

## COLD WAR:

### What?:

- From 1945-1989 (Berlin Wall fell in 1989, Soviet Union disbanded 1991)
- The term 'Cold War' was developed by American journalist Walter Lippman in 1947
- Period of hostility and high tensions between the USSR and USA
- Both emerged from WWII as 'superpower' nations yet they had **competing ideologies**
- During the war they had been allies in the fight against fascism
- However, the threat of nuclear armament and led to the constant search for strategies to avoid a nuclear war
- Instead wars were fought by *proxy* on the battlefields of Asia, Africa, Latin America
- It also saw the emergence of spy network (think Get Smart)

### Communism vs Capitalism

Rival Ideologies	
THE WEST	THE USSR
<b>Economic Differences:</b> Individuals should be able to compete with each other with minimum state interference and make as much money as they wish. CAPITALISM Individuals are thus encouraged to work hard by the promise of individual rewards	<b>Economic Differences:</b> Capitalism creates divisions between the rich and the poor. All businesses and farms should be owned by the state on behalf of the people COMMUNISM Goods will be distributed to the individuals by the state Everyone will get what they need and everyone working for the collective group
<b>Political Differences:</b> Individuals choose the government through voting There is a range of political parties to choose from Individuals have certain rights such as freedom of speech and freedom of the press LIBERAL DEMOCRACY	<b>Political Differences:</b> No need for a range of political parties, as the Communism party truly represents the views of all workers and rules on behalf of the people Individual freedoms valued by the west, not necessary ONE-PARTY STATE

### Increasing Hostility:

- Intervention from the West in the Russian Civil War (1918-22) supporting the conservative (white) forces in an attempt to overthrow the Bolshevik government
- USSR did not receive diplomatic recognition or join League of Nations until 1930s
- Appeasement of Hitler and the Nazis in 1930s by the West; was partly motivated by a fear of Soviet Communism, which was a stronger fear at the time than German fascism
- The **non-aggression pact (Nazi-Soviet Pact)** between Soviet Union and Nazi Germany signed in 1939, allowed Hitler to concentrate on attacking the West

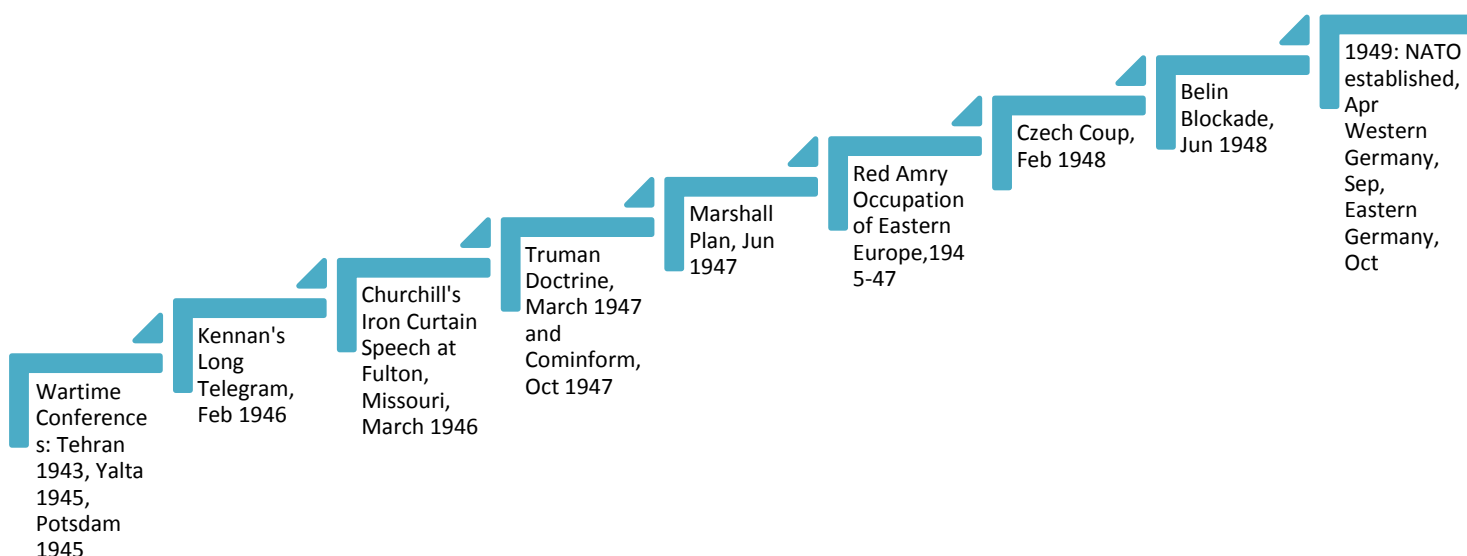
### Conflicts of interest:

USA	USSR
What ideals underpinned the view of each country?	
Idealism of President Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D Roosevelt Struggle for better world based on collective security, political self-determination and economic integration Peace, freedom, justice and plenty	Marxist idealism and Stalinism Struggle for a better world based on international socialism Peace, freedom, justice and plenty

How was this achieved by each country?	
Achieved by democracy/ Capitalism and international cooperation	Achieved by spreading Soviet-style Communism
What elements of self-interest lay behind each country's ideals?	
<p>The need to establish markets and open doors to <b>free trade</b></p> <p>The desire to avoid another economic crisis of the magnitude of 1929</p> <p>President Truman and most of the post-war U.S. administration's belief that 'what's good for America is good for the world'</p>	<p>The need to secure borders</p> <p>The need to recover from the effects of WWII</p> <p>The need to regain strength as the 'nursery of Communism'</p> <p>Stalin's belief that what's good for the USSR is good for the world</p>

### From Friendship to Suspicion:

<p><b>The West: Capitalism and democracy</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Free elections. Many political parties.</li> <li>Most industry and agriculture owned by private individuals</li> <li>Limits on Government</li> <li>Freedom to speak and write freely</li> </ol>	<p><b>Conflicting systems:</b></p> <p>The societies of the USSR and the West were organised on very different principles</p>	<p><b>The USSR: Communism and dictatorship</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Led by a dictator, Joseph Stalin. Only the Communist Party was allowed to exist</li> <li>Industry and agriculture was owned by the State. People were encouraged to work for the common good.</li> <li>The government controlled most aspects of people's lives</li> <li>Restrictions on what could be said or written</li> </ol>
<p><b>Western mistrust of the USSR</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Communism threatened the Western values and the way of life</li> <li>Dislike of Stalin's dictatorship which had led to many deaths and the 'purges' of 1935-38.</li> <li>Stalin had signed the Nazi-Soviet Pact, 1939 and divided Poland with Hitler</li> </ol>	<p><b>Mutual mistrust:</b></p> <p>Had built up since 1918</p>	<p><b>Soviet mistrust of the West</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Communist believed: The Capitalist system was evil since the rich prospered at the expense of the poor It would collapse and be replaced by Communism which was the superior system</li> <li>In the 1918-19 Western states had briefly intervene against the communist government in the Russian Civil War, using troops originally sent to help fight Germany</li> <li>In 1919 the Paris Peace Conference Settlement gave Russian lands to other countries, including Poland</li> <li>In 1938-39 Stalin suspected that France and Britain did not want to protect the USSR against Hitler</li> <li>In 1942 Stalin was angry that Britain and the USA refused to invade Europe quickly and thus open up a second front to take the pressure of the USSR</li> </ol>
<p><b>Western Allies</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Support democracy. Hold free elections in all states</li> <li>Keep Poland's western boundaries as it was.</li> <li>Help Germany to produce its own goods and food again to take part in world trade</li> </ol>	<p><b>Conflicting aims in Central and Eastern Europe 1945:</b></p> <p>During the fighting the USSR had suffered by far the greatest loss of lives and property. It was determined to protect itself in the future</p>	<p><b>USSR</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Create a buffer of friendly states between Germany and the USSR. Ensure all new governments support the USSR</li> <li>Re-drawn Poland's western boundary</li> <li>Keep Germany weak</li> </ol>



## Step one: Wartime conferences

### The Tehran Conference, November 1943: Iran

Present	Discussions and Decisions	Tensions
Stalin (USSR) Roosevelt (USA) Churchill (Britain)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>State of war:</i> Allies were stating to win by 1943 Stalin wanted to launch a second front but US and UK not ready There was discussion of Japan and their Island hopping</li> <li><i>Germany:</i> What to do with Germany There were conflicting ideas about what to do with defeated Germany- learned from failures after WWI and ToV No decision was made</li> <li><i>Poland:</i> Stalin wanted security by gaining Polish territory and ensuring that its gov. was pro-Soviet Puppet—regime in Poland looked likely</li> <li><i>Eastern Europe:</i> Soviets demanded right to keep its territory they had gained in 1939-40- Baltics USA and Brits agreed reluctantly</li> <li><i>Japan:</i> US and UK wanted USSR to enter war with Japan</li> <li><i>UN:</i> UK and USSR gave approval to the replacement of League which the US wanted</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Could not decide what to do with Germany</li> <li>Stalin wanted Poland for security</li> <li>Tensions between USSR and Poland because of 1939 massacre of 10,000 Polish soldiers due to Nazi-Soviet Pact</li> <li>Stalin did not want to enter a war with Japan until the war with Germany was over</li> <li>Roosevelt and Stalin worked well together but Churchill did not trust Stalin</li> <li>Revealed the gap between the post war aims of Stalin and West</li> </ol>

### CONCLUSIONS:

- Agreement on the new international organisation
- Agreement on the need for a weak post-war Germany

## The Yalta Conference, February 1945: Ukraine

Present	Discussions and Decisions	Tensions
Stalin (USSR) Roosevelt (USA) Churchill (Britain)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>State of the war:</i> Germany almost defeated USA was now in control of land and sea in Pacific Japan still desperate in fighting on</li> <li><i>Germany:</i> To be defeated, then disarmed, demilitarised, de-Nazified and divided To be split up into four zones of occupation (Big Three+ France)- said to be temporary and run as one country Germany would pay \$20 billion with 50% to USSR</li> <li><i>Eastern Europe:</i> Countries should be allowed to hold free elections to choose how they are governed</li> <li><i>Poland:</i> Free elections to be held New frontiers: Eastern Frontier to return to pre-1921 position Stalin agreed to establish democratic government</li> <li><i>USSR:</i> To join war against Japan three months after Germany's defeat</li> <li><i>UN Organisation:</i> to be set up</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Western Allies concerned because USSR wanted: Poland's western front The German population removed</li> <li>Despite disagreements both Western and Soviet politicians thought the conference was successful and were hopeful for the future</li> </ol>

### CONCLUSIONS:

- Agreement on UN
- Soviet agreement to join the war in Pacific against Japan
- The Big Three signing a 'Declaration for Liberated Europe' pledging their support for democratic governments based on free-elections in all European countries, including Eastern Europe

## The Potsdam Conference, July 1945: Germany

### INFLUENCES:

- President Roosevelt died in April 1945, replaced by Truman, who adopted a more hard-line policy towards Soviets
- Germany finally surrendered unconditionally on 7<sup>th</sup> May 1945
- Winston Churchill's Conservative Party lost 1945 UK election- Churchill was succeeded by Labour Party leader Clement Attlee
- With war in Europe ending, Soviet Red Army occupied territory spanning into Germany
- The day after the Potsdam Conference began, 17 July 1945, the US successfully tested its first Atomic Bomb- Manhattan Project

Present	Discussions and Decisions	Tensions
Stalin (USSR) Truman (USA) Churchill (Britain) 17-25 July, Attlee (Britain) 25 July- 1 Aug	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>State of the War:</i> Germany surrounded but war in Pacific continued US was ready to invade mainland- with atomic weapons</li> <li><i>Germany:</i> Difficultly agreeing on how to demilitarise, de-Nazify and divide Germany Details of the occupation finally zones finalised Demilitarisation and de-Nazification left to respective in each zone The Nazi Party to be banned and its leaders tried as war criminals</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Western suspicions about Soviet intention in Eastern Europe increased: In March Stalin had invited non-Communist Polish leaders to Moscow and then imprisoned them. Communists now held positions in the Polish Government</li> </ol>

	3. <i>Reparations</i> : Each power to collect industrial equipment from its own zone. Since its zone was mainly agricultural, the USSR to receive additional reparations from the other zone 4. <i>Poland</i> : Western boundary to be along a line created by Oder and Neisse Rivers 5. <i>Repatriation</i> : Germans living in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia to return to Germany 6. <i>UN</i> : Became a reality Permanent members were decided (US, USSR, Britain, France, Nationalist China) with the power to veto	Far more Germans were expelled from Eastern Europe than the Allies expected 2. Truman did not tell Stalin that the USA intended to drop the atomic bomb on Japan
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#### CONCLUSIONS:

- Agreement for the immediate, practically control of the defeated Germany
- The establishment of the UN

#### Salami Tactics:

- Term devised by Hungarian Communist when commenting on the USSR's securing of Eastern Europe
- "like slicing a salami, piece by piece."
  - Stage 1: The Soviets supervised the organisation of governments in the Eastern European states, initially establishing a broad alliance of 'anti-fascists'
  - Stage 2: Each of the parties was 'sliced off,' one after the other
  - Stage 3: The Communist core was left, and then ultimately the local Communists were relaced (if need be) with Moscow trained people

#### Poland:

- 'Free elections' promised at Yalta did not occur until 19<sup>th</sup> Jan 1947
- Before the elections there had been a campaign of murder, censorship and intimidation with an estimated 50,000 people deported to Siberia beforehand
- During the election, many party members were disqualified (246), arrested (149) and murdered (18)
- One million voters were removed from the electoral roll
- The election was viewed by the West as a breach of the Yalta agreements
- The USSR saw it as a victory over the 'Western expansionism'
- This pattern can be seen in other Eastern European countries in order to secure their Soviet- Communist government

#### Soviet pressure in Iran:

- USSR tried to increase its political control over Iran after the war
- At Tehran it was agreed that UK and Soviets would withdraw troops
- However Stalin left 30,000 troops in the north claiming assistance was still required
- These troops encouraged a communist uprising
- UK and USA demand that Stalin remove his troops, Stalin refused- **a breach of another wartime agreement**
- He believed that he had every right to be in the Black Sea as the allies
- It was thought that Stalin was looking to invade Turkey and the Black Sea straits suggested by Truman in a letter which he also wrote "*...unless Russia is faced with an iron fist and strong language, war is in the making.*"
- The crisis was given to the UN in March 1946- its first crisis
- Under the new pressure, the Soviets pulled out

## Greece and Turkey:

- Britain and France funded these impoverished countries to turn away from communism
- In these anti-Imperialist nations, 'pro-Communism' rebellions were beginning

## Communist Parties in Italy and France:

- These countries suffered in the war and were economically deprived
- Considered to be weak links in the anti-Communist Western Europe
- Suspicion about what was happening in these newly created parties that they were receiving encouragement from Soviets

## Step two: Kennan's Long Telegram, Feb 1946

- Key US diplomats, George F. Kennan sent a telegram on the nature of Soviet conduct and foreign policy while in Moscow
- This had a lasting effect on the US state department
- Key ideas:
  - USSR's world view was traditional and one of insecurity
  - Soviets wanted to advance Muscovite Stalinist ideology
  - Soviet regime was cruel and repressive
  - USSR was hostile to the West

## Step Three: Churchill's Iron Curtain Speech

- Given on **5<sup>th</sup> March 1946**
- At Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri while in the presence of President Harry Truman behind him
- The speech warned of the safety of the future of Europe
- The basis:
  - Churchill pointed out that Communist dominated governments were established in Poland, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria
  - This was despite what was agreed at Yalta to have free democratic elections in these Eastern European countries
  - Communist governments not related to Moscow had been established in Albania and Yugoslavia
  - His remarks were also prompted by the presence of the 'Red Army' in countries that had been liberated from Germany
  - He also referred to the *"iron curtain [that] has descended across the Continent."*
- Soviet Reactions:
  - Response was a rapid outrage
  - Within a week, Stalin had compared Churchill to Hitler
  - He labelled the speech as "racist" and "a call to war,"
  - Within three weeks the Soviet Union had taken the following steps
    - Withdrew from the International Monetary Fund (IMF)
    - Stepped up the tone of propaganda against the West
    - Initiated a five-year plan of self-strengthening

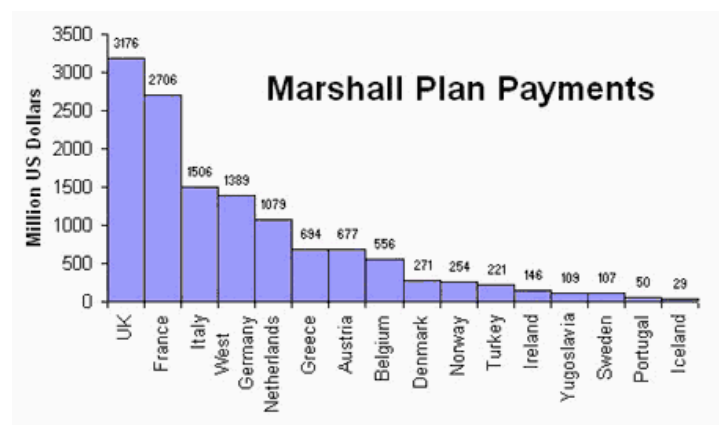
## Step Four: The Truman Doctrine

- Speech to US Congress on **12<sup>th</sup> March 1947**
- Posed that the US were obliged to *"support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures."*
- This was a **change to US foreign policy** one traditionally of **isolationism**

- Instead this marked the beginning of a new policy of **containment of Communism**
- This doctrine was in response to the unstable situations in Turkey and Greece
- The British government had been supporting the Greek monarchy after the war but the Communists resisted from the countryside
- The British could no longer support the Greek government with its own economy struggling
- The US did **not want to resist a Communist takeover of a country that was strategically important to Europe**
- In the name of **preserving democracy**
- The Soviets saw this as **US determination to expand its sphere of influence**
- Truman's decisions was affected by Churchill's speech and Keenan's Telegram
- It was described by Historian Walter LaFeber as:
  - *"a milestone in American history... the doctrine became an ideological shield behind which the US marched to rebuild the Western political and economic system to counter the radical left."*
  - *"From 1947 on, any threats to that Western system could be easily explained as Communist inspired, not as problems which arose from difficulties within the system itself."*

### Step Five: The Marshall Plan

- US Secretary of State General George Marshall believed that the economies of Western Europe needed immediate help from the US
- He broadcasted to the nation that *"The patient is sinking while the doctors deliberate."*
- The Marshall Plan was given in a speech at **Harvard University on 5<sup>th</sup> June 1947**
- Seen as an economic extension to the political Truman Doctrine
- *"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."*
- Dollar Imperialism:
  - There was the problem of whether or not to allow the Soviets to join the plan, to avoid them or exclude them
  - The Americans decided to set strict criteria for countries to be able to apply for economic aid
  - This allowed for the US **to investigate the financial records of applicate countries**
  - The USSR did not tolerate such conditions
  - US 'invited' the USSR to join the Marshall Plan (knowing that they would not join)
  - The aims of the plan were:
    - Revive European working economies so that the political and social stability could last
    - Safeguard the **future of the US economy**



- Soviet Reaction:
  - Soviets rejected the plan (no surprise)
  - Saw it as an example of *"American dollar imperialism."*
  - Soviets believed that the US were developing an European Empire in order to establish economic domination in order to give it political control over Europe
- Soviet Response:
  - In response, Soviets came up with the Molotov Plan
  - This was a series of bilateral trade agreements aimed to tie the economics of Eastern Europe to the USSR

- This resulted in the creation of COMECON in **Jan 1949**
- COMECON- Council of Mutual Economic Assistance
- This acted as a centralised agency linking the Eastern Bloc to Moscow and stimulated the control of their economic development, support collectivisation and developing heavy industry
- Cominform and the 'Two Camps' doctrine
  - Cominform- Communist Information Bureau established **Sept. 1947**
  - Created to increase Stalin's control over Communist parties in Eastern Bloc
  - The West were concerned that the organisation would spread Communism and destabilise democracy in their 'sphere of influence'
- Stalin's Two Camps Doctrine:
  - Stalin developed the idea that Europe was divided into two
  - Post WWII this became the basis of Soviet foreign policy
  - In **Feb. 1946** (before Churchill's Iron Curtain Speech) Stalin gave a speech referencing the "'two camps'" in opposition to each other
  - In a Cominform meeting, it was discussed that Americans were organising a "'anti-Soviet' bloc of countries that would financial dependent on them"
  - This bloc extended to South America and even some countries in Asia
  - The second camp included the USSR and its Eastern Bloc nations "new democracies" as well as Vietnam, Indonesia, India, Syria and Egypt that were associated with its cause

#### **Step Six: Red Army occupation of Eastern Europe, 1945-1947**

- Soviets gained control over Europe by creating 'satellite empire'
- They were separate in legal ideology but followed Moscow in:
  - Soviet military power (formalised as Warsaw pact)
  - 'Salami Tactics' which transferred machinery of governments into the hands of obliging, pro-Soviet Communists
  - State police and espionage
  - COMECON
- By the end of **1948** the USSR controlled these satellite states economically and militarily
- Western allies saw this as a breach of Yalta and Potsdam agreements
- Evidence of Soviet expansion policies and ideology

#### **Step Seven: The Czechoslovakia Coup, Feb 1948**

- Czechoslovakia was seen to be moving towards the West
- It expressed interest in getting aid from US Marshall Plan
- They were concerned about the West's sympathise towards Czechoslovakia
- Stalin organised pressure on the Czechoslovakian government
- Twelve non-Communist members were forced to resign and pressure was placed to form a Communist government
- The president agreed feeling isolated and pressured
- The Czech foreign minister was found dead two weeks later 'suspiciously'
- President Truman responded quickly calling the events a 'coup' and stated that the Soviets were sending shockwaves throughout the globe
- At this point the Marshall Plan had not been passed, however Truman used the coup to push it through
- The 'Czech Coup' was directly responsible for implementing the Marshall Plan



## Step Eight: The Berlin Crisis of 1948

### Post war Germany:

- Germany had been invaded in many fronts by Soviet and Western allies, leaving it difficult to leave undivided
- It was decided at Yalta and Potsdam that Germany should be divided into four zones administered by the **Allied Control Council (ACC)**
- This was seen as a temporary agreement while its future was to be worked out at a future peace conference
- It was expected that Germany would emerge as one united, economic state but in 1949, there were two distinct states



### Why did the post-war powers fail to unite Germany?

- Germany's key strategic position and the differing aims of the main powers:
  - Germany was geographically strategic in the middle of Europe and had potential to be an economic superpower
  - The USSR did not want a resurgent Germany that would threaten its security but wished to get as much out of it as it could in reparations
  - France also feared a united Germany and was not keen for a fast German recovery
  - USA saw the best hope for peace in Europe was the rapid economic recovery of Germany and as way to **contain the spread of Communism** assisted by economic aid from the US
  - The UK wanted to support the US's views and being bankrupt, could benefit from US aid
- The increased lack of trust between East and West as the Cold War developed:
  - Difference in aims and attitudes towards Germany, prevented rapid peaceful settlement for Germany
  - As the Cold War developed, mutual suspicion increased
  - Both the US and Soviets feared that if Germany regained strength that it would ally with the other
  - By 1946, it was evident that Germany would remain divided politically and economically between the Soviets and the West
- The specific disputes between the post-war powers within Germany itself:
  - Economic divisions intensified with reparations a key issue
  - At Potsdam it was decided that the USSR would take 25% of German industrial equipment from the Western zones in return for supplying the zones with goods and materials
  - Food was a major issue, particularly with the influx of refugees
  - USSR did not supply food to the Western zones and increased secrecy over what it was taking from the Eastern zone
  - The US and UK stopped supplying goods to the Soviet Zone
  - Coal was also in disagreement- Soviets wanted coal from the West but US wanted to use it to resurge European economic recovery with 25 million tonnes of US coal exported into Europe not USSR
  - In **early 1947** American and British zones **merged to form unified Bizonia**
  - Political conflict- evidence suggested that Stalin was planning to incorporate unified Germany into its 'sphere of influence'
  - This would be achieved by the force of the Red Army and attempt by Communist Party of Germany (KDP) to gain popularity in other zones
  - Soviets forced the merging of parties into the Socialist Unity Party (SED) but was not successful in winning over the West German zones with several other non-Communist parties already established
  - The SED leaders planned instead for their own separation into the East
  - Similarly, in **1948**, the Western zones were considering establishing a provisional German government

- The **London Conference of Ministers, 1947** was originally to establish a German peace treaty but resulted in the two sides accusing each other of various allegations
- In **1948 the London Conference** saw US, UK and France draw up a constitution for a West German state
- It involved a new government and **currency**
- Stalin tried to set up a blockade in Berlin to stop this plan and force the West out
- The Berlin Blockade, 1948:
  - At Potsdam it was agreed that Berlin was to be divided between all four powers
  - The problem for the West was that Berlin was 100 miles within the Soviet zone, sealed off from the rest of Germany since 1946
  - The West therefore had to deliver supplies along road and railroad 'corridors'
  - In **1948** Stalin put restrictions on the West by limiting transport access into West Berlin
  - After the implementation of the new currency, Stalin produced a blockade of Berlin on **23-24 of June 1948**
  - Road, railways and waterways into Berlin were blocked
  - Instead of being defeated by the Blockade, the West used the air
  - In 320 days, 200,000 flights flew into Berlin from US and British planes
  - These delivered supplies (food and coal) to 2.2 million West Berliners
  - By 1949, it was clear that Stalin was failing and ended the Blockade in **May 1949**



#### What were the results of the Berlin Blockade?

- This was the first piece of evidence of the development of the Cold War
- The failure of the Blockade had three consequences:
  - The division of Germany
  - The continuation of four-power control in Berlin
  - The formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO)
- The division of Germany:
  - Failure of blockade meant that division of Germany was likely
  - The West set up the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) in **Sept 1949**
  - In response the Soviets established the German Democratic Republic (GDR)
  - Neither side could contemplate the idea of a united Germany that could ally the other side
  - For the West, a divided Germany was preferable to a united Germany
- The continuation of four-power control in Berlin:
  - Berlin remained a divided city which continued to be a major source of friction between the West and Soviet Union
- The formation of NATO:
  - Soviet threat to Berlin post the Czech coup reinforced suspicion from the West about Stalin
  - It emphasised the need for a US defence commitment in Europe
  - In **April 1949** NATO was formed between the US, Canada, the Brussels Pact powers, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Italy and Portugal
  - The US congress also agreed to a military assistance program to build up European armed forces
  - This was a **clear turnaround from previous US foreign policy**
  - In May 1954, West Germany was admitted to NATO
  - This added to Soviet fears of armed forces on its German borders
  - Within a week, the USSR had announced the formation of the Warsaw Pact- bringing Eastern European States under a collective military group
  - This now meant that Europe was divided **politically, militarily and economically**

