Paper 1 C8 A World Divided: Superpower Relations 1945-1962

BARE (Causes of the Cold War)
GESCHICHTE (Beliefs - ideological and structural differences east and west)
SURPRISE (Tehran)
PODCASTERS (Yalta)
CLASP (Tensions at Postdam)
GRENADE (agreements at Potsdam)
CHICAS (Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan)
CABAN (Causes of Berlin)
SCENA (Consequences of Berlin)
DUCKS (causes of Korean war)
DE-STALINISATION [Consequences of Khruschev's succession in USSR]
Hungary – no mnemonics
CRABS [Causes of Cuban Missile Crisis]

Causes of the Cold War [BARE]:

• Beliefs (ideological differences),
• Aims and attitudes during the war
• Resentments over the past;
• Events (1941-49)

• Beliefs - Ideological differences [GESCHichte]:
  o Geschichte – Government, economy, society, culture, human rights

• Aims and attitudes during the war
  o Tehran (1943) [SURPRISE]

  Second front to be opened;
  USSR would attack Japan after German defeat;
  Relationships – Stalin and Roosevelt's was good; Churchill and Stalin not so good.
  Poland would get land from Germany.
  Roosevelt sided with Stalin against Churchill over the
  Invasion of
  Southern
  Europe (i.e. the Balkans – Churchill wanted to prevent Stalin's land-grab in Eastern Europe).

  o Yalta (February 1945) [PODCASTERS]:

  Prosecute Nazis and de-nazify Germany
  Occupied Germany to be demilitarised and
  Divided into 4 zones.
  Call elections in all liberated territories (as agreed between USA and UK in the 1941
  Atlantic Charter which asserted the right of countries to choose their own
governments).
  All to join UN (Soviet Republics Belorussia and Ukraine were to have their
  own voting rights; the USA would draw up the charter).
  Soviet sphere of influence to include Poland but run 'a broader democratic basis'.
  Twenty million Poles to be moved along with western border of Poland
  Extract
  Reparations from Germany;
  Stalin to declare war on Japan 3 months after Germany's defeat
Potsdam (July 1945)  
Sources of Tension [CLASP]

Change of personalities: FDR died in April 1945 and he was replaced by Vice- Truman who was less willing to compromise than Roosevelt and more anxious to stop the spread of Soviet influence. In particular, he was less sympathetic to Russian demands for heavy reparations. Stalin was by his nature paranoid and the loss of a common enemy and the development of the atomic weapon in particular would only increase his sense of the world being against him.

Loss of a common enemy following Germany’s surrender on May 7th meant that the allies did not need each other quite as much and long-held differences came to the fore.

Atomic bomb had been tested the day before the conference began - July 16th - Churchill noted that Truman immediately adopted a more aggressive tone towards the Soviets. He 'generally bossed the whole meeting'. The fact that the Americans had said nothing to the Soviets about the weapon before Potsdam increased their suspicion.

Stalin had broken his word over Poland and was setting up a government of communists there.

Agreements – [Grenade]:
- Germany to be rebuilt and restored;
- Reparations to be taken from each zone by occupying ally if they wished;
- Ethnic Germans to be expelled from Czechoslovakia;
- Nuremberg trials to be set up;
- Allied Control Commission to organise German life;
- Democracy to be restored;
- Europe to be rebuilt by a Council of Foreign Ministers

* Resentments over the Past [RASP]
- Russia cancelled its debts to the west following the Bolshevik revolution of 1917
- Allies invaded Russia at the end of WWI in an attempt to overthrow the Bolsheviks
- Stalin had made a pact with the Nazis in 1939
- Procrastination over the second front - Britain and America were slow to open a second front, perhaps because they wanted to see both Germany and Russia weakened.

EVENTS 1946–1948

1946 - The War of Words – from allies to enemies

1. Stalin’s Bolshoi speech February 1946
2. Long Telegram – George F. Kennan to Washington – February 1946 – reported that Stalin had given a speech calling for the destruction of capitalism and reported that the USSR was building up its military power.
3. Iron Curtain Speech – Churchill at Fulton, Missouri, March 1946
4. Stalin’s response – March 1946 – called Churchill’s speech a declaration of war; compared Churchill and his allies to Hitler and his cronies.
5. Novikov’s Telegram – September 1946
   - American government was no longer interested in co-operation with the USSR.
   - America desired to dominate the world.
   - American public was being prepared for war with the USSR.

GREECE (February 1947)
- Britain asked for US supplied arms and money to defeat the Communists.
**TRUMAN DOCTRINE** (March 1947) – CHICAS –

- The USA implemented a policy of ‘containment’ towards the USSR – to prevent Communism spreading any further. Truman declared that the world had to make a **CHOICE** – the world had to make one between communist dictatorship and capitalist democracy; American had to abandon its **ISOLATIONISM** in favour of a policy of **CONTAINMENT** where the USA became the World’s Policeman, protecting the free world against the spread of Communism; by supplying military **AID** and economic **SUPPLIES** to countries threatened by communism. The first practical elements of a new policy came in May 1947, with aid packages for Greece ($400 million) and Turkey ($100 million).

**MARSHALL PLAN** (June 1947) –

- Marshall believed poverty was a breeding ground for Communism. American introduced 'Marshall Aid' – $17 billion to get Europe’s economy going.
- Yet much more was to come in June, with the promulgation of the European Recovery Program (ERP). It became better known as the 'Marshall Plan' after its chief promoter, Secretary of State George Marshall. Members of the government viewed the economic reconstruction of Europe as a matter of great urgency, for two reasons. First, economic instability would generate political instability and probably give rise to communist revolutions. Secondly, US trade depended on a productive, prosperous Europe. Marshall himself explained this in a speech to Harvard University students in June 1947.
- The Marshall Plan was finally approved by Congress on 31st March 1948 following the defenestration of the pro-US politician Jan Masaryk, which confirmed for the Washington Congressmen that Stalin was actively taking over Eastern Europe. Congress approved $17 billion worth of aid to 16 countries over 4 years.
- These loans came with strict conditions, such as the adoption of liberal, democratic and capitalist policies.
- Marshall aid was designed to:
  - Stabilize the economies of countries on the borders of Soviet Europe, thereby making them less vulnerable to Soviet-style revolution.
  - Make hay for the American economy, as many of the beneficiary corporations were American.
  - Provide propaganda to make America appear visionary and generous.

**SALAMI TACTICS (1945–48)** 'Slice-by-slice', Stalin ensured all East European countries had Communist governments and became satellite states.

Crucial in these developments was the establishment in October 1947 of **COMINFORM** (The Communist Information Bureau - the American equivalent was the Central Intelligence Agency or CIA established at the same time) - and later the Molotov Plan, which became **COMECON** (The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, 1949) designed to make each of Russia’s satellites co-dependent upon Moscow. Cominform represented the political and Comecon the economic wings of Soviet policy in eastern Europe – what Rakosi called ‘salami tactics':

1) **Albania** (1945) – the Communists took power after the war without opposition
2) **Bulgaria** (1945) – the Communists executed the leaders of all the other parties.
3) **Poland** (1947) – the Communists forced the non-Communist leaders into exile.
4) **Hungary** (1947) – Russian troops stayed / Stalin allowed elections (non-communists won a big majority)/ Communists led by the pro-Russian Rakosi. / Rakosi demanded that groups which opposed him should be banned. / He got control of the police, and arrested his opponents. / He set up a secret police unit, the AVH.
5) **Romania** (1945–1947) – the Communists gradually took over control.
6) **Czechoslovakia** (1948) – the Communists banned all other parties / killed their leaders.
7) **East Germany** (1949) – Russians turned their zone into German Democratic Republic.
BERLIN CRISIS, 1948-9

1. Causes [CABAN]
   - Cold War was beginning to bite – created tension.
   - Aims – USA+UK wanted Germany to recover/ Stalin looting German industrial capacity.
   - Bizonia – USA, UK, France merged zones and on 1st June 1948 announced a new state with a constituent assembly.
   - American Aid – Marshall Aid was voted 31 March 1948.
   - New Currency – Britain and America introduced new currency 23rd June – destabilised the East German economy. Stalin said that this was the cause of the blockade.

2. Events
   - (24 June 1948) – Stalin closed rail, road and canal links to Berlin / Lasted 11 months/ Allies airlifted supplies to Berlin – 275,000 flights, 1.5m tons/ In winter, Berliners lived on dried eggs and potatoes/ 4 hours of electricity a day./ US had B29 bombers on standby./
   - (12 May 1949) – Stalin re-opened the borders.

3. Results [SCENA]
   - Success for America’s policy of Containment and propaganda victory.
   - Cold War got worse – Berlin’s divisions became permanent;
   - East/West Germany: German Democratic Republic/ Federal Republic of Germany.
   - Arms Race. The USA and USSR competed for world domination

KOREAN WAR (North Korea [Communist] invaded South Korea [Capitalist])

1. Causes [DUCKS]
   - Undermine Communism – The National Security Council recommended (NSC 68 – April 1950) abandoning containment to ‘roll back’ Communism.
   - Cold War – America & Russia battle for world domination took on a new dimension – war by proxy - Korea was a ‘war at arm’s length’.
   - Kim Il Sung – got Stalin’s and Mao tse Tung’s agreement to attack South Korea. Only Kim Il Sung recognised by Communist nations.

2. Events
   - By June 1950 – the NKPA captured most of South Korea from the ROKs.
   - July 1950 – UN troops (Americans led by MacArthur), drove the Communists back to the Chinese border.
   - October 1950 – China attacked/ drove the Americans back/ advanced into South Korea.
   - March 1950 – American reinforcements drove back Chinese (200,000 dead). Truman told the troops to stop at the 38th parallel. Truman sacked MacArthur for criticising his orders.
   - 1953 – Truce: America claimed successful containment.

3. Results
   - Another success for Containment... but
   - A Failure for Rollback – America realised it could not defeat USSR and China by means of conventional weapons. It therefore...
   - Increased its spending on nuclear weapons – by 400%, creating what Eisenhower would later lament as the ‘military-industrial complex’.
KHRUSHCHEV succeeded Stalin, seemed to offer hope of peaceful coexistence but in the end brought increased tension:

1. **He advocated 'Peaceful Coexistence'**/ He met Western leaders at summit meetings/ He was friendly to Yugoslavia, telling Tito there were 'different roads to Communism'/ He criticised Stalin, executed Beria, set free political prisoners and de-stalinised the eastern bloc countries.

2. In 1956 his 'secret speech' signalled a period of **De-stalinisation** within the Soviet Union:
   - **Destroyed** the cult of Stalin and the perception that he was a legend starting with the secret speech of 25 February 1956
   - **Stalin's** statues and portraits were removed from public places
   - **The secret police** were given less power
   - **Laws of** censorship were relaxed so there was more freedom in the media and the arts
   - **Increased freedom** was given to writers and artists
   - **No elimination** of his rivals, as Stalin had done, they were just given unimportant jobs instead
   - **Indication** of a less brutal control of the party
   - **Stalingrad** was renamed to Volvograd
   - **Also erased** Stalin from history by taking his body from the Red Square mausoleum where it was displayed alongside Lenin and burying it in a grave alongside other Soviet leaders.
   - **Thousands of political prisoners** were released from Gulags which were closed.
   - **Improved** Khrushchev’s image – portraying him as good and Stalin as bad and disassociated himself from Stalin’s crimes even though he had been responsible for thousands of deaths himself
   - **Other places and buildings** named after Stalin were renamed
   - **Nevertheless, the basic elements** of the Soviet system, including the dominance of the Communist Party, remained intact.

3. **In fact 1955–1963 was the time of greatest tension in the Cold War**
   - Khrushchev used Russian troops when countries tried to leave Russian control.
   - By peaceful co-existence, Khrushchev meant ‘peaceful competition’ (He loved to argue (Kitchen debate with Nixon)/ He gave economic aid to countries like Afghanistan and Burma/ Space Race (1957: Sputnik. 1961: Yuri Gagarin orbits the earth)/ Arms Race (1953: Russia got the hydrogen bomb, five years ahead of US predictions)
   - Warsaw Pact (1955) – USSR/ Albania/ Bulgaria/ Czechoslovakia/ E Germany/ Hungary/ Poland/ Romania

4. In response, in America **McCarthy** conducted a ‘witchhunt’ for Communists/ In 1955, NATO agreed to an army of 0.5 m men in W Germany/ rushed to put a man on the moon (though this did not occur until 1969)/ American U2 planes spied on Russia and one was shot down on May 1st 1960 with its pilot still alive – Gary Powers.

**HUNGARY (1956)**

1. **Causes:**
   - **Poverty** – When most of Hungary’s food was sent to Russia
   - **Russian Control** – The Hungarians were very patriotic/ They hated censorship, the AVH, and Russian control of education./ They hated having Russian troops stationed in Hungary
   - **Catholic Church** – Communism tried to destroy religion, but Hungarians were Catholics
   - **Help from the West** – The Hungarians thought Eisenhower or UN would help.
   - **Destalinisation** – Led to protests against Rakosi’s harsh government.

2. **Events** (3 key dates)
   - **23 October** – Student riots – attacks on AVH and Russian troops
   - **24 October – 3 November** – Reforming government led by Imre Nagy (Democracy/ Freedom of speech/ Freedom of religion/ Aimed to withdraw from Warsaw Pact.
   - **November** – Soviets sent 1000 tanks to crush/ Western powers protested but didn’t want a war.
3. **Results**
   - Janos Kadar put in control of Hungary
   - 4,000 Hungarians killed / Nagy shot.
   - 200,000 Hungarians flee to West.
   - Many westerners leave the Communist party.
   - Russia stays in control in Eastern Europe.
   - Western leaders all the more determined to ‘contain’ communism.

**U2 CRISIS**
- 1 May 1960 Soviets shot down American U2 spy plane over USSR, and captured pilot Gary Powers. Americans had to admit he was a spy. Khrushchev demanded apology + end to spy flights. Eisenhower refused.

**Results**
- Khrushchev walks out of Paris summit (14 May 1960) / Eisenhower's planned visit to Russia cancelled / Khrushchev demands US leaves West Berlin / Americans came off badly – been caught lying - propaganda victory for USSR. / New American president Kennedy promises to get tough on Communism.

**BERLIN WALL, 1961**

1. **Causes**
   - **Growing tension** (U2 crisis / Kennedy finances anti-Communist forces in Laos and Vietnam)
   - **Refugees** (West Berlin enjoyed much higher standard than East Berlin. / 1945 – 1960 3 million people crossed the border – a propaganda point for the US – most were skilled workers)
   - **Sabotage** – The Russians claimed that America used West Berlin for spies and sabotage in east Germany.

2. **Events**
   - 13 August 1961– East Germans erected a barbed wire wall overnight (later stone) / All East – West moement was stopped / Wall fortified with barbed wire and guns / Western powers could do nothing.

**CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS**

1. **Causes** (CRABS)
   - Cold War tensions – U2 – Berlin Wall – Laos – Vietnam
   - Revolution in Cuba led by Fidel Castro only 90 miles off coast of America. / Close relationship with USSR (oil, machinery and money in return for sugar) / Cuba nationalises American companies
   - Arms Race reaches new heights – both countries have Hydrogen bombs, both have capability of delivering them by means of bomber aircraft, but only US has USSR within range of MRBMs.
   - **Bay of Pigs** – (April 1961) America sent in rebels in but they were defeated (a humiliation) and Castro looked to Soviet Union for protection.
   - Spy planes photograph Soviet missile sites on Cuba– 14 October 1962.

2. **Events**
   - Kennedy ordered a naval blockade and threatened invasion.
   - For 10 days the world was on the brink of nuclear war.
   - Kennedy promised to remove US missiles from Turkey
   - 28 October Khrushchev removed the missiles and the crisis was over

3. **Results**
   - Khrushchev seemed to have failed
   - Kennedy became the hero of the Western world
   - Telephone hot line set up between Moscow and Washington.