

Europe's integration into the Cold War

Western integration = motivated by idea of losing ground to Soviets (atom bomb, China, expansion of Red Army)

Lingering fears of German domination = stopped USA from building up the new FRG to a point where it could play a major role in the defense of Western Europe. (Until the integration of FRG there was a danger that Stalin would win them over.)

At the same time, US pressure to rearm and decision to develop the hydrogen bomb triggered wave of anti-Americanism in W Europe and the emergence of a powerful peace movement = USSR exploit

Schuman Plan 1951 = French alternative to rearmament of W Germany. Enabled the Western allies (NATO) to exploit Germany's coal and steel resources for their own rearmament programs without running the risk of simultaneously building up a strong and independent W Germany. Negotiations sped up by Korean War.

European Coal and Steel Community 1952 = replaced the International Ruhr Authority and laid the foundations for Western European economic, and ultimately political, integration. Combined with NATO = immeasurably strengthened Western bloc

Pleven Plan = proposal for a European Defense Community which would set up a supranational European army (ensured that need for W German troops did not mean a loss of restrictions over her industries)

Spofford Compromise = parallel with the creation of EDC (which was being delayed by political disagreements), NATO itself would create an integrated force in Europe.

Strains within NATO Dec 1950 - June 1951 = the West German rearmament question (France and smaller states) and US policy in Korea (nuclear + WW3) put an immense strain on the unity of the alliance.

- W German rearmament = Social Democrat Party attacked Adenauer for joining EDC which would permanently divide Germany. Therefore he had to hard bargain to convince his electorate that rearmament would lead to FRG being treated equally (which frightened French public opinion).
- Rumors of dropping a nuclear bomb on Korea made Britain and France anxious (trigger WW3) -Attlee flew to Washington

Impact of rearmament on Western Europe

- China invading Korea → Republican Party upper hand (tougher line) → forced Truman to make rearmament overriding priority
- Marshall Aid diverted to W European industries, then stopped in 1951 in favor of a military assistance program = massive pressure on W Europe = expensive = threatened to destabilize NATO
- W Europe NATO states = military expenditure increase = \$4.4 bn 1949 to \$8 bn 1951

- believed Berlin was in Soviet sphere of influence
- had no plan b if West stood firm
- agreed with Ulbricht that GDR could not achieve its economic potential with open boundary
- Nov 1958 = first Berlin ultimatum from USSR
 - USSR aims = recognition of GDR + preventing W German access to nuclear weapons
 - West Berlin should become an 'independent political entity, a free city.'
 - Allies replied that they regarded previous arrangements as still in force + refused to recognize GDR
 - Geneva 1959 = no progress
 - Sept 1959, Khrushchev visits US and withdraws ultimatum
- Paris summit 1960
 - Bonn strongly against concessions in Berlin
 - Russians down U2 spy plane = upper hand diplomatically + K knew Americans knew he was engaging in Missile bluff
 - Khrushchev's belligerence may have been motives by deteriorating relations with Chinese -a means of reassuring Mao
- Khrushchev discusses separate peace treaty with GDR
 - Risky as might lead to trade boycott from FRG (Russia promised to make up the deficit)
 - 1962 Khrushchev ignored proposal of drafting a peace treaty with GDR
 - By 1963 GDR had dropped all mention of separate peace treaty and instead proposed a confederation with W Germany
- Vienna 1961
 - Khrushchev and Kennedy (weaker because Gagarin's first flight in space 1961, Bay of Pigs disaster 1961)
 - Kennedy did not want war but would not concede W Berlin (matter of credibility -Kennedy's national address 1961)
 - On return to Moscow, Khrushchev persuaded Ulbricht to begin preparations to divide Berlin
- Warsaw Pact Summit 1961
 - Barbed wire → a wall
- Aug 1961 = sealing W Berlin and E Berlin began
 - Both leaders were relieved
- Soviet interference
 - Feb 1962 = air traffic in corridor
 - Sept 1962 = military convoy
 - Nov 1962 = military convoy
- Berlin agreement 1971
 - Recognition of GDR by West and FRG
 - Berlin crisis ceased to be peace threatening

Outcomes:

1. *"If the west were resolute, it could outstare Khrushchev"*
2. Khrushchev was unpredictable and therefore untrustworthy (mix of threats and calls for negotiation)
3. Americans concluded that best policy was to negotiate from strength

3. The realities of Mutual Assured

Chile 1964-73

Huge wealth disparity.

1970

- Congress permitted election of Allende, an avowed Marxist
 - —> US concerned about their multi-nationalist corporation properties being nationalized + perceived threat to Latin America, France, Italy
 - Allende nationalized \$1 billion holdings of copper mining.

Nixon ordered CIA to destabilize Allende's government = 1973 army coup

Results:

- Murder of Allende
- Installation of Pinochet dictatorship

"In Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and Chile, Washington had assisted in putting into power authoritarian regimes willing to subordinate immediate aspirations of their own people to the interests of the United States."

"Many Latin Americans saw the US as their oppressor rather than their partner in democracy."

Reagan = Central America was a gauge of US global position + domestic battleground for imposing new offensive approach to Cold War

"The domestic battle for the American soul as well as strategic battle against Soviet Union."

=used South America to win over public opinion in US

Nicaragua 1980s

- Somoza family treated state as their personal fiefdom. However, so incompetent that even US Carter withdrew support.
- Sandinista opposed Somozas 1979
 - incredibly radical -but failed to stimulate economy
 - Ortega brothers popular
 - 1981 US cut off aid (El Salvador) = drove Nicaragua left, 1982 USSR aid pact
- Contras opposed Sandinistas
 - Guerilla warfare, supported by US and CIA
 - Support from poor slums
- = civil war 1984-88
 - 30 000 died + death squads
 - Contras forced out country
- Events:
 - 1984 Daniel Ortega won elections
 - 1985 US economic blockade + aid to contras cease (but secretly didn't)
 - 1988 peace talks = truce
 - 1990 Contras won supervised elections
- Economic growth remained slow and unemployment soared

El Salvador

Right-wing death squads (+ military) vs leftist guerillas

—> US military assistance of government/right (nearly \$5 billion)

1984 = 43 000 civilian deaths

not been so horrendously tragic.”

- “Ideological euphoria” led to bad decisions (Mao, Kim, Stalin)
- “Confused vital with peripheral interests.”
 - “Cold War empires found themselves embroiled in a set of conflicts in East Asian far removed from the theater in which the Cold War had initiated.”
 - “Even more ironic is the fact that they so often involves real fighting, well those over Europe, the most important object of cold war contention, never did.”

Space race

Walker:

- “The psychological battering of the West by Sputnik and Yuri Gagarin was having a potent effect.”

The thaw

Kennan

- The notion of “peaceful co-existence” became the mantra for the 1950s

Philips

- The Hungarian, Cuban and Berlin crises “all indicated the superficial nature of the thaw.”

Poland

Khrushchev

- “Finding a reason for an armed conflict now would be very easy. But finding a reason to put an end to such a conflict would be very difficult.”

Cuban Missile crisis

Gaddis

- “Only episode after WW2 in which each of the major areas of Soviet-American competition intersected.”
- Pigs = “a monumental disaster for the US.”

Khrushchev

- “The only reason we installed our rockets in Cuba was to stop the US imperialist aggression.”
- “Comrades, the risk was worth it. Cuba is still a socialist state.”

Rusk

- “The most dangerous crisis the world has ever seen.”
- “We’re eyeball to eyeball and I think the other guy just blinked.”