# IGA-677 / RusNatSecPol / Lecture 17 Origins of the Cold War

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## Today's objectives

- Consider: how a wartime alliance turned into a global peacetime rivaly
- 2. Take stock: how USSR tried to "catch up and overtake" USA
- 3. Analyze: whether Cold War 1.0 was preventable

The World in 1945 Allies in War, Enemies in Peac

Sources of U.S.-Soviet Mistrust

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The World in 1945 Allies in War, Enemies in Peace

The World in 1945

#### How did WWII end?

- 1. Germany:
  - a) Soviets in Berlin
  - b) Hitler commits suicide
- 2. Japan
  - a) atomic bombs
  - b) Soviet declaration of war

## Immediate legacy of WWII

- a) destruction, rubble
- b) 65-85M dead
- c) collapse of German, Japanese puppet regimes
- d) collapse of colonial institutions
- e) global power vacuum



Figure 1: Pid zavalamy



Figure 2: Lost empire

## Previous postwar settlements

- 1. Congress of Vienna, 1815
  - a) end of Napoleonic Wars
  - b) 5 European great powers
     (Austria-Hungary, France, Russia, Prussia, UK)
- 2. Paris Peace Conference, 1919
  - a) end of WWI
  - b)  $2\frac{1}{2}$  European great powers (France, UK, Italy)
  - c) 2 non-European powers (US, Japan)
  - d) 2 missing great powers (Germany, USSR)



Figure 3: Vienna



Figure 4: Paris

#### What's different about 1945?

- 1. No peace conference
- Marginalization of Europe (UK 'junior partner' to US)
- 2 formerly peripheral powers now dominant (USA, USSR)
- 4. No 'grand' postwar plans
- 5. USA & USSR have starkly different views of world



Figure 5: Yalta



Figure 6: Potsdam

## WWII legacy for Washington

- 1. Relatively low costs of war
  - a)  $\sim 405,000$  casualties (1700 civilian)
  - b) WWII not an existential struggle
  - c) no full mobilization
  - d) casualty avoidance
- 2. Economic prosperity
  - a) standard of living increased
  - b) unemployment down
  - c) wages, savings up
  - d) industry eager to meet high global demand



Figure 7: Happy Days?

#### Postwar US interests

- 1. Free trade
- 2. Free movement of commerce (Atlantic Charter)
- 3. Economic recovery in Europe
- Institutions for promotion of US interests around globe (United Nations)



Figure 8: World opportunity

## **WWII** legacy for Moscow

- 1. Extremely high costs of war
  - a) 28M casualties (> 17M civilian)
  - b) WWII = existential struggle
  - c) total mobilization
  - d) disregard for casualties
- 2. Economic devastation
  - a) damage to infrastructure
  - b) damage to crops, factories
  - c) major cities destroyed
  - d) famine of 1946-47
  - e) no post-WWII baby boom



Figure 9: Wrecked lives



Figure 10: Wrecked country

#### Postwar Soviet interests

- 1. Security
- 2. Security
- 3. Security



Figure 11: Costliest victory

The World in 1945 Allies in War, Enemies in Peace

Allies in War, Enemies in Peace

## **Original Sin**

- 1. "Second front" in WWII
  - a) Stalin presses for 'second front'
     in June 1941
  - b) but no allied landing in West Europe until June 1944
- 2. Military reasons for delay
  - a) strategic emphasis on Mediterranean, N Africa
  - b) lack of landing craft, forces for cross-channel invasion
  - c) US casualty sensitivity, domestic politics



Figure 12: Alone together

## Soviet perceptions of delay

- 1. "Let them destroy each other"
  - a) military reasons are b.s.
  - b) real reasons are political
  - c) prewar conflicts with West
    - US, UK intervention in Russian Civil War, 1918
    - US doesn't recognize USSR until 1933
    - anticommunism in US, UK
  - d) US wartime aid (Lend Lease)
  - e) but US, UK still seen as "free riding" on Soviet war effort



Figure 13: Better late never

### Help wanted Position filled

- 1. After Normandy
  - a) by 1944, Soviets believe they can defeat Germany alone
- 2. Red Army in 1945
  - a) 11.3M troops
  - b) 24,500 tanks
  - c) mastery of offensive warfare
  - d) "unstoppable" march to Berlin
- 3. Military consequence of delay
  - a) Soviets occupy most of Central,
     East Europe
  - b) Soviets first to reach Berlin



Figure 14: We got this



Figure 15: Really, we're good

Origins of Containment Soviet Military Organization

Fighting the Cold War

Sources of U.S.-Soviet Mistrust Fighting the Cold War Origins of Containment Soviet Military Organization

Origins of Containment

## Soviet-occupied Europe in 1946-1947

- 1. Baltics → USSR
- 2. Koenigsberg → Kaliningrad, USSR
- 3. East Poland  $\rightarrow$  USSR
- 4. East Prussia → Poland
- Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria → communist
- 6. Yugoslavia, Albania → communist
- 7. Greece → civil war



Figure 16: A new map

- 1. What comes next?
  - Soviet security calls for 'buffer zone' in Europe
  - b) democratic governments in CE Europe ≠ pro-Soviet governments in CE Europe
  - c) debate in West: is Soviet behavior driven by security or ideology?
- 2. Stalin's speech to voters, 1946
  - a) blames WWII on capitalism
  - b) any bargains with capitalist states "bound to fail"



Figure 17: What he want?

## Kennan's Long Telegram

- 1. What kind of state is USSR?
  - a) is USSR capable of reaching bargains, sticking to them?
  - b) Kennan: 'no'
- 2. 'Sources of Soviet Conduct'
  - a) Soviet insecurity has domestic, not external causes
  - b) external threat needed to justify domestic repression
  - c) insatiable desire for security
  - d) no grand bargains possible



Figure 18: George Kennan

#### Solution: containment

- 1. Third Way (not war, not appeasement)
  - a) ends: prevent future spread of Soviet power
  - b) means: long-term, inter-generational policy of containing USSR
- 2. Translation into policy
  - a) NSC-68: global containment (challenge USSR everywhere)
  - b) Eisenhower/Dulles: "rollback" (reverse Soviet gains, not just prevent them)
  - c) Kennan was critical of both



Figure 19: Bipolar world

## Solving the German problem

- a) German sovereignty dissolves
- b) 4 occupational zones (Soviet, US, UK, French)
- c) Allies divided over how these zones should be managed

## Fissures form

- 1. US interests
  - a) fear that communism will spread
  - b) US interest in prosperous, pro-Western regimes
  - c) German economic recovery essential to US plan
- 2. Soviet interests
  - a) German recovery anathema to Soviet interests
  - b) Stalin wants Germany weakened, incapable of action vs. neighbors



Figure 20: Germany, 1945



Figure 21: Bear hug

## Origins of NATO, Warsaw Pact

#### 1. Timeline

- a) 1948: German currency crisis
- b) 1948: USSR blockades Berlin
- c) 1949: NATO established
- d) 1955: W Germany joins NATO
- e) 1955: Soviet Union forms Warsaw Pact with aligned countries



Figure 22: Europe, 1955

#### What if?

The Cold War could have been prevented if...

- Operation Overlord (D-Day landings in Normandy) had occurred in 1942 instead of 1944.
- There was a clear Soviet-American wartime agreement on the postwar partition of Germany.
- 3. The U.S. had given Stalin an **ultimatum in 1946**: "Get out of Eastern Europe or we'll throw you out!"
- 4. **Stalin was overthrown** and replaced by a different Soviet leader.
- No, it's impossible. The world's two strongest powers will always compete for security.

Origins of Containment Soviet Military Organization

Soviet Military Organization

## Fighting the 'Long War'

- Soviet challenges
  - a) USSR enters Cold War with major disadvantages
  - b) WWII economic devastation
  - c) lower economic development
  - d) lower troop quality
  - e) political system that stifles initiative, innovation
  - f) multiple insurgencies at home
- 2. Soviet military model
  - a) adopted by communist bloc, many developing states
  - b) still common in ex-USSR, China, Africa, Arab states



Figure 23: Marching forward

#### **Command and Control**

- a) highly centralized
- b) highly detailed orders (opposite of German approach)
- 1. Advantages
  - a) 'coup-proof'
  - b) cuts costs in training, communication
- 2. Disadvantages
  - a) little flexibility
  - b) underdeveloped NCO corps



Figure 24: Brass

## **Economic Strategy**

- 1. Permanent war economy
  - a) ensure rational, serial production
  - b) prioritize heavy industry
  - c) underinvestment in light industry, consumer goods
  - d) defense spending at 15-30% of GDP (US: 5-12 percent of GDP)
- 2. Other cost-savings
  - a) low-maintenance equipment
  - b) stockpiling munitions
  - c) investment in smaller navy ships, cruise missiles



Figure 25: Guns vs. butter

## Catch Up and Overtake USA!

- 1. Soviet military power
  - a) maintained active peacetime force of 2.6 - 6M troops
  - b) additional 20M+ in reserve
- 2. Soviet-US balance in 1985
  - a) 1.6:1 advantage in ballistic missiles
  - b) 4:1 advantage in tanks
  - c) 2.5:1 advantage in vehicles
  - d) 5:1 advantage in artillery
  - e) 1.1:1 advantage in aircraft
  - f) 2.4:1 advantage in warships

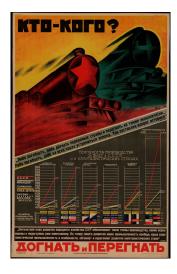


Figure 26: Race is on

## Taking stock: did the Soviets "catch up and overtake"?



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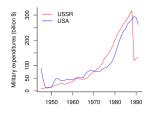


Figure 27: Mil personnel

USSR

Fotal population (million)

250

200

20



Figure 29: Iron & steel



Figure 31: Mil spending



Figure 28: Population

1950

Figure 30: Urbanization

Figure 32: CINC score

#### Discussion:

Was the Soviets' emphasis on "guns not butter" the right strategy?

Would the Soviets' numerical advantage have mattered in a "hot war"?

## **NEXT MEETING**

Nuclear Weapons and Strategy (Th, Nov. 2) Thinking about the unthinkable.

- Why did the Cold War stay 'cold'?
- Is limited nuclear war possible?
- How did the Soviets' understanding of nuclear deterrence differ from the U.S.?