

History Notes - Term Two (The Cold War):

- Post WWII, USA + USSR emerged as the dominant two superpowers.
- USA —> liberal democracy
- USSR —> one party socialist state + totalitarian —> few democratic rights —> total control by communist party
- 1945 —> 1991 (Soviet Union's collapse) there was a struggle for dominance which resulted in tension, hostility and mutual distrust which dominated international relations
- World dominated by the CW
- Tensions began long before outbreak of WWII
- Tensions really began in 1917 —> Bolshevik Revolution in Russia
- New Communist Govt under Lenin and Stalin from 1928 was never trusted nor accepted by the Western world + powers
- Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany —> 1918
- Russia excluded from discussions at Versailles —> convinced Western countries were set on destroying the newly independent Soviet Union, thus "guarded" itself against Western attacks.

Early tensions before the start of CW:

- 1918: Russian Civil War broke out
- Western nations supporting Russian dissidents
- Allies eventually withdrew, evident to Russia that Allies + USSR were engaged in a state of hostility: there were deep seated political tensions between the powers.
- Tensions increased during period between 1918 and 1939/1941
- August 1939: Non-aggression Pact between USSR + Nazi Germany —> Western powers believed USSR couldn't be trusted + Westerners fearful
- 1941: USSR joins the Allies —> Germany = common enemy

- However, tensions remained:
- Little military cooperation for much of the War over the opening of the Second front
- Only opened in June 1944 —> Stalin believed this was intentional, he believed the West wanted Germany to defeat Russia
- Constant suspicion that either side would sign a separate treaty with Hitler
- USSR was not let into secret Manhattan Project until it was ready to be used; only briefly informed by Truman (Suspicion: Stalin knew as he had spies who informed him about it)
- RED CHINA emerges as third bloc (communist) in 1949
- The CW started because of the belief that Russia wanted to spread communism throughout the world, and the Western powers did all that they could to curb this infiltration
- As the war drew to an end, the three powers met at various conferences at Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam, where plans for post-war period were discussed
- However, even before the war had properly ended the hopes that the Grand Alliance would continue into peace time were shattered, and in place came mutual hostility, distrust, a divided world and a Cold War.

The Definition of the CW:

- The Cold War was an ideological battle between communism and capitalism for the hearts and minds of the nations of the world.
- Two superpowers = USA + USSR = struggle for spheres of influence + world domination
- Intensive competition between them politically, economically and ideologically
- Mutually Assured Destruction = MAD (threat)
- Espionage (spying), propaganda, arm's race + space race
- Restrict + undermine each other's influence
- Each step by opposing side met by countermeasure
- Policy of Containment = a policy adopted/implemented to prevent/contain the spread of communism —> INTERNATIONAL PHENOMENON
- Nuclear + Arms race = increased tensions

- Characteristics of the CW include:

- Economics
- Propaganda
- Diplomacy
- Dollar Diplomacy vs. Ruble Diplomacy
- Soviet control of Communist regimes
- Soviet Army
- US Aid + bases on foreign soil (\$\$\$)
- US propaganda
- Espionage = USSR advantaged —> Western World

- **Thus, proxy wars were fought:**

- Korean War
- Vietnam War
- Middle East
- Angola
- Cuba

- The struggle was a “cold one” as the two sides did everything possible to harm one another directly
- Fear of MAD: Mutually Assured Destruction led to a balance of terror based on deterrence + brinkmanship

Reasons for the CW:

1. The lack of common purpose within the Grand Alliance:
 - Common enemy —> Germany
 - No common ideals
 - West distrusted communism
 - Different ideas of post-war Europe

 - Stalin: Believed Russia should receive more territory as they took on more German divisions

- Stalin: Western front dilemma
- Churchill: Wanted Allies to use military to halt Russia's advance but U.S refused
- FDR: demobilisation + restore economics of the world (post-war Europe in particular)

2. Nuclear Warfare:

- Threat of nuclear/atomic warfare
- Hiroshima + Nagasaki → USSR had no knowledge of the bombs
- Stalin developed his own nuclear programme (1949)
- Increased tensions between two powers

3. Rise of the USSR:

- Communism vs. Capitalism
- WWII → non-aggression pact, Operation Barbarossa, territorial expansion (capturing satellite states)
- Yalta, Tehran, Potsdam
- Lend-lease agreement (worsened relationships - USA terminated the act)
- FDR dies → 1945 → Truman into power → severely anti-communist
- Iron Curtain → Churchill → angered Stalin
- COMINFORM → 1947: control of people under communism → 90 million people brought under communist rule. COMINFORM consolidated its authority over these people.
- Russia's extension of authority = revenge on the West for having adopted policy of isolation → driven by political, ideological aim
- As the division hardened, Russia made more of a concerted effort to strengthen its hold over Eastern Europe communists + began to take over "popular front" governments in Eastern Europe.
- Two Blocs = capitalist encirclement (danger) → Stalin

Events in Europe that resulted in two, armed and ideologically opposed blocs:

1. Attempts made by the West to curb communist infiltration into Europe:

- At the end of WWII, the presence of American troops in Europe was seen as a temporary measure. When the war ended in May 1945, America rapidly demobilised its troops.
- The Red Army (Soviets) did not demobilise
- Britain = financially unstable —> could not maintain role in protecting capitalism
- US = policy of isolation —> abandoned —> changed to policy of containment

DATE:	EVENT:
1941	Atlantic Charter signed
1943	Casablanca Conference (Jan) Tehran (December)
1944	Allies invade France (D-Day)
1945	Yalta Potsdam
1946	IRON CURTAIN SPEECH - CHURCHILL in the USA
1947	Crisis in Greece + Turkey between communists + nationalists Truman Doctrine Marshall Plan COMINFORM established in Russia
1948	Berlin Blockade Berlin Airlift
1949	COMECON NATO established Berlin Blockade + Airlift ends Communism in East Germany (German Democratic Republic) Korean War
1950	US intervention in the Korean War
1953	Eisenhower becomes the 34th president of the USA Stalin dies Unrest in East Germany

1955	West Germany permitted to become a member of NATO Warsaw Pact formed
1956	German Democratic Republic admitted to the Warsaw Pact
1958	Khrushchev = General Secretary of the USSR
1960	Tensions mount in East Germany —> people trying to escape into West Germany
1961	JFK = 35th president of the USA Berlin Wall erected
1962	Cuban Missile Crisis
1963	JFK is assassinated Lyndon. B Johnson = 36th president
1964	Khrushchev replaced by Brezhnev

1965	Vietnam War
1989	Collapse of the USSR begins
1991	End of the CW

Significant Conferences held during WWII:

Conference:	Date:	Attendees:	Terms of Agreement:
Atlantic Charter	1941	FDR (USA) + Churchill (Britain)	Both sides agreed not to seek territory for themselves after the war + Stalin was not present

Casablanca Conference (Morocco)	January 1942	Churchill + FDR	Both agreed that German surrender would be unconditional
Tehran Conference	November 1943	FDR + Stalin + Churchill	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. They would force Germany's unconditional surrender 2. Germany would be split up but no solid agreements about where + how 3. An International body should be established - would later become the United Nations 4. The necessity to open up the second front in the West 5. Poland would gain German land 6. USSR declare war on Japan - aid USA after War in Europe ended
Yalta Conference - Ukraine Crimean	February 1945	FDR + Stalin + Churchill	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stalin declares war on Japan - wait for

<p>Conference</p> <p>Context:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Russia had pushed Germany back (within 40 miles of Berlin) - Second front opened successfully - America required aid from USSR in the Pacific 			<p>German defeat</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Allies agreed that in April 1945 the UN would meet for the first time 3. Disarm, Demilitarise, Denazify, Divide, Democratise Germany 4. Germany to be split up into four zones (controlled by a different nation) 5. Germany weakened by demilitarisation 6. Reparations to be paid by Germany 7. Germany to be denazified, Nuremberg trials 8. Eastern Europe to have free elections (communist
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			<p>influences)</p> <p>9. Dilemma with Polish territory</p> <p>10. Stalin wanted to maintain his influence in Poland</p> <p>11. The Curzon Line - Russian Polish territory</p>
<p>Potsdam Conference</p> <p>Context:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Nazi's defeated - Atomic Bomb dropped on Japan 	<p>July to August 1945</p>	<p>Truman + Stalin + Attlee</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Germany split up → economy ran as a whole - Denazify + democratise - Berlin also split up into four zones - Take reparations from own zone - USSR to get ¼ of other reparations

The Nature of the CW:

- Propaganda was widely used during the CW, trying to damage each other's reputation and improve their own. This was evident in the cartoons, literature, movies and press.
- They competed in an arms race to develop more and more powerful weapons.
- They tried to outdo one another in science and technology, especially in the space race to land on the moon first
- Competition was also displayed on sports fields, for example to get gold at the Olympics.
- In all these areas of conflict, espionage was used to find out each other's plans
- Radio was an effective way to get behind the Iron Curtain
- Radio-free Europe aimed to broadcast to the Soviet countries of Eastern Europe

USSR creates a sphere of influence in Eastern Europe:

- After the war, the USSR had annexed the Baltic states of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Ukraine e.t.c and added them to its empire.
- At the end of the war, Russia's armies drove the Germans back towards Germany as they liberated and subsequently occupied the countries in Eastern Europe from Nazi rule e.g. Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia
- Allied forces marched from the West and liberated Western Europe from Nazi rule
- However, although Russia had agreed at Yalta in 1945 to allow democratic elections in countries it liberated, this did not happen

- Instead, Russia imposed “people’s democracies” or “puppet communist governments” who took orders from Moscow —> Satellite States
- It was clear from her actions that the USSR still felt vulnerable to the West —> Stalin insecure due threat of atomic bomb + western influence —> “defensive barrier” formed
- Initially, coalition governments had been established in the satellite states, however, non-communists in the government’s were persecuted + the communists took control of key government positions and in this way the USSR’s authority was established with Moscow giving orders. Eventually all non-communists were eliminated
- Those Satellite states who offered resistance were ruthlessly crushed using Soviet troops. Thus, when the Czechs tried to resist Russian control in 1948, the Russians organised a communist coup which angered the West
- In response to the expansion of the USSR in Eastern Europe, Winston Churchill (PM) made his famous “Iron Curtain” speech in 1946
- Stalin infuriated (Britain align with “war-mongers”)

- Stalin wanted:

- A buffer zone between Germany and USSR
- Satellite states would be a source of cheap goods + raw materials for the USSR (Stalin implemented nationalisation + collectivisation in Satellite States with the same devastating consequences as those under the Five-Year plans)
- The Satellite States would also have to trade with USSR
- Some historians believe that Stalin’s interest in satellite states was also part of a pattern of conquest. It was seen by many as an aggressive move rather than a defensive one
- The other opinion was that aggression + hostility from Western nations forced Stalin to impose communist regimes

The USA creates a sphere of influence in Western Europe: the Truman Doctrine + Marshall Plan (The Policy of Containment)

- Western Powers believed USSR was trying to expand + spread communist influence
- This threatened capitalism + ideologies of Western Nations
- Spread of communism = feared by Western powers
- Domino Principle —> communism —> other countries falling to communism
- USA's responsibility to protect the world from spread of communism
- Policy of Containment —> economic + military weapon
- Containment —> Marshall Plan: Economic Weapon
- NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organisation —> military weapon

The Truman Doctrine: a political response to the fear of communism

- First Crisis between capitalism + communism occurred in Greece 1947
- Centre of Crisis for Britain —> British troops in Greece since 1944 following Churchill's conclusion of the **Percentages Agreement** with Stalin
- The **Percentage Agreement** was a secret informal agreement between Churchill and Stalin during the Fourth Moscow Conference in October 1944. It gave the percentage division of control over Eastern European countries, dividing them into spheres of influence. FDR was consulted tentatively and conceded to the agreement.
- In Greece, the monarchist government opposed communist forces with British military aid

- British objective: secure a non-communist government in Greece
- The communists —> led Nation Liberation Front (NLF) had attempted to seize Athens in December 1944 —> had been defeated by British troops
- NLF supplied with weapons from Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria + very quickly gained control of most of Northern Greece
- Britain sends aid to Greek government but the Greek communists received no Soviet aid as Stalin had preoccupied with events in Central Europe + was concerned that the civil war in Greece would anger the the Western powers
- Britain found it difficult to continue its aid, there was a danger of a communist takeover
- Western concern over Greece heightened because of events in Turkey —> Soviet pressure for the return of disputed territory + the right to naval bases in Bosphorus + Dardanelles was mounting
- Pressure increased during 1946 + the use of force was a major threat
- Western powers believed that the Soviets intended to gain dominance in the Middle East with its crucial oil supplies
- Turkey, therefore = great strategic value
- If Greece fell to communism —> Turkey's position = hopeless —> surrounded by hostile communist countries under USSR
- Britain had been aiding both the Greek + Turkish governments
- Britain on edge of collapse —> economically (post-war difficulties)
- Truman: "Unless economic + military support was given, Western Europe would fall to communism
- The US would assume British responsibilities in the Mediterranean + Middle East and commit itself to providing aid to Greece + Turkey

- 1947: Truman asks Congress to empower him to provide immediate military + financial aid to these countries in order to resist communism
- Diplomatic Revolution for the USA, which had been isolationist + had shunned involvement in European affairs
- The Truman Doctrine was developed into the Policy of Containment → no more peaceful coexistence
- This policy meant that the USA would take action to contain the spread of communism and keep it within the Soviet sphere in Eastern Europe + would oppose either invasion or subversion by communist forces in Europe
- Policy of Containment would eventually be applied internationally as the War developed
- Truman's initiative led to the provision of \$400 million in aid to Greece + Turkey
- Aid went to civil + military programmes
- Turkish security strengthened + aid sent into Greece
- American advisory's set up in Athens (1947); soon after, American supplies arrived
- Late 1947, Greek communists = defeated

Significance of the Truman Doctrine:

- Aid provided allowed Greece + Turkey to resist communist pressure
- Both Greece + Turkey join NATO
- France + Italy also resisted communism

- Direct U.S political involvement in Europe —> economic growth = lessen the spread of communism

Stalins motives:

- Establish the future security of the USSR + protect its system of government
- Establish a buffer zone between USSR and Western European countries
- Preventing Germany from re-establishing its power + threatening Soviet security
- Determined to control Eastern Europe even at the cost of risking war against Western powers

The Marshall Plan: an economic response to the fear of communism

- Collapse of the European economy after the war gave communists an ideal opportunity to extend their influence
- Communist agitators began spreading unrest among the workers - they encouraged strikes
- Success from communists in France + Italy —> DeGaulle (France) De Gasperi (Italy) forced to include communists in their cabinet
- America realised greatest assistance to fight the spread of communism was to provide economic assistance to Europe on a large scale to build up the shattered economies of European countries so that the appeal of communism lessened
- The MP intended to put the Truman Doctrine into practice.
- Gen. George Marshall (American Secretary of State) offered aid to promote European recovery + reconstruction
- U.S convinced that economic stability = political stability

- MP began in 1947
- Approximately \$6 billion in aid, loans, equipment, machinery provided by US
- Sixteen European nations were quick to accept the offer of aid which the Organisation for European Economic Co-Operation (OEEC) was set up to administer
- Marshall Plan also offered Russia + its European satellite states aid
- Russia refused offer → averse to the plan → “capitalist propaganda” → dollar diplomacy → capitalist scheme to gain influence in Europe
- Yugoslavia took aid from America → ignored Moscow
- Remarkable economic recovery of Western Europe due to American aid was considered a set back for communism
- Communist campaigns to retard Europe’s progress → strikes

Significance of Marshall Plan:

- Assisted sixteen European countries to recover economically
- Rehabilitation, Restore, Recovery, Renew, Reconstruction
- 2 years = 20% industrial output increase + exports doubled
- Millions of \$ in aid into Europe
- Food, coal, steel, cotton, equipment delivered into Europe
- Communism remained under control in Soviet occupied territory
- Marshall Plan = victory for containment
- 1949 → West Germany joins OEEC

- Industrial production increases:
- Scientific + Technological advances
- Marshall Plan = great success
- West could curb communist infiltration
- Russian influence confined to countries already under its control

Soviet Response to MP:

- Growing suspicion of West → Satellite States could not accept Marshall Aid
- Economic imperialism + Dollar Diplomacy
- COMENCON → mutual economic assistance → COMINFORM → tightened grip on States + coordination of activities with regards to communist parties
- USSR unable to provide aid
- U.S aid forbidden
- MP deepened divide between West and East Europe
- Communist countries fortify their borders

Post-War Germany as an aspect of the CW:

- A divided Germany = direct result of the CW
- At Tehran (1943), Stalin demanded that Germany be divided into several states at the end of the war

- Toward the end of the war, there was a race between the powers of the Grand Alliance to reach Berlin first
- It was agreed that the USSR would be allowed to capture Berlin before the other powers arrived
- At Potsdam (July 1945), Stalin enjoyed an advantage over Truman + Attlee
- Decisions at Potsdam became permanent:
- Germany to be disarmed, demilitarised, dismembered and denazified
- Country to be democratised
- Germany to be divided into FOUR SECTORS OF OCCUPATION: US, USSR, Britain + France
- The largest sector, the eastern sector, under the USSR
- Each occupying power could take reparations from their own sector.
- Each zone was to be occupied by a military force of the four powers
- Administration + authority = vested in the four Commanders-in-Chief —> who were known as the Allied Control Council
- This council was responsible for demilitarising Germany and preparing the way for German reconstruction along Democratic lines
- Berlin situated in the Soviet controlled east, was also to be divided into 4 occupied zones (controlled by a Four Power Council)
- Polish (Russian) administration was established in East Germany up to the Oder and Neisse rivers.
- Each of the four powers were entitled to collect reparations from their zone
- The USSR was given the right to immediate compensation

- The USSR was determined to keep Germany weak and thus, took crops, industrial machinery and labour from East Germany
- Britain + France permitted Russia to take what they needed to compensate for the losses they face during the war
- In return, Britain + France expected Russia to provide the Western zones with food from their zone - which was the agricultural heartland
- This food never materialised + contributed to the escalation of mistrust and tension between the powers
- Britain + the USA then had to meet the cost of supplying food for the starving population in their zones - the industrial zones.
- Britain was, however, facing its own post-war economic problems and was unable to support the populations in its zones.
- Thus, the US was responsible for two zones.
- By 1946, the political differences between the Eastern and Western governments became more marked
- The Eastern zone was in the hands of the communists
- The West suggested a pooling of resources, but Russia would not agree as this meant the re-establishment of the German economy and would have prevented them from extracting reparations
- The USSR suggested the political reunification of Germany, provided that the communists organisations were represented, and that it could continue to extract reparations.
- The West refused - a climate of tension existed which resulted in a stalemate.
- In May 1946, the U.S halted reparation payments from West Germany to the Soviet Union
- In December 1946, the U.S + Great Britain combined their occupation zones into what came to be known as Bizonia

- France agreed to become part of this arrangement, and in May 1949, the three zones became one
- On May 23, 1949, the West German parliamentary Council met and formally declared the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany - Bonn = Capital City
- Although, Konrad Adenauer, the president of the council and future president of West Germany, proudly proclaimed, "Today a new Germany arises,"
- Many of the German representatives at the meeting were subdued, for they had harboured the faint hope that Germany might be unified
- Two communist members of the council refused to sign the proclamation establishing the new state.
- The USSR reacted quickly to action in West Germany
- October, 1949: German Democratic Republic (East Germany) was officially announced —> Berlin = capital city
- These actions in 1949 marked the end of any talk of reunification
- For the next 41 years, East + West Germany served as symbols of the divided world + CW animosities between USA + USSR
- 1990: Soviets lose grip —> Germany reunified
- The division of Germany would lead to further conflict instead of peace + stability
- Germany would become the main "battleground" of the CW as Russia was determined to keep its section of Germany

The Berlin Blockade:

- Berlin Blockade was a result of growing tensions amongst the powers + impact of conflicting ideologies with regards to how Germany would be treated and managed post-war

- Thus, the origins of the blockade can be found already at the Potsdam Conference
- The USA, Britain and France knew that Germany would have to be supported economically if communism was to be resisted
- The U.S ensured that Marshall Aid supplied West Germany and West Berlin
- The allies wanted a strong, democratic Germany acting as a buffer against communist Eastern Europe
- In contrast, Stalin wanted to 1.) weaken Germany; 2.) rebuild the USSR by stealing German industrial technology + produce; 3.) make communism seem more attractive to the Germans → conflicting policies soon led to a crisis in international relations
- Immediate cause of Crisis → currency crisis → June 1948: Western powers introduced a new Deutsche Mark in their zones to replace the old Reichsmark
- March, 1948: allied powers decided to unite their occupation zones of Germany into a single economic unit
- Russian protest → Soviet representatives withdrew from the Allied Control Council
- Introduction of new currency viewed as a violation of agreements with the Allies
- June 1948: new currency introduced in Soviet Zone
- West refused to allow this currency in their area and brought the Deutsche Mark into circulation in West Berlin as well
- In retaliation, the Soviet occupation forces in Eastern Germany began a blockade of all rail, road and water links between Berlin and the West
- 24 June: The Soviets announced that the Four-Power Administration of Berlin had ceased and that the Allies no longer any rights there
- All land routes into West Germany were closed → air corridors remained open

- This challenged the West —> Stalin pressurised the West to abandon West Berlin
- Led by Pres. H Truman, the West took up the challenge as the principles of the Truman Doctrine were now challenged
- Gen. Clay, US commander in Europe was called to manage the situation
- He proposed that the Allies fight their way through to Berlin —> he stated that if West Berlin to fall, West Germany would be next + US needed to hold out against the aggressive attacks from communism
- General Marshall (US Chief-of-Staff), advised against direct action as the US had demobilised its forces + was not prepared for another war
- The Red Army had not demobilised and were ready for aggression
- Britain + France, still trying to recover from the war, did not support any military action
- Thus, the Western powers committed to maintaining West Berlin by air.

The Berlin Airlift:

- 26 June 1948: US + Britain began to supply the city with food + other vital supplies by air
- Airlift was introduced with the cooperation of the West Berliners who enlarged the city airports and built another two with their own manual labour
- Over the next ten months (318 days), two million tons of food, fuel, and supplies were flown in to keep the two and a half million Berliners alive
- Berlin only needed 4000 tons a day
- By the last month of the airlift, 13 000 tons were being flown in each day

- They also organised a similar “airlift” in the opposite direction of West Berlin's greatly reduced industrial exports
- By mid-July, the Soviet army in East Germany had increased to 40 divisions, against 8 in the Allied sectors
- By the end of July, three groups of US strategic bombers had been sent as reinforcements to Britain
- Tensions remained high, but war did not break out
- Russia re-opened the land routes in May 1949

Consequences of the Berlin Blockade + Airlift:

- Western morale raised + USA's commitment to fighting communism was clear to the international community
- Major victory for the West
- USA → adopted inflexible attitude towards the USSR
- Truman re-elected in November 1948
- Truman = anti-communist → appreciated by the American people
- US had now shown its full commitment to Europe
- The Berlin Crisis + the aggressive actions of USSR led to the realisation by the Western powers that they needed an armed force to contain the spread of communism + offer resistance to expansionist actions of the USSR
- Many nations feared that the USA might return to its Policy of Isolation and they would not have military support of the US
- NATO established

The formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation:

- Context: NATO is an international alliance that consists of 30 member states from North America and Europe.
- Established at the signing of the North Atlantic Treaty on April 4th 1949
- AN ATTACK ONE = AN ATTACK ON ALL (IF AN ARMED ATTACK OCCURS AGAINST A MEMBER STATE, IT IS CONSIDERED AN ATTACK AGAINST ALL MEMBERS, AND OTHER MEMBERS SHALL ASSIST THE ATTACKED MEMBER, WITH ARMED FORCES IF NECESSARY)
- Aim of organisation:
 1. The Truman Doctrine: the belief and plan that communism could be controlled
 2. The Marshall Plan: the economic strategies curb the spread of communism
 3. NATO: military force to deter the aggressive spread of communism
- March 1948: Czechoslovakia defeated by communist forces of the USSR
- As a result, the Western countries thought that they should form themselves into an alliance + they formed the Brussels Treaty in March 1948
- It was realised, however, that these countries would not be able to stop the USSR in an all out attack and they would need the help of the US
- U.S → Policy of Isolation → out of favour
- Vandenberg Resolution: USA would join any international organisation that contributed to their own safety and security

- Led to formation of the NATO in April of 1949
- Participants —> same as Brussels Treaty as well as the USA, Canada, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Denmark, Portugal
- Supreme Commander of the Allied forces in Europe (SHAPE) = Eisenhower
- NATO's policy was known as "Sword and Shield" which referred to the combined NATO armies and the potential use of the atomic bomb
- In September 1949, however, the USSR exploded its first atomic bomb and the **balance of power** shifted in Europe
- In October 1949, the USA granted European members of NATO an initial subsidy of a billion dollars to help these nations rearm
- The USA also secured air and naval bases in Spain to help with the defence of Western Europe in that region
- At the end of 1949, NATO could call up some three million troops across Europe
- In September 1950, a joint military force was established by NATO to fight in the Korean War
- In 1952, Greece and Turkey joined NATO to strengthen Western world in the Mediterranean region
- Headquarters initially in Paris, but De Gaulle did not like US dominance here so expelled NATO in 1966
- New HQ = Brussels

The grouping of the NATO forces meant that:

- The USA + Britain bound themselves to the affairs of Europe in peace-time
- A single integrated system of defence for the West was created
- Collective security strengthened all nations

- The USA had now fully abandoned its Policy of Policy
- The Western nations had pledged themselves to resist the advances of communism in any form
- West Germany would be permitted to become a member of the NATO alliance

NATO's timeline followed this development plan:

- 1949 -1955 —> General Administration
- 1955 - 1967 —> Military Build-up + development
- 1967 onwards: detente period from a position of military

Berlin Crisis: Uprisings in East Germany 1953 - 1955 under Khrushchev

- 1953: Joseph Stalin dies
- Khrushchev into power (Gen. Secretary)
- Policy of De-Stalinization
- While de-Stalinization had been quietly underway ever since Stalin's death, the watershed event was Khrushchev's speech entitled "On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences", concerning Stalin. On 25 February 1956, he spoke to a closed session of the 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, delivering an address laying out some of Stalin's crimes and the "conditions of insecurity, fear, and even desperation" created by Stalin. Khrushchev shocked his listeners by denouncing Stalin's dictatorial rule and his cult of personality as inconsistent with communist and Party ideology. Among other points, he condemned the treatment of the Old Bolsheviks, people who had supported communism before the revolution, many of whom Stalin had executed

as traitors. Khrushchev also attacked the crimes committed by associates of Beria.

- De-Stalinization: the policy, pursued in most Communist areas and among most Communist groups after 1956, of eradicating the memory or influence of Stalin and Stalinism, as by alteration of governmental policies or the elimination of monuments, placenames, etc., named for Stalin.

Uprisings in East Germany:

- On June 16, 1953, workers in East Berlin rose in protest against government demands to increase productivity.
- Within days, nearly a million East Germans joined the protests and began rioting across hundreds of East German cities and towns. In order to prolong the uprising and win support for the West, the United States established an aid program to feed East Germans.
- The program, which continued until October 1953, proved very popular with East Germans and highlighted the repression and privations of life under communism.
- The uprising was a product of Soviet and East German reaction to West Germany's formal alignment to the West. In May 1952, Western powers signed the General (Bonn) and European Defense Community (EDC) treaties.
- These treaties were, in essence, a rejection of Stalin's March 1952 offer to agree to a unified Germany on the condition that it remained unarmed. In response to West Germany's absorption and rearmament by the Western powers, the Soviets and the regime of East German General Secretary Walter Ulbricht decided to unequivocally transform East Germany into a Soviet satellite state.
- At the heart of East Germany's transformation, a process dubbed "Constructing Socialism" enacted forced collectivization of agriculture, a campaign against private trade and industry, and the development of heavy industry. Collectivization produced severe food shortages, which began in the winter and spring of 1953.

- Forced remilitarization, the suppression of churches, and the persecution of opposition also added to the strain on the population. East Germans emigrated en masse to West Germany via West Berlin, protest movements flourished, and expressions of general dissatisfaction characterized public life.
- In April 1953, after the death of Stalin, Soviet authorities sought to rein in Ulbricht's regime, which advocated even more collectivization. Moscow persuaded Ulbricht to relax or discontinue parts of the "Constructing Socialism" movement in a new campaign called the "New Course." Because many people perceived the "New Course" as a capitulation to the West, and also because the treatment of manufacturing workers remained harsh, the relaxation of "Constructing Socialism" transformed general discontent into open defiance.
- On June 16, a few hundred workers called for a general strike. The next day, demonstrations and rioting broke out throughout East Germany. The Soviet occupation forces declared martial law and used massive military force to suppress the rioting and support the East German regime.
- In response, the United States under the leadership of President Dwight D. Eisenhower showed its support for the uprising by establishing a large-scale food relief program for East Germans, which was officially announced on July 10 and commenced on July 27. Under this program, the United States pledged to distribute \$15 million worth of food from 35 distribution centers established in West Berlin, to which East Germans had access through East Berlin. The so called "Eisenhower packages" contained lard, peas, flour, and pasteurized milk. The United States distributed over 5 million packages through these centers to over a million East Germans who were able to gain access to East Berlin. In response, the East German Government cut off rail and bus traffic to West Berlin, which further heightened tensions. The program put Ulbricht on the defensive and extended the atmosphere of crisis across East Germany.
- In addition to achieving humanitarian objectives through this assistance program, the United States sought to destabilize East Germany and weaken Ulbricht's regime.
- The Eisenhower administration also hoped to deter Soviet initiatives to start talks on German reunification. Washington believed that any movement toward unification on Soviet terms or even a lessening of the crisis would threaten the

delicate process of Western European military integration and weaken an already tenuous French resolve to ratify the European Defense Community (EDC) treaty.

- The United States was also concerned that unification negotiations would undermine West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer because he had based his administration on alignment with the West. President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles attempted to exploit the uprising in East Germany in order to undercut the Soviet Union's post-Stalin "Peace and Unity" campaign, bolster support for West German rearmament and the EDC, and weaken the Soviets' initiative toward German unification.
- As the food aid continued, Western European governments grew apprehensive that Soviet military action against West Berlin was a real possibility. The campaign also experienced diminishing returns as the East German regime tightened control over the population and prevented people from receiving the aid. The campaign ended in early October.

The Formation of the Warsaw Pact:

- The formation of the Warsaw Pact was in some ways a response to the creation of NATO, although it did not occur until six years after the Western alliance came into being
- It was more directly inspired by the rearming of West Germany + administration into NATO in 1955
- In the mid-1950s, however, the U.S and a number of other NATO members began to advocate making West Germany part of the alliance + allowing it to form an army under tight restrictions
- The Soviets warned that such a provocative action would force them to make new security arrangements in their own sphere of influence, and they were true to their word.
- West Germany formally joined NATO on May 5, 1955, and the Warsaw Pact was signed less than two weeks later, on May 14th.

- Joining the USSR in the alliance were Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany (German Democratic Republic), Hungary, Poland and Romania
- This lineup remained constant until the CW ended with the dismantling of all the Communist Governments in Eastern Europe in 1989 + 1990
- Eventually, the Eastern European countries grouped themselves into the Warsaw Pact to resist the advance of NATO
- This has originally not been necessary but now it was believed that the Red Army by itself would not be able to cope
- The U.S president from 1953, Dwight Eisenhower, together with his Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, committed themselves to the Policy of Brinkmanship —> brink of war to oppose Russia
- Brinkmanship is the foreign policy practice in which one or both parties push dangerous actions, on the brink of disaster in order to get the most advantageous outcome. Basically, one or both sides of a conflict threaten an extremely destructive action, if the other side does something bad to them.
- 1953: the USSR exploded its first hydrogen bomb
- 1955: West Germany joined NATO
- The USSR perceived this as a threat to its security + interests in the region and thus formed the Warsaw Pact in March 1955
- All of the countries “behind the iron curtain” were required to be members of the Warsaw Pact
- Red Army —> control of eastern bloc countries —> stationed at different strategic points in these countries —> dissatisfaction amongst the nations but Moscow upheld the ruling and other leaders conceded
- Thus, by 1955, two heavily armed power blocs existed and jostled for position

Berlin Crisis: Khrushchev's foreign policy + demands from 1958 - 1961

- In the period after the Berlin Airlift, the two sections of Berlin developed separately
- West supported by Marshall Aid —> clear lifestyle differences between East Berlin and those living and thriving in West Berlin
- November 1958: Khrushchev demands West to pull their forces out of West Berlin within six months
- This sparked a three year crisis over the future of the city that culminated in 1961 with the erection of the Berlin Wall
- By 1958, the West feared that another blockade by the Soviets would happen —> would be a disaster —> city too populous + prosperous to supply by air —> if Soviets cut off land access again = conflict
- Existence of West Berlin = liability for Soviets + East German Govt
- Divided city = emphasised the contrast between capitalist and communist systems
- Freedom of movement —> many people left the East to the West
- Thousands of East Berliners worked in the West and emigrated from the Eastern zone
- Loss of experienced people —> Brain drain —> Political tensions mounting —> believed USA was using aggressive propaganda to undermine USSR
- Khrushchev demands US to leave West Berlin
- Eisenhower refuses to leave —> sought diplomatic ways to alleviate increasing tension:

- 1959: two sides opened a Foreign Ministers Summit in Geneva + made an attempt to negotiate a new agreement on Berlin
- Khrushchev demanded the withdrawal of Western troops out of West Berlin as a precursor to reunifying the city, but Eisenhower believed that protecting the freedom of West Berlin required U.S presence
- 1959: Khrushchev visits US (first Soviet leader to do so)
- Progress made towards mutual understanding during talks at Camp David
- Relationship between US + USSR crumbles again after U2 spy plane shot down in Soviet Airspace (1960) —> ESPIONAGE —> Khrushchev enraged —> talks end
- John. F Kennedy replaced Eisenhower
- McNamara = Secretary of Defense, Dobrynin —> Soviet Defence Minister
- Kennedy (dove - peacemaker) willing to meet Khrushchev in another summit in Vienna (1961) —> no solution with regards to Berlin
- After Summit —> US given 6 months to withdraw from Berlin
- Kennedy sends 150 000 reservists + increased defence expenditures in preparation for conflict
- Khrushchev underestimated Kennedy and his willingness to fight back

Berlin Crisis: Erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961

- Mass exodus of people from EAST TO THE WEST
- August 1961: over 4000 people crossed the border
- BRAIN DRAIN had to be stopped
- 13 August 1961, an East German declaration outlined the need for order

- All but twelve of the eighty borders were sealed —> barbed wire divided Berlin (teams of workers erected the barbed wire)
- West did not challenge the erection of the Wall (did not view this as negative)
- High concrete walls replaced barbed wire soon after
- Allied access permitted —> no blockade
- Willy Brandt (mayor of West Berlin) stated that East Germany (not Russia) controlled East Berlin
- People from the West disappointed in lack of military action
- People divided, families destroyed, jobs lost
- Postal + telephone links severed + permits required to cross borders
- Western powers protested but didn't demand that the borders be reopened
- Citizens of West Berlin march on city hall —> demanded that action should be taken
- Lyndon B Johnson + Lucius Clay to reinforce US garrison in West Berlin sent by Kennedy
- The Western Powers would stand firm that they would remain in West Berlin + maintain access to the city by all means required
- Confrontations continue —> CheckPoint Charlie

More information on confrontations in Berlin:

- For 16 hours in October 1961, US and Soviet tanks faced each other in divided Berlin and the two superpowers came close to kicking off a third world war.

- In August the Russians built the Berlin Wall, and by October, East German officials had begun to deny US diplomats access to East Berlin, even though access was part of the agreement with Moscow on the postwar occupation of Germany.
- Then, on 22 October, the senior US diplomat in West Berlin was stopped by East German border guards on his way to East Berlin. The East Germans demanded to see his passport, which he insisted only Soviet officials had the right to check. He was forced to turn back.
- General Clay, who had been sent by Washington to deal with the Russians, ordered that the next American diplomat entering East Berlin would be escorted by armed US army military police in jeeps. The plan succeeded, but the East Germans continued to try to control western allied officials entering East Berlin.
- Clay then ordered American M48 tanks to head for Checkpoint Charlie. They stood, about 75 meters from the border. Alarmed by the apparent threat, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev sent an equal number of Russian T55 tanks to face down the Americans. They too ground to a halt some 75 meters from the East/West Berlin border.
- Alarmed by the potential consequences, President Kennedy approved the opening of a back channel with the Kremlin in order to defuse the conflict.
- As a result, the Soviets pulled back one of their T55s from the eastern side of the border and minutes later an American M48 also left the scene. So it went until all the tanks were withdrawn.
- In return for Kennedy's assurance that the west had no plans to control East Berlin, Khrushchev agreed that allied officials and military personnel would have free access to the East German capital. From that point on, western allies and Soviet diplomats could pass the checkpoint without incident.

ALL WORK COVERED