

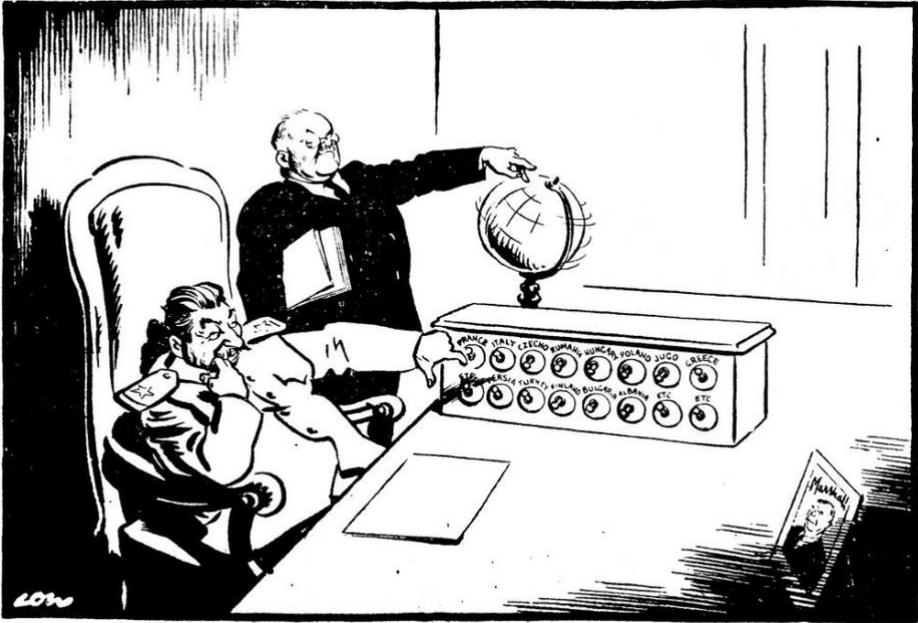
Who was to Blame for the Start of the Cold War?

1945 – 49



Defining the Term Cold War	The Cold War is a term given to a period of ideological, military, economic, political and even cultural tension between the two superpowers, the United States of America (USA) and the Soviet Union (USSR).
	It occurred between 1945 and ended with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990
	The conflict grew initially from ideological differences – but it had roots going back to 1917 and developed largely to different aims over the Post War World, especially in Europe.
	The Soviet Union was a communist state and had a political and economic system that was at odds with capitalist democratic America.
Wartime Cooperation	In 1941 GB, USA and Russia had formed the Grand Alliance.
	WHY? Germany invaded Russia in June (22) 1941 and Japan attacked the USA (Pearl Harbour) in December (7) 1941. GB was already at war with Germany after Germany invaded Poland (Sept 1939)
	The ‘Big Three’ (Roosevelt (USA), Stalin (USSR), Churchill (GB) met three times.
	the Big Three met at , Teheran 1943, Yalta Feb 1945, & Potsdam July/August 1945 to map out the Post War World. (Where difficulties started!)
	The Alliance often referred to as ‘The Strange Alliance’ (Unlikely partnership given differing ideologies /view)
Ideological Differences (The USSR)	USSR was communist (based on the original ideas of Karl Marx) and adapted by Lenin and then Stalin to suit Russia’s needs as they saw it.
	One Party State (Communist Party)
	No private Property (anti-capitalist)
	Individual liberty (rights) are less important than those of the State.
	Strict censorship and controls over the media and free speech.
Ideological differences (The USA)	Democratic and Representative - Accountable Government & systems e.g. Courts
	Multi Party State (Regular Elections).
	Individual Citizens rights protected in law (Bill of Rights).
	Private ownership (Capitalist economic principles).
	Freedom of speech, worship and movement.
Key Personalities President Truman	Truman replaced Roosevelt after he died in April 1945
	Went into the ‘relationship’ with a ‘get tough’ attitude. Said ‘If I don’t get 85% the Soviets can go to hell.’
	At Potsdam said ‘win lose or draw – we must win’
	Called the Atomic bomb his ‘ace in the pack’ (Using atomic diplomacy to put pressure of Stalin).
	Known for the development of the US policy of Containment which saw Marshall Aid, Berlin Airlift & Korean War & aid to the French in Vietnam.
	Held the view that Moscow was directing communism on an expansionist agenda – this had to be confronted to defend democracy and capitalism.

Key Personalities	Had a 'cult of personality' in the USSR – Headed a fearful regime. Known for the purges in the 1930s and Gulags.
	Stalin suspicious about Appeasement – thought it was designed to push Hitler Eastwards.
	Critical of the US and GB for not opening a Second Front before June 1944. (D-Day Landings in Normandy, France).
Stalin	Key post war objective was to secure the USSR's future security from invasion (Create a buffer zone of 'friendly' states on the USSR's borders).
Yalta February 1945	Context: The War(s) were still going on, but Germany was near defeat.
	Main discussion: what to do with Germany – agreed to divide it into 4 zones of occupation. Same for Berlin (which was in the Soviet occupation zone)
	Declaration on Liberated Europe: All liberated countries free to hold democratic elections. (Would become a source of tension).
	Idea of a Soviet 'Sphere of influence' accepted by USA / GB, but no details on what that would look like (Different interpretations!)
	Churchill wanted freely elected Government in Poland – Polish borders become a problem at Potsdam.
	Stalin agreed to join the USA in the war against Japan once war in Europe was over.
	Agreed to punish Nazi War Criminals (lead to the Nuremberg Trials (13 trials between 1945 & 49). 4Ds – democratization, denazification, demilitarization, decentralization
The Crimea (Ukraine)	Agreed to setting up the United Nations.
	April – Roosevelt died – replaced by Harry Truman
	May 8 th 1945: VE (Victory in Europe) War in the West is won.
ALL Change!	July 1945: British electorate vote in Labour Party under Clement Attlee
	It became clear by the Potsdam Conference in July 1945 that the Soviets had no intention of holding free and fair elections, and was busy installing communist governments across Eastern Europe. The new American President, Harry Truman, was far more confrontational than his predecessor Franklin Roosevelt had been. Safe in the knowledge that America had tested an atomic bomb, so no longer needed Russian help in defeating Japan, Truman was hostile towards Stalin.
Summary Commentary	Division of Germany confirmed and the principle of reparations discussed. USSR wanted \$20 billion. USA against – don't repeat mistake of WWI.
Potsdam July / August 1945	Poland becomes a source of division: US and GB want a 'free' election. Lublin vs London Poles.
	US suspicious of Red Army's presence in Eastern Europe – being used to support the imposition of Communist governments in Europe.
	Relationship between Truman & Stalin poor – Truman knows he doesn't want Soviet's to join war in Japan as US has the Atomic Bomb. His "ace in the pack".
	Stalin wanted to create a buffer zone of states across Europe to defend the USSR from what he saw has hostile capitalist encirclement.
Soviets establish a 'sphere of influence' in	Using so-called 'salami tactics (taking countries slice by slice) the USSR established a series of 'satellite' states.
	Between 1945 and 1947 communist regimes were established in: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, East Germany and Bulgaria

<p>Eastern Europe</p>	<p>West accuse Stalin of going against the Declaration on Liberated Europe as agreed at Yalta. All a matter of 'interpretation'.</p>
	<p>Focus on Romania: In the 1945 elections, a communist-led coalition government was elected. The communists gradually removed their coalition partners and abolished the Romanian monarchy</p>
	<p>Focus on Bulgaria: In 1946 the Bulgarian monarchy was abolished and later that year a communist government was elected and gradually eradicated its opponents.</p>
	<p>Focus on Poland: The coalition Government of 'National Unity' assumed power in 1945. By 1947, non-communist members arrested, London Poles removed from office and all other political parties were banned.</p>
	<p>Focus on Hungary: Although non-communists won the 1945 election, a communist politician, Rakosi, took control of the secret police and used it to arrest and execute his political opponents. By 1948 the Communist Party was in complete control of the country.</p>
<p>Political Rhetoric increases</p> <p>Two telegrams, a speech and a Doctrine</p>	<p>COMINFORM 1947: Communist Information Bureau established – aimed to coordinate communist parties across Europe. West see this as evidence of hostile intent.</p>
	 <p>" WHO'S NEXT TO BE LIBERATED FROM FREEDOM, COMRADE ?"</p>
	<p>1946 Kennan's Long Telegram: Kennan, US Ambassador in Moscow.</p>
	<p>Kennan said the USSR was heavily armed and feared the outside world.</p>
	<p>It was determined to spread communism and therefore there could be no peaceful co-existence (cooperation) between the USSR and the USA.</p>
	<p>However, the USA was stronger than the USSR and communism could be 'contained' by a show of force. (Forms basis of Truman's Doctrine)</p>
	<p>The Soviet response to The Long Telegram was The Novikov Telegram,</p>
	<p>The Soviet ambassador to the USA, Nikolai Novikov, warned that the USA had emerged from World War Two economically strong and bent on world domination.</p>
<p>As a result, the USSR needed to secure its buffer zone in Eastern Europe</p>	
<p>On 5 March 1946, former British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, condemned the Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe in his famous Iron Curtain speech.</p>	

	<p>In that speech he famously noted that from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent</p>
	<p>In a nutshell, what Churchill meant by this was that the Allies had spent six years fighting for the freedom from Fascism in Europe, only to have half the continent now under Soviet dictatorship.</p>
	<p>Stalin responded to it by calling it 'an act of war'</p>
<p>The Truman Doctrine 12 march 1947</p>	<p>March 12, 1947, in response to the British withdrawing from the Civil War in Greece (between Communists and Monarchists).</p>
	<p>Asked the US Congress for \$400 million to help prevent Greece (&Turkey) falling to communism. Congress uncertain.</p>
	<p>Stated he would support 'free peoples' resisting 'armed subjugation (take-over) by 'outside pressures' (of course he meant communism).</p>
	<p>It provided political, military and economic assistance to all democratic nations under threat from communism.</p>
	<p>SIGNIFICANCE: Represents a major shift in US foreign Policy thinking. Before WII they were isolationist. Now they were committing themselves to a global foreign policy.</p>
	 <p style="text-align: center;">WESTERN RUGBY UNION</p>
<p>Marshall Aid + Soviet response</p>	<p>US Secretary of State, George Marshall had visited Europe. 1947 was the coldest winter on record. He feared Western Europe would succumb to communism without US support.</p>
	<p>US Congress reluctant: Then, 1948, Czechoslovakia finally fell to communism (along with Jan Masaryk, the last non-communist and Foreign Minister, falling from a window to his death).</p>
	<p>In 1948 Italian communists looked as though they might win the elections in Italy.</p>
	<p>SO - US Congress agreed to \$13 Billion – ALL European Nations able to apply (Stalin forbade Eastern Europe to apply).</p>
	<p>Churchill called it 'the most unselfish act' / Molotov, the Soviet FP called it 'Dollar Imperialism'.</p>
	<p>The Soviets introduced their own version for Eastern Europe, Called Comecon in 1949.</p>

	Truman Doctrine & Marshall plan described as 'Two Halves of the Same Walnut'.
The Berlin Blockade + Airlift	
The Situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Germany had been divided into four zones of occupation each controlled by one of the Allies. The German capital, Berlin, lay inside the Russian zone and was also divided into four zones of occupation. Access to Berlin for the Allies was by way of road, rail and canal, and via three specific air corridors.
What Did Stalin do?	On 24th June 1948, Stalin cut all land access to Berlin for the Allies. This became known as the Berlin Blockade .
Why did he do this?	The Allies were using money from the Marshall Aid programme to rebuild Germany – they had learnt their lesson from the Treaty of Versailles and did not want to make Germany financially crippled again.
	This meant introducing a new, stable currency and more jobs for workers in the Western sectors. Stalin was angered by this.
	Whilst the Western zones of Berlin began to flourish, the eastern zone did not – this was a source of embarrassment for Stalin and the communist economic programme.
	In January 1948, Britain and the USA joined their zones together to create 'Bizonia' and make it easier to administer them. (France would later join and they'd change the name to West Germany)
How did the Allies respond?	
	They considered their options: Some 'hawks' wanted to drive through the blockades with tanks and see how the Soviet's responded. Truman thought this too provocative.
	Instead, the Allies opted for an airlift. (Known as 'Operation Vittles')
	For 318 days they supplied West Berlin with all of its basics necessities (and more) c. 277,000 flights providing 2 millions tonnes of supplies. Significance: Clear

	demonstration of the Allied determination to hold onto West Berlin (No appeasing the Soviets) Containment can work, confirms the Allied view that the Soviet Union was expansionist.
	At the height of the Berlin Airlift, a plane landed at Berlin’s Tempelhof Airport every minute. 40 British and 31 US servicemen were killed in the operation.
	Stalin was powerless to stop the Berlin Airlift. To shoot down the planes could have provoked World War Three, and at this stage, unlike the USA, the USSR did not have nuclear weapons. (Did Stalin show restraint or was the USSR too weak?)
	Stalin lifted the blockade in May 1949. The Allies had won a major moral and propaganda victory. USSR seen as holding West Berlin as ‘hostage’.
	Keeping West Berlin supplied in this way cost the USA \$350 million and Britain £17 million. Containment had worked in West Berlin.
The Consequences	Berlin remained a source of tension – until the Soviets constructed a Wall around West Berlin in 1961.
	West and East Germany were established
	April 1949 – NATO (The North Atlantic Treaty) was established. Significance: This was a military alliance directed against a former wartime ally!
	It’s main function was to provide collective security for Western Europe and North American Continent.
	August 1949: The Soviet Union successfully tested an atomic bomb (The nuclear arms race was on)
Thoughts?	<p>Once you have learnt the narrative you need to think about how to organise an answer. Usually, the essays put forward a proposition, such as ‘Stalin was mainly responsible for the start of the Cold War’ How far do you agree?</p> <p>This topic quite helpfully organises itself and you have a number of themes you can discuss:</p> <p>Personalities: Stalin had his own agenda (establishing communism and security of USSR) as did Truman (Safeguarding US political and economic interests) – and they put them across in a confrontational way. Not good for maintaining any form of Alliance. Contrast Yalta and Potsdam meetings.</p> <p>Ideology: Underpins the whole basis of the Cold War & linked to differing aims in Europe / globally. Each system wants to safeguard its existence / influence and adopts measures which brings suspicion / mistrust and antagonism. Linked to political rhetoric.</p> <p>Political Rhetoric: Contributed to helping shape policy and heightening tensions / divisions (Kennan vs Novikov Telegrams, Iron Curtain Speech, Truman Doctrine, and creation of Cominform).</p> <p>Differing aims & actions taken over post war Europe: Soviet Security requirements vs. US desire to see capitalism & democracy secured by following a policy of Containment. Results in USSR creating a ‘sphere of Influence’ in Eastern Europe division over the future of Germany, Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan and the battle to keep Western influence in Berlin.</p>

Interpretations:

Whilst you do don't need to comment on whether you support or agree with a particular interpretation – it does no harm to have a perspective and refer to a school of thought in your 10 mark essay questions.

Who was to blame?

Historians have changed their views about who was to blame for the Cold War over the years.

The Orthodox School

- All western writers before the 1970s, and many since, blamed the Cold War on the Soviet Union and its "attempt to impose its ideology on the rest of the world".

The Revisionists

- In 1959 the historian William Appleman Williams was the first to suggest that America was to blame.
- The Revisionists said America was engaged in a war to keep countries open to capitalism and American trade.
- Revisionists said that Truman's use of the atomic bomb without telling Stalin was the start of the Cold War.

The Post-Revisionists

- John Lewis Gaddis first published this idea in 1972.
- The post-revisionists argued that **neither** Russia or America was to blame, but that the Cold War was the result of misunderstandings on both sides, and the failure to appreciate each other's fears.

After the collapse of communism

- Russian historians such as Zubok and Pleshakov have been able to study the Soviet Union's secret files for the first time.
- These files show that Soviet leaders during the Cold War were genuinely trying to avoid conflict with the USA. This puts more of the blame back on America.
- Modern historians stress the Cold War as a clash between capitalism and communism.

