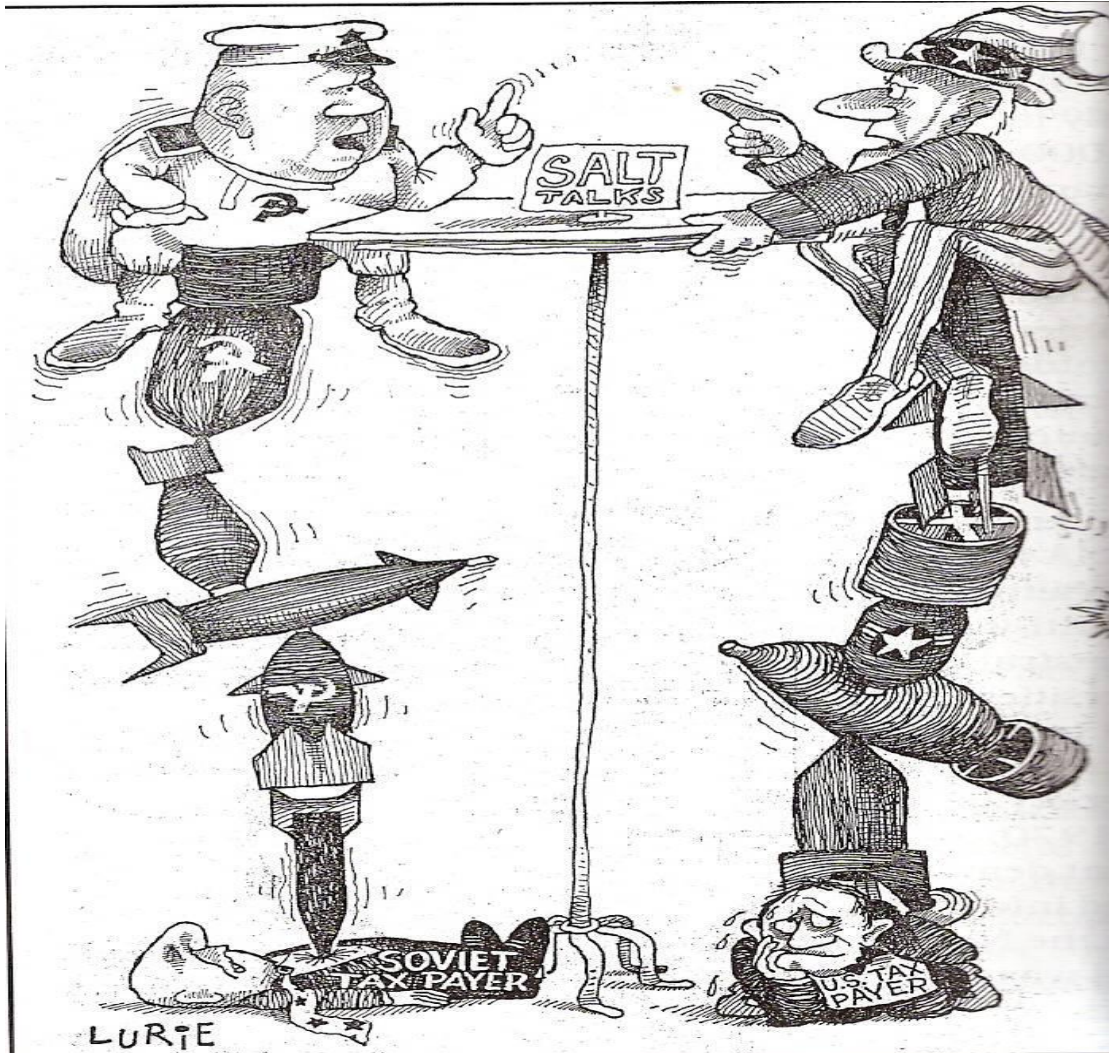


The Cold War, c1945 – 1991



The Origins of the Cold War, c.1945-1949

Why were relations between the US, Britain and USSR difficult in 1945?

The Cold War, a period of international tension between the USA and the USSR, developed out of the end of the Second World War in 1945. It dominated international relations for over forty years. Although the tensions between the two superpowers came to the fore in 1945, the seeds of conflict were in existence in 1939. The Second World War may have smoothed over the causes of the tension but it was only a temporary development. Far from removing the factors which produced tension, the Second World War ultimately created an environment in international relations generated far more tension, hostility and rivalry between the USA and the USSR than had been seen before 1939.

How do the ideologies of Capitalism and Communism differ?

The origins of the Cold War conflict can be traced back to the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. The Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia was to lead the establishment of the world's first socialist state, a state whose government saw the ideas of communism as their guiding principles. Lenin, the leader of the Bolshevik Revolution, represented all that was feared by the governments of the West: a threat to the freedoms of democracy and capitalism. Thus the Cold War was a conflict between opposing ideologies.

Capitalism and Communism ideological differences.	
Capitalism	Communism
<p><i>Upheld as the guiding principles of the West</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Private Enterprise: businesses, factories and land owned by individuals or groups of individuals with the minimum of government interference. • Liberal democracy: a political system where each person has the freedom to vote, freedom to stand for election, freedom of speech, freedom of worship and freedom of the press. 	<p><i>Upheld as the guiding principles of the Soviet Union</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State-owned economy: an economy where all industries and agriculture are owned by the government on behalf of the people. • One Party State: a political system where there is only one political party to represent the people. In the Soviet Union all political parties other than the Communist Party were banned. Elections were contested between individuals who had to members of this party.

The Emergence of Cold War

Yalta & Potsdam Conferences

Yalta, Feb. 1945		Potsdam, July-Aug. 1945	
Agreement	Tension	Agreement	Tension
<p>Military</p> <p>Russia agreed to enter war against Japan following German surrender In return Russia would receive territory in Manchuria & Sakhalin Island</p> <p>Germany</p> <p>Germany temporarily divided into four zones, which each of the occupying powers controlling one zone (USA, USSR, UK, France) The capital Berlin was divided into four zones.</p> <p>Eastern Europe</p> <p>'Declaration of Liberated Europe' (to set up democracies in East Europe). Set up Polish Government of National Unity</p> <p>International organizations</p> <p>Setting up of UNO (to replace League of Nations), to which Russia was invited International War Tribunal to put Nazi war criminals on trial</p>	<p>Reparations</p> <p>Stalin wanted Germany to pay USSR reparations Stalin wanted payments in coal, US wanted coal to rebuild Europe, Russian demands ignored.</p> <p>Poland</p> <p>USSR wanted to extend Polish border too far West for western allies Stalin disregarded calls for free elections and arrested non-communists</p> <p>Germany</p> <p>USSR forced Germans to sell food & raw materials to Soviet Union Some German factories dismantled & moved to USSR</p>	<p>Eastern European</p> <p>New boundaries agreed (Oder-Niesse rivers formed border between Germany & Poland)</p> <p>Germany</p> <p>Germany & Berlin divided into separate sectors and zones as agreed at Yalta Demilitarisation Democracy re-established – free press & freedom of speech</p> <p>International organizations</p> <p>Nazi Party was to be banned in Germany Legal trials at Nuremberg of 21 Nazi leaders for war crimes Allies agreed to participate fully in UNO</p>	<p>Military</p> <p>Stalin denied a naval base in the Mediterranean</p> <p>Reparations</p> <p>Stalin demanded more in reparations than US or GB US didn't want to cripple Germany (as in WWI) Stalin suspicious about why West wanted to protect Germany & help it recover</p> <p>Poland</p> <p>Stalin set up Communist govt. in Poland GB preferred non-Communist Polish govt. which had lived in London US & USSR suspicious of Stalin's intentions in setting up Communist govt. in Lublin</p>

What were the attitudes of the main powers in Europe after WWII?

Soviet Attitudes in 1945

- Rebuild & safeguard his country, which had lost 20 million citizens as a result of the war
- The leader wanted to strengthen the country and prevent the threat of future invasions.
- The occupation of as many Eastern European countries as possible to create a buffer zone around its borders
- The country had been invaded 3 times by the West, during WWI, the Civil War and WWII
- To spread Communism around the world, although this may not have been a primary aim immediately after WWII
- Gains after the war should be in proportion to the losses it had endured

US attitudes in 1945

- The leader wanted to confront his opponents head on, especially over human rights and democratic values
- His aims was influenced by the fact he was poorly informed on foreign policy matters and aware of the strength of anti-communist feeling in his own country
- His foreign policy was strongly influenced by George Kennan's deeply suspicious 'Long Telegram' (1946) and the policy of containment it inspired
- The leader adopted an 'Iron Fist' approach towards foreign policy, in contrast towards Chamberlain's Appeasement policy of the 1930s
- The government was keen to protect free trade in Europe to provide a market for US goods
- Arms industry were keen to keep tensions high, to avoid a downturn in demand after WWII
- Some within the country favoured a return to isolationism

British Attitudes in 1945

- Their leader saw the need for an agreement with Stalin
- Domestic policy and the setting up of the welfare state was the main consideration
- They wanted to their allies to stand firm over the threat of Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe

Why did tensions continue to develop between the communists and capitalists?

What impact did eastern and southern Europe turning red have on the tensions?

At the end of the Second World War the Soviet Red Army was stationed in large parts of Eastern Europe. Its presence was a source of anxiety for the

West who realized that it provided Stalin with a powerful weapon. Pro-Communist governments were set up in Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania. By the end of 1947 every state in Eastern Europe was controlled by a communist government, except Czechoslovakia. The US government was suspicious of Stalin's intentions and was worried that there was a threat of Soviet expansion across Europe. These fears were also raised by Churchill.

Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe

Country	Influence of Communism – steps taken to set up Communist regimes
Poland	Communists joined a coalition government after the war, becoming outright leaders in 1947, forcing non-communist leader into exile
Romania & Bulgaria	Romania: Communist elected PM, 1945 within a left-wing coalition. 1947, Communists also abolished the monarchy Bulgaria: left-wing coalition won elections, 1945. Communist members of coalition executed leaders of other parties
Yugoslavia	Marshal Tito led war-time resistance to the Nazis, elected President in 1945, determined to apply Communism in his own way & expelled from Cominform in 1948
Greece	Britain and USA supported Royalist side in a civil war, defeating Communist opposition
Hungary	Communists became second largest party in 1947 elections. Imprisoned opposition politicians, attacked Church leaders
Czechoslovakia	Left-wing coalition won elections in 1945. Communists became largest single party, but still in a coalition. In 1948, when their position was threatened, banned other parties and made Czechoslovakia a Communist, one-party state
Finland	Initially the WWII leader Marshal Mannerheim allowed to stay in power despite cooperating with Hitler, while only one Communist remained in power Stalin was keen to be moderate in his approach to demonstrate 'ideological détente'

Speeches and telegrams: Why did these make matters worse?

Iron Curtain speech

The call for firmer action by the West against the threat of communism was made by Churchill, the ex-Prime Minister of Britain. In a speech Churchill declared that "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the Continent". In order to meet this Soviet expansion, Churchill called for an alliance between Britain and the USA. Churchill gave the speech as a private individual; Atlee was not informed, but did not disagree. In Moscow the speech received a hysterical response. Stalin

saw it as a deliberately provocative and accused Churchill of being a warmonger.

Kennan's Long Telegram

George Kennan, the American charge d'affaires in Moscow, sent an 8,000-word telegram to the Department of State detailing his views on the Soviet Union, and U.S. policy toward the communist state. Kennan's analysis provided one of the most influential underpinnings for America's Cold War policy of containment. Throughout World War II he was convinced that President Roosevelt's spirit of friendliness and cooperation with Stalin was completely misplaced. Less than a year after Roosevelt's death, Kennan released his opinions in what came to be known as the "long telegram." Kennan was convinced that the Soviets would try to expand their sphere of influence, and he pointed to Iran and Turkey as the most likely immediate trouble areas.

Truman Doctrine

By 1947 the draining impact of WWII was being felt. The British government owed £3000 million in debts and the economy was in a state of crisis. The British government was forced to admit that it could no longer sustain its overseas commitments. In February 1947 they warned the USA that they could not maintain troops in Greece. Faced with the prospect of British withdrawal leading to a communist takeover, the USA issued the Truman Doctrine. In March 1947 Truman issued a statement which declared that 'It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures'. The Truman Doctrine as it became known, was a response to the situation in Greece. Wherever communist forces were attempting to overthrow a democratically elected government the USA would take action to support any government providing it was anti-communist.

Marshall Plan

The Marshall Plan committed large sums of US financial assistance in Europe. It was, according to Churchill, "The most unselfish act in history". Whilst providing much needed aid for economic recovery, the motives behind the plan were not merely humanitarian. There were concerns that unless the economies of Europe recovered there would be a danger of economic recession in the USA. In theory the plan was available for any European country to apply for but in practice it went to Western Europe only.

Soviet reaction

The Soviet Union viewed Marshall aid as an attack on communism. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, condemned it as foreign interference and labelled

the plan dollar imperialism, suggesting it was a mechanism by which the USA would gain control over Europe and exploit it for US economic interests. Under Soviet pressure, the countries of Eastern Europe declined the offer of financial aid. The USSR effectively declared war on the Marshall Plan by tightening their hold over Eastern Europe through setting up the Cominform, an organisation to coordinate communist parties and groups throughout Europe, and Comecon, an organisation that provided economic assistance to the countries of Eastern Europe.

Czech Crisis

- Communists mounted a coup d'état
- Police force taken over by communists
- Non-communist personnel removed
- Non-communists removed from govt
- Fear & coercion used to remove remaining opponents, e.g. Jan Masaryk defenestrated
- President Benes forced to resign & replaced by communist Gottwald
- Shocked West: - symptomatic of Soviet aggression in Eastern Europe & communist expansionism; last remaining democratic country in Eastern Europe; memories of WWII – failure of appeasement & Nazi expansionism

Berlin Blockade

Reasons Berlin so important: Capital of Germany - cause of two world wars; place where East met West, communism v. capitalism; focus of world events at Yalta & Potsdam (1945), Berlin Blockade (1948-9), Berlin Wall (1961, 1989)

Causes of Berlin Blockade: Divisions over future of Berlin dating back to Yalta & Potsdam; tensions of economic differences – West zones benefited from Marshall Aid; differences in living standards; failure of Council of Ministers; introduction of new currency – Deutsche Mark; merger of Western zones

Consequences: 1st major flashpoint of Cold War; 1949, Western allies estd. Federal Republic of West Germany; 1949, NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) founded; end to US isolationism; divisions between East & West Germany became permanent

Why did Cold War extend to the Far East?

Trigger: Invasion of S Korea by North

UN decision to intervene – moral obligation as had temporary control over Korea after WW2 to set up new Gov & run elections

NSC 68 dramatic reassessment of US foreign policy meant US supported UN intervention

National security

- o **US perceived** that their national security under threat by Korean invasion
- o Jan 1950 announced US defence perimeter – Pacific and Japan but not Taiwan and mainland, yet by June had changed and intervened on mainland.. why: NSC 68's analysis
- o NSC 68 written in light of events in 1949/50 and earlier: 1946-8 E Europe taken over, Berlin Airlift, 1949 China communist, spy trials, USSR A bomb, Feb 1950 Sino-Soviet

Pact= confirmed monolithic bloc, puppet state – expansionist assumptions & seen as threat

- o US perceived invasion of south Korea by north as ultimately controlled by Moscow via China i.e. puppet state using a power vacuum as they had in Europe, same pattern, thus confrontation needed as in Berlin, since economic containment seemed insufficient in each region.
- o NSC 68 recommended: no appeasement must confront authoritarian expansionist rule wherever it attempts to expand; massive rearmament needed; there is very likely to be a war with communism within 5 years. Truman reluctant to sign as would mean tax rise and mid term elections 1950
- o Korean invasion in June seemed to confirm NSC 68's analysis – Truman thus agreed and supported action, even pushed UN into action. Domestic pressure (start of McCarthyism)

UN role

- o UN at moment of votes on Korea lacked USSR (communist) representatives – boycotting UN as had voted not to give new communist gov of China a seat in UN but to allow Taiwan to keep the China seat
- o US made vigorous campaign to get UN to vote for action, at times Truman's speeches about intervention made even before the vote taken in UN
- o UN had moral obligation to oversee situation in Korea. At end of 2ww UNTOK oversaw setting up of new gov after Japanese defeated and left a power vacuum there. Agreement to divide nation temporarily until nationwide elections could be held 2 yrs later
- o USSR had had a mandate in north after 2WW until elections could be held and she allowed Kim Il Sung to rule creating a communist area, with land reform and punishing landlords; UN could not guarantee fair elections there as UN officials too few and N Korea not eager to allow them in.
- o UNTOK thus failed to organise nationwide elections in 1948 and had agreed to elections only in south where US had had a mandate.
- o By agreeing to hold elections only in south UN had effectively created potential for a civil war
- o So UN had a responsibility to protect south Korea and to resolve situation
- o US had a disproportionate amount of influence in UN at this time given communist boycott

Japan/economic motives

- o US had particular interest in the region as had a huge vested interest in protecting Japan
- o Japan reconstructed after 2WW – huge amounts of money, economic containment – build a capitalist trade network in region to bind region to capitalist success (stop poverty v communism) and act as bulwark against communism
- o Japan edge of defence perimeter and fears therefore of signs of communist expansion in region threatening Japan
- o MacArthur, general in region in 2ww oversaw Japan, passionate Republican and anti communist. Very critical of Truman's policy "soft on communism" particularly when "abandoned" Taiwan Jan 1950 and "lost China". Rumoured to have made private trip to Taiwan and guarantees of protection and pushed for action in Korea, pressure on Truman great. Domestic pressure (election year) and heroic status meant he had influence (wrote letter to veterans criticising Truman and pushing for action)
- o Truman began to give money to France at this time to support their war in Vietnam versus communists in north
- o US saw a regional problem after Chinese communist revolution – spreading just as had in Europe so needs containment, just as had done in Berlin, perceived as puppet states controlled by China and ultimately Moscow

- o Economic containment alone not sufficient in Europe (NATO now set up after Berlin confrontation), and not sufficient in Japan therefore in light of NSC 68 need military confrontation

USSR role

- o Now appears Stalin very reluctant to become involved. Kim Il Sung visited Moscow and Stalin rebuffed his requests for help. Only a short time after Berlin humiliation. Stalin recognised that an invasion would cause US to react
- o Ultimately Mao asked for some support for fellow communists.. Stalin gave a few MiG fighter jets only and even then charged Mao for lending them to his forces (Mao hugely resentful!)

China role

- o Mao only just won civil war, not in a position to give much support as needed to consolidate own nation
- o Mao however believed in supporting fellow communist so agreed to give members of PLA who had ethnic links with Korea
- o Once MacArthur had crossed 38th parallel and moved quickly north to Yalu River appearing to threaten China, Mao sent diplomatic warnings to west which were not given much weight by west
- o US jets bombed across Yalu River and Mao then sent his forces; i.e. only sent them in when perceived a direct threat and provocation. MacArthur continuously rejected the earlier intelligence reports of large numbers of Chinese forces
- o Mao's forces did not go beyond 38th parallel when US withdrew south again – ceasefire line respected

Korea

Divided temporarily 1945 when Japan defeated and power vacuum left. UN to organise elections 2 yrs later to reunify country. USSR oversaw north. N Korea ruled by Kim Il Sung began communist land reforms. Elections not held in north as UN couldn't guarantee their fairness and US experts predicted Communists win. Both sides frequently made speeches about reunifying nation & often clashed on 38th parallel border.

NSC-68, 1950

- Need to ...
- Improve defences against threat of all-out nuclear war
- Reassure general public
- Provide rapid US military response
- Respond to threat of espionage & internal sabotage
- Protect US economic interests
- Strengthen foreign anti-Soviet allies
- Undermine links between USSR and satellite states
- Raise public awareness of threat of Communism

Evidence of hardening of relations

- World politics interpreted in 'bi polar' terms
- Increased military spending
- Use of alarmism to promote fear of spread of Communism abroad or at home, e.g. 'McCarthyism'
- Move from containment to 'roll back' actively undermining 'relationships between Moscow and satellite countries'

- Widening terms of Truman doctrine to enlist support of foreign countries with US security