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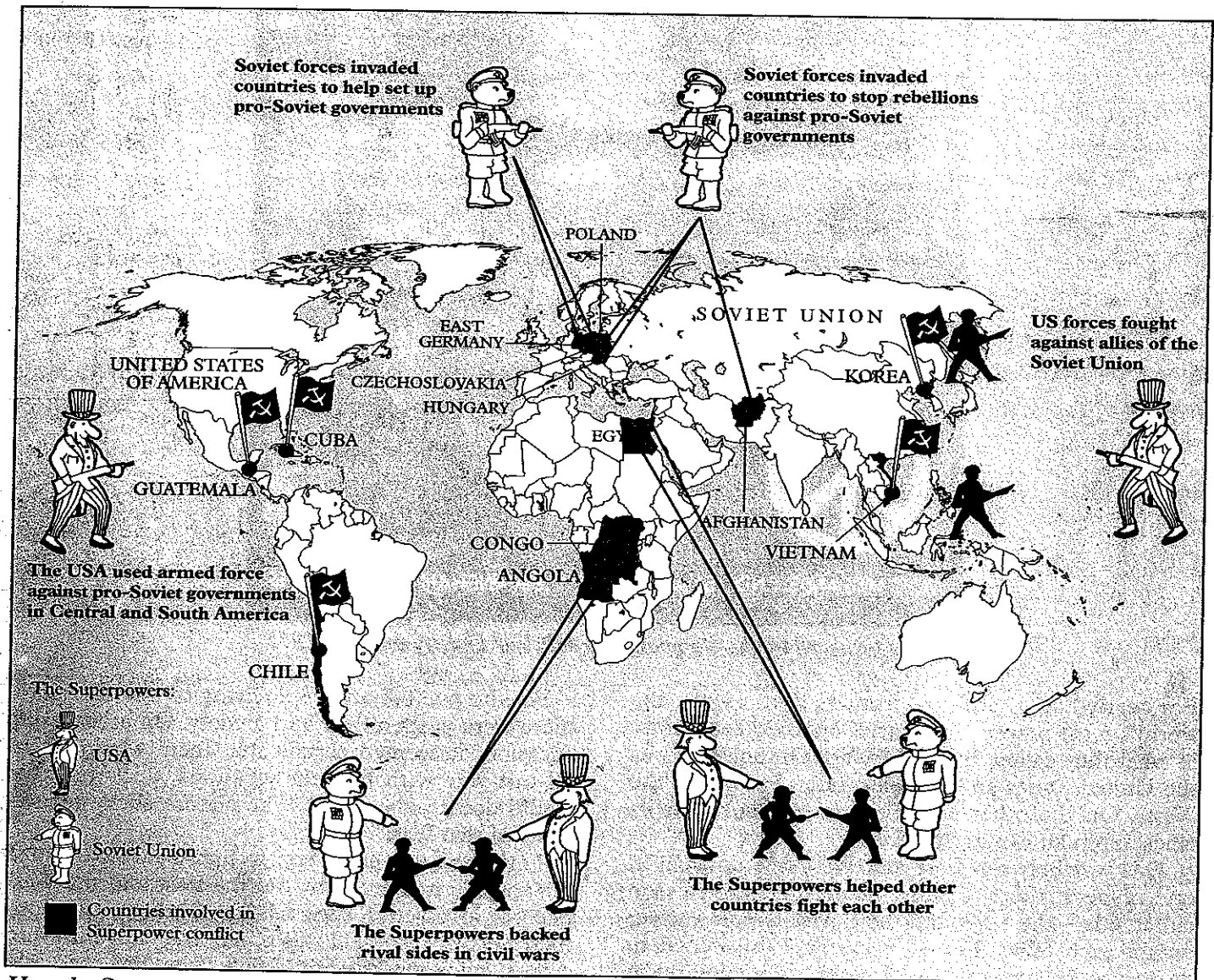
WHAT WAS THE COLD WAR?

The term 'Cold War' was first used by an American banker in 1947. He was describing the hostility that existed between the United States and the Soviet Union. By 'cold' he meant that the two countries were doing all they could to harm each other without using their armed forces to fight a 'hot' war.


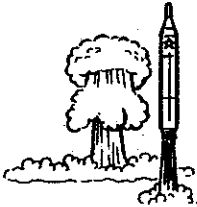
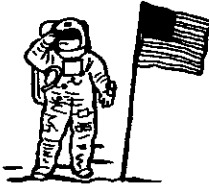
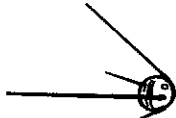
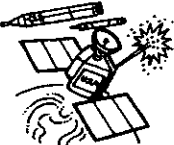


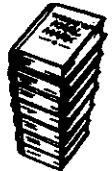





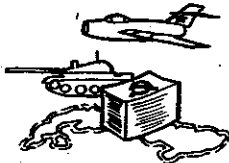
But how was it possible to make war without fighting each other? The map and diagram on these pages show some of the ways in which they did so. Look first at the map. It shows that the two sides used other countries and other people to do their fighting for them. They did so in many ways:

- They fought each other's allies. For example, the United States fought against North Vietnam, a pro-Soviet country, in the Vietnam War.

- They helped their allies to fight each other. For example, the USA backed Israel and the Soviet Union backed Egypt in the wars in the Middle East.
- They gave help to opposing sides in civil wars. For example, they supported rival governments in a civil war in the Congo.
- The Americans used armed force to get rid of pro-Soviet governments in countries close to the United States, such as Cuba.
- The Soviet Union used armed force to stop rebellions against pro-Soviet governments in nearby countries, such as Hungary.



How the Superpowers used other countries to do their fighting for them

Area of conflict	Example: the USA	Example: the Soviet Union
The arms race	1952: the USA exploded its first H-bomb and started building long-range bomber aircraft 	1953: the Soviet Union exploded its first H-bomb and started building long-range missiles 
The space race	1969: an American astronaut became the first person to walk on the moon 	1957: the world's first artificial satellite, <i>Sputnik</i> , was launched into space 
Defence	1980s: work began on 'Star Wars' satellites which use laser beams to destroy incoming Soviet missiles 	1980s: Soviet researchers experimented with particle beams to destroy incoming American missiles 
Propaganda	The 'Voice of America' radio station broadcast pro-American programmes to the Soviet Union 	Progress Publishers printed pro-Soviet books in foreign languages for export to western countries 
Sport	1980: the United States boycotted the Moscow Olympic Games as a protest against a Soviet invasion of Afghanistan 	1984: the Soviet Union boycotted the Los Angeles Olympics through fears for Soviet athletes' safety in USA 
Espionage	The CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) was set up to carry out intelligence-gathering, spying and subversion 	The KGB (Committee for State Security) carried out spying, subversion and intelligence-gathering 
Aid	The Marshall Plan, 1948: the USA gave \$16 billion of aid to European countries to stop the spread of communism into western Europe 	1960: the Soviet Union started giving money and arms to the new anti-American government of Cuba 

Examples of the methods which the Superpowers used to fight each other in the Cold War

But these were not the only ways in which the Superpowers fought each other. Look now at the diagram. It shows that they also fought a propaganda war, trying to damage each other's reputation and to improve their own. They competed in an arms race to develop more and more powerful weapons.

They tried to outdo each other in science and technology, especially in the 'space race' to land first on the moon. Even in sport they competed with each other, for example to get gold medals in the Olympic Games. In all of these areas of conflict, they used espionage to find out each other's plans.

Questions

A. Study the map carefully.

- Which two countries were the 'Superpowers' in the Cold War?
- Write four sentences to explain why you agree or disagree with this statement: 'There was no actual fighting between the Superpowers during the Cold War'.

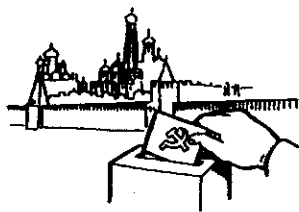
B. Study the diagram above.

- Choose three of the areas of conflict listed in the left-hand column.
- Suggest what you think each Superpower hoped to gain by doing these things.

2

ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

East



West



Government

A one-party state. Only the Communist Party is allowed. In theory, the country is run by elected councils called Soviets. But as most members of the Soviets are Communists, the country is really run by the Party.

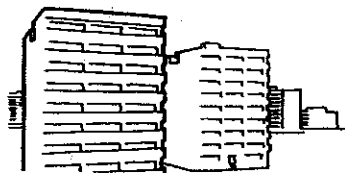
A democratic state. Many parties are allowed to stand in elections. The leader of the party which wins an election becomes the head of the government.



Human rights

Strict limits on many human and civil rights e.g. limits on free speech, travel, worship etc. Dissidents (i.e. people who try to break those limits) risk imprisonment.

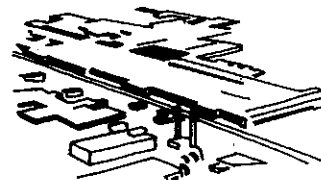
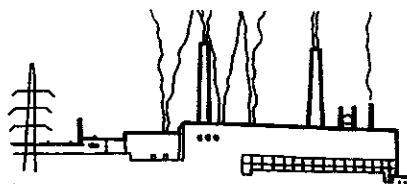
Fewer limits on human and civil rights than in the East, and some rights are guaranteed by law. (But until the 1960s many rights were denied to black Americans.)



Social

Average living standards lower than in the West. Wealth more evenly distributed, so fewer people are either rich or poor.

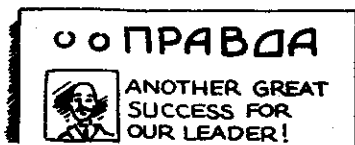
Average living standards higher than in the East. Wealth distributed unevenly, so there are more poor people than in the East.



Economic

A government-run economy: factories, farms, mines, shops, etc. are publicly owned. Profits are used for the public good.

A free-market economy: farms, factories, mines, shops, etc. are privately owned. Profits go to the company.



Cultural

The media are owned and run by the government. Newspapers, books, radio, films, TV are strictly censored.

The media are owned by private companies and individuals. Newspapers, books, radio, TV and films are rarely censored.

Differences between the communist East and the democratic West

The Superpowers had not always been enemies. During the Second World War they fought on the same side against Nazi Germany. Along with Britain, they were known as the 'Allies'.

Though they were on the same side, there was deep mistrust between the Soviet Union and the western Allies. The mistrust had many causes. At its heart was a disagreement about how countries

should be run. The Soviet Union was a communist country run by a dictator, Joseph Stalin. Britain and the USA were capitalist countries run by elected governments, led by Winston Churchill and Franklin Roosevelt respectively. The picture opposite shows some of the issues on which they were split.

A history of mistrust

Why should a disagreement about how to run countries cause so much mistrust? The disagreement had begun in 1917 when Communists had overthrown the Russian government during the First World War. The new Communist government made changes which angered Russia's allies, especially France, Britain and the USA. For example, they stopped fighting and made peace with Germany; they confiscated land, factories and banks from their owners; and they murdered the Russian royal family as well as thousands of political opponents.

The governments of Britain, France and the USA decided to get rid of this dangerous new government. In 1918 they sent armies to invade Russia and overthrow it. They failed, and the Communists stayed in power. The Communists never forgot that the western countries hated them badly enough to make war on them.

Fears of Russian expansion

In 1922 Russia merged with five neighbouring states to form a new country, the Soviet Union. By 1936, five more states had joined the Soviet Union. In less than 15 years, Russia had added to itself an area the size of Europe. This made the western countries fear that the Communists were building a powerful new empire in the East.

Their fears doubled during the first year of the Second World War, when Soviet forces marched into eastern Poland and the Baltic states. This added an area the size of Britain to the Soviet Union, and brought its frontier even closer to Europe.

The Soviet Union at war

Stalin, the Soviet leader, was able to do this because in 1939 he had made an agreement with Hitler, the German leader, that they would not make war on

each other. In 1941, however, Hitler broke this agreement and invaded the Soviet Union. Churchill, the British leader, immediately put aside his dislike of communism and started sending help to the Soviet Union to fight Germany, which was now their common enemy. The Americans, too, put aside their doubts and started to send aid.

Friction between the Allies

Although they were now fighting together against Germany, there was friction between them. The western allies did not forget the agreement that Stalin had made with Hitler in 1939, and suspected that he might make a separate peace with Germany. For Stalin, the main cause of friction was the great length of time that Britain and the USA took to open a 'second front' against Germany by invading German-occupied France. This meant that Soviet forces did most of the fighting in Europe up to 1944.

The Yalta Agreement

In February 1945 the three leaders met to settle their differences (see the picture on page 6). At a conference in the seaside resort of Yalta, in the Soviet Union, they discussed plans for ending the war and for making a peace settlement. They agreed on five main issues:

1. Liberated Europe. The people of countries liberated (*freed*) from Nazi rule should be allowed to set up their own democratic, independent governments.
2. Germany. They would divide Germany into zones at the end of the war. They would each occupy a zone and would take 20 billion dollars for reparations; half to go to the Soviet Union.
3. Poland. The Soviet Union would be given the eastern part of Poland to improve its defences. To make up for this loss, Poland would take land from eastern Germany.
4. United Nations. They would set up a United Nations Organisation to promote world peace.
5. Japan. Soviet armies in the Far East would invade Manchuria to attack Japanese forces there.

Questions

A. Look carefully at the diagram opposite.

1. Which aspects of life in the East do you think westerners were most likely to criticise?
2. Which aspects of life in the West do you think easterners were most likely to criticise?

B. Copy the timeline on page 12 onto the middle of a sheet of paper.

1. Write on the left of the timeline events which made the West suspicious of the Soviet Union.
2. Write on the right of the timeline events which made the Soviet Union suspicious of the West.

C. Look at the five points of the Yalta Agreement above. Why do you think Stalin was likely to disagree with Roosevelt and Churchill about the meaning of point 1? (Hint: look at box 1 in the diagram.)

FROM YALTA TO POTSDAM

This photograph was taken in Berlin in July 1945. It shows British soldiers who had just taken part in the Allied victory parade through Berlin, resting underneath a picture of the 'Big Three' Allied leaders at the Yalta Conference of February 1945: Churchill (left), Roosevelt (centre) and Stalin (right).



Post-Yalta tensions

The Yalta Agreement seemed a great success at first. But within weeks of signing, the British and Americans were having serious doubts. It quickly became clear to them that Stalin did not share their ideas about democracy for the countries of eastern Europe. This is an example of the Soviet approach to setting up new governments there:

'Visiting the Romanian capital, Vyshinsky [*the Soviet deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs*] stormed into the King's study, slammed his fist on the table and demanded a new, pro-Moscow government. When the King of Romania demurred [*objected*], noting that the Yalta Agreement guaranteed free elections, Vyshinsky

looked at his watch. "I will announce the new government in exactly two hours and five minutes," Vyshinsky snapped, and stalked out, slamming the door so hard the plaster cracked.'

The aim of the Soviet forces was clear. As they advanced further into Europe, they wanted to make sure that the governments which took over from the retreating Germans would be loyal to the Soviet Union. The reasons for this were not so clear. Was Stalin simply trying to protect the Soviet Union by making sure that it had friendly neighbours? Or was he trying to expand the Soviet empire even further into Europe, as he had done before the war (see page 4)?

In April 1945 relations between Stalin and the western Allies became even more strained when Roosevelt, the US President, died. The new President, Harry Truman, was less sympathetic towards the Soviet Union. Within days of taking office, Truman received reports that Soviet forces in Poland were trying to set up a pro-Soviet government there, instead of allowing free elections. Truman decided to take a tough line on this, and he sent a strongly worded protest to Stalin. Relations between the two countries grew colder.

The Potsdam Conference

In May 1945 Germany surrendered. By this time the Soviet armies had reached the centre of Germany and had occupied most of Eastern Europe.

Meanwhile, the war against Japan continued in the Far East. To discuss this, as well as the future of defeated Germany, the Allied leaders met for a final wartime conference at Potsdam in Germany. Since the Yalta Conference, two great changes had taken place. Roosevelt had died and President Truman now spoke for the USA. In Britain, the Conservative Party lost a general election halfway through the conference, so Churchill's place was taken by Clement Attlee, the new Prime Minister.

At Potsdam, the Allied leaders confirmed some of the decisions made at Yalta. Germany was to be split into four zones, each run by an Allied army. Germany was to be disarmed, the Nazi Party abolished, and war criminals put on trial. Germany was to pay reparations for war damage. On three issues, however, they made no decision:

- They did not draw up a peace treaty with Germany.
- They did not agree a frontier between Poland and Germany.
- They did not confirm the promise they had made at Yalta to allow democratic elections in Eastern Europe.

The atomic bomb

The tension at Potsdam was increased by a new development in the war against Japan. On the day before the Conference started, the United States test-exploded the world's first atomic bomb.

Although Truman told Stalin very little about the bomb, Stalin had already found out about it from Soviet spies in the USA. He knew, therefore, that the Americans had the most powerful weapon in the world.

Now that the Americans had the atom bomb, they had less need of Soviet help in fighting Japan. In August the United States dropped atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, destroying both cities and killing 150,000 people. Although Stalin now declared war on Japan, hoping to gain land before the war ended, Soviet help was no longer needed. Japan surrendered just two days later. The war in the Far East ended with the Americans firmly in control of Japan.



This cartoon appeared in the British magazine Punch in February 1945, after the Yalta Conference. It shows Europe as a jigsaw puzzle being put together by Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill. They are finding it hard to put the pieces together in Germany and Eastern Europe.

Questions

- A. Look at the photograph opposite, and read again the Yalta Agreement on page 5. Suggest why the Allies wanted to publicise the Yalta Agreement with huge posters like the one in the photograph.
- B. Look at the cartoon above, and read again the information about 'post-Yalta tensions' on page 6.
1. What were Stalin's aims in Eastern Europe early in 1945?
 2. What different aims in Eastern Europe did Churchill and Roosevelt have?
 3. Which country in the jigsaw do you think they found hardest to put together?
 4. Which pieces of the jigsaw were unfinished after the Potsdam Conference in July 1945?

4

EUROPE 1945-8

The Iron Curtain

In May 1945, only days after the defeat of Germany, Churchill sent a message to President Truman. It was about the Soviet forces which had occupied Eastern Europe. He wrote:

- A. 'An iron curtain is drawn down upon their front. We do not know what is going on behind. There seems little doubt that the whole of the regions east of the line Lübeck-Trieste-Corfu will soon be completely in their hands.'

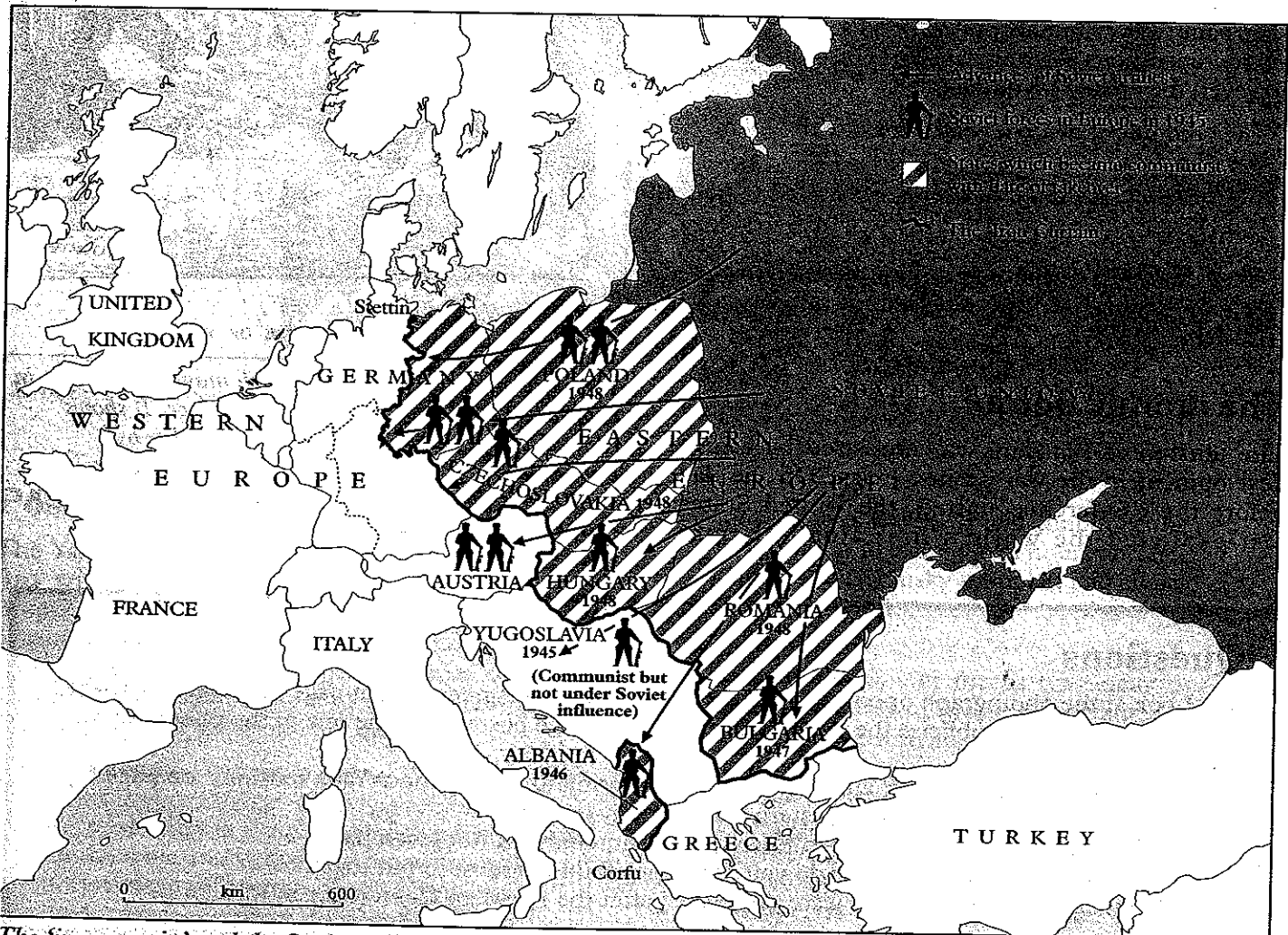
The map below shows what Churchill meant: there were 12 million Soviet soldiers in seven of the countries of eastern Europe. This gave Stalin the power to make whatever changes he wanted in these countries.

The map shows how he used that power. Over the next two years, Soviet forces did all they could to give these countries communist governments.

some of the countries they did so by rigging elections in favour of communist candidates. In others they simply overthrew the existing leaders and put communist leaders in their place. By 1948, six of the seven countries had governments which supported the Soviet Union and were willing to take orders from Stalin.

Why did Stalin do this? The Americans had a simple explanation: he was continuing the process of building a mighty Soviet empire that had begun in 1922 (see page 4). Stalin himself had a different answer. He said in 1946:

- B. 'The Soviet Union's loss of life (in the Second World War) has been several times greater than that of Britain and the USA put together . . . So what is so surprising about the Soviet Union, anxious for its future safety, trying to see that loyal governments should exist in these countries?'



The 'iron curtain' and the Soviet take-over of Eastern Europe

The Truman Doctrine

Only one East European country escaped Soviet control. Greece, where a civil war between Communists and Royalists had started in 1944, was occupied instead by British troops. To stop the Communists from winning the civil war, the British gave guns and money to the Royalists. They also gave aid to Greece's neighbour Turkey. But by 1947 the British could no longer afford to pay for this aid. Yet without it, the Royalists were sure to lose.

President Truman of the USA decided that this must not be allowed to happen. He said that communism must be 'contained' – that is, not allowed to spread beyond the countries that were already communist. This policy became known as the Truman Doctrine. To stop communism spreading into Greece, the US government gave the Royalists 400 million dollars in aid. With this help, they went on to win the civil war in 1949.

Marshall Aid

That 400 million dollars was a drop in the ocean compared with what followed. Three months later, the US Secretary of State, George Marshall, announced a much bigger injection of aid for the whole of Europe. By the 'Marshall Plan', the US government provided 16 European countries with 17 billion dollars of aid over the next four years (1948–52). The money was used to repair war damage and to build up industry. The idea was that people would be less likely to support communism if they had jobs, homes and food.

Cominform

Stalin bitterly criticised the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. He said that the aid was part of an American plan for world domination, and he did not allow the East European countries to accept any of it. Moreover, he tightened his grip on them by setting up a Communist Information Bureau

(Cominform) in 1947. Its job was to co-ordinate the activities of the communist parties in Europe, thus strengthening their power and influence.

By 1948, then, Europe was divided between the communist East and the non-communist West. At first, the division was no more than a line on the map. But before long the communist countries started to fortify their western borders with barbed wire, watchtowers and minefields. By the 1950s the 'iron curtain' had become an actual barrier across Europe which few people were allowed to cross.



'Come on Sam! It's up to us again.' This cartoon appeared in *Punch* in October 1947.

Questions

- A. Look at the map. Using the text on these pages, explain:
1. why there were so many Soviet soldiers in Eastern Europe in 1945.
 2. how so many countries in Eastern Europe became communist.
 3. what might have happened if the British and Americans had not given aid to Greece and Turkey.
- B. 1. Look at the passage marked B on page 8. How did Stalin justify the fact that he had imposed pro-Soviet governments on Eastern Europe?
2. Look back to page 5. What different explanation did the western Allies have of the Soviet take-over?
- C. Look at the cartoon.
1. Who was 'Marshall' and what was the 'American Aid' shown in the foreground?
 2. What did the cartoonist want us to think was about to happen to Western Europe?
 3. Explain why you agree or disagree with this statement:
'Marshall and Uncle Sam wanted to give aid to Europe because they were kind-hearted.'

5

THE BERLIN BLOCKADE

In 1948 the Cold War very nearly became a 'hot' war when the Soviet Union disagreed with the western Allies over the future of Germany.

For the past three years, Germany had been a divided country. After defeating Germany in 1945, the Allies had split it into pieces. As the map below shows, they gave Prussia to Poland, and divided the rest of the country into four zones. Each zone was occupied by an Allied army. Berlin, the capital, which was deep inside the Soviet zone, was split into four sectors.

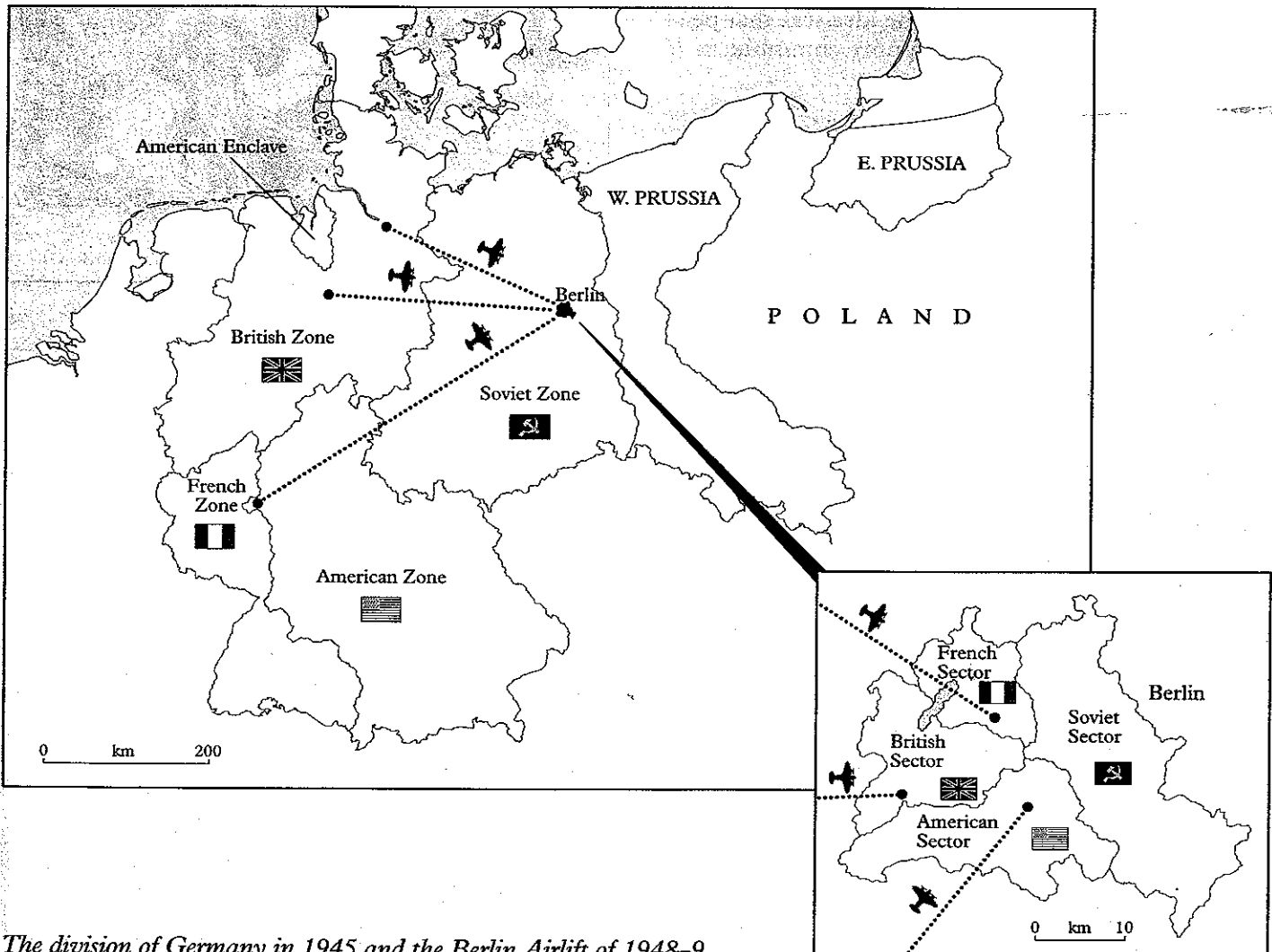
Two views of Germany's future

The Soviet and western Allies ran their zones in entirely different ways. Stalin wanted to keep Germany weak and divided so that it could never again attack the Soviet Union. He also wanted Germany to pay the cost of repairing war damage.

Like the Soviet Union itself, the Soviet zone was run as a communist country.

Britain, France and the United States ran their zones along capitalist lines. Far from wanting to keep Germany weak, they wanted their zones to recover quickly from the war. A strong Germany, they believed, would help the rest of Europe to recover. So they did what they could to encourage German businesses to grow. In particular, they started using a new currency – the Deutschmark – in their zones. This replaced the Mark which had dropped in value through inflation.

These changes quickly strengthened the economy in the western zones and in the western sectors of Berlin. Before long, output was rising and there was more to buy in the shops. This alarmed Stalin. If western Germany became rich and strong, he thought, it might once again be able to threaten the Soviet Union.



The division of Germany in 1945 and the Berlin Airlift of 1948-9

West Berliners watch an American plane, loaded with food supplies, touching down at Tempelhof Airport in Berlin, during the blockade of 1948-9.



The Berlin Blockade and Airlift

Stalin decided to force the western Allies to leave Berlin. In June 1948 Soviet forces closed all railways, roads and canals leading from their zone into the western sectors of the city. This immediately cut off all food and fuel supplies. The people of West Berlin faced starvation.

But the Americans, British and French refused to abandon Berlin. If West Berlin was taken by the Soviets, western Germany would surely be their next target. So they gathered together a huge fleet of aircraft to take food, coal and clothing to Berlin along three air corridors (see map). The Berlin Airlift, as this rescue mission was known, lasted for nearly a year. It kept the people of West Berlin alive until Stalin gave in and lifted the blockade in 1949.

Consequences of the Blockade

The Blockade failed to stop the Americans, British and French from strengthening the western zones. In 1949 they joined their zones together to form a new country, known as West Germany. The Soviet Union responded by turning its own zone into a new country, known as East Germany.

The Blockade also forced the western Allies to think about how they should deal with any future disagreements with the Soviet Union. Together with Canada and nine western European countries, they formed in 1949 a military defence structure called the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). If any one of them was ever attacked by the Soviet Union, they would join forces and fight the attack together.

Questions

- A.**
1. Why did Stalin want to make the western Allies leave Berlin in 1948?
 2. Why were the western Allies so determined not to leave Berlin?
- B.** Look at the photograph.
1. Suggest the most likely reason why the children were taking an interest in the airlift.
 2. For what extra reasons might the adults have been watching the airlift?
- C.** Look at the painting on the cover of this book, and read the caption on the inside back cover.
1. Describe in your own words the scene shown in the painting.
 2. The artist could have shown happy children watching the plane land (as in the photograph above). Why do you think he decided instead to paint the airlift from a graveyard?
 3. Which do you think best portrays the importance of the Berlin Airlift: the painting or the photograph? Explain your answer.

Revision guide

- A. Find the timeline which you started after reading pages 4–5.
- B. Now add these events to the timeline for 1944–8, using pages 6–11 to remind yourself when they happened. (Remember to put events which made the West suspicious of the Soviet Union on the left, and events which made the Soviet Union suspicious of the West on the right.)
- The USA test-explodes the first atomic bomb.
 - Stalin blockades the western sectors of Berlin.
 - Soviet forces in Romania set up a pro-Soviet government there.
 - Truman protests at Soviet attempts to set up a pro-Soviet government in Poland.
 - The western Allies form a military defence organisation, NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation).
 - Harry Truman, not a Soviet sympathiser, becomes US President.
 - The Potsdam Conference fails to agree on the frontier between Germany and Poland, or on democratic elections in Eastern Europe.
 - The Second World War ends with 12 million Soviet soldiers occupying Eastern Europe.
 - The western Allies introduce a new currency into their occupation zones in Germany.
 - Truman announces the 'Truman Doctrine' of containing communism.
 - Start of Marshall Aid to help European countries repair war damage.
 - Stalin sets up Cominform to co-ordinate communist parties in Europe.
- C. Look at your completed timeline. Which events on it were long-term causes of the Cold War?
- D. Judging by your completed timeline, do you think that the Cold War was caused
1. mainly by the West?
 2. mainly by the Soviet Union?
 3. by both of them equally?
- Explain your answer.

1917

1918

1922

1936

1939

1940

1941

1944

1945

1946

1947

1948

1949

Timeline, 1917–49