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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of analysis</th>
<th>Realist perspective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Systemic</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Structure         | • Bipolarity—no flexibility:  
                  |   —Security dilemma: Balance of terror replaces balance of power  
                  |   —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  
                  | • Power vacuum: Germany and Japan surrender unconditionally; reconstructed Germany/Japan could tip balance  
| Process           | • Dynamics of deterrence spreads conflict to third world |
| **Foreign policy**| • U.S. and Soviet leaders resolve Cuban Missile Crisis |
| **Domestic**      | • Soviet Union aggressive militarily in eastern Europe, Baltic, and Balkan states  
                  | • U.S. expansionist economically in western Europe and Asia |
| **Individual**    | • Khrushchev takes measure of Kennedy and deploys Cuban missiles |
## Causes of the Cold War: Liberalism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of analysis</th>
<th>Liberal perspective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Systemic</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
| *Structure*       | • United Nations and Baruch Plan to centralize control of nuclear weapons failed:  
                     — Flawed global institutions  
                     — Small collective security: Great power veto on Security Council ensured preponderance of power; but United States-Soviets clashed  
                     — 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  
                     • NATO and EC develop collective security at regional level |
| *Process*         | • Soviet Union saw Marshall Plan as threat to communist regimes in eastern Europe  
                     • United States saw spread of Marxist-Leninism as threat to democratic regimes in western Europe  
                     • Diplomacy: Differences over Poland, Germany, Greece, etc. could have been negotiated  
                     • Lack of trade |
| **Foreign policy**| • Kennedy and Khrushchev cooperate to circumvent domestic hard-liners and settle the Cuban Missile Crisis |
| **Domestic**      | — |
| **Individual**    | • Truman threatened Stalin  
                     • Roosevelt misinterpreted Stalin |
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of analysis</th>
<th>Identity perspective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Systemic</td>
<td><strong>Structure</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Divergent ideologies: No spheres of influence possible because identities of United States and Soviet Union create relationship of enemy rather than rival</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Process</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>• U.S. anti-communism and moralism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Soviet Union expansionist ideologically as belief system not as embedded historical dialectic (which is a critical theory perspective)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)
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
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)

“Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall.”
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of analysis</th>
<th>Realist perspective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Systemic</td>
<td>• United States outcompetes Soviet Union materially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Information revolution bolsters U.S. advantage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>• United States revives its military and economic power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>• Reagan devises strategy to exploit Soviet weaknesses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Table 5-8
The Causes of the End of the Cold War: The Liberal Perspective and Levels of Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of analysis</th>
<th>Liberal perspective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Systemic</td>
<td>• Information revolution elevates non-zero-sum over zero-sum goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Détente and Helsinki deepens interdependence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy</td>
<td>• Gorbachev outmaneuvers hardliners to initiate East-West rapprochement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>• Nongovernmental peace research groups emerge in European countries and Soviet Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>—</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

#### Table 5-6
The Causes of the End of the Cold War: The Identity Perspective and Levels of Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of analysis</th>
<th>Identity perspective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Systemic</td>
<td>• U.S. democratic ideas proved superior to Soviet Marxist-Leninist ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• U.S. and Soviet Union constructed new identity as rivals rather than enemies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy</td>
<td>• Soviet and U.S. ideologies converged toward the center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>• Gorbachev accepts idea of Germany in NATO to the surprise of his own advisers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
<td>• Soviet ideology mellowed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Gorbachev developed new thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Reagan revived America’s liberal democratic ideas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>