

ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

'When we met at Yalta, in addition to laying our strategic and tactical plans for the complete and final military victory over Germany, there were other problems of vital political consequence. Days were spent in discussing these momentous matters and we argued freely and frankly across the table. But at the end, on every point, unanimous agreement was reached. And more important even than the agreement of words, I may say we achieved a unity of thought and a way of getting along together. Never before have the major Allies been more closely united—not only in their war aims but also in their peace aims. And they are determined to continue to be united with each other—and with all peace-loving nations—so that the ideal of lasting peace will become a reality.'

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, ADDRESS TO CONGRESS ON THE
YALTA CONFERENCE, 1 MARCH 1945

INTRODUCTION

On 8 May 1945 celebrations broke out across Europe as the Allied forces officially announced Germany's surrender of its armed forces. Victory in Europe Day (or VE Day) was a public holiday notable for massed crowds cheering and dancing in some of the world's most famous streets, including the Champs-Élysées in Paris, Piccadilly in London (where sailors and young girls formed a conga line), and Times Square in New York, where a model of the Statue of Liberty was erected. Music,

flags, fireworks, hugs and kisses unified society after six years of war, devastation and loss. Peace had been achieved in Europe.

This chapter explores the changing dynamic of international relations in the two years following the end of World War II. During this time, the post-war negotiations made by the Allied Powers would shape the lives of all in Europe and create a division in territory and ideology, which would come to dominate world politics for 50 years.



British girls dance in the street with American soldiers during VE Day celebrations in London, 1945.

OVERVIEW

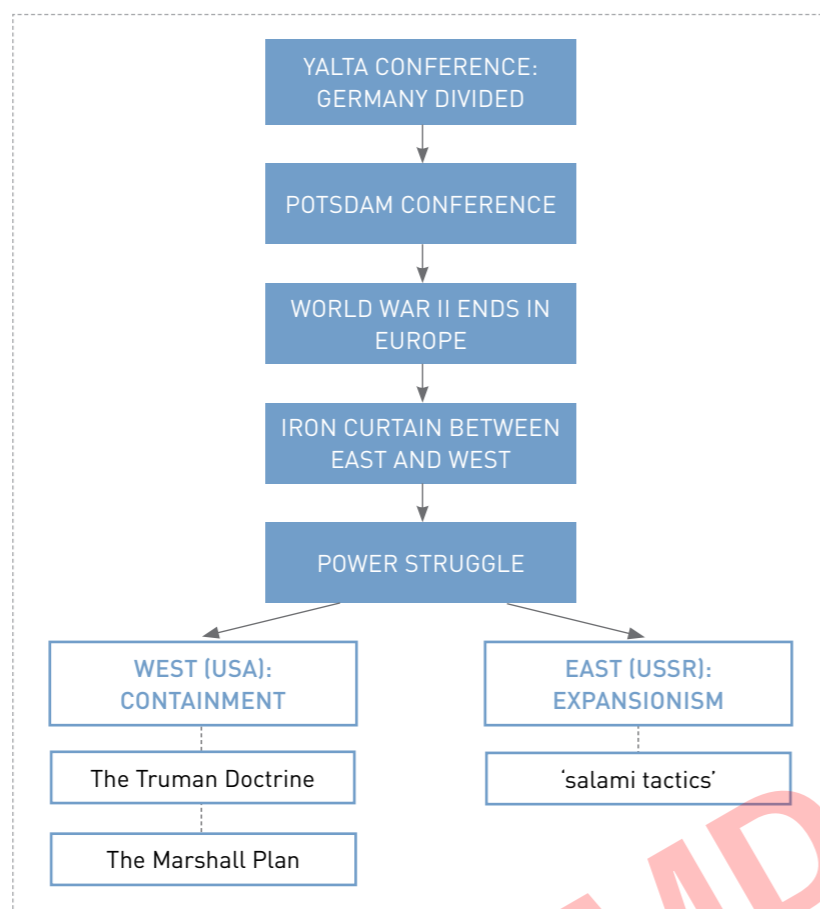
KEY QUESTIONS

- How did the Yalta Conference demonstrate the Allied Powers' use of diplomacy, negotiation and unity?
- What tensions between USA and USSR became apparent at the Potsdam Conference?
- How did Stalin expand his sphere of influence?
- Who first suggested that Eastern and Western Europe were divided?
- What was the response of the USA to the political and territorial changes occurring in Europe?

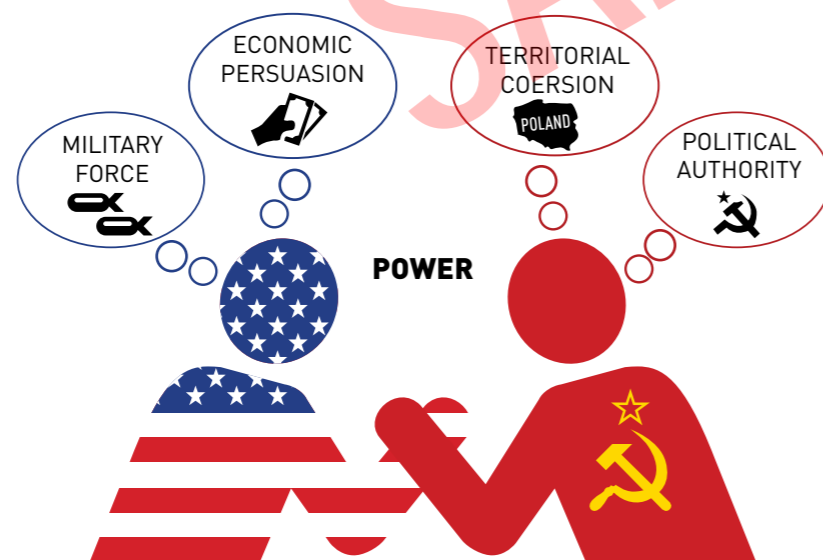
KEY EVENTS

- 1945**
 - 4-11 FEBRUARY** Yalta Conference
 - 8 MAY** Victory in Europe Day (VE Day) after Germany surrenders
 - 17 JULY-2 AUGUST** Potsdam Conference
 - AUGUST** Atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan
- 1946**
 - 5 MARCH** Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech
- 1947**
 - 12 MARCH** Truman Doctrine announced
 - 5 JUNE** Marshall Plan announced

IN THIS CHAPTER



KEY CONCEPTS



KEY PLAYERS

JOSEPH STALIN

- Leader of the USSR after Lenin died in 1924
- During World War II he successfully captured Berlin from the Axis Powers
- Stalin's expansionist intentions caused tensions to rise during post-war negotiations
- Over the next five years he secured most of Eastern Europe, an area considered to be behind the 'Iron Curtain'
- Died in 1953, leaving the USSR as a powerful military power.



WINSTON CHURCHILL

- British Prime Minister during WWII, who was his iconic speeches
- Took part in negotiations at Yalta and Potsdam
- Suspicious about Stalin's actions; in 1946 he warned the world about the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe in his famous 'Iron Curtain' speech
- Replaced by Clement Atlee in July 1945, but later re-elected.



FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

- President of the US 1933–April 1945
- In December 1941 declared war on Japan and joined the war in Europe, providing the Allies with much-needed support
- His diplomacy was fundamental in post-war negotiations at Yalta; his greatest legacy was his push for the UN to be established in order to improve international cooperation.



HARRY S. TRUMAN

- US President after Roosevelt's death in 1945
- Used atomic weapons against Japan, which brought about the end of the war in the Pacific
- This heightened tensions with Stalin, leading to new strategic policies and alliances as both leaders tried to extend their spheres of influence
- The Truman Doctrine outlined a containment policy towards the USSR, provoking many subsequent actions between the two superpowers, and firmly establishing the Cold War.



KEY TERMS

CONTAINMENT POLICY

A policy adopted by the USA to prevent communism spreading to other nations. Its defensive strategies aimed to secure US military and economic power.

DIPLOMACY

The ability to negotiate and discuss international relations with tact and sensitivity.

EXPANSIONISM

A policy or practice that aims to increase the size of a country by expanding its territory.

SPHERE OF INFLUENCE

When one nation exercises political and economic control over the territory of other nations.

SATELLITE STATE

A previously independent country under occupation or heavy political, economic and military control by another country.

HISTORICAL INQUIRY - CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES

Referring to the origins of the Cold War, John Lewis Gaddis states 'Geography, demography, and tradition contributed to this outcome but did not determine it. It took men, responding unpredictably to circumstances, to forge the chain of causation.' As you work through this chapter, consider both arguments. Use the material and ideas you have developed to answer **one** of the following questions:

1. To what extent were the origins of the Cold War due to territorial matters?
2. How important were the personal attributes of key world leaders in determining the origins of the Cold War?

SKILLS FOCUS

YALTA CONFERENCE

WINSTON CHURCHILL: 'Poor Neville believed he could trust Hitler. He was wrong. But I don't think I'm wrong about Stalin.' February 1945



COLD WAR
PRESIDENTS

Similar to the Treaty of Versailles after World War I, the Yalta Conference was established to discuss the future of Europe after World War II. This landmark meeting of the 'Big Three' Allied leaders took place 4–11 February 1945. The location of Yalta, in the Crimea, was chosen because Stalin refused to leave the Soviet Union. In discussion with Churchill and Roosevelt, several important matters were raised regarding territorial boundaries and political agreements, as outlined below:

- **SURRENDER:** The unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany was the first priority for all leaders. This was signed three months after the conference, on 7 May 1945.
- **ZONES:** They agreed on the need to de-Nazify and demilitarise Germany, and decided to divide the country into four zones: US, French, British and Soviet. The German capital Berlin, situated within the Soviet zone, would also be divided into four zones. Austria was also split into the same four zones.

SOURCE 1.01

MAP SHOWING
CHANGES TO
EUROPEAN
TERRITORIES
DECIDED AT YALTA
CONFERENCE



- **UNITED NATIONS:** The creation of a United Nations (UN). This was a key aim for Roosevelt, and membership of the Security Council was finalised at Yalta. Stalin agreed to the idea of a veto vote within the Security Council, along with France, Great Britain, USA and China. The UN officially came into existence on 24 October 1945.
- **REPARATIONS:** German reparations were to be established, with Stalin demanding US\$20 billion, of which half would be for the Soviet Union. While not agreeing on this figure during the conference, the leaders did agree that part of the reparations would include the forced labour of Germans who had to repair damage, as well as the removal of national industrial assets such as machinery, ships and shares in German enterprises. New phrases emerged in Germany to describe those who removed the debris, such as 'rubble women'.
- **JAPAN:** Stalin agreed to enter the war in the Pacific against Japan once victory had been achieved in Europe. In return, he sought parts of Manchuria and some islands off the eastern coast of the Soviet Union.
- **JUSTICE:** Nazi war criminals were to be brought to justice.
- **DEMOCRACY:** Democratic and free elections were to be held in all countries previously under German rule, according to a 'Declaration on Liberated Europe' proposed by Roosevelt. He believed this would assist the formation of temporary governments. Most importantly, it was hoped that Poland would be able to complete this process as their government was currently in exile in London. However, the Soviet Union had already created a communist government in Poland. Stalin agreed to allow Poland universal suffrage in the form of a secret ballot within one month of the conference, based on the advice of Churchill and Roosevelt. (This election never took place, and led to the breaking of trust between the nations.) By 1 April 1945, Roosevelt documented his thoughts to Stalin, stating that the lack of progress would lead the 'people of the United States to regard the Yalta agreement as having failed.'
- **POLAND:** The Polish borders also changed significantly because of Stalin's insistence on a 'friendly' Poland. With the borders moving westwards, Poland would now occupy part of Germany, and Russian territory expanded to the agreed Curzon Line. Stalin believed that access through Poland had always been the main method of attack on the Soviet Union, hence it was necessary to establish a communist government. Despite suspecting Stalin's motives, Churchill reluctantly agreed to this change of borders. In Britain, his agreement was criticised harshly, especially as it was Hitler's invasion of Poland that originally sparked Britain's declaration of war.

DID YOU KNOW?

There were many names given to the area now known as Russia during the twentieth century. In 1922, the Treaty on the Creation of the USSR was approved. 'USSR' stands for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and is commonly shortened to 'the Soviet Union'. The USSR originally consisted of six republics, which grew to fifteen by 1940. In the Russian Cyrillic alphabet, 'USSR' is represented as 'СССР', which you will see sometimes in cartoons and on posters. The USSR dissolved in late 1991, after many republics formed independent states.

SOURCE 1.02

Conrad Black, *Franklin Delano Roosevelt: Champion of Freedom* (New York: Public Affairs, 2003).

I am talking as an old man, that is why I am talking so much, but I want to drink to our alliance, that it should not lose its character of intimacy, its free expression of views. In the history of diplomacy I know of no such close alliance of the three Great Powers as this, when allies had the opportunity of so frankly expressing their views... I propose a toast to the frankness of the three-power alliance. May it be strong and stable; may we be as frank as possible.

SOURCE 1.03

Photo of the Big Three taken on 4 February 1945.

**SOURCE 1.04**

Photo of the Big Three taken on 9 February 1945.

**CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING**

Answer the following questions:

1. Create a table summarising the agreements made at the Yalta Conference, as outlined below:

Conditions agreed to unanimously	Conditions agreed to after negotiation	Conditions that caused tension

3. Explain which condition you believe had the greatest impact on:
 - Germany
 - Europe
 - the world.
4. By referring to sources 1.02, 1.03 and 1.04, explain how communication among the Big Three might have affected the dynamics of the Yalta Conference.

SKILLS: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Write a front-page newspaper article from the perspective of one of the countries represented at the Yalta Conference: Great Britain, the USSR or the USA. The date of the article will be 12 February 1945. In the article, include:

- a provocative heading
- an image or cartoon that grabs the reader's attention
- an explanation of which agreements your country would see as a success, and those considered a loss or point of difference. (You do not need to cover them all.)
- an outline of the attitudes and thoughts of your country's leader and the general public. You could write pretend quotes to convey empathy.
- a quote from a primary source.

STUNDE NULL (ZERO HOUR)

While most of Europe celebrated VE Day on 8 May 1945, Germans witnessed the arrest of the Reich Government and the beginning of *Stunde Null*, or zero hour. This term, often used in the military, described the massive and catastrophic turning point in the everyday lives of the population. Germans were desperately fleeing westwards from Eastern Europe to avoid Soviet occupation. Those who did not flee were either expelled or deported to labour camps. By 1950, this figure reached over 11 million people, and it was believed that almost 15 000 people a day were being expelled from Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Romania. With so many people displaced and flooding the newly formed zones in Germany, security became a major issue. The Big Three therefore ordered the arrest of anyone considered a threat, with each country arresting between 90 000–120 000 suspects. They also established non-fraternisation policies, which prevented the interaction of Allies with German citizens.

Stunde Null was a time of famine, inflation and massive unemployment in Germany. In 1945 the French zone only produced enough food for half the population. This was due to extremely cold weather affecting the harvest, which Germans labelled 'the miserable winter'. A member of the Catholic Church in Cologne even suggested that stealing food or coal for your family was acceptable, sparking robberies called *fringsen*, meaning 'to steal to survive'. The food supply

SOURCE 1.05

A bombed-out building in Wittenberg Platz, Berlin. Many of the signs posted give directions to merchants' new locations.



for the city of Königsberg, for example, had been destroyed, and some people resorted to eating human flesh in the form of fried meatballs. Malnutrition affected the economy, as the starving workers were unable to work hard. The destruction of transport systems during World War II prevented the movement of coal for industry, creating mass unemployment, and the black market became prominent as people paid for goods with cigarettes or by bartering. De-industrialisation caused the further loss of over 3500 factories in Germany; these factories were dismantled and shipped to the various allied countries as war reparations. With such a devastating loss of infrastructure, almost 5 million jobs were wiped out. Demographically, Berlin's population was reduced to 65 per cent of its pre-war size, and there were sixteen women to every ten men. A quarter of the population was over sixty years old, and there were over 50 000 orphans who had no recollection of who they were.

POTSDAM CONFERENCE



MATCHUP QUIZ ON CONFERENCES

JOSEF STALIN: 'If any foreign minister begins to defend to the death a peace conference, you can be sure his government has already placed its orders for new battleships and airplanes.'

Five months after the Yalta Conference, the Allied leaders arranged to meet again in Potsdam, a Berlin suburb. Now that the common enemy had been defeated, it was time for the suggestions put forward at Yalta to be finalised. However, the atmosphere of this conference—which spanned two weeks (17 July–2 August)—changed dramatically because of new leadership. President Roosevelt had died on 12 April 1945 and was replaced by US Vice President Harry Truman. Further, Winston Churchill was replaced by Clement Atlee during the conference, after losing the British general election. Truman was considered more anti-communist than Roosevelt, and relations between the three countries were clouded by a sense of mistrust, suspicion and rivalry.

The following issues were agreed upon by the Big Three:

- The division of Germany and subsequent demilitarisation of its factories, as discussed at Yalta.
- The Japanese Government would be called upon to proclaim an unconditional surrender. Japan would then be occupied by Allied forces until the complete disarmament of their military forces and the establishment of a peaceful and responsible government.
- Nazi war criminals would be prosecuted swiftly, with the first list of defendants published before 1 September 1945.

SOURCE 1.06

The state of the accused at the Nuremberg Trials, including Karl Doenitz, Franz von Papen, Albert Speer, Hermann Göring, and Joachim von Ribbentrop.



DID YOU KNOW?

The Nuremberg war crimes trials began in November 1945, and twenty-four members of the Nazi party were charged. Eleven were sentenced to death for crimes against humanity, three received life sentences, four received fixed-term sentences and three were acquitted. The trials lasted over 200 days.

- The 'humane and orderly' transfer of all ethnic German populations living in Eastern Europe to Germany. This led to 10 million people being forcibly moved, and it is believed that 500 000 expelled people died due to starvation, hypothermia and violence.

The following issues were considered controversial:

- **POLAND:** While the changing borders of Poland were ratified at Potsdam, there was much suspicion over the political situation in the country. Both the US and Great Britain were aware that Stalin's Red Army currently occupied Poland after removing the Nazi forces from the region. The Potsdam protocols acknowledged the desire to protect the Polish Provisional Government and restated the need for free elections; however, in reality both Churchill and Truman knew that Stalin had already swiftly organised a communist government.

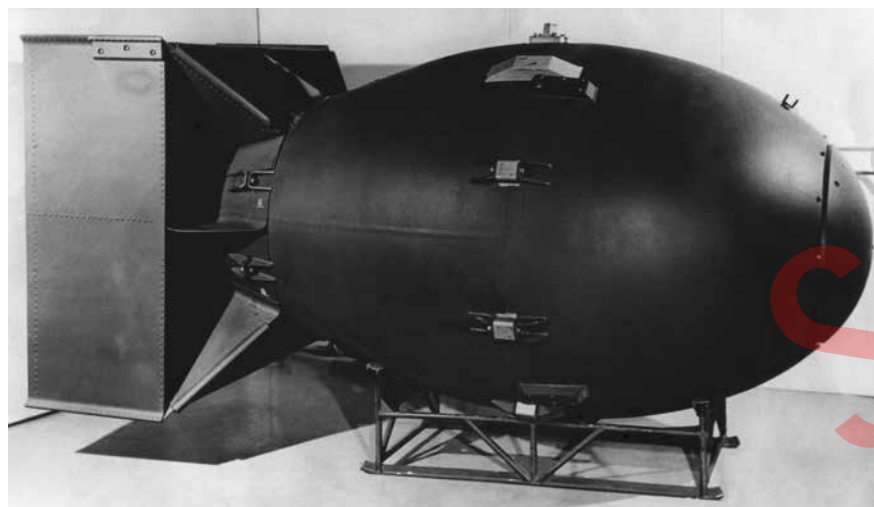


SUMMARY VIDEO ABOUT CONFERENCES

- **REPARATIONS:** Disagreements arose over reparations. Truman was determined not to repeat the mistakes of the Treaty of Versailles, whereas Stalin wanted to cripple Germany because of the devastation it had caused to the Soviet Union, which lost up to 27 million people during World War II. However, a monetary figure, as Stalin put forward during Yalta, was never agreed upon. Eventually the Potsdam Agreement settled on the following terms:
 - Reparations should not impinge on the German people's right to subsist independently and free from the need of foreign assistance.
 - Claims for the Soviet Union should be met from the removal of assets within their own occupied Eastern Zone. The Soviet Union will also settle the reparation claims of Poland.
 - Claims for all other entitled countries should be recovered from the Western Zones.
 - The Soviet Union can remove 10 per cent of all industrial equipment within the Western Zone, if it is not considered necessary for the German economy.
 - All countries agreed to not interfere in the claiming of shares for German enterprises within each other's zone.

SOURCE 1.07

A replica of the atomic bomb named 'Fat Man' that would be dropped on Japan in August 1945.



- **ATOMIC BOMB:** The issue of the atomic bomb also heightened suspicion during the conference. One day before the Potsdam Conference began, the US successfully tested an atomic bomb, which was known as 'the Manhattan Project'. While it is believed that Stalin knew about this from Soviet intelligence, it was not until a week later, on 24 July 1945, that Truman personally told Stalin that the US had 'a new weapon of unusual destructive force'. Without specifically mentioning its true potential, there was much speculation about what Stalin must have been thinking and whether he understood the magnitude of the information.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Create a table that summarises the continuities and changes that occurred between the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences:

	Continuities	Changes
Settlements regarding the end of World War II		
Diplomatic relations between leaders		
International affairs and events		

AT POTSDAM: PERSPECTIVES ON THE CONVERSATION ABOUT THE ATOMIC BOMB

PRESIDENT TRUMAN

On July 24 I casually mentioned to Stalin that we had a new weapon of unusual destructive force. The Russian Premier showed no special interest. All he said was he was glad to hear it and hoped we would make good use of it against the Japanese.

SOURCE 1.08

Harry S. Truman, *Year of Decisions* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1955), 416.

WINSTON CHURCHILL

I was perhaps five yards away, and I watched with the closest attention the momentous talk. I knew what the President was going to do. What was vital to measure was its effect on Stalin. I can see it all as if it were yesterday. He seemed to be delighted. A new bomb! Of extraordinary power! Probably decisive on the whole Japanese war! What a bit of luck! This was my impression at the moment, and I was sure that he had no idea of the significance of what he was being told ... his face remained gay and genial. As we were waiting for our cars I found myself near Truman. 'How did it go?' I asked. 'He never asked a question,' he replied. I was certain therefore that at that date Stalin had no special knowledge of the vast process of research upon which the United States and Britain had been engaged for so long ...

SOURCE 1.09

Winston Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1953), 669-70.

SOVIET MARSHAL GEORGII ZHUKOV:

At that moment Churchill fixed his gaze on Stalin's face, closely observing his reaction. However, Stalin did not betray his feelings and pretended that he saw nothing special in what Truman had imparted to him. Both Churchill and many other Anglo-American authors subsequently assumed that Stalin had really failed to fathom the significance of what he had heard.

In actual fact, on returning to his quarters after this meeting Stalin, in my presence, told Molotov about his conversation with Truman. The latter reacted almost immediately. 'Let them. We'll have to talk it over with Kurchatov and get him to speed things up.' I realized that they were talking about research on the atomic bomb.

SOURCE 1.10

Georgii Konstantinovich Zhukov, *The Memoirs of Marshal Zhukov* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1971), 674-675.

CHARLES BOHLEN (TRUMAN'S INTERPRETER):

Across the room, I watched Stalin's face carefully as the President broke the news. So offhand was Stalin's response that there was some question in my mind whether the President's message had got through. I should have known better than to underrate the dictator.

SOURCE 1.11

Charles E. Bohlen, *Witness to History 1929-1969* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 247-248.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

1. Why is it important for a historian to always research more than one perspective when gathering evidence? Think about how each perspective above shaped or changed your opinion as you read them.
2. How have the memoirs of the individuals above ensured that this short moment in history has remained a contestable topic?
3. What is your final opinion regarding this debate about Stalin's possible understanding, or lack thereof, of the atomic bomb? What evidence or perspective is missing above that would further help to clarify your opinion?

ANALYSING A SOURCE

SOURCE 1.12

A British cartoon showing reactions to Truman's secret weapon.

SOURCE ANALYSIS QUESTION:

By referring to the source and using your own knowledge, explain how trust was significant in shaping the decisions made at the Potsdam conference.



How to structure your answer

This question requires you to correctly identify the context of the source and communicate your historical knowledge of the situation or event. There are three important elements to any answer.

Strong Topic Sentence: Your first sentence to this question must make a statement. There are two possible methods suggested:

- Is there a common theme amongst all the reasons supplied? E.g. 'The lack of trust amongst the Big Three turned the diplomatic intentions of Potsdam into an international power struggle.' In this case lack of trust is the theme.
- Or can you list the reasons you will discuss in order e.g. 'New leadership, secretive communications and competitive rivalry all greatly affected the decisions made at Potsdam.'

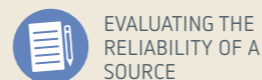
Body of Paragraph: You should aim to outline three reasons in your answer. In some cases reasons can be classified e.g. political, social, economic. In general make sure each reason satisfies the following criteria:

- Begins with a linking phrase to clearly signpost the start of a new reason e.g. firstly, secondly, thirdly, another, furthermore or additionally.
- Provides specific historical details such as:
 - dates
 - key terms
 - statistics
 - events
 - names
 - places
- Explicitly outlines how it is significant or important in relation to the question.

Referring to the Source: In order to satisfy the question, you must provide a quote or refer to a symbol in the source. For images you may also refer to the caption. It is best to incorporate your reference within one of the reasons outlined as then the source is given a context. Make it obvious to the reader by using phrases like:

- As shown in the extract by the statement
- As depicted in the visual by...

Take note of all these elements in the response on the next page.



SAMPLE RESPONSE

By referring to the source and using your own knowledge, explain how trust was significant in shaping the decisions made at the Potsdam conference.

At Potsdam the Big Three struggled to build a mutual trust due to the new leaders involved,¹ perceived territorial ambitions,² and indirect communications.³

Firstly, the Potsdam conference witnessed the introduction of two new leaders to the negotiation table. President Truman replaced Roosevelt, after his death on 12 April 1945 and Churchill was replaced by Clement Atlee mid-way through the conference after losing the British General Election. The mutual respect and common ground established at Yalta was lost and new relationships had to be formed. **Until personal characteristics were understood, each leader was cautious to confirm any decision, as portrayed in the image by the posture of Stalin and frown on Atlee's face.**

Additionally, the presence of Stalin's Red Army in Poland, despite the push for elections during Yalta in February 1945 caused a lack of trust. This was heightened by Stalin's determination to receive reparations from the Eastern zone of Germany and 10% of industrial equipment from the Western zone. Both Truman and Atlee were concerned that Stalin's true intentions were to occupy these areas and instil a communist government, **defying any agreements made during the conference.**

Furthermore, the subtle and secretive communications in regards to the Manhattan Project's successful testing of an atomic bomb only increased the suspicion and tension between the Big Three. *As depicted in the source, the bomb was Truman's secret weapon which he used as a power tactic towards Stalin. For these reasons the Big Three found it hard to work together in confidence with many decisions being formed due to competitive bargaining rather than diplomatic discussion.*

Signposting three reasons in topic sentence

Specific knowledge (underlined)

Referring to the source (in italics)

Introducing each new reason (highlighted)

Analysis of question (in bold)

COLD WAR SYMBOLS

Common Cold War symbols seen in political cartoons and posters

	US	SOVIET	OTHER
LEADERS	Truman – round glasses, big grin and often wearing a suit 	Stalin – large thick moustache, smoking a pipe and wearing a military jacket  Molotov – small moustache, fierce eyebrows and round glasses 	Winston Churchill – often smoking a cigar 
NATIONAL SYMBOLS	Stars and stripes of US flag 	Hammer and sickle 	
	Uncle Sam or Eagle 	Brown bear 	
IDEOLOGICAL SYMBOLS	Dollar symbol to show economic strength or capitalism 	Red star or red flag to symbolise unity under communism 	Barriers to symbolise the Iron Curtain or division such as fences, tennis court nets, and walls. Usually someone spying or peering over them 
			Bombs to highlight military strength and power 
SOCIETY	Capitalist Often wearing a top hat, striped pants, and overweight 	Worker/Proletariat Often holding a tool and wearing an apron 	Fists or arm wrestles to show strength or a power struggle 

ATOMIC DIPLOMACY

The phrase ‘atomic diplomacy’ described US foreign policy after the tense Potsdam Conference. Because the USA was the only country with atomic weapons, it was believed that US military power could be used as a threat to pressure other countries to align with US diplomatic goals. At the Potsdam Conference, Stalin’s agreement to enter the Pacific War three months after the war in Europe had ended greatly concerned the US Government. It was believed that this would only increase the Soviet Union’s sphere of influence in the Pacific region and impact on the balance of power.

Realising Stalin’s intentions for Eastern Europe, Truman did not want to see another co-occupation similar to Germany; instead he wanted the Japanese occupation to be led entirely by the USA. The decision to use nuclear technology to end the Pacific War was not debated at length as it was firmly believed that it would bring a faster end to the conflict and ensure fewer war casualties. As Truman put it, ‘When you have to deal with a beast, you have to treat him as a beast.’ Additionally, the use of such a weapon justified the cost of the Manhattan Project, which amounted to US\$2 billion (US\$26 billion in today’s currency).

Apart from ending the war, atomic diplomacy may have also been used by the USA in attempts to persuade the Soviet Union to allow free elections in Eastern Europe. However, if this was the case it did not achieve its goal. Atomic weapons only made Stalin more anxious about the security of the Soviet Union and determined to protect its borders with a buffer zone. The atomic age had just begun, and the actions of the USA in July and August 1945 would profoundly shape international relations for the duration of the twentieth century.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN’S RADIO REPORT ON THE USE OF THE ATOMIC BOMB IN JAPAN, 9 AUGUST 1945

The British, Chinese, and United States Governments have given the Japanese people adequate warning of what is in store for them. We have laid down the general terms on which they can surrender. Our warning went unheeded; our terms were rejected. Since then the Japanese have seen what our atomic bomb can do. They can foresee what it will do in the future.

The world will note that the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, a military base. That was because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians. But that attack is only a warning of things to come. If Japan does not surrender, bombs will have to be dropped on her war industries and, unfortunately, thousands of civilian lives will be lost. I urge Japanese civilians to leave industrial cities immediately, and save themselves from destruction.

I realize the tragic significance of the atomic bomb.

Having found the bomb, we have used it. We have used it against those who attacked us without warning at Pearl Harbor, against those who have starved and beaten and executed American prisoners of war, against those who have abandoned all pretense of obeying international laws of warfare. We have used it in order to shorten the agony of war, in order to save the lives of thousands and thousands of young Americans.

We shall continue to use it until we completely destroy Japan’s power to make war. Only a Japanese surrender will stop us.



SOURCE 1.13

Harry S. Truman Library and Museum, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/?pid=104>



DID YOU KNOW?

VP Day (Victory in the Pacific) or VJ Day (Victory over Japan) is celebrated on 15 August in Australia. In 1945, the Australian Government declared a public holiday and the capital cities witnessed the biggest crowds to have ever assembled. It was time to celebrate the ending of a war that took 34 000 Australian lives. In New York, VJ day has been symbolised by several photos of a sailor and a nurse kissing in Times Square. It has become one of the most iconic images of the twentieth century. For the 65th anniversary of VJ day, an eight-metre tall sculpture of the kissing couple was placed in Times Square and a lookalike competition was held.



This similar image was taken at the same time by US Navy photographer Victor Jorgensen.



TIMELINE OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE END OF THE PACIFIC WAR

Truman and Churchill demanded the unconditional surrender of Japan at the Potsdam Conference.

26
JULY
1945

A Japanese newspaper published the censored version of the Potsdam terms under the heading 'Laughable matter'. The Supreme War Council consensus was lost and Prime Minister Suzuki announced that, 'The government does not regard [the Potsdam Declaration] as a thing of any value; the government will just ignore it. We will press forward resolutely to carry the war to a successful conclusion.'

27
JULY
1945

Japan's Supreme War Council discussed the demands and decided to gain clarification of the terms through the Soviet Union. At this stage, they did not reject the terms. The Japanese Government feared that the Allies might make the terms known to the public. Therefore they released a censored version of the Potsdam terms.

28
JULY
1945

The city of Toyama was completely destroyed by 173 B-29 American bombers. Toyama produced aluminium and steel and had 150 000 residents at the time of the bombing. The Potsdam Conference ended.

30
JULY
1945

Days after transporting half of the world's enriched uranium for the bomb called Little Boy, the *USS Indianapolis* was torpedoed by a Japanese Imperial Navy submarine. The heavy cruiser sunk in just twelve minutes. Although 900 men out of a crew of 1196 managed to survive the initial attack, only 317 men survived the following days because of dehydration, saltwater poisoning and shark attacks.

1-2
AUGUST
1945

The first use of an atomic bomb as a weapon took place in Hiroshima at 8:15 am. Little Boy was released from the Enola Gay B-29 bomber and killed 80 000 people instantly. The blast was equal to roughly 15 000 tonnes of TNT, and wiped out 90 per cent of the city. Japan did not surrender.

6
AUGUST
1945

The Soviet Union enters the war against Japan by invading Manchuria from three fronts, an hour before midnight. Japan was caught completely by surprise.

8
AUGUST
1945

Another atomic bomb, called Fat Man, is dropped over Nagasaki at 11:02 am. It is estimated that 75 000 people are killed instantly. Truman holds a radio broadcast announcing that the bombings have taken place.

9
AUGUST
1945

Japan unconditionally surrendered to the Allies.

14
AUGUST
1945

SOURCE 1.14

Hiroshima, Japan after the atomic bomb was dropped.

JAPANESE OCCUPATION

After World War II ended, Japan was occupied by the USA. All major Japanese cities except Kyoto had been destroyed during the war, including their industries and transport infrastructure. War crimes trials took place. In 1947, a new constitution was formed, removing all political and military power from the emperor, who was reduced to being a figurehead. Universal suffrage was granted to the Japanese people, and article nine of the constitution outlined the abandonment of the use of war as a way to settle international disputes. Despite these new political freedoms, Japan was in a critical situation economically. During 1947–48 there was a severe shortage of food, as well as a shortage of the raw materials needed to stimulate markets and industry. Rehabilitating the Japanese economy was the highest priority for the USA, as they feared that a communist takeover could occur in East Asia if Japan were weak. The US occupation of Japan ended on 8 September 1951, when forty-eight nations signed the Treaty of San Francisco. From this point, Japan was once again a sovereign nation.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Explain what the phrase 'atomic diplomacy' means.
2. How many days passed from the start of the Potsdam Conference to the ending of World War II? Would you consider this a fast end to World War II, as Truman had hoped?
3. After reading Source 1.13, discuss why Truman might have felt so confident in explaining the use of the atomic bomb and threatening to use it again in the future. Compare his tone to the dialogue of world leaders in the twenty-first century.

SKILLS: ETHICAL DIMENSIONS OF HISTORY

Hindsight allows us to assess the humanity of those before us. Hold a class discussion about the actions of the US Government towards Japan. To what extent was the use of the bomb justified? Remember to include reasons that support and oppose each question raised.

- Do you think the use of the atomic bomb resulted in fewer war casualties than the alternative of continuing invasions and battles?
- How did dropping the atomic bombs compare to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor?
- Did dropping atomic bombs on Japan ultimately bring peace to the world?
- Do you believe that the post-war occupation of Japan was successful in re-establishing a country devastated by war? Provide evidence to support your answer.

IRON CURTAIN

WINSTON CHURCHILL: 'The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American Democracy. For with primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future.'

Winston Churchill famously used the term 'Iron Curtain' when describing the actions of the Soviet Government during 1945. In multiple telegrams between the Yalta and Potsdam peace conferences, Churchill expressed to Truman his concerns that this metaphorical divide was being built between Eastern and Western Europe. Additionally, Churchill complained to Stalin about the 'iron fence' that was being established in Bucharest during the Potsdam Conference. However, it wasn't until 5 March 1946 that international recognition was given to the term, after Churchill's US lecture tour. At Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, he described the geographic location of the Iron Curtain in his 'Sinews of Peace' speech. Churchill's intention was to warn the Western world of the threat Stalin posed and urge the USA to remain an accountable stakeholder in world politics. He wanted to prevent US isolationism from re-occurring by reminding the audience of the consequences faced due to inaction during the threat of Nazi invasion. Furthermore, Churchill encouraged unity among the nations of the Western world to quell the spread of communism.

At the time, the public still regarded the Soviet Union as an ally, and the term 'Iron Curtain' was not well received; many people were even angered by the message. In their minds, not even a year had passed since the Allied victory in World War II and hearing such doom and gloom was not appreciated. The announcement of yet another threat to world peace was simply exhausting. The press published many cartoons showing Churchill exaggerating his apparent paranoia, and one newspaper even suggested his speech was an 'ideological declaration of war against Russia.' The US Congress was reportedly 'shocked' and jolted by the sentiment. Truman's government had not publicly acknowledged any of the tense communications with Stalin, so although they agreed with Churchill they were not pleased to see it so candidly announced.

➔ SOURCE 1.15

Soviet cartoon of Churchill in 1946. Churchill is shown with two flags, 'Anglo-Saxons must rule the world' and the other threatening an 'Iron Curtain'. Hitler and Goebbels are in the background.



ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. How is Churchill portrayed in this cartoon?
2. What is the possible motive for creating this cartoons?
3. To what extent does this image provide an accurate depiction of Churchill's speech?

Stalin commented in the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* that Churchill was a 'warmonger' and compared him to Hitler. (Churchill's 'Sinews of Peace' speech was not published in the USSR until 1998.) Over 1946–47, as more information was released about the international relations between the USA and the USSR, people came to accept the 'Iron Curtain' metaphor as a reference to the division occurring within Europe. In hindsight, many would consider Churchill's speech a prophecy of the Cold War.

THE 'LONG TELEGRAM'

Despite the US Government conveying an alarmed response to Churchill's speech, they were well aware of the growing polarisation between the West and the Soviet Union. On 9 February 1946, Stalin had given an election speech stating that World War II was caused by capitalism because it promoted uneven and unequal economic development. He stated that 'the capitalist world is sent into two hostile camps and war follows' and then declared the Soviet social system victorious, having emerged successful after World War II and

proven its 'complete vitality'.¹ Following Stalin's speech, the US government contacted the US embassy in Moscow, asking for an analysis of the Soviet position. George Kennan, a US embassy diplomat, replied on 22 February with an 8000-word telegram stating his views on the Soviet Union and suggesting policies that should be implemented. His message was very strong, and it shaped the future policy of containment. Source 1.16 contains extracts from Kennan's telegram.

📄 SOURCE 1.16

The George Washington University National Security Archive, <http://www2.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/coldwar/documents/episode-1/kennan.htm>



📍 George Kennan in 1947.

THE 'LONG' TELEGRAM, SENT BY GEORGE KENNAN

USSR still lives in antagonistic 'capitalist encirclement' with which in the long run there can be no permanent peaceful coexistence ... At bottom of Kremlin's neurotic view of world affairs is traditional and instinctive Russian sense of insecurity ... For this reason they have always feared foreign penetration, feared direct contact between Western world and their own ... And they have learned to seek security only in patient but deadly struggle for total destruction of rival power, never in compacts and compromises with it ... Much depends on health and vigor of our own society. World communism is like malignant parasite which feeds only on diseased tissue.

ACTIVITY

SKILLS: PERSPECTIVES

Many historians have contested the views of Kennan's telegram. Research and summarise two perspectives in relation to the 'Long Telegram'. They can support or oppose Kennan's message, or offer a different viewpoint.

SOURCE 1.17

Winston Churchill, 'The Sinews of Peace' (speech, Missouri, 5 March 1946), NATO On-line Library, http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/1946/s460305a_e.htm



CHURCHILL'S IRON CURTAIN SPEECH



Winston Churchill, 1941.

CHURCHILL'S IRON CURTAIN SPEECH, 5 MARCH 1946

A shadow has fallen upon the scenes so lately lighted by the Allied victory. Nobody knows what Soviet Russia and its Communist international organization intends to do in the immediate future, or what are the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytizing tendencies. I have a strong admiration and regard for the valiant Russian people and for my wartime comrade, Marshal Stalin. There is deep sympathy and goodwill in Britain—and I doubt not here also—towards the peoples of all the Russias and a resolve to persevere through many differences and rebuffs in establishing lasting friendships. We understand the Russian need to be secure on her western frontiers by the removal of all possibility of German aggression. We welcome Russia to her rightful place among the leading nations of the world. We welcome her flag upon the seas. Above all, we welcome constant, frequent and growing contacts between the Russian people and our own people on both sides of the Atlantic. It is my duty however, for I am sure you would wish me to state the facts as I see them to you, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

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 ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia, all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and, in many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow. Athens alone—Greece with its immortal glories—is free to decide its future at an election under British, American and French observation. The Russian-dominated Polish Government has been encouraged to make enormous and wrongful inroads upon Germany, and mass expulsions of millions of Germans on a scale grievous and undreamed-of are now taking place. The Communist parties, which were very small in all these Eastern States of Europe, have been raised to pre-eminence and power far beyond their numbers and are seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control. Police governments are prevailing in nearly every case, and so far, except in Czechoslovakia, there is no true democracy. Turkey and Persia are both profoundly alarmed and disturbed at the claims which are being made upon them and at the pressure being exerted by the Moscow Government. An attempt is being made by the Russians in Berlin to build up a quasi-Communist party in their zone of Occupied Germany by showing special favours to groups of left-wing German leaders ...

ACTIVITIES

SOURCE ANALYSIS

- How has Churchill portrayed diplomacy in the first paragraph? Include an example in your answer.
- How does his message change in the second paragraph? Support your answer with two specific quotes.
- Make a list of the various countries mentioned in Churchill's speech and outline what happened to two of them.
- What is the tone of the speech? Does it change within this extract?
- By referring to the source and using your own knowledge, explain the significance of free elections in Europe after World War II.

ROLE PLAY: EMPATHY

In groups of three, create a role play that communicates one perspective held about Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech. It is important to convey empathy for those involved. Divide the following perspectives among the class to ensure all perspectives are covered:

- General public perspective.
- Winston Churchill's perspective (possibility to portray his feelings the next day and one year later).
- US Government perspective.
- Joseph Stalin's perspective.
- Media perspective.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- Why did Churchill believe unity was needed among the Western countries?
- Why did Churchill regard the USA as an important country in establishing such unity?
- Why might the US Government have preferred that Churchill not discuss the Iron Curtain?

ACTIVITY

'SALAMI'TACTICS

MÁTYÁS RÁKOSI (HEAD OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY): 'Cutting [countries] off like slices of salami.'

Despite the initial hostile reactions to Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech, the West became increasingly aware of the Soviet Union's expansionist policies as the year progressed. Although not mentioned until 1952, Hungarian Communist leader Mátyás Rákosi coined the term 'salami tactics' to describe Stalin's 1945–1947 actions. In retrospect, Rákosi suggested that the Soviet Union sliced off all non-communist political parties in Eastern Europe. He boldly stated that 'the presence in the country of the Soviet army precluded any attempt at armed rebellion.' Stalin was determined to protect Russia from a future attack by increasing its sphere of influence. By gaining control of these independent countries between East Germany and Russia, Stalin was able to create a buffer zone of satellite states. These satellite states became known as the Eastern Bloc. The occupation of each country completely disregarded the intent of the Potsdam Conference, which had outlined the importance of holding free elections in Eastern Europe. In some cases these occupied countries also had to repay war reparations to the Soviet Union based on the Paris Peace Conferences, which were held in the latter half of 1946. The following countries were affected.

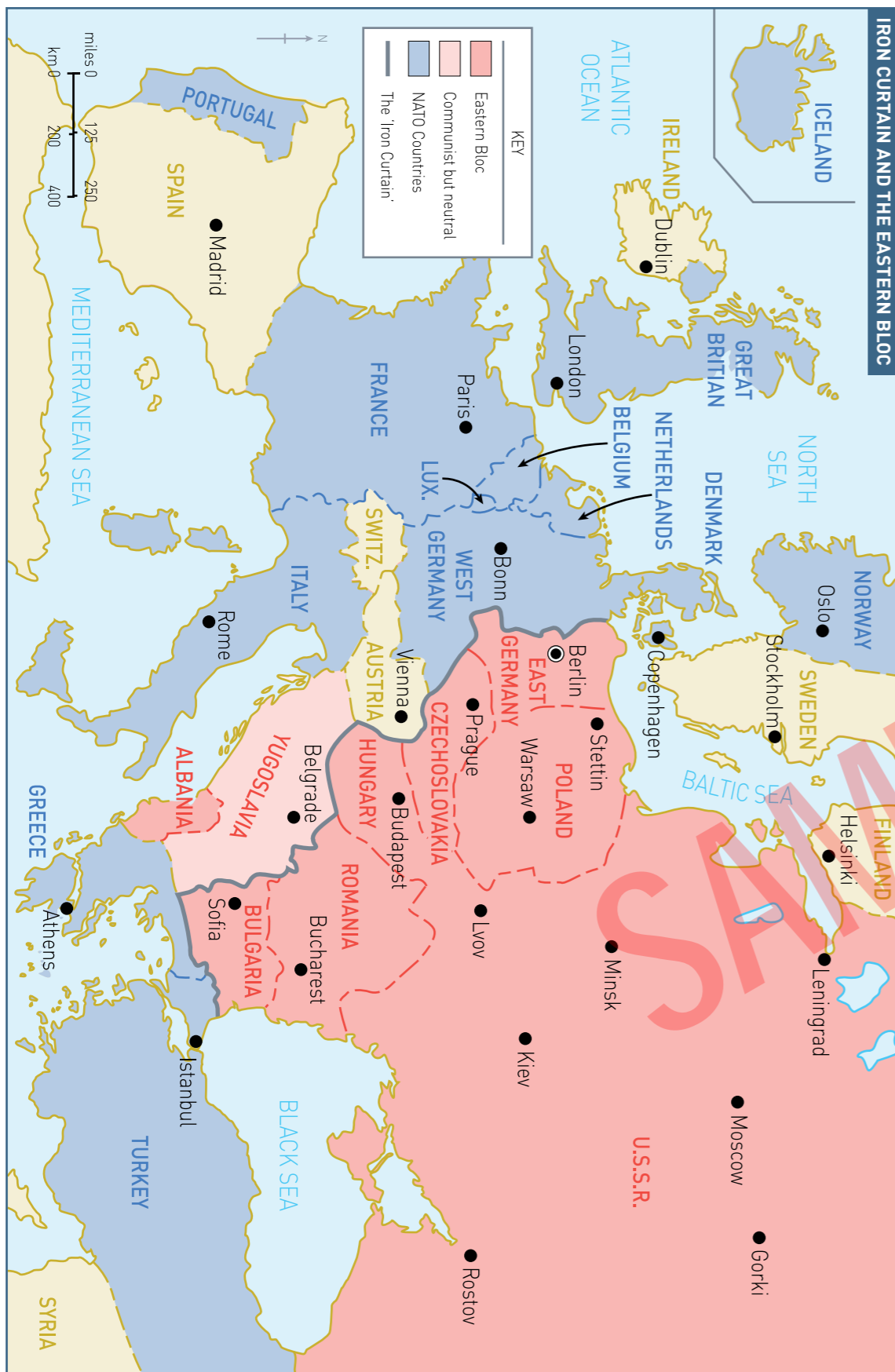
- Albania: Communists took power without opposition (1945).
- Bulgaria: A communist party gained power, then executed the leaders of all other parties (1945).
- Poland: A coalition government was formed in 1945, but all non-communist leaders were arrested and party members were forced into exile (1947).
- Romania: Communists gradually took control after being elected in 1945. Romania was forced to pay \$300 million in reparations to the Soviet Union.
- Hungary: Elections were permitted and non-communists won a majority of seats. However, Rákosi, a communist, gradually pressured other parties to remove those who were not willing to work with the communists. By 1947, he gained control of the police and brutally oppressed all opponents. Hungary also had to pay \$200 million in reparations to the Soviet Union.
- Czechoslovakia: A communist party was elected in 1945; by 1948, all other parties had been banned and their leaders killed.
- Yugoslavia: No interference was needed to promote communism, as the leader, President Tito maintained a strong and respected regime within the country. Because Yugoslavia had not been liberated by the Red Army during World War II, it remained independent.



SOVIET PROPAGANDA POSTERS

DID YOU KNOW?

The set amount for war reparations was decided at the Paris Peace Conference, held from July to October 1946. Many countries that had to pay reparations also had their pre-war borders restored. Italy was forced to end its colonial empire, recognising the independence of Albania, Libya and countries within Eastern Africa.



SOURCE 1.18

SKILLS: HISTORICAL INQUIRY

This task can be completed individually or in pairs. Choose one country that was located behind the Iron Curtain. Research the political and social events that took place in this country 1945–1948. Formulate three key historical inquiry questions that help you to evaluate the extent to which free and democratic elections were undertaken, as proposed by Roosevelt in his 'Declaration on Liberated Europe'.

Possible methods of presentation include the following:

- **A poster**
Make sure it is visually appealing by including images of leaders, maps, symbols, and a timeline. Possibly incorporate a concept map or diagram to separate each inquiry question. Make sure you clearly answer the question by making a judgment.
- **A presentation**
Use the inquiry questions as the basis for each PowerPoint slide, and ensure the majority of your information is contained within the speech. Include images of leaders, maps, symbols and a timeline in your presentation. Conclude by answering the question and making a judgment.

ACTIVITY

DID YOU KNOW?

In response to the Eastern Bloc that Stalin had formed, the American and British zones within West Germany combined on 1 January 1947 to form the 'Bizonia'. The agreement stated: 'It is the aim of the two governments to attain a self-supporting economy in this area by the end of 1949.' In 1949 France also joined the merger and the area became known as 'Trizonia'.

SOURCE 1.19

Louis Menand, 'Bloc Heads: Life behind the Iron Curtain,' *The New Yorker*, 12 November 2012.

BLOC HEADS

Before the war in Europe ended, in May, 1945, the Soviets had already begun to establish 'people's democracies' in the countries of Eastern Europe. When Winston Churchill gave his Iron Curtain speech, in March, 1946, it was clear that Stalin had no intention of withdrawing from Eastern Europe, or of allowing regimes unfriendly to the Soviet Union to install themselves there ... For the next six years, the Soviets, using tactics of intimidation, imprisonment, execution, assassination, election rigging, and show trials, eliminated all political opposition. It turned those nations into one-party states and installed puppet regimes.

What Churchill and Roosevelt did not foresee is ... that the Soviet Union would not stop at installing friendly regimes in the countries on its borders but would embark on a totalitarian remake of the entire region, complete with ethnic cleansing. It's not clear, though, that even Stalin foresaw the direction that events would take. All the evidence is that the Kremlin believed that the Communists would easily win open elections in the liberated countries. It was only when this proved to be a delusion that the Soviets began seriously to force the issue.

TRUMAN DOCTRINE

SENATOR VANDENBERG: 'Scare the hell out of the American people.'

The Truman Doctrine was the US response to George Kennan's 'Long Telegram' and Stalin's expansionist 'salami tactics'. It was designed to combat the spread of communism in Europe. Most of the countries that were vulnerable to communism were poor countries with unstable economies. By pouring aid into these countries, Truman hoped to strengthen their economies and make them less susceptible to the appeal of communism. Aware of the Iron Curtain

MAKE MINE FREEDOM: US LIFE VS THE 'ISMS'.



SOURCE 1.20

Many Greek children were orphaned after World War II. They suffered starvation and 85 per cent contracted tuberculosis.

SOURCE 1.21

A 1948 Soviet image showing Truman as an hysterical war drummer.



that had developed during 1946, Truman decided that a policy of containment was vital once Greece and Turkey became Stalin's next potential targets. On 21 February 1947, Britain announced it could no longer support Greece and Turkey financially or militarily. Both were in a poor political state with weak governments and crumbling economies. In Greece, a communist-led insurgency known as the National Liberation Front was on the rise and the country was in a state of civil war. In Turkey, the Dardanelle Straits were considered a strategic vantage point for the USSR. To prevent further expansion, Truman considered it was the duty of the USA to continue to aid Greece and Turkey to prevent communism from spreading into the Middle East or around the Mediterranean. It was decided that President Truman must address the US Congress about the situation and emphasise its seriousness with a public broadcast over the radio.

On March 12 1947, Truman asked US Congress for \$400 million to assist Greece and Turkey. Half of this amount would be solely for military purposes, with Greece receiving \$125 million for economic aid. His speech reiterated the importance of allowing people to live in free societies, compared to those people he considered to be living under 'totalitarian regimes'. Truman promoted Western political ideology and clearly expressed his intentions to halt expansionism, but did not openly threaten the USSR. The doctrine created an 'us versus them' or 'good versus evil' culture within America and heightened public suspicion of anyone who might not fully support the capitalist way of life. Media highlighted the positives of living in a free country, in order to ensure that the USA was

unified with the government's political stance.

Truman's speech had international significance. It established a division between countries in Europe and their sphere of influence, and marked the solid involvement by the USA in European affairs, possibly fulfilling the obligation mentioned by Churchill in 1946. This was a fundamental change to the US foreign policy previously maintained by President Roosevelt. In France, the French Communist Party had become the biggest single political party, with 26 per cent of the vote in the post-war elections. A similar case was reported in Italy, where the communist party had over 1.17 million members. However, after Truman's address both parties were expelled in May 1947.

EXCERPTS FROM THE ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN TO CONGRESS, 12 MARCH 1947

The gravity of the situation which confronts the world today necessitates my appearance before a joint session of the Congress. The foreign policy and the national security of this country are involved. One aspect of the present situation, which I wish to present to you at this time for your consideration and decision, concerns Greece and Turkey.

The very existence of the Greek state is today threatened by the terrorist activities of several thousand armed men, led by Communists, who defy the government's authority at a number of points, particularly along the northern boundaries.

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation, in violation of the Yalta agreement, in Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one.

One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression.

The second way of life is 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.

It is necessary only to glance at a map to realize that the survival and integrity of the Greek nation are of grave importance in a much wider situation. If Greece should fall under the control of an armed minority, the effect upon its neighbor, Turkey, would be immediate and serious. Confusion and disorder might well spread throughout the entire Middle East.

Should we fail to aid Greece and Turkey in this fateful hour, the effect will be far reaching to the West as well as to the East.

MARSHALL PLAN

After World War II the industrial and agricultural output of most European countries had been severely disrupted, leaving the population on the brink of famine. The recently formed United Nations was providing some humanitarian assistance but by June 1947 the USA decided that it would have to extend the assistance offered in the Truman Doctrine to more countries in Western Europe. Earlier in the year Truman had appointed George Marshall as the US Secretary of State, believing him to be the 'the greatest military man America ever produced.'² Marshall realised that the USA was the only major power not significantly damaged by the war and, in conjunction with State Department officials including George Kennan, developed the Marshall Plan. On 5 June 1947, Marshall announced this plan, officially known as the European Recovery Program (ERP), which aimed to rebuild the economies of Europe and ultimately ensure the future political stability of these countries. By strengthening European countries

SOURCE 1.22

Harry S. Truman Library & Museum, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/publicpapers/index.php?pid=2189&st=&st1=>

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify and list four differences in the two lifestyles described by Truman.
2. Why were both Greece and Turkey considered important countries to assist?

ACTIVITY

EXAM PRACTICE

Using three or four points, explain how political uncertainty led to the announcement of the 1945–1947 Truman Doctrine.

This question requires an extended response. Use the points below to structure your answer:

- Decide on three or four main reasons or events that led up to the Truman Doctrine. Be succinct.
- Discuss each reason chronologically.
- Explain the cause and effect or significance of each reason to show the progression of political uncertainty over time.
- Your answer should end when the Truman Doctrine is reached.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE 1.23

SUMMARY OF MARSHALL PLAN FUNDING PROVIDED TO EACH COUNTRY, 1948–1952

George C Marshall Foundation at <http://marshallfoundation.org/marshall/wp-content/uploads/sites/22/2014/04/funding.jpg>

ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Calculate the percentage of funding allocated to each of the four countries that received the most money.
2. Why do you think some countries received more money than others?
3. What do you think might have happened regarding Netherlands and Indonesia in 1949? Explain your reasoning.

"Marshall Plan" Assistance Grants and Loans by Country, April 3, 1948 - June 30, 1952 (Millions of Dollars)			
COUNTRY	Total	Grants	Loans
GRAND TOTAL FOR ALL MARSHALL PLAN COUNTRIES (Obligations Basis)	\$13,325.8	\$11,820.7	\$1,505.1
Europe			
Austria	677.8	677.8	-
Belgium-Luxembourg	559.3 ^{a/}	491.3	68.0
Denmark	273.0	239.7	33.3
France	2,713.6	2,488.0	225.6
Germany, Federal Republic	1,390.6	1,173.7	216.9 ^{b/}
Iceland	29.3	24.0	5.3
Ireland	147.5	19.3	128.2
Italy (Including Trieste)	1,508.8	1,413.2	95.6
Netherlands (Excluding Indonesia)	982.1	832.6	149.5
Norway	255.3	216.1	39.2
Portugal	51.2	15.1	36.1
Sweden	107.3	86.9	20.4
United Kingdom	3,189.8	2,805.0	384.8
Regional	407.0 ^{c/}	407.0 ^{c/}	-
Other			
Greece	706.7	706.7	-
Turkey	225.1	140.1	85.0
Indonesia (Netherlands East Indies) ^{d/}	101.4	84.2	17.2

^{a/} Loan total includes \$65.0 million for Belgium and \$3.0 million for Luxembourg; grant detail between the two countries is not separable.

^{b/} Includes an original loan figure of \$16.9 million, plus an additional \$200.0 million representing a pro-rated share of grants converted to loans under an agreement signed February 27, 1953.

^{c/} Includes the following: U.S. contribution to European Payments Union capital fund, \$361.4 million; General Freight Account (not attributable by country), \$33.5 million; and European Technical Assistance Authorizations (multi-country or regional), \$12.1 million.

^{d/} Marshall Plan aid to the area now comprising Indonesia was extended through the Netherlands, prior to transfer of sovereignty on December 30, 1949.

Statistics and Reports Division
Office of Program and Policy Coordination
Agency for International Development
August 24, 1967

economically and promoting the benefits of capitalism, Marshall was convinced that any communist ambitions would be overturned. Despite this, the invitation to take part was extended to the Soviet Union, as Marshall believed that excluding them would be perceived as distrust. Marshall's speech outlined the need for Europeans to cooperate and asked all leaders to develop their own plans, which could then receive US funding.

By July 1947, negotiations over the Marshall Plan were underway in Paris. After several days, Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov ended discussion, stating that the Soviet Government 'rejects this plan as totally unsatisfactory.' Following Molotov, the majority of Eastern European countries also rejected the offer, although Poland and Czechoslovakia agreed to attend. This, however, did not eventuate as both countries were prevented from attending, demonstrating the power of Stalin's sphere of influence. Altogether, sixteen nations received funding through the Marshall Plan, which totalled US\$13 billion in aid, disseminated as either loans or grants. This was substantially less than the requested US\$22 billion drafted by delegates in Paris. The type of aid initially

provided by the USA included food, fuel, other staples and machinery. All shipments were to be clearly marked 'For European Recovery – supplied by the United States of America.' There were set conditions and directives to be fulfilled by each recipient, and the USA established its own administrative organisation to oversee all developments in order to avoid corruption or skimming. Due to the huge impact this aid would have on US taxpayers, the media was not informed of Marshall's speech. In fact 51 per cent of Americans had not ever heard of ERP even as negotiations were taking place in Paris. Over time, the US Government began investing in European industries, maintaining that all raw materials must be supplied by US companies. This displeased many US businesses, who felt that they were only assisting the growth of their future market competition. Despite this, the US economy flourished during the years of the Marshall Plan, providing many jobs and strong trade deals because of Europe's reliance on American products.

Many specific projects were undertaken in order to rebuild Europe. In particular, the USA was able to greatly assist in improving industry efficiency. Technical assistance programs saw 3000 Europeans visit the USA to learn new techniques in industrial and agricultural production. The Ford Motor Company in Britain received new machinery to produce a wide range of vehicles, and the Otis Elevator Company helped to modernise British factories. Other projects included improving the French aircraft industry; improving textile and leather industries in West Germany; building a new hospital in Portugal; constructing railroads and wharfs in some French and British colonies to increase trade; and allocating US\$50 million towards medicine to combat tuberculosis. The German city of Stuttgart had been reduced to rubble during World War II and owed its rapid rebuilding to the funding provided by the Marshall Plan. Funding ended in 1951 after reporting the fastest period of economic growth in European history. Industrial production increased by 35 per cent and agricultural production exceeded pre-war levels, helping to eradicate the poverty and hunger experienced only a few years earlier. More importantly, the ERP encouraged the implementation of democratic governments and liberalisation within Western Europe. It contained communism by encouraging new free-trade markets among cooperating countries, and allowed the USA to market itself as a generous yet extremely powerful nation.

SOURCE 1.24

'Noses Left', cartoon from a British newspaper, 9 July 1947.



ACTIVITY

SOURCE ANALYSIS

1. Identify the two groups depicted in this image.
2. Identify two differing perceptions towards the Marshall Plan conveyed in this image.
3. By referring to the source and using your own knowledge, explain the significance of the Marshall Plan on economies worldwide.
4. To what extent is the image an accurate depiction of the views held towards the Marshall Plan? When evaluating its reliability, consider which views are shown in the cartoon and which views are not.



QUIZ: TRUMAN DOCTRINE AND MARSHALL PLAN

CONCLUSION

As World War II concluded, the Big Three were determined not to repeat the mistakes made when forming the Treaty of Versailles after World War I. They had all witnessed the horrid effects of imposing heavy reparations on a country, and hoped to negotiate a more sustainable outcome this time around. While diplomacy seemed the key to achieving a more unified world, it could be suggested that diplomacy was merely used to mask the many threats and power plays that were taking place during post-war discussions. As this chapter has revealed, many prominent speeches of the twentieth century were made during the two years following World War II and, while this form of communication may be considered diplomatic, the motives and messages being conveyed did not meet the definition 'to act with conduct and sensitivity.' The decision to use the atomic bomb; the decision to prevent free elections in Eastern Europe; the decision to force emigration based on nationality; the decision to only fund countries if they agreed to a certain political model; and the decision to separate a country into zones instead of keeping it united: all of these decisions reveal

the actions of power-hungry leaders desperate to outdo each other by acquiring more money, territory and allies. And what was the cost of all these actions? It was the loss of innocent lives and personal liberties throughout Europe and Japan. People had already endured a war, yet were still deprived freedom of choice.

Unfortunately, despite establishing the United Nations, such divisive political actions decided upon by the two superpowers—the USA and the USSR—appeared to only further polarise international society, greatly contradicting Roosevelt's optimistic statement, 'Never before have the major Allies been more closely united' that is outlined in the opening spread for this chapter. As the two superpowers' spheres of influence grew larger, the second half of the twentieth century was set to be dominated by political suspicion, threats and more civil conflict. Only the mutual fear of the advancing atomic weaponry would prevent armed military conflict (or 'hot war') from occurring, so the term 'Cold War' became used to describe the international relations between the USA and the USSR.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Create a concept map that displays the cause and effect of various political actions, policies and speeches made between 1945 and 1947.

EXAM PRACTICE

Using three or four points:

1. explain how the USSR developed its sphere of influence in the years 1945–1947.
2. explain how the USA developed its sphere of influence in the years 1945–1947.

ESSAY

Write an essay on one of the topics below, using evidence.

- John Lewis Gaddis states, regarding the origins of the Cold War, 'Geography, demography, and tradition contributed to this outcome but did not determine it. It took men, responding unpredictably to circumstances, to forge the chain of causation.' To what extent do you believe that territorial ambitions, competing ideologies and political leaders shaped the actions and agreements formed in the two years following World War II?
- Evaluate the differences and similarities between Stalin's expansionist policies and Truman's containment policies.

EXTENSION

Use the internet to collect four to six political cartoons or posters from the early Cold War period that convey different perspectives (i.e. Soviet, US and UK). For each cartoon, complete the following:

- Outline the context of the cartoon, noting its date, setting and the circumstances at the time.
- What message is implied by the cartoon or poster?
- What common symbols are used in the cartoon or poster?
- How does the cartoon help you to understand more about the time period? Briefly evaluate its usefulness.
- What is missing from the cartoon or poster?

Once complete, synthesise the common strengths and shortcomings of each perspective.

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 1

TEST YOUR
LEARNING

FURTHER READING

Gar Alperovitz, *The Decision to use the Atomic Bomb* (New York: Vintage, 1996)

This book outlines the reasons why the atomic bomb did not need to be used by the USA. The author is critical of US military reasoning, believing it was mainly used as a political statement to the Soviet Union. A technical read.

Anne Applebaum, *Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe 1945–1956* (London: Allen Lane, 2012)

Drawing on recently released archives and personal accounts, the author conveys what daily life was like in Eastern Europe under the communist regime.

📖 *Churchill, Truman and Stalin shake hands after the Potsdam Conference.*

Michael Dobbs, *Six Months in 1945: FDR, Stalin, Churchill, and Truman—from World War to Cold War* (New York: Knopf, 2012)

This is the final book in a Cold War trilogy by the author. It describes the roles of the political leaders in dividing Europe into separate spheres of influence. It captures the fierce competition as each leader was determined to maintain their national interests.

Thomas Fleming, *Truman* (New York: New Word City ebook publishers, 2014)

This ebook provides a detailed biography of President Truman, highlighting his staunch determination and patriotism.

John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001)

The author examines foreign policy between the USA and Soviet Union at the end of World War II, emphasising how domestic policy, bureaucracy, perceptions and personalities influenced the key decisions made in Washington during this era.