



INVESTMENTS IN EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT

Course: SELECTED CHAPTERS OF CZECH AND WORLD HISTORY

T9. Cold War 1947 to 1989

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COLD WAR 1947 TO 1989

In 1947, when Soviet Union refused participation in European Recovery Programme, became real, that relations between both superpowers, United States and Soviet Union, once again switched into hostile.

But after the end of Second World War situation had changed. Both countries were not “outsiders” of international relations, but key stones of world order – or even the only powers in the world. From the awaited Great Four or Four Policemen of international affairs, that should comprises United States, Soviet Union, China, and United Kingdom, two of them were not able to fulfil this task. While United Kingdom forced post-war economic depression and decay of its colonial rule, China got into chaos of civil war between Nationalists and Communists.

Both superpowers established their own bloc of dominance. But struggle of these two countries were not only struggle of political dominance, but more than that struggle of ideological dominance. Soviet Union was based on Communist ideology, referred to Marxism-Leninism, or Stalinism-Leninism, and within its bloc it was the only possible political ideology. Kremlin also attempted to export this ideology, at first into Western and Southern Europe, then into Third World.

The Cold War is supposed to be the struggle of ideology, but in fact Western World did not have any precisely formulated ideology as such. Its policy was based on ideas of representative democracy, separation of supreme powers, and of rights of citizen and of human.

During 1947 to 1989 relations undertook number of changes, from hostile in the edge of war to more or less careful co-operation. While in 1950 to 1953 representatives of both superpowers awaited that soon the war breaks out, in 1987 to 1989, when in fact the Cold War ended, Reagan and Gorbachev were able to held friendly and useful discussion.

Cold War

As a struggle of ideologies, Cold War was non-military conflict, competition between U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. over supremacy in world. While ideology of Soviet Union could be named as

- **Communism** the term
- **Liberalism** or Liberal Democracy comprises more praxis, than ideology.

Both United States and Soviet Union formed their own blocs. These blocs never got into direct military clash. The core of **Western Bloc** led by United States comprises of:

- **North American states**, i.e. United States and Canada, and
- **Western European countries**, i.e. Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Luxemburg, Netherland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, and United Kingdom.

The core of **Eastern Bloc** led by Soviet Union comprises of:

- **Eastern European countries**, i.e. Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Soviet Union, but not Yugoslavia where Communist regime were also established, and
- **East Asian countries**, i.e. China, Mongolia, and North Korea, but except Mongolia Asian Communist states became soon, at least at the end of 1950s, independent on Kremlin.

Because of non-military during Cold War there were developed means for conduction the struggle. The conflicts and fights were:

- **prestigious**. It means that in this type of struggle neither of one side could have territorial gains, but victory in such competition should prove superiority of own political system. Best example of this prestigious fight was Space Race that ended by American victory in 1969.
- But both sides than conducted **subversive operations** in neutral countries. The aim of CIA or KGB operations was to spread ideology and finally to conduct coup d'etat (e.g. Chile, Ethiopia etc.).
- Numbers of conflicts were conducted as **substitute conflicts** and those conflicts were also the largest one. Substitute conflict means that United States and Soviet Union do not clash directly, i.e. American vs. Soviet troops, but **indirectly** by supporting sides of conflict.

Origin of Cold War

There are number of opinions how to date the beginning of Cold War. Same of them dates the outbreak of Cold War back to 1917 when Communist regime in Russia was established and all over World Communism began to start. But decisive was the moment when Soviet Union transformed into superpower at the end of

Second World War and second wave (also more successful) of spread of Communism started.

As beginning of Cold War are supposed to be these key moments:

- **Speech of Joseph Stalin** of 9 February 1946 in which he talked about hostility between Communist Soviet Union and other countries.
- **Speech of Winston Churchill** of 5 March 1946 in Fulton, so called Fulton Speech or Iron Curtain Speech, in which he talked about sphere of Soviet influence behind the “iron curtain”. Sir Winston Churchill was at that moment private man (Prime Minister in 1940 to 1945 and 1950 to 1955), but presence of American President Harry Truman suggests that United States agreed with Churchill's ideas.
- **Declaration of Truman Doctrine** on 12 March 1947, i.e. of doctrine to help each country that is under threat of spread of Communism. Originally aimed at Greece when civil war of Communists took and Turkey that faced Soviet ambitious in Straits.
- **Declaration of Marshall Plan** on 5 June 1947, i.e. of programme of economic help indirectly aimed against spread of Communism.
- **Outbreak of First Berlin Crisis** on 23 and 24 June 1948 was the last moment in way to Cold War. In summer 1948 the Cold War became reality.

Periodization of Cold War

Cold War is political term that spread after Second World War but it was used also years before, even in the Middle Ages. That means that the terminological problems must be solved. Cold War could refer to any non-military conflict, but for purpose it calls relations between Soviet Union and United States

- In **thinner meaning**
 - means only periods of highest tension, i.e. in 1947 to 1956/1962 and in 1981 to 1986/1989 (Second Cold War), while
- in **broadier meaning** it is whole Period of competition of U.S.S.R and U.S.A. from 1947/1948 to 1989/1991. According to this broader meaning six decisive periods could be distinguished,
 - year 1947 to 1953, period of highest tension,
 - 1953 to 1956, period of releasing of tension,
 - 1956 to 1962, period of repeated tension,

- 1962 to 1981, stage of so called détente, i.e. release in mutual relations,
- 1981 to 1986, restoration of competition and of new armament, and
- 1986 to 1989/1991, final stage of ending Cold War and of disintegration of Soviet Bloc.

Superpowers

From Second World War the two powers emerged as superpowers with no measurable rivals, except to each other.

The first and in fact the most powerful country itself was **United States of America**.

- United States had ca. 130 million inhabitants,
- was most wealthy and most powerful economy, e.g. in 1945 U.S.A. represented 47 % of world industrial production, it meant that each second industrial product was made in United States (!),
- United States than had monopoly over nuclear weapon, and
- had occupation zones in Germany, Austria, Korea, and in Japan.

The second superpower was Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. **Soviet Union** was the most damaged country, but earned a respect because of its heroic struggle with Nazi Germany.

- Soviet Union had ca. 167 million inhabitants,
- was the largest country in the world, and
- second largest economy. But in comparison to monument economy of United Nation only 9 % of world industrial productions had brand “Made in U.S.S.R.”
- Soviet Union than disposed of occupation zones in Germany, Austria, China, and in Korea,
- but its most powerful “weapon” was ideology. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin was also leader of all Communist parties in the world and nearly in every country existed one.

End of Second World War was the most favourable period for both powers due to fact that other powers decayed.

- **Italy, Germany, and Japan** were defeated,
- **France** got stuck in long-lasting political crisis,
- **United Kingdom** suffered of post-war recession, and in

- **China** the civil war broke out.

Containment

In post-war years United States discussed how to react to spread of Communism. The result was formulation of “Containment”, political doctrine or policy of containment of expansion of Communism.

- Main task of this doctrine was to **end the spread of Communism**, not to push it from its position.
- Doctrine was formulated in 1946 and 1947 by George F. Kennan, charge d'affaires in Moscow Embassy of U.S.A. in **Long Telegram**, report on Soviet policy, and by American President Harry Truman. In 1947 he formulated so called **Truman Doctrine**, support all countries that cope with Communist threat (see above).

Europe in 1945



Red colour is for political regimes of Communist Parties (Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Albania) and Soviet zones in Germany and Austria. Pink colour is for countries where Communist Parties had its representatives in parliament and/or government that cope with Communist subversion (Greece).

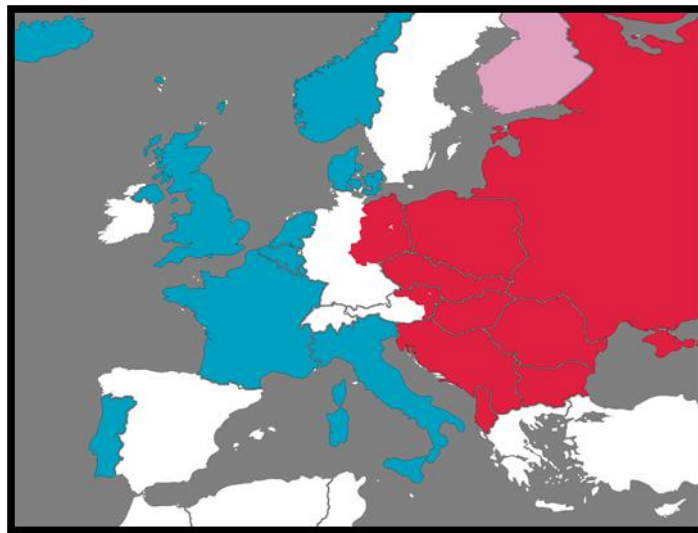
Sovietisation of Central and Eastern Europe 1944 to 1948

Sovietisation is term for process during which Soviet Union was gaining its hegemony over Central and Eastern Europe, or in other word consolidation of Soviet influence in **Central and Eastern Europe**.

This process lasted in two stages. In first stage from 1944 to beginning of 1947 Soviet Union attempted to get indirect dominance over region, i.e. that Joseph Stalin accepted partial independence of countries. The result was fact that enabled the Central and Eastern European countries to have its own political system. In second stage he decided to gain direct control over this region. The non-democratic systems of one political party that obeyed only decisions of Stalin were established. Soviet Union reacted on Marshall Plan and on loss of Communist representatives in French and Italian government. That is why process of sovietisation was accelerated and accomplished during 1947.

- In 1944 Communists took power in **Yugoslavia** and **Albania**,
- in 1945 occupation zones of Soviet Union were established in **Germany** and **Austria**,
- in 1946 Communist takeover took place in **Bulgaria**,
- in 1947 Communist takeovers took place in **Hungary**, **Poland**, and **Romania**.
- In 1948 Communist coup d'état took place in **Czechoslovakia** (Victory February).

Europe in 1949



Red colour is for Communist regimes including Soviet occupation zone in Austria,
pink colour is for country with special relation to Soviet Union (Finland),
and
blue colour means founding members of N.A.T.O.

First Berlin Crisis 1948 to 1949

Soviet Union demanded **unification of Germany** and its control, because according to Lenin world revolution of Communism is without Germany left to fail.

The first to control Germany was according to Soviets taking control over Berlin.

Berlin was divided, as the whole Germany, into three occupation zone, of:

- **British,**
- **American,**
- **French,** and
- **Soviet.**

Soviet Union controlled only one zone and all area around Berlin, Soviet Occupation Zone. That is why Stalin attempted to destroy this only dependency of Western Bloc.

Joseph Stalin made use fact that in Western Zones new currency was issued and to avoid economic problems Soviet forces closed all land access to Berlin on 23 and 24 June 1948 in aim to force the Western countries to fulfil Stalin's requests for unified Germany, i.e. to leave Berlin. But representatives of Soviet army were concerned about possibilities of clashed in air corridor so that was why the air routes to Berlin were left to be opened. Stalingrad battle became example that air supplying is not enough and Stalin hoped that starving inhabitants of Berlin compel the Western country to withdraw his demands.

Despite this assumption Americans were able to successfully supply Berlin via air.

The blockade was unsuccessful because uncompleted. .S.R. could not control Berlin, and the blockade was recalled in February 1949.

The blockade of Berlin became one of the most decisive defeats because became persuaded Western countries to found independent German country out of influence of Soviet Union and especially to establish military organization. That organization was named NATO.

NATO

To prevent the war Western countries did not rely only on existence of United Nations, but also on their own powers and tendency of Western countries to create defence alliance were strong since 1946.

- In 1946 there was established alliance of **United Kingdom** and **France** and
- in 1948 **Brussels Pact** was signed. The pact was defence alliance that joined **Benelux** states with **France** and **United Kingdom**.

But the most important organization became North Atlantic Treaty Organizations. Its founding document **North Atlantic Treaty** was signed on 4 April 1949. According to this treaty alliance of 12 countries was formed:

- In Northern America there were United States and Canada and
- in Europe 10 countries, **Belgium, Netherland, Luxembourg, France, United Kingdom, Denmark, Norway, Iceland, Portugal**, and **Italy**, the only country without direct access to Atlantic Ocean.

The aim of the organization was “to keep the Russians out, the Americans in, and the Germans down”.

NATO was gradually broadened:

- In 1952 **Greece** and **Turkey** entered the organization and
- in 1982 **Spain**.
- The largest expansion of NATO took place after the end of Cold war, in
- 1990 former **Eastern Germany** and later on countries of Eastern Bloc.

Spread of Communism in Asia

In Asia Communism was closely **connected with nationalism** (!) and resistance against colonial powers often mean acceptance of Communist ideology. The better it call this phenomenon as Nationalist Communism, while in Europe or in Russia the Communists were the most furious enemies of nationalists. This difference led to fact that for Soviet Union it was very complicated to preserve the control over Communist regimes in Asia. China, North Korea, and Vietnam realized its policy often without respect to Soviet opinion.

- **Mongolia** became Soviet satellite in 1924.
- **Manchuria** and **North Korea** became after 1945 soviet occupation zones. While North Korea became independent state that lasts up present days, the Manchuria was returned back to China when Communists prevailed in civil war.
- In **Malaysia** the civil war led by Communists broke up in 1946, but Communists could not reach the victory.

- Contrary to that in **Indochina** the Communist Party under Ho Chi Minh was the most powerful part of emancipation movement and Communist regime was established in Northern Vietnam in 1954 and later on in other Indochina countries (Southern Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos).
- In **China** broke out the civil war between nationalists (Chang Kai-shek) and Communists (Mao Zedong) that lasted from 1945 to 1949. On 1 October 1949 **People's Republic of China** was declared.

Korean War 1950 to 1953

In 1945 Korean Peninsula was divided according to 38th parallel into two occupation zones:

- **Southern, American Zone** with authoritative regime of **Syngman Rhee** and
- **Northern, Soviet Zone**, where Communist dictatorship of **Kim Il-sung** was established.

In 1948 and 1949 in both zones independent states were declared. During 1949 Kim Il-sung persuaded Joseph Stalin and Mao Zedong to carry out invasion into Southern Korea. Communist leaders counted on fact that unpopular regime of Syngman Rhee together with rapid advance of North Korean troop is soon overthrown and whole Peninsula got under Communist rule.

North Korea commenced attack to Southern Korea on 25 June 1950. Due to numerical and technical superiority in rapid advancement South-Korean Capital, Seoul, was captured on 28 June 1950 and then continued more in south. Advancement was finally stopped near Pusan Port in so called **Pusan Perimeter**.

But Communist leaders did not take into account readiness to action of Security Council of United Nation. Immediately after invasion Security Council held a meeting during which invasion was designated to be aggression and international forces were formed.

During summer 1950 American troops disembarked in Southern Korea. United States was able to realize rapid action due to fact that U.S. occupation forces were still in Japan.

In September 1950 American counter-offensive took place. On 15 and 16 June 1950 American forces disembarked near Incheon Harbour in **Operation**

Chromite and soon after that, on 28 September 1950 Americans captured **Seoul** and advanced toward Yalu River in China-Korean borders.

Mao Zedong was concerned about continuation of American advancement. That is why in conflict **Chinese Volunteers Army** intervened. During Chinese offensive Seoul was captured once again by Communist forces on 1 November 1950. The interference of China took Americans by surprise; U.S. forces lost number of men and weapons and had to withdraw into middle of Korean Peninsula. But in winter 1949 American commenced second offensive. The Seoul was captured for the fourth time, but meantime front line was stabilized near 38th parallel in March 1950. The war reminded trench warfare of First World War.

Due to military deadlock peace talks were commenced in 1951, but **armistice** was not signed until 27 July 1953. This Panmunjom armistice ended the conflict but war **was not confirmed by peace treaty**. It means that both Korean states are still in war!

Warsaw Pact

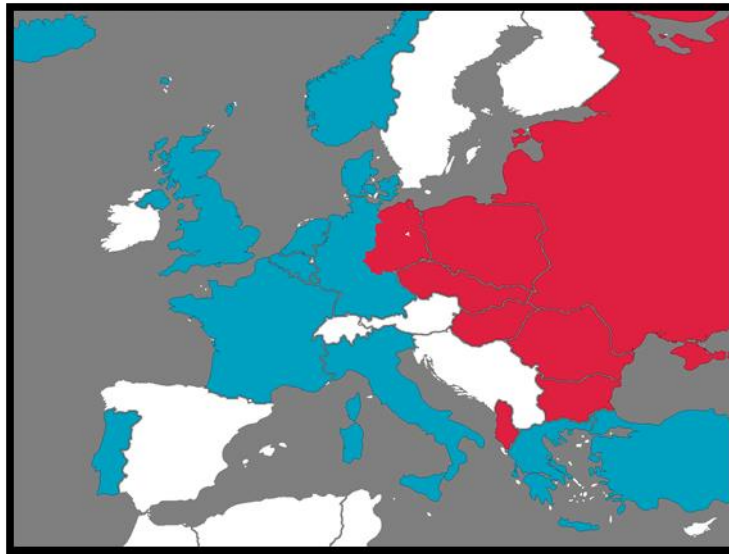
Warsaw Pact was military and political agreement and alliance of states of Soviet Blocs that existed during 1955 to 1991.

- **Reaction on Germany entry in NATO**
- Established on 14 May 1955 by signing the **Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance by:**
- **Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, (Eastern) Germany (1956), Poland, Romania, and Soviet Union**, but 1968 Albania left.

Purpose of establishing Warsaw Pact was more propagandistic. In fact establishing of Warsaw Pact was redundant, because Soviet Union **already controls its satellites**.

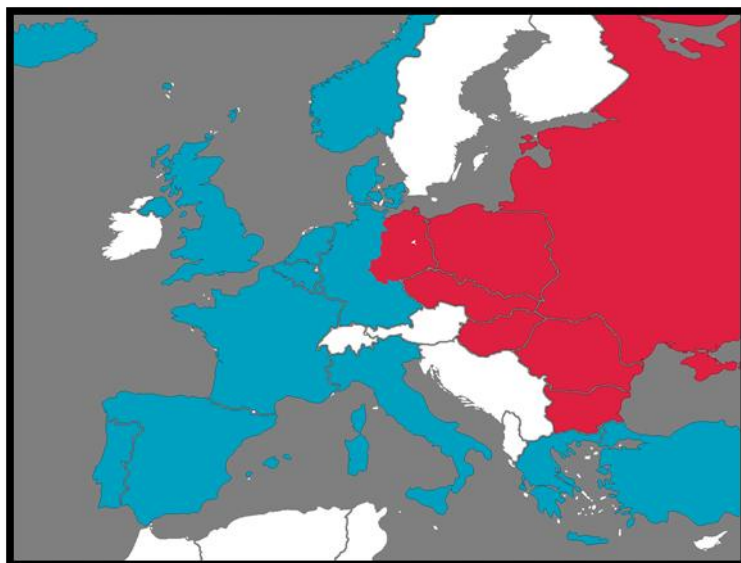
After 1989 the existence of Warsaw Pact lost its reason and on 1 June 1991 was dissolved.

Europe in 1955



Red colour is for Communist regimes within Warsaw Pact and blue colour is for countries of NATO.

Europe in 1989



Red colour is for Communist regimes within Warsaw Pact and blue colour is for countries of NATO.

Second Berlin Crisis 1961

Second Berlin Crisis was together with Cuban Missile Crisis (see below) the most serious crisis in Soviet-American relations.

- **Causes:** via Western Berlin emigrants left Eastern Germany for Western Germany (Brain drain).

- In November 1958 Soviets posed ultimatum. U.S.S.R. feared to close one-sided peace treaty with Eastern Germany in order to transfer Berlin issue in competence of Eastern Germany. This in fact should mean the possibility of occupation of Berlin.
- In June 1961 negotiations between Nikita Khrushchev and John F. Kennedy were held in Vienna.
- On 13 August 1961 all border crossing between Western and Eastern Berlin were closed and the building of **Berlin Wall** was commenced. Western Berlin became entirely separated from Eastern Germany.

Cuban Missile Crisis 1962

Cuban Missile Crisis, or Caribbean Crisis, was one of the most dangerous crises in Soviet-American relations that nearly escalated into war.

In 1950s **civil war** took place in **Cuba**. Against authoritative regime of Fulgencio Batista **Movement of 26 July** was formed. After decade of fights Batista was finally overthrown in 1958 and Fidel Castro got in power.

Originally Communists were only part of Cuban Revolution, but soon they strengthened their position. That is why United States declared embargo on business with Cuba. It in fact was in favour of Communists who struck up co-operation with Soviet Union. U.S.S.R. supported Cuban economy, but Nikita Khrushchev decided to place missiles in the island to reach rapid and convincing victory over United States and opponent in leadership of Soviet Communist Party.

To cover this plan Soviet Army commenced operation **Anadyr** that was said to take place in Siberia. That is why members of team to build missile basis in Cuba were forced to wear winter clothes before the Soviet ships reached the Atlantic.

- On 17 April 1961 Cuban forces opposing Fidel Castro disembarked in **Bay of Pigs**, but soon were defeated.
- On 16 October 1962 U.S. air reconnaissance found out rocket compounds in Cuba. It represented threat to U.S. security, because the missiles were near American territory.
- On 22 October 1962 United States appeal U.S.S.R. to remove their rockets and
- on 28 October 1962 rockets removed. It meant the **end of crisis**.

Cuban Missile Crisis is supposed to be American conclusive victory. Despite the fact formally crisis ended in stalemate, because Soviets withdraw their rockets from Cuba and Americans from Turkey, American President John Fitzgerald Kennedy reached the fact that there was not any rocket near American territory.

War in Indochina and in Vietnam 1945 to 1975

Indochina was French colony that comprised present day **Vietnam**, **Cambodia**, and **Laos**. From 1945 national emancipation movement spread all over country, including Communist Party. Finally French forces, Foreign Legion, was defeated in battle of

- **Dien Bien Phu** in November 1953 and French forces were compelled to leave.

According to Geneva Conference **Vietnam divided was** along 17th parallel:

- In **Southern Vietnam** authoritative regime was established, while
- in **Northern Vietnam** existed Communist regime.

From mid 1950s **Communist** started with policy of **subversion** in Southern Vietnam.

In 1963 Tonkin incident took place:

- In **Tonkin Bay** American ships bombarded by North Vietnam forces, U.S.A. forces support the Southern Vietnam.
- In reaction on U.S. involvement Northern Vietnam send its forces into Southern Vietnam.

The first large fight between Vietnamese and American forces was Battle of **la Drang Valley** in November 1965.

During second half of 1960s United States send gradually more and more soldiers, in 1968 there was some half million American soldiers in Southern Vietnam. Communist guerrilla fighters and North Vietnamese army was forced to withdraw.

- **Tet Offensive** took place in December 1968. Despite the fact that Tet Offensive became military catastrophe of Communist forces, conflict was decided by impact of media, especially of television.

In reaction to unpopular war Richard Nixon, American President in 1969 to 1974, commenced so called process of **Vietnamisation** of war. It meant to delegate responsibility for conflict to South Vietnam government.

In 1973 war ended by acceptance of status quo that was breached by occupation of Southern Vietnam by North Vietnam forces in 1975. Soon Vietnam became one of the most important states in region and independent on both largest

Communist powers, China and Soviet Union. Vietnam even attempted to create its own bloc of power.

Vietnamese War affected not only development in South Eastern Asia, but also American population. Vietnamese syndrome became symbol of incompetence of United States to conduct its own policy. Americans drew away from Third World which became domain of Soviet Union for one decade. But in Afghanistan Soviets met their own “Vietnamese syndrome”.

Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan 1979 to 1989

Afghanistan, as a state in borders with Soviet Union, was country under special attention of Soviet authority. That is why pro-Communist regime was established in country in April 1978.

But the Communist leaders of Afghanistan were not popular in the country and the regime was **overthrown by fundamental Muslims** in 1979. This fact became reason for Soviet intervention. There was also possibility to creation of powerful Muslim state. Meantime Islamic revolution prevailed in Iran (see T9. Regional Conflicts 1945 to 1989).

Soviet Army commenced military intervention on 25 December 1979. Capital city, Kabul, was captured by air operation, while land forces controlled important communications from Soviet Union to Kabul. Intervention fulfilled its goal, i.e. restoration of pro-Soviet regime and government of Babrak Kamal was appointed.

But majority of country remained under rule of Islam fundamentalists. Moreover U.S. government support mujahedin movement.

The conflict lasted during whole 1980s. Despite the Soviet Army did not get any progress to defeat the mujahidin movement, it was after commencement of Gorbachev when Soviet Union, in assistance of United Nations, agreement with withdrawal of Soviet forces. The agreement was signed on 14 April 1988 and by 15 February 1989 the last Soviet soldier left Afghanistan.

Internal turmoil or even chaos in Afghanistan remained and soon became the reason of next tension in international relations (see T10. Multipolar World and Conflicts since 1990).

Summary

Never before the whole was affected by relations of only two states. After Second World War new type of state became reality, so called superpower, **United States** and **Soviet Union**. Both countries were dominant over other powers and countries in population, economy, and especially in military.

Cold War as period of immanent security threat meant that due to concerns of exaggeration of conflicts after 1953 **mechanism of losing security threats** was established. Cold War meant **stabilization** and **petrification** of results of **Second World War**. During this period there was not possible any change of post-war world order as it formed in 1948. That is why Germany was divided until 1990 and superiority of victorious country as permanent members of Security Council was preserved up present days.

Cold War also meant stabilization and **petrification** of **Communist expansion** and the same as in Europe two Asian countries, China and Korea, are divided until present day.

The superiority of both superpowers and their blocs affected the world order for nearly half of century. The international relations were after the end of Second World War known as **Bipolar World**.

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