

# Answers

## Conflict and Tension between East and West 1945–1972

Answers to the AQA exam-style questions are indicative only and highlight the key things that should be included in your response. You may cover other points. It's how your answer is written and how it fits with the mark scheme that will determine the quality of your answer.

### THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR PART 1

p.14 Do it!



Country	Name of leader and their main aims at Yalta	Name of leader and their main aims at Potsdam
UK	Churchill: democratic elections in East to limit spread of communism	Attlee: focus on home, maintaining empire and improving relations with USSR; reparations
USA	Roosevelt: free elections everywhere, end of empires	Truman: be tough on Stalin, show US strength
USSR	Stalin: protect USSR with buffer zone	Stalin: protect USSR with buffer zone

p.15 Do it!



Tensions between the USA and the USSR increased after Potsdam because the Allies were unable to agree on the fate of Eastern Europe. This led to mistrust and increased tension because Stalin opposed the free elections the Allies wanted and was determined to retain his 'buffer' states as protection. Stalin felt that the Allies did not trust him because he was not given a Mediterranean naval base.

p.16 Do it!



Berlin, Germany's capital, was also divided by the Allies. However, Berlin lay deep in the Russian zone of Germany, away from the coast and the borders with the West. All Berlin's lines of supply went through Russian-controlled Germany: without Stalin's good will it could be cut off.

p.17 Do it!



1

- An 'Iron Curtain', made in Moscow (the USSR), has divided the land.
- A man leans over, calling 'Don't fence me in!'
- Several figures are trapped and crushed under the 'curtain'.
- Two figures look on, studying their 'Plans for new world'.

2 Suggested response:

The cartoon does not support the USSR because:

- It shows people desperate not to be trapped there.
- It shows a man trying to escape, who does not want to be 'fenced in'.
- The curtain is a barrier to the 'new world' the observers hope to build.

## p.18 Do it!



## 1 Justification for concerns may include:

- Rigged elections in Poland put communists in charge.
- Persecution started in Hungary as communists take over.
- Romania is occupied and becomes a USSR satellite state.
- Bulgarian communists execute rival leaders.
- Albania votes to become a communist state.
- Communist leader is elected in Yugoslavia.
- Czechoslovakia becomes one-party communist state.
- East Germany becomes a USSR satellite state.

## 2

- 1944: Romania is occupied by Soviet troops.
- 1945: Albania becomes communist; Yugoslavia becomes communist.
- 1946: Bulgaria becomes communist; communists are the largest party in Czechoslovakia.
- 1947: Poland becomes communist; Romania becomes satellite state.
- 1948: Czechoslovakia becomes a one-party communist state.
- 1949: Hungary becomes communist; East Germany becomes a satellite state.

## p.20 Stretch it!



President Truman's declaration of American foreign policy in his 12 points speech was criticised in British and some American newspapers for 'waving a stick at the world'. This was because he refused to share the secrets of the atomic bomb and said that he was opposed to any government forced on another people by a foreign power – although he didn't name names, this was taken to mean the USSR. This could be seen as Truman behaving in a secretive way and accusing the USSR of unacceptable foreign policies, therefore implying he was responsible for causing increasing tension.

## p.22 Do it!



Who was most responsible for increasing tension and causing the outbreak of the Cold War?	USA?	USSR?	Both/neither
Soviet sphere of influence in Europe		✓	✓
The 'free elections' were rigged		✓	
Stalin's wish for a buffer zone		✓	
The Marshall Plan	✓		
The atom bomb	✓		
Fear of communism	✓		
Soviet troops in Eastern Europe		✓	✓

The placement of ticks is a matter of personal viewpoint. Above is a suggested answer. How far do you agree with the placement of the ticks?

## p.22 CHECK IT!



- 1** The USA believed in a capitalist free market economy whilst the USSR believed in a communist state-run economy. This resulted in average living standards but a more unequal distribution of wealth in the USA and lower than average living standards but a more equal distribution of wealth in the USSR, with very few really rich and very few really poor people.

In the capitalist USA, the system of government was democratic, people were free to vote for their choice of government, they had freedom of speech, and there was no censorship of the press. However, the USSR was a dictatorship and the only political party available was the communist Party, which placed limits on what the press could print.

- 2** Churchill wanted to limit the spread of communism by making sure countries in the Soviet sphere had 'free elections'.

Roosevelt also wanted free elections in Eastern Europe but he wanted to keep Stalin on his side to help defeat Japan in the war.

Stalin wanted to create a buffer zone of communist-friendly countries in Eastern Europe to prevent another invasion of the USSR.

- 3** By July 1945, Roosevelt had died and the new President wanted to take a tougher approach with Stalin. Truman wanted to prove the USA's military strength by revealing the USA's new secret weapon – the atomic bomb. Churchill had been voted out of power and the new British Prime Minister, Attlee, did not have the same negotiating skills and was more concerned with rebuilding Britain after the war.

- 4** Tension increased after Potsdam because little was agreed other than that there should be a 'Soviet sphere of influence'. Stalin's Red Army already controlled Eastern Europe between 1944-45, with communist governments taking over from 1945-48: Poland (1947), Czechoslovakia (1948), Hungary (1949), Romania (1944), Bulgaria (1946) and the eastern part of Germany (1945). The Western Allies wanted free elections in the east, but the communists rigged elections and used violent tactics to secure their election and control.

- 5** After the USA dropped atom bombs on Japan in August 1945, Stalin's suspicion of the USA grew. The USA had kept the weapon a secret and refused to share details of how to build it with the USSR; therefore, Stalin began developing his own, which, in turn, worried the USA and increased their mistrust of the USSR

- 6** Cause 1: the West took several measures which improved the economy in their zones of Germany, including introducing a new currency. East Germans could see the comparative riches in the West through West Berlin and began leaving the country in large numbers. Stalin was angry. He could not control the reorganisation of the western zones or the new currency, but he could take action against West Berlin, so he blocked all the supply lines in and out of West Berlin.

Cause 2: Stalin wanted complete control of Berlin because he could then Germany weak if he controlled the country's capital city.

Consequence 1: the West kept up their presence, merging their zones of Germany (including West Berlin) to become West Germany. This was a big propaganda victory for the West.

Consequence 2: the former Soviet Zone of Germany, including East Berlin, formally became East Germany.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLD WAR PART 2

### p.23 Do it!



China benefitted from the economic aid it needed to recover after the civil war. But the terms of the Treaty meant the USSR benefitted more, as it was able to demand a lot because China was desperate for help.

### p.25 Do it!



See the timeline on page 24.

### p.26 Do it!



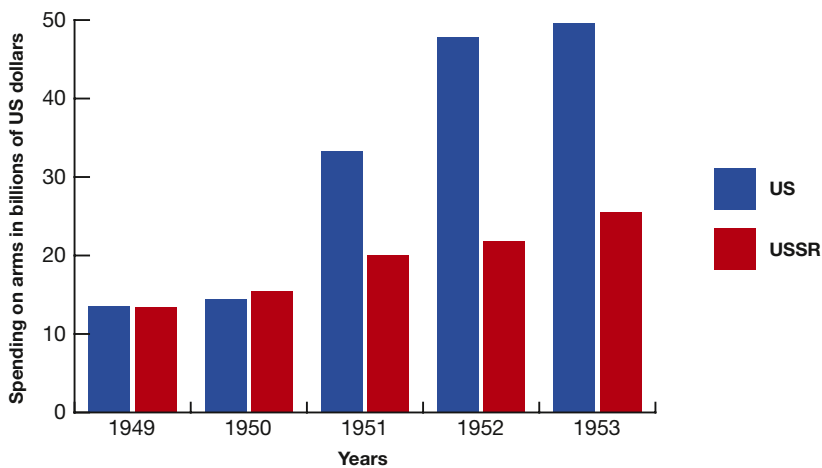
~~17 38~~  
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### p.26 Stretch it!



Eisenhower wanted to develop new technology which could be delivered from a distance, including nuclear weapons. This would allow the USA to challenge communism without committing to troop deployment. The cost of supplying a traditional army would be gained.

### p.27 Do it!



### p.27 Nail it!



Developments paced up throughout the period 1945–54 as both sides competed to try to gain an advantage. Each side wanted to be first to the next development, and poured resources into this. Political pressures added to the pace of development.

**p.28 Stretch it!**



The fear in the West was of an unprovoked attack by the Soviets. The film is government propaganda, and attempts to lighten the seriousness of the situation. The fact they need to do this helps to explain attitudes among both the politicians and the public in the West. Britain's attitude was similarly split. Politicians were committed to supporting NATO and being protected by the USA's nuclear arsenal. The public were more divided, but very fearful as Britain was on the 'front line' of any nuclear war. There were anti-nuclear weapons marches and protests throughout the 1950s.

**p.30 Do it! (bottom)**



Example answers:

USSR propaganda after Sputnik: 'See how the mighty communist people have conquered space! We will bring our technological superiority to ensure space is a place of peace. It will be a glorious reflection of the efforts of every man, woman and child in the USSR. Further hard work is needed to keep the capitalists from claiming the moon, so we must all redouble our efforts!'

USA propaganda after Armstrong: 'The United States provides a triumph for humanity! Truly a momentous day for the free peoples of the globe. We have proved that the efforts of a people free from oppression such as that in the USSR can work miracles in space!'

**p.34 Do it!**



Student's own response. For example:

Order of importance to Soviets	Order of significance for development of Cold war
Establish Khrushchev's authority	USA and UN were occupied with Suez Crisis
Loss of control over satellite countries	Damage to Warsaw Pact
Set an example to China	Loss of control over satellite countries
USA and UN were occupied with Suez Crisis	Set an example to China
Damage to Warsaw Pact	Establish Khrushchev's authority

**p.34 Stretch it!**



The report can be found at: [http:// digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/111094](http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/111094)

In the report Andropov reports that Imre Nagy has threatened a scandal and the resignation of the government if the Soviet Union continues to send troops into Hungary. In his meeting with Nagy, Andropov is told that Hungary is withdrawing from the Warsaw Pact and will further request a UN guarantee of Hungarian neutrality if Soviet troop movements into Hungary do not stop. The report notes that after the meeting the Hungarian government informed the Embassy of its decision to leave the Warsaw Pact. Andropov went on to become the leader of the Soviet Union.

**p.36 CHECK IT!**



1

- The USSR had helped a massive nation become communist and seemed to have gained a very important ally.
- Western containment had failed to react effectively, and there was now another huge communist state for the USA to be worried about, as China had a seat on the UN Security Council.
- Western fear of the further spread of communism in Asia grew.

2 This is the fear that, like dominoes, if one country falls, its neighbours will also fall to communism. This fear had an impact on the USA's approach to the Cold War.

- 3 Using guerrilla tactics, the Viet Minh were small units of non-uniformed fighters who would hit and run, disappearing into the general population, rather than fight as an army on a battlefield. They blended in with the population.
- 4 In four years (1949–53), nuclear spending rose by 370% for the USA and 190% for the USSR. This shows us the importance of trying to maintain a lead in developing and deploying nuclear weapons. It also shows the amount of fear each side had of the other.
- 5 NATO was formed in 1949 and the Warsaw Pact was formed in 1955. Between these events, the Berlin Blockade ended in defeat for Stalin, and he wanted to counter the military development of NATO. Both sides' attention was taken by the Korean War of 1950–53. In 1955, West German rearmament and subsequent entry into NATO represented a military threat to which Khrushchev had to respond. He formed the Warsaw Pact as a result.
- 6 The USSR found it more draining. The Americans could find funding by getting the public onside, and gaining support from their capitalist economy; the USSR could not do this, and the programme drained resources from elsewhere in the state-controlled economy.
- 7 The West could not react, as Hungary was behind the Iron Curtain, and thus inside the Soviet sphere of influence. The West did not want to provoke a possible nuclear war. The UN Security Council called for the removal of Soviet troops in Hungary but this was vetoed by the USSR, who were members. The West did little else because senior UN members were busy with the Suez Crisis at the same time (especially the UK and France) and President Eisenhower did not want the USA involved. The Western leaders were also worried about how the USSR would react – would further freedoms be reduced in other Soviet satellite zones in Eastern Europe? How might the Soviets (and China) react in other parts of the world?
- 8 Further withdrawals from the Warsaw Pact  
End of control over the people behind the Iron Curtain.  
Action to support the uprising by the USA and United Nations.  
Reaction of China to the perceived weakness of the USSR.

## TRANSFORMATION OF THE COLD WAR PART 3

### p.37 Do it!



The Soviets wanted to stop people leaving their satellite states for two main reasons. The first was that they were losing large numbers of highly skilled workers, which impacted upon their economy. This then encouraged more to try to leave, which embarrassed the Soviet government because it seemed that they were failing against the temptations and success of the West: people voted with their feet. The second reason is that the Soviets were also concerned about US spies moving between East and West.

### p.38 Stretch it!



Student's own answer, but points may include:

- Kennedy speaks of brotherhood between West Berlin and the USA: they are not alone.
- He speaks about American pride in the symbolic stand of West Berliners.
- He praises West Berlin for being a beacon of hope and freedom.
- He uses a simple message with much repetition.
- He highlights the weakness that building the wall shows and discusses its impact.
- He promises that the USA will always be ready to defend West Berlin.

**p.38 Do it!**



- 1 The cartoon is critical of the USSR because it shows the intimidating high wall and barbed wire that was being used to keep people in the East against their will.
- 2 It also shows Soviet leader Khrushchev leaning over, gesturing to the line of dead bodies on top of the wall, who represent the many who will be killed while trying to cross. He says 'See how many are staying', as if they have chosen to stay where they fell.
- 3 Additional knowledge could include that hundreds were eventually killed crossing from East to West and that this cartoon supports Kennedy's response to the wall, using it as propaganda against the Soviets.

**p.41 Do it!**



1

Kennedy's aims	Khrushchev's aims	Castro's aims
Protect the USA from communism	Protect communist Cuba	Remain in power
Remove Castro	Place missiles there	Protect Cuba
Return Cuba to being an ally	Strengthen the USSR's negotiating position	

2

Kennedy's actions	Khrushchev's actions	Castro's actions
Naval blockade	Denies missiles in Cuba	Letter to Khrushchev
Prepares for invasion of Cuba	Tells ships to ignore blockade	
Replies to first letter publicly	Private letter to Kennedy	
Accepts second letter secretly	Public letter to Kennedy	
Secretly agrees to terms	Agrees to remove missiles	

**p.41 Stretch it!**



Student's own answers, but points could include:

- Kenney: started the blockade and threatened invasion; he also created the crisis with the Bay of Pigs and Operation Mongoose, threatening Cuba.
- Khrushchev: threatened to ignore the blockade, having denied the presence of (and sent) missiles, countering the USA and defending Cuba – sent private letter to compromise.
- Castro: called on the USSR to launch nuclear weapons upon the USA.

**p.43 Do it!**



The Crisis did help to improve relations because it so nearly resulted in nuclear war and both sides wanted to avoid that happening. In order to achieve this, a number of agreements were made. A hotline was set up between the two capitals so the leaders could talk more easily and swiftly. They then agreed the Limited Test Ban Treaty in 1963, the Outer Space Treaty in 1967 and a Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty in 1968. Tensions still existed, but by 1965 the USSR had matched the USA in the arms race and neither side could afford to trigger a nuclear conflict.

## p.43 Stretch it!



In the short term, the Crisis certainly strained relations between East and West as the two sides came the closest to nuclear war. Kennedy looked strong for standing up to Khrushchev, who looked weak for conceding and was sacked in 1964. The Soviets continued to stockpile weapons and by 1965 had caught up with the USA in the arms race.

However, in the longer-term, the installation of the hotline and fear of a repeat crisis improved relations. The Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963 was the first attempt to restrict the development of nuclear weapons, and was followed by the Outer Space Treaty of 1967 and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968.

## p.44 Do it!



Novotny's Czechoslovakia up to 1968	Dubček's Czechoslovakia 1968
No faith or say in leadership	Multi-party elections
Political prisoners not released	Reduced many prisoners, reduced police activity
No consumer rights	Free movement, free to travel and trade
Fixed wages	State control of business ended, conditions improved
No free speech	Freedom of speech and for political meetings Press censorship ended

## p.46 Stretch it! (bottom)



Similarities	Differences
Causes: there was popular anger at communist repression, lack of freedoms and quality of life.	Causes: Hungary events were triggered by de-Stalinisation and hopes of a new Soviet approach; Czechoslovakia events were triggered by Polish demonstrations.
Events: Soviets installed a more moderate, popular communist, who went too far with reforms, and then Soviets reacted with force,	Events: Hungary tanks rolled in as soon as the Warsaw Pact was under threat; in Czechoslovakia, Brezhnev tried talks and threats first.
Consequences: hardliners returned to government.	Consequences: events in Hungary were far more brutal than Czechoslovakia, with many more deaths.
International consequences: there was limited reaction from the West; Soviets were allowed free reign behind the Iron Curtain; China was concerned.	International consequences: talks between Brezhnev and Johnson were cancelled; Soviet troops exposed lies about Czech support.

## p.48 Do it!



Example answer:

The US actions in Vietnam in 1968 can be seen as a disaster because:

- They lost 103,000 men (14,500 killed), the most suffered 1966–70.
- There were 500,000 US troops there and the cost was unsustainably huge.
- The war was not won and became increasingly unpopular in the USA.



**p.49 Stretch it!**



Some examples include:

	Similarities	Differences
<b>Causes</b>	Repression; lack of ability to voice grumbles; poor choices in shops.	Religion played a larger part in Hungary, as did the control of education.
<b>Events</b>	Changes made by Nagy were similar to 'socialism with a human face'.	Soviet tanks in Hungary; Warsaw Pact tanks in Czechoslovakia (but they were Soviet!). Level of brutality on the streets.
<b>Consequences</b>	Deaths & arrests. Cold war mistrust grew.	Number of deaths: 20,000 in Hungary. 100 in Czechoslovakia.

**p.49 CHECK IT!**



- 1 The economic miracle in West Germany meant there were better standards of living in the West since Marshall Aid in 1949; the democratic system offered a freer and fairer society in the West.
- 2 The Berlin wall was constructed to stop East Germans (and others from Eastern Europe) from crossing into Western Berlin; the Soviets also believed that the USA was using West Berlin as a centre for spying operations against them, and so the wall was built to stop this too.
- 3 The USA used the wall for propaganda, pointing out that they did not need to build a wall to keep their people in their country; this made the Soviets look bad in the eyes of people living in the West, which increased tension in the short term.
- 4 Long term: Castro's 1959 Revolution caused the USA to stop trading with Cuba. Castro asked Soviet leader, Nikita Khrushchev, for help and the USSR began trading with Cuba. Medium term: the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. Supported by the USA, Cuban exiles invaded Cuba but were quickly defeated. This drove Cuba further into the arms of the USSR. Relations between the USA and the USSR were worse than ever. Short term: on 14 October 1962, two American U2 spy planes took photographs confirming the existence of missile bases on Cuba, despite the Soviets assuring the USA that they would not place missiles there.
- 5
  - Politicians were corrupt, people wanted to be able to have faith in the leader. They demanded the right to free elections.
  - Workers wanted incentives to work for state-controlled business, as wages were fixed. They wanted the right to choose their working conditions.
  - Consumers wanted the right to complain about poor quality goods.
  - People wanted the right to speak freely.
- 6 In November 1968, the Brezhnev Doctrine said:
  - The USSR will keep communists in power in Europe and elsewhere.
  - Internal rebellions will be crushed.
  - External invasion will be met by force.
- 7 US involvement in Vietnam was a cause of tension because the casualties suffered in fighting a communist regime made Nixon unpopular. Human cost was matched by financial cost, which would have added to pressures on the US government to find a solution. Tensions between the West and communist regimes in the USSR and China rose as a result, especially as Nixon was trying to gain influence with the Chinese. The Soviets' poor record on human rights also raised tension: the USA constantly criticised them, and this was resented by the USSR. Both Vietnam and Human Rights became part of a propaganda war in the late 1960s that raised tension.

8 Both the USA and USSR were shocked by how close the Cold War had come to nuclear war during the Cuban Missile Crisis, so leaders on both sides wanted Détente. Both were also struggling with the costs of building and maintaining nuclear weapons. In addition, for the USA, the Vietnam War was proving very costly, in terms of both money and American lives, and was increasingly unpopular with the American public. Meanwhile, the USSR's economy was badly overstretched with the expense of supporting communists and communist regimes across the globe. China was also a factor for both sides as Nixon wanted to improve relations with China and the USSR was worried about this.

## HOW TO ANSWER THE EXAM QUESTIONS

### p.52 Do it!



- 1 B Feature 1; A Feature 3; C Feature 2; D Feature 4
- 2 We can infer from this cartoon that the Americans believed the Soviets were trying to push them out of East Germany for ever by blockading Berlin, causing the people of East Berlin to become reliant on Soviet help.
- 3 Student's own answer.

### p.54 Do it!



Level 4 because the answer directly answers the question by combining a description of several key features of the cartoon with contextual knowledge on the issue surrounding the secrecy of the atomic bomb.

### p.56 Do it!



Student's own answer. For example: 'I think C will be useful, as it's a British view. 3 out of 5'; or 'I think D will be more useful – I can use what the image says. 4 out of 5.'

### p.57 Do it!



	Who?	What?	Where?	When?	Why?
<b>Source D</b>	British cartoonist Cummings in a newspaper	Cartoon	Britain	August 1953	To entertain as well as give the cartoonist's opinion on the arms race

### p.58 Do it! (top)



- 1 Source C – Russell believes there is a 'nuclear stalemate'.  
Source D – Bows and arrows are shown as ineffective conventional weapons.  
Source D – Both are headed towards MAD.
- 2 Possible answers could include:
  - By 1953, both sides had developed the hydrogen bomb, which was more powerful than the atom bomb.
  - By 1959, both sides had stockpiled masses of nuclear weapons.
- 3 Any four or five underlined 'legs' are acceptable, as long as there is a mix of Sources C & D.

**p.58 Do it! (bottom)**



Answers could include:

- Useful because it shows that British newspapers were focusing on the tensions.
- Useful because it shows the attitude of a cartoonist whose work reaches many.
- Useful because it is making a negative comment on JFK's speech.

**p.59 Do it!**



Level 4: it attempts to evaluate the usefulness of both sources, together. It uses both provenance and content to support evaluations made.

**p.62 Do it!**



1 and 3

- JFK secretly agreed to remove missiles from Turkey. (28 October)
- Khrushchev demanded the removal of US missiles from Turkey. (27 October)
- JFK announced a naval blockade around Cuba. (22 October)
- Work on the missile bases continued. (25 October)
- Castro secretly urged Khrushchev to destroy the USA with nuclear missiles. (26 October)

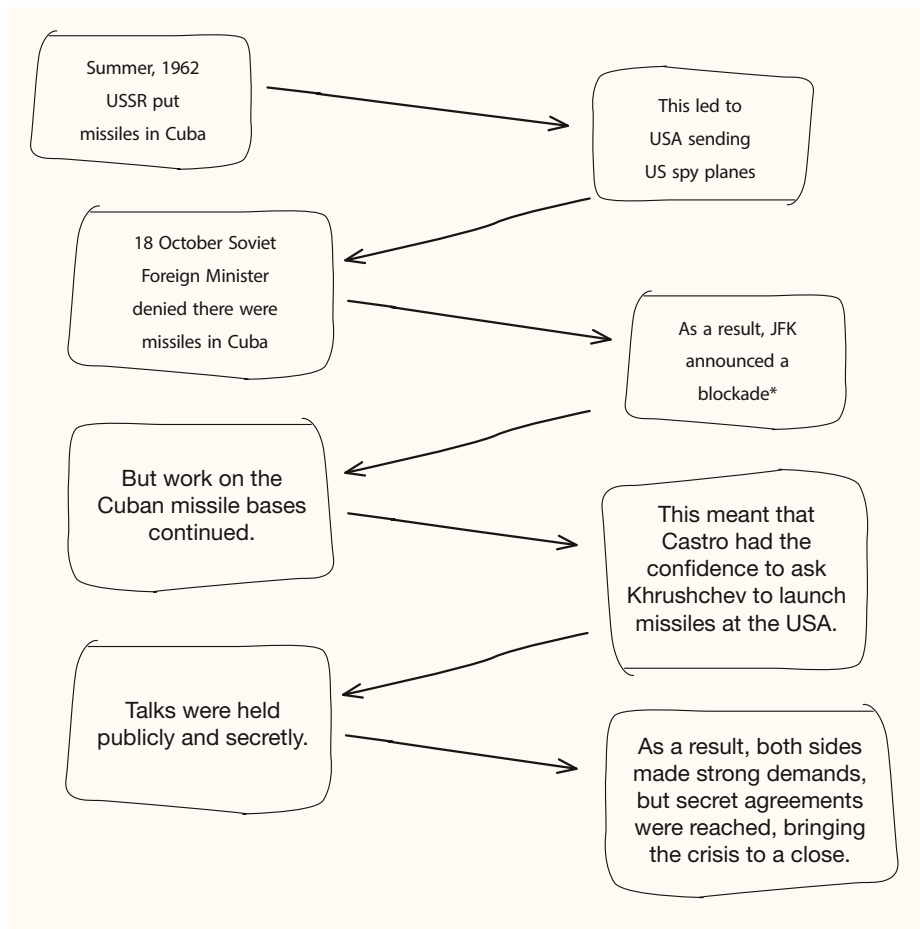
2 Student's own answer.

4 Student's own answer.

**p.63 Do it!**



1



2 Student's own answer.

## p.65 Do it!



1

One way in which events in Berlin led to an international crisis in 1948 was when western parts of Germany, and West Berlin received Marshall Aid. This angered Stalin as he thought Marshall Aid was the USA's way of trying to take-over countries through its money. In June, the British and USA which had combined their zones of Germany in 1947, introduced a new currency, the Deutsche Mark in their combined zone. As a result of these actions by the west, the economy of western Germany and West Berlin started to recover while eastern Germany and East Berlin still had many economic problems. People living in the east saw that life in the west was better because West Berlin was right in the middle of the Soviet zone of Germany so many people left the east for the west. Consequently, the actions of the West which helped West Berlin prosper therefore angered and worried Stalin and led him to wanting the western powers out of Berlin altogether which heightened tensions between both sides. A second way was when Stalin responded to these events by blockading West Berlin. This meant that access to West Berlin by roads, railways and canals was stopped, effectively cutting off West Berlin from West Germany. The blockade angered US President Truman and other western powers because they wanted to maintain their influence in West Berlin. It greatly heightened tensions between east and west and as a result caused an international crisis. This was because some in the west wanted to attack the USSR or eastern Germany but Truman decided on a different action – the Berlin Airlift. This was where West Berlin was supplied with food and fuel by Allied aircraft. As a result, more tension was caused because nobody knew if the USSR would attack the Allied planes.

There is a phrase such as 'this meant that' in each paragraph, which links to 'lead to an international crisis'.

- 2 Level 4: the answer gives detailed factual knowledge in support of a range of reasons for the international crisis.

## p.67 Do it!



- 1 'in Berlin, the wall was built almost overnight'; Khrushchev; Truman; Warsaw Pact; 'democratic freedoms were demanded'.
- 2 ideology: belief systems, usually political, for example, capitalism or communism  
 Cominform: an international communist organisation from 1947 to 1956 which aimed to unify and control the ideological beliefs and practices of communist parties or countries  
 Warsaw Pact: the military organisation between the USSR and its satellite states set up in 1955  
 ICBM: Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile – rocket technology that meant planes were not needed and distances and times for delivery were significantly shortened  
 space race: the race between the USA and the USSR to see who could control space, with its potential for military usage  
 Cuban Missile Crisis: an international crisis which began when the USSR placed missiles in Cuba, very close to the USA  
 Vietcong: Vietnamese guerrilla fighters, often supplied by the Ho Chi Minh Trail  
 Détente: attempts to reduce tension between the USSR and the USA in the 1970s  
 SALT 1: the first real result of Détente – a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty meant both sides recognised the need to stop building stockpiles of weapons  
 Truman Doctrine: President Truman's policy that the USA would resist communism's spread, by military force, if necessary

## p.68 Do it! (top)



1 and 2

- 1 g, k, j and effects of the Second World War on Russia.  
 2 a, b, c, e, f, i. and Attlee replaced Churchill as British Prime Minister in 1945.  
 3 c, k and Korean War.  
 4 c, d, h, l and Vietnam War.

## 3

Event 1: Outbreak of the Cold War	
k) Contrasting attitudes and ideologies	Following the end of the war, the two nations had little in common. Totally opposite views over how to run the economy, combined with democratic free speech in USA but censorship and restrictions in the USSR put the two countries at odds with each other.
j) Disagreements at Potsdam	Little was agreed over Eastern Europe. Stalin's Red Army already controlled Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and the eastern part of Germany and there was little the Western Allies could do about it. Also, Stalin was not given a naval base in the Mediterranean. He saw this as evidence that the allies mistrusted him. The tension began to build between the two nations.
Effects of the war on Russia	Russia had been devastated by the war and had suffered the most casualties. Stalin wanted to weaken Germany and create a buffer zone to prevent another invasion.
Event 2: Development of the Cold War 1945–49	
a) Iron Curtain	Churchill's description of the division of Europe with an iron curtain worsened existing fears of communism as it seemed to predict some kind of fortress behind which the people in the East would be trapped and the West would not be able to enter.
b) Truman Doctrine	President Truman's speech in March 1947 outlined US policy to support 'free people against attempts at subjugation'. This seemed to imply that countries were being forced against their will to become Soviet satellites and that the USSR was in the wrong. This annoyed the USSR as it went against what had been agreed at Potsdam about the Soviet sphere of influence.
e) Rigged elections	This increased tension as Soviet control took hold of Eastern Europe throughout the 1950s showing that the Iron curtain was a barrier behind which the West were helpless.
F) Marshall Plan	When the US Secretary of State announced 17 billion dollars of aid for European countries, Stalin was furious. He saw this as the USA using money to control Europe. He called this 'dollar imperialism' and hated the idea that his former enemy, Germany, was being strengthened by the scheme. This led to the creation of Cominform and Comecon, which further increased suspicion and mistrust between East and West.
i) Berlin blockade	Stalin was angry that he hadn't been consulted about the reorganising of the western zones of Berlin, and about the new currency there, so he took action against West Berlin. He hoped blockading the supply routes would make West Berlin reliant on Soviet help and would lead to the West losing control there. This plan backfired due to Allied aircraft dropping supplies into West Berlin. Stalin had to back down but this event meant that Berlin would continue to be a pressure point of the Cold War, as tension between the two sides remained high.
Event 3: Increasing tensions in the 1950s	
c) Marshall Plan	While Western countries continued to benefit from Marshal Aid, countries under Soviet control began to suffer from shortages and lower standards of living. This increased tension, especially in Berlin, where East met West, as it encouraged people to leave the East.
k) Contrasting attitudes and ideologies	Pre-existing differences in ideas of how to run the economy, combined with democratic free speech in USA but censorship and restrictions in the USSR put the two countries at odds with each other and was bound to cause tension between these two superpower rivals.

Korean War	This increased tensions as it involved China and posed the possibility of the Cold War becoming 'hot' between East and West as MacArthur wanted to use nuclear weapons in 1951.
<b>Event 4: Increasing tensions in the 1960s</b>	
c) Spread of communism	The Domino Theory led to the USA's commitment to keep South Vietnam from falling to communism. From 1964–75, the USA became involved in a war they could neither win nor afford to lose.
d) The Berlin Wall	The USA used the wall for propaganda, pointing out that they did not need to build a wall to keep their people in their country. This increased mistrust and fear of the Soviets in the eyes of people in the West. Berlin continued to be an area of tension and spying on both sides increased.
h) Bay of Pigs	When the US-backed invasion of Cuba failed to overthrow the communist government in 1961, President Kennedy was humiliated and the Cubans were driven further into the arms of the USSR. Relations between East and West had never been worse.
l) Cuban Missile Crisis	These 13 days were the closest the world came to nuclear war.
Vietnam War	The Domino Theory led to the USA's commitment to keeping South Vietnam from falling to communism. From 1965–75, the USA became involved in a war they could neither win nor afford to lose. The economic and human cost was huge but neither Presidents Kennedy or Nixon would accept defeat as it would mean a victory for communism.

#### 4 Student's own answer, for example:

The main reason for the outbreak of the Cold War was the contrasting attitudes and ideologies of the USA and USSR. The differences in viewpoints of the communists and capitalists laid the foundations for some kind of conflict between them. With their common enemy defeated in the Second World War, there was nothing to unite them and the disagreements at Potsdam stemmed from their contrasting attitudes about democracy and how to recover economic growth following the devastating effects of the war, as well as differing opinions on how to deal with Germany: punishment to make sure they would never attack USSR again or rehabilitation to develop a strong trading partner for the West?

#### p.68 Do it! (bottom)



##### 1 Student's own answer.

##### 2 Student's own answer, for example:

The development of the Cold War 1945–49 happened as a result of a combination of factors. The announcement of the Truman Doctrine meant that, in order for the USA to prevent the 'subjugation' of countries, they would provide assistance in order for those countries to be able to be strong enough to be independent. This led to the introduction of Marshall Aid which made Stalin very angry, he saw this as the USA increasing its hold in Europe, making countries reliant on 'dollar imperialism'. This money improved conditions in Western Europe and in West Berlin, which prompted Stalin to try to blockade supply routes into the western zones of Berlin in an attempt to try and get them to rely on Soviet help instead. Although he had to back down, it was clear that Berlin was going to be a 'pressure point' in the developing Cold War.

#### p.69 Do it!



##### 1 Actions of the USA: b, f, g, h

Actions of the USSR: a, c, d, e, i

Shared responsibility: j, k, l

##### 2 Student's own answer.

- 3** The USA are to blame for the development of the Cold War 1945-49, this is because they were continually trying to interfere in Eastern Europe. The USA did not appreciate the views of the USSR on how to deal with Germany after the war. The USA had not been invaded twice by Germany and had their country destroyed therefore they lacked understanding of the reasons why the USSR wanted to punish and weaken Germany. They saw the buffer zone as an attempt to dominate Europe rather than a defensive feature to prevent further invasion. They tried to win over the people of Western Europe with Marshall Aid whilst the people of Eastern Europe suffered decreasing living standards. This was bound to cause tension and encourage people to leave the East which they began to do during the 1950s.

**p.70 Do it! (top)**



The USSR are to blame for the development of the Cold War between 1945-49. Their support for rigged elections in Eastern Europe between 1945-1950 sent the message early on to the rest of world about how they intended to control Eastern Europe. They proved by building the Berlin Wall in 1961 that they were not interested in co-operating with the West and their brutal treatment of people who tried to cross from east to west demonstrated their total disrespect for peace and freedom of speech.

**p.70 Do it! (middle)**



The USSR were the most to blame for the development of the Cold War 1945-49. The USA were only trying to help rebuild Europe after the war providing assistance through the Marshall Plan. They hoped that this would also prevent further Communist take overs in Europe where people would lose their freedom of speech and suffer poorer living conditions. The USSR misinterpreted what they were trying to do calling it 'dollar imperialism' and responded in ways that further increased tension between the two sides. For example the Berlin Blockade in 1949 which only increased tension even further when the airlift succeeded in supplying the people of West Berlin and Stalin had to back down. The division of Germany occurred as a consequence of Stalin's actions which increased tension, especially in the city of Berlin, for years to come.

**p.71 Do it!**



- 1** Level 4 because it has three clearly explained reasons which all follow a PEEL structure. It answers the question directly in the first line, provides specific evidence which is then explained and linked back to the question. It also provides a conclusion which compares the importance of two factors and reaches a convincing judgment which also shows how reasons link.
- 2** Example answer:  
The USA had hoped that dropping the atom bomb would send a clear message about their military strength and frighten the USSR into backing down to a weaker position after the war. However, this was not to be the case.

## PRACTICE PAPERS



## p.72 Practice paper 1

- 1 **Source A** supports Truman's actions in Korea. How do you know?

Explain your answer using **Source A** and your contextual knowledge.

The cartoon supports Truman's actions in Korea because it shows him leaping into action with a character who represents the United Nations by his side. They both look determined as they jump over the grave of the League of Nations who, according to the caption, died through lack of exercise. The cartoonist has drawn Truman and the United Nations leaping together to show Truman exercising the UN, who is carrying a machine gun that represents the military action. The cartoon is dated June 1950, which was when the United Nations sanctioned military involvement in Korea to push the Chinese-backed North Korean communist army out of South Korea. The cartoonist is making the point that the UN will not meet the same fate as the League of Nations.

- 2 How useful are **Sources B** and **C** to a historian studying opinions of the Marshall Plan?

Explain your answer using **Sources B** and **C** and your contextual knowledge.

Source B is useful because it is a British cartoon and so is therefore likely to reveal a widely held opinion in a Western country. It is clear from the picture that Stalin is the one behaving unreasonably by forcing and pushing passengers (who are countries like Bulgaria, Austria and Hungary) into his train. This represents the fear of the spread of communism in Eastern European countries through rigged elections and military coups. Truman on the other hand is shown raising his hat and welcoming the passengers into his carriage, which is marked 'Liberty Hotel'. This is useful as it shows that many in the West believed that these countries were vulnerable and in need of some kind of assistance if they were to resist being forced under Soviet control. This cartoon is also useful as it shows support in Britain for the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, which aimed to help countries 'resist subjugation', which is what the cartoon is suggesting is happening or going to happen.

Source C is useful because it gives the Soviet perspective on the Marshall Plan. Andrew Vyshinsky is giving a public speech to the UN and so we can be sure that this is the official opinion of the government of the USSR. He talks about countries coming under the 'economic and political control of the United States'; the fact that he says it is becoming 'more and more evident' suggests that the USA hasn't been honest from the start. This speech shows the Soviet dislike and annoyance at the Marshall Plan, which Stalin also referred to as 'dollar imperialism'.

Taken together, these two sources are useful because they show how opposite the views of East and West were in 1947 and how the issues of who should control post-war Europe had not been solved at Yalta or Potsdam. These sources highlight differences between the USA and USSR that explain the tension and mistrust that caused the Cold War to develop.





- 3 Write an account of how events in Czechoslovakia in 1968 increased Cold War tensions.

By 1968, economic, political and social problems made many Czechs unhappy. They were kept from voicing discomfort by Novotny's hard-line communist government. They had little choice in shops, and workers' wages were fixed, so students began to protest. Brezhnev removed Novotny and replaced him with a more reformist leader, Dubček, hoping he would appease the protesters without giving away too many of the controls required by the communist system. Dubček did not do as Brezhnev hoped. Dubček's policies, called 'socialism with a human face', started reforms such as ending press censorship, allowing freedom of speech and gathering in meetings, and improving working conditions. Here was a turning point for superpower relations. The key to the situation lay with the USSR. Their response would raise tensions with the West dramatically. Brezhnev wanted above all else to keep the Warsaw Pact together, and retain control. He therefore acted very aggressively, which deepened the Cold War: the West reacted in horror but with the realisation that they could not act in the Soviet sphere of influence.

The allies within the Warsaw Pact discussed the situation and threatened Czechoslovakia by carrying out military manoeuvres on the border. Dubček seemed to crumble, and signed the Bratislava Declaration on 3 August. This appeared to declare unity across the Pact. However, on 9 August, Dubček met with Tito of Yugoslavia, who Brezhnev saw as a dangerously independent communist leader who could pull Dubček away from the Warsaw Pact. Consequently, the likelihood of Soviet invasion heightened and, with it, tensions between East and West.

Brezhnev prepared his response. Meanwhile, students were protesting on the streets of Prague. Soviet tanks representing the Warsaw Pact moved in and crushed what they saw as a rising on 20 and 21 August. 100 died; 500 were wounded. This bloodshed raised tensions more than any other aspect of the crisis, especially as Western media highlighted the brutality of the Soviet troops and tanks, thus pressurising the West to act positively. Tensions rose subsequently, as the Brezhnev Doctrine restated Soviet intentions to keep control behind the Iron Curtain, and the West cancelled a summit between leaders which may have improved relations.



- 4 'The main reason for the tension between the superpowers in the 1950s was the USSR's development of the atom bomb in 1949.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

The USSR's development of the atom bomb in 1949 had immense impact across the 1950s. It meant the USA no longer had atomic monopoly, and could therefore no longer rely on owning the ultimate deterrent, outright. It greatly increased Western fears of the USSR.

As a result of this development, both sides engaged in an arms race to try to achieve the upper hand. More destructive weapons, such as the hydrogen bomb, and the means to transport them were developed. This arms race hugely increased tensions throughout the decade, as both sides achieved the capacity for global destruction (this became known as Mutually Assured Destruction). It was the development of the atom bomb by the USSR that led to this. The arms race caused a space race as both sides sought to dominate space, and be able to threaten the other side from there. Without the atom bomb, this would not have become the tense struggle for superiority that it did become. It also meant that international crises, such as those seen in Korea and Hungary, now had the added threat of nuclear weapons being deployed, thus further raising tensions. The best example is in Korea, where MacArthur wanted to use nuclear weapons in 1951.

Another reason for increased tensions in the 1950s was because, in 1949, NATO was formed. This armed alliance to defend Western democracies pressed the USSR to respond. Their fear was an armed West Germany. West Germany became an official country after the Berlin airlift, which increased the possibility of it being remilitarised and perhaps threatening the East. In May 1955, West Germany joined NATO. The Soviets countered with the Warsaw Pact later in May 1955. Now, Europe was an armed, potential battleground, where Cold War tensions would be played out against a backdrop of possible nuclear destruction; most immediately in Hungary in 1956. This links to the original reason – the USSR's development of the atom bomb, as without this, neither side would have reacted as provocatively as it did.

A final reason for rising tensions is that China became communist in 1949. This shocked the West, and they now feared a massive communist bloc. However, while China's potential was seen in Korea, they spent the 1950s engaged more in internal developments. This is of lesser significance than other reasons, therefore.

The interlinked events that raised tension in the 1950s can be seen to stem from the USSR's development of the atom bomb. It gave a new confidence to the Soviet leadership, and allowed dominance to be established time and again. It can be seen as the most important reason, therefore, in raising tensions in the 1950s, as it underpinned every action or reaction on both sides.



### p.73 Practice paper 2

- 1 **Source A** criticises the actions of the USSR in Czechoslovakia. How do you know? Explain your answer using **Source A** and your contextual knowledge.

The cartoon is critical of the USSR because it shows how they are trying to hide the fact that it wants to invade and take control of Czechoslovakia as there are weapons which are disguised as tea urns and menacing Soviet officials who are supposed to be secretaries. This British cartoon was published in July 1968, which was during the period known as the Prague Spring. The Czech leader, Dubček, had announced an action plan in April for a new model of socialism. This cartoon is suggesting what will happen to the people of Czechoslovakia if they continue to reject Soviet-style communism; they will be forced back under Soviet control or be crushed. The cartoon is critical of this in the way it shows the underhand way in which the USSR are going about dominating Eastern European countries.

- 2 How useful are **Sources B** and **C** to a historian studying the space race? Explain your answer using **Sources B** and **C** and your contextual knowledge.

Both of these sources are useful for a study of the space race, because they show different aspects of the race, and its importance to the USA and USSR in the mid-1950s.

Source B is useful, as it shows us how the US media was being used to help to win a propaganda war and to try to get the US public's support for the space race. It shows Disney and Braun proudly standing in front of advanced space technology. Disney's media empire was supporting President Eisenhower's policy of developing space technology. This media propaganda would have led to public support for the space race, and the American people would therefore have been prepared to pay more tax to support it; it is useful to us in assessing just how important the space race was to the USA. The source is from 1955, when the Warsaw Pact had been formed, and would set minds at ease among the public that the Americans could win the space race.

Source C is also very useful in showing us how important the space race was, as it is the words of Khrushchev, the leader of the USSR, at a time when he would be ecstatic at the technological leap they had performed in getting Sputnik 1 and 2 in space in 1957. It is useful in showing how important it was to win the propaganda race too, as this would have helped to gain the support of the Russian public. The source is useful as Khrushchev emphasises the peaceful benefits of the communist system, as opposed to capitalism, and links it to their developments in the space race. Khrushchev is seen to relish the victory achieved by Sputnik, and is wringing all the propaganda he can from it.

Both sources are useful, even though we may need to be aware of the political drive behind the image and the speech. Both reflect the reality of the space race, but C reflects a genuine technological shock being gleefully applied by Khrushchev at a time when the programme had already been successful, rather than being a dream.



- 3 Write an account of how the Potsdam Conference increased Cold War tensions.

When the Potsdam Conference was held in Germany in July 1945, the Second World War in Asia had not yet come to an end. The USA had wanted to keep the USSR on their side so that they could rely on them to help defeat Japan but, by July 1945, America's secret weapon – the atom bomb – was ready having been tested during the Conference. The USA revealed the existence of the weapon to the USSR at Potsdam, but the Soviets already knew due to information gathered by their spies. This increased tension: the USA realised the Soviets were spying on them and the Soviets were suspicious as to why the USA had kept details about the bomb secret.

In addition to the tension over the atom bomb, there were disagreements over how to deal with Germany and Soviet control of Eastern Europe. Stalin wanted to weaken Germany as much as possible to prevent a future invasion of the USSR. He also wanted a buffer zone of friendly countries between the USSR and Germany in order to help prevent an invasion. These views caused tension with the USA and Britain because they wanted a strong Germany so that they could have a trading partner and they also feared that Germany would seek revenge if treated too harshly. The idea that Stalin should spread communism to the countries of Eastern Europe was a further cause of tension in the USA and Britain due to the threat they believed it would pose to democracy, free speech and economic development in post-war Europe. Even though Stalin promised 'free elections', little was agreed at Potsdam and as Stalin controlled much of Eastern Europe already there wasn't anything the USA and Britain could do about it. This was a further cause of tension.

- 4 'The main reason for the tension between the superpowers in the 1950s was the Hungarian Uprising.'

How far do you agree with this statement?

The Hungarian Uprising saw the greatest bloodshed outside of war in the 1950s. Khrushchev had hinted at a thaw in the approach taken by the USSR towards reform within satellite states. In Hungary, student demonstrators called for the return of reformer Imre Nagy as leader. This was achieved but Nagy's reforms went too far for Khrushchev. The use of Warsaw Pact tanks shocked the West, and raised tensions: the USA was powerless to intervene behind the Iron Curtain, but was determined to overcome communism in other spheres, such as through the space race and the arms race. It also raised tensions as the Soviets now knew they had control, and could act as they wished behind the Iron Curtain. US frustration grew, as the UN also failed to push the Soviets hard, due to their concern over Suez at that time. The Soviets had the veto in the Security Council of the UN, too, meaning they could stop the UN taking action. Eisenhower recognised, though, that negotiations needed to take place. Hungary was the catalyst for a tentative thawing in relations at summit meetings between Eisenhower and Khrushchev between 1957 and 1959. The immediate consequence of the handling of the Hungarian Uprising was therefore an immense deepening of Cold War tensions, which brought about a longer term attempt to resolve issues between the superpowers without conflict.



However, the 1950s saw several other reasons for tension to rise. They included: the arms and space races and wars in Korea and Vietnam, spreading the Cold War from Europe to Asia, then across Asia. The most significant of these events was the Korean War of 1950–53. When the communist North invaded the democratic, but corrupt, South, tensions rose dramatically. The West wanted to prevent further communist expansion especially because the year before, 1949, China had become communist. This meant that a huge nation had joined the communist ‘side’ which heightened tension in Korea as China was on North Korea’s border and provided a massive boost in support for the North Korean army. The United Nations sent in a US-led force, which raised tensions due to the possibility of the loss of US soldiers, and consequent communist propaganda crowing. The USSR could not veto this UN resolution, as they were boycotting the Security Council over communist China’s admission. Added to this, the USSR now had the atom bomb, and so the potential for disaster on a grand, nuclear scale was apparent. While this did not materialise, tensions were on high alert from 1950 to 51 during hard fighting between North Korea and the US led UN forces. In particular, the involvement of the potentially massive Chinese Red Army led the leader of the UN forces – MacArthur – to propose using nuclear weapons. He was sacked, thus reducing the tension somewhat, as the fear of a nuclear holocaust receded. Tensions then decreased slightly during a military stalemate until the ceasefire of 1953. The Korean war gave confidence and impetus to the Vietnamese communists, who began to believe that they could achieve the removal of Western overlords, thus leaving a legacy of tension across Asia.

The space race added to tensions throughout the 1950s, but became more significant in the late 1950s, and into the 1960s. The superpowers rivalled each other in trying to harness rocket technology, and gain the upper hand in space. This was a major reason for tension as each side pushed harder, and they invested more and more into technology that would be capable of delivering nuclear destruction from space. Both sides feared a ‘missile gap’, and kept raising the stakes. A mutual paranoia was growing.

In all, tensions rose and fell throughout the 1950s. When it escalated, the Hungarian Uprising was the worst manifestation of repression and brutality seen outside a war setting. However, the elongated series of events in Korea and China, from 1949 to 1953, and then in Vietnam from 1954 mean that the Korean war did more to raise tensions across the 1950s.