# **Option B: 20th Century topic**

### WHO WAS TO BLAME FOR THE COLD WAR?

Study the Background Information and the sources carefully, and then answer all the questions.

## **Background Information**

During the Second World War the Soviet Union and the USA were allies in the struggle against Nazi Germany. However, the relationship was often an uneasy one and soon after the war ended the tensions between them grew. The United States' Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan upset the Russians, while the Americans were worried by the Soviets' creation of Cominform and its increasing control over Eastern Europe. By 1947 the Cold War had started. Who was to blame?

#### SOURCE A

At the bottom of the Kremlin's view of the world is a traditional Russian sense of insecurity. Russian rulers sense their rule is unable to stand comparison or contact with political systems of Western countries. For this reason they have always feared foreign penetration and what would happen if Russians learned the truth about the world outside Russia. They have learned to seek security only in deadly struggle for the total destruction of rival power, never in settlements and compromises with it.

We have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that there can be no agreement with the USA, and that it is necessary that the internal harmony of American society be disrupted, our traditional way of life destroyed, and the international authority of our state be broken, if Soviet power is to be secure.

From the 'Long Telegram' sent by the American diplomat George Kennan to the American government in February 1946. Kennan was working in Moscow at the time.

#### **SOURCE B**

A shadow has fallen lately. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its communist international organisation intends to do in the immediate future, or what the limits, if any, are to their expansive tendencies. We understand the Russian need to feel secure on her western frontiers from any renewal of German aggression.

From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the states of Central and Eastern Europe. They lie in the Soviet sphere and all are subject not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and increasing measure of control from Moscow. What is needed is a settlement. From what I have seen of our Russian friends during the war there is nothing they admire so much as strength, and there is nothing for which they have less respect than military weakness.

From a speech by Winston Churchill during a visit to the USA in March 1946.

### **SOURCE C**

The ruling gang of American imperialists has taken the path of open expansion, of enslaving weakened capitalist countries. It has hatched new war plans against the Soviet Union. Imitating Hitler, the new aggressors are using blackmail.

G. M. Malenkov, a Soviet politician, speaking in 1947 about the Marshall Plan. Malenkov was a trusted colleague of Stalin and deputy premier of the Soviet Union.

# **SOURCE D**

The Marshall Plan was not about markets; we were concerned about preventing Soviet control of larger areas of the world than they already controlled.

From an interview with Clark Clifford in 1972. Clifford was Truman's most important advisor from 1946 to 1950.

### **SOURCE E**



A British cartoon published in June 1947.

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# **SOURCE F**



A British cartoon entitled 'Neighbours', published in October 1947. Marshall (on the left) is saying, 'Come on, Sam! It's up to us again.'

#### SOURCE G



A Soviet cartoon published in 1947. The house represents Europe.

#### SOURCE H

Mr. Truman's speech to Congress on 12 March has been hailed by the Belgian press as a major event. The approval of the Catholic Conservative newspapers was almost unanimous, although it was qualified by the fear that a war between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics had been brought one step nearer.

Newspapers of all shades of opinion echoed the view that American economic imperialism was on the march to fill the vacuum caused by British economic and strategic withdrawals. *Le Soir* reproduced the comment of its London correspondent that Englishmen were not sorry to see the Americans take their place, although their desire for friendship with Russia remained strong. *La Libre Belgique* remarked that American imperialism was no worse – indeed it was rather less objectionable – than the Russian brand in Eastern Europe.

The Socialist press was divided on the subject and showed signs of discomfort. *Le Peuple*, while admitting that an optimistic view might be justified, did not disguise its fear that 'Mr. Truman's brutal outspokenness might hasten the division of the world into two blocs.' The Socialist daily *Vooruit* was outspoken in its condemnation of the American action which, it maintained, had not been dictated by true democratic motives but by dollar diplomacy. The Communist press described the speech as 'a brutal move of American imperialism'. Greece and Turkey, they suggested, would be turned into American military bases.

Extracts from a report from British diplomats in Belgium to the British government, March 1947.

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Now answer **all** the following questions. You may use any of the sources to help you answer the questions, in addition to those sources which you are told to use. In answering the questions you should use your knowledge of the topic to help you interpret and evaluate the sources.

1 Study Sources A and B.

How far do these two sources agree? Explain your answer using details of the sources. [6]

2 Study Sources C and D.

Does Source D make Source C surprising? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

3 Study Source E.

What is the message of this cartoon? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

4 Study Sources F and G.

How similar are these two cartoons? Explain your answer using details of the sources and your knowledge. [8]

5 Study Source H.

Why do you think British diplomats in Belgium made this report to the British government? Explain your answer using details of the source and your knowledge. [8]

6 Study all the sources.

How far do these sources provide convincing evidence that the Russians were to blame for starting the Cold War? Use the sources to explain your answer. [12]

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