threat of American atomic power only served to aggravate the Russians.
• US had very few bombs that would inflict very major damage (due to demobilisation after WWII)
• US regarded the atomic bomb as the ultimate weapon, only to be used in “ultimate” extremities, ∴ atomic bomb = Paper-tiger

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRADITIONAL HISTORIAN</th>
<th>REVISIONIST HISTORIAN</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- Economic extension of the Truman Doctrine</td>
<td>- <strong>Trad:</strong> Uniquely generous proposal by the US, yet the USSR rejected the Marshall Plan for itself and on behalf of its satellite states.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- European Recovery Programme which offered economic and financial help wherever it was needed, to prevent economic collapse and to help countries reach self-sustaining growth.</td>
<td>- <strong>Rev:</strong> Real objective of MP was more than pure American benevolence – it was a political device for Western Europe to become prosperous so that Communism could not gain control.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- <strong>Supposedly noble:</strong> “Our policy is not directed against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos.”</td>
<td>- Traditionalists saw Russia’s rejection of MP as obstructive, but in reality the terms for MP were very unacceptable to Russia – US had no desire to integrate EE with WE economies.</td>
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<tr>
<td>- <strong>Ostensible aim:</strong> To promote the economic recovery of Europe, thus ensuring markets for American exports (ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM)</td>
<td>- Conditions were probably designed in such a way.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- o 1948-1952: 16 countries in WE received a total of $13 billion in aid, loans and goods.</td>
<td>- <strong>Trad View:</strong> Sinister plan of the Russians asserting authority over satellite states.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- <strong>Political aim:</strong> Communism was less likely to gain control in a prosperous Western Europe. Accepting Marshall Aid was an implicit acceptance of Allied political alliance.</td>
<td>- <strong>Rev View:</strong> Russian concern that this integration will allow economic imperialism to take place via free access to EE’s economies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o Communism was most popular in times of economic dislocation, exploit the dissent</td>
<td>- Also, a specific aim of MP was to <strong>revive the economy of Germany</strong> (as Germany was the engine for</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• **1945** Potsdam Agreement and other regular meetings between foreign ministers of US & Russia (Byrne & Molotov)
  o **Byrne**: Reasonable, willing to understand Russian POV
  o **Molotov**: Consistently obstructive, uncooperative.

• **BUT attitudes of foreign ministers (diplomatic), does not reflect attitude of leaders.**
  o **Truman** felt the US was being too accommodative – “Tired of babying the Soviets.”
  o **Stalin**: More obstructive/hardline than Molotov.
  o Stalin made a speech denouncing capitalism (highlighted ideological differences, made relations more polarized).

  harsh west who were not willing to accommodate their concerns
  • SU became increasingly hardline because when they made concessions, the Americans did not appreciate them (Byrnes)
  • Russia felt Americans and British were hypocritical:
    o What was happening in Greece and Italy, perceived as similar to what was going on in EE
    o Rationale was that they should leave each other to do what they pleased in their SOI
    o Churchill and Stalin had made an agreement in 1944 (during WWII) that EE should be a Russian SOI, and WE should be for the West
    o **Italy**: Communists stood for elections after the war. The CIA supported the Christian democrats and undermined communists by distributing money to manipulate the results to their desired outcome (hardly a free and fair election)

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**G) AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICIES**

**TRADITIONAL HISTORIAN**

(1) **Containment Policy**

• In response to Stalin’s provocative speech, Kennan (Soviet analyst) formed the Containment Policy.

• US needed “the adroit and vigilant application of counterforce at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points, corresponding to the shifts and maneuvers of Soviet policy.”

• Containment meant a willingness to stand up to the Russians wherever they applied pressure and building up the military strength of US and her allies to do so, which would become the touchstone of American foreign policy towards SU.

• British echo to Kennan: Churchill’s “Iron Curtain” speech (1945).
  o Russian expansionism reinforced by ideological fanaticism, evidence in the
of bases in the Middle East. US accepted that British power had to be sustained in this region since this was in its own interest. In South-east Asia, US acceded to the wishes of the European colonial power for the restoration of the old order.

- The inability of west Europeans to solve their own economic problems reduced their political self-confidence. Increasingly after 1945, they turned to the US as their political, economic and military saviour. From a security point of view, Western Europe was incapable of defending itself. Hence the strategy of containment of the Soviet threat owes its conception to the Europeans, not the American, mind. Churchill and later Ernest Bevin worked indefatigably to weld the United States and western Europe together. The same pattern can be traced in Asia, where timorous allies clamoured for more and more American intervention in their region.
1. To be able to identify and understand various schools of thought (known as Historiography).
2. To be able to analyse and interpret different viewpoints and make substantiated judgments.

Glossary:

**Historiography** – study of historians views.

**Traditional** (orthodox) – conventional, western view, USSR to blame for Cold War.

**Revisionist** – looking at history from different, ‘revised’ perspectives, the US must share the blame.

**Post-revisionists** – not who but what was to blame, e.g. break down of diplomacy, economic factors

**Post 1991 Historians** – That Cold War was inevitable due to a clash of ideology i.e. communism, capitalism.

**Context “Cold War” Historiography:**
The historiography of the Cold War represents a wide variety of perspectives and approaches to the study of foreign policy and diplomacy. From traditional accounts of the expansive tendencies of the Soviet Union, to revisionist attacks on the motives and actions of the United States, to post-revisionist efforts to move beyond placing blame in explaining the origins of the Cold War, the historiography of the Cold War has provided many differing accounts for this important era of international relations and human history.

**Key words**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expansionary</th>
<th>Tending toward expansion i.e. an expansionary economy</th>
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<tr>
<td>Permitted</td>
<td>To allow to do something i.e. permit me to explain</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ideologies</td>
<td>Some form of political or social plan i.e. Communism and Capitalism are ideologies, but with different principles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERP</td>
<td>Economic Recovery Plan (in other words known as the Marshall Plan)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Self-determination</td>
<td>The determining by the people of the form their government shall have, without reference to the wishes of any other nation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomacy</td>
<td>Making a deal with other countries) is the art and practice of conducting negotiations between representatives of states.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ACTIVITY ONE:**

**Dice & Cold War!!**

1. In your group of three roll the dice to get the X & Y to get a word.
2. Write this word down under the heading “key word”.
3. Verbally explain to the group what this word means and how it relates to the Cold War.
was disorganised and morale had been sapped by war-weariness and a glimpse of the Western world.

In another important respect, Soviet hopes appear to have been dashed. A primary objective of Soviet policy was the military withdrawal of the United States from Europe. It appears probable that until late 1946 and perhaps even early 1947 the Soviets were confident that this objective would be realised. This aim was only the most important part of a general policy of depriving the capitalist powers of military positions which could be utilised to block Soviet expansion. In general, the pattern which emerged from the winter of 1946–47 was one of Soviet expansion wherever feasible, with the Kremlin optimistic because the trump cards were in its hands. On the whole, Moscow’s expectations seemed to be justified until the announcement of the Truman Doctrine in March 1947, accompanied by a firm American stand on the German problem at the Moscow Conference in March and April of that year, soon followed by the Marshall Plan.

Identify the interpretation of the cold war origins are depicted in this extract

Provide the evidence as presented by the author to support his interpretation of the origin of the cold war