

1. This question is about the origins of the Cold War in Europe.

Level	Descriptors	Marks
5	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Interprets the source in context & checks validity of source in supporting/challenging the statement clearly and precisely• Clearly defines the extent to which the student supports or challenges the statement• Either supports or challenges the statement, but thorough analysis will show elements of both aspects	9-10 m

ASSERTION / STATEMENT:

“THE USSR WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OUTBREAK OF THE COLD WAR.”
How far does the source agree with the statement? Explain your answer.
[10m]

This assertion suggests that it was Soviet's aggression which caused the cold war while the US was merely acting to prevent the Soviet domination of Europe.

GP 1

Excerpt from George Kennan's “Long Telegram”, 22 February 1946

At bottom of Kremlin's neurotic view of world affairs is traditional and instinctive Russian sense of insecurity. Originally, this was insecurity of a peaceful agricultural people trying to live on vast exposed plain in neighbourhood of fierce nomadic peoples. To this was added, as Russia came into contact with economically advanced West, fear of more competent, more powerful, more highly organized societies in that area. But this latter type of insecurity was one which afflicted rather Russian rulers than Russian people; for Russian rulers have invariably sensed that their rule was ... unable to stand comparison or contact with political systems of Western countries... In summary, we have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that with U.S. there can be no permanent modus vivendi (peaceful coexistence), that it is desirable and necessary that the internal harmony of our society be disrupted, our traditional way of life be destroyed, the international authority of our state be broken . . .

SOURCE A'S ANALYSIS BY GP 1

Kennan, a Foreign Service officer from US Embassy in Moscow, sent an 8,000-word telegram to the detailing his views on the Soviet Union.

NOTES:

- Kennan believed that the Soviets wanted to spread communist influence as widely as possible.
- The USSR saw the USA as its enemy.
- Any attempt at cooperation bet the USA & the USSR would fail.
- Telegram confirmed President Truman's own fears & had a large influence on his future approach towards the USSR.

1. Premise/Point	<p>This assertion suggests that it was Soviet's aggression that caused the cold war while the US was merely acting to prevent the Soviet domination of Europe.</p> <p><u>At face value</u>, the USSR was seen as representing a political system that was a direct threat to the freedoms of western capitalism.</p>
2 Content Evidence	<p><u>Source A states that</u> the Soviet Union had a "sense of insecurity" because they were afraid of the "more competent, more powerful, more highly organized societies" of the "economically advanced West."</p> <p>The Soviets believed that there could be no peaceful existence with the US and desired that the internal harmony of USA's society be disrupted, their traditional way of life be destroyed, and the international authority of their state be broken.</p>
3 Elaboration	<p><u>This means that</u> Stalin wanted to see the destruction of capitalism and that he felt the world outside the Soviet Union was hostile and looking to destroy communism. Soviet was hostile to the US due to Soviet's long-term feeling of domestic insecurity.</p>
4 Context	<p><u>The context</u> was that Stalin had violated the terms of the Yalta & Potsdam Conferences regarding free elections in Poland and other Eastern European countries. These actions reflected the Soviet's intent on spreading Communism in Europe. The</p>

	<p>Sovietisation of Eastern Europe was interpreted by the US as expansionist and aggressive. By 1947, every state in Eastern Europe was controlled by a communist government, apart from Czechoslovakia (1948-1989). Stalin had used 'salami tactics' to install governments favourable to him in Eastern Europe. Stalin had arrested non-Communist Polish leaders to establish a new communist government. He built a ring of satellite states around the Soviet Union and insisted that no governments in Eastern Europe be hostile to the USSR.</p>
<p>5 CREDIBILITY Counter evidence from contextual knowledge</p>	<p><u>However, upon deeper analysis</u>, this source is limited as it fails to tell us about the USSR's need for security defence. The USSR was attacked twice during WWI and WWII.</p> <p>Stalin wanted a ring of satellite states around the Soviet Union using salami tactics. He saw this as <u>defensive measures to strengthen the security of the Soviet Union and their sphere of influence</u>. However, the western powers interpreted this differently. The USA saw it as expansionist and aggressive. <u>By 1947, every state in Eastern Europe was controlled by a communist government</u>, apart from Czechoslovakia (1948-1989). Stalin had insisted that no governments in Eastern Europe be hostile to the USSR.</p> <p>Hence Source A provides a weak support to the hypothesis.</p>
<p>6 CREDIBILITY Critique the provenance to check usefulness & reliability of source</p>	<p><u>Based on the provenance, the reliability of the source is somewhat questionable.</u> George Kennan, a high-ranking US official based in Moscow, as the author, was biased in presenting the USSR as aggressive and expansionist. His <u>anti-Soviet sentiments</u> greatly influenced the US government. He could have exaggerated the threats posed by the USSR. He <u>over-represented the fear & aggression of the USSR. Thus, Kennan was at fault for heightening the tension between the USA and the USSR.</u> His biased conclusion led the US to justify their policy of Containment. Kennan's long telegram gave the US government an intellectual basis for the policy of Containment (Truman Doctrine & Marshall Plan). Kennan wanted to <u>convince the US to be more actively involved in Europe & to adopt a tougher foreign policy against the Soviet Union.</u> This worsened the tensions between the 2 superpowers and intensified the division and competition between them.</p>

<p>7</p> <p>Conclusion to ATQ</p>	<p><u>In conclusion</u>, Source A only provides weak supporting evidence that the USSR was responsible for the outbreak of the Cold War. The biasness of the source meant that it could not be trusted to provide a fair assessment of blame. George Kennan was hostile towards the USSR and painted a picture that the USSR was out to destroy capitalism. He believed that the US should adopt a policy of containment to stop communism from spreading to other parts of the world. This source is clearly biased and cannot be accurately used to explain soviet aggression.</p> <p>Many historians believe that the conflict is complex as both the US and the USSR had competed for influence in Europe. Actions taken by each country and the resulting responses led to misinterpretations of each other's intentions in Europe. Hence, both superpowers were jointly responsible for the Cold War due to the long-term clash of interests, suspicions, and uncompromising attitudes.</p>
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GP 2: SOURCE B

Excerpt from Winston Churchill's Iron Curtain Speech, 5 March 1946

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 some 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.

“THE USSR WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OUTBREAK OF THE COLD WAR.”
How far does the source agree with the statement? Explain your answer.
[10m]

SOURCE B - ANALYSIS BY GP 2

5 MARCH 1946, Iron Curtain

Winston Churchill visited Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, USA as the Green Lecturer and delivered "Sinews of Peace."

NOTES

Churchill said:

-The USSR was attempting to spread its influence across the rest of Europe & increase its power

-An invisible line had split Europe into 2, between the East & the West. He called the line the 'Iron Curtain.'

Premise	This assertion suggests that it was Soviet's aggression which caused the cold war while the US was merely acting to prevent the Soviet domination of Europe.
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	At face value , Source B tells those Eastern European countries had fallen to Soviet influence and were cut off from open contact with the West.
CONTENT Evidence	Source B tells us that, “ From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. ” Furthermore, all the capitals in Central and Eastern Europe were “ not only under Soviet influence but to a very high and, in some cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow. ”
CONTENT Elaboration	<p>This means that Soviet Union was a threat to freedom and world peace. He had created a political, military, and ideological barrier to seal off Eastern Europe from open contact with the West. The countries in Eastern Europe had now come under Soviet Dictatorship. To meet this Soviet expansion, Churchill called for an alliance between Britain and the USA.</p> <p>Churchill suggested that people living in Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe were oppressed and needed basic freedoms. He viewed the USSR as ambitious and aggressive and called for an alliance between Britain & the US to meet Soviet challenge. This led to increased tension and mistrust.</p>
CONTEXT	Western powers were alarmed by Stalin’s actions. Stalin had seized control of most of Eastern Europe by the end of 1947 and established pro-Soviet communist governments. Stalin had used various methods to establish pro-communist regimes in Eastern Europe after WWII. They agreed that Eastern Europe would be a Soviet Sphere of influence but not complete Soviet domination. Through a variety of ‘salami’ tactics such as rigging & cheating in elections, the Soviet Union was able to export communism throughout Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union of had set up communist governments in Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Bulgaria with Red Guards present. Stalin had no intentions to keep the post-war agreements.
CRITIQUE Counter evidence from contextual knowledge	Stalin defended the Soviet’s right to ensure friendly governments in Eastern Europe . They needed to create strong safeguards against future German aggression by having secure borders & a buffer zone in Eastern Europe. They had been attacked by Germany twice through Poland and suffered devastating losses . Stalin was convinced that the West was antagonistic and aggressive, with the US & Britain were conspiring against him. This led to heightened distrust and suspicions between the 2 superpowers.

Critique the provenance to check reliability of source	<p>Churchill was biased as he had perceived the Soviet Union to be ambitious and aggressive. His view was that Eastern Europe had fallen to Soviet influence. He made an appeal for Anglo-American cooperation to create unity in Europe. His call to displace Soviet control in Eastern Europe was welcomed by the US as it echoed the USA's belief and views of the USSR.</p>
Conclusion to ATQ	<p>In conclusion, Source B only provides weak supporting evidence that the USSR was responsible for the outbreak of the Cold War. The source is biased as Churchill had made a powerful and exaggerated impression in the USSR which hardened public opinion against the Soviet Union. His speech increased Soviet fears of encirclement and effectively ended any hope of cooperation. In fact, other sources of information, do suggest that the US and the USSR were jointly responsible for the Cold War due to the long-term clash of interests, suspicions, and uncompromising attitudes.</p>

“THE USA WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OUTBREAK OF THE COLD WAR.”

How far does the source agree with the statement? Explain your answer.

[10m]

SOURCE C GP 3

Excerpt from Stalin’s reply to the Iron Curtain Speech, 14 March 1946

In substance, Mr. Churchill now stands in the position of a firebrand of war. And Mr. Churchill is not alone here. He has friends not only in England but also in the United States of America.

The German racial theory brought Hitler and his friends to the conclusion that the Germans, as the only fully valuable nation, must rule over other nations. The English racial theory brings Mr. Churchill and his friends to the conclusion that nations speaking the English language, being the only fully valuable nations, should rule over the remaining nations of the world....

As a result of the German invasion, the Soviet Union has irrevocably lost in battles with the Germans, and during the German occupation and through the expulsion of Soviet citizens to German slave labour camps, about 7,000,000 people. In other words, the Soviet Union has lost in men several times more than Britain and the United States together.

SOURCE C’S ANALYSIS BY GP 3

STALIN’S REPLY TO IRON CURTAIN SPEECH

Premise	This assertion suggests that it was USA’s hostility had caused the cold war while the USSR was merely acting to prevent the destruction of communism in Eastern Europe.
CONTENT EVIDENCE	As a result of the German invasion, the Soviet Union has irrevocably lost in battles with the Germans , and also during the German occupation and through the expulsion of Soviet citizens to German slave labour camps, about 7,000,000 people . In other words, the Soviet Union has lost in men several times more than Britain and the United States together.
CONTENT ELABORATION	This means that the USSR had suffered losses far more than Britain and the USA during WWII when they were attacked by Germany. Many Soviets were taken as slaves to work in the labour camps. This explains why the Soviet needed more reparations and security for national defence.

CONTEXT	<p>Stalin couldn't trust Western leaders especially after Truman's atomic bomb announcement & Churchill's Iron Curtain speech. Truman was openly hostile to Communism. Eastern Europe was part of the agreed upon Soviet Sphere of influence. USSR suffered badly in WWII. Stalin was trying to defend communism. USSR's sovietisation was only necessary to set up buffer zones to protect the Soviets from possible aggressions from the capitalist West. Stalin's priority was to ensure regimes were friendly to the USSR to protect the USSR against any future invasions by the west.</p> <p>The Soviet wanted to build and secure its own sphere of influence in Eastern Europe which was important for the security and economic reconstruction of the Soviet Union. Stalin believed he could ensure the support of the countries of Eastern Europe by setting up Soviet-controlled communist governments.</p>
CRITIQUE Counter evidence from contextual knowledge	<p>However, the USA was hostile towards the USSR and sought to contain Soviet power by introducing the Containment policy such as the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan to contain Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe. The US wanted to ensure that capitalism and democratic governments were established in Western Europe. At the same time, they were determined to limit the political and economic influence of the USSR and the satellite states.</p>
Critique the provenance to check reliability of source	<p>This source is an excerpt from Stalin's reply to Churchill's Iron Curtain speech. He was clearly biased when he blamed the USA for trying to destroy communism and weakening the communist's sphere of influence.</p>
Conclusion to ATQ	<p>Hence, Source C provides a weak support to the hypothesis. The source is biased as Stalin saw the western powers as ambitious and provocative. He claimed the US failed to understand the Soviet's need for buffer security. However, other sources of information do suggest that the US and the USSR were jointly responsible for the Cold War due to the long-term clash of interests, suspicions, and uncompromising attitudes.</p>

“THE USA WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OUTBREAK OF THE COLD WAR.”

GP 4: SOURCE D

Excerpt from Soviet's reply to the Long Telegram, 27 Sept 1946

by Nikolai Novikov

The basic goal of this anti-Soviet campaign of American "public opinion" is to exert political pressure on the Soviet Union and compel it to make concessions. Another, no less important goal of the campaign is the attempt to create an atmosphere of war psychosis (fear/paranoia) among the masses, who are weary of war, thus making it easier for the U.S. government to carry out measures for the maintenance of high military potential. It was in this very atmosphere that the law on universal military service in peacetime was passed by congress, that the huge military budget was adopted, and that plans are being worked out for the construction of an extensive system of naval and air bases. Of course, all of these measures for maintaining a highly military potential are not goals in themselves. They are only intended to prepare the conditions for winning world supremacy in a new war, the date for which, to be sure, cannot be determined now by anyone, but which is contemplated by the most bellicose circles of American imperialism.

SOURCE D ANALYSIS

27 Sept 1946

Nikolai Novikov was the Soviet Ambassador to the United States in 1946-1947 and he prepared his telegram for Stalin and Molotov (Minister of Foreign Affairs)

Premise/Point	<p>This assertion suggests that it was USA's aggression which caused the cold war while the USSR was merely acting to prevent the destruction of communism in Eastern Europe.</p> <p>Novikov's telegram to the Soviet government claimed that the US was very aggressive because the US had the intention to destroy communism & use their massive military power to dominate the world.</p>
CONTENT Evidence	<p>He said that the US wanted to “exert political pressure on the Soviet Union and compel it to make concessions.” The US also had an “extensive system of naval and air bases” to engage in new warfare. Novikov's telegram warned the Soviet Union that the US was aggressive towards the USSR. The telegram encouraged the USSR to take control of the countries on the border.</p>
Elaboration	<p>This means that the USSR equally did not trust the US and blamed the for wanting to dominate the world. He warned that the USA had ambitious desires to achieve world supremacy through the massive military & naval power.</p>

Context	The US was powerful and could dominate the world through their military might. The US had nuclear superiority as they were the first to possess nuclear weapons and were willing to use them. They had also expanded their naval and military bases in many parts of the world including the Philippines, Japan & South Korea. They had the capabilities to dominate the world. This caused the Soviets to view the US with distrust and suspicion as the Americans also wanted to safeguard their own interests.
Counter evidence from contextual knowledge	The USSR was perceived to be aggressive by the western powers. From 1946 to 1947, Stalin made sure that Communist governments came to power in all the countries of Eastern Europe and became Soviet satellites. Soviet troops set up communist governments and gave local communists top positions in the government. Opposition was gradually undermined, and elections were rigged to give the appearance that communism was popularly supported. This 'divide and conquer' strategy called salami tactics required the use of threats & alliances to divide opposition. In this way, the Soviets were aggressive in expanding their power in Eastern Europe.
Critique the provenance to check reliability of source	This is a telegram by Nikolai & he could have exaggerated the threats to the Soviet Union so that the USSR would take sterner actions to counter perceived US threats. The message was based on the Soviet perspective. The US was cast in a very negative light as they were deemed aggressive towards the USSR.
Conclusion to ATQ	Source D provides a weak support to the hypothesis as it is a biased source which places all the blame on the US. However, other sources of information also suggest that neither Russia or America was to blame. The Cold War was the result of misunderstandings on both sides & the failure to appreciate each other's fears and forces beyond their control. Many believed that the Cold War began because of suspicions that the democratic West had about the USSR and vice versa. With the existing tensions between America and USSR before the Cold War, misconceptions quickly led to foreign policy missteps by both sides and eventually the Cold War.

GP 5: SOURCE E

Excerpt from the Truman Doctrine, 12 March 1947

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, Rumania, and Bulgaria**. I must also state that in a number of other countries there have been similar developments.

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to **support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures**. I believe that we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way. I believe that our **help should be primarily through economic and financial aid** which is **essential to economic stability and orderly political processes**.

SOURCE E ANALYSIS BY GP 5

“THE USSR WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OUTBREAK OF THE COLD WAR.”

How far does the source agree with the statement? Explain your answer.

[10m]

12 MARCH 1947 Truman Doctrine

NOTES

Truman said:

- Communism posed a serious threat to the USA and the rest of the world.
- The USA would support any country that was under the threat of communism.
- The focus must be on containing communism – keeping it within the countries where it was already established.

The purpose of Truman's speech was to make it clear to the USSR that its expansion into Europe had to end. It was also a response to the situation in Greece & Turkey, where it seemed likely that communism was about to take hold.

Premise/Point	<p>This assertion suggests that it was Soviet's aggression which caused the cold war while the US was merely acting to prevent the Soviet domination of Europe.</p> <p>The Truman Doctrine caused tensions between the 2 superpowers by promising economic and military aid to countries under external oppression, very likely from the USSR.</p>
CONTENT Evidence	<p>This is supported by Source E which states that, “it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are</p>

	<p>resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.”</p> <p>This means that there was a general commitment to come to the aid of states facing a communist takeover.</p>
CONTENT Elaboration	<p>Truman Doctrine was a political statement to hold back the spread of communism by providing aid to governments who requested it if they were threatened by communist movements. US had the obligation to support people who were resisting armed authorities. It was the beginning of American policy of containment of communism. This drew the USA into the affairs of nations well beyond Europe. It was clear that Truman was referring to countries resisting armed communist takeover. America was now committed to a policy of containment to stop the spread of communism.</p>
CONTEXT	<p>The USA committed itself to help any country threatened by communist take-over by sending money, supplies, weapons and advice. In 1947, USA supported the Greek government in the Greek Civil War between the Royalist & Yugoslav-backed Communists. If the US wanted to prevent Greece & possibly Turkey, falling into communist hands, the USA would have to act decisively & quickly. There were further fears that the communist parties in France & Italy, both sponsored by Moscow, would come to power. There was also high possibility of communist takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1948.</p> <p>In response to the communist threat, the Containment Policy was created to control Soviet expansion & influence. Truman believed that communism should not be allowed to grow, and the US was prepared to send troops and economic aid to those countries resisting it. The US was setting itself up as the leader of the fight against communism and isolationism was replaced with containment. Truman introduced a policy of containment which consisted of 2 elements: A commitment to help any country threatened by totalitarian aggression known as the “Truman Doctrine” and the creation of the European Recovery Programme known as the ‘Marshall Plan’.</p>
CREDIBILITY SOURCE Counter evidence from contextual knowledge	<p>However, upon deeper analysis, the source fails to show how Soviet expansion was aggressive too as they had sovietised the Eastern European countries using salami tactics to bring them under their control. The Red Army remained in Eastern Europe and with the use of terror, replaced democratic governments with communist regimes. Gradually, by removing opposition in the countries, Stalin was able to bring countries under the influence of the Soviet government. The Soviets not only wanted to protect the borders of the Soviet Union but also to promote Communism as a world ideology.</p>

<p>Critique the provenance to check reliability of source</p>	<p>Truman was biased and could have exaggerated the communist threats to persuade the government to release funds and unite public opinion behind the policy of containment. USSR viewed it as a clear statement of hostility as it was an aggressive move to indirectly attack the USSR.</p>
<p>Conclusion to ATQ</p>	<p>Source E is limited in telling us that the USSR should be responsible for the Cold War & hence provides a weak support to the assertion. Truman's view is too one-sided to be considered accurate in highlighting the aggressive actions coming from the USSR.</p> <p>He demonstrated a clear ideological bias against the USSR.</p> <p>The Cold war is too complex to blame either side. It is a result of long-term competition for influence between the superpowers. Each sought to strengthen their own political and economic influence in Europe. The actions taken by each country and the resulting responses led to misinterpretations of each other's intentions in Europe. This in turn heightened tensions & distrust between the 2 superpowers.</p>

GP 6: SOURCE F

Excerpt from the Marshall Plan, 5 June 1947

In considering the requirements for the rehabilitation of Europe the physical loss of life, the visible destruction of cities, factories, mines, and railroads was correctly estimated, but it has become obvious during recent months that this visible destruction was probably less serious than the dislocation of the entire fabric of European economy. For the past 10 years conditions have been highly abnormal. The feverish maintenance of the war effort engulfed all aspects of national economics. Machinery has fallen into disrepair or is entirely obsolete.

The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next 3 or 4 years of foreign food and other essential products -- principally from America - are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help, or face economic, social, and political deterioration of a very grave character. The remedy lies in breaking the vicious circle and restoring the confidence of the European people in the economic future of their own countries and of Europe as a whole. The purpose of this policy should be the revival of a working economy in the world to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist.

SOURCE F ANALYSIS BY GP 6

“THE USSR WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OUTBREAK OF THE COLD WAR.”
How far does the source agree with the statement? Explain your answer.
[10m]

MARSHALL PLAN 5 JUNE 1947:

George Marshall put billions of dollars into rebuilding Europe.

The Marshall Plan had 3 main aims:

- To aid economic recovery in Europe to stop people from turning to communism.
- To support the containment of communism within Eastern Europe.
- To create a market for American goods to build up the American economy.

RESULTS

- Marshall aid was vital for the recovery of Western Europe. It allowed economies to be rebuilt and the standard of living to rise.
- The American economy also benefited.
- It demonstrated that the USA was committed to involvement in Europe for the long term.

-Communism became less popular in Western Europe.

-The division of East and West became even more firmly established, as Stalin forbade countries behind the Iron Curtain from accepting aid.

Premise/Point	<p>This assertion suggests that the USSR was aggressive in expanding their power and influence and the USA introduced the Marshall Plan to help war-torn countries from turning to communism in Western Europe.</p> <p>At face value, the source suggests that the US was relentless in containing Communism. This was exemplified through the Marshall Plan which aimed to aid US allies to combat the threat of Communism in their countries. An economically viable Western Europe would be a good way to counter communism and Soviet influence.</p>
CONTENT Evidence	Source F states that “ Europe’s requirements for the next 3 or 4 years of foreign food and other essential products -- principally from America - are so much greater than her present ability to pay that she must have substantial additional help, or face economic, social, and political deterioration of a very grave character. ”
CONTENT Elaboration	The economic aim of the Marshall Plan was to provide financial aid to revive the flagging market economies of Europe. Many countries suffered badly during the war & needed extra funding to recover from the damages to their economy. Economic prosperity was perceived as the most effective antidote to the attractiveness of communism.
CONTEXT	Truman saw the Marshall Plan as a defensive measure to contain communism. In some Western European countries, the desperate economic circumstances after WWII meant support for communism could be strong & there was a possibility they might win in the elections. The US did not want this to happen. General George Marshall recommended they spend a lot of money to help the economies of Western Europe recover after WWII. The money was offered to all countries of Europe, not just the west.
CREDIBILITY Counter evidence from contextual knowledge	Soviet had viewed the Marshall Aid as an attempt to extend US control over European markets and spread capitalist ideas in Europe. The USA would dominate Europe by making it dependent on the US dollar. Stalin declared that the Marshall Aid to be “dollar imperialism” & claimed that the US was throwing its economic weight around to gain influence in Europe. Stalin refused to allow Soviet bloc countries to receive Marshall Aid as he feared that it would lead to closer ties with the Western powers. This caused

	Stalin to respond in a hostile way by creating Cominform and Comecon to strengthen their hold over their satellite states.
CREDIBILITY Critique the provenance to check reliability of source	Source F is biased as the author, himself the US State Secretary presented the view that democracy and western economic systems were crucial to help Europe recover economically. The US also wanted friendly democratic and capitalist Europe for their own interests.
Conclusion to ATQ	<p>Hence Source F provides a weak support to the hypothesis. Even though the Marshall Plan was designed to help the western Europe recover economically, it was also introduced to contain the spread of communism.</p> <p>Marshall Plan by George Marshall is too one-sided to be considered accurate in highlighting the aggressive actions coming from the USSR. He demonstrated a clear ideological bias against the USSR. The Cold war is too complex to blame either side. It is a result of long-term competition for influence between the superpowers. Each sought to strengthen their own political and economic influence in Europe. The actions taken by each country and the resulting responses led to misinterpretations of each other's intentions in Europe. This in turn heightened tensions & distrust between the 2 superpowers.</p>

“THE USA WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OUTBREAK OF THE COLD WAR.”
How far does the source agree with the statement? Explain your answer.
[10m]

GP 7: SOURCE G

Extract from Speech by Andrei Zhdanov (member of the Soviet Politburo) at the founding of the Cominform (a Communist International Organization) in September 1947

The expansionist ambitions of the United States find concrete expression in the "Truman Doctrine" and the "Marshall Plan". ... The main features of the "Truman Doctrine" as applied to Europe are as follows: Creation of American bases in the Eastern Mediterranean with the purpose of establishing American supremacy in that area. Demonstrative support of the reactionary regimes in Greece and Turkey as bastions of American imperialism against the new democracies in the Balkans. ... Constant pressure on the countries of the new democracy, as expressed in false accusation of totalitarianism and expansionist ambitions, in attacks on the foundations of the new democratic regimes, in constant interference in their domestic affairs, in support of all anti-national, anti-democratic elements within these countries, and in the demonstrative breaking off of economic relations with these countries with the idea of creating economic difficulties, retarding their economic development, preventing their industrialization, and so on.

SOURCE G'S ANALYSIS BY GP 7

22 SEPTEMBER ,1947

ZHDANOV DOCTRINE & COMINFORM

Premise/Point	This assertion suggests that it was USA's aggression that caused the outbreak of the Cold War.
CONTENT Evidence	<p>Andrei Zhdanov claimed that the “expansionist ambitions of the United States” were seen in the "Truman Doctrine" and the "Marshall Plan". The "Truman Doctrine" was intended to create “American bases in the Eastern Mediterranean with the purpose of establishing American supremacy in that area.”</p> <p>The US had applied “constant pressure on the countries of the new democracy” through “false accusation of totalitarianism and expansionist ambitions”.</p>

	The US supports all anti-national, anti-democratic elements within these countries, and in the demonstrative breaking off economic relations with these countries with the idea of creating economic difficulties
CONTENT elaboration	<p>USA's actions during the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan were part of their expansionist ambitions. The USA aimed to establish its supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean by creating bases in the region. The US also provided support to Greece and Turkey against new governments in the Balkans (Eastern Europe).</p> <p>The USA unjustly accused countries of having dictatorial tendencies & ambitions to expand their influence beyond their borders.</p> <p>They intentionally disrupted economic relations with these countries to create economic difficulties & hinder their development.</p>
CONTEXT	Zhdanov Doctrine was a political ideology introduced by Soviet politician Andrei Zhdanov in 1947. The doctrine was based on the idea that the world was divided into two opposing camps: the imperialist, capitalist West and the communist East. The two camps were engaged in an ideological and political struggle that was bound to lead to war. The speech was delivered to the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) and was widely interpreted as a declaration of war against the West.
CREDIBILITY - Counter evidence from contextual knowledge	<p>Soviet was also aggressive as they had sovietised Eastern Europe by using salami tactics to establish pro-communist governments.</p> <p>They challenged the US by coming up with 2 organisations for communist countries of Europe:</p> <p>Cominform (Communist information bureau): a political organisation to ensure the followed communism and took orders from Moscow.</p> <p>Comecon (Council for mutual assistance): provide aid to support economic development to member states.</p>
CREDIBILITY Critique the provenance to check reliability of source	Zhdanov was one-sided in his viewpoint. He was against western capitalism and so blamed the west for trying to extend their influence in Europe.

Conclusion to ATQ	In conclusion, Source F weakly supports the assertion that the USA was responsible for the outbreak of the Cold War. The biasness of the source meant that it could not be trusted to provide a fair assessment of blame. In the context of the Cold War, the Zhdanov Doctrine also contributed to the ideological division between East and West. It reinforced the Soviet Union's belief in the inevitability of conflict between capitalism and socialism and the need to spread socialist ideology throughout the world. In fact, other sources of information do suggest that the US and USSR were jointly responsible for the Cold War due to the long-term clash of interests and uncompromising attitudes.
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OTHER EVENTS TO CONSIDER FOR THE COLD WAR:

THE BERLIN BLOCKADE:

The Western powers had united the western zones of Germany & Berlin. Truman had decided that a strong Germany would be a useful ally. In Jan 1947, USA & Britain joined their zones together to form Bizonia. France joined a year later, to form Trizonia in 1948. In June 1948, the Western zones had introduced their own currency, but Stalin refused to accept this.

In response, Stalin created his own currency in his zone and blockaded West Berlin. He expected Truman to withdraw from Berlin.

But Truman was prepared to test out his policy of containment. France, Britain and the USA began a huge operation of supplies to West Berliners by air, known as the Berlin airlift. Stalin lifted the Blockade in May 1949 (after 11 months of blockade). The created Comecon (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) in 1949 for Eastern European Communist states. This tied all the economies to Moscow in response to strengthened West Germany & the Marshall Aid.

NATO (NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANISATION)

In 1949, 12 nations joined a military alliance that promised to defend each other against attack. Stalin did not react but a Soviet defensive alliance, the Warsaw Pact was formed in 1955 when West Germany joined NATO.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, MAY 1949.

The western zones merged to form a single political union known as West Germany which was pro-American & democratic.

Soviet Union reacted swiftly by creating the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) in 1948 in the soviet zone. East Berlin was the capital.

THE WARSAW PACT, MAY 1955.

8 communist countries agreed in Poland to unify their armed forces under a central command. This was a direct response to the rearmament of West Germany and its incorporation into NATO. Creation of WARSAW PACT allowed the Soviet forces to

strengthen its forces across Eastern Europe and provide further mechanism to keep the eastern bloc countries in line.

THE END