Second Front. Churchill and Roosevelt pointed out that this was difficult as it involved an invasion by sea, but Stalin felt that Churchill and Roosevelt were just happy to let the USSR bear the brunt of the fighting. At one point, it looked as though they would all leave, but then the mood changed.

On the second day, Churchill presented Stalin with a magnificent steel sword and made a speech in honour of the bravery of the Soviet people fighting the Germans (see Source 4). Stalin was deeply honoured. As it happened, Day 2 was also Churchill's birthday and there was a magnificent birthday dinner.

Roosevelt was not feeling well and went to bed early but Churchill and Stalin ended up drinking and talking and getting on famously until about 3 o'clock in the morning.

Agreements

Churchill's birthday had helped to improve the mood of the conference. By the end, the Big Three had reached some key agreements.

- To create a **Second Front**. US and British Empire forces would invade France in the summer of 1944. This was not as early as Stalin had wanted, but he accepted this.
- That the **USSR would enter the war against Japan** as soon as Germany was defeated.
- That parts of **eastern Poland would be given to the USSR** after the war. Churchill was unhappy about this because Britain had gone to war to protect Poland. However, he was prepared to compromise as Poland would be given parts of eastern Germany as compensation.
- That a **United Nations Organisation was to be set up** after the war to help solve international disputes and **promote humanitarian causes** such as fighting disease or helping refugees.

The Tehran Declaration

A few days after the conference, the Big Three published the Tehran Declaration. The newspapers reported it positively. It seemed that they had been able to resolve their differences and agree on a way forward to defeat the Axis. They had also agreed on some important measures to be taken after the war.

It was also becoming clear that the USSR and the USA were the leading figures in the Grand Alliance. Britain and the British Empire could no longer be considered in the same league. Britain was a great power, but the USA and USSR were **superpowers**.

FOCUS TASK

Write your own narrative of the Grand Alliance: Part 1

In this task, you have to write a narrative of the Grand Alliance from 1941 to 1943. Writing a narrative is a core skill for history – you describe what happened in a logical way so your readers can see how events are connected.

Some important points to note:

- A narrative is not just a list of events in sequence. A narrative usually has a focus or a story to tell. For example, in this case:
 - 1 Why the Alliance was formed
 - 2 Which were the most difficult moments
 - 3 How the alliance stayed together even though the Big Three had ups and downs
 - 4 The achievements of the Alliance in this period

This example focuses on the third option, but you could practise with the other focuses as well.

- You have to select: A narrative should try to cover the key events and leave out the less important ones.

Stage 1: Selection

Study the events in column 1 and decide which are important enough to go into your narrative and explain why.

Focus: 'How the alliance stayed together even though the Big Three had ups and downs'	
Event/development	Important enough to be included in my narrative because ...
German invasion of the Soviet Union, 1941 When Grand Alliance was formed Aims of the Alliance Differing views of the Big Three Disagreements at Tehran Agreements reached at Tehran	

Stage 2: Writing

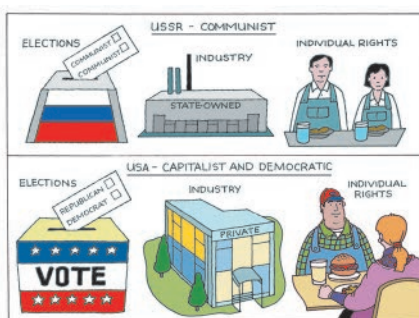
Use these sentence starters to build your narrative. Select at least one point for each sentence.

The Grand Alliance was formed in ... to (state its aims)
 It was an unlikely alliance because ... (explain some different views/ideologies)
 When the leaders met at Tehran they had some disagreements ... (such as ...)
 However, despite these differences, they managed to reach agreements ... (such as ...)

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

1 Make your own copy of the diagram below and label it to show the differences between US and Soviet **ideology** about:

- elections
- industry
- individual rights.



Differences between the superpowers

The Big Three did not meet again until 1945. By that time, it was clearer than ever that the USSR and the USA were now the world's leading states – superpowers. It was also clear they had differing views about what should happen once the war ended. Here's why

Conflicting ideologies

The USA and USSR had completely opposing beliefs about how a country should be run. Here is a summary of those differences:

American society was based on two key ideas: democracy and capitalism

- **Democracy**: President and members of Congress (the US Parliament) elected in free elections.
- **Capitalism**: property and businesses owned by private individuals and companies.
- High standard of living but also extremes of wealth and poverty.
- Rights and freedoms of individuals more important than everyone being equal.

Soviet society was based on communist ideas

- One-party state. Soviet people could only elect communists.
- Industry was organised and run by the state. Unemployment and extreme poverty rare, but the general standard of living was lower than for the average American.
- Rights of individuals less important than the good of society as a whole.

Conflicting priorities

Ideological differences were important of course. But we should not forget that there were also more old-fashioned rivalries as they competed for power, influence and economic wealth and resources.



Stalin's priority was security. Germany had invaded the USSR through Eastern Europe. His country suffered at least 20 million dead and it had left the USSR's industries and cities devastated.

Stalin wanted:

- massive compensation from Germany, and
- to control Eastern Europe so he could not be invaded again.



Roosevelt wanted the countries liberated from Nazi and Japanese rule to become democracies with capitalist economies.

Spreading US ideas and capitalism would give the US political influence and create profits for the US **economy**.

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- 2 What were Stalin's priorities?
- 3 What were Roosevelt's priorities?
- 4 Is it possible to say one side was right or wrong?

The Yalta Conference, February 1945

SOURCE 5



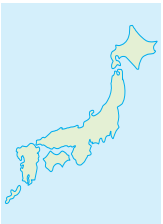
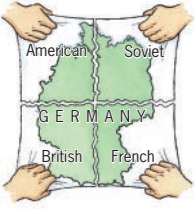


A publicity photograph from the Yalta Conference, showing Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

What impression is Source 5 trying to give to the public?

Agreements at Yalta

The Big Three met at Yalta, in Ukraine, in February 1945. As with Tehran, the publicity photographs and the press reports told a story of unity and friendship. And, in truth, the Big Three did reach some important agreements.

✓ Japan	✓ Germany	✓ Eastern Europe	✓ United Nations
Stalin agreed to enter the war against Japan.	Germany would be divided into four zones: American, French, British and Soviet.	Eastern Europe should be seen as a 'Soviet sphere of influence '.	Big Three all agreed to join the new United Nations Organisation.
			

Disagreements

But what the public did not see was the areas of disagreement between the Big Three. There were two important areas they disagreed about.

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- Name and describe two examples of agreement at Yalta.
- Name and describe two examples of disagreement at Yalta.

✗ Poland	✗ Germany
Stalin wanted the border of the USSR to move westwards into Poland to make the USSR more secure from future possible attacks. Roosevelt and Churchill did not approve of Stalin's plans, but Stalin would not budge.	The Big Three agreed that Germany should pay reparations , but they could not agree on the amount. They left the decision for the next time they were due to meet.

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- What was Operation Unthinkable and what did it reveal about superpower relations?
- Why were Churchill and Roosevelt worried about Soviet policies?

After Yalta ...

The public were not told about the increasingly difficult and tense relations between the Big Three. But historians know from letters and telegrams between Roosevelt and Churchill that they were becoming increasingly worried in the months after Yalta. Churchill even ordered the British military commanders to prepare for a possible war against the Soviets – the plan was called Operation Unthinkable.

The Potsdam Conference, July–August 1945

The Big Three met again in Potsdam, near Berlin, after Germany's defeat. But it was a new Big Three!

- President Roosevelt died in April 1945, so there was a new US President, Harry Truman.
- Churchill was still there at the start of the conference, but there was an election in Britain on 5 July which Churchill lost, so he was replaced by the new Prime Minister, who was Labour Party leader Clement Atlee.

SOURCE 6



An official publicity photograph of the leaders of the Big Three at the Potsdam Conference. The new British Prime Minister, Clement Atlee, is on the left, new US President Harry Truman is in the centre and Stalin is on the right.

Relations at Potsdam were more tense than they had been at Yalta:

	<p>The new US president, Harry Truman, was much more anti-communist than Roosevelt and he was very suspicious of Stalin.</p>
	<p>Soviet armies now controlled most of Eastern Europe. After forcing the German armies out of Eastern Europe, Stalin set up a communist government in Poland, against the wishes of the Poles – and of Truman and Churchill.</p>
	<p>The USA had tested an atomic bomb. Truman took Stalin to one side at the conference to tell him about it personally.</p>

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- 1 Name and describe two things that had changed between Yalta and Potsdam.
- 2 Name and describe two examples of disagreement at Potsdam.

Not surprisingly, this different atmosphere at Potsdam led to more disagreements than agreements.

x Germany	x Reparations	x Eastern Europe
Stalin wanted to cripple Germany completely. Truman disagreed as he did not want to repeat the mistake of the Treaty of Versailles.	Stalin wanted compensation from Germany. Truman agreed at first, then changed his mind. To Stalin, Truman seemed to want to protect Germany. That made Stalin suspicious.	At Yalta it was agreed that Eastern Europe would be a Soviet 'sphere of influence'. To Stalin, this meant he could set up governments loyal to him and keep them under close control. This was much more than Truman had in mind. He began to suspect Stalin of wanting to control all of Europe.

FOCUS TASK**Write your own narrative of the Grand Alliance: Part 2**

You are now going to write a narrative about the second period from the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences.

The focus is going to be how the Alliance became more strained.

Use these sentence starters and select two points to include in each sentence.

After the Tehran Conference the Alliance became more strained, ...

-
-

They met again at Yalta and they agreed ...

-
-

But there were also signs of tension such as ...

-
-

Then they met in Potsdam in July 1945. By this time, some things had changed such as ...

-
-

They disagreed strongly at Potsdam over ...

-
-

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- 1 What do some historians think Truman was trying to achieve when he told Stalin about the bomb?
- 2 How did Stalin react and why?

After Potsdam ... The atom bomb

Relations continued to get worse after Potsdam. Another development which made relations worse was the atom bomb.

As you have read, Truman took Stalin aside and told him about the USA's new weapon at Potsdam. Some historians believe Truman was trying to intimidate Stalin. Truman was also puzzled when Stalin showed little reaction and thought Stalin did not understand. In fact, Stalin already knew about the bomb from Soviet spies who were passing secrets to the USSR. He did not react because he did not want to show Truman he was concerned about the bomb, but he probably was. He ordered Soviet technicians and scientists to develop a Soviet A-bomb and by 1949 both superpowers had nuclear weapons.

After Potsdam ... The Iron Curtain: Eastern Europe and the Soviet satellite states

The next issue to sour relations between the superpowers was the creation of Soviet 'satellite states' in Eastern Europe. Stalin was determined to control the governments of Eastern Europe to protect the USSR from future attacks. Although elections were held, Stalin made sure that communist governments led by politicians loyal to him took power in all countries in Eastern Europe.

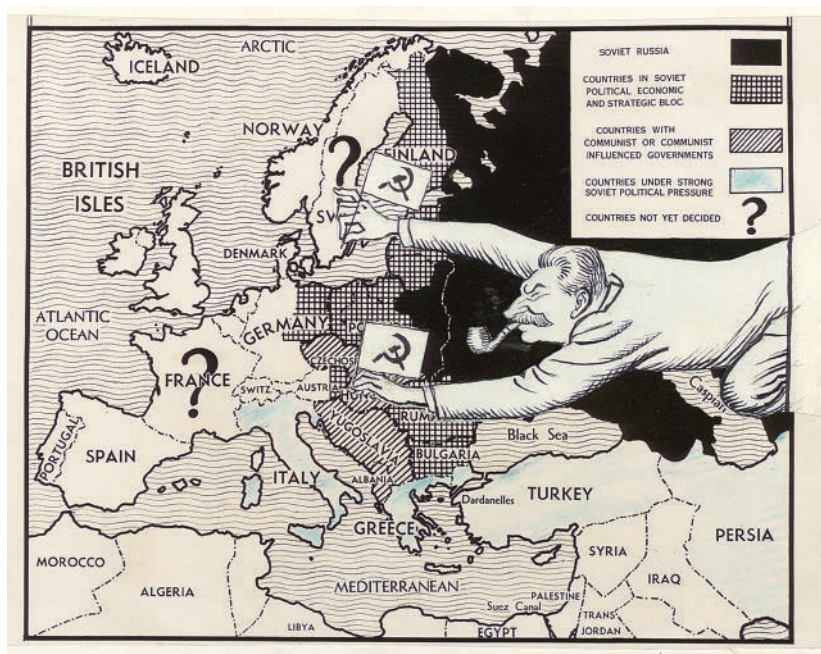
SOURCE 8

SOURCE 7



Let us not forget that the Germans invaded the USSR through Finland, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria and Hungary. Why is it so surprising that the Soviet Union, anxious for its future safety, is trying to make sure that friendly, loyal governments are in these countries?

Stalin speaking in 1946.



A British cartoon from 1947 showing how Stalin's policies looked to the British and Americans.

FIGURE 2

The Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe 1945–48. The red line shows the Iron Curtain.

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- What is the Iron Curtain and how did it get its name?
- Give one reason why Stalin wanted to control Eastern Europe.
- Record two examples of Eastern European states that became communist in the period 1945–48.
- Describe some of the methods used by communist parties to take power.

As Figure 2 shows, it was an effective takeover. It was also brutal at times. Communists often worked with other parties at first but they gradually took control. Opposition parties were banned and their leaders were arrested or sent into exile. In some cases, they were beaten or even murdered.

To Stalin, control of Eastern Europe made sense. If he controlled the region, nobody would be able to invade through it. To Truman, Stalin's control of Eastern Europe was evidence that Stalin was building an empire.

In a famous speech in 1946, Churchill referred to the border between Western and Eastern Europe as an 'Iron Curtain'. After this, the term became the widely used name for the border between communist Eastern Europe and the West.

Truman shared Churchill's concerns and he believed that Stalin wanted to take over the rest of Europe as well.

FOCUS TASK

Write your own narrative of the Grand Alliance: Part 3

You are now going to extend your narrative after the Potsdam Conference to include the atomic bomb and the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe.

Use these sentence starters and select two points to include in each sentence.

Relationships were further strained
after the Potsdam Conference ...

The USA developed A-bombs and used them against
Japan in August 1945. Stalin's response was ...

Between 1945 and 1948, most Eastern European
countries became communist. For example, ...

This was achieved by ...

The end of the Grand Alliance

There was no 'official' end to the Grand Alliance. But by 1946 it was clear that the former allies were now suspicious rivals with differing views of how the world should look (see Sources 9A and 9B).

SOURCE ANALYSIS

Write a more detailed caption for each of Sources 9A and 9B.

SOURCE 9A



George Kennan

SOURCE 9B



Nikolai Novikov

SOURCE 10

The Soviet Union is committed fanatically to the belief that there is no way to live peacefully with the USA. It believes that it is desirable and necessary to disrupt the internal harmony of our society and destroy the traditional American way of life. They believe that America's international prestige and authority must be broken if Soviet power is to be secure. This hostile state is one of the world's greatest powers with tremendous resources. It has proved very effective in spreading its influence to other countries and its forces are highly skilled in underground methods of warfare. Finally, the Soviet Union is completely closed to ideas and beliefs apart from its own so we cannot negotiate with them.

Extract from the Long Telegram by George Kennan, February 1946.

Historians today can access the documents that were being produced at the time. Two documents they have found particularly useful are known as the Long Telegram and the Novikov Telegram. They had a big impact on relations between the superpowers.

The Long Telegram

The Long Telegram got its name because ... it was very long, about the same length as this chapter in fact! It was written by George Kennan, a senior US official stationed in Moscow. In February 1946, he set out his views about Stalin's policies and how he thought the USA should respond. In short, he believed that the USSR was intent on spreading **communism** across the world and destroying the democratic, capitalist way of life of the USA. He believed it was vital to stand up to the USSR aggressively and forcefully (see Source 10).

This document had a major impact on President Truman and effectively shaped US policies for years to come. Truman knew that some Americans wanted to reduce US involvement in world affairs. He worked very hard to build up support from the American people and politicians and he made speeches warning Stalin that the USA would resist any attempts to spread their power.

SOURCE 11

It ought to be fully realised that Americans are making preparations for a future war against the Soviet Union. In the eyes of Americans, the Soviet Union is the chief obstacle in the American path to world domination. We can see this from the massive increase in the size of the US army and the way in which the US has been placing military bases in regions from which strikes can be launched on Soviet territory. This can also be seen in the attempts of the Americans to rebuild Germany and Japan and use them in a war against the USSR.

Extract from the Novikov Telegram, September 1946.

The Novikov Telegram

Stalin was furious about this increasingly hard line from Truman and he retaliated. The Soviet media began to rally the support of their people by presenting their former allies as warmongers who wanted to see the downfall of the USSR. Another key document that has proved useful to historians is the Novikov Telegram. Nikolai Novikov was a senior Soviet official stationed in Washington. His telegram was almost a mirror image of Kennan's in which he claimed that the USA wanted to use its military and economic might to subdue the USSR and dominate the world.

FOCUS TASK

Write your own narrative of the Grand Alliance: Part 4

You are now going to conclude your narrative with what happened after the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe.

Use this sentence starter and select two points to include in this sentence.

The Alliance finally collapsed in ...

Suspensions between the two sides reached breaking point in 1946 when ...

REVISION

You don't need to do these tasks now, use them when you are revising for a test, or a mock exam, or the real thing.

Task 1

Go back over this chapter. Cover up the text so that you can only see the Retrieval Practices. See if you can answer them without looking at the text.

Task 2

Ask your teacher to provide you with copies of Sources 2–6, Figure 2 and Source 9 (which are all visual sources). Turn these slides into a presentation and see if you can tell the story of superpower relations in this period using only these sources.

Task 3

Which event of the period 1941–48 had the most important consequences?

Use a table like this to compare them. Here are some guidelines for judging importance/consequences:

- Who/what was affected?
- Did it cause anything else to happen?
- How big was the impact, e.g. did it affect many people or last a long time?
- Did it improve superpower relations or make them worse?

Events	Type of consequence(s): political, economic, ideological, international, domestic, etc.	Actual impact(s) on people, countries, international relations, etc.
Formation of the Grand Alliance 1941	Political and international	Showed Big Three could work together despite differing political views; effectively sealed the fate of Germany and Japan in the Second World War

1.2 The development of the Cold War

SOURCE 1



An American cartoon from 1948 showing Truman and Stalin playing chess.

FOCUS

The USA and USSR never actually declared an official Cold War. Each side took actions or reacted to the actions of the other side, which increased tensions between them. In this chapter, you are going to look at these actions and reactions and assess how they affected superpower relations in the period 1947–49.

Source 1 is commenting on one important development that took place in June 1948, the Berlin Blockade and airlift. You will find out more about this on pages 20–21. But although this cartoon is about the airlift, it is actually a good way of picturing the developments in the Cold War from 1947 to 1949. When one side made a move, the other side reacted. In other words, each event or action had important consequences.

FOCUS TASK

What were the consequences of the developments of 1947–49?

Draw up your own blank version of this table. As you work through this chapter, list the consequences of each 'move' made by Truman or Stalin.

- Consequences for USA, e.g. Did USA change its policies? Did it harden attitudes in the USA towards USSR?
- Consequences for USSR and satellite states, e.g. Did USSR change policies or bring in new policies? Did it increase Soviet control?
- Consequences for relations between USA and USSR, e.g. Did relations get better or worse? Or both?

We have started the Truman Doctrine for you, but you can add other points we may have missed.

Key events	Consequences for relations between USA and its allies	Consequences for relations between USSR and satellite states	Consequences for relations between USA and USSR
Truman Doctrine March 1947	This was a big change for USA. USA was now committed to international involvement – containment of communism.	Stalin was alarmed by aggressive US policy and this led to tighter Soviet control of satellite states.	Made relations with USSR worse. Each side felt threatened by the other. Each side accused the other of trying to expand their power and influence over other countries.
Marshall Plan June 1947 onwards			
Cominform October 1947			
Comecon January 1949			
Berlin Crisis 1948–49			
NATO 1949			



RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- 1 What was containment?
- 2 When did Truman announce 'The Truman Doctrine'?
- 3 What was the Truman Doctrine?
- 4 Why was the Truman Doctrine controversial?

SOURCE ANALYSIS

Would you say that the cartoonist is:

- fully behind the new policy
- unsure about the policy
- concerned about the policy
- totally opposed to the new policy?

SOURCE 3



An American cartoon commenting on the Truman Doctrine.

Truman's move: The Truman Doctrine

You have already seen how Stalin turned Eastern Europe into a collection of 'satellite states' in the period 1945–48. They all had communist governments who took orders from Stalin (see pages 12–13). US President Truman was determined that the same thing would not happen to countries in Western Europe as well. This policy of holding back the spread of communism became known as '**containment**'.

Truman's first attempt at containment came in March 1947. He made a speech that became known as the Truman **Doctrine**. He announced that the USA was going to send \$400 million in aid to Greece and Turkey. In Greece, a civil war was taking place between supporters of the Greek monarchy and communist forces who wanted to make Greece a communist state.

Truman then went on to promise that the USA would aid any other country that was threatened by a communist takeover. He then went on to praise Western democracy in which governments were elected by their people and claimed that, in contrast, communism relied on terror and force (see Source 2).

SOURCE 2

Communism is a way of life 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.

An extract from the Truman Doctrine, March 1947.

There were some concerns in the USA (see Source 3, for example), but most Americans supported Truman. The headline in *The New York Times* read 'Truman Acts to Save Nations from Red Rule'.

The significance of the Truman Doctrine

The Truman Doctrine was a key event of the Cold War.

It put down a marker about America's intentions. Truman was making clear that the USA would not withdraw from world affairs as it had done after the First World War. Truman's policy of containment meant that the USA would actively resist the spread of communism. People were aware at the time that this would almost certainly lead to clashes between the USA and USSR.

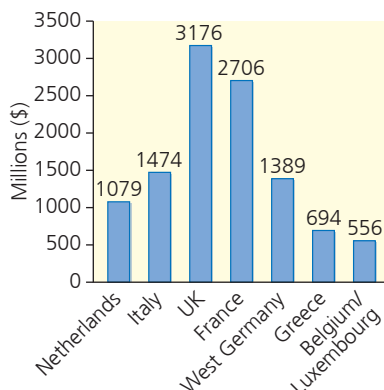
It alarmed Stalin. Stalin was worried by the speech and soon responded by creating an organisation called **Cominform** (see page 19).

Truman's move: The Marshall Plan and Marshall Aid

Truman decided to use the USA's mighty economic power. He ordered a US general, George Marshall, to come up with a plan for giving economic aid to rebuild Europe. In June 1947, Marshall announced his Marshall Plan to the world. The USA would put \$17 billion into helping Europe's shattered economies recover from the damage of six years of war. This became known as 'Marshall Aid'.

Starting in April 1948, the USA provided a combination of loans and grants to democratic (i.e. non-communist) countries in Europe. These countries then used the money to buy food, raw materials, like timber or steel, machinery, animals, and countless other items, from US companies. Truman wanted people to rebuild industries and businesses in Europe, get back to work and make money. He wanted them to feel good about democracy and not be attracted to communism. He also wanted to help US companies and avoid an economic recession now that the US no longer needed massive levels of production for the war effort.

FIGURE 1



The amount of Marshall Aid received by some Western European states.

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- 1 When did the Marshall Plan begin?
- 2 What was the Plan?
- 3 Which types of countries received Marshall Aid?
- 4 List some effects of Marshall Aid.
- 5 How did Marshall Aid affect relations between the USA and its allies?
- 6 Was Marshall Aid a generous action?
- 7 List some effects of Marshall Aid.
- 8 How did Marshall Aid affect relations with the USSR?

FOCUS TASK

Add your summary of the consequences of the Marshall Plan and Marshall Aid to your Focus Task table on page 16.

Generosity or self-interest?

The USA's allies mostly saw the Marshall Plan as an incredibly generous gesture by the Americans. They were extremely grateful. However, we should remember that the Americans were also looking after their own interests.

- They needed Europe to recover so that US industries had a market for their goods.
- The largest amount of aid went to the USA's closest political allies, Britain and France.
- Countries that did not have democratic, capitalist systems like the USA did not get Marshall Aid. For example, Italy did not receive any aid until a non-communist government took power in 1948.

Consequences

Marshall Aid was another key event in the development of the Cold War. It brought speedy recovery in Europe. It helped to bind the USA and its allies closer together against communism.

At the same time, it created mistrust and anger in the USSR. Stalin ordered the satellite states to have nothing to do with Marshall Aid. It tightened his hold on these states even more firmly by forming Comecon to give out its own version of Marshall Aid to its allies (see page 19).



RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- 9 What did Stalin think Truman was trying to do?
- 10 What was the main purpose of Cominform?
- 11 What did Stalin gain from Cominform?
- 12 What was the purpose of Comecon?
- 13 What did the USSR gain from Comecon?

Stalin's move: Cominform and Comecon

There was no doubt in Stalin's mind that Truman was trying to dominate the states of Western Europe. In response, Stalin tightened his grip on his Eastern European satellite states. He created two new organisations, Cominform and Comecon, to make sure the satellite states were free from any kind of control or influence from the USA.

Cominform (October 1947)

- Cominform stands for the Communist Information Bureau.
- Stalin knew that there was still some opposition to communist rule in some of his satellite states. Stalin set up Cominform to make sure the USA could not gain any political influence in these satellite states.
- All the leaders of the communist parties in Eastern Europe had to attend. Stalin used Cominform meetings to tell the satellite states the policies they should follow.
- This included cutting off trade or any other kind of contact with countries that did not belong to Cominform. They also had to refuse Marshall Aid.
- There was no debate with Stalin's instructions. The only state that argued with Stalin, Yugoslavia, was expelled.

Comecon (January 1949)

- Comecon stands for the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. It was set up as a response to the Marshall Plan.
- The idea was that members of Comecon traded mostly with one another rather than trading with the West. The satellite states were promised similar benefits to Marshall Aid.
- In reality, Comecon favoured the USSR far more than any of its other members. For example, Poland was forced to sell its coal to the USSR at one-tenth of the price that it could have got by selling it on the open market.

SOURCE 4



The official flag of Comecon.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

Can you work out the symbolism of the Comecon flag?

FOCUS TASK

Add your summary of the consequences of the creation of Cominform and Comecon to your Focus Task table on page 16.

SOURCE 5



A Soviet picture showing the leaders of the communist parties around the world celebrating Stalin's 70th birthday in 1949.

SOURCE ANALYSIS

- 1 The picture is trying to show how the communist parties of the world are united and their loyalty and love for Stalin. How does it try to achieve this?
- 2 How could you use this source to help you explain Cominform and Comecon to someone who has never heard of them?
- 3 How would observers in the USA view this picture?

FIGURE 2

The division of Germany after the war.

SOURCE 6

Soviet cartoon from 1947. It shows (from left to right) the USA, Britain and France. The three sticks tied together are labelled 'American zone', 'British zone' and 'French zone'. The building is labelled 'Yalta and Potsdam Agreements'.

RETRIEVAL PRACTICE

- 1 How was Germany/Berlin divided?
- 2 What did the USA, Britain and France do?
- 3 Give two reasons for this action.
- 4 Why was Stalin outraged by Trizonia?
- 5 How did he respond?
- 6 What was Stalin hoping would happen?

Truman's move: Germany, Trizonia and Berlin

After the war, Germany was divided into four zones (see Figure 2).

At first the US plan, known as the Morgenthau Plan, was to remove all German industry and make it an agricultural country so it could never again wage a modern war. However, as Truman grew more concerned about the USSR, he decided that a strong Germany might be a useful ally. It was also clear that if German industries were not allowed to recover, then millions of Germans would simply starve. In 1946, Britain, France and the USA combined their zones, calling the new area Trizonia.

Stalin's move: The Berlin Blockade 1948

Stalin was outraged by the creation of Trizonia. He argued (and he had a point) that this had never been agreed at the Yalta or Potsdam Conferences (see Source 6). Stalin felt he had to show western leaders that he would fight back if he felt there was a threat to the Soviet 'sphere of influence'. His response was the Berlin Blockade.

Although Berlin was also divided into four sectors – three of which were controlled by Britain, France and the USA, you can see from Figure 2 that the city itself lay deep

in the Soviet controlled zone of Germany. It was linked to the western zones by roads, railways and canals.

In June 1948, Soviet troops set up roadblocks, closed railway lines and even blocked the canals connecting Berlin to West Germany. If the USA tried to ram the roadblocks or railway blocks, it could be seen as an act of war. Stalin expected Truman to announce a humiliating withdrawal from Berlin, which would give the Soviets control of Berlin and a propaganda victory.

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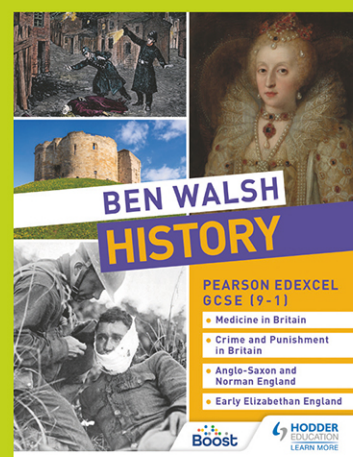
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