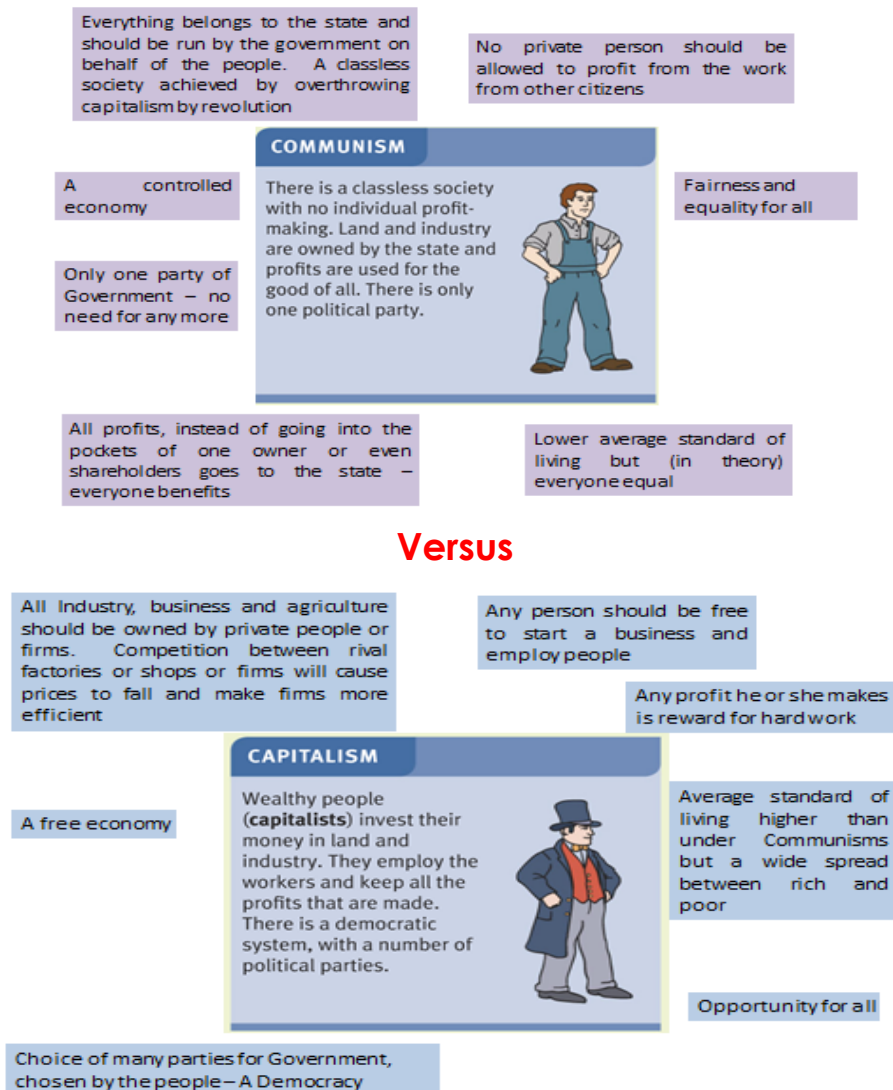


# Revision Two: The Cold War

## • REVIEW ON COLD WAR TERMS:

- A **hot war** is a conflict in which actual fighting takes place
- **Warm War** is where talks are still going on and there would always be a chance of a peaceful outcome but armies, navies etc. are being fully mobilised and war plans are being put into operation ready for the command to fight.
- A **cold war** is a war waged against an enemy by every means short of actual fighting.
- The expression was first used to describe the frosty atmosphere that developed between the Superpowers (USA & USSR) following the end of the Second World War.

## COMMUNISM V CAPITALISM:



## POST WAR CONFERENCES:

### Yalta (Feb 1945)

Held during the war, on the surface, the Yalta conference seemed successful. The Allies agreed a Protocol of Proceedings to:

- **divide Germany into four 'zones', which Britain, France, the USA and the USSR would occupy after the war.**
- **bring Nazi war-criminals to trial.**
- **set up a Polish Provisional Government of National Unity 'pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections as soon as possible'.**
- **help the freed peoples of Europe set up democratic and self-governing countries by helping them to (a) maintain law and order; (b) carry out emergency relief measures; (c) set up governments; and (d) hold elections (this was called the 'Declaration of Liberated Europe').**
- **set up a commission to look into reparations.**

At Yalta, the negotiations went very much in Stalin's favour, but this was because Roosevelt wanted Russian help in the Pacific, and was prepared to agree to almost anything as long as Stalin agreed to go to war with Japan. Therefore, Stalin promised that:

- Russia would join the war in the Pacific, in return for occupation zones in North Korea and Manchuria.
- Russia also agreed to join the United Nations.

Although the Conference appeared successful, however, behind the scenes, tension was growing, particularly about reparations, and about Poland.

After the conference, Churchill wrote to Roosevelt that 'The Soviet Union has become a danger to the free world.' And on their return home both he and Roosevelt were criticised for giving away too much to the Soviets:

### Potsdam (July 1945)

At Potsdam, the Allies met after the surrender of Germany (in May 1945) to finalise the principals of the post-war peace .

Relations between the superpowers had worsened considerably since Yalta. In March 1945, Stalin had invited the non-Communist Polish leaders to meet him, and arrested them. Things had got so bad that, in May 1945, the British Joint Planning Group had drawn up plans for 'Operation Unthinkable' - a 'total war ... to impose our will upon Russia'.

Meanwhile, Roosevelt had died, and America had a new president, Truman, who was inclined to 'get tough' with the Russians.

Also, soon after he had arrived at the Conference, Truman learned (on 21 July) that America had tested the first atomic bomb. It gave the Americans a huge military advantage over everyone else. It also meant that Truman didn't need

Stalin's help in Japan. Instead, Truman's main aim at the conference was to find out from Stalin what date the Russians intended to enter the war in the Pacific - something which (unlike Roosevelt) he did NOT want. So, at Potsdam, the arguments came out into the open.

The Conference agreed the following Protocols:

- to set up the four 'zones of occupation' in Germany. The Nazi Party, government and laws were to be destroyed, and 'German education shall be so controlled as completely to eliminate Nazi and militarist doctrines and to make possible the successful development of democratic ideas.
- to bring Nazi war-criminals to trial.
- to recognize the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity and hold 'free and unfettered elections as soon as possible'.
- Russia was allowed to take reparations from the Soviet Zone, and also 10% of the industrial equipment of the western zones as reparations. America and Britain could take reparations from their zones if they wished.

President Truman presented it as a 'compromise', but in fact the Allies had disagreed openly about:

1. the details of how to divide Germany.
2. the size of reparations Germany ought to pay.
3. Russian influence over the countries of eastern Europe.

## Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe



Twenty million Russians died during the Second World War, so Stalin said he wanted a **buffer zone** of friendly states around Russia to make sure that Russia could never be invaded again. Stalin was planning the takeover of Eastern Europe. During the war, Communists from the occupied countries of Eastern Europe escaped to Moscow and set up Communist governments in exile there. As the **Red Army** drove the Nazis back, it occupied large areas of Eastern Europe and Churchill in the so-called **percentages agreement** - agreed that Eastern Europe could be a Soviet "sphere of influence". He was proved correct.

### Communism in Eastern Europe 1945-1948

Country	Date	Method
Albania	1945	The Communists immediately took power.
Bulgaria	1945	In the 1945 elections, a Communist-led coalition was elected, but the Communists executed the non-Communists.
East Germany	1945	East Germany was the Soviet zone of Germany. In 1949, they set up a Communist-controlled state called the German Democratic Republic.
Romania	1947	In the 1945 elections, a Communist-led coalition was elected to power. The Communists gradually took over and in 1947 they abolished the monarchy.
Poland	1947	Stalin had promised to set up a joint Communist/non-Communist government at Yalta, but then he invited 16 non-Communist leaders to Moscow and arrested them. Thousands of non-Communists were arrested, and the Communists won the 1947 election.
Hungary	1947	The non-communists won the 1945 elections with Zoltan Tildy as president. However, the Communists' leader, Rakosi, took control of the secret police (the AVO), and executed and arrested his opponents. Tildy was forced to resign and Cardinal Mindzenty, head of the Catholic Church, was imprisoned. By 1948, Rakosi had complete control of Hungary.
Czechoslovakia	1948	A coalition government was set up and led by the non-Communist Benes. However, the Communists' leader Gottwald made sure they controlled the radio, the army and the police. Gottwald became prime minister and set up a secret police force. Non-Communists were arrested. In 1948, Communist workers went on strike, the non-Communist minister Masaryk committed suicide and Gottwald took over the government.

## **AMERICA'S RESPONSE:**

### **The Catalyst – Greece 1947**

in 1946 communists in Greece attempted a takeover with moral support from the USSR.

Britain had the most influence in Greece and had 40,000 troops there and supported the royalist government. By 1947 Britain could not afford this commitment and looked to the US to step in. Greece was in a highly sensitive position militarily and Truman, while not wanting to involve America in any military action, wanted to give the Greek government as much support as he could during the Greek Civil War.

Name	Truman Doctrine	Marshall Plan
Why was it introduced? <b>Explain Why</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➔ The good neighbour – it was the right thing to do</li> <li>➔ A response to communism and a way of ensuring communism could not spread e.g. Containment</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➔ 'dollar diplomacy' to help European countries become stable so they stayed capitalist. \$17billion – most going to Britain and France</li> <li>➔ New Trade partners – strong economies in Europe would mean US had people to trade with.</li> </ul>
What was it?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➔ The Truman Doctrine was a name given to the policy announced by President Truman in a speech to Congress, c. 12<sup>th</sup> March 1947.</li> <li>➔ The policy said that the USA should support free people who were resisting attempts to overwhelm them by armed minorities or by outside forces.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➔ Announced by US Secretary of state General George Marshall, June 1947, it was a programme of aid to help western Europe to reequip it factories and revive agriculture and trade.</li> <li>➔ The USA offered money, equipment and goods to states willing to work together to create economic recovery. In return they would agree to buy American goods and allow American companies to invest capital in their industries.</li> </ul>
Aims – What did it hope to achieve? Why was it introduced?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➔ In February 1947 Britain said it could no longer afford to support Greece and turkey. Both appealed to the USA for money.</li> <li>➔ Truman decided the USA should help. He believed that if one country fell to Communism, those nearby would be at risk. This later became known as the '<b>Domino Theory</b>'. The USA should adopt a policy of <b>Containment</b>. This meant supporting Nations in danger of Communist takeover with economic and military aid.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➔ Hoped to achieve a strong and prosperous Europe which would bring:</li> <li>➔ Economic benefits – to both Europeans and Americans</li> <li>➔ Political benefits – Americans believed that unless living conditions in W.Europe improved quickly, people might vote for Communist parties. Prosperous countries would resist the spread of Communism.</li> </ul>

<p>Consequences – what were the effects?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➔ Greece defeated the Communists and Turkey successfully resisted Soviet pressure.</li> <li>➔ The rivalry between the USA and USSR increased: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➤ Truman had publicly stated that the world was divided between 2 ways of life: the free (non-Communist) and unfree (Communist)</li> <li>➤ The USA became committed to containment.</li> <li>➤ Stalin set up the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) to link Communist parties in Europe, and worldwide in common action (1947).</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>➔ 16 W.European States set up the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) to put the Marshall Plan into action.</li> <li>➔ By 1953, the USA had provided \$17billion to help them rebuild their economies and raise their standards of living.</li> <li>➔ Europe became even more firmly divided between East &amp; West. Stalin withdrew the USSR from discussions because he distrusted the motives of the USA and did not wish to show how weak the USSR really was. He prevented interested European countries Czech, Poland from becoming involved. Stalin also accused the USA of using the Plan to dominate Europe and create a strong W.German state hostile to the USSR.</li> </ul>
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### **BERLIN BLOCKADE: CAUSE AND EFFECT**

## **Berlin Blockade: What Happened?**

The American Army wanted to fight its way into Berlin – that would have caused a war. Instead, Truman decided to supply Berlin by air. He wanted to stand up against the Soviets but couldn't afford war in 1948. The only way in to Berlin was by air so with Britain and France's help they decided to airlift supplies in. Would the Soviet Union shoot down the planes? There was an anxious few days as everyone waited to see what USSR would do.

The airlift began on 28th June 1948 and lasted 10 months. Planes flew night and day and landed at 90 second intervals. The pilots had a dangerous job as Soviet planes flew across the air corridors and weather balloons were placed in awkward positions. As a warning to the Soviet Union, Truman ordered B-29 bombers, capable of carrying atom bombs, to be sent to Britain.

## **Berlin Blockade: What were its effects?**

The Soviet Union saw the 1948 Berlin crisis as an attempt to undermine Soviet influence in eastern Germany; Stalin said he was defending the east German economy against the new currency, which was ruining it. The western powers said Stalin was trying to force them out of Berlin.

1. **The Cold War got worse and the Berlin crisis almost started an all-out war.**
2. **East and West Germany - Germany split up. In May 1949, America, Britain and France united their zones into the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany). In October 1949, Stalin set up the German Democratic Republic (East Germany).**
3. **NATO and the Warsaw Pact - In 1949, the western Allies set up NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) as a defensive alliance against Russia. NATO countries surrounded Russia; in 1955, the Soviet Union set up the Warsaw Pact – an alliance of Communist states.**
4. **Arms Race - After Berlin, the USA and the USSR realised that they were in a competition for world domination. They began to build up their armies and weapons.**
  - One of the biggest **LONG TERM** consequences of the blockade was that it led to the Berlin Wall being built in 1961. This became a symbol of the Cold War and represented a geographical division and battleground between the capitalist West and communist East.

#### Airlift Facts

- The blockade lasted 318 days (11 months).
- In the winter of 1948–49 Berliners lived on dried potatoes, powdered eggs and cans of meat. They had four hours of electricity a day.
- The airlift was codenamed '**Operation Vittles**'; the first flight was on 26 June 1948.
- The Soviet authorities offered to provide West Berlin with essential supplies - this offer was rejected.
- 275,000 flights carried in 1½ million tons of supplies. A plane landed every 3 mins.
- On 16 April 1949, 1400 flights brought in 13,000 tons of supplies in one day – Berlin only needed 6,000 tons a day to survive.
- Some pilots dropped chocolate and sweets.
- The airlift continued until 30 September 1949, in order to build up a reserve of supplies.
- The USA stationed B-29 bombers (which could carry an atomic bomb) in Britain. The American airmen were regarded as heroes
- The situation was bad at first, but things got better as the blockade went on. On 12 May 1949, Stalin re-opened the borders.



## CONSEQUENCES

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5. **BERLIN WALL WAS BUILT:**

In 1961 Berlin became the focus of the USSR's latest attempt to maintain control of its European satellites. The Soviet harsh attitude towards its opponents in **Eastern Europe** showed that it was impossible to fight the USSR. For many, it seemed that the only way of **escaping the repression** was to **leave** altogether. Some wished to leave Eastern Europe for **political reasons** –they hated the **Communists- while many more wished to leave for** economic reasons. As standards of living in Eastern Europe fell further and further behind the West, the attraction of going to live in a capitalist country was big.

The **contrast** was particularly great in the divided city of **Berlin**. Living standards were tolerable in the East, but just a few hundreds metres away in West Berlin, East Germans could see some of the prize exhibits of **capitalist West Germany** –shops full of goods, freedom, wealth and variety. This had been deliberately done by the Western powers. They had poured massive investment into West Berlin. East Germans could also watch West German television.

In the 1950s East Germans were still able to travel freely into West Berlin. From there they could travel on into West Germany. **It was very tempting to leave East Germany**, with its harsh Communist regime. By the late 1950s thousands were leaving and never coming back. Those leaving were very often high-qualified workers the Communist government could not afford to lose. And more importantly, the sight of thousands of Germans fleeing Communist rule for a life under capitalism undermined Communism in general.

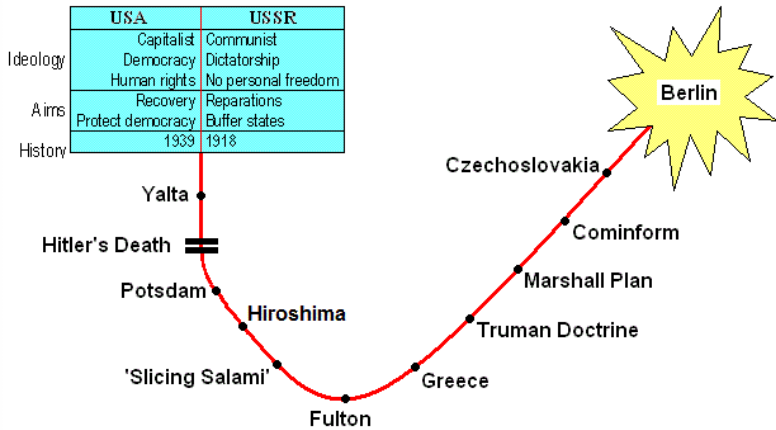


In **1961** Khrushchev thought he could bully Kennedy and chose to pick a fight over Berlin, demanding JFK remove US troops from Berlin. Khrushchev thought the young president would give in, but he stood firm. Kennedy even sent in 150,000 more US troops into Germany in response. Khrushchev responded by adamantly demanding that the USA were using Berlin as a base for spies and agents. At 2.00am on Sunday 13 August, East German soldiers set up a barbed-wire **barrier along the entire frontier between East and West Berlin**, ending all free movement from East to West. It was quickly replaced by a concrete wall. All the crossing points from East to West were sealed, except for one. This was to be known as checkpoint Charlie. Families were divided. Berliners were unable to go to work. Chaos and confusion followed. Border guards kept a constant look-out for anyone trying to cross the wall. They had orders to shoot people trying to leave. Hundreds were killed over the next three decades.

**The West's reaction to the Berlin Wall**

For a while, the wall created a **major crisis**. But after the threat of military action, the international reaction was relief. Khrushchev ordered the government of East Germany to avoid any actions that would increase tension. Kennedy accepted. So **the wall** stayed, and over the following years it became a **symbol of division** –the division of Germany, the division of Europe, the division of Communist East and democratic West. The Communists presented the Wall as a protective shell around East Berlin. The West presented it as a prison wall.

**From Hot War to Cold War**



# CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

Name	Role
Fidel Castro	Cuban statesman who led a successful revolt against General Batista in 1959 and then set up a Communist regime.
General Batista	Ruler/dictator of Cuba from 1952-1959- supported for much of the time by the USA.
Eisenhower	US President from 1953-1961
Kennedy	US President from 1961-1963
Khrushchev	Russian Leader from 1955-1964

## Background.



1. Cuba is only approx 150 kilometres from Florida in the USA.
2. The Americans had helped the Cubans get rid of Spanish rule in 1898 and had long regarded Cuba as an American sphere of influence.
3. American tourists enjoyed holidays in Cuba, especially in the capital, Havana.
4. The USA dominated Cuba militarily-there was a large naval base at Guantanamo.
5. From 1952-59 Cuba was ruled by a dictator called General Batista. The USA supported Batista for most of the time because American companies controlled most of Cuban business-sugar, tobacco. America supplied Batista with weapons: his rule was brutal and corrupt. Batista used secret police to destroy opposition and misused American aid by spending it on his family and friends.
6. As a result of this corruption the USA stopped supplying arms to Batista in 1957 and began encouraging a resistance/opposition movement led by Fidel Castro .In 1959 Castro overthrew Batista's government and became president.
7. By this time Castro was a communist and therefore relations with the USA became difficult.
8. Castro began a series of reforms including nationalizing industries that had previously been controlled by the USA. Castro also took over much American owned land, gave the land to ordinary Cuban farmers-he blamed the USA for poverty in Cuba. Castro forged close links with the USSR. The Russians, led by Nikita Khrushchev sent Castro advisers, economic aid and military equipment.

When the USA refused to buy Cuban sugar, the USSR agreed to take the sugar in return for oil and machinery.

### **The Bay of Pigs Incident 1961**

From 1959 to 1961 there was a tense, frosty atmosphere between the USA and Cuba. The USA gave support to Cuban exiles (Cubans who had left Cuba to get away from Castro). President Eisenhower allowed supporters of Batista to train for an invasion of Cuba.

The CIA was encouraged to get rid of Castro. When Kennedy became President in 1961 he allowed the plan to invade Cuba to go ahead. On April 17 1961, 1 500 opponents of Castro landed at the Bay of Pigs. The Invasion was a disastrous failure because:

The rebels had told the CIA that other Cubans would support the invasion-they did not.

The rebels were outnumbered 300:1

The group were badly equipped and had out of date maps.

### **Results of the Bay of Pigs Incident.**

1. Castro became even more popular in Cuba
2. Castro asked Khrushchev to help Cuba from another American backed attack.
3. Kennedy felt humiliated by the failure of the invasion.
4. Kennedy feared other countries might become Communist and enemies of the USA.
5. Khrushchev-an older and more experienced leader than Kennedy, thought the American President was weak and would not use force over Cuba.
6. Although Kennedy and Khrushchev met in Vienna in June 1961 the talks did not go well.

### **Why did Khrushchev put missiles in Cuba?**

1. Khrushchev wanted to produce more nuclear warheads and close the "missile gap" between the USA and USSR.
2. The USA had missiles in Western Europe and Turkey, well within range of the USSR.
3. The USSR had many more cheap, medium-range missiles than the USA so a launch site in Cuba, close to the US coast, was an ideal place to put missiles.
4. Soviet missiles in Cuba would strengthen Khrushchev's bargaining power against the USA.
5. Khrushchev was very keen to support Castro. Cuba was the only Communist country in the western hemisphere and had just survived the Bay of Pigs attack.
6. Khrushchev was keen to strengthen his own political position in the USSR. Missiles in Cuba would be seen as another major propaganda victory against the USA.

The October Crisis.

On 14 the October 1962 an American U-2 spy plane flew over Cuba: \*Photographs taken by the plane showed there were nuclear missile sites on Cuba and that they were being built by the USSR. Over the next two days more photos confirmed that some sites were already supplied with missiles and could be ready to launch missiles in seven days. 20 Soviet ships were on the way to Cuba carrying missiles.

**Kennedy had several options:**

1	He could do nothing and ignore the missiles. This would have been political suicide and if the Russians had seen this as weakness on his part, they could have taken advantage of it.
2	He could order a full scale military invasion of Cuba. This could lead to heavy US casualties and that would be politically damaging. It would almost certainly involve Russian casualties which could escalate the problem. The American chiefs-of-staff were not convinced that it would be successful either especially as the offending missile bases were in remote areas and most were well inland.
3	He could order an air strike against the missile bases only. The problem again would be Russian casualties and the Air Force was not sure it could deliver pin-point bombing raids on what were relatively small targets.
4	He could call on the Russians to remove the missiles explaining the damage their presence was doing to Russian/American relations. However, the Russians were highly unlikely to listen to a 'polite' request especially as they even refused to recognise the existence of the missiles at the United Nations emergency meeting on the matter.
5	He could put a naval blockade around the island - quarantine it - and not allow any more Russian ships to enter Cuba. This would still leave missiles on Cuba but the negotiations would continue in the background while publically Kennedy would be seen to be doing something specific.

### The missile crisis- day by day

9th October 1962- Kennedy orders a US U-2 spy plane reconnaissance flight over Cuba. The flight was delayed until 14th October because of bad weather.

14th October 1962- A U-2 flying over western Cuba takes photographs of missile sites under construction.

15th October 1962- US intelligence agencies analyse the photos and confirm that Soviet nuclear missiles have been placed in Cuba.

16th October 1962- Kennedy forms a group of advisors called EX-COMM, which begins to discuss in secret how to respond to the crisis.

17th October 1962- Kennedy continues his normal duties as President so as not to arouse suspicion while EX-COMM works on possible options.

18th October 1962- Soviet Foreign Minister, Gromyko, and Kennedy meet but Gromyko denies that there are any 'offensive' missiles in Cuba, and Kennedy does not tell him of his discovery.

21st October 1962- Kennedy's military advisors tell him that an air strike could not guarantee to destroy all Soviet missiles in Cuba. Kennedy decides on blockade.

22nd October 1962-- Kennedy broadcasts live on US TV and tells the American public about the existence of the missiles and his intention to quarantine Cuba as the first step to removing the missiles.

23rd October 1962- The Organisation of American States unanimously supports the blockade of Cuba by the USA

24th October 1962- The US blockade of Cuba begins. Soviet ships sailing to Cuba with questionable cargo, either slow down or turn around, except for 1. American military forces are put on alert .

26th October 1962- Kennedy is informed that evidence from reconnaissance flights shows that the missile sites are nearing completion. Khrushchev sends a private letter to Kennedy proposing to remove Soviet missiles if Kennedy publicly announces that he will never invade Cuba.

27th October 1962- A new official letter from Khrushchev arrives, proposing a public trade of Soviet missiles in Cuba for US missiles in Turkey. An American U-2 plane is shot down over Cuba, killing the pilot- Major Rudolf Anderson. Kennedy decides to delay an attack on Cuba. He ignores Khrushchev's 2nd letter and agrees to the first. JFK sends his brother Robert, one of his advisers to meet the Soviet ambassador in Washington DC. The Soviets are told secretly that the USA will not invade Cuba and will remove its missiles from Turkey within 6 months. If the Soviets do not agree to this deal, Kennedy informs them that the USA will invade Cuba immediately.

28th October 1962- Khrushchev announces on radio Moscow that he has agreed to remove the missiles from Cuba.

### **Consequences**

The Cuban missile crisis stands as a singular event during the Cold War and strengthened Kennedy's image domestically and internationally. It also may have helped mitigate negative world opinion regarding the failed Bay of Pigs invasion. Two other important results of the crisis came in unique forms.

First, despite the flurry of direct and indirect communications between the White House and the Kremlin—perhaps because of it—Kennedy and Khrushchev, and their advisers, struggled throughout the crisis to clearly understand each others' true intentions, while the world hung on the brink of possible nuclear war. In an effort to prevent this from happening again, a direct telephone link between the White House and the Kremlin was established; it became known as the "Hotline."

Second, having approached the brink of nuclear conflict, both superpowers began to reconsider the nuclear arms race and took the first steps in agreeing to a nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

### **OUTCOME:**



## The USA

- Kennedy was immediately seen by world opinion as the 'victor' in the Cuban missile crisis. He had stood up to the Soviets and they had backed down.
- Kennedy had also successfully stood up to some of his hard-line military advisers who wanted to invade Cuba. The crisis showed how dangerous their ideas were.

### BUT

- Kennedy also agreed in secret not to invade Cuba and, more controversially, to remove NATO missiles from Turkey at a later date.
- Castro remained in power in Cuba and so the Communist threat remained.
- Kennedy had made plenty of enemies. He was now distrusted by some key generals, who thought he was not really prepared to fight the spread of Communism. He was hated by Cuban exiles in the USA since Castro had survived the Bay of Pigs and the missile crisis.

## The USSR

- Khrushchev had prevented a US invasion of Cuba and had a guarantee that no further invasion attempts would take place.
- In public, he could claim to have acted reasonably and as a peacemaker by agreeing to remove the missiles from Cuba.
- Khrushchev had US agreement that NATO missiles in Turkey would also be removed, although this was a secret agreement and unknown at the time.

### BUT

- The USSR was shown to have lied to the UN and the world about nuclear missiles in Cuba.
- Khrushchev had been forced to back down in the face of US pressure. Soviet missiles were removed and many in the USSR felt humiliated.
- Khrushchev was unable to make public his secret agreements with the USA.
- In 1964, Khrushchev was replaced as Soviet leader. Historians consider the outcome of the missile crisis contributed to his downfall.

## Cuba

- Castro remained in power and the USA agreed not to attempt further invasions.
- Cuba remained heavily armed, although not with nuclear weapons, and became a focus for other Communists in South America.
- Castro maintained his control of former US industries.

### BUT

- Cuba remained poor and isolated in the western hemisphere, unable to trade with the USA and therefore dependent on the USSR for supplies and equipment.