The Cold War: Conditions of extreme tension and hostility with no military action

IMPORTANT CONFERENCES – Yalta and Postdam
• not only did these bring an end to World War Two, but took the world into the Cold War
  • Allies liberate Italy – take control of government
  • Leads Stalin to believe he can control the governments of Eastern European nations he liberated
• Spheres of influence
  • Divided Germany important to USSR
    • fought two major wars in less than 50 years
    • Soviet losses were almost 30 million in WW II
    • Determined to control Poland and dominate the Balkan Peninsula

A bi-polar world: world split after WW II into East (Soviet influence) and West (American influence)

The USSR
• The U.S.S.R. wanted to create a "buffer zone" between themselves and democratic states (the U.S.A. wanted these Eastern European states to be democratic)
  • 1946-47 Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Poland and Albania come under Soviet influence ($) 
  • 1948 Czechoslovakia has Communist coup
  • 1949 East Germany sets up Communist government
  • 1949 COMECON established (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance)
  • U.S.S.R. takes over agriculture and industry

The USA
• The U.S.A. takes counter-action
  • Policy of Containment
    • Moving from isolationist to interventionist
  • Truman Doctrine (1946) - funding to stop the spread of Communism; established to help Turkey and Greece ($400 M)
  • Marshall Plan - help re-establish the Western European economies (1947)
  • Establishment of NATO (1949)

Events during the Cold War that could have erupted into all-out war
• Berlin Blockade (1948-49)
• Czechoslovakia coup (1948)
• COMECON and NATO (1949)
• Korean War (1950-1953)
• Warsaw Pact (1955)
• Hungarian Uprising (1956)
• Berlin Wall (1961)
• Cuban Missile Crisis (1962)
• Vietnam War (1957-1975)
• Czechoslovakia (1968, 1980s)
• Invasion of Afghanistan (1979-1989)
• Iran (1980s)
**Expansionism/containment**  
The establishment of the “iron curtain”

**Spheres of Influence**  
- Superpowers vied for control of various regions  
- These regions often became battlegrounds as part of proxy wars  
  - Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia, Cuba, Iran, Afghanistan  
- Creation of NATO/Warsaw Pact  
  - some nations made purposeful effort to avoid this by creating the non-alignment movement

**The Berlin Blockade**  
- After discussions at the Yalta and Postdam summits, it was decided in 1945 that Germany was to be broken into four parts after the war; Berlin (in Soviet territory) is also split into four parts  
- By 1948 all land routes to Berlin blocked (Russians trying to get western powers to give up parts of Berlin) = airlift to get supplies into western part of the city (13,000 Ton/ day for a year using British and U.S. planes)  
  - Eventually Stalin sees the blockade is not working and calls it off in 1949  
- Due to fears of further Soviet aggression in Europe, the United States creates an alliance with nations to protect each other from the threat of communism – NATO (1949)  
  - Later the Communist Bloc responds by creating the Warsaw Pact (1955)

**The Berlin Wall**  
- United States, Britain and France join their zones to form the Federal German Republic (pop. 50 M); U.S.S.R. responds by forming the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) (pop. 13 M)  
- Each state refuses to recognize the other as legitimate  
- West Germany prospers while East Germany stagnates = emigrate east -> west  
- By 1961 10,000 East Germans / week were crossing the border; to prevent further emigration Soviets build a wall between the two zones (cement, barbed wire, armed guards)  
- Throughout the 1970s and 1980s relationships improve and then cool again as new leaders increase tensions  
- 1989 – almost overnight the world witnesses the fall of Berlin Wall, which becomes a symbol for the fall of communism  
- 1990 – the nation of Germany is reunited

**Social impact of cold war**  
- Baby Boomers – generation growing up during the Cold War  
  - Influenced their outlook - untrusting of government  
  - Hippies  
  - Anti-war movements  
  - “Peaceniks”  
  - Civil Rights movement  
  - Espionage- Rosenbergs - Manhattan Project  
  - Threat of Nuclear War  
  - Cold War Hysteria - McCarthysim and the Red Scare

**McCarthy**  
- 1949 – Unacceptable to rearm Germany, US couldn’t send troops to Europe, Soviets get nukes – losing the Cold War  
- 1950 – Senator McCarthy announces that 57 State Dept. members are communist  
  - “Red Scare”  
- Stop communism before it takes over USA  
- NSC 68 – Huge military buildup = raise taxes – world’s police officer  
- Public wouldn’t support it without a crisis…
Deterrence/brinkmanship

Nuclear deterrence
• Development of nuclear bombs is occurs in both the United States and Germany during World War Two
• The space race that accompanied the Cold War made these devices even more deadly
  • Sputnik (1957)
  • Race for the moon

M.A.D.
Mutual Assured Destruction – if you hit me, I hit you so no one wins!

  ICBM: Intercontinental Ballistic Missile – can fly from one continent to another in 30 minutes

  • NORAD: North American Aerospace Defense – created to deal with the threat of ICBMs
    • DEW Line – Distant Early Warning system: line of radar stations along the Canadian north to warn in case of missile launch
    • Headquarters: Colorado (under a mountain!!)

Brinkmanship
★ Confrontation between the United States, Soviet Union, and Cuba – ranks along with the Berlin Blockade as one of the major confrontations of the Cold War
★ It is the classic example of brinkmanship, and the closest the world has ever come to a nuclear war
★ Russians call it the Caribbean Crisis because it actually occurred in the Caribbean Ocean, while Cubans call it the October Crisis, as to distinguish it from other crisis they have had with the United States

EVENTS
• Cuba becomes a socialist nation – looks for protection and trade agreements with the USSR (only happy to oblige in order to create a sphere of influence near the US to counteract US presence in NATO nations in Europe)
• McCarthyism and Bay of Pigs fiasco (1961) plays a role in Kennedy’s reaction to Cuban decisions

The Crisis – Thirteen Days
• October 8, 1962 – U2 spy plane spots missile bases in Cuba
• Executive Committee of the National Security Council (ExComm) quickly discussed five courses of action:
  • do nothing
  • use diplomatic pressure to get the Soviet Union to remove the missiles
  • an air attack on the missiles
  • a full military invasion
  • the naval blockade of Cuba, which was redefined as a more restrictive quarantine.
• Unanimously, the Joint Chiefs of Staff agreed that a full-scale attack and invasion was the only solution. Kennedy was skeptical and decided on a quarantine
  • Quarantine: “To halt this offensive buildup, a strict quarantine on all offensive military equipment under shipment to Cuba is being initiated. All ships of any kind bound for Cuba from whatever nation and port will, if found to contain cargoes of offensive weapons, be turned back.” (Kennedy)
  • semantics – a blockade would be an act of war, quarantine is unclear
• Many secret diplomatic meetings and telegrams back and forth created some confusion
• Confrontations in the UN security council (Soviets kept avoiding the direct questions of the US ambassador to the UN “I’ll wait until hell freezes over”)

“Mr. President, we and you ought not now to pull on the
ends of the rope in which you have tied the knot of war, because the more the two of us pull, the tighter the knot will be tied…let us take measures to untie that knot.”

The Crisis Ends – détente

- October 28 – a final agreement is established with help from the United Nations – the missiles in Cuba would be removed in exchange for the removal of missiles in Turkey
- Khrushchev loses face in this conflict and is eventually pushed out of power
- 1963 - A hotline from Moscow to Washington was created to prevent the confusion caused by diplomatic channels not going directly between the leaders, the Partial Test Ban treaty took a step towards slowing down the nuclear arms race

- The value of using diplomacy was illustrated by this event
  “We were eyeball to eyeball and the other guy just blinked” – diplomacy or brinkmanship?
**Proxy Wars**

**The Korean War**
- While the hostilities in Berlin remained essentially non-violent, hostilities did erupt in Asia, which became a proxy war between the Communist and American forces fighting the Cold War.
- Korea had been a Japanese colony until WWII, then temporarily split at 38th parallel between USSR and USA.
- Communist backed North Korea invaded South Korea in an attempt to reunify the peninsula.
- Thought by Americans to be backed by the Soviets, so Truman Doctrine was used to justify getting involved.
- Truman was afraid of repeating the mistakes of Chamberlain.
- Truman wanted international justification for involvement, so he went to the U.N.
  - first act of UN peace making.
- Soviet Union was boycotting the Security Council in protest of China’s seat not being given to the new communist government, so they were unable to veto the motion.
- War lasts three years and ends essentially in a stalemate, with no peace treaty ever signed.

**Vietnam**

**Foreign Rule In Vietnam**
- France conquered Vietnam in 1880s – 1940, WWII - Japan takes over.
- French fight to regain control in 1946.
- Nationalist Independence Movement (Communist) - leader: Ho Chi Minh.
- USA stayed out: Ho Chi Minh stated he only wanted independence.
- 1949 Mao Zedong won control of China and USA fears Minh is China’s puppet government.
- USA pays France $ Millions/year to help with the war and set up rival government in South.
- Eventually, French are crushed at the battle of Dien Bien Phu (1954).
- Geneva Peace Conference: French agreed to leave and Vietnam was left divided.

**Independence and Containment**
- 1956 Elections for unified government prevented because of fears of communist takeover.
- 1957 Ho Chi Minh uses sabotage and terrorism to attempt to control Vietnam (Vietcong).
- President Eisenhower: Domino Theory.
- US afraid if one country fell to communism, other south-east Asian nations would fall.
- Eastern Europe fell to Russia, Asia would fall to China.
- = money, weapons and soldiers used to train South Vietnamese, eventually US starts to fight directly.
- Russia and China responded by supporting the North.

**The Vietnam War (1957?-1975)**
- Guerilla warfare was main tactic.
- USA became frustrated and began using Agent Orange / Napalm.
- Innocent villagers were often victims (My Lai Massacre).
- Role of media.
- By the late 1960s Americans could no longer stand to see war on their TV = widespread protests (Kent State).
- US withdrawal offered for North cease-fire.
- North slow to respond so the US started carpet bombing again to persuade them.
- 1973 Agreement was reached and US leaves.
- 1975 War ended with Communist capture of Saigon – Ho Chi Minh City.

**The cost**
*Containment had failed* - 1,800,000 people killed (55,000 Americans) at a cost of $150 Billion.
- Canada refused to directly participate in the war, although some Canadian troops joined the US military, and Canada took in many draft dodgers (group in B.C. wanted to erect a monument to them, but the United States protested). Long after the war deserters were granted an amnesty and allowed to return to the US.

**Afghanistan**
- The Shah is deposed and communist-friendly government takes over.
- Several coups follow.
- Christmas 1979 - USSR “invited” to help restore stability.
- Atrocities committed by Soviet army (and Cold War relations) = US covert involvement (along with Pakistan and Saudi Arabia).
Non-alignment/Liberation movements

Alignment

USA Intervention
- SALT I – signed with Soviets
- Part of treaty agreed to respect newly emerging nations independence, but respect for the agreement doesn’t last
- Intervention in Iran, Guatemala, Lebanon, Grenada, Panama, Dominican Republic, Chile, Nicaragua, Vietnam etc. to prevent communist take over
  - Iran-Contra affair
  - Sell weapons to Iran for funds to support rebels in Nicaragua without permission from Congress

Alignment: Who is whose ally?

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<tr>
<th>USA</th>
<th>USSR</th>
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<tr>
<td>Political: Truman Doctrine</td>
<td>Political: Cominform</td>
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<td>Economic: Marshal Plan</td>
<td>Economic: Comecon</td>
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<td>Military: NATO (Europe&amp;NA)</td>
<td>Military: Warsaw Pact</td>
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<td>ANZUS(Aust/NZ/US)</td>
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<td>NORAD (US&amp; Can.)</td>
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Yugoslavia
- Marshall Tito – did not need Soviet help to defeat Nazis = not under Stalin’s thumb
- Establishes a communist government outside the Soviet bloc that traded with the West
- Stalin tries to punish by exiling them from Cominform/Comintern
- Yugoslavia survives and becomes an example for independence movements in the Soviet bloc.

Non-alignment
- Many newly independent nations wanted to pull away from spheres of influence of any kind
- 1955 Bandung Conference
  - promote cooperation and oppose any imperialist intentions
  - “If we have to stand alone, we will…We do not agree with the communist teachings, we do not agree with the anti-communist teachings, because they are both based on wrong principles” (Nehru)
  - “Third World” – not aligned with either First or Second world.

Rejection of Communist Rule
Liberation movements within the Warsaw Pact

- Khrushchev comes to power in 1956
  - Peaceful co-existence with the West
  - De-Stalinization
  - Strengthen ties with socialist governments in Warsaw Pact by accepting diversity
  - Focusing on developing nations that were gaining independence
    - Africa, Middle East, Latin America and Asia

- Consequences
  - Increased nationalism in satellite states
  - People in Soviet bloc expected he could solve the problems created by communism
  - Sino-Soviet relations decline

Hungary
- Poland (1956)
  - Labor unrest – USSR allows for greater independence
    - Khrushchev needs Polish support as it was a buffer state with Germany.
- Hungary (1956)
Events in Poland signal to Hungarians that they can also demand more freedoms
- Imry Nagy given some latitude until he announces a withdrawal from Warsaw Pact
  - Soviets cannot lose face to NATO
  - Tanks roll in – war lasts less than a week
  - 20,000 killed, 20,000 imprisoned, 200,000 emigrate (many to Canada), millions in damage to homes and businesses; Nagy executed
- demonstrated that the Soviet bloc was held together by force, not ideology (although Moscow began to soften their control of the satellite states to maintain cooperation)

**Czechoslovakia**
- Brezhnev replaces Khrushchev – return to hard-line rule
- Czechoslovakia (1968)
  - Alexander Dubcek introduces liberal reforms (eg, opposition parties, more freedom of speech and of the press, freedom to travel, increased democracy) = Prague Spring
  - Soviets fear the loss of a buffer state and fall of Communist bloc
  - Send in troops – memories of Hungary in 1956 = less resistance
- Brezhnev doctrine: if socialism is threatened, the Soviet bloc armies can intervene to protect the ideals of collectivism.

**The beginning of the end**
- Poland – 1980
  - Reliance on subsidies = recession; government debt = higher prices = strikes
  - Shipyard workers start the strikes – led by Lech Walesa: Solidarity
  - Soviets too distracted with Afghanistan, tell Polish gov to deal with it
  - US and Catholic Church support for strikers leads gov to accept strikers demands
- First crack in the communist dam
**Detente**

An end to hostilities

**Efforts to bring detente**

- Prior to Cuban Missile Crisis, limited efforts made to cooperate
  - Eg – Paris Peace Summit cancelled because US U2 spy plane shot down over USSR (1960)
- After Cuban Missile Crisis – realize brinkmanship is too dangerous
- Improvement in relations until the late 1970s
- US focusing on human rights in USSR, Chinese relations improve (accept communist government in UN chair “Ping Pong” diplomacy - 1971), invasion of Afghanistan

- Helsinki Accord (1975, after 10 years of negotiations)
  - Settles European border issues, rejection of interventionist doctrine (Truman, Brezhnev)
  - military, economic and humanitarian cooperation, respect for human rights

**Nuclear Treaties**

- Partial Test Ban Treaty – 1963
  - Limit testing to the atmosphere, water or space
- Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty 1968
  - Limit the number of weapons by stating only those with nukes are allowed to have them
- SALT I 1972
  - Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty – limit the number of ABM (anti-ballistic missile) sites to 2, balance number of ICBMs
- SALT II – not signed due to conflict in Afghanistan
  - US has advantage because some of their technology not included in the treaty
- START 1982
  - Strategic Arms Reduction Talks – move to reduce the number of armaments
  - Again US has advantage because Cruise Missiles not included
- 1983 - Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars)
  - How does having Star Wars violate SALT?
- INF 1987
  - Intermediate Range Nuclear Force Treaty – reduce arsenal by 4% (= 1600 Soviet and 400 US warheads)

*signing of the New START Treaty (2010)*

- Russia and USA will reduce number of warheads to 1550 each (2009 – Russia: 2,600, USA: 2,252)
- They will also limit the number of launchers to 700 (2009 – Russia: 566, USA: 798)
- Maintains current limits on missile defence
- Biggest change: they can send in inspectors and use satellite imagery to monitor compliance
- Some US senators are concerned the cuts go too far

**The Beginning of the End**

- Reagan – build up of nuclear arms and covert operations ($2.2 T in 8 years)
  - “Fighting the evil empire”, “Star Wars”
  - Creates stagflation
- USSR cannot compete economically
  - War in Afghanistan, uprisings in satellite countries,
  - Gorbachev: glasnost, perestroika
- Reagan adopts more peaceful stance with Gorbachev in power

**Gorbachev’s innovations**

- Glasnost – openness
  - Encourage greater openness – reverse the Stalinist atmosphere of fear and silence
  - Problems: openness is unfamiliar for nation that has never known democracy – how far do we go?
• Ethnic nationalism turns into conflicts – breaks up the nation
• People become more aware of problems in society like prostitution and drugs

• Perestroika – change
  • Encourage some aspects of capitalism in order to improve the socialist system (much like Lenin’s NEP)
  • Greater input from managers, large businesses must be self-supporting, more private farming, etc.
    • Problems: rewards destroyed by things like taxes (90% on some ventures) and gov corruption; lack of experience with capitalism

Challenges to weaken the bipolar world
• Changes in US / USSR societies
  • Soviets – political control through coercion was becoming more expensive, draining on morale
  • US – loss of faith in their pure society – Vietnam, Watergate, increased urban issues
• Growing strength of the non-aligned nations
  • Weakened alliances within NATO and Warsaw Pact
  • Emergence of China as independent communist nation
  • Increased economic power of Japan and Western Europe

The end of the Cold War
• Several events lead to the end of the Cold War
  • Soviets leave Afghanistan in defeat
  • Nationalist uprisings within USSR (due to glasnost)
    • Armenia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Chechnya
  • Nationalist uprisings throughout Soviet bloc nations
    • Domino Theory in reverse (collapse of Iron Curtain begins)
      • East Germany (fall of wall 1989, reunification 1990) – Czechoslovakia – Bulgaria – Romania – Poland - Hungary
      • Collapse of Warsaw Pact (1991)
      • Dissolution of the USSR (1991)

“New world order”
• Bipolar world becomes unipolar
  • World’s policeman no longer has a check on it’s power
  • Role of NATO?
    • Hope: New World Order = peaceful global society based on the ideals of liberalism; reduction in armament spending funneled to humanitarian efforts (peace dividend)
      • first test – Gulf War – UN backed military efforts prevent Iraq from taking over Kuwait – short, successful war.
    • Reality = after success of Gulf War, civil wars around the globe challenge the new world order (spheres of influence controlled these rogue nations)
      • Somalia, Rwanda, Haiti, Yugoslavia