

Cold War Lesson #1: Roots of the Cold War

Why Did We Fight?

Major Topics:

- Early tensions Truman Doctrine
- Marshall Plan
- Divided Germany
- Yalta & Potsdam
- Iron Curtain
- Containment
- Why Did We Fight?



In a triple handshake, President Harry S. Truman (center) holds the hands of British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (left) and Soviet leader Josef Stalin (right) at Cecilienhof Palace during the Potsdam Conference. 7/25/1945. Source: Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, *National Archives Identifier: 198959*, <http://arcweb.archives.gov/arc/action/ExternalIdSearch?id=198959>

Tensions between the East and West started long before the Berlin Blockade in 1947. The conflict can be traced to the earliest days of the Soviet Empire and Woodrow Wilson's administration in the US. Although they were wartime Allies, the American and Soviet experiences in WWII were significantly different. These differences greatly impacted their visions for a post-war world. With no common enemy, competing goals, and radically different systems of government, conflict erupted – conflict that was to define international relations for the next 40 years.

This lesson gives students multiple opportunities to evaluate complex written arguments for their use of evidence and overall persuasiveness. In addition, students are encouraged to make their own interpretations using evidence from landmark documents to support their claims.

Procedures

Step 1: Cold War Pre-Test (Class Time: 15 minutes)



Distribute copies of the **Cold War Pre-Test (CWW/A1.1)**. The pre-test assesses what students remember from earlier units about the Russian Revolution, the rise of dictators, and WWII. The pre-test also tests students on the historical thinking skills which are taught in this unit, including their ability to differentiate between primary and secondary sources, consider perspective, make an interpretation, and use evidence. Using the attached **Cold War Pre-Test**

Key (CWW/A1.1K), review student answers to determine what content and/or disciplinary skills need reviewing. Suggestions for re-teaching are provided.

Step 2: Defining Cold War (Class Time: 15 minutes)



Tell students that their first task is to define what the term “Cold War” means. Pass out **Defining Cold War (CWW/A1.2)**. Ask students to speculate as to the meaning of the term Cold War. Having just completed their study of WWII, let them know that WWII was considered a “hot war,” but that this next conflict was different. Have students work first in pairs or groups of three to come up with a definition. Have a number of students share their definitions. As a

class, agree upon phrasing that is both understandable for your students and is relatively accurate. Post the class’ definition on the classroom wall, using the format detailed in **CWW/A1.2**. Let students know that they will likely adapt this definition as their study of this era moves forward.

(Feel free to use this traditional definition as a comparison, but the final wording used for the class definition should come from the students themselves: The Cold War is defined as the political, ideological, and military conflict between the United States, the Soviet Union, and their allies. The conflict, which began at the end of WWII and continued until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, never involved direct engagement or full-scale war between the US and the USSR).

Step 3: Unit Introduction - Why and How We Fought (Class Time: 15 minutes)



Introduce the unit focus question: “Why and How Did We Fight the Cold War?” Explain to students that this unit will focus on the causes of the Cold War, the methods of fighting, and how the conflict incorporated much of the world. At the end of the unit, students will make their own interpretation based on the evidence to answer the question.



Given the size and complexity of the conflict, students need tools to organize the information they will learn during this unit – when and where things happened, who was involved, and how actions in one part of the world often resulted in a strategic response from others. Using butcher paper and markers, draw a wall-size chart to help organize information, using the model outlined in **Organizing the Cold War Wall Chart (CWW/A1.3a)**. Post the chart on one wall of the classroom, next to a world map that you can use to help keep track of where events

occur and show connections between events. At the top of chart, write in the class’ definition of the term Cold War. Pass out three copies of **Organizing the Cold War Student Chart (CWW/A1.3b)**. Tell students that this

will help them keep track and organize the variety of information they'll be studying in this unit, and that as the unit progresses, they should make sure that their information corresponds to what gets written on the wall chart. Tell them that they should use the information they've collected in order to answer the focus question at the end of the unit. As the lessons move forward, make sure the class is updating the chart.

Step 4: Comparing American and Soviet Wartime Experience (Class Time: 30 minutes)



Divide the class into groups of two or three. Tell students that they will now consider the impact of WWII on the United States and the USSR. Using the directions for reproduction and formatting included with **Wartime Experiences Chart (CWW/A1.4)**, distribute one set of events to each pair or group of three, and prepare teacher chart as directed. Have students organize the events and information to describe the appropriate superpower. Let students know that they can use their textbooks or notes, as needed to complete the task. Circulate to assist as needed or redirect if students are confused. Have two or more groups share their answers, encouraging the rest of the class to question their decision making process as necessary. Compare the student-generated chart with the key (CWW/A1.4) – and tell students to make sure their notes correspond, review and answer questions as necessary. Finally, in their groups, have students discuss the questions listed at the bottom of the chart (while you circulate, listening). Next, have a number of students share their thoughts, making sure they understand the significance of the information in the chart. Students should recognize, for example, how much more the Soviets sacrificed in terms of soldiers, civilians, resources, and morale, and how that likely impacted their perspective at the end of the war vis a vis their desire for buffer states. Tell students to keep the completed chart in their notes.



Finally, distribute **Yalta and Potsdam Conferences (CWW/A1.5)**. For homework (or independent classwork), have students read the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences handout. As detailed in the handout, tell students that they'll later need to be prepared to argue on behalf of the Soviet or American perspective, using their notes from **CWW/A1.4 and CWW/A1.5**.

Step 5: Comparing Churchill and Stalin (Class Time: 50 minutes)

Tell students that they will now hear from two leaders that defined the East and West at the end of WWII – British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin, leader of the Soviet Union. Churchill's Iron Curtain (*Sinews of Peace*) Speech was delivered at Westminster College in Missouri on March 5, 1946. Stalin's response to Churchill was printed in the Soviet newspaper, *Pravda*, later that month.

Pass out **Comparing Churchill and Stalin (CWW/A1.6)**. Using one of the many internet sites that feature audio recordings of the Churchill speech (www.winstonchurchill.org, for example), have students listen to a portion of the speech corresponding to the excerpt included in **CWW/A1.6**. See **Instructions for Sentence Deconstruction (CWW/A1.7)** for step-by-step procedures for this literacy strategy. Working in pairs or groups of three, have students first discuss and then write their answers to the questions that follow each section of the Churchill speech. Circulate around class, checking for understanding and correcting misunderstandings. Review as a class.



Next, have a student read the Stalin piece out loud, answering questions and clarifying any unfamiliar terminology. Follow the same process detailed above to complete the questions at the end of the Stalin interview. Finally, have students answer the question at the end of **CWW/A1.6** in a short answer format, using specific evidence from the excerpts, either as homework or independent classwork.

Step 6: The Marshall Plan (Class Time: 30 minutes)



Distribute **The Marshall Plan (CWW/A1.8)**, an excerpt from George Marshall's "European Initiative Essential to Economic Recovery" speech delivered at Harvard University's commencement in 1947. Tell students that European countries struggled to recover from the war's devastation and rebuild cities, businesses, and homes, but they had limited material resources and their people suffered from a shortage of food. In pairs, have students review and discuss the excerpt, stopping to write out their notes in the table provided.

Next, have students turn to page three of **CWW/A1.8** and project the cartoon on a screen. In pairs or groups of three, have students analyze the cartoon using the prompts included in the handouts. Circulate to make sure students are on task and that their analysis is supported by evidence from the cartoon and the text from Marshall's speech.



After students have completed their analysis of Marshall's speech and analyzed the Block cartoon, have students answer the following two questions as homework (or independent classwork): *Why does Marshall believe the US must help Europe? The Soviet Union refused to participate in the Marshall Plan. Why do you think Stalin opposed it?* Make sure they use specific evidence from the two sources to support their answers.

Step 7: Arguing for Containment (Class Time: 30 minutes)



Distribute **The Sources of Soviet Conduct (CWW/A1.9)**, an excerpt from George Kennan's anonymous article printed in the journal *Foreign Affairs*, in 1947. Kennan, a career foreign service officer, first articulated the anti-communist policy of containment that came to define US foreign policy during much of the Cold War. Given the complexity of abstract text in this important document, work slowly through the excerpt as a whole class, stopping frequently to make sure all students are understanding both the literal content as well as its implications for US foreign policy decisions. Finally, divide the class into groups of two or three. Have students discuss the questions at the end of **CWW/A1.9**. Circulate during the discussion to make sure students are on task and that their conversations reflect understanding of Kennan's perspective.

Step 8: The Truman Doctrine and the Soviet Response (Class Time: 30 minutes)



Distribute **Truman vs. Zhdanov (CWW/A1.10)**, which guides students through the analysis of two significant documents. The first is a copy of President Truman's March 12, 1947 address to a joint session of Congress. The second is a September 22, 1947 report by Politburo Member

and Leningrad Communist Party boss Andrei Zhdanov to the first conference of the Cominform, an international communist information organization. Both documents include colorful language detailing their opposing perspectives which can help students understand the increasingly significant divide between these two world powers.

Tell students that they will hear from two leaders – one from the west and one from the east, each justifying their government and their actions in response to the other. The students' task is to decide which leader makes the most compelling argument and to support their decision with evidence taken only from the speeches themselves. Divide the class in half, assigning the Truman reading to one half and the Zhdanov reading to the other. Working in pairs or groups of three, have students complete their written analysis, as detailed in **CWW/A1.10**. Have students return to their two original (US and USSR) groups to compare their analyses, reconcile any major differences, and elect one or two speakers to read their speeches out loud to the other half of the class and share their analysis. Finally, show students a video of Truman's speech to Congress (available at multiple sites on the web, such as UC Santa Barbara's American Presidency Project, www.presidency.ucsb.edu). Ask students if seeing Truman give the speech makes a difference in their analysis. As homework (or independent classwork), have students complete the final task on **CWW/A1.10** – deciding which speech is the most compelling – using evidence from the two speeches and the ideas they learned from other students.

Step 9: The Berlin Blockade and Airlift (Class Time: 50 minutes)



Distribute **Berlin Blockade (CWW/A1.11)**, which details the Soviet blockade of Berlin. After reviewing the Blockade, tell students that their job is to advise the President as to how the US should respond to the Soviet blockade of West Berlin. Divide the class into groups of four or five. Tell the students that they will now be required to provide a recommendation to the President of the United States, as he considers the US response to Soviet aggression in Berlin.

Following the directions listed in **CWW/A1.11**, have each group design an oral argument that both outlines the best course of action and includes specific reasons for their recommendation, based upon past Soviet actions, American goals, and collective resources and expertise. After students complete **CWW/A1.11**, distribute **Berlin Airlift (CWW/A1.12)**; review with class.

Step 10: Review: Roots of the Cold War (Class Time: 20 minutes)



Return to the **Organizing the Cold War Chart (CWW/A1.3)**. Review each of the events with the class, making sure they understand what happened and the significance of each event. Ask them to answer the following question using information from that chart (and their other notes) to complete **When and how did the Cold War begin? (CWW/A1.13)**, following the directions in the handout. This assignment, which asks students to concisely answer the lesson's focus question requires students to articulate their position using evidence. Refer to the **When and how did the Cold War begin (CWW/A1.13K) Key** for details and suggestions for re-teaching. Before moving onto Lesson 2, make sure students have mastered this foundational material.

Modifications / Support for Student Literacy

Comparing Churchill and Stalin (CWW/A1.6)

Each excerpt includes a sentence deconstruction activity, designed to support student reading comprehension. CWW/A1.6 has detailed instructions for teaching this literacy strategy. If students are familiar with the sentence deconstruction method, the teacher can model the entire procedure for the first speech with the whole class, and then divide the class into groups.

The Truman Doctrine and the Soviet Response (CWW/A1.10)

Both texts include colorful and descriptive language to explain the perspective of both the author's country and their opponent. Students are encouraged to identify this descriptive text and consider how that language is used to persuade.



Left to Right, seated: British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, U. S. President Harry S. Truman, and Soviet Union Prime Minister Josef Stalin in garden of the Cecilienhof Palace during the Potsdam Conference in Potsdam, Germany. At far left is an unidentified Russian General. At far right are Ambassador Gousev, Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain, and Gen.

Harry Vaughan. Source: Harry S. Truman Presidential Library, *National Archives Identifier: 198959*
<http://arcweb.archives.gov/arc/action/ExternalIdSearch?id=198685&jScript=true>

Standards

Common Core Reading Standards for Literacy in History/Social Studies and/or Writing Standards (Grades 9-12 Students) taught in this unit:

RH 1. Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.

RH 2. Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.

RH 3. Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.

RH 4. Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including vocabulary describing political, social, or economic aspects of history/social science.

RH 6. Compare the point of view of two or more authors for how they treat the same or similar topics, including which details they include and emphasize in their respective accounts.

Common Core Reading Standards for Literacy in History/Social Studies and/or Writing Standards (Grades 11-12 Students) taught in this unit:

RH 1. Cite specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.

RH 2. Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationships among the key details and ideas.

RH 4. Determine the meaning of words and phrases as they are used in a text, including analyzing how an author uses and refines the meaning of a key term over the course of a text.

RH 5. Analyze in detail how a complex primary source is structured, including how key sentences, paragraphs, and larger portions of the text contribute to the whole.

RH 6. Evaluate authors' differing points of view on the same historical event or issue by assessing the authors' claims, reasoning, and evidence.

RH 7. Integrate multiple sources of information presented in diverse formats and media (e.g. visually, quantitatively, as well as in words) in order to address a question or solve a problem.

RH 8. Evaluate an author’s premises, claims, and evidence by corroborating or challenging them with other information.

RH 9. Integrate information from diverse sources, both primary and secondary, into a coherent understanding of an idea or event, noting discrepancies among sources.

WHST 1. Write arguments focused on discipline-specific content.

WHST 4. Produce clear and coherent writing in which the development, organization, and style are appropriate to task, purpose, and audience.

WHST 7. Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects to answer a question (including a self-generated question) or solve a problem; narrow or broaden the inquiry when appropriate; synthesize multiple sources on the subject, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.

WHST 9. Draw evidence from informational texts to support analysis, reflection, and research.

California History-Social Science Content Standards

10.9 Students analyze the international developments in the post-World War II world.

1. Compare the economic and military power shifts caused by the war, including the Yalta Pact, the development of nuclear weapons, Soviet control over Eastern European nations, and the economic recoveries of Germany and Japan.
2. Analyze the causes of the Cold War, with the free world on one side and Soviet client states on the other, including competition for influence in such places as Egypt, the Congo, Vietnam, and Chile.
3. Understand the importance of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, which established the pattern for America's postwar policy of supplying economic and military aid to prevent the spread of Communism and the resulting economic and political competition in arenas such as Southeast Asia (i.e., the Korean War, Vietnam War), Cuba, and Africa.

11.9 Students analyze US foreign policy since World War II.

2. Understand the role of military alliances, including NATO and SEATO, in deterring communist aggression and maintaining security during the Cold War.
3. Trace the origins and geopolitical consequences (foreign and domestic) of the Cold War and containment policy



Crimean Conference--Prime Minister Winston Churchill, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Marshal Joseph Stalin at the palace in Yalta, where the Big Three met / U.S. Signal Corps photo. February, 1945. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/96522032/>

CWW/A1.1-Cold War Pre-Test (page 1 of 4)

Instructions: Mark Questions 1-8 as either True (T) or False (F). Then, explain the reasons for your answers in the spaces below each question.

- _____ 1. The United States and the Soviet Union were allied during World War II.
- _____ 2. World War II ended when Hitler died in April, 1945.
- _____ 3. The Russian Revolution in 1917 brought Lenin to power.
- _____ 4. The American capitalist system encouraged free enterprise and private ownership.
- _____ 5. Colonies in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East were granted their independence prior to World War II.
- _____ 6. Stalin was more concerned than Lenin was with spreading communism internationally.
- _____ 7. Up until the attack at Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt tried to keep America from participating in World War II.
- _____ 8. Before the start of World War II the United States and Western European economies had mostly recovered from the Great Depression.

Questions 9-13 are multiple-choice review questions from the period between 1900 and 1945.

- 9. Which of the following is NOT a reason that the United States dropped the Atomic Bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki Japan in August, 1945?
 - a. To demonstrate American technological and military power to the British
 - b. To end the war in the Pacific
 - c. To prevent the Soviet military from entering the Pacific theater of the war
 - d. To save American and Japanese soldiers' lives, which would be lost if the fighting continued
- 10. Communism as an ideology and economic system emphasized
 - a. Private Property
 - b. Collectivization and re-distribution of resources
 - c. Individual Entrepreneurs
 - d. Monarchs

CWW/A1.1-Cold War Pre-Test (page 2 of 4)

11. Soviet foreign policy before World War II sought to do what?
- Promote open-markets overseas
 - establish an international communist community
 - Create colonies that would serve as member states
 - Spread democracy
12. Which of the following did American foreign policy NOT EMPHASIZE between 1898 and World War II?
- Open markets to facilitate business opportunities abroad
 - Self-determination for all people
 - Open seas so that ships could travel freely between continents
 - Spheres of Influence so that countries could have specific trading partners
13. Why did the American Congress pass a series of Neutrality Acts in the 1930s?
- To appease the British
 - To make America have a stronger presence in world affairs
 - To encourage President Roosevelt to conduct diplomacy with Hitler
 - To prevent the United States from becoming entangled in the war in Europe
14. Are these accounts of World War II primary or secondary sources?

Account	Primary?	Secondary?
a. Franklin Roosevelt's State of the Union Address in 1941		
b. "Saving Private Ryan," a movie about the war that came out in 1998		
c. Text of Hitler's speech at Nuremberg, 1938		
d. A photograph of the dropping of the atomic bomb being dropped at Hiroshima		

CWW/A1.1-Cold War Pre-Test (page 3 of 4)

Read the following quotes and then answer the questions that follow:

This quote comes from a United States History book published in 2008:

“The reaction against labor was partly spurred by a wave of fear of radicals and communists. The emergence of the Soviet Union as a communist nation, which began in 1917 and was formalized in 1922, fed these fears. Communist ideology called for an international workers’ revolution as a prelude to the death of capitalism.”

15. How does the author of this secondary source interpret the relationship between fear of radicals and communists in the United States and the emergence of the Soviet Union?
- There was no connection between fear of communists and the emergence of the Soviet Union.
 - When the Soviet Union became a communist nation, Americans became more afraid of radicals and communists at home.
 - When the Soviet Union became a communist nation, Americans became less afraid of radicals and communists at home.
 - When the Soviet Union became a communist nation, Americans became more supportive of the labor movement at home.

This quote was written and spoken in January, 1945 by Winston Churchill, the Prime Minister of Great Britain.

“The United States troops have done almost all the fighting and have suffered almost all the losses. They have suffered almost equal to those of both sides at the Battle of Gettysburg... [The Battle of the Bulge] will, I believe, be regarded as an ever-famous American victory.”

16. This passage provides evidence for which of the following interpretations?
- Because American troops fought and suffered great losses during World War II, this should earn the country respect and regard as a worldwide leader.
 - America should determine the postwar world order.
 - Because American troops fought and suffered great losses during World War II, Churchill should surrender to the Americans.
 - The Soviets should determine the postwar world order.

CWW/A1.1-Cold War Pre-Test (page 4 of 4)

This quote comes from the agreement put in place at the Yalta Conference, which was attended by Soviet, American and British leaders in February, 1941:

“The establishment of order in Europe and the rebuilding of national economic life must be achieved by processes which will enable the liberated peoples to destroy the last vestiges of nazism and fascism and to create democratic institutions of their own choice. This is a principle of the Atlantic Charter - the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live - the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived to them by the aggressor nations.”

17. What is the American, Soviet, and British perspective about how Europe should rebuild after the war?
- Europeans should choose whether to have their economic systems governed by communist or capitalist principles.
 - Europeans should end Nazism and replace it with an American-style democracy.
 - Europeans should end Nazism and replace it with a Soviet-style government.
 - Europeans should choose for themselves how they wish to govern.

Background Information (page 1 of 2)

The following two secondary sources provide an overview of the ideology and policies in the United States and the Soviet Union in the years leading up to WWII. If the pre-test suggests that your students need additional support their understanding of the pre-war periods, consider using these two brief summaries. Careful attention to the major themes that individually defined the two countries in this earlier period will help students understand the actions of the two superpowers during the Cold War.

American Foreign Policy Prior to WWII

After witnessing the massive casualties of WWI, Woodrow Wilson, who served as US President from 1913 – 1921 wanted to avoid future conflict by forming an international body to settle disputes. Although the US Senate never ratified the treaty to establish that international body - the League of Nations - Wilson's goal of diplomatic resolution would ultimately come to fruition in the creation of the United Nations at the end of WWII. Wilson also argued for the right of self-rule - the right of a people to elect their own government, a perspective shared by many Americans. Wilson also fought for free and open access to the sea, arguing that ships from countries not at war or private merchant vessels should be allowed to travel freely across the oceans. Not surprisingly, Wilson also advocated free trade.

In the 1920s, America turned away from foreign involvement, but when Franklin Delano Roosevelt assumed the presidency in 1933, his policies, particularly in WWII, brought the US back onto the world stage, championing once again Wilson's three foreign policy goals: **free trade, open access to the seas, and self-government.**

Soviet Foreign Policy Prior to WWII

Vladimir Lenin, who led the Bolshevik Revolution and became the first leader of the Soviet Union in 1917, promoted **proletarian internationalism** – supporting class struggles in countries around the globe. Lenin argued that the interests of the working class were shared and that the USSR should support revolutionary efforts to weaken capitalist interests and governments. At the same time, Lenin called for **peaceful co-existence**, an acknowledgement of the fact that capitalism had persisted and that revolutionary efforts may not always be successful.

After Lenin's death in 1924, Joseph Stalin came to power following a series of struggles with competing revolutionary leaders. Once in power, Stalin focused the majority of his efforts on domestic goals – seeking to rapidly industrialize the rural Soviet economy and agricultural system. Stalin employed a reign of terror to achieve these goals – forcing peasants to join collective farms, eliminating all private property, using secret police to silence or eliminate any dissent, and forming a cult of personality to solidify his iron-fisted control of the country.

Although Stalin was not opposed to the goal of world-wide class struggle, he insisted that communism could continue in the Soviet Union independent of revolution in other countries, which he defined as **Socialism in one Country.**

Background Information (page 2 of 2)

Although Stalin initially directed Communist leaders in Germany to support the Nazi movement in the hopes that it would destabilize the German government, he quickly changed course after realizing the danger that fascism posed. By the late 1930s, the USSR was supporting anti-fascist factions in the Spanish Civil War and had signed a defense treaty with France and Czechoslovakia.

All of that changed, however, with the west's appeasement of Hitler at the Munich Conference. Seeing that the west would capitulate when faced with German aggression, the USSR quickly agreed to the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact, which enabled Germany to invade Poland without interference from the USSR.

CWW/A1.2- Defining Cold War

Directions: Today we begin our study of the Cold War, the period immediately following World War II. Our first task is to define the term "Cold War." Given the fact that both WWI and WWII can be classified as "hot" wars, how should we define this next period of conflict?

Before we get into specifics, take a couple minutes and write below your best guess as to the definition of the phrase "Cold War:"

Next, turn to one or two people next to you, share your definitions and decide on a definition you can all support:

After the whole class discusses the options presented, write below your class' definition of "Cold War:"

CWW/A1.3a - Organizing the Cold War Wall Chart

Chart Title: The Cold War – Why Did We Fight?

Insert the definition of Cold War developed by the class here

	Date	Event / Cause of Tension	Participants	What Happened?	Significance – Why is this Important?
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					

CWW/A1.3b - Organizing the Cold War Student Chart

The Cold War – Why Did We Fight?

#	Date	Event / Cause of Tension	Participants	What Happened?	Significance – Why is this Important?

CWW/A1.4 – Wartime Experience

Directions: After dividing the class into groups, make enough copies of the following chart so that each group has one. Before passing out the chart to the groups, cut along all the borders of the chart. Set aside the US and USSR headings. Put the rest of the cells in an envelope and hand one envelope to each group. At their desks, have students organize the information into two columns, compare their organization with a neighboring group and finally, as a class, achieve consensus.

US	USSR
FDR and Churchill issued the Atlantic Charter in 1941	Stalin and Molotov signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact in 1939
Entered WWII in December of 1941, when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor	Entered WWII in June of 1941, when Germany invaded the Soviet Union
Fielded Army of 9 million Total	Fielded Army of 34 million total
No damage or loss of factories, oil reserves, or other resources except for damage to Pearl Harbor and loss of Philippine, Guam and Wake Island	Estimated that 25% of factories and resources such as oil wells in the USSR are destroyed or captured by Germans (1,500 factories are relocated beyond Urals out of reach of German armed forces and Luftwaffe)
400,000 military deaths and approx. 30,000 civilian deaths	8 to 10 million military deaths and 10 to 12 million civilian deaths
Success against Japanese at Midway in 1942. 1 st major engagement in European Theater is Anglo-American Invasion of North Africa (Operation Torch) in 1942	No major victory until Stalingrad in 1942 and German Army occupies 1/3 of the Soviet Union between 1941 and 1943
Spent \$341 billion dollars during WWII (cost in 1945 \$)	Spent \$192 billion during WWII (cost in 1945 \$)
Advocated for the establishment of an international peace-keeping body (United Nations) and supported the idea of "free elections"	Insisted on friendly and/or communist governments and a buffer zone (Eastern Europe) between Soviet Union and Western Europe

CWW/A1.5 – Yalta and Potsdam (page 1 of 2)

Directions: Using information from the Wartime Experience Chart and the major decisions made at Yalta and Potsdam (below), consider the impact of WWII upon the US and the USSR. In your group first discuss, and then prepare a written response of no more than 150 words to the following question, using evidence from both the chart and the descriptions of Yalta and Potsdam: “Based upon their WWII experiences, what should be the top three foreign-policy goals of the US in 1945? What about the Soviet Union?” Be prepared to defend your answer to the class.

Yalta

In February 1945, US President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Secretary General Joseph Stalin, leader of the Soviet Union, met at the Black Sea resort city of Yalta to make plans both for the defeat of Germany and world order after WWII. Although many of the details were left undecided (and as a result became cause for tension between the former allies), the Big Three, as they were come to be known, agreed to the following:

- The Soviet Union would enter the war against Japan, and in exchange, the Soviets would be granted a sphere of influence in Manchuria.
- Germany would be divided into separate occupation zones, but the Big Three would enact common policies and plans in each of the zones.
- The Soviet Union was entitled to compensation for the destruction of property and industry that occurred during the invasion and occupation of Soviet territory during the war.
- The Soviet Union agreed to free elections in Eastern Europe.

The Allies had a much harder time agreeing to anything in regard to Poland and much of Eastern Europe. Although Stalin promised free elections, the Soviet Union, fearing a future invasion from Western Europe, sought the creation of buffer states – countries with strong Communist governments allied to the Soviet Union. Although the US and Great Britain conceded to Communist involvement in the new governments, they maintained their goal of free elections throughout Europe.

While consensus was not possible on many issues, the Yalta Conference is significant in that it did suggest that cooperation between the three powers was possible.



Russian Premier Stalin talks with gestures to his Foreign Minister Molotov at the Palace, Yalta, Crimea, Russia.

ca. 2/1945, Collection FDR-PHOCO: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library
Public Domain Photographs. Source:

National Archives Identifier: 197000:

<http://arcweb.archives.gov/arc/action/ExternalIdSearch?id=197000&iScript=true>

CWW/A1.5 – Yalta and Potsdam (page 2 of 3)



Potsdam

In April 1945, as the European theater of the war was nearing an end, the Allied Powers all converged on Berlin, Germany. The Soviets entered the city first and occupied it for two months. Leaders of the three wartime allies met again in Potsdam, Germany from July 17 – August 2, 1945. At Potsdam, Harry Truman represented the US, following FDR's death. Truman was more suspicious of Stalin and of Soviet expansionism than FDR. In the months following Yalta, the Soviets had consolidated their control over Eastern Europe and had not lived up to their promises of free elections in Eastern Europe. At Potsdam, the Allies agreed to the following:

- An Allied Control Commission to run Germany until a final decision could be reached on the nature and

Last meeting of the Potsdam Conference in Potsdam, Germany. Seated around the conference table, President Harry S. Truman is on right side of the table. Secretary of State James Byrnes is seated to the President's right hand. Adm. William Leahy is seated to the right hand of Mr. Byrnes. Generalissimo Josef Stalin of the Soviet Union is at top of table. Vyacheslav Molotov, Soviet foreign minister is seated to the left of Prime Minister Stalin in the photo. British Prime Minister Clement Attlee is at the bottom left side of the table in the photo. Source: Truman Presidential Library, National Archives, <http://arcweb.archives.gov/arc/action/ExternalIdSearch?id=198951>

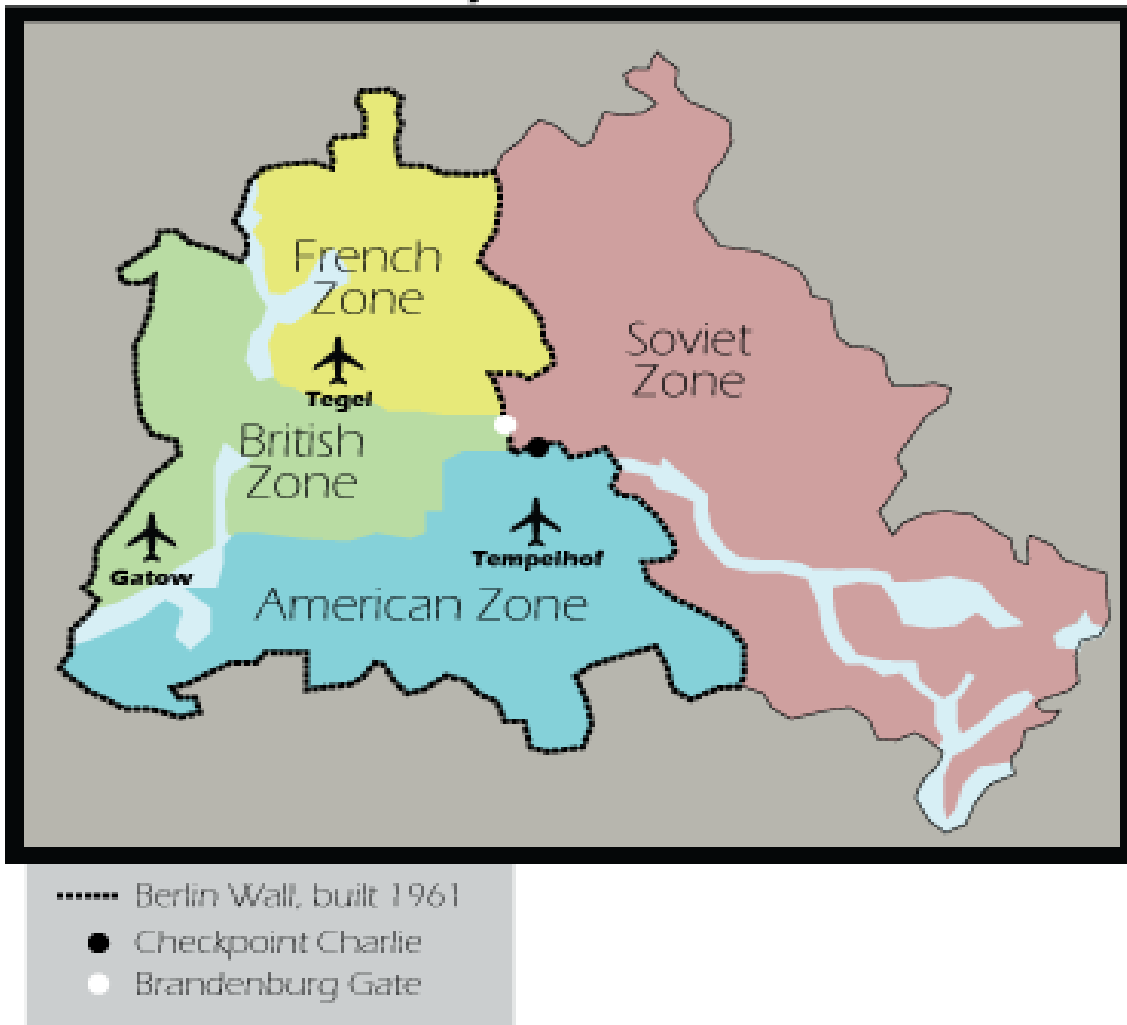
powers of a new German government.

- Germany would be demilitarized, de-nazified, and until a final decision could be made about a German government, divided into four occupation zones, each administered by one of the Allied powers and France (the French were given a zone carved out of the British and US sections).
- The capital, Berlin, was also divided between the four powers.

CWW/A1.5 – Yalta and Potsdam (page 3 of 3)

- Each of these four occupying nations could affect the way the nation and the city started to rebuild after the war. The Soviets, for example, were concerned with maintaining strong controls over their zone so as to prevent any potential future invasion from the west (as they had just experienced in the prior decade). American, French, and British rule, in contrast, promoted capitalism and liberal democratic government.
- Truman and Secretary of State James Byrnes forced the Soviets to agree that occupying nations could exact reparations only from their own zone, while also allowing for the shipping of industrial goods from the Western zones of occupation in exchange for agricultural goods from the Soviet Zone.
- The Western border of Germany was settled.

Berlin Divided, Post-WWII



CWW/A1.6 - Comparing Churchill and Stalin (page 1 of 6)

Directions: See below for excerpts from two leaders that defined the East and West at the end of WWII – British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin, leader of the Soviet Union. Churchill’s Iron Curtain (“Sinews of Peace”) Speech was delivered at Westminster College in Missouri on March 5, 1946. Stalin’s response to Churchill was printed in the Soviet newspaper, Pravda, later that month.

Analyze the text of each speech carefully by deconstructing the text along the pattern detailed in the table (the first one is done for you). Next, answer the questions that follow each excerpt. Finally, answer the following question in a maximum of 150 words:

Using specific textual evidence from the two documents above and your notes, summarize the major points of conflict between the two leaders on a separate sheet of paper. Why and how do Stalin and Churchill disagree? In your answer, be sure to discuss their perceptions of each other (and each other’s country), as well as their opinions on the growth of communism in Eastern Europe following WWII.

Iron Curtain (“Sinews of Peace”) Speech

Winston Churchill, delivered at Westminster College, March 5, 1946

“We cannot be blind to the fact that the liberties enjoyed by individual citizens throughout the British Empire are not valid in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful. In these States control is enforced upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments...”

Condition	Noun or Noun Group	Verb	who or what? / context
We cannot be blind to the fact that	the liberties	enjoyed	by individual citizens throughout the British Empire
			in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful.
	control		upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments

1. Restate, in your own words, “We cannot be blind to the fact ...”
2. What liberties do you think Churchill is referring to in the first sentence?
3. According to Churchill, what do British citizens have that others do not?
4. Churchill refers to “...a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful. In these States...” What countries or states do you think Churchill is referring to? How do these countries maintain control?

CWW/A1.6 - Comparing Churchill and Stalin (page 2 of 6)

...All this means that the people of any country have the right, and should have the power by constitutional action, by free unfettered elections, with secret ballot, to choose or change the character or form of government under which they dwell....

Condition / connection	Noun or Noun Group	Verb	who or what? / context
...All this means that	the people of any country		the right,
and	{ the people of any country}	should have	
by		{should have}	{the power}
by	free unfettered elections		
with		to choose or change	
or			
	they {the people of any country}	dwell.	

5. In this excerpt, Churchill outlines what he believes to be the relationship between a government and its citizens. In your own words, explain Churchill's argument:

CWW/A1.6 - Comparing Churchill and Stalin (page 3 of 6)

“That freedom of speech and thought should reign; that courts of justice, independent of the executive, unbiased by any party, should administer laws which have received the broad assent [approval] of large majorities or are consecrated [respected] by time and custom.”

Condition / connection	Noun or Noun Group	Verb	who or what? / context
That		should reign	
that	courts of justice independent of the executive, unbiased by any party,		laws
which		have received	the broad assent [approval]
of	large majorities		
or			by time and custom

6. List four conditions that Churchill argues are necessary for justice:

“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 [converting] tendencies [ways].”

Condition / connection	Noun or Noun Group	Verb	who or what? / context
		has fallen	upon the scenes so lately lighted by the allied victory.
		knows	what
	Soviet Russia and its Communist international organization		in the immediate future or what
		are	the limits, if any, to their expansive and proselytizing [converting] tendencies [ways].

CWW/A1.6 - Comparing Churchill and Stalin (page 4 of 6)

7. According to Churchill, how have things changed since the end of WWII?

"... 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."

Condition / connection	Noun or Noun Group	Verb	who or what? / context
...certain facts about the			
From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic,		has descended	
		lie	all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe.
	Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sophia, all these famous cities and the populations around them	lie	in what I must call the Soviet sphere
and	all		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.

CWW/A1.6 - Comparing Churchill and Stalin (page 5 of 6)

8. Churchill refers to “an iron curtain” that “has descended across the continent.” What do you think he means by this phrase? Where is the curtain and what is life like for people behind the curtain?

Response to Churchill

Joseph Stalin, interview in Pravda, March 14, 1946

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

Condition / connection	Noun or Noun Group	Verb	who or what? / context
...In substance	Mr. Churchill	now stands	
And		is	not alone here.
	He {Mr. Churchill}	has	

9. Who does Stalin hold responsible for bringing the world closer to war?

“... It may be that some quarters are trying to push into oblivion these sacrifices of the Soviet people which insured the liberation of Europe from the Hitlerite yoke. But the Soviet Union cannot forget them. One can ask therefore, what can be surprising in the fact that the Soviet Union, in a desire to ensure its security for the future, tries to achieve that these countries should have governments whose relations to the Soviet Union are loyal?”

“Mr. Churchill wandered around the truth when he speaks of the growth of the influence of the Communist parties in Eastern Europe....The growth of the influence of Communism cannot be considered accidental. It is a normal function. The influence of the Communists grew because during the hard years of the mastery of fascism in Europe, Communists showed themselves to be reliable, daring and self-sacrificing fighters against fascist regimes for the liberty of peoples.”

CWW/A1.6 - Comparing Churchill and Stalin (page 6 of 6)

Condition / connection	Noun or Noun Group	Verb	who or what? / context
It may be that	some quarters	are trying to push	
	these sacrifices of the Soviet people which		the liberation of Europe from the Hitlerite yoke.
But		cannot forget	them {the sacrifices made by the Soviet people}
	One	can ask	therefore, what can be surprising
in the fact that	the Soviet Union, in a desire to ensure its security for the future	tries to achieve	
	Mr. Churchill	wandered around	
when	he		of the growth of the influence of the Communist parties in Eastern Europe.
	The growth of the influence of the communist	grew	
		showed	themselves to be reliable, daring and self-sacrificing fighters against fascist regimes for the liberty of peoples.

10. Why, according to Stalin, does the Soviet Union deserve to have neighbors who are loyal?

11. Using specific textual evidence from the two documents above and your notes, summarize the major points of conflict between the two leaders on a separate sheet of paper. Why and how do Stalin and Churchill disagree? In your answer, be sure to discuss their perceptions of each other (and their countries), as well as their opinions on the growth of communism in Eastern Europe following WWII.

CWW/A1.7 – Instructions for Sentence Deconstruction (page 1 of 2)

What is Sentence Deconstruction?

Sentence deconstruction is a literacy strategy designed to help students understand what a complex sentence means by examining the parts of the sentence carefully. It differs from a vocabulary building exercise because the emphasis is on how the vocabulary works together in the sentence to create meaning. The purpose is to slow students down and make them understand each piece. The strategy is particularly suited for texts like Lincoln's speeches, which have complex sentences using sophisticated syntax and unfamiliar vocabulary.

Why do Sentence Deconstruction?

Although sentence deconstruction might seem more suited to the English / Language Arts classroom than to the discipline of history, historians also examine primary source texts closely when they are analyzing evidence. Churchill and Stalin wrote their speeches very carefully, choosing just the right words and allusions to get his point across and to avoid offending certain groups. Historians cannot interpret their position accurately without re-reading his speeches many times, and breaking down the logical progression of their ideas and examples. By having students do sentence deconstruction, the teacher is actually training them how to analyze complex texts.

Preparing a Sentence Deconstruction Activity

To prepare for a sentence deconstruction activity, the teacher selects a short piece of text, which is both important and difficult to understand, and breaks the text up into boxes in a chart format. The headings use the terminology of the parts of speech, but the focus is on how the speech part works in the sentence. The final column on the chart is for questions or conclusions. The teacher creates a question which will clarify the meaning of the sentence and direct students to the point of the lesson. All of this preparation has already been done for the Lincoln's Speeches lesson. The portion of the speech excerpt that students will deconstruct is highlighted in bold, and the chart appears below the excerpt.

The teacher should never just hand out a sentence deconstruction chart to students and tell them to fill it in. The strategy must be teacher-directed, until students are very, very familiar with it. Even then, for students to reap the benefit, the teacher should review it with the students.

CWW/A1.7 – Instructions for Sentence Deconstruction (page 2 of 2)

Teaching Sentence Deconstruction

Here is a step-by-step procedure to teach the first part of Winston Churchill’s Iron Curtain (Sinews of Peace) speech (CWW/A1.6).

“We cannot be blind to the fact that the liberties enjoyed by individual citizens throughout the British Empire are not valid in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful. In these States control is enforced upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments...”

Condition	Noun or Noun Group	Verb	who or what? / context
We cannot be blind to the fact that	the liberties	enjoyed	by individual citizens throughout the British Empire
		are not valid	in a considerable number of countries, some of which are very powerful.
In these States	control	is enforced	upon the common people by various kinds of all-embracing police governments

1. Pass out CWW/A1.6. Read the directions which include some context about the speeches. Explain it briefly to students.
2. Read or have a student read the speech excerpt aloud. You may wish to repeat this more than once.
3. Remind students that Churchill gave this speech after WWII and that one goal of this speech was to highlight how Soviet rule was different from governments in the west. As we read, we’ll want to look for contrasts – how life in the Soviet Union was different from life in Britain and / or the US. Tell students to underline any part of the speech that gives evidence about the difference.
4. Explain to students that the chart helps us understand what Churchill is saying by organizing the text, in order, by the purpose of each word or phrase. For example, the first phrase, “We cannot be blind to the fact that,” is another way of Churchill saying, “don’t ignore the facts of,” or “it’s obvious that...” to strengthen his argument that, “...the liberties enjoyed by individual citizens throughout the British Empire.”
5. Next, explain to students that the table is designed to break down complex and multi-part sentences and that they will be filling in the blank cells with text from the excerpt (except the shaded boxes – leave those blank). As a whole class, have students fill in the missing blanks using text from the excerpt (see above for a key). Make sure all students understand how to fill in the chart – they won’t be able to understand the content questions that follow if they do this incorrectly. Circulate and correct any mistakes with students individually as needed.
6. Finally, work through the individual questions that follow, again first as a whole class, then in pairs or individually, circulating to provide assistance. Repeat numbers 2-6 for each excerpt, encouraging students to work increasingly independently to complete the rest of Churchill’s speech and Stalin’s interview text.

CWW/A1.8 – The Marshall Plan (page 1 of 4)

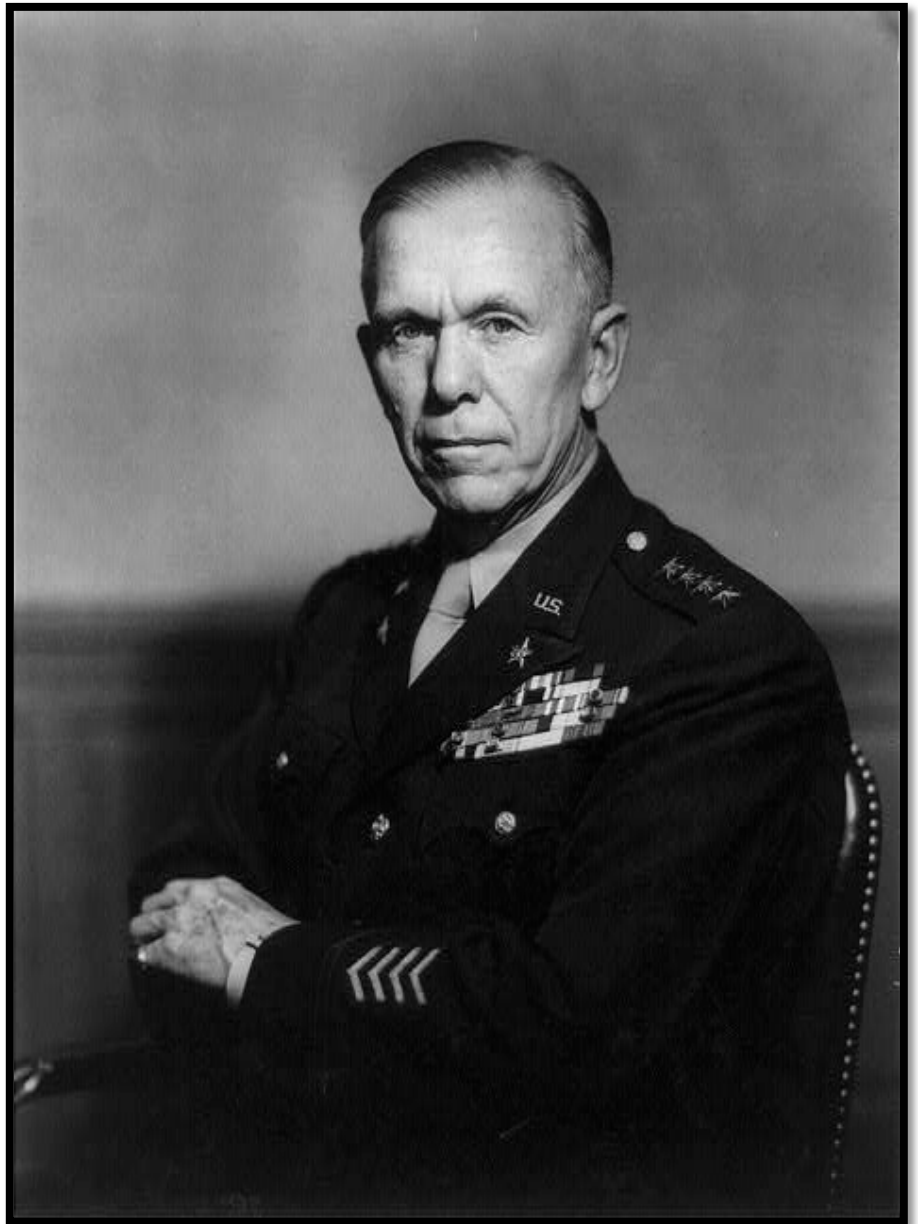
Directions: The following text is taken from a speech given by US Secretary of State George Marshall's "European Initiative Essential to Economic Recovery," given at Harvard University's commencement address in 1947. In the years following WWII, European countries struggled to recover from the war's devastation. Cities, businesses, and homes were destroyed and there were shortages of food and material resources.

Read the excerpt carefully, stopping to discuss at the end of each paragraph as detailed in the table on the next two pages.

After reading Marshall's remarks, take a look at the Herblock cartoon on page three.

Finally, answer the following questions in 150 words or less:

- *Why does Marshall believe the US must help Europe?*
- *The Soviet Union refused to participate in the Marshall Plan. Why do you think Stalin opposed it?*



[Gen. George Catlett Marshall, 1880-1959, half-length portrait, seated, facing left], March, 1944. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2005680095/>

CWW/A1.8 – The Marshall Plan (page 2 of 4)

European Initiative Essential to Economic Recovery

Secretary of State George Marshall Commencement Address

Harvard University, June 15, 1947

The Department of State Bulletin XVI, no. 415 (1947): 1159-1160.

http://www.trumanlibrary.org/whistlestop/study_collections/marshall/large/documents/index.php?pagenumber=1&documentdate=1947-06-05&documentid=8-7.

Excerpt	Questions for Discussion
<p>The truth of the matter is that Europe's requirements for the next three or four 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.</p>	<p>What will happen, according to Marshall, if Europe doesn't get economic help?</p>
<p>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 manufacturer and the farmer throughout wide areas must be able and willing to exchange their products for currencies the continuing value of which is not open to question.</p>	<p>What is the circle that Marshall is referring to and why is it vicious?</p>

CWW/A1.8 – The Marshall Plan (page 3 of 4)

Excerpt	Questions for Discussion
<p>It is logical that the United States should do whatever it is able to do to assist in the return of normal economic health in the world, without which there can be no political stability and no assured peace. Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation, and chaos. Its purpose should be the revival of a working economy in the world so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which free institutions can exist. Such assistance, I am convinced, must not be on a piecemeal basis as various crises develop. Any assistance that this Government may render in the future should provide a cure rather than mere palliative. Any government that is willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full cooperation, I am sure, on the part of the United States Government. Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom politically or otherwise will encounter the opposition of the United States.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why is it “logical,” as Marshall argues, to help Europe’s economy? • The word palliative usually refers to medicine – a palliative helps a patient deal with the symptoms of a disease, but it doesn’t cure it. Given that, what do you think Marshall means when he says , “Any assistance that this Government may render in the future should provide a cure rather than mere palliative?” • What behavior would “encounter the opposition of the United States?” Who do you think Marshall is referring to?
<p>It would be neither fitting nor efficacious for this government to undertake to draw up unilaterally a program designed to place Europe on its feet economically. This is the business of the Europeans. The initiative, I think, must come from the Europeans. The role of this country should consist of friendly aid in the drafting of a European program and of later support of such a program so far as it may be practical for us to do so. The program should be a joint one, agreed to by a number, if not all, European nations.</p>	<p>Should the US do this alone, according to Marshall? Explain.</p>

CWW/A1.8 – The Marshall Plan (page 4 of 4)



Questions for Discussion:

- What symbols are found in the political cartoon? What do they mean?
- What is the overall message of the cartoon?
- Do you think Block represented the U.S. or Soviet point of view? Why do you think that?
- Do you think Block favors the Marshall Plan? Use evidence from the cartoon to support your answer.

This cartoon, "It's the same without mechanical problems" was drawn by Herbert Block and published in the Washington Post on Jan. 26th, 1949. Used by permission from the Herbert Block Foundation. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/00652193/>

CWW/A1.9 – The Sources of Soviet Conduct (page 1 of 2)

Background: In 1947, the journal Foreign Affairs printed, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," an article written by the anonymous X, widely known to be George Kennan, a career foreign-service agent who had spent a number of years working for the US Department of State in the Soviet Union in the period immediately following the Russian Civil War. Kennan's article was the first to articulate the anti-communist policy of containment that came to define US foreign policy during much of the Cold War.

Kennan's argument was divided into four sections. Part I details the origins of Soviet philosophy and provides Kennan's assessment of communist ideology (emphasis added):

"Communist thought as it existed in 1916 may perhaps be summarized as follows: (a) that **the central factor in the life of man... is the system by which material goods are produced and exchanged**; (b) that the **capitalist system of production is a nefarious one which inevitably leads to the exploitation of the working class** by the capital-owning class and is incapable of developing adequately the economic resources of society or of distributing fairly the material good produced by human labor; (c) that **capitalism contains the seeds of its own destruction** and must, in view of the inability of the capital-owning class to adjust itself to economic change, **result eventually and inescapably in a revolutionary transfer of power to the working class**; and (d) that **imperialism, the final phase of capitalism, leads directly to war and revolution.**"

Part II uses the historical context to argue that "...we are going to continue for long time to find the Russians difficult to deal with." Because of the Soviet's belief in their own "infallibility," and the "iron discipline" of the Communist party, Kennan argues that diplomatic negotiation will be difficult, if not impossible: "the foreign representative cannot hope that his words will make any impression on [Soviet diplomats]." What Kennan does believe the Soviets will respond to is military pressure: "the Kremlin has no compunction about retreating in the face of superior forces."



Kennan, George F., Portrait, 1947. Photographer: Harris & Ewing. Source: Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/hec2008009224/>

CWW/A1.9 – The Sources of Soviet Conduct (page 2 of 2)

Finally near the end of Part II, Kennan summarizes his recommendation: “In these circumstances it is clear that **the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment** of Russian expansive tendencies.” And in Part IV, Kennan provides more detail: “[The US] must continue to regard the Soviet Union as a rival, not a partner, in the political arena.... the possibilities for American policy are by no means limited to holding the line and hoping for the best. **It is entirely possible for the United States to influence** by its actions the internal developments, **both within Russia and throughout the international Communist movement**, by which Russian policy is largely determined.”

Kennan concludes by suggesting that the US has a moral responsibility to confront Soviet aggression: “...[the **US’] entire security as a nation [is] dependent on** their pulling themselves together and **accepting the responsibilities of moral and political leadership** that history plainly intended them to bear.”

Questions for discussion:

1. What impact, if any, do you think Kennan’s experience as a Civil Service officer in the Soviet Union had upon his argument?
2. Kennan argued that the Soviet political philosophy included four main beliefs. In your own words, what were they? Given what you know about the Soviet experience prior to 1947, do you agree with Kennan’s characterization? Why or why not?
3. Kennan’s point of view became known as the policy of containment. What do you think that means?
4. After publication of this article, a number of diplomats criticized the policy. What reasons might they have for this criticism?

CWW/A1.10 – Truman vs. Zhdanov (page 1 of 5)

Directions: Read each of the following documents carefully. As you're reading, highlight the words and phrases used by Truman and Zhdanov to describe themselves and each other. Both arguments are meant to advocate for their own type of government or "way of life" as Truman suggests. What words do they use to describe themselves? Each other? Pick one color to highlight text that describes the US and its allies (in both documents). Pick another color to highlight text that describes the USSR and its allies (in both documents).

After you've carefully read and highlighted the significant terms, organize them in the table below.

Finally, be prepared answer the following question, using quotes from both documents to support your perspective: Which leader makes the most compelling argument? Why?

Leader	How he describes the West (the US and its allies)	How he describes the East (the USSR and its allies)
Truman	One way of life...	The second way of life...
Zhdanov	...two major camps - the imperialist and anti-democratic camp, on the one hand,	...two major camps ...the anti-imperialist and democratic camp, on the other.

CWW/A1.10 – Truman vs. Zhdanov (page 2 of 5)

The Truman Doctrine

Background: On March 12, 1947, US President Harry S. Truman addressed a joint session of Congress. In his speech, Truman called for economic and military aid for Greece and Turkey so that they would not fall to communism. The Truman Doctrine, as it came to be known, was the first implementation of the containment foreign policy outlined by George Kennan in his "Sources of Soviet Conduct" article.

The United States has received from the Greek Government an urgent appeal for financial and economic assistance.... [This] assistance is imperative if Greece is to survive as a free nation.

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

Greece must have assistance if it is to become a self-supporting and self-respecting democracy.

The United States must supply that assistance.There is no other country to which democratic Greece can turn.

Greece's neighbor, Turkey, also deserves our attention.... As in the case of Greece, if Turkey is to have the assistance it needs, the United States must supply it. We are the only country able to provide that help.

One of the primary objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is the creation of conditions in which we and other nations will be able to work out a way of life free from coercion.

We shall not realize our objectives, however, unless we are willing to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against aggressive movements that seek to impose upon them totalitarian regimes. This is no more than a frank recognition that totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States.

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.

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.



President Harry S. Truman Giving Truman Doctrine Speech, Joint Session of Congress, March 12, 1947.
Source: Truman Presidential Library, National Archives,
59-1252-3

<http://www.trumanlibrary.org/photographs/displayimage.php?pointer=14687>

CWW/A1.10 – Truman vs. Zhdanov (page 3 of 5)

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.

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.

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.

Collapse of free institutions and loss of independence would be disastrous not only for them but for the world. Discouragement and possibly failure would quickly be the lot of neighboring peoples striving to maintain their freedom and independence.

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.

I therefore ask the Congress to provide authority for assistance to Greece and Turkey in the amount of \$400,000,000 for the period ending June 30, 1948.

This is a serious course upon which we embark.

I would not recommend it except that the alternative is much more serious. This is an investment in world freedom and world peace.

The seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife. They reach their full growth when the hope of a people for a better life has died. We must keep that hope alive.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms.

If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world -- and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

CWW/A1.10 – Truman vs. Zhdanov (page 4 of 5)

Report on the International Situation to the Cominform

Background: In his "Report on the International Situation to the Cominform," Politburo Member and Leningrad Communist Party boss Andrei Zhdanov provides a response to the Truman Doctrine. The Cominform was an international communist information organization; Zhdanov presented this report at its first conference on September 22, 1947.

The more the war recedes into the past, the more distinct becomes two major trends in postwar international policy, corresponding to the division of the political forces operating in the international arena into two major camps: the imperialist and anti-democratic camp, on the one hand, and the anti-imperialist and democratic camp, on the other. The principal driving force of the imperialist camp is the USA. Allied with it are Great Britain and France. ... The imperialist camp is also supported by colony-owning countries, such as Belgium and Holland, by countries with reactionary anti-democratic regimes, such as Turkey and Greece, and by countries politically and economically dependent upon the United States, such as the Near Eastern and South American countries and China.

The cardinal purpose of the imperialist camp is to strengthen imperialism, to hatch a new imperialist war, to combat socialism and democracy, and to support reactionary and anti-democratic pro-fascist regimes and movements everywhere.

In the pursuit of these ends the imperialist camp is prepared to rely on reactionary and anti-democratic forces in all countries, and to support its former adversaries in the war against its wartime allies.

The anti-fascist forces comprise the second camp. This camp is based on the USSR and the new democracies. It also includes countries that have broken with imperialism and have firmly set foot on the path of democratic development, such as Rumania, Hungary and Finland. Indonesia and Vietnam are associated with it; it has the sympathy of India, Egypt and Syria. The anti-imperialist camp is backed by the labor and democratic movement and by the fraternal Communist parties in all countries, by the fighters for national liberation in the colonies and dependencies, by all progressive and democratic forces in every country. The purpose of this camp is to resist the threat of new wars and imperialist expansion, to strengthen democracy and to extirpate the vestiges of fascism.

.... As embodiment of a new and superior social system, the Soviet Union reflects in its foreign policy the aspirations of progressive mankind, which desires lasting peace and has nothing to gain from a new war hatched by capitalism. The Soviet Union is a staunch champion of liberty and independence of all nations, and a foe of national and racial oppression and colonial exploitation in any shape or form.

CWW/A1.10 – Truman vs. Zhdanov (page 5 of 5)

The successes and the growing international prestige of the democratic camp were not to the liking of the imperialists. Even while World War II was still on, reactionary forces in Great Britain and the United States became increasingly active, striving to prevent concerted action by the Allied powers, to protract the war, to bleed the USSR, and to save the fascist aggressors from utter defeat. The sabotage of the Second Front by the Anglo-Saxon imperialists, headed by Churchill, was a clear reflection of this tendency, which was in point of fact a continuation of the Munich policy in the new and changed conditions. But while the war was still in progress British and American reactionary circles did not venture to come out openly against the Soviet Union and the democratic countries, realizing that they had the undivided sympathy of the masses all over the world. But in the concluding months of the war the situation began to change. The British and American imperialists already manifested their willingness to respect the legitimate interests of the Soviet Union and the democratic countries at the Potsdam tripartite conference in July 1945.

The foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the democratic countries in these two past years has been a policy of consistently working for the observance of the democratic principles in the postwar settlement. The countries of the anti-imperialist camp have loyally and consistently striven for the implementation of these principles, without deviating from them one iota. Consequently, the major objective of the postwar foreign policy of the democratic states has been a democratic peace, the eradication of the vestiges of fascism and the prevention of a resurgence of fascist imperialist aggression, the recognition of the principle of the equality of nations and respect for their sovereignty, and general reduction of all armaments and the outlawing of the most destructive weapons, those designed for the mass slaughter of the civilian population. ...

Of immense importance are the joint efforts of the diplomacy of the USSR and that of the other democratic countries to secure a reduction of armaments and the outlawing of the most destructive of them -- the atomic bomb.

Soviet foreign policy proceeds from the fact of the coexistence for a long period of the two systems -- capitalism and socialism. From this it follows that cooperation between the USSR and countries with other systems is possible, provided that the principle of reciprocity is observed and that obligations once assumed are honored. Everyone knows that the USSR has always honored the obligations it has assumed. The Soviet Union has demonstrated its will and desire for cooperation.

CWW/A1.11 – The Berlin Blockade

Background: By June, 1948 Soviet leader Joseph Stalin had grown increasingly threatened and angry about a strong American influence in Berlin. Thanks to the Marshall Plan, American financial aid was flowing into western Europe and the three non-Soviet zones in Berlin. In these three zones, the west encouraged the development of a common currency, in an effort to improve the German economy. Stalin refused to accept the American aid and prevented neighboring nations in the Soviet sphere of influence to do so as well, calling the Marshall Plan, "American economic imperialism." To counter American economic influence in Berlin, Stalin first created a different currency for East Berlin, and then authorized a land blockade, or forced isolation, of western Berlin. Starting on June 24, 1948, Stalin's blockade in Berlin meant that people and goods could not travel freely through the city. It also meant that western powers could not reach their zone in Berlin because it was in the middle of the Soviet zone. People in West Berlin were very worried that they wouldn't have enough food, medicine, and other necessary supplies in order to survive the crisis. The rest of Europe, and indeed, the world, were worried that this crisis would lead to war.

Directions: Pretend it is June, 1948 and the Blockade has just started. Your group serves as national security advisors to President Harry S. Truman. How should the US respond to this Soviet act of aggression? Should the US respond with force? Should we focus on diplomacy? Should we walk away? Using what you've already learned about the relationship between the US and the USSR in the years leading up to the Blockade, what should President Truman do?

Specific Requirements:

1. Each group will need to make one proposal to President Truman. Each proposal will need to include:
 - a. a one-page written summary based on evidence that supports their specific strategy choice. Be sure to include Soviet and American perspectives; the potential costs and consequences of your strategy; and guidelines for determining whether your strategy was successful.
 - b. an oral presentation detailing major points with time for questions and answers. Do not read the proposal from your paper.
2. Proposals will be judged on their understanding of American and Soviet perspectives, historical accuracy, quality of writing, and use of evidence.

CWW/A1.12 – The Berlin Airlift

Although many of his advisors argued against it, President Truman decided to respond to the Berlin Blockade by ordering a massive airlift of food, medicine, and necessary supplies into West Berlin. Within days of the Soviet blockade, American planes (and those of our allies) began deliveries of what was to ultimately amount to 2.3 million tons of cargo to supply West Berliners. For more than a year, American, British, and French planes brought needed supplies into the city. Known as the “air bridge” by West Berliners, the American military named the airlift “Operation Vittles,” averaging between 5,000 and 8,000 tons of supplies each day.

During this year, Berlin’s western zones (those occupied by the Americans, British, and French) decided to form one single “trizone,” which established its own separate

government apart from the Soviet-influenced government in East Berlin. Finally, in May, 1949 the Soviets agreed to end the blockade of the city and decided to allow the western nations to resume deliveries.

Over the next decade conditions deteriorated for people living in East Berlin (the Soviet occupied zone). More than two million people moved from East to West Berlin to try to find better jobs, more food, and more opportunities for a free government and press. To try to prevent people from continuing to flee from East to West Berlin, in 1961 the East Berlin government started to construct a wall in the city that divided it into two sectors. The concrete wall had barbed wire on top and effectively divided the city and prevented people from moving from East to West. Still, people continued to attempt to cross the wall and faced serious punishment or death for doing so. The Berlin Wall went on to become a symbol of the divisions of the Cold War, and thus when it was removed nearly four decades later, on November 9, 1989, people all over the world heralded it as a celebration of an increasingly open and free world.



Berliners watching a C-54 land at Berlin Tempelhof Airport, 1948.

Source: US Air Force,

<http://www.af.mil/information/heritage/spotlight.asp?id=123013864>

CWW/A1.13 – When and how did the Cold War begin?

This first section of our study of the Cold War focused on the roots of the conflict. As you now know, the Cold War had many trigger points, and the precise start date and origin of the conflict has been something that historians still debate today. Historians are able to read through historical records – ranging from speeches to military records to newspaper articles – and then make an argument based on the evidence they survey. It is now your job to review your notes from this early period of the Cold War to answer the following question in a maximum of 400 words: When and how did the Cold War actually begin? In your answer, be sure to provide specific evidence to support your thesis, organized in a clear and concise fashion. Keep in mind that there is no one right answer.

