The Cold War
Review
1. THE COLD WAR

**DEFINITION:** A state of permanent hostility between two powers which never erupts into an armed confrontation or a “hot war”

**HISTORIANS:** O. A. Westad

*The Global Cold War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times*
Who is O. A. Westad?

O.A. Westad, Professor of International History and Director of the Cold War Studies Centre at the London School of Economics.

“Cuba and Vietnam challenged not only Washington in defense of their revolutions, they also challenged the course set by the USSR for the development of socialism...” (P. 158)

“The most important aspects of the Cold War were neither military nor strategic, nor Europe-centered, but connected to political and social development in the Third World” (P. 396)
2. ALLIES IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR

A) USA and the USSR become allies:

1. June 1941; the German invasion of the Soviet union
2. Pearl-harbor and US war with Japan
3. Germany declares war on the USA
4. The “grand alliance” or “anti-Hitler coalition”.
3. BREAKDOWN OF ALLIANCE: AN OVERVIEW

1917-1944: causes of the breakdown of the US-Soviet alliance

A) Long term causes
B) Conflict during the war time
C) Different peace aims

1945: the breakdown of the US-Soviet alliance

The long telegram

1946: the cold war starts

CHURCHILL’S iron curtain SPEECH
4. CAUSES OF THE COLD WAR

A) long term causes of the cold war

1. 1917: US. Hostility towards the Bolshevik revolution and the soviet system
2. The “show trials” in the soviet union (1936, 1937, 1938)
3. 1939: the non-aggression pact between Hitler and Stalin in 1939.

B) conflict during the war time

1. Cracks in the soviet-American alliance
   A) Argument about the opening of second front against Germany
   B) Stalin's suspicion
   C) The Manhattan project – Atomic Bomb
4. CAUSES OF THE COLD WAR

C) different peace aims

- **Roosevelt’s key post-war aims**
  - International peace and co-operation (un)
  - No formal spheres of influence
  - Spread of democracy (free speech, free elections)
  - Free trade (open door)
  - Reconstruction of world economy (UN, World Bank)
4. CAUSES OF THE COLD WAR

Stalin’s key post-war aims

- Co-operation with America
- Russian security
- Sphere of influence on soviet perimeter
- Restoration of Russia's 1914 borders
- Limiting German power
- Economic reconstruction of soviet union
5. THE BREAKDOWN OF THE US-SOVIET ALLIANCE, 1945: KEY ISSUES

A) Poland

The Yalta conference in February 1945 and the polish-question. (Where the west: 1) objected the revision of Poland's eastern borders; 2) asked for the inclusion of the London poles in the Lublin committee; 3) wanted free polish election)

In the light of

The Tehran conference 1943. (In Tehran Churchill had suggested a permanent change in eastern Europe's frontiers. Russia could regain her 1914 boundaries by absorbing eastern Poland, while Poland would be compensated by receiving parts of eastern Germany)
And

The bilateral meeting in Moscow in October 1944. (In the bilateral meeting in Moscow the informal percentage agreement was concluded where Churchill accepted that USSR should have its sphere of influence).

- The polish question and Stalin's response
- Russians did not conclude free elections in Poland
- Stalin absorbed eastern Poland
B) Economic Reconstruction

- January 1945. Russia asks for $6 billion loan and American conditions
- The termination of the lend-lease in May 1945
- Further request for American loan in August 1945 rejected
- Russia did not be a member of the IMF and the World Bank
5. THE BREAKDOWN OF THE US-SOVIET ALLIANCE, 1945: KEY ISSUES

C) atomic weapons

16 July 1945. The first American atomic bomb exploded. American atomic monopoly

A) worried Stalin

B) influenced American attitudes towards the soviet union

C) the atomic diplomacy
D) Germany

○ The Yalta conference
  ○ Agreements. (Shared post-war objectives of USA and USSR on Germany)
    ○ A) limiting the power of Germany
    ○ B) German disarmament and demilitarization
    ○ C) Germany divided among the victors into four zones of occupation
    ○ D) the winners entitled to take reparations from its own zone
    ○ E) Russia granted additional reparation from the three western zones in exchange for food and raw materials from the soviet zone
    ○ F) the four zones a single economic area
Disagreement or differences over the Yalta and Potsdam agreements about Germany

A) German coal output

1. Ussr: German coal as a reparation

2. Usa: German coal to assist in the economic reconstruction of western Europe

B) the soviets were treating their zone as a self-contained economic entity. Did not supply food to the western zone

C) disagreement over the Russian demand of access to the coal and steel output of the Ruhr valley

D) the Ussr and the Usa read different meaning into the Potsdam agreement
○ E) American action against presupposed soviet expansion

○ A) soviet invasion in Manchuria and the American response

○ B) soviet invasion in Korea and American response

○ C) the American and British protest against the presence of Russian troops in Iran

○ D) the American protest against the movement of Yugoslavian forces into Trieste

○ E) American $ 25 million loan to Greeks.
6. THE COLD WAR STARTS

A) 1946: new perception of the soviet union

1. George Kennan's long telegram in February 1946. Offered a historical analysis of the motives of soviet foreign policy

- Russian rulers had always been weak
- Needed to invent external enemy
- That enemy was the west
- Therefore Ussr was inevitably expansionist and hostile to the west
- Marxism-Leninism was the ideological basis of soviet aggression and expansion
- Because he taught that communist states could not co-exist peacefully with capitalist states
2. Winston’s Churchill’s speech in march 1946 about the “iron curtain”.

“Iron curtain” had descended across Europe from Stettin to Trieste

Behind it the soviets were building an empire in eastern Europe

Beyond it they were attempting to project their power by directing communist parties in western Europe to work against elected governments.

3. Shift in the public opinion within the us against the soviet union. (In other words: Churchill's speech hardened the public opinion within the Usa against the Ussr).
6. THE COLD WAR STARTS

B) new policy towards the soviet union (“patience with firmness” or “get tough policy”)

- 1. Us action in Iran
- 2. More stringent conditions to loans and credits requested by the soviets
- 3. Us tougher policy towards soviets in Germany
  - A) halted reparations
  - B) Bizone
  - C) relaxation of restrictions on German industrial production
4. Baruch plan (June 1946)

A) the USA and the USSR attempted to work out proposals for international control of atomic weapons via the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission in 1945.

B) In June 1946, the Americans presented a plan which provided for frequent inspection of atomic energy installations in UN member states. The Baruch plan.

C) The Americans refused to destroy their existing atomic stockpile until inspection arrangements were firmly in place.

D) The Russians refused to submit to inspection of their sites until the Americans had destroyed their atomic weapons.
7. WHO TO BLAME FOR THE COLD WAR

**Stalin’s responsibility**

- Did not implement the Yalta accord on Poland
- Blocked economic unity in Germany
- Installed communist governments in Poland, Romania and Bulgaria
- Moved soviet troops into Korea and Manchuria
- Retained military presence in Iran after the war.
America’s responsibility

A) misinterpreted Russian policy

All the Russian actions were defensive. They occurred on the perimeter of the Soviet Union as an attempt to consolidate its frontiers.

Soviet foreign policy was driven by national security but not expansionist communist ideology.

Soviet Union did not oppose American intervention in Manchuria and Korea, withdrew their troops from North-Korea, Manchuria and Iran and did not supply weapons to the Greek communists. Democratic politics continued in Hungary and free elections took place in Czechoslovakia in May 1946.

The Sovietization of Eastern Europe was an effect and not cause of the cold war.

B) the scale of American power after the Second World War and its determination to create the post-war world according to its image.
7. THE SECURITY DILEMMA

In the Cold War the United States and the Soviet Union frequently misinterpreted each other’s policy. United States believed for example that the Soviet Union was systematically penetrating areas vital to US security and was engaged in a grand design to become the world’s dominant post-war power. To this extent US policy was based on fear. Policy makers saw the Soviet Union as the aggressor. They therefore took measures to underpin US security, but those defensive measures were construed by the Russians as aggressive, prompting the Russians to take further defensive measures which the Americans then saw as offensive. Thus a dangerous cycle of action and reaction came into being. Strategists call this situation the “security dilemma”. The net outcome was less security for both parties.
7. CAUSES OF THE COLD WAR
HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

- THE ORTHODOX SCHOOL
- THE REVISIONIST SCHOOL
- THE POST-REVISIONIST SCHOOL.
7. 1. THE ORTHODOX SCHOOL

The orthodox School: Stalin’s expansionist policy. Part of eastern Poland to the USSR, communist governments in Poland and other Eastern European countries and the Berlin blockade.
7. 2. THE REVISIONIST VIEW

- USA’s hard-line approach towards the USSR after the war.

- The role of the power of big business and the military-industrial sector in pushing the US government towards Cold War confrontation as a way of protecting then economic interests of capitalism.

- USA ignored the USSR’s security needs.

- USA’s provocative actions.
7. 3. THE POST-REVISIONIST SCHOOL

Has sought to avoid blaming either side for breakdown in relations and to approach the topic from a more objective standpoint.
CAUSES OF THE COLD WAR: THE SEEDS OF CONFLICT 1941-1945

- Difference of ideology. Communism, capitalism
- Economic differences
- Political differences
- A) Liberal democracies
- B) The communist state.
## CAPITALISM AND COMMUNISM: IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

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1. The Truman doctrine

In 1947 civil war was going on in Greece between royalists and communists.

Russia had put pressure on Turkey. Wanted to regain Russian land which Turkey had conquered in 1918 and that the Manteaux agreement about free sailings through the Dardanelles-strait should be revitalized.

In the beginning of 1947 Britain informed the USA that it could no longer afford to give financial aid to Greece and Turkey.

To convince the reluctant congress to send American money and military advisers to Greece and Turkey, Truman announced the Truman doctrine.

Its core is as follows: “I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free people who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure.”

Congress granted the president 400 million dollars to Greece and Turkey.
8. THE POLICY OF CONTAINMENT

2. National security

A) the united states increased its stockpile of atomic bombs from 13-50 in one year from June 1947

B) the national security act was established (1947)

1) enlarged defense department created (at the pentagon)

2) central intelligence agency (CIA) established

3) the national security council created
8. THE POLICY OF CONTAINMENT

3. THE MARSHALL PLAN

- Announced by Secretary of State George Marshall on 5 June 1947

- Massive program of economic assistance for countries of Western Europe. Amounted 13 billion dollars between 1948 and 1952

Motives:

- a) Economic. Create markets for American goods

- b) Containment of communism. (people who were hungry and unemployed were more likely to turn to extreme parties of the left for solution of their problems). The best antitoxin to communism was prosperity

- Stalin was offered the Marshall aid but turned it down and forced other Eastern European countries to do the same. Saw the Marshall Aid as an attempt to create an American economic empire in eastern Europe

- Prompted more aggressive Soviet policy in eastern Europe

- Russian answer was the Molotov Plan and reformation of Cominterm, now renamed Cominform. More aggressive policy in eastern Europe, Hungary, Czechoslovakia.

- Marshall Plan was a key episode in the Cold war and marked the moment when compromise between the two sides was no longer possible.
8. THE POLICY OF CONTAINMENT

4. Creation of a West German state

- US initiation to combine the three western occupation zones into a West German state
- 1947: Restrictions on industrial production of (West) Germany relaxed
- 1948: the three occupying powers of the West met to draw up a constitution for a new West German state
- June 1948: Introduction of a new currency in the three Western zones
- Stalin’s response; a land blockade of Berlin
  - In June 1948 Russia blocked the road and rail routes to Berlin
  - The purpose was to force the western powers to cancel their plans for West German state
  - The response of the western powers was to supply west Berlin from the air. The Berlin Airlift
  - In May 1949 Stalin ended the Blockade
  - In September 1949: The birth of the Federal Republic of Germany (West-Germany)
  - October 1949: The Soviet occupation zone becomes the German Democratic Republic (East-Germany)
- The partition of Germany reflected the division of Europe as a whole.
8. THE POLICY OF CONTAINMENT

5. NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization)
   - Established 4th April 1949
   - Military Alliance
   - Article 5: Adopted a principle of collective security whereby an attack on one or more member states would be considered an attack on them all and could be met with armed force
   - Purpose: To keep the Russians out, the Germans down and the Americans in.
6. CONTAINMENT IN ASIA: A) JAPAN

- The main objective of US occupation policy towards Japan between 1945 and 1947

- Demilitarization and democratization

- The Japanese armed forces were demobilized, stockpiles of weapons were destroyed and a “no war” clause was written into a new Japanese constitution

- Some of Japan’s vast industrial combines were broken up in order to neutralize Japan’s war making capacity

- The right to strike was recognized and trade unions were legalized

- War criminals were brought to trial and Japan was forced to pay reparations to its former enemies.
8. THE POLICY OF CONTAINMENT

6. CONTAINMENT IN ASIA: A) JAPAN

US POLICY TOWARDS JAPAN AFTER 1947

- In 1947 US changed its policy towards Japan to win support of the nation
- Emphasis on economic reconstruction of Japan
- In 1949 American’s authorized $ 500 million in aid to Japan
- The program of industrial de concentration was diluted and restrictions on industrial production were relaxed so as not to hinder economic recovery
- In 1948 government workers were forbidden to strike and US occupation authorities started arresting communist sympathizers
- The prosecution of war criminals was quietly scaled down
- Responsibility for day-to-day government was increasingly handed over to the Japanese.
6. CONTAINMENT IN ASIA: B) CHINA

US tried to prevent communist victory in the civil war in China by supporting Jiang Jieshi and his Nationalists (Kuomintang).

For the American’s the Cold War was as much a conflict over the control of key resources as a battle of ideas. They believed that the recovery of Japan depended on access to the resources and markets of the Chinese interior and that the communists would prevent that.
6. CONTAINMENT IN ASIA: C) KOREA, VIETNAM AND THE DEFENSIVE PERIMETER

Worsening Soviet-American relations meant that neither side could agree on terms for unification of Korea. Policy-makers in America were convinced that USA must hold on to South-Korea at least. US support and economic aid to Syngman Rhee in South-Korea

USA was supporting France in its colonial war in Vietnam in spite of the fact that one of Roosevelt’s aims for the post-war era had been decolonization. Americans were afraid that withdraw of the French from Vietnam would swell the rising tide of communism in Asia

For America the first line of military defense against communism in Asia would not be the land mass but a belt of offshore islands including Japan, the Riukyu Islands, Guam and the Philippines. US air bases and garrisons existed on all these islands and formed a so-called defense perimeter against an Asian aggressor.

8. THE POLICY OF CONTAINMENT
8. THE POLICY OF CONTAINMENT

7. How successful was the policy of containment?

☐ 1. The policy of containment had met with reasonable success in Europe in September 1949
   - A) Territorially communism made no gains
   - B) The influence of communist parties within Western Europe was in decline

☐ 2. In Asia the strategy of containment was less effective
   - A) Success in Japan and partly in South-Korea
8. Why was the policy of containment less successful in Asia than in Europe?

- American policy was resolutely Europe first.

- The communist threat was more complex in Asia than in Europe. Americans assumed that communist forces everywhere were part of a monolithic movement answerable to Moscow and were slow to appreciate the diversity of Asian communism.

- The relative failure to contain communism in many regions of Asia was the consequence more of the inherent popularity of communism based on circumstances the US could not control than of lack of American resources and willpower.

- In Vietnam for example US was siding with an unpopular colonial power against a champion of national independence.
9. ESCALATION: GLOBAL COLD WAR, HOT WAR IN KOREA 1950-53

1. New communist threats:

1. Communist victory in the Chinese civil war in October 1949

2. The Soviet Union detonated its first atomic bomb in late August 1949. The end of American atomic monopoly

2. Hot war starts in Korea:

1. North Korean soldiers cross the 38th parallel on 25 June 1950

A) Kim Il Sung, the leader of North Korea, was encouraged (to invade South Korea) by Acherson’s (US Secretary of State) defense perimeter speech in January 1950, in which he had omitted South Korea from a list of countries which the United States would automatically defend in the event of aggression.

2. America’s response:

A) Was not in accordance with Acherson’s speech.

B) 27 June: The United States sponsored a resolution in the National Security Council calling for military action against North Korea. The resolution was passed.

C) 30 June: Truman ordered American troops stationed in Japan into Korea.

3. Why did America change its policy?

A) They could not accept that Kim was acting independently. The invasion was interpreted as a clear instance of Soviet expansionism. If US did nothing in Korea the neighboring states would fall to Soviet communism (the domino theory).

B) On another level, the invasion of South Korea provided a test of America’s credibility and ability to resist communism across the world.
3. The development of the war:

1. August 1950: The North-Koreans capture Seoul
2. September 1950: The UN forces occupied only a toehold around Pusan
3. Mac Arthur lands UN forces behind enemy line at the port of Inchon and UN troops brake out of the Pusan perimeter
4. Truman decides to unify the two Korean states. The policy of rollback
5. China sends 260,000 troops across the Yalu River
6. January 1951: The fall of Pyongyang and Seoul
7. Truman considers to use atomic weapons against China but eventually:
8. Abandons the objective of unifying Korea, reverts to the policy of restoring the 38th parallel and decides to fight a limited war in Korea

9. Disagreements between Truman and MacArthur. Truman relieves Mac Arthur of his command in April 1951

10. February 1951: UN counterattack

11. March 1951: UN troops re-cross the 38th parallel. The battle line stabilized

12. July 1951: Peace talks begin

4. Consequences:

1. Truman now supported the increase in military spending proposed in NSC 68. Korea marked the militarization of the Cold War.

2. NATO was strengthened and enlarged.

3. US started to prepare for a rearmament of West Germany.

4. US made arrangements to secure Japan as a post-war ally.

5. US support to Taiwan.

6. The ANZUS pact.

7. United States threw its weight behind the French in their war with the Vietminh.

8. The globalization of the Cold War.
WHY AMERICA COMMITTED ITSELF TO LAND WAR IN KOREA?

- Kim Il Sung, the leader of North Korea was encouraged (to invade South Korea) by Acherson’s (US Secretary of State) defense perimeter speech in January 1950, in which he had omitted South Korea from a list of countries which the United States would automatically defend in the event of aggression.

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10. EISENHOWERS COLD WAR 1953-61


- Increased reliance on nuclear weapons. Now regarded as a weapon of first and not last resort. The doctrine of massive retaliation.

- Smaller role for conventional forces.

- More willingness to use covert operations; CIA

- More willingness to use personal diplomacy as a legitimate part of the policy of containment.
Europe:

- The Soviet suppression of workers uprising in East-Germany in 1953. The United States did not do anything in spite of the fact that US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, had promised “rollback” and the liberation of eastern European countries under Soviet domination during the 1952 presidential election.

- The Soviet suppression of the Hungarian uprising in 1956. The United States did not do anything.


- 1958: Khrushchev’s demand that the western powers quit Berlin within six months. Rejected by the West.

- US difficulty with France. France refused to accept the rearmament of West Germany. But eventually (1955) Germany joined NATO.
Korea

- Eisenhower was personally committed to a speedy end to the Korean war.
- Negotiations for armistice foundered on the repatriation of North Korean and Chinese prisoners.
- Ike applied pressure to the Chinese by hinting that the US might use atomic weapons against the Chinese mainland.
- In July 1953 the two sides agreed an end to hostilities.
China, Taiwan and the Offshore Islands


1954: The communist China’s bombardment of two tiny islands, Quemoy and Matsu, occupied by Taiwan’s Nationalist forces

1955: The Chinese communists attack the Tachen islands.

US response: Fully supported Jiang Jieshi, renewed its commitment to defend Taiwan against communist invasion and threatened to use atomic bombs against China for the second time. The Formosa resolution

1958: Renewed bombardment of Quemoy and Matsu. US forces in the Far East put onto a war footing and a veiled threat of nuclear strike against China again issued

Explanation of US response: Any instance of communist aggression regarded as a test case of America’s determination to defend the “free world”.

American’s were aware that a firm stance on the issue of the offshore islands might create cracks in the Sino-Soviet alliance.
Indochina (Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia)

American intervention in the region was justified by the domino theory (if Indochina fell to the communists other Asian countries might follow)

1954: The French defeated at the Dien Bien Phu by Vietminh (the communist forces of Ho Chi Minh)

Negotiations opened and the Geneva Accords concluded (in 1954)

Vietnam temporarily divided along 17th parallel and provisions made for national elections to unify the country within two years

The United States did not sign the Geneva Accords

US policy was to bolster South-Vietnam as a stable non-communist state

South-East Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) established. Its purpose was to prevent communist interference in Indochina

The Americans opened military mission in South-Vietnam

1956: Eisenhower decided that South-Vietnam would not participate in the nationwide elections agreed at Geneva

In the late 1950s: “Vietcong” and the National Liberation front established. Began to conduct guerrilla warfare against the government of South-Vietnam

In Laos the pro-Western government of Laos was encountering opposition from communist group (the Pathet Lao).
1955: The Baghdad Pact formed (Britain and Iraq and later Iran and Pakistan)

Purpose: Designed to exclude Soviet influence from the Middle East

After 1959 it was known as the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO) when Iraq withdrew from the Baghdad Pact.
EISENHOWERS COLD WAR

Central America and the Caribbean

- The United States viewed Latin America and the Caribbean as its backyard. Its aim was to exclude communism from the Western hemisphere.

- 1951: Jacobo Arbenz elected president in Guatemala

- Started land reform by seizing unused land owned by the US United Fruit Company

- Eisenhower saw it as the prelude to a communist reform program and authorized a CIA plan to overthrow Arbenz

- The CIA supplied the anti-communist Castillo Armas with funds, mercenaries and the base in Honduras

- In June 1954 Armas invaded Guatemala supplied with two planes flown by US pilots and Arbenz fled to Mexico.
Cuba

- On New Year’s Day 1959 Fidel Castro came to power in Cuba.
- Quickly initiated a program of land distribution.
- Castro’s confiscation of US assets on the island and his recognition of communist China aroused American fears that he might become Moscow’s ally.
- When Cuba signed trade agreement with the Soviet Union, Eisenhower responded with an embargo on Cuban sugar imports and instructed the CIA to train Cuban exiles in Guatemala for invasion of the island.
- Later US blocked all trade with Cuba and in January 1961 the two countries broke off diplomatic relations.
US-Soviet relations under Eisenhower


Khrushchev policy of “peaceful co-existence”.

May 1955: Agreement on the future of Austria.

1955: Geneva summit

Ike’s proposal of “Open Skies”. Rejected by the Russians.

The Hungarian rising and the Suez crisis soon dissipated the “Spirit of Geneva

The Russians launching the world’s first orbiting satellite, Sputnik.

Ike accused of allowing “missile gap” to grow between USA and USSR.

Ike hoped for a ban on the atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons. America ceased testing in October 1958 and the Russians immediately followed suit in absence of formal agreement

Khrushchev issues an ultimatum giving the Americans six months to leave Berlin. Ike ignored the ultimatum

Khrushchev visits the United States in September 1959 (the “Spirit of Camp David”)

On 1 May 1960 a U-2 spy plane shot down over the Soviet Union

The U-2 incident and its consequences.
Eisenhower: An assessment

- Western Europe offered a secure frontier against communism
- Were successful in confining China (the doctrine of massive relations)
- Friendly Iran ensured
- Avoided major split with Arab states because of his policy in the Suez crisis
- Controlled the cost of the cold war
- The policy in Indochina was failure
- CIA too powerful
- Authorization of U-2 flight was a major error.
Policy of flexible response

Main elements:

A) Increase in conventional forces and enlargement of nuclear arsenal

B) Economic aid

C) Covert action

D) Negotiation

- 1. Increase in military spending and buildup of military forces
- 2. Economic aid as an instrument of containment. Alliance for Progress
- 3. Covert action, invasion of Cuba, Operation of Mongoose
- 4. Negotiations with Russia.
The central purpose of “flexible response”

To expand the available means of countering communism. (The doctrine of “massive retaliation” left the president with very few options if the opponent did not give in to nuclear blackmail)

To meet the assumption that the communist threat was more diverse than before

To serve as a reaction to the new tactics of the communist powers and the expansion of the Cold War into new areas of the world (Khrushchev had promised that the Russians would champion wars of national liberation).
Military spending

Grew by 13 per cent under Kennedy. The defense budget rose from 47.4 billion dollars in 1961 to 53.6 in 1964.

The cuts in conventional forces imposed by Ike were reversed by Kennedy. The number of combat-ready divisions increased considerably and the armed forces grew in size.
Kennedy wanted to remove the economic conditions which created the seed-bed for communism.

In an attempt to alleviate poverty in Latin America the Alliance for Progress was founded in 1961 and 20 billion dollars was set aside to promote living standards.
Covert actions

In 1961 the CIA planned an invasion of Cuba by anti-Castro Cuban exiles and subsequently implemented Operation Mongoose, whose objective was to destabilize Castro’s communist regime in Cuba and ultimately to bring down the Cuban leader.
Laos

Civil war between Pathet Lao (communists) and the pro-western government installed by CIA. In 1961 Kennedy threatened US military intervention in the war. In 1962 an agreement was concluded but an unofficial war continued.
Vietnam

1. The Domino Theory

2. Kennedy increased economic aid to South Vietnam and dispatched additional military advisers but rejected advice to commit US ground troops

3. In 1959 the communists in the North had pledged themselves to the reunification of Vietnam by armed struggle. Formed National Liberation Front which was the political wing of the Vietcong

4. Kennedy’s response:
   A) Increased the number of US military advisers
   B) Authorized counter-insurgency operations against the communist guerrillas
   C) Pressed Diem (the president of South Vietnam) to enact reforms

5. In November 1963 CIA and Kennedy encouraged army generals to overthrow Diem because of rising unrest in the country.
KENNEDY

Why did Kennedy get involved in the Vietnam war?

Was an adherent of the domino theory: the communist takeover of South-Vietnam would expose other Asian states to communist influence. Vietnam was considered as part of larger struggle between the US and the communist powers. The survival of an independent non-communist Vietnam was an article of faith.
US military strategies in Vietnam. The “strategic hamlet” program and “Search and destroy” missions

After Vietnamese civilians had been “persuaded” to move into “strategic hamlets” in areas controlled by the South-Vietnamese army and the USA (to remove them from contact with the Viet Cong), US troops were then sent into these cleared areas to “search and destroy” the Viet Cong. It was assumed that any Vietnamese who remained in such areas must be members or supporters of the Viet Cong, so troops were encouraged to achieve a high “body count”

Spraying of defoliant such as Agent orange in order to deprive Vietcong soldiers of cover in the jungle

The use of chemical napalm.
The Berlin crisis 1961

In June 1961 Kennedy and Khrushchev held a summit in Vienna

One of the key issues was the future of Berlin

The Soviet leader wanted withdraw of Western forces from Berlin. Otherwise USSR would conclude a separate peace treaty with East Germany which would terminate the post-war rights of the Western powers in Berlin and allow East Germany to close off air, road and rail corridors to West Berlin

Kennedy stated that the presence of Western troops was non-negotiable

The summit broke up without an agreement

After the summit Khrushchev issued a six-month deadline for the withdraw of Western troops from Berlin

Kennedy’s response was tough. Prepared the USA for war with the USSR

In August the East German government began to seal off the eastern part of the city by fences which were later strengthened to form the Berlin Wall

US and USSR tanks in Berlin moved into position. Serious confrontation between the two superpowers ensued until both sides agreed to withdraw

Khrushchev abandoned his attempt to force the Western powers out of the city

Berlin ceases to be a major issue in US-Soviet relations.
The Bay of Pigs invasion

Kennedy inherited a secret plan by CIA to topple Castro

17 April 1961: The invasion at the Bay of Pigs by anti-Castro exiles equipped and financed by the Americans

The invasion failed completely

After that Washington attempted to weaken Castro’s regime by a program of covert action (Operation Mongoose), economic and diplomatic isolation of Cuba, and military pressure. (American agents sabotaged petroleum installations on the island, while the CIA sank Cuban merchant vessels in the Caribbean)

Castro’s response: Increased Soviet military support. Russia starts to deploy ballistic missiles on the island

The aggressive policy of the United States towards Cuba was partly a cause of the Cuban missile crisis.
The Cuban missile crisis in October 1962

- 14 Oct: Kennedy saw U-2 photographs of missile sites and launch pads on Cuba
- 16 Oct: Kennedy assembled Ex-Comm group of advisers. Two alternatives discussed, A) Naval blockade of Cuba, B) Air strikes
- 22 Oct: Kennedy announced “Quarantine” on national television
- 24 Oct: Soviet ships carrying warheads turned back in face of blockade
- 26 Oct: Khrushchev sent his first telegram: removal of missiles in return for non-invasion pledge. U-2 shot down over Cuba
- 28 Oct: Khrushchev agreed to withdraw missiles in return for non-invasion commitment
- The Jupiter’s were withdrawn in April 1963.
Consequences of the Cuban missile crisis

Kennedy gained politically and personally from the missile crisis

US-Soviet relations improved after the crisis. Both Kennedy and Khrushchev now initiated a period of detente. A “hot line” between Moscow and Washington was set up

Both superpowers supported a UN resolution prohibiting the deployment of weapons in outer space

The most significant breakthrough, however, was the Test Ban Treaty agreed in June 1963

Operation Mongoose continued and plans to assassinate Castro.
Overview

In the 1960s Kennedy and Johnson continued to build up US strategic forces and expand its conventional forces.

Decline in the American influence at this term because of the Vietnam war but massive military buildup in the Soviet Union.

At the end of the term Richard Nixon tried to stabilize the US-Soviet relation by the policy of détente that included among other things arms control and opening to China.
Shifting power balances 1963-73


- Did not stop the arms race.

- A) The US military buildup (MIRV)

- B) The Soviet military buildup. Strategic forces and conventional capacity

- The doctrine of assured destruction. **Mutually assured destruction** (MAD)
Instability and conflict in the Third World increased cold war tensions. The involvement of the superpowers exacerbated local and regional problems.

**Latin-America**

The US response to the Cuban revolution was: (A) To promote economic development and political reform in Latin America through foreign aid (The Alliance of Progress); (B) To build up Latin America’s armed forces soon the United States abandoned any pretense of favoring social and political reform and began to view military regimes in Latin America as bulwark against instability and revolutions. The 1960s witnessed rash of military coups in the continent.

Examples: (A) In Brazil the United States encouraged and supported the government’s opponents and welcomed its overthrow by military officers in the spring of 1964; (B) In 1965 the United States invaded the Dominican Republic when the local military proved unable to defeat a popular revolt aimed at reinstating the constitutionally elected president, whom the military had overthrown in 1963.
Arms race; its development, causes and impact

- The arms race became an integral part of Cold War conflict. Its costs posed severe economic strains on both the USA and the USSR. By the 1980s it was used as a deliberate method of bankrupting the enemy.

CAUSES OF THE ARMS RACE:
- External factors
- Internal factors

THE IMPACT OF THE ARMS RACE.
Vietnam and the origins of Détente 1963-73

- US leaders feared that the loss of South Vietnam would initiate a “falling domino effect”
- By the early 1960s there was a growing US involvement in the civil war in Vietnam
- In March 1965 the United States began sending combat troops to Vietnam
- By 1968, the number of US troops in Vietnam had reached 535,000
- Fear of Chinese intervention prevented the United States invading the North Vietnam
- The Soviets supported North Vietnam with generous military aid
- By the end of the decade, the strategic, economic, and political costs of treating Vietnam as a vital country in the global containment of communism were proving too great for the United States. The Vietnam war weakened the United States militarily and economically, fed doubts about US foreign policy priorities and fuelled anti-war movement at home
The Tet Offensive by communists forces in early 1968 convinced president Johnson of the necessity to negotiate an end to the fighting. It also forced Johnson to withdraw from the presidential election the same year.

Richard Nixon (US president between 1969-74) claimed he had a secret plan to get the United States out of Vietnam. It appeared that his plan was part of an overall revision of US grand strategy that also included arms control, relaxation of tensions with the Soviet Union, rapprochement with China, and reductions in direct US military involvement in the Third World.

Nixon and Kissinger hoped that rapprochement with the Soviet Union and China would dilute their support for North Vietnam and force the communists to negotiate an end to the war.

The Soviets also wanted to improve US-Soviet relations. They believed that improved relations could stabilize the arms race, help them to solve their economic problems by increased trade with the West, create international recognition of the status quo in central and Eastern Europe and of the Soviet Union as a global power and prevent US-Chinese alliance.

The Chinese were also ready to improve relations with the United States as a way to deter Soviet aggression.

Nixon’s and Kissinger’s attempt to link détente with progress toward settlement in Vietnam delayed both. It took them four years to negotiate US withdraw from the war.
Superpower Détente (1969-73)

- The process of détente:
  - July 1, 1968: The Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty signed
  - September 1971: Quadripartite Agreement signed
  - At the same time: Willy Brandt (West German chancellor) starts his Ostpolitik
  - July 1971: Kissinger secretly travels to PCR. In September the same year China takes its seat in the United Nations
  - February 1972: Nixon visits China
  - May 1972: The signing of the SALT I agreements during Nixon’s visit to Moscow. Marked the high point of a short-lived period of limited détente, or relaxation of superpower tensions.
Superpower détente 1969-73
The SALT I agreement 1972

- Agreement was reached on three matters:
- 1. The AMB (anti-ballistic missile) treaty.
- 2. The interim agreement.
- 3. The Basic Principles Agreement.
Willy Brandt’s Ostpolitik. Digression

- Expanded trade with Eastern Europe, signed treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland, recognized all borders in Europe, confirmed the division of Germany, and concluded a treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and Czechoslovakia.

- The immediate results of this politic included a major reduction in tension in central Europe.

- Following the fall of communism in Eastern Europe some analysts argued that by accepting the status quo, Ostpolitik bolstered communist control and delayed communism’s collapse. Other scholars contest this view and point out that the Soviets probably would not have accepted a peaceful end to their sphere of influence in Eastern Europe without the decade and a half of reduced tension that Ostpolitik fostered.
Causes and achievements of Détente

CAUSES OF DÉTENTE:

- The growing seriousness of confrontations between the superpowers caused the superpowers to rethink their strategies for conducting the Cold War. The result was the policy of détente in the 1970s which created an opportunity to reduce international tension by limiting the nuclear arms race.

- A move towards Détente was stimulated by developments within the US and the USSR and initiatives taken by European leaders. Its cause was a growing awareness of the potential danger of confrontation leading to nuclear destruction.

- The fear of war
- The needs of the USSR
- The needs of the USA
- The position of China
- European needs and “Ostpolitik”.
Achievements of Détente

- Treaties such as SALT (1972) and the Helsinki Agreements (1975) have been seen as the central achievements of Détente. The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (1963) and the Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968) are also important.

- **SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty):** Consisted of the ABM treaty, the interim agreement and the Basic Principle Agreement.

  - **A)** *The ABM treaty* reduced the tension caused by the destabilizing impact of defensive systems. (With ABM systems in place the ability to retaliate if hit by a nuclear missile was uncertain and therefore encouraged each side to strike first).

  - **B)** *The Interim Treaty* meant that limit were placed on the number of ICBMs and SLBM and it was an important step towards limiting nuclear arms.

  - **C)** *The Basic Principles Agreement* extended the guidelines to be used by both sides to minimize the development of nuclear war.
The Helsinki Agreement: An agreement reached at a conference in Helsinki to discuss European security. At the conference the Warsaw Pact countries wished to secure US recognition of European borders established after Second World War and the US saw this as an opportunity to gain concessions from the Soviet government in return.

SALT II: It set equal limits for missile launchers and strategic bombers but left out cruise missiles where the US had a significant lead. Increasing conflict in the Third World led to the Senate’s rejection of SALT II in 1980.

US-China relations: By 1972 relations between China and the US were good enough to allow Nixon to visit China as a guest of the government.

European Détente (Ostpolitik): Ostpolitik played a major role in reducing tension in Europe and contributing to Détente. Gave legal recognition and reinforcement to the division of Cold War Europe.
From détente to confrontation 1973-80

Overview

Following its high point in 1973, détente foundered as increased instability in the Third World and technological advances that threatened mutual deterrence interacted to intensify Soviet-American distrust.
Third World conflict during 1970s

- During the 1970s, both superpowers often charged each other of taking advantage of détente to increase its influence in the Third World.

- September 1973: Military coup in Chile (the socialist president Salvador Allende was removed from power) supported by the United States. The Soviet Union regarded US action in Chile as a betrayal of détente.

- October 1973: The Middle East war between Egypt and Israel subjected détente to further stress. US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, used the crisis as an opportunity to win over the Egyptian leader, Anwar Sadat, and increase US influence in the Middle East. Focused on excluding the Soviet Union from the peace settlement. The Soviets lost an ally.

- The 1973 war led to an oil crisis in the West. The oil crisis evoked images of a weakened West. The Soviet Union benefited from higher oil prices.
The fall of South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos to communist forces in the spring and summer of 1975 evoked powerful image of American decline.

Conflicts in Africa further undermined détente. In February 1975 the impending end of Portuguese colonialism set off a civil war in Angola and the United States and Cuba (backed by the Soviet Union) supported different rival factions in the war. There was also a war between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1977. Even though Somalia had been an Soviet ally since 1960s the Soviet Union and Cuba supported Ethiopia financially and militarily and turned the tide of the war. Somalia turned for the United States for help. The United States and The Soviet Union swapped clients. US warned that Soviet and Cuban involvement in the Horn of Africa, an arena in the northeast corner of the continent close to the Middle East, could threaten Western access to Middle East oil. Viewed the developments as a Western defeat.
The death of détente; summary and conclusion

The demise of détente demonstrated the close and mutually reinforcing relationship between arms control and overall Soviet-American relations. Improved relations in the early 1970s had provided an environment in which arms control could proceed successfully, while arms control agreements symbolized and strengthened improved relations. As Soviet-American relations deteriorated due to instability in the Third World, arms control also suffered. In addition, continued competition in the arms race contributed to mutual mistrust by raising concerns that the “other side” was taking advantage of détente to gain unilateral advantage in the Cold War.
The rise and fall of the second Cold War, 1981-91

Overview

- Denounced the Soviet Union as an immoral “evil empire”
- Heightened the Cold War tensions. Approved massive increase in military spending, started huge military buildup, ended arms control negotiations with the Soviets and pursued aggressive policy to roll back Soviet influence in the Third World
- This “second Cold War” proved short-lived, however, as the Soviet Union began to pursue policies aimed at improving relations with the United States after Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in 1985
- With the Soviets making most of the concessions, the United States and the Soviet Union reached important arms control agreements in 1987 and after
- At the end of Reagan’s term communism in Eastern Europe collapsed.
The new Cold War

- The Reagan administration intensified the military build-up and increased military spending enormously

- March 1983: the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), known as Star Wars,

- Reagan’s aim was to: a) re-establish US military superiority, b) use the arms race to place great strain on the Soviet economy. c) increase US strength before engaging in arms control negotiations with the Soviet Union

- INF negotiations (INF)

- Negotiations on strategic weapons (START)
The Third World

- Reagan followed a confrontational policy toward Third World regimes he deemed hostile and increased military and other assistance to pro-US Third World regimes
  - El Salvador
  - Nicaragua
  - Grenada
  - Afghanistan
  - The Reagan Doctrine
  - Angola
  - Cambodia.
Reagan’s policy towards Poland, the Soviet Union and China

- Poland
- The Soviet Union
- China.
Gorbachev and the end of the Cold War

- The problems in US-Soviet relations in the first half of the 1980s were intensified because of the deaths in quick succession of three Soviet leaders – Brezhnev in November 1982, Yury Andropov in February 1984, and Konstantine Chernenko in March 1985.

- March 1985: Mikhail Gorbachev came to power. Took the initiative in the Cold War.

- The heart of his policies was glasnost (open debate on government policies) and perestroika (economic restructuring).

- Gorbachev wanted to end the Cold war and democratic renewal in the Soviet Union. Both were necessary for economic transformation in his country.

- Gorbachev focused first on arms control. Thought that a limited number of nuclear weapons provided sufficient security against US nuclear attack.

- April 1985: To show his good will Gorbachev suspended the countermeasures applied in response to the NATO INF deployments and halted further deployment of SS 20s.

- November 1985: Gorbachev and Reagan met in Geneva and established good personal relationship.

- January 1986: Gorbachev unveiled a plan for complete nuclear disarmament to take place in three stages by the year of 2000. Stage One proposed that the United States and the Soviet Union reduce their intermediate-range nuclear forces to zero, and did not mention British, French, and Chinese forces.
The Reykjavík summit in October 1986

- Gorbachev’s proposals at the Reykjavík summit:
  1. Proposed a plan to cut US and Soviet strategic nuclear forces in half. (Accepted US definition of strategic weapons).
  2. Proposed that the United States and the Soviet Union should reduce their intermediate-range nuclear forces to zero (accepted Reagan’s zero option).
  3. Wanted to strengthen the ABM treaty from 1972 and confine the research of defenses to laboratories. The United States should quit the SDI program.

Although the two leaders almost reached agreements on eliminating nuclear weapons entirely, Reagan’s dogged defense of SDI prevented any agreement as the Soviet leader insisted that agreement on SDI was a prerequisite for progress on all arms control matters.
After the Reykjavík summit

- Following Reykjavík, Gorbachev dropped his previous insistence that agreement on SDI was a prerequisite for progress on all arms control matters and accepted the “zero option” proposed by the United States in 1981.

- December 1987: The Intermediate Nuclear forces (INF) Treaty signed in Washington

- December 1988: Gorbachev announced a 12 percent unilateral reduction in total Soviet conventional forces

- Change of Soviet strategy.
The collapse of the communist Eastern Europe in 1989

By the end of 1989 every pro-Soviet communist regime in Eastern Europe had collapsed; in Poland, Hungary, East-Germany (November 9-10, the Berlin Wall, prominent symbol of the Cold War division of Germany and Europe, was breached), Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Romania.
The development following the collapse of Eastern European communism

- **September 12, 1990:** A treaty signed where the Soviets accepted German reunification as well as its membership in NATO

- **October 3, 1990:** The Federal Republic of Germany absorbed East Germany

- **November 1990:** NATO and the Warsaw Pact signed a treaty drastically reducing the size and armaments of their conventional forces in Europe (the CFE-treaty), ratified by the United States in November 1991

- **July 1, 1991:** The Warsaw Pact formally dissolved

- At the same time Gorbachev was working to repair relations with the PRC

- **December 1991:** The Soviet Union disintegrated.
End of the Cold War in the Third World

- **February 1988:** Gorbachev announced his intention to pull all Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

- **February 1989:** The Soviet Union withdraws its forces from Afghanistan.

- Gorbachev successfully pressured the Vietnamese to withdraw their troops from Cambodia in two stages in 1988 and 1989.

- **December 1989:** An agreement provided for the withdraw of all foreign forces from Angola by mid-1991.

- **1990:** The Soviets began cutting back military assistance and withdrawing their advisers from Ethiopia and the Cubans withdrew their combat forces and advisers at the same time.

- **1987:** Peace effort led by Costa Rican President Oscar Arias Sánchez ends the Cold War in Central America. The Sandinistas agreed to hold free elections in Nicaragua in February 1990.
Why the Cold War ended

While most scholars agree that the Cold War ended when the leaders of the Soviet Union decided it was no longer worth fighting, the reason for the shift in Soviet policies are still in dispute.

Two theories:

1. Reagan’s supporters and some scholars claim that the Soviets shifted to less confrontational policies in response to the US military build-up and political offensive. In this view, US actions raised the costs of confrontation and forced the Soviets into corner from which there was no escape save for surrender.

2. Other scholars argue that the new generation of Soviet leaders that emerged in the 1980s had already concluded that the policies of their predecessors had been counterproductive and that continued conflict threatened their goal of overcoming the disastrous legacy of Stalinism, reforming their economy, democratizing their policies, and revitalizing their society. According to this analysis, US actions did not cause the changes in Soviet domestic and foreign policies and might have delayed them by providing opponents of reform with arguments against better relations with the West and the relaxation of internal control.
The Vietnam war (1945-60)

Before the Second World War: Vietnam part of the French empire

During the war: Vietnam taken over by Japan

Ho Chi Minh and his Viet Minh (a communist-nationalist movement) conducted a military campaign against the Japanese army

After the war the French wanted to regain their colony but faced strong opposition from the Viet Minh which was seeking Vietnamese independence

At first the USA wanted Vietnamese independence but then decided to help the French stay in Indochina as the Cold War developed. The US government concluded that Ho was an instrument of international communism and believed that the “loss” of Indochina would have drastic results for south-east Asia (the domino theory)

In 1950s US advisers already took part in military operation in Vietnam and by 1954 the USA was paying about 70 per cent of the French military budget in Indochina

On 7 May 1954 the French were defeated by Viet Minh in the battle of Dien Bien Phu and decided to withdraw from Vietnam

At a conference held in Geneva in July 1954 the opponents reached an agreement about a temporary division of Vietnam into North and South along the 17th parallel and that national elections to bring about reunification would be held within two years (the Geneva Accords)

The USA did not sign the Accords and started to prop up South Vietnam to block communism from advancing from the North in what was effectively the start of US involvement in the longest war in history

In 1956 the USA appointed leader of South-Vietnam, Ngo Dinh Diem, announced that the national reunification elections would not be held

Communists in the South, known as the Viet Cong, began to organize resistance and guerrilla warfare

In 1959 North Vietnam announced its intention to reunite Vietnam

In 1960 the Viet Cong formed the National Liberation Front which acted as its political arm.
Kennedy’s Vietnam war

- Kennedy adhered the domino theory
- Increased economic aid to Diem and sent military “advisers” to South-Vietnam.
- Just before his assassination, Kennedy authorized the CIA to assist a group of South Vietnamese generals in a coup against Diem.
- On 1 November 1963, Diem was overthrown and he and his brother were murdered.
Indochina’s (Vietnam’s) impact on the Cold War

The search for new alliances:

- Tensions over Indochina led the USA to create another NATO-type alliance for Asia.
- On 8 September 1954: the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was set up.
- The Soviet response to SEATO was to give its support to the non-aligned grouping of African and Asian states which had been set up at the Bandung Conference in Indonesia.

Mao was alarmed by the announcement of the formation of SEATO.

- This was the reason for China’s attack on the offshore islands, Quemoy, Matsu and Tachen Islands (1954-1955 and again 1958).
- This tension over SEATO and the situation in Asia led to worsening relations between the USSR and China.
- On 20 June 1959, this growing Sino-Soviet split resulted in the USSR suddenly withdrawing all its experts from China.
Johnson’s Vietnam war

- When Lyndon B. Johnson became US president he was determined to step up US involvement in the war in South Vietnam

- **August 1964: The Gulf of Tonkin Incident**

- Congress persuaded to pass the *Tonkin Gulf Resolution*,

- **March 1965: US bombers were flying regular massive bombing missions against the North (Operation Rolling Thunder)**

- **March 1965: Johnson sent some US ground forces to South Vietnam**

- **July 1965: Johnson ordered in 180,000 US troops**

- **1968: The number of US troops in Vietnam was 540,000**

- **January 1968: The Tet Offensive.** Turned to be a turning point in the Vietnam war.

- **March 1968: Johnson announced his decision not to stand for re-election as the Democrat candidate in the November elections**

- Johnson called for peace talks with the North Vietnamese and negotiations began in *Paris in May 1968.*
Nixon’s Vietnam war

- When Richard Nixon became US president he was determined to end the war.

- Nixon decided on a policy of *Vietnamization* of the war.

- Nixon’s method to get out of Vietnam was to promising improved US-Soviet relations. This policy was called détente.

- Nixon also made an attempt to improve relations with China.

- January 1973: Vietnamese peace talks in Paris between Kissinger (USA) and Le Duc Tho (North Vietnam), led to an agreement on ceasefire and the USA began to withdraw its remaining troops.

- On 29 April 1975: The Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese army captured Saigon (the capital of South Vietnam).

- The same year the Khmer Rough took power in Cambodia and the Pathet Lao took over in Laos.
Effect of the Vietnam war on US policy after 1975

- The new policy of détente as regards the communist world

- Kissinger argued that the USA was focusing too much on communist activity in one area of the world at the expense of the total global balance of power

- Kissinger also saw the world had shifted from a bi-polar international situation to a multi-polar one

- US reluctance to commit its own troops to other developing-world conflicts which the USSR took advantage of.
Why did the United States fail to win the Vietnam war?

- Some statements:
  - The defeat was an inevitable consequence of the policy of gradual escalation imposed on the US military by a civilian government.
  - The anti-war movement in the USA encouraged the failure of political will to pursue the war to victory by making a full commitment.
  - The US military authorities relied too much on conventional methods of warfare and did not understand the nature of guerrilla war.
  - The USA did little to win over the hearts and minds of the Vietnamese.
  - The USA also failed to understand the circumstances in Vietnam.
The nature of conflict during the Cold War

**Ideological conflict:**

- The cold war is often portrayed as a conflict between two competing ideologies: capitalism and communism.

- The USSR symbolized communism (the ideology of Marxism-Leninism), involving a political system of one-party state and an economic system of state ownership.

- The USA stood for liberal democracy, with its freedom of political expression, and capitalism with its emphasis on private ownership of the economy.

- Many scholars are critical of the view that Cold War conflict was based primarily on ideological differences. They see the Cold War as a battle for supremacy between two powerful countries pursuing their own interests. Ideology was merely a tool with which to attack the opposing side.
Economic measures in the Cold War

- In order to ensure that spheres of influence were brought firmly under their control, the superpowers used economic measures.

- Restoring the economies of Europe after the Second World War was a powerful weapon of the USA against the spread of communism, as well as securing its own markets (the Marshall Plan).

- The USSR viewed Marshall aid as an instrument of capitalist interference and put pressure on its satellite states to refuse the offer. The establishment of Comecon in 1949 provided the hope that eastern Europe would receive financial assistance from the Soviet Union but it tended to work to the advantage of the USSR. It also helped the regimes of eastern Europe to impose Stalinist economic systems on their countries.

- Economic measures also played a significant role in the Berlin Blockade of 1948-9. The West’s decision to introduce a new currency in the western sector of the city highlighted the recovery of economic confidence in West Berlin and the difference between the two systems in the city.

- As the Cold War developed in the 1960s and 1970s offers of financial assistance became an important tool in securing the superpower’s influence in the Third World.
The superpowers non-cooperation during the Cold War

- In 1945 the two superpowers were still talking to each other
- By 1947 superpower cooperation had broken down
- The degree of mistrust between them had caused each side to view the other as employing strategies of deliberate non-cooperation in order to secure their own interest. The superpowers came to the conclusion that non-cooperation was a more effective method of safeguarding their interests than negotiation
- The withholding of information was one aspect of non-cooperation (e.g., Hiroshima)
- The Berlin crisis was a stark example of non-cooperation. The Berlin Wall was for example to become symbolic of the non-cooperation between the superpowers over Europe
- Tactics of non-cooperation were used elsewhere during the Cold War and played an important part in delaying and obstructing agreements that could have ended conflict at an earlier stage
- Non-cooperation was an effective method of avoiding reaching an agreement that necessitated unpleasant compromises. It was not until after the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 had highlighted the dangers of non-cooperation that meaningful cooperation was partly resumed.
Propaganda

- Propaganda was viewed by both sides as important tool used to consolidate their control over their spheres of influence and ensuring loyalty at home. Actually propaganda took a central place in the conflict of the Cold War

- **US propaganda:**
  - US propaganda focused on freedom as the basis of Americanism and attacked communism for the limits it seemed to impose on this
  - In order to get its message through the US government established the United States Information Agency, radio stations (Voice of America and Radio Free Europe), the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, US libraries in foreign countries, the film industry, videos and so on

- **Soviet propaganda:**
  - The Soviet authorities took measures to ensure that the ideas that the Soviet population was exposed to were restricted. Any sign of western influence were to be condemned and severely dealt with. The Soviet authorities laid down strict guidelines for literature and other arts in an attempt to purify them of western “bourgeois” influences”. As all Soviet media were under state control, the government was able to coordinate the information provided to its own population.
Espionage

The use of spies became a central weapon in the battle for superpower supremacy. Espionage was used to gain information on the enemy.

Soviet agents played a vital role in passing important secrets to the Soviet authorities, (for example securing the information required to make the atomic bomb).

Soviet espionage was organized by the KGB.

In the USA the CIA was established in 1947 in order to collect and analyze information on threats to US security.

The successes of CIA included the overthrow of left-wing governments in Guatemala (1954), Iran (1953) and Chile (1973). The agency also developed successful intelligence gathering using the U2 spy plane and space satellites.

Perhaps the most serious failures for the CIA was its involvement in the Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961 and the incident when U2 spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union in May 1960.
East-West relations between 1948 and 1962

- In 1948 Cold War positions in Europe had been consolidated.
- Before 1950 the Cold War had been focused on Europe but after 1950, this changed. The main changes:
  1. The development of globalism.
  2. The nuclear arms race.
  3. The “thaw”.
East-West relations between 1948 and 1962

- Issues which caused tension in the period 1948-55
  1. The “German problem”.
  2. The rise of communism in the Far East.
  3. European decolonization.
  5. The arms race.
East-West relations between 1948 and 1962

- The hostile stand-off between the superpowers changed after 1953. There was a move towards establishing a dialogue between the superpowers.

- Factors that promoted a “thaw” in superpower relations between 1948 and 1955
  1. The consolidation of positions.
  2. The death of Stalin.
  4. The policy of Eisenhower and Dulles.

(From the early 1950s, both the superpowers saw the necessity to reach an accommodation with each other of economic reasons and to avoid nuclear war.)
The achievements of the “thaw”?

Resulted in a series of summits between Eisenhower and Khrushchev after 1953 which became part of the so-called “Geneva Spirit”. The “thaw” marked an improvement in relations between the two superpowers but caused a serious split between USSR and China.
The crises between 1956 and 1962 and the nature of the Cold War

The period 1956-62 saw a series of important crises develop, which revealed the superficial nature of the thaw and created need for some form of rules by which conflict should take place and be limited. Those crises were the following:

1. The Hungarian rising, 1956.
3. The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962.

Assessment and conclusion.
The change of superpower rivalry between 1979 and 1991

Carter’s role in the Second Cold war.

The Détente period finally broke down by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

It marked the beginning of the Second Cold War.

The superpower hostility can nevertheless be seen as early as 1976 during the US presidency of Jimmy Carter.

The reason was Carter’s inexperience in foreign affairs (the central weakness of his foreign policy was his inconsistency in choosing which advice to follow) and his emphasis on human rights which increased rather than reduced tension.

Carter reached agreement with Brezhnev on SALT II Treaty in June 1979 but he was under growing pressure from critics at home who thought that all negotiations with the Soviet Union were made at USA’s expense.

Accusations that the Soviets were increasing their influence in the Third World led Carter to increase supplies of arms to anti-communist groups and governments in the Third World.

The Soviet invasion in Afghanistan in 1979 (because of the Islamic revolution in Iran the same year the spread of the Muslim Fundamentalists posed a threat to Soviet interests) marked the end of any further negotiation between the superpowers and killed Détente.

Carter was unwilling to let the USSR get away with an intervention in affairs of a foreign country. (Looked at the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as a threat to US oil interests in the Middle East which had already been affected by the Iranian revolution)

His initial response was to withdraw the SALT II Treaty from the Senate, cut off trade contacts between the USA and the USSR and encourage a western boycott of the Moscow Olympics in 1980.

A sign of the developing tension and hostility was Carter’s decision to increase arms spending. Presidential Directive 59 authorized an increase in the US nuclear arsenal: the era of arms limitation was at an end.
The change of superpower rivalry between 1979 and 1991

Reagan’s role in the Second Cold War

- President Ronald Reagan’s attacks on the Soviet Union were a major factor in the escalation of the Second Cold War.
- He saw the USSR and communism as the embodiment of evil.
- Reagan increased defense spending by 13 per cent in 1982 and over 8 per cent in each of the following two years.
- Central to his arms build-up was the Strategic Defense Initiative announced in 1983.
- Reagan also took decisive measures to try to halt the growth of Soviet influence in the Third World by developing what became known as the Reagan Doctrine (assistance and military supplies to anti-communist insurgents as well as anti-communist governments, invasion of Grenada and so on).
- Instability in the political situation of the Soviet Union because of a succession of old and infirm leaders caused difficulties for the superpowers in reaching agreements.)
Why the Cold War came to an end

Gorbachev’s new political thinking

Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in the Soviet Union in 1985

He recognized the need for urgent reform of the Soviet system and understood that the domestic reform required a change in international policy

This could be done only if arms limitation talks with the USA were reopened and military spending reduced

Gorbachev’s new political thinking presupposed that confrontation between the superpowers were unproductive because it led to escalation in arms and retaliatory measures that increased insecurity

Gorbachev’s new political thinking presupposed a re-evaluation of Soviet interference in the Third World

Gorbachev’s new political thinking omitted the theory of international class struggle and focused instead on universal values of human rights to promote the interests of all peoples

Gorbachev’s new political thinking meant that it was unnecessary to have eastern Europe as a Soviet sphere of influence.
Why the Cold War came to an end

Gorbachev’s actions and the consequences of his new political thinking

- Gorbachev proposed phasing out nuclear weapons and offered a series of ever increasing concessions that took the US leadership by surprise.

- At Washington in 1987 the INF agreement was signed leading to the scrapping of all intermediate-range ballistic missiles.

- By 1988 Gorbachev announced his intention to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan and reduce its forces in eastern Europe by half a million.

- In 1989 communism in Eastern Europe collapsed and Germany was reunified the year after.

- In 1991 the superpowers signed the START I Treaty and the Soviet Union collapsed.