

# THE COLD WAR

I. A Bipolar World

II. Onset and Declaration

III. Height of the Cold War

IV. Vietnam and Detente

V. End Game



# A. International Level

- Bipolar World
- Germany and Japan destroyed
- Britain and France drained
- US and USSR as 'Superpowers'
  - Atomic Weapons
- Redrawing of Borders



## B. Domestic Level

- Germany and Japan in defeat
- USSR as dominant European power
  - Security concerns
- End of American isolationism
  - Anti-communism
- Britain and France
  - Dean Acheson: "Britain has lost an empire but yet to find a role"
- Rebuilding and Adjustment

## C. Individuals



**'Big Three'  
(Churchill, FDR,  
Stalin) at Yalta,  
February 1945**



**'Big Three' (Attlee,  
Truman, Stalin) at  
Potsdam, August  
1945**

## II. Onset and Declaration

- Kennan's 'Long Telegram' (Feb. '46)
- Fate of Poland and East Europe
  - Czech Coup (February 1948)
- Division of Germany
  - Berlin Airlift (June 1948-May 1949)
- Far East
  - Korea division
  - Mao in China (Oct. 1949)
- Atomic Bomb
  - US 1945; USSR 1949

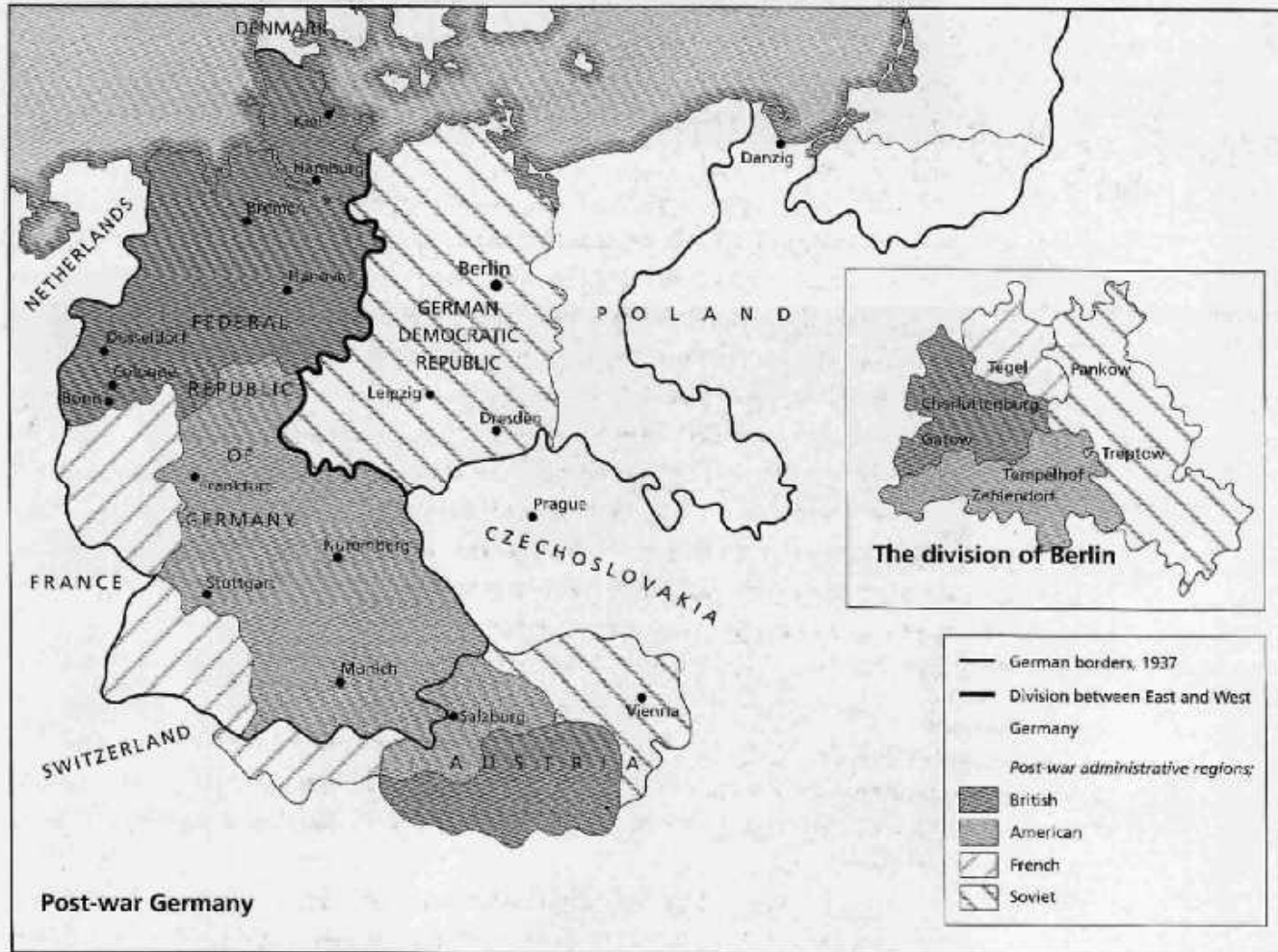




# Europe in 1947



# The Division of Germany





## II. Onset and Declaration

- Truman Doctrine (March 1947)
  - “I believe it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.”
- European Recovery Plan (or ‘Marshall Plan’ June 1947)
- George Kennan’s ‘X Article’ (July 1947)
  - Containment Policy
- Formation of NATO (April 1949)



# Causes of the Cold War: Realism

Table 5-1

## The Causes of the Origins and Expansion of the Cold War: The Realist Perspective and Levels of Analysis

Level of analysis		Realist perspective
<b>Systemic</b>	<i>Structure</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bipolarity--no flexibility:                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>—Security dilemma: Balance of terror replaces balance of power</li> <li>—Nuclear deterrence discourages attack by threat before it occurs rather than by defense after an attack occurs; credibility as important as capability; leads to repeated crises to test intentions</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Power vacuum: Germany and Japan surrender unconditionally; reconstructed Germany/Japan could tip balance</li> </ul>
	<i>Process</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dynamics of deterrence spreads conflict to third world</li> </ul>
<b>Foreign policy</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• U.S. and Soviet leaders resolve Cuban Missile Crisis</li> </ul>
<b>Domestic</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Soviet Union aggressive militarily in eastern Europe, Baltic, and Balkan states</li> </ul>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• U.S. expansionist economically in western Europe and Asia</li> </ul>
<b>Individual</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Khrushchev takes measure of Kennedy and deploys Cuban missiles</li> </ul>

# Causes of the Cold War: Liberalism

Table 5-7

The Causes of the Origins of the Cold War: The Liberal Perspective and Levels of Analysis

Level of analysis		Liberal perspective	
<b>Systemic</b>	<i>Structure</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• United Nations and Baruch Plan to centralize control of nuclear weapons failed:                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>—Flawed global institutions</li> <li>—Small collective security: Great power veto on Security Council ensured preponderance of power; but United States-Soviets clashed</li> <li>—Big collective security: Unanimity in General Assembly but Assembly was subordinate to Council, used only once in Korea because Soviets were absent in Security Council</li> </ul> </li> <li>• NATO and EC develop collective security at regional level</li> </ul>	
	<i>Process</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Soviet Union saw Marshall Plan as threat to communist regimes in eastern Europe</li> <li>• United States saw spread of Marxist-Leninism as threat to democratic regimes in western Europe</li> <li>• Diplomacy: Differences over Poland, Germany, Greece, etc. could have been negotiated</li> <li>• Lack of trade</li> </ul>	
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kennedy and Khrushchev cooperate to circumvent domestic hard-liners and settle the Cuban Missile Crisis</li> </ul>
			—
<b>Foreign policy</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kennedy and Khrushchev cooperate to circumvent domestic hard-liners and settle the Cuban Missile Crisis</li> </ul>	
<b>Domestic</b>		—	
<b>Individual</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Truman threatened Stalin</li> <li>• Roosevelt misinterpreted Stalin</li> </ul>	

# Causes of the Cold War: Identity

Table 5-5

## The Causes of the Origins of the Cold War: The Identity Perspective and Levels of Analysis

Level of analysis		Identity perspective
<b>Systemic</b>	<i>Structure</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Divergent ideologies: No spheres of influence possible because identities of United States and Soviet Union create relationship of enemy rather than rival</li> </ul>
	<i>Process</i>	—
<b>Foreign policy</b>		—
<b>Domestic</b>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• U.S. anti-communism and moralism</li> </ul>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Soviet Union expansionist ideologically as belief system not as embedded historical dialectic (which is a critical theory perspective)</li> </ul>
<b>Individual</b>		—

# III. Height of the Cold War

- NSC 68 (April 1950)
- Korean War (1950-1953)
- Eisenhower and Khrushchev (1953)
- 'Secret Speech' (1956)
- Hungarian Uprising and Suez (1956)
- Sputnik Launched (1957)





# III. Height of the Cold War

- JFK becomes President (1961)
  - "...we shall pay any price, bear any burden...to assure the survival and success of liberty." (Inaugural Address)
- Cuban Revolution (1959)
- Bay of Pigs Invasion (April 1961)
- Berlin Wall  
(August 1961)
- Cuban Missile Crisis  
(October 1962)



**The Berlin Wall Goes Up**

(c) Sammlung Heiko Burkhardt, dailysoft.com

# IV. Vietnam and Detente

- Vietnam Divided
- Tonkin Gulf Resolution (1964) and Escalation
- Tet Offensive (1968)
- Bombing and Cambodia
- Paris Peace Accords (1973)
- North Vietnamese Victory (April 1975)



# IV. Vietnam and Detente

- The Logic of 'Détente'
  - SALT I and II
  - Opening to China
  - Kissinger's 'Linkage Strategy'
- Problems with Détente
- Carter and Human Rights
  - Jackson-Vanik Amendments
  - Soviets in Afghanistan ('79)
  - Carter Doctrine



**Nixon  
tries  
detente**



# V. End Game

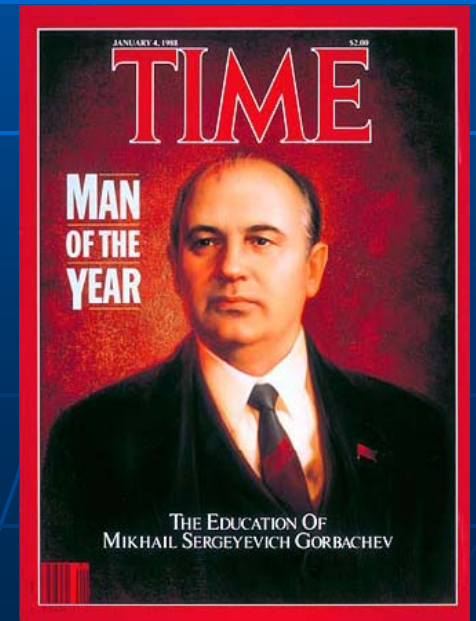
- Reagan and the New Cold War
- 'Peaceful Coexistence' to 'Evil Empire'
- Massive US military build-up
- Invasion of Grenada (1983)
- Intermediate Missiles in Europe
- Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI or 'Star Wars'-1984)





# V. End Game

- Mikhail Gorbachev (1985-91)
  - *Glasnost* and *Perestroika*
  - 'New Thinking' on Foreign Policy
- Tiananmen Square (June 1989)
- Berlin Wall Down (Nov. 1989)
- Failed in Moscow (Aug. 1991)
- Soviet Union Dissolved (Dec. 31, 1991)



# Perspectives on the Cold War's End

Table 5-2

The Causes of the End of the Cold War: The Realist Perspective and Levels of Analysis

Level of analysis		Realist perspective
Systemic	Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>United States outcompetes Soviet Union materially</li> </ul>
	Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Information revolution bolsters U.S. advantage</li> </ul>
Foreign policy		—
Domestic		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>United States revives its military and economic power</li> </ul>
Individual		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reagan devises strategy to exploit Soviet weaknesses</li> </ul>

Realist

Liberal

Table 5-8

The Causes of the End of the Cold War: The Liberal Perspective and Levels of Analysis

Level of analysis		Liberal perspective
Systemic	Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Information revolution elevates non-zero-sum over zero-sum goals</li> </ul>
	Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Détente and Helsinki deepens interdependence</li> </ul>
Foreign policy		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gorbachev outmaneuvers hardliners to initiate East-West rapprochement</li> </ul>
Domestic		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Nongovernmental peace research groups emerge in European countries and Soviet Union</li> </ul>
Individual		—

Table 5-6

The Causes of the End of the Cold War: The Identity Perspective and Levels of Analysis

Level of analysis		Identity perspective
Systemic	Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>U.S. democratic ideas proved superior to Soviet Marxist-Leninist ideas</li> <li>U.S. and Soviet Union constructed new identity as rivals rather than enemies</li> </ul>
	Process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Soviet and U.S. ideologies converged toward the center</li> </ul>
Foreign policy		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gorbachev accepts idea of Germany in NATO to the surprise of his own advisers</li> </ul>
Domestic		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Soviet ideology mellowed</li> </ul>
Individual		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gorbachev developed new thinking</li> </ul>
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Reagan revived America's liberal democratic ideas</li> </ul>

Identity