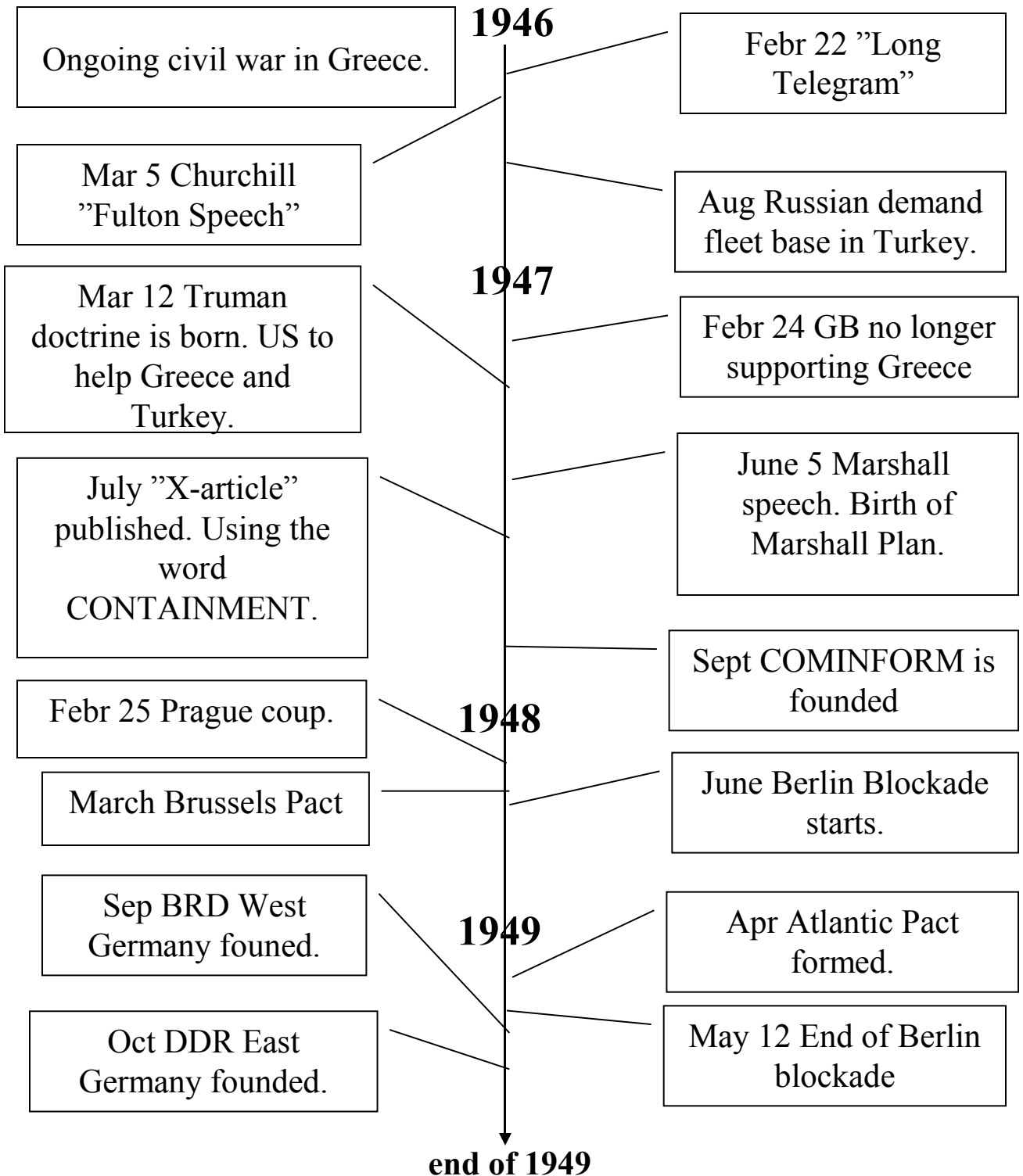


# The Early Stages 46 – 49.



## Kennan and the Long telegram.

Febr 1946.



According to Kennan, Russia's policy  
was:

*to undermine the general and  
strategic potential of major western  
powers by a host of subversive  
measures to destroy individual  
governments that might stand in the  
Soviet path, to do everything possible  
to set the major Western powers  
against each other.*

## Kennan and the Long telegram.

In the beginning of 1946 the State Department asked the embassy in Moscow to give a general analysis of the Soviet Policy. The task ended up on George Kennan's desk.

Kennan was a high diplomat who had served in Moscow. He took the opportunity and sent a 8 000 word long telegram.

### The Long Telegram:

His point is:

” In summary, we have here a political force committed fanatically to the belief that with US there can be no permanent *modus vivendi* 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, if Soviet power is to be secure.” (my underlining)

## Consequences of the Long Telegram:

- Kennan meant that the public had to be informed about the true nature of the USSR. But made no other recommendations.
- The State Department was very influenced by this telegram.
- No evidence that Truman actually read the telegram.
- One official on the State Dep said ” There was a general feeling that ’this is the way it is’ ...”
- The telegram became a way of understanding and dealing with the USSR and their foreign politics.
- It put words on a general feeling...

## Churchill's Fulton Speech, March 5 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 many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow. [...]. 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."

## Cont Fulton.

Churchill's speech summoned up his beliefs:

- Moscow wanted to control the eastern part of Europe.
- He didn't believe in appeasement a la Munich.
- He meant that Stalin and Moscow admired power and had no respect for weakness.
- He didn't think that USSR wanted a war " I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines."

Three important consequences:

1. The word "Iron curtain" became every man's word in describing the new situation.
2. USA and GB should join forces against USSR. The beginning of the Trans-atlantic idea is born.
3. He wanted a settlement with the Russians. He suggested that the threat should be met by the US and the Commonwealth and settled within the framework the UN. " This can only be achieved by reaching now, in 1946, a good understanding on all points with Russia under the general authority of the United Nations Organisation and by the maintenance of that good understanding through many peaceful years, by the world instrument, supported by the whole strength of the English-speaking world and all its connections. There is the solution which I respectfully offer to you in this Address to which I have given the title "The Sinews of Peace."