

CHAPTER 36

The Cold War**TIME LINE**

- 1945 The United Nations is established
- 1946 Winston Churchill delivers his iron curtain speech
- 1947 Peace treaties are signed with Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Italy, and Rumania
President Truman calls for American aid to Greece and Turkey
The United States proposes the Marshall Plan
- 1948 A Communist dictatorship is imposed on Czechoslovakia
The Soviets begin the Berlin blockade
- 1949 The German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic are established
The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is created
The Communists win the Chinese civil war
- 1950 North Korea invades South Korea
- 1953 An armistice ends the Korean War
- 1954 The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) is established.
- 1955 West Germany becomes a member of NATO
The Soviets establish the Warsaw Pact
The Baghdad Pact is established
The Austrian State Treaty is signed
The Geneva summit conference meets
- 1961 The Berlin Wall is built
- 1962 The Cuban missile crisis endangers world peace
- 1963 The United States and the Soviet Union sign the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
- 1972 The United States and the Soviet Union sign the SALT I Treaty and the ABM Treaty
- 1979 The Soviet Union invades Afghanistan
- 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev becomes general secretary of the Soviet Communist party
- 1987 The United States and the Soviet Union sign the Intermediate Range Nuclear Force (INF) treaty

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During World War II, the Allies were compelled to cooperate in order to defeat the aggression of the Axis powers. Once the defeat of the Axis was assured, the need for cooperation ended. Even before Germany's surrender in May 1945, the Western Allies – the United States and Great Britain – became alarmed by the expansion of Soviet power in Eastern Europe. As the Red Army advanced toward Germany, the Soviets established Communist regimes in the countries they occupied and refused to permit free elections.

Concerned about Soviet intentions, the Western powers moved to contain Soviet expansion. This clash between the Western powers and the Soviets resulted in the Cold War.

Origins and Development of the Cold War

The Founding of the United Nations

In April 1945, delegates from fifty nations met in San Francisco to draft the Charter of the United Nations (UN). The UN closely resembled the old League of Nations in its basic organization. All member nations were represented in the General Assembly, while the Security Council consisted of eleven (later increased to fifteen) members. The five great powers—the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, and China—were permanent members of the Security Council with the right of veto. The other six members were elected for two-year terms by the General Assembly. The Secretariat, headed by the Secretary General, dealt with administrative matters. These UN agencies had their headquarters in New York, while the International Court of Justice met in The Hague, the capital of the Netherlands. The UN Charter also established several specialized agencies to deal with various political, economic, and social matters.

While the UN was intended to promote international cooperation in the cause of world peace, it quickly became a forum for the expression of increasing East-West antagonism.

The Soviets and Eastern Europe

As a consequence of its advance against Germany in the final months of World War II in Europe, the Soviets' Red Army came to dominate much of Eastern Europe.

The Soviet Bloc

Joseph Stalin (1879-1953), the Soviet dictator, used the power his army gave him to establish Communist dictatorships in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and—slightly later—Hungary. Local Communists established themselves in power in Yugoslavia and Albania. In Czechoslovakia, a legitimate coalition government

was created, although Communists held most of the important positions. Stalin thus accomplished his goal of making certain that the countries along the western frontier of the Soviet Union would have friendly governments.

The Iron Curtain

The Soviets refused to heed American protests, and East-West relations continued to deteriorate. In a speech at Fulton, Missouri, in March 1946, Winston Churchill (1874-1965), the former British prime minister, introduced a new term to the political vocabulary when he declared: "From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent."

East-West Relations in Germany

Following Germany's defeat in May 1945, the Americans, British, Soviets, and French took control of their occupation zones. Berlin, the former German capital lying within the Soviet zone some one hundred miles from the Western zones, was divided into four occupation sectors. The Western powers had access to their sectors by highway, railroad, and air routes through the Soviet zone.

The occupying powers established the Allied Control Council to determine the policies to be executed in their occupation zones. In practice, however, the four powers failed to reach agreement on common policies, and thus each power proceeded to determine policy for its own zone.

Consolidation of Western Zones

In early 1947, the American and British zones were merged for economic purposes, and the French joined their zone several months later. In this way, the Western powers took the first steps toward the establishment of a separate West German state.

Peace Treaties with Germany's Allies

The wartime Allies were never able to agree on a peace treaty with Germany. However, in February 1947, they signed peace treaties with Germany's allies: Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Italy, and Rumania.

U.S. Containment Policy

In early 1946, George F. Kennan (b. 1904), a member of the staff of the American embassy in Moscow, drafted a lengthy analysis of the Soviet Union and its expansionist policies. Recalled to Washington, Kennan played a central role in designing a policy to halt Soviet expansion, the policy he called

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containment. Kennan believed that only a policy of determined and continuing resistance could halt the advance of Soviet power.

The Truman Doctrine

The first step in implementing the new American containment policy came in response to an urgent appeal from the British. At the end of World War II, Great Britain had assumed a major responsibility in the eastern Mediterranean, providing assistance to the Greek government in its war against Communist rebels and to Turkey in its efforts to resist Soviet demands for a larger voice in the control of the Dardanelles. In February 1947, the British informed the United States that they no longer had the financial strength to continue this role. The United States would have to take over.

Appearing before a joint session of Congress on March 12, 1947, President Harry S. Truman (1884-1972) called for the appropriation of \$400 million for military and economic assistance to Greece and Turkey. The President also expressed what came to be known as the Truman Doctrine: "I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted Subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressure." Congress quickly approved the President's appeal for aid to Greece and Turkey.

The Marshall Plan

The prospect of a total economic collapse of war-ravaged Europe increased fears that the Soviet Union might extend its power over the entire continent.

In June 1947, George C. Marshall (1880-1959), the American secretary of state, proposed a broad program of American assistance to help all of Europe recover economically. The Soviets refused to participate, evidently believing that the Marshall Plan was designed to weaken their hold on Eastern Europe.

The American Congress was initially reluctant to appropriate billions of dollars to promote economic recovery in Europe. Then, in February 1948, a Soviet-inspired coup in Czechoslovakia overthrew that country's coalition government and established a Communist dictatorship. Believing the Marshall Plan would help stop the advance of Soviet power, Congress approved it in April 1948. Between 1948 and 1952, the European Recovery Program (ERP), as the Marshall Plan was officially known, provided about \$13 billion in American assistance for the economic revival of Western Europe.

The Berlin Blockade

As the Western powers proceeded with their plans for creating a separate West German state, the Soviets decided to apply pressure on the West where they could do so with the greatest ease, at Berlin.

The Airlift

On June 20, 1948, the Soviets cut off the highway and railroad routes between the Western occupation zones and Berlin, thereby initiating the Berlin Blockade. In response, the United States established the Berlin airlift, designed to provide the three Western sectors of the city with food, fuel, and other supplies.

Creation of Two German States

The Berlin airlift succeeded in meeting the needs of the Western sectors, and the Soviets decided against escalating the crisis. In May 1949, the Soviets ended the blockade, and the Western powers proceeded with their plans to establish the Federal Republic of Germany, which came into being in mid-1949. The Soviets responded by creating an East German state, the German Democratic Republic, in their zone.

The Establishment of NATO

Mounting East-West tension gradually led the Western powers to join in a military alliance.

The Brussels Pact

In March 1948, Great Britain, France, and the Benelux states (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg) signed a treaty of alliance, the Brussels Pact. Also during 1948, the United States established a peacetime draft in order to increase the size of its armed forces.

The North Atlantic Pact

In April 1949, representatives of twelve nations met in Washington to sign the North Atlantic Pact. The twelve signers included the five Brussels Pact states plus the United States, Canada, Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Italy, and Portugal. Greece and Turkey joined in 1952, and West Germany was added in 1955. The North Atlantic Pact established the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to coordinate the activities of the alliance.

The Cold War in Asia

The Communist Victory in China

Following the end of the war against Japan in 1945, China was torn apart by a civil war between the Nationalist (Kuomintang) government of Chiang

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Kai-shek (1887-1975) and the Communists, led by Mao Tse-tung (1893-1976). The United States provided Chiang with considerable financial and military assistance. But the Nationalist cause was weakened by widespread corruption and a devastating inflation.

The People's Republic of China

Mao's Red Army gradually extended its control over China. In October 1949, Mao proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC). formed an alliance with Soviet Union. and initiated a campaign against American influence and power in East Asia. Chiang Kai-shek withdrew the remnant of his forces to the island of Taiwan.

The United States refused to recognize the PRC and instead maintained diplomatic relations with Chiang's government on Taiwan.

U.S.-Japanese Alliance

The United States began to develop Japan as its main ally in Asia. In 1951, the United States signed a peace treaty with Japan. The following year, the American occupation ended and the two nations signed a security treaty.

The Korean War

At the end of World War II, Japanese-ruled Korea was occupied by American and Soviet forces, with the line between the occupation zones established at the 38th parallel. In the south, the United States supported the creation of a government headed by Syngman Rhee (1875-1965), a conservative nationalist. In the north, the Soviets established a Communist government, led by Kim Il-Sung (b. 1912). Both occupying powers withdrew in 1949.

The Outbreak of War

On June 25, 1950, the army of North Korea attacked South Korea. The United States moved to support South Korea, taking advantage of a temporary Soviet absence from the UN Security Council to win that body's endorsement of American intervention. The Security Council's action made the Korean War officially a United Nations police action, although the bulk of the fighting was done by the Americans and South Koreans.

MacArthur's Alliance

At first, the Korean War went badly as North Koreans poured across the 38th parallel. In August, the North Korean advance was halted at Pusan in the southeast corner of the country. In September, General Douglas MacArthur (1880-1964), the commander of the UN forces, carried out a brilliant landing

at Inchon, behind the North Korean lines. Most of the North Korean army in the south was cut off and destroyed.

Although the United States had originally intervened in Korea in order to restore the dividing line of the 38th parallel, MacArthur's victory presented the prospect of using military force to unite all of Korea. The Chinese warned that they would intervene if the UN forces approached the Yalu River, the border between North Korea and China. The United States disregarded the warnings.

In late November, the Chinese intervened, and by December, had driven the UN forces out of North Korea. MacArthur finally succeeded in stabilizing the front near the 38th parallel.

Dismissal of MacArthur

When the Truman administration decided to wage a limited war in Korea and not attempt to reunify the country, MacArthur protested. In April 1951, Truman relieved MacArthur of his command. Under the leadership of General Matthew Ridgway (b. 1895), MacArthur's successor, UN armies smashed the Chinese and advanced northward, establishing a line roughly along the 38th parallel.

Signing of Armistice

In October 1951, armistice talks began at Panmunjom and continued until July 1953, when an armistice was signed. Under its terms, Korea remained divided at the 38th parallel.

The Cold War During the 1950s

The Rearmament of West Germany

The administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890-1969), which held office from 1953 to 1960, continued the effort initiated by Truman to reach an agreement to rearm West Germany and bring that country into the Western defense system. France's fear of a rearmed Germany stood as the main obstacle in the path of achieving this objective.

The European Defense Community

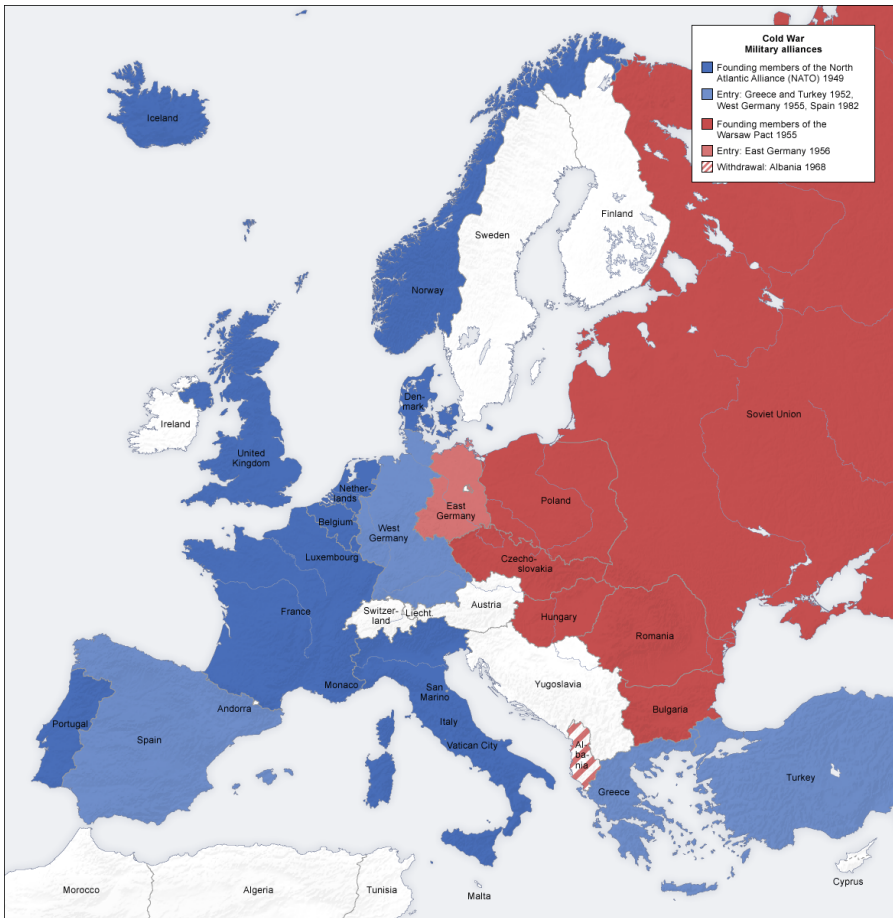
In October 1950, French Premier Rene Pleven (b. 1901) had proposed the creation of an integrated Western European army including West German troops. Complex negotiations on what came to be known as the Pleven Plan resulted in the signing, in May 1952, of a treaty providing for the establishment of the European Defense Community (EDC). Even though the

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project had been originated by the French, the French parliament rejected the EDC treaty in the summer of 1954.

Agreement on West German Rearmament

Following the collapse of the EDC, negotiations among the Western allies led to a British commitment to maintain several divisions on the European continent in order to provide reassurance to the French. The Western powers then agreed to permit the rearmament of West Germany, which became a member of NATO in 1955.



The Warsaw Pact

In May 1955, the Soviets established the Warsaw Pact. This military alliance of the Soviets with Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Rumania formalized a system that already existed.

The American Alliance System

During the 1950s, the Eisenhower administration expanded the Western alliance system, which had begun with the creation of NA TO in 1949.

SEATO

In September 1954, the United States sponsored the establishment of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), the Asian equivalent of NATO. SEATO's members included the United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan.

The Baghdad Pact (CENTO)

The creation of the Baghdad Pact in 1955 marked the completion of the American alliance system. Consisting of Great Britain, Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan, the Baghdad Pact joined NATO and SEATO. Turkey, the easternmost member of NATO, was the westernmost member of the Baghdad Pact, while Pakistan, the westernmost member of SEATO, was the easternmost member of the Baghdad Pact.

In 1958, Iraq dropped out of the Baghdad Pact in the wake of an anti-Western coup. Since Baghdad was Iraq's capital, the alliance was renamed the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO).

The Geneva Summit

In March 1953, Stalin died, and control of the Soviet government passed into the hands of a more moderate collective leadership. Communist party chief Nikita Khrushchev (1894-1971) and Premier Nikolai Bulganin (1895-1975) spoke of "peaceful coexistence" between the Soviet Union and the West.

In 1955, the Soviet Union and the major Western allies, the United States, Great Britain, and France, reached agreement on the Austrian State Treaty. This accord ended the four-power occupation of Austria, which became a fully independent state committed to neutrality.

In July 1955, Eisenhower, British Prime Minister Anthony Eden (1897-1977), and French Premier Edgar Faure (1908-1988) met with Khrushchev and Bulganin in Geneva. This was the first meeting in a decade of the heads of the four governments, who conducted their talks in a cordial atmosphere. Following this summit meeting, there was talk of the "Spirit of Geneva," even

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though East and West had not reached any agreements on the major issues that divided them, notably German reunification and arms limitation.

The Berlin Crisis of 1958

In November 1958, Khrushchev began a campaign to solve the German question on terms favorable to the Soviet Union. He demanded that the Western powers agree to accept within six months the neutralization and demilitarization of West Berlin. If they did not, the Soviets would sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany and turn their rights in Berlin over to the East Germans. This would force the Americans, British, and French to deal with a government they did not recognize.

The Soviets acted in Berlin because West Berlin provided an easy escape route for dissatisfied East Germans. The flight of East Germans to the West created a crisis situation for the East German economy, which could not continue to sustain the loss of so much skilled labor.

When the Western powers refused to give way, Khrushchev let the six-month deadline pass. It remained apparent, however, that the Soviet leader was not prepared to accept the Berlin situation as it stood.

Nevertheless, the immediate crisis had passed by the spring of 1959, and in September Khrushchev visited the United States. Eisenhower and Khrushchev agreed to discuss Germany and other outstanding issues at a summit meeting to be held in Paris in the spring of 1960.

The U-2 Incident and the Collapse of the Paris Summit

Since 1955, American high-altitude U-2 spy planes had been carrying out surveillance operations over Soviet territory. On May 1, 1960, the Soviets succeeded in downing a U-2 and capturing its pilot. Khrushchev used this U-2 incident to break up the Paris summit meeting as it was about to convene in June. The summit had little likelihood of success, since neither side was prepared to give way on any of its established positions.

Crisis and Détente: East-West Relations from the 1960s through the 1980s

The Berlin Wall

In early 1961, Khrushchev renewed his pressure on the Western powers in Berlin. Then, on August 13, the Soviets and East Germans closed the border between East and West Berlin and began the construction of the Berlin Wall, which prevented the flight of East Germans to the West. While the Western

powers protested the building of the wall, they took no other action, and the Berlin crisis gradually eased.

The Bay of Pigs

In 1959, Fidel Castro (b. 1927) overthrew the government of Fulgencio Batista (1901-1973), the American-supported Cuban dictator. Soon after Castro took power, strains developed in Cuban-American relations. and in January 1961. the United States broke diplomatic ties with Cuba.

The American Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had begun training Cuban exiles for an invasion of Cuba. When President John F. Kennedy (1917-1963) took office in 1961, he approved the plan. On April 17, 1961, an exile force of 1,500 men landed at the Bay of Pigs on Cuba's southern coast. Within three days, Castro's forces crushed the invasion. In December. Castro proclaimed himself a Marxist-Leninist and moved closer to the Soviet Union.

The Cuban Missile Crisis

Concerned about the possibility of American action against Cuba, Castro turned to the Soviet Union for aid. The Soviets provided the Cubans with airplanes and other conventional weapons and also began to construct missile launching pads for intermediate range missiles. The Cuban missile crisis, the most dangerous East-West confrontation of the Cold War, was about to begin.

U.S.-Soviet Confrontation

On October 22, 1962, Kennedy demanded that the Soviets dismantle the missile sites and remove the missiles. He also established an American naval quarantine to prevent Soviet ships from bringing additional offensive weapons to Cuba.

Negotiations and Settlement

Tense negotiations between Washington and Moscow brought an end to the Cuban missile crisis on October 28. Khrushchev agreed to dismantle the launching pads and remove the missiles, and Kennedy pledged not to invade Cuba. The United States agreed informally to pull its missiles out of Turkey, although this commitment was not a formal part of the agreement ending the crisis.

In the aftermath of the Cuban missile crisis, the Washington-Moscow hot line was established to facilitate speedy communication in the event of another crisis.

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The Nuclear Test Ban Treaty

Following the resolution of the Cuban missile crisis, long-stalled American-Soviet negotiations resumed and resulted in the signing of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in July 1963. The treaty banned the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere. Underground tests could continue. A number of other nations adhered to the treaty, although France and the People's Republic of China did not. These two countries were busy developing their own nuclear weapons.

Détente and East-West Treaties

Following the signing of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the United States and the Soviet Union initiated efforts to promote a further reduction of tension in their relationship. This reduction of tension was referred to as détente.

The Outer Space Treaty

In January 1967, the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and fifty-seven other countries signed the Outer Space Treaty, banning weapons of mass destruction, as well as military installations, from outer space.

The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty

The United States, the Soviet Union, and sixty other nations signed the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in July 1968. The treaty was designed to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to nonnuclear countries. France, the People's Republic of China, and several other countries refused to accept the treaty.

SALT I and ARM Treaties

For several years, negotiations had been underway between the United States and the Soviet Union for a strategic arms limitation treaty (SALT). In May 1972, the Americans and Soviets signed the SALT I Treaty, agreeing to freeze the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) at their existing levels for five years. However, no limit was placed on the number of warheads that could be carried by each missile. SALT I thus did little to end the arms race. The United States and the Soviet Union also signed the Antiballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, agreeing to restrict the construction of anti-ballistic missile systems to two sites in each country. Other American-Soviet accords promoted increases in trade and scientific and cultural exchanges.

The SALT II Treaty

Further arms-limitation negotiations led to the signing, in mid-1979, of the SALT II Treaty, which placed limits on long-range missiles, bombers, and nuclear warheads. The treaty encountered strong opposition from American conservatives, who charged that the treaty favored the Soviets.

The End of Detente

In December 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in an effort to defend the pro-Soviet government against insurgents. President Jimmy Carter (b. 1924) responded to the Soviet action by imposing economic sanctions on the Soviet Union and declaring a U.S. boycott of the 1980 Moscow Summer Olympic Games. He also withdrew the SALT II Treaty from Senate consideration, though both sides continued to observe the obligations of the treaty. Nevertheless, by 1980, detente appeared to be at an end, and there was talk of a new Cold War.

Martial Law in Poland

President Ronald Reagan (b. 1911), who took office in 1981, pursued a hard line toward the Soviet Union. American-Soviet relations were strained further by events in Poland. In 1981, under pressure from Moscow, the Polish government imposed martial law in an attempt to destroy the challenge to its authority presented by Solidarity, an independent labor union. In protest, the United States imposed economic sanctions on Poland.

Korean Plane Incident

The atmosphere of the new Cold War was intensified in September 1983, when a Soviet fighter shot down a Korean Airlines 747 that had strayed over Soviet territory on a flight from Alaska to Seoul, South Korea. All 269 persons aboard the plane died. The Soviets insisted that the plane had been engaged in espionage.

Renewed Easing of East-West Tension

After Mikhail Gorbachev (b. 1931) took office as general secretary of the Soviet Communist party in March 1985, East-West tension began to ease. In late 1985, Reagan and Gorbachev held a cordial meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, agreeing to resume arms-limitation negotiations. The two leaders held their second summit meeting in Reykjavik, Iceland, in October 1986, although no agreements on arms limitation were reached.

The INF Treaty

Continuing American-Soviet negotiations led to a third Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Washington in December 1987. The two leaders signed the

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Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, which called for the scrapping, over a three-year period, of all American and Soviet missiles with a range of 315 to 3,125 miles. The INF Treaty was the first American-Soviet agreement to actually reduce the level of arms.

Continuing Issues of Disagreement

The United States and the Soviet Union continued negotiations in an effort to reach agreement on a reduction of conventional forces in Europe and long-range missiles. However, discord over American development of the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) continued. In addition, while Soviet forces withdrew from Afghanistan, the Americans and Soviets remained at odds over human rights in the Soviet Union and regional conflicts.

The Cold War conflict divided much of the world into two armed camps as the United States developed a global policy of containment in its effort to limit the expansion of Soviet power. Serious crises developed: at Berlin in 1948-1949 and again from 1958 to 1961, in Korea in the early 1950s, and in the Cuban missile crisis of 1962.

These crises did not lead to war, however, and gradually the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, sought a relaxation of tension – a détente – in their relationship. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 brought new strains to the East-West relationship, and there was talk of a new Cold War.

Then, during the late 1980s, the United States and the Soviet Union renewed their arms-limitation negotiations, signed the INF Treaty, and sought ways to reduce the suspicion and distrust that had for decades marked their relationship.