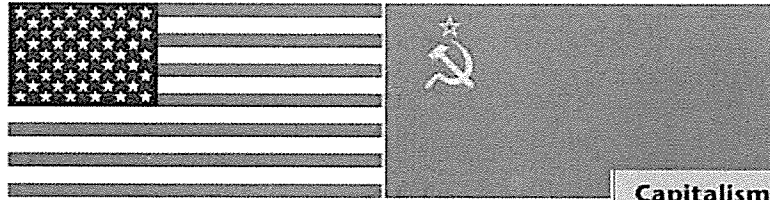


## The Cold War 1947-1991 and Beyond



### Joseph Stalin

Joseph Stalin's response to Churchill  
Printed in the New York Times (p.4) on March  
14, 1946 (interview with Pravda)

... Mr. Churchill now stands in the position of a **firebrand** of war. And Mr. Churchill is not alone here. He has friends not only in England but also in the United States of America.

In this respect, one is reminded remarkably of Hitler and his friends. Hitler began to set war loose by announcing his racial theory, declaring that only people speaking the German language represent a fully valuable nation. Mr. Churchill begins to set war loose, also by a racial theory, maintaining that only nations speaking the English language are fully valuable nations, called upon to decide the destinies of the entire world.

The German racial theory brought Hitler and his friends to the conclusion that the Germans, as the only fully valuable nation, must rule over other nations. The English racial theory brings Mr. Churchill and his friends to the conclusion that nations speaking the English language, being

the only fully valuable nations, should rule over the remaining nations of the world....

As a result of the German invasion, the Soviet Union has **irrevocably** lost in battles with the Germans, and also during the German occupation and through the expulsion of Soviet citizens to German slave labor camps, about 7,000,000 people. In other words, the Soviet Union has lost in men several times more than Britain and the United States together.

It may be that some quarters are trying to push into **oblivion** these sacrifices of the Soviet people which insured the liberation of Europe from the Hitlerite yoke.

But the Soviet Union cannot forget them. One can ask therefore, what can be surprising in the fact that the Soviet Union, in a desire to ensure its security for the future, tries to achieve that these countries should have governments whose relations to the Soviet Union are loyal? How can one, without having lost one's reason, qualify these peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union as "**expansionist tendencies**" of our Government?...

Source: Internet Modern History Sourcebook

**Capitalism**—an economy based on private ownership of wealth, by investments that are decided privately (not publicly), and by prices/production/distribution of goods determined by competition.

**Communism**—in the USSR, communism meant government ownership of land and property, a single-party government, and the absence of individual rights. There was also a call for worldwide revolution.

**Consumption**—the use of economic goods to satisfy wants and/or shape identity. Historians like Elaine Tyler May and Lizabeth Cohen have noted that during the twentieth century, Americans increasingly identified themselves as consumers rather than workers.

**Containment**—a term first used by American diplomat George Kennan during the late 1940s. As the USSR exerted influence in Eastern Europe, the American government adopted a foreign policy that sought to limit, or "contain," Soviet influence in the rest of the world.

**Diplomatic history**—history that examines the negotiated relationships between nations. Diplomatic historians usually focus on areas such as leadership and treaties.

**Political history**—history that examines government

## Document A: The Iron Curtain Speech (Modified)

It is my duty, however, to place before you certain facts about the present position in Europe.

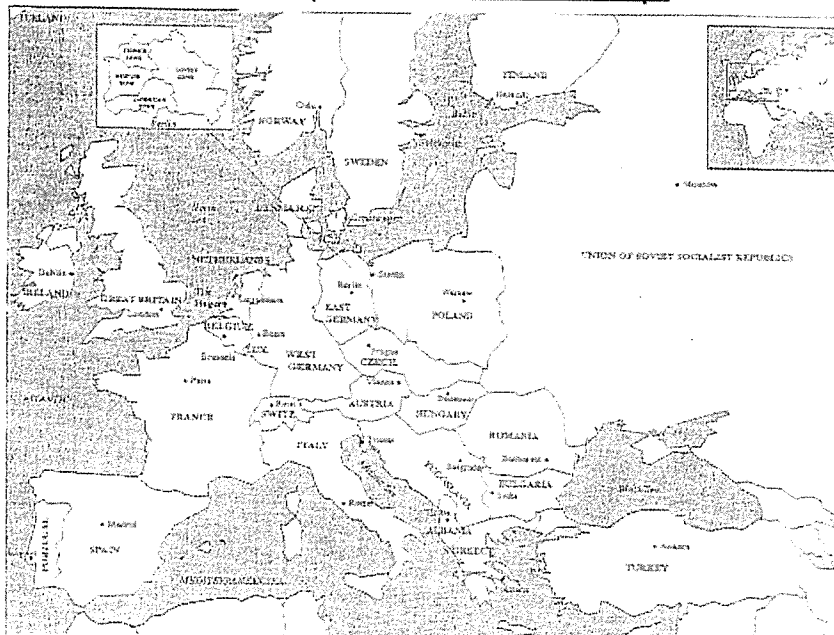
From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic an iron curtain has descended across the Continent. Behind that line lie all the capitals of the ancient states of Central and Eastern Europe. Warsaw, Berlin, Prague, Vienna, Budapest, Belgrade, Bucharest and Sofia; all these famous cities and the populations around them lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject, in one form or another, not only to Soviet influence but to a very high and in some cases increasing measure of control from Moscow.

In a great number of countries, far from the Russian frontiers and throughout the world, Communist fifth columns are established and work in complete unity and absolute obedience to the directions they receive from the Communist center.

I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines.

But what we have to consider here today while time remains, is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries.

Map of the Cold War in Europe



*by Winston Churchill,*

## Document B: The Truman Doctrine (Modified)

The peoples of a number of countries of the world have recently had totalitarian regimes forced upon them against their will. The Government of the United States has made frequent protests against coercion and intimidation in violation of the Yalta agreement in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria.

At the present moment in world history nearly every nation must choose between alternative ways of life. The choice is too often not a free one. One way of life is based upon the will of the majority, and is distinguished by free institutions, representative government, free elections, guarantees of individual liberty, freedom of speech and religion, and freedom from political oppression. The second way of life is based upon the will of a minority forcibly imposed upon the majority. It relies upon terror and oppression, a controlled press and radio, fixed elections, and the suppression of personal freedoms.

I believe that 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.

I believe that our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes.

The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms. If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world. And we shall surely endanger the welfare of this nation.

Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

*Source: Excerpt from the "Truman Doctrine Speech," delivered by President Truman to Congress on March 12, 1947.*

## Guiding Questions

Name \_\_\_\_\_

### Iron Curtain Speech

1. *Sourcing*: Who was Winston Churchill? Why would Americans trust what he has to say about the Soviet Union?
2. *Close reading*: What does Churchill claim that the Soviet Union wanted?

### Truman Doctrine

1. *Close reading*: Why did Truman believe Greece needed American aid in 1947?
2. *Context*: What country is Truman referring to in the first paragraph?
3. *Close reading*: Does Truman present American policy as offensive or defensive? What words or phrases does Truman use to present policy this way?

Record your first hypothesis: *Who was primarily responsible for the Cold War - The United States or the Soviet Union?*

## Document C: The Novikov Telegram, 27 September 1946

*The USSR's international position is currently stronger than it was in the prewar period. Thanks to the historical victories of Soviet weapons, the Soviet armed forces are located on the territory of Germany and other formerly hostile countries, thus guaranteeing that these countries will not be used again for an attack on the USSR. The enormous relative weight of the USSR in international affairs in general and in the European countries in particular, the independence of its foreign policy, and the economic and political assistance that it provides to neighboring countries, both allies and former enemies, has led to the growth of the political influence of the Soviet Union in these countries and to the further strengthening of democratic tendencies in them.*

*Such a situation in Eastern and Southeastern Europe cannot help but be regarded by the American imperialists as an obstacle in the path of the expansionist policy of the United States. Obvious indications of the U.S. effort to establish world dominance are also to be found in the increase in military potential in peacetime and in the establishment of a large number of naval and air bases both in the United States and beyond its borders.*

*In the summer of 1946, for the first time in history of the country, Congress passed a law on the establishment of a peacetime army, not on a volunteer basis but on the basis of universal military service. The establishment of American bases on islands that are often 10,000 to 12,000 kilometers from the territory of the United States and are on the other side of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans clearly indicates the offensive nature of the strategic concepts of the commands of the U.S. army and navy. One of the stages in the achievement of dominance over the world by the United States is its understanding with England concerning the partial division of the world on the basis of mutual concessions. The basic lines of the secret agreement between the United States and England regarding the division of the world consists, as shown by facts, in their agreement on the inclusion of Japan and China in the sphere of influence of the United States in the Far East, while the United States, for its part, has agreed not to hinder England either in resolving the Indian problem or in strengthening its influence in Siam and Indonesia.*

*The American policy in China is striving for the complete economic and political submission of China to the control of American monopolistic capital. The so-called "mediation" mission of General [George] Marshall is only a cover for interference in the internal affairs of China.*

*Careful note should be taken of the fact that the preparation by the United State for a future is being conducted with the prospect of war against the Soviet Union, which in the eyes of the American imperialists is the main obstacle in the path of the United States to world domination.*

**Nikolai Vasilevich Novikov**

Source: Excerpt from a telegram sent by Soviet Ambassador Nikolai Novikov to Soviet Leadership in Sept. 1946

## Document D: Henry Wallace (Modified)

I have been increasingly disturbed about the trend of international affairs since the end of the war.

How do American actions appear to other nations? I mean actions [like] the Bikini tests of the atomic bomb and continued production of bombs, the plan to arm Latin America with our weapons, and the effort to secure air bases spread over half the globe from which the other half of the globe can be bombed. I cannot but feel that these actions must make it look to the rest of the world as if we were only paying lip service to peace at the conference table.

These facts rather make it appear either (1) that we are preparing ourselves to win the war which we regard as inevitable or (2) that we are trying to build up a predominance [largest amount] of force to intimidate the rest of mankind.

Our interest in establishing democracy in Eastern Europe, where democracy by and large has never existed, seems to [the Soviets] an attempt to reestablish the encirclement of unfriendly neighbors which might serve as a springboard of still another effort to destroy [them].

*Source: Secretary of Commerce and former Vice President Henry A. Wallace letter to President Harry S. Truman, July 23, 1946. Truman asked Wallace to resign shortly after this letter.*



### Novikov Telegram

1. *Sourcing:* Who was Nicholas Novikov? When did he write this telegram?
2. *Close Reading:* How does Novikov describe the United States? What evidence does he use to support his description?
3. *Context:* What does Novikov claim the United States planned during WW2?
4. *Outside Information:* Using information you already have regarding this era, what are strengths and weaknesses in Novikov's argument? What information is important that you know?



### Henry Wallace Letter

1. *Sourcing:* Who was Henry Wallace? When did he write this letter?
2. *Close Reading:* What is Wallace's main argument?
3. *Corroboration:* How does Wallace's description of American foreign policy compare to Truman's and Novikov's?

Record your second hypothesis: Who was primarily responsible for the Cold War?

Debate: What are the main points your peers make on responsibility for the Cold War?

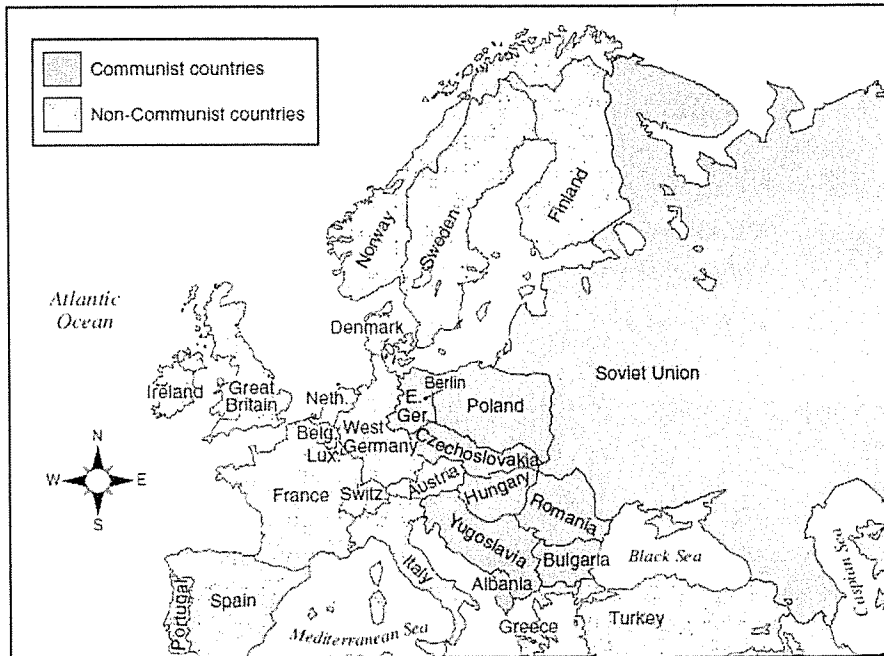
Soviet Union	USA



# Creation of Soviet Satellite States

## Context

After the Battle of Stalingrad in 1943, the Soviet Union's Army advanced west across Europe, eventually occupying eastern Germany and all the lands in between. After years of fighting, most of these countries were in ruins, their people facing starvation and political unrest. In 1945 the Soviet Union agreed at the **Yalta Conference** to support free elections to create democratic governments throughout Europe after WWII.



Soviet Influence in Europe After WWII

## The Solution

Stalin began putting Communist allies into governments of the countries his troops occupied. The Soviets worked to install Communist governments in eastern Europe and to strengthen the bonds between the USSR and these nations. In the United States, these countries were called "**satellite states**" because they were geographically and politically close to the Soviet Union, like satellites are around planets.

The devastation of much of Eastern Europe during World War II ruined the economies and homes of millions, which made Communism's focus on economic equality all the more appealing. Also, since the Soviet Union was not a democracy, Stalin faced no pressure to bring his troops "back home," and kept armies in these Eastern European countries to ensure that Communist governments would gain power. By 1947, many Eastern European countries were ruled by Communists.

By 1953, the Soviet Union established a great degree of control over Eastern Europe. These Communist Eastern European countries would be known as the "**Eastern Bloc.**"



# Marshall Plan

## Context

When World War II ended, much of Europe was ruined. Millions were dead or homeless, cities and farmland were destroyed and starvation was a real threat in much of Europe. By 1947, European economies did not show signs of real growth. That same year, the Soviet Union had also set up control over most of Eastern Europe, and Communist political parties were beginning to become popular in Western Europe too.

Though Fascism were discredited after WWII, the economic and political ruin of Europe made radical political parties more popular, especially Communism, since the Communist Soviet Union had played such an important role in defeating Nazi Germany.

## The Solution

In December 1947, after months of planning, U.S. leaders developed the **Marshall Plan**, a plan to provide massive economic aid, mostly loans and grants, to help Europeans recover from WWII. This aid was not only an effort to strengthen Europe, but also to reduce the appeal of Communism. First, if the economies of Europe recovered quickly, ordinary people would be less interested in Communism. Second, this aid money, coming from the United States, would make democracy look more attractive than communism.

From 1948-1952, the United States gave Europe \$13.3 billion dollars. Countries that received Marshall Plan money promised to trade with the United States and other Marshall Plan countries, and have their economies graded by U.S. economists to check if the money was spent appropriately.

Marshall Plan aid was also offered to the Eastern bloc states, but after negotiation, the Eastern bloc rejected Marshall Plan aid. Soviet diplomats criticized the Marshall Plan as an attempt by the United States to gain economic control over Europe while it was weak.



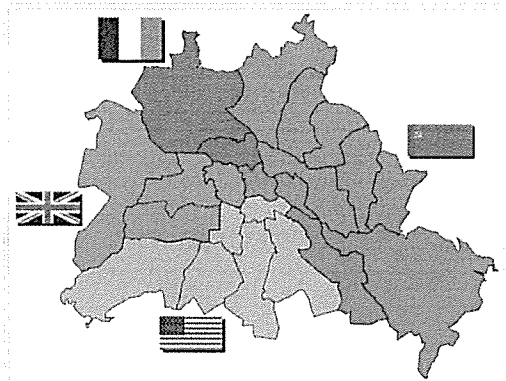
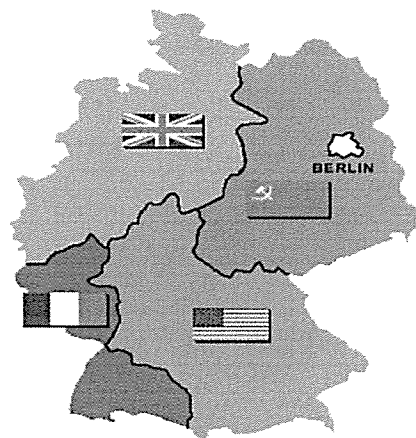
“Can he block it?” 1947. New York Times

### Soviet Satellite State Questions

	Soviet Union	United States
Policies in Europe (Define them)		
Why were these policies seen as necessary?		
Why did it make the other superpower suspicious?	Hint: what promise is being broken?	Hint: why was Marshall Plan aid rejected?

## Berlin Crisis: Notes

In early 1948, the United States, United Kingdom, and France secretly began to plan the creation of a new German state made up of the Western Allies' occupation zones. In March, when the Soviets discovered these designs, they withdrew from the Allied Control Council, which had met regularly since the end of the war in order to coordinate occupation policy between zones. In June, without informing the Soviets, U.S. and British policymakers introduced the new Deutschmark to Bizonia and West Berlin. The purpose of the currency reform was to wrest economic control of the city from the Soviets, enable the introduction of Marshall Plan aid, and curb the city's black market. Soviet authorities responded with similar moves in their zone. Besides issuing their own currency, the Ostmark, the Soviets blocked all major road, rail, and canal links to West Berlin, thus starving it of electricity, as well as a steady supply of essential food and coal



On June 24, 1948, the Soviet Union blocked all road and rail travel to and from West Berlin, which was located within the Soviet zone of occupation in Germany. The Soviet action was in response to the refusal of American and British officials to allow Russia more say in the economic future of Germany. The U.S. government was shocked by the provocative Soviet move, and some in President Harry S. Truman's administration called for a direct military response. Truman, however, did not want to cause World War III.

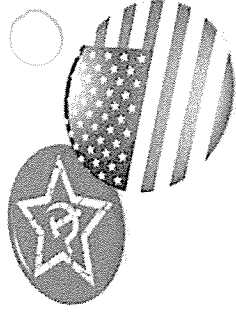
President Truman suddenly faced a crisis. The citizens of West Berlin were quickly running out of food, supplies and time. Truman's advisors suggested several options. They could evacuate the citizens of West Berlin, try to negotiate with the Soviet Union with the support of the newly-formed United Nations, figure out a way to get supplies into the city or simply abandon Berlin altogether. Their decision would determine exactly how involved the United States would be in Berlin - and in rebuilding post-war Europe. The military could be an answer too as the United States had an arsenal of 15-20 atomic bombs and the Russians still hadn't developed its military. On the ground the situation looked bleak however. America had approximately 10k troops in Berlin, 50K in Germany and less than 2 million in all of Europe. The Soviets have 3 million men and outnumber our tanks 10 to 1.

Option	Advantages	Disadvantages

1. Write a letter to Truman as one of his advisors -what should he do?

There are now two great nations in the world, which starting from different points, seem to be advancing toward the same goal: the Russians and the Anglo-Americans. . . . Each seems called by some secret design of Providence one day to hold in its hands the destinies of half the world.

Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835)



### **Where Historians Disagree: Origins of the Cold War**

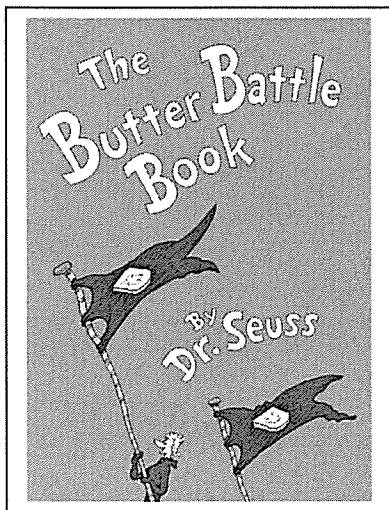
There have been three dominant perspectives on the origins of the Cold War particularly from historians in the United States. The first was the *Orthodox or Traditionalist* view that held sway in the nineteen fifties and much of the nineteen sixties. It was the product of a society heavily influenced by the breakdown of the wartime alliance and the expansion of Soviet power in Europe, the 'loss' of China to communism, the Korean War, and domestically the rise of McCarthyism with its anti-communist hysteria. Historians argued that it was clearly Soviet aggression in Eastern Europe and then other parts of the world that had caused the Cold War. The United States had no choice but to meet the challenges posed by Soviet actions – whether those actions were seen as the result of traditional Russian imperialism or of an ideologically-driven expansionism that arose, ultimately, from the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. Even though Americans had hoped to return to peacetime conditions in 1945 and to continue their wartime cooperation with the Soviets, these expectations were soon dashed by Russian behavior.

During the nineteen sixties, as the United States became involved in an ugly war in Vietnam, other historians took a different view of the origins of Cold War as they began to question the motives of the US government and the American business system. The so-called *Revisionists* or *New Left* historians tended to place the blame on the United States rather than the Soviet Union for the start of the Cold War as the end of the wartime alliance need not in itself have led to cold war. They argued that the Soviets did nothing more in Eastern Europe than any great power would have done in terms of looking after their national interests, especially after two German invasions in less than thirty years. In any event, the Russians were often merely reacting to what the revisionists portrayed as aggressive American demands for business markets and political access into this region. According to the revisionists, the United States dominated Western Europe and expected to do the same over the Eastern half of the continent despite legitimate Russian security interests. The revisionists saw US foreign policy as inherently imperialistic and a response to the allegedly insatiable requirements of American capitalism; that in order to survive, it required foreign markets, investments and sources of raw materials – and that these needs, and the need to have political regimes throughout the world that will protect American economic interests, formed the central aims of US foreign policy.

This line of argument by the revisionists eventually produced a series of counter-arguments by the *post-revisionists*. These historians did not necessarily refute every one of the revisionist claims at once. They tried to show that both sides had their faults and that over time both superpowers pushed their own interests and misunderstood the other side even to the point, on occasions, of leading to the possibility of nuclear war. (In fact the views that are often regarded as post-revisionist have a long pedigree. Realists like Hans Morgenthau, George Kennan and William H. McNeill's were interpreting the origins of the cold war in a 'post-revisionist' way even before the revisionists came along). The post-revisionists have tended to accept the revisionists' view that Stalin was more concerned with Soviet security, and to that end the creation of a Soviet sphere of influence in Eastern and Central Europe, than with world domination or aggressive ambitions towards Western Europe; but at the same time they have argued that that Western leaders at the time could not be certain of what Stalin was up to, that even a Soviet Union preoccupied with what Stalin perceived to be 'security' could still threaten Western interests, and that the Western powers therefore had legitimate and understandable concerns about Russia. However despite accepting that there were problems on both sides, a number of the post-revisionists have also become highly critical of the Soviet Union.

# The Butter Battle Book

By: Dr. Seuss



On the last day of summer, ten hours before Fall...my grandfather took me out to the wall.

For a while he stood silent. Then finally he said, with a very sad shake of his very old head, "As you know, on this side of the Wall we are Yooks. On the other side of this Wall live the Zooks."

Then my grandfather said, "It's high time that you knew of the terribly horrible thing that Zooks do. In every Zook house and in every Zook town every Zook eats his bread with the butter side down!"

"But we Yooks, as you know, when we breakfast or sup, spread our bread," Grandpa said, "with the butter side up. That's the right, honest way!" Grandpa gritted his teeth. "So you can't trust a Zook who spreads bread underneath! Every Zook must be watched! He has kinks in his soul! That's why, as a youth, I made watching my goal, watching Zooks for the Zook-Watching Border Patrol!"

In those day, of course, the Wall wasn't so high and I could look any Zook square in the eye. If he dared to come close I could give him a twitch with my tough tufted prickly Snick-Berry Switch.

For a while that worked fine. All the Zooks stayed away and our country was safe. Then one terrible day a very rude Zook by the name of VanItch snuck up and slingshotted my Snick-Berry Switch! With my broken-off switch, with my head hung in shame, to the Chief Yookeroo in great sorrow I came. But our leader just smiled. He said, "You're not to blame. And those Zooks will be sorry they started this game.

"We'll dress you right up in a fancier suit! We'll give you a fancier slingshot to shoot!" And he ordered the Boys in the Back Room to figger how to build me some sort of triple-sling jigger. With my Triple-Sling Jigger I sure felt much bigger.

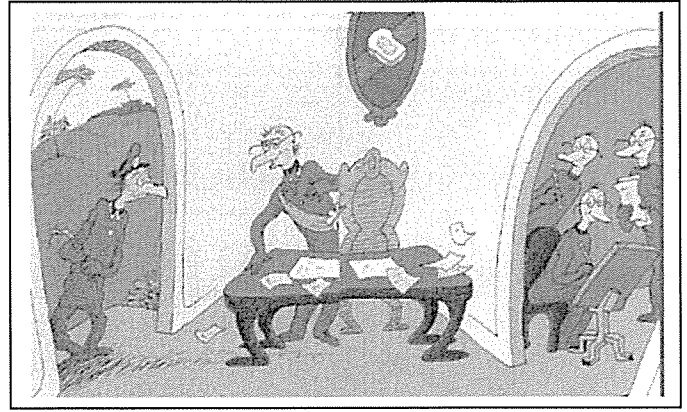
I marched to the Wall with great vim and great vigor, right up to VanItch with my hand on the trigger. "I'll have no more nonsense," I said with a frown, "from Zooks who eat bread with the butter side down!" VanItch looked quite sickly. He ran off quite Quickly.

I'm unhappy to say he came back the next day in a spiffy new suit with a big new machine, and he snarled as he said, looking frightfully mean, "You may fling those hard rocks with your Triple-Sling Jigger. But I, also, now have my hand on a trigger!"

"My wonderful weapon, the Jigger-Rock Snatchem, will fling 'em right back just as quick as we catch 'em. We'll have no more nonsense. We'll take no more gupp from you Yooks who eat bread with the butter side up!"



"I have failed, sir," I sobbed as I made my report to the Chief Yookeroo in the headquarters fort. He just laughed. "You've done nothing at all of the sort. Our slingshots have failed. That was old-fashioned stuff. Slingshots, dear boy, are not modern enough.



"All we need is some newfangled kind of gun. My Boys in the Back Room have already begun to think up a walloping whiz-zinger one! My Bright Boys are thinking. They're on the right track. They'll think one up quick and we'll send you right back!"

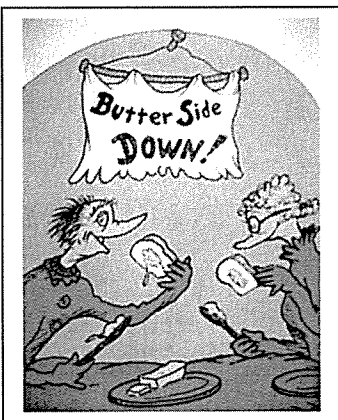
They thought up a great one! They certainly did. They thought up a gun called the Kick-a-Doo Powder and ant's eggs and bees' legs and dried-fried clam chowder. And they carefully trained a real smart dog named Daniel to serve as our country's first gun-toting spaniel.

Then Daniel, the Kick-a-Poo Spaniel, and I marched back toward the Wall with our heads held up high while everyone cheered and their cheers filled the sky; "Fight! Fight for the Butter Side Up! Do or die!" Well...

We didn't do. And we didn't quite die. But we sure did get worsted, poor Daniel and I. VanItch was there too! And he said, the old pig, "The Boys as in my Back Room invented this rig called the Eight-Nozzled, Elephant-Toted Boom-Blitz. It shoots high-explosive sour cherry stone pits and will put your dumb Kick-a-Poo Kid on the fritz!" Poor Daniel and I were scared out of our witz!

Once more, by VanItch I was bested and beat. Once again I limped home from the Wall in defeat. I dragged and I sagged and my spirits were low, as low as I thought that they ever could go, when I heard a Boom-Bah! And a Diddle-dee-Dill! And our Butter-Up Band marched up over the Hill!

The Chief Yookeroo had sent them to meet me along with the Right-Side-Up Song Girls to greet me. They sang: "Oh, be faithful! Believe in thy butter!" And they lifted my spirits right out of the gutter!



"My boy", smiled the Chief Yookeroo, "we've just voted and made you a general! You've been promoted. Your pretty new uniform's ready. Get in it! The Big War is coming. You're going to begin it! And what's more, this time you are certain to win it.

"My Boys in the Back Room have finally found how. Just wait till you see what they've puttered up now! In their great new machine you'll fly over that Wall and clobber those Butter-Down Zooks one and all!"

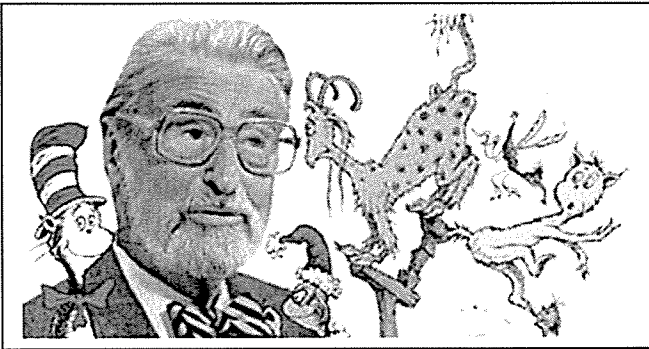
Those Boys in the Back Room sure knew how to putter! They made me a thing called the Utterly Sputter and I jumped aboard with my heart all aflutter and steered toward the land of the Upside-Down Butter.

This machine was so modern, so frightfully new, no one knew quite exactly just what it would do! But it had several faucets that sprinkled Blue Goo which, somehow, would sprinkle the Zooks as I flew and gum up that upside-down butter they chew.

I was racing pell-mell when I heard a voice yell, "If you sprinkle us Zooks, you'll get sprinkled as well!"

VanItch had a Sputter exactly like mine! And he yelled, "My Blue-Gooer is working just fine! And I'm here to say that if Yooks can goo Zooks, you'd better forget it. 'Cause Zooks can goo Yooks!"

I flew right back home and, as you may have guessed, I was downright despondent, disturbed, and depressed. And I saw, just as soon as I stepped back on land, so were all of the girls of the Butter-Up Band.



The Chief Drum Majorette, Miz Yookie-Ann Sue, said, "That was a pretty sour flight that you flew. And the Chief Yookeroo has been looking for you!"

I raced to his office. The place was a sight. "Have no fears," said the Chief. "Everything is all right. My Bright Back Room Boys have been brighter than bright. They've thought up a gadget that's Newer than New. It is filled with mysterious Moo-Lacka-Moo and can blow all those Zooks clear to Sala-ma-goo. THEY'VE

INVENTED THE BITSY BIG-BOY BOOMEROO!

"You just run to the wall like a nice little man. Drop this bomb on the Zooks just as fast as you can. I have ordered all Yooks to stay safe underground while the Bitsy Big-Boy Boomeroo is around."

As I raced for that Wall, with the bomb in my hand, I noticed that every last Yook in our land was obeying our Chief Yookeroo's grim command.

They were all bravely marching, with banners aflutter, down a hole! For their country! And Right-Side-Up Butter!

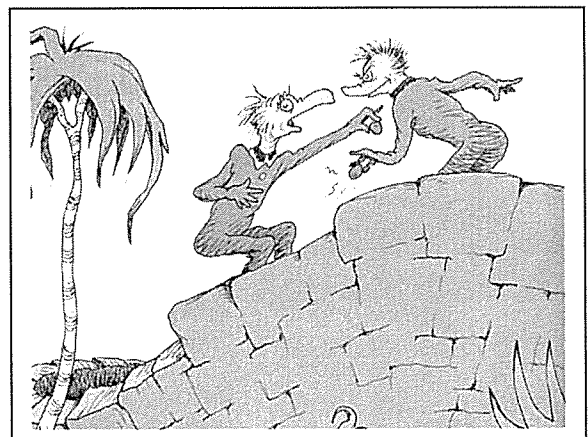
That's when Grandfather found me! He grabbed me. He said, "You should be down that hole! And you're up here instead! But perhaps this is all for the better, somehow. You will see me make history! RIGHT HERE! AND RIGHT NOW!"

Grandpa leapt up that Wall with a lopulous leap and he cleared his hoarse throat with a bopulous beep. He screamed, "Here's the end of that terrible town full of Zooks who eat bread with the butter side down!"

And at the very instant we heard a klupp-klupp of feet on the Wall and old VanItch klupped up! The Boys in HIS Back Room had made him one too! In his fist was another Big-Boy Boomeroo! "I'll blow you," he yelled, "into pork and wee beans! I'll butter-side-up you to small smithereens!"

"Grandpa!" I shouted. "Be careful! Oh, gee! Who's going to drop it? Will you...? Or will he...?"

"Be patient," said Grandpa. "We'll see. We will see..."



Name \_\_\_\_\_

## Two Textbook Accounts

Textbook A	Textbook B
<p>In 1954, the CIA also took covert actions in Guatemala, a Central American country just south of Mexico. Eisenhower believed that Guatemala's government, headed by Jacobo Arbenz Guzman, had Communist sympathies because it had given more than 200,000 acres of American-owned land to peasants. In response, the CIA trained an army, which invaded Guatemala and captured Arbenz Guzman and his forces. The army's leader, Carlos Castillo Armas, became dictator of the country.</p> <p><i>Source: The Americans, 2002, p. 626.</i></p>	<p>[In 1954] the CIA acted to protect American-owned property in Guatemala. In 1951 Jacobo Arbenz Guzman won election as president of Guatemala with Communist support. His land reform program took over large estates, including those of the American-owned United Fruit Company. In May 1954, Communist Czechoslovakia delivered arms to Guatemala. The CIA responded by arming the Guatemalan opposition and training them at secret camps in Nicaragua and Honduras. Shortly after these CIA-trained forces invaded Guatemala, Arbenz Guzman left office.</p> <p><i>Source: American Vision, 2006, p. 655.</i></p>

### What happened in Guatemala?

Answer the questions below. Write (A) if the answer appears in textbook A; write (B) if the answer appears in textbook B; and write (A + B) if the answer appears in both textbooks.

1. Who was the leader of Guatemala in 1954? Which textbook contains this answer? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Why did the United States oppose this leader? Which textbook contains this answer? \_\_\_\_\_
3. What did the U.S. do to overthrow this leader? Which textbook contains this answer? \_\_\_\_\_
4. What was the result of the U.S.'s actions? Which textbook contains this answer? \_\_\_\_\_



## DECLASSIFIED CIA MEMO

### "Guatemalan Communist Personnel to be disposed of during Military Operations of Calligeris"; origin deleted; undated.

This document is an assassination list compiled by the CIA and Carlos Castillo Armas (code-named "Calligeris"), who overthrew Arbenz Guzman.

The names of the agency's intended victims were divided into two categories: persons to be disposed of through "Executive action" (i.e., killed) and those to be imprisoned or exiled (sent away) during the operation.

Before declassifying and releasing this document to the public, the CIA deleted every name.

TO: Chief, [ ]

FROM: [ ]

SUBJECT; Guatemalan Communist Personnel to be disposed of during Military Operations of Calligeris

1. Included herein is the list of Guatemalan Communist Personnel to be disposed of during military operations to be carried out by Calligeris.
  - a. Category I – persons to be disposed of through Executive action (attachment #1)
  - b. Category II – persons to be disposed of through imprisonment or exile (attachment #2)
2. This list is a revision, revised by Calligeris, of an original list prepared by Headquarters in February, 1952

Attachments: 2

Distribution: Orig. & 1, Headquarters

## Guatemala 1954 and America's Role

IN 1954, the American government committed one of the most reprehensible acts in its history when it authorized the C.I.A. to overthrow the democratically elected leader of Guatemala, President Jacobo Arbenz. It did so secretly but later rationalized the coup on the ground that the country was about to fall into communist hands. Guatemalan society has only recently recovered from the suffering that this intervention caused, including brutal military dictatorships and a genocidal civil war against its Indian population, which led to the deaths of an estimated 200,000 people. Only in the 1980s, when a peace process commenced, did democratic governance resume. But a silence about the Arbenz era continued.

Now, after 25 years of increasingly vibrant democratic rule, Guatemalans feel confident enough to honor the memory of their deposed leader by incorporating his achievements into the national school curriculum, naming a highway after him, and preparing an official biography. America should follow suit by owning up to its own ignoble deed and recognizing Arbenz as the genuine social progressive that he was.

Washington feared Arbenz because he tried to institute agrarian reforms that would hand over fallow land to dispossessed peasants, thereby creating a middle class in a country where 2 percent of the population owned 72 percent of the land. Unfortunately for him, most of that territory belonged to the largest landowner and most powerful body in the state: the American-owned United Fruit Company. Though Arbenz was willing to compensate United Fruit for its losses, it tried to persuade Washington that Arbenz was a crypto-communist who must be ousted.

Dwight D. Eisenhower, along with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and his brother, Allen, the C.I.A.'s director, were a receptive audience. In the cold war fervor of the times, Eisenhower and the Dulles brothers believed a strike against Arbenz would roll back communism. And the Dulleses had their own personal sympathies for United Fruit: they had done legal work for the company, and counted executives there among their close friends.

It is true that Arbenz's supporters in the Guatemalan Legislature did include the Communist Party, but it was the smallest part of his coalition. Arbenz had also appointed a few communists to lower-level jobs in his administration. But there was no evidence that Arbenz himself was anything more than a European-style democratic socialist. And Arbenz's land reform program was less generous to peasants than a similar venture pushed by the Reagan administration in El Salvador several decades later.

Eisenhower's attack on Guatemala was brilliantly executed. A faux invasion force consisting of a handful of right-wing Guatemalans used fake radio broadcasts and a few bombing runs flown by American pilots to terrorize the fledgling democracy into surrender. Arbenz stepped down from the presidency and left the country. Soon afterward, a Guatemalan colonel named Carlos Castillo Armas took power and handed back United Fruit's lands. For three decades, military strongmen ruled Guatemala.

The covert American assault destroyed any possibility that Guatemala's fragile political and civic institutions might grow. It permanently stunted political life. And the destruction of Guatemala's democracy also set back the cause of free elections in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Honduras — all of which drew the lesson that Washington was more interested in unquestioning allies than democratic ones. It was only after the cold war and a United Nations-negotiated peace deal with leftist guerrillas in 1996 that genuine democracy began to take hold in Guatemala. And even since then, the cycle of violence and lawlessness unleashed by the 1954 coup has continued. Washington took the first step toward making amends when President Bill Clinton visited Guatemala in 1999 and offered a vague apology for America's support of violent and repressive forces there.

COLD WAR: REACTIONS

On a separate piece of paper, use your own initiative to answer these questions. Remember - you must be reasonable and realistic in your approach. You will have to logically back up your response.

INCIDENT 1: BERLIN BLOCKADE

The Potsdam Conference in July, 1945 decided that Germany and Austria should be divided into zones of occupation. The Big Three; Stalin, Truman and Churchill (later Clement Atlee) also divided the capital city of Berlin the same way. In 1948, the Soviets decided to seal Berlin from access to the western supply route.

REACTION: If you were President Truman in 1948, what would have been your response to this act?

INCIDENT 2: SOVIET TAKEOVER OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA (1948)

After the war, the well-liked leader of Czechoslovakia was building a democracy in his war-torn nation. This man, Jan Masaryk, died by either falling or being pushed out of his office window. Shortly thereafter, Soviet tanks and military personnel took over the country. They then claimed that this action was within their sphere of influence behind the Iron Curtain.

REACTION: If you had been President Truman, what would have been your response?

INCIDENT 3: DEATH OF STALIN (1953)

Stalin had been a strong leader who could keep his holdings in line, but his death in 1953 caused a leadership crisis. The new leader, Nikita Khrushchev, felt a need to consolidate his power among the satellite nations and to counter the effectiveness of NATO.

REACTION: What do you think he did?

INCIDENT 4: HUNGARIAN REVOLT (1956)

The Hungarian people were opposed to being under Soviet control. The people demanded free speech, press and elections. In October, 1956, the Hungarians rebelled against their Communist government. They were encouraged by the NATO run Radio Free Europe.

REACTION: What did the United States do to help the Hungarians?

INCIDENTS 5 AND 6: ISRAEL/PALESTINE (1948)

A creation of a Jewish homeland in Palestine was based upon the historic fact that the Jews once lived in the land and persecuted Jews needed a place to go. Before

the war was over, 500,000 Jews had gone to Palestine. They improved conditions in all areas of life. Although the Arabs profited by these improvements, they were against the Jewish immigration. The Arabs wanted an Arab Palestine and the Arab feudal lords feared the Democratic ideals that the Jews brought with them. Great Britain controlled Palestine in 1936, they limited Jewish immigration to appease the Arab countries that went to the defense of the Palestinian Arabs.

The Nazis killed over six million European Jews. Those who survived wanted to go to Palestine. In 1948, the new Republic of Israel was created by the U.N. with Chaim Weizmann as President and David Ben-Gurion as Prime Minister. Britain withdrew and Jerusalem came under international control.

REACTION: If you were the Arabs, what would you have done?

REACTION: You are the U.N. What would you do about the Israeli situation at that time?

#### INCIDENT 7: SUEZ CRISIS (1959)

President Nassar of Egypt planned to build a dam at Aswan on the Nile River in order to improve the standard of living of the Egyptians. The United States had offered to finance the project, but Nassar's anti-American attitude caused the offer to be withdrawn. As a retaliation, Nassar nationalized the Suez Canal. England and France protested because they depended on the Canal for transporting oil to their countries. Israel's shipping was also blockaded. Israel, Britain and France forced invaded Egypt.

REACTION: You are President Eisenhower. How would you respond?

#### INCIDENT 8: COMMUNIST TAKEOVER OF CHINA (1948)

Our most important ally in Asia before WWII was China, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang had been fighting civil war against Mao Tse-tung, a Communist leader, based in North China. This civil war, postponed during WWII, was resumed after the Japanese surrender. We had aided Chiang in his fight against the Japanese and had tried to aid him in his fight against the Communists. However, Mao was too popular, and Chiang's government too corrupt and by December, 1948, Chiang and his army had been pushed completely off the mainland and left on a small island, Formosa (Taiwan). China was considered a Communist country by 1949.

REACTION: You are President Truman, what would have been your response?

#### INCIDENT 9: U-2 INCIDENT (1960)

On May 1, 1960, the Soviet announced that they had shot down an American spy plane. President Eisenhower, believing Soviet technology incapable of such an act, claimed it was only a weather plane that strayed off course. The Soviets then put the pilot, Francis Gary Powers, and pieces of the plane on television. This became known as the U-2 Incident, after the name of the plane shot down. The United States believed the plane could fly too high to be detected or shot down. At the time of the incident, Eisenhower and Khrushchev were scheduled to go to Paris for the first summit conference to try to thaw the Cold War.

REACTION: If you were Eisenhower, what would you do after being caught in such lie?

## *NATO and the Warsaw Pact—Important Differences<sup>3</sup>*

### **NATO**

### **WARSAW PACT**

Freely negotiated by signatories and ratified after full debate in national parliaments.

Imposed by U.S.S.R. on Eastern European countries whose one-party governments did not permit dissent.

Concluded in 1949 to contain the political and territorial expansion of the U.S.S.R. after Soviet-instigated crises in Turkey, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Berlin.

Concluded in 1955 after the Paris Agreements admitted the Federal Republic of Germany to membership in the Western European Union and NATO.

Provides for political alliance; the military organization is subordinate to the highest civil authority, the North Atlantic Council.

Primarily a military system; arrangements for multilateral political consultation are underdeveloped. A "Permanent Commission," responsible for foreign policy decisions, exists, but its role is obscure and of relatively minor importance.

First and only defense agreement linking the U.S. and Canada with Western European states.

Duplicates a series of bilateral treaties which already linked Communist countries to the U.S.S.R.

The quantitative strength of U.S. ground and air forces in NATO is less than that of other member countries taken together. The United Kingdom and France also possess nuclear arms.

The position of the U.S.S.R. vis-à-vis other member countries is very preponderant and in the ratio of 3:1. The U.S.S.R. alone possesses nuclear weapons.

The highest military authority is the Military Committee composed of the chiefs of staff of the member countries. The presidency of the Military Committee is rotated among the chiefs of staff of member countries. Supreme Allied Commanders receive orders only from the Military Committee.

All key military positions are held by Russians. The head is the Soviet Commander-in-Chief of the joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact; Chief-of-Staff is also Russian; special branch of the Soviet General Staff serves as the planning and coordinating center of Warsaw Pact forces.

The Secretary General, who is also Chairman of the North Atlantic Council, is a statesman or diplomat from one of the member countries. There is no prerequisite as to his nationality.

A Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister fills the nominal position of Secretary General, but this appears to be a minor adjunct to his regular ministerial responsibilities.

3. "NATO and the Defense of Europe," in *Issues in United States Foreign Policy* (February 25, 1970).

## Timeline of the Early Cold War

- 1945: February 4-11 - Yalta Conference
- 1945: August 6 - United States first used atomic bomb in war
- 1945: August 8 - Russia enters war against Japan
- 1945: August 14 - Japanese surrender End of World War II
- 1946: March - Winston Churchill delivers "Iron Curtain" Speech
- 1947: March - Truman announces Truman Doctrine
- 1947: June - Marshall Plan is announced
- 1948: February - Communist takeover in Czechoslovakia
- 1948: June 24 - Berlin Blockade begins
- 1949: July - NATO treaty ratified
- 1949: May 12 - Berlin Blockade ends
- 1949: September - Mao Zedong, a Communist, takes control of China
- 1949: September - Soviets explode first atomic bomb
- 1955: May – Warsaw Pact

## Textbook A

Upset by the fast and astonishing growth of the power of the Republic, the American invaders hastened the preparation of an aggressive war in order to destroy it in its infancy....The American imperialists furiously carried out the war project in 1950....The American invaders who had been preparing the war for a long time, alongside their puppets, finally initiated the war on June 25th of the 39th year of the Juche calendar. That dawn, the enemies unexpectedly attacked the North half of the Republic, and the war clouds hung over the once peaceful country, accompanied by the echoing roar of cannons.

Having passed the 38th parallel, the enemies crawled deeper and deeper into the North half of the Republic...the invading forces of the enemies had to be eliminated and the threatened fate of our country and our people had to be saved.

## Textbook B

When the overthrow of the South Korean government through social confusion became too difficult, the North Korean communists switched to a stick-and-carrot strategy: seeming to offer peaceful negotiations, they were instead analyzing the right moment of attack and preparing themselves for it.

The North Korean communists prepared themselves for war. Kim Il-sung secretly visited the Soviet Union and was promised the alliance of the Soviets and China in case of war. Finally, at dawn on June 25th, 1950 the North began their southward aggression along the 38th parallel. Taken by surprise at these unexpected attacks, the army of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) fought courageously to defend the liberty of the country....The armed provocation of the North Korean communists brought the UN Security Council around the table. A decree denounced the North Korean military action as illegal and as a threat to peace, and a decision was made to help the South. The UN army constituted the armies of 16 countries—among them, the United States, Great Britain and France—joined the South Korean forces in the battle against the North.

**Guiding Questions**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

1) According to each textbook, how did the Korean War start?

Textbook A	Textbook B

2) Which of these textbooks do you find more trustworthy? Why? (Use specific examples from each text to support your answer).

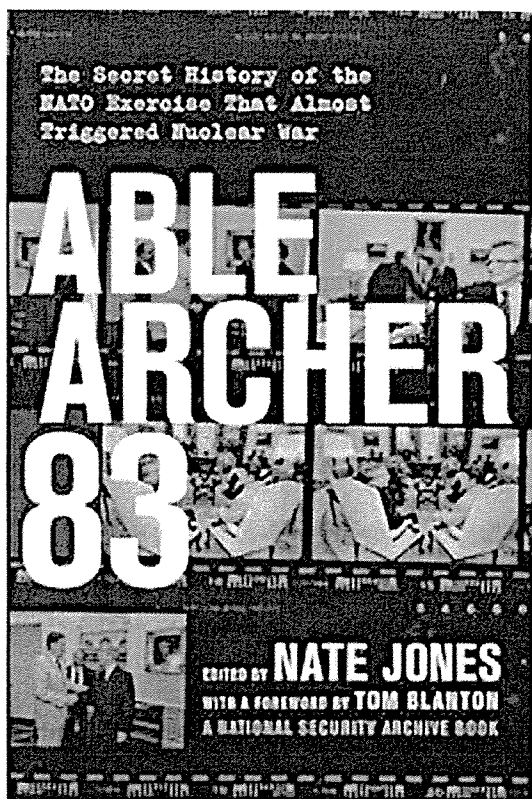
3) Where else would you look in order to figure out how the Korean War started?



## How the world reached the brink of nuclear war not once but twice in 1983

In the autumn of 1983, at the height of Cold War tensions, the world was only saved from nuclear disaster by the gut feelings of two soldiers during different incidents.

In the first incident, on September 26, a Soviet lieutenant colonel named Stanislav Petrov saw that according to the early-warning system, the Americans had launched numerous missiles against the Russians. He suspected an error and ignored the warnings. His decision to breach protocol and not inform his superiors averted a panicked retaliation. The second incident is less well known. An American lieutenant general, Leonard Perroots, also chose to ignore warnings – this time that the Soviet Union had gone on high nuclear alert. Like Petrov, he did nothing, and once again may have prevented an accidental nuclear war.



This was the “Able Archer War Scare”, which occurred over ten days in the November of the same year. Recently declassified documents inform Able Archer 83, a new book by the Cold War historian Nate Jones which shows just how close the world came to disaster.

Superpower mutual suspicion was rife in the early 1980s. President Reagan’s notorious “Evil Empire” speech, combined with imminent plans to deploy the Pershing II missile system in Europe, which could destroy Moscow with 15 minutes warning, had made the Kremlin especially paranoid. Was the US preparing a first strike to win the Cold War? The USSR’s aging and sickly premier, Yuri Andropov, certainly thought Reagan would have no qualms about it. “Reagan is unpredictable. You should expect anything from him,” he told Anatoly Dobrynin, Soviet ambassador to the US, at the time.

Another reason the leadership feared a US first strike was Project RYaN, an intricate Soviet intelligence-gathering effort designed to detect preparations for a surprise nuclear attack. It was being kept busy by US aircraft testing Soviet air defense systems by flying towards USSR airspace as part of the PSYOPs (psychological military operations) program.

The aircraft would deliberately provoke an alert and monitor the Soviet command and control responses, while demonstrating American strength and resolve at the same time. It was an example of the “Peace Through Strength” policy that was seen as vital by Reaganites to help the US emerge from its own perceived era of military weakness under President Carter.

But this US chest-beating led to a resurgence of intense mutual mistrust, with tragic consequences. On September 1 1983, Korean Air Lines flight 007 was shot down by a Russian fighter, killing all 269 passengers and crew. The Kremlin claimed the jet was an American spy plane deep in Russian territory. In this climate of extreme tension, NATO’s “Autumn Forge” war game season kicked off. NATO war games had been an annual occurrence, but the Soviets feared this particular edition might be cover for a surprise attack.

The final phase of the 1983 series, codenamed Able Archer 83, was different from previous years: dummy nuclear weapons, which looked like the real thing, were loaded on to planes. As many as 19,000

American troops were part of a radio-silent airlift to Europe over 170 flights. Military radio networks broadcast references to "nuclear strikes".

This sent Project RYaN into overdrive and the Soviets went on high nuclear alert. Warsaw Pact non-essential military flights were cancelled; nuclear-capable aircraft were placed on alert; nuclear weapons were taken to their launch vehicles; and Chief of the General Staff Nikolai Ogarkov descended into a command bunker outside Moscow to coordinate a possible response to a NATO strike. There is a debate about the Kremlin's intentions here. Were they genuinely afraid of an attack or simply trying to turn world opinion against the US to prevent Pershing II deployment? At the time, Reagan wondered if the Soviet panic was just "huffing and puffing". In Able Archer 83, Nate Jones presents new documentary evidence to suggest the Kremlin's fear was indeed genuine. It was only the decision by Lieutenant General Perroots, sitting in the Able Archer command post, not to respond to this extraordinary alert that avoided further escalation.

The book demonstrates how American leaders failed to appreciate the alarm that their actions might prompt in the Kremlin. In addition, Jones supplies fresh evidence for the argument that Reagan changed his mind on Soviet relations. By his second term, having been influenced by Able Archer and the other events of 1983, he chose to pursue peace far more vigorously than strength. Of course this turn around in policy wasn't immediate and Reagan inflamed tensions even more a few months later while warming up for the speech, Reagan joked "My fellow Americans, I am pleased to tell you today that I've signed legislation that will outlaw Russia forever. We begin bombing in five minutes." The Russians found the joke significantly less funny than Reagan's audience.

### **Why Able Archer matters**

Intentions are as important as capabilities, and the Soviet leadership misread American intentions in the early 1980s. Agents informing Project RYaN reported "facts" without context or interpretation. KGB analysts in Moscow were actively looking to confirm a hypothesis, not to explore the situation rationally.

Likewise, American leaders misread Soviet perceptions. Even with Reagan's aggressive rhetoric and 1983's unusually realistic war game scenario, the American intelligence community could not conceive that the USSR took the threat of a first strike seriously.

The way that the events of 1983 influenced Reagan's approach towards the Russians is as important as the economic pressure of Reagan's Star Wars defense programme when it comes to explaining why the Cold War ended. As Reagan later wrote in his memoirs, he had come to recognize that "Soviet officials feared us not only as adversaries but as potential aggressors who might hurl nuclear weapons at them in a first strike". Too often, intelligence agencies collect data and fit it into whichever threat hypothesis is in vogue. We should learn from Reagan's 1983 insight and not wait for the brink of war: in the nuclear age, whatever an adversary's political goals, we cannot afford to downplay their genuine fears about military posturing.

We have never yet returned to the awful global tensions of 1983, but the rivalries between the world's three leading powers remain real enough. We need to ensure that we are never again left relying on the gut feelings of one or two soldiers to avoid stumbling into disaster. With the Korean tensions escalating today, world leaders need to reflect on the past near misses to avoid the real thing next time.

# Lyric Analysis Form

ARTIST: Nena

TITLE: 99 Red Balloons

Lyrics	Theme(s)/Message(s)
<p>You and I in a little toy shop            Buy a bag of balloons with the money we've got            Set them free at the break of dawn            'Til one by one they were gone            Back at base, bugs in the software            Flash the message, something's out there            Floating in the summer sky            Ninety-nine red balloons go by</p>	
<p>Ninety-nine red balloons            Floating in the summer sky            Panic bells, it's red alert            There's something here from somewhere else            The war machine springs to life            Opens up one eager eye            Focusing it on the sky            Where ninety-nine red balloons go by</p>	
<p>Ninety-nine Decision Street            Ninety-nine ministers meet            To worry, worry, super scurry            Call the troops out in a hurry            This is what we've waited for            This is it, boys, this is war            The President is on the line            As ninety-nine red balloons go by</p>	
<p>Ninety-nine knights of the air            Ride super-high-tech jet fighters            Everyone's a superhero            Everyone's a Captain Kirk            With orders to identify            To clarify and classify            Scramble in the summer sky            As ninety-nine red balloons go by            As ninety-nine red balloons go by</p>	
<p>Ninety-nine dreams I have had            And every one a red balloon            It's all over, and I'm standing pretty            In this dust that was a city            If I could find a souvenir            Just to prove the world was here            And here is a red balloon            I think of you and let it go</p>	

**Please write a brief summary statement:**

## Russians

Written by Sting (& Sergei Prokofiev!)

In Europe and America there's a growing feeling of hysteria

Conditioned to respond to all the threats

In the rhetorical speeches of the Soviets

Mister Krushchev said, 'We will bury you'

I don't subscribe to this point of view

It'd be such an ignorant thing to do

If the Russians love their children too

How can I save my little boy

From Oppenheimer's deadly toy?

There is no monopoly on common sense

On either side of the political fence

We share the same biology

Regardless of ideology

Believe me when I say to you

I hope the Russians love their children too

There is no historical precedent to put

Words in the mouth of the president

There's no such thing as a winnable war

It's a lie we don't believe anymore

Mister Reagan says 'We will protect you'

I don't subscribe to this point of view

Believe me when I say to you

I hope the Russians love their children too

We share the same biology

Regardless of ideology

What might save us, me and you

Is if the Russians love their children too

## Notes:

## Wind of Change

Written by the Scorpions

I follow the Moskva

Down to Gorky Park

Listening to the wind of change

An August summer night

Soldiers passing by

Listening to the wind of change

The world is closing in

Did you ever think

That we could be so close, like brothers

The future's in the air

I can feel it everywhere

Blowing with the wind of change

Take me to the magic of the moment

On a glory night

Where the children of tomorrow dream away

in the wind of change

Walking down the street

Distant memories

Are buried in the past forever

I follow the Moskva

Down to Gorky Park

Listening to the wind of change

Take me to the magic of the moment

On a glory night

Where the children of tomorrow share their dreams

With you and me

Take me to the magic of the moment

On a glory night

Where the children of tomorrow dream away

in the wind of change

~~SECRET~~  
~~NOFORN/NOCONTRACT~~

## DISCUSSION

1. Not since the early Khrushchev years have policy changes in the USSR had so profound an impact on Eastern Europe as those now being pushed by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. These new winds blowing from Moscow, as well as serious internal economic and political dilemmas, have ushered in an era of considerable uncertainty—and potentially of significant change—in Eastern Europe. With the impending passing of an entire generation of leaders in the region, Soviet policy over the next three to five years is likely to be decisive in determining the scope and direction of change and, ultimately, the stability of the Soviet empire. ~~(S-NF)~~

2. For Gorbachev as for his predecessors, the importance of Eastern Europe can hardly be exaggerated: it serves as a buffer, military and ideological, between the USSR and the West, a base for projecting Soviet power and influence throughout Europe, a conduit of Western trade and technology, and a key external pillar of the Soviet system itself. The Soviet Union continues to exercise decisive influence over the region through a complex web of political, economic, and military and security ties, and there is no reason to doubt ultimate Soviet willingness to employ armed force to maintain party rule and preserve the Soviet position in the region. ~~(S-NF)~~

3. At the same time, however, Eastern Europe is a region of chronic instability, recurrent crisis, and growing diversity; the tasks of Soviet alliance management have grown progressively greater. Successive Soviet leaders have sought both cohesion and viability in Eastern Europe; they have failed to achieve them simultaneously. Gorbachev, while mindful of the need for stability, has tilted the balance toward an agenda of change and reform in the interest of regime viability. Some veteran East European officials liken the current situation to Khrushchev's de-Stalinization campaign and the subsequent upheavals in Hungary and Poland in 1956; they fear that the Soviet reform

<sup>1</sup> This Estimate examines relations between the Soviet Union and its six Warsaw Pact allies—East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria—over the next three to five years. It focuses on the impact and implications of Soviet policies in the region as a whole rather than offering detailed assessments of individual countries. ~~(S-NF)~~

drive will unleash potentially uncontrollable pressures for change in Eastern Europe. ~~(S-NF)~~

### Eastern Europe in the Mid-1980s

4. The new Soviet leadership under Gorbachev inherited an Eastern Europe whose seeming quiescence was belied by serious problems just beneath the surface. To be sure, the challenge posed by Solidarity in Poland had been successfully contained with the imposition of martial law in December 1981, and the Jaruzelski regime had made some progress toward restoring party control and neutralizing its domestic opposition. Yet, throughout Eastern Europe, severe economic problems, rising social discontent, and political stagnation among the aging party leaderships created an unstable situation. ~~(S-NF)~~

5. *Economies in Decline.* When Gorbachev assumed power in 1985, Eastern Europe had endured nearly a decade of economic decline and stagnation. Most obviously, the region-wide financial crisis of the early 1980s contributed to the end of an era of East-West economic detente: trade with the West declined sharply, new credits were scarce, and several of the East European regimes were compelled to enter into extensive refinancing negotiations with Western creditors. Trade relations with the USSR fared little better, as Soviet oil prices reached a new peak in 1982-83, belatedly reflecting the full brunt of the 1978-79 increases in the world market (as the five-year averaging mechanism for Soviet oil deliveries caught up with prevailing world rates). ~~(S-NF)~~

6. These reversals took a heavy toll on standards of living, as the East Europeans struggled with large foreign debts and deteriorating economic performance. In Romania and Poland, shortages of energy and basic foodstuffs raised the prospect of economically induced political instability; elsewhere, problems were less disastrous but still acute. Failure to deliver the promised improvements in living standards—the linchpin of regime strategies in the 1970s—further undermined political legitimacy and deepened societal alienation. Reduced investments and growing lags in the scientific-technological revolution had also weakened East European competitiveness on world markets, further mortgaging the region's economic future. ~~(S-NF)~~

## Mikhail Gorbachev and the Path for the Soviet Union

### The Situation:

You are Mikhail Gorbachev. In the past few decades as you've risen up the political ladder into the politburo, you've also witnessed that average people were living hopeless lives without choice. The economy was governed by the state in 5-year plans. Under Khrushchev and Brezhnev the destruction of independent farming was finalized and now workers lived on collective farms without identification documents up until the 1970s. Undocumented citizens at collective farms were disposable. Wages were set by the state and did not depend on productivity or quality. By the 1960s and 1970s massive poverty and anxiety pushed millions to migrate to cities. Mass-construction of cheap panel buildings was lagging behind. Millions of families shared poor housing, hostels, and dorms in cities. Villages were deserted. Collective farms decayed. Agricultural output fell below the levels of the Tsar's age.

In the cities workers were equally unproductive and worker absenteeism and on the job drunkenness both led to increased accidents in the workplace and poor factory performance. But the workers were still paid and this system lacked the incentives for innovation and efficiency. Only the leadership and exemplary obedient people were rewarded with better food and perks.

Propaganda and fear seemed to be the only thing holding the system together. Propaganda idolized members of the Soviet Politburo, their portraits were decorating every school and factory along with countless portraits and statues of the first Soviet leader V.I. Lenin. Teachers were forced to indoctrinate children of all ages from kindergartens through schools and universities. Total control and manipulation was demonstrated twice a year at annual May Day parades and Great Revolution parades on November. Meanwhile, opponents were locked in the "Gulag" prison-camps, mostly in Siberia. There, millions were working various hard labor jobs in grand-scale economic projects; like the Baikal-Amur railroad (BAM). Taming millions to obedience by fear and hunger led to a massive degradation of human rights, lack of initiative and creativity, and the decay of public health and vitality. The country of almost three hundred million people was stuck in stagnation, inefficiency, and apathy.

### The Dilemma:

You'd like to rouse the Soviet bear from years of economic hibernation but you have a number of challenges. #1 The Arms Race is incredibly costly but will deterrence hold if the USSR keeps building. #2 To make reforms in your economy you will also need loans from the West, but as a result it may require you to give up more than you'd like #3 Those who have tried to reform the Soviet Union in the past (like Nikita Khrushchev and Alexei Kosygin) have either failed or been ousted. Your first campaign you started when you came to power to reduce alcohol consumption was very unpopular and considered by many a failure. #4 The denunciation of Stalin and Brezhnev which you need to do to make reforms could cause the Eastern European satellite states to demand their own autonomy again. You need these states but if you crack down on them how will the West respond? #5 Too much reform too fast could bring a collapse of the entire system but no reform will spell eventual doom for the whole system

*Gorbachev Quote* "I don't think that we need any new values. The most important thing is to try to revive the universally known values from which we have retreated. Dangers await only those who do not react to life."

## Policy Statements Supporting the Two Viewpoints Policy Option #1

It has been necessary to take a fresh look at the practice of military build-up as it established itself during the decades of the Cold War. As we only touched on this subject, we saw a "big overkill." The tempo and scale of growth of the military-industrial complex added little to security of the country from the purely military viewpoint. And they badly affected the state of the economy, weighed heavily on all our social structures.

Without the utilization of [the resources of the military-industrial complex], without their application to the solution of public social tasks, we cannot carry out perestroika.

-Anatoly Chernyaev, "Excerpts from Chernyaev's Theses Prepared for Gorbachev's Report to the Defense Council,"

When it comes to our military deployment I propose to act in an appropriate fashion. We have 27 thousand tanks and almost 3.5 million soldiers in Eastern Europe and that certainly can be viewed as an excessive build up. We have overlooked a very important question-the question of sufficiency.... With too much devoted to the military we are stealing everything from the people. And turning the country into a military camp. And the West clearly want to pull us into the second scenario of arms race. They are counting on our military exhaustion. And then they will portray us as militarists. And they are trying to pull us in on the SDI. These are the positions, from which we should formulate our military doctrine....

This extraordinary session of our committee is convened due to the grave escalation of the international situation and, in consequence, of the growing danger of war against the socialist community. It is due to the need to apply effective countermeasures to preserve the security of our states. The source for the growing danger of war is evident. This source consists of the openly aggressive policy from the United States and NATO against the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community, and against all progressive forces in the world.

A particular danger for the countries of the socialist community is the insistent effort by U.S. and NATO to deploy new American medium-range missiles in Europe. With this, the U.S. Administration and the highest representatives of leading NATO countries have openly declared the fight against the socialist community. They join a path of far-reaching war preparations against the Warsaw Treaty states.

In light of the U.S. and NATO's strive for military superiority over the Warsaw Treaty countries, and the large-scale preparation for a war against the socialist community, [...], the Committee of Ministers for Defense deems it appropriate to apply respective countermeasures in case of a deployment of new American medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe; in order not to tolerate NATO military superiority and maintain a balance of forces in the interest of peace, and to guarantee the security of the allied countries

-Marshal of the Soviet Union D. F. Ustinov

## Policy Statements Supporting the Two Viewpoints

### Policy tion #2

The might of the socialist camp today is such that the imperialists fear military defeat in the event of a direct clash with the chief forces of socialism. Needless to say, as long as imperialism exists, the danger of war that imperialist policy entails can on no account be disregarded. However, it is a fact that in the new conditions the imperialists are making increasingly frequent use of different and more insidious tactics. They are seeking out the weak links in the socialist front, pursuing a course of subversive ideological work inside the socialist countries, trying to influence the economic development of these countries, attempting to sow dissension, drive wedges between them and encourage and inflame nationalist feelings and tendencies, and are seeking to isolate individual socialist states so that they can then seize them by the throat one by one. In short, imperialism is trying to undermine socialism's solidarity precisely as a world system.

When forces that are hostile to socialism try to turn the development of some socialist country towards capitalism it becomes not only a problem of the country concerned, but a common problem and concern of all socialist countries. In such cases military assistance to a fraternal country to end a threat to the socialist system may be necessary. These borders are protected by all the armed might of the socialist commonwealth.

If the counterrevolution did succeed and NATO took root in the midst of the Socialist countries, it would pose a serious threat to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania, not to mention the Soviet Union itself

I would clearly prefer a second alternative: a political solution, (rather than force). We must count on making certain acceptable concessions. I believe that we have not nearly exhausted these possibilities. I also rely on the fact that most of our people, including young people, have no reason to be against socialism. They are unsatisfied with many things, even stirred up by all kinds of disinformation, but are able and willing to repay trust with trust. To drive the young generation into the arms of the enemies of socialism would be an unforgivable mistake. This must be prevented under any circumstances.

It would also be a mistake to underestimate the international risks of a broad application of force. We mustn't labor under the illusion that various democratization, environmental, and other movements end at our borders. Also, signed international treaties dealing with human rights cannot be taken lightly. This warning should not be understood as a call for concessions at any price, without regard to the loss of socialist values.

The Brezhnev Doctrine must be declared dead and military interventions should be precluded in the future, yet at the same time, we must set boundaries for the changes in Eastern Europe as the safekeeping of socialism and assurance of stability. -mostly from Premier Ladislav Adamec of Hungary



## Mikhail Gorbachev and the Path for the Soviet Union

### Choice #1:

Should the Soviet Union continue to pursue a peace through strength policy of nuclear-strategic parity as the crucial *and sufficient* guarantee of peace. Deterrence can provide peace after all and the United States under the Reagan Administration is engaging in hostile rhetoric and a severe military buildup while limiting contacts between West and East. Or, should the USSR actively engage in disarmament talks with the United States which could help diminish the outsized military-industrial complex which leaves the average people to live in misery.

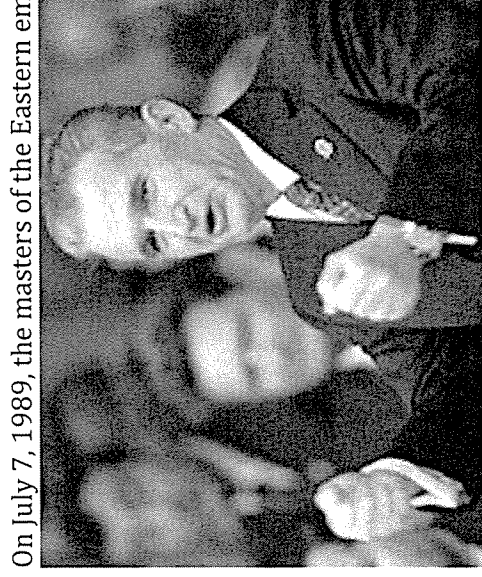
### Choice #2:

The second act of the drama began in the fall of 1989 with peaceful revolutions in Eastern and Central Europe (except Romania). Rejection of the Soviet policy or intervening militarily in its satellite nations if it saw a threat to communism would threaten the existence of the Warsaw Pact and perhaps encourage Germany to reunite. Still, refusal to allow

Question	Da	Nyet	Verdict
Should the Soviet Union actively engage in disarmament talks with the United States and accept an unequal treaty if necessary?			
Should the Soviet Union continue the policy of the "Brezhnev Doctrine" (Moscow's right to intervene militarily to rescue a Communist regime under threat)?			

## The Win That Changed the World

### This is the way the Warsaw Pact folded, not with a bang but a gesture.

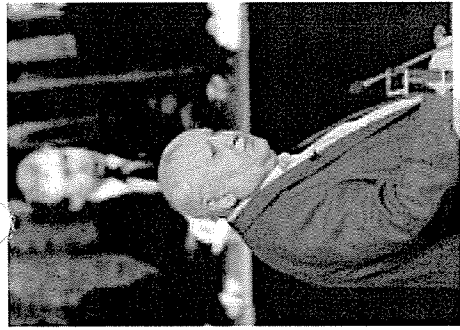


On July 7, 1989, the masters of the Eastern empire gathered in Bucharest for a fateful summit. They were a rogue's gallery of the world's dictators, assembled in the capital of the worst among them: Romania's own Nicolae Ceausescu, Europe's last Stalinist, the dark lord of the old Eastern bloc's most repressive Communist regime. They were the hunters: Erich Honecker, the murderous boss of the German Democratic Republic, architect of the wall that separated his East Germany from the West. There was Poland's Wojciech Jaruzelski, the man who declared martial law in 1980 and broke the famed trade union Solidarity. Czechoslovak strongman Milos Jakes was there, as well as Bulgaria's Todor Zhivkov, whose secret police stooges once tried to assassinate Pope John Paul II. This day, however, the hunted was one of their own: reformist Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, whose determination to bring democracy and free markets to his country threatened them all. And so, in the interests of self-preservation, the satraps of the Warsaw Pact marshaled their forces. The goal: a classically Commie "fraternal intervention" of the sort the world had seen before—Hungary in 1956 and Prague in 1968. Only one man stood between them and their quarry. His name: Mikhail Gorbachev.

The coming months will see a crescendo of anniversary commemorations of communism's end, culminating with the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989. For many, Americans especially, it was a glorious moment, emblematic of the West's victory in the Cold War. It seemed to come out of the blue. But if you watched the Eastern bloc's disintegration from the ground, as I did over the course of that epic year, you know that the process was far longer and more complex than most people realize. Often, it unfolded in melodramatic little chapters, unnoticed by the rest of the world, as on that fine summer day in Bucharest two decades ago. To grasp the full dimension of that drama, you must remember how Europe was still locked in the old order defined by the Cold War—and glimpse the changes afoot that would, abruptly, transform it. Nemeth arrived on the scene in late November 1988 as a new-generation "reform" Communist in the mold of Gorbachev himself. But if his titular master in Moscow remained a committed socialist, however liberal by contrast to his old-guard predecessors, Nemeth was the real deal. Moving quickly, he had drafted a new constitution for Hungary—modeled on America's, complete with a Bill of Rights and guarantees of free speech and human rights. Then he allowed new political parties to form and promised free elections. And if the Communist Party should lose, hard-liners asked, what then? Why, said Nemeth, with perfect equanimity, "We step down." Worst, just a few months before, in early May, Nemeth had announced that Hungary would tear down the fence along its frontier with Austria. At the height of the Cold War, he cut a hole in the Iron Curtain.

In the Communist world, this was heresy. It had to be punished. And so it was that the Warsaw Pact's leaders assembled in Bucharest. Seated in a great hall, surrounded by banners and the full pomp of Communist circumstance, they launched their attack. Ceausescu went first, brandishing his fists and shouting an impassioned indictment: "Hungary will destroy socialism." His "dangerous experiments" will destroy the entire Socialist Union! Honecker, Jakes, and Zhivkov followed. Only Jaruzelski of Poland sat quiet, sphinxlike behind his dark sunglasses, betraying no emotion. Nemeth had been in office for only seven months. This was his first Warsaw Pact summit. He was nervous, but he knew his enemies would act only with Soviet support and that's what they were calling for. They wanted an invasion in the style of Czechoslovakia in 1968 once again and an end to this liberalism.

The man who could give it sat roughly opposite Nemeth, 30 feet away on the other side of a large rectangle of flag-draped conference tables. As Ceausescu and the others ranted on, calling for armed intervention in Hungary, Nemeth glanced across at the Soviet leader. Their eyes met, and Gorbachev ... winked. "This happened at least four or five times," Nemeth later told me. "It was more a look, a bemused twinkle. Each time he smiled at me, with his eyes, it was as if Gorbachev were saying, 'Don't worry. These people are idiots. Pay no attention.'" And so he didn't. As the dogs of the Warsaw Pact brayed for his head, Nemeth went outside to smoke a cigarette. On this small moment, history turned. Nemeth flew back to Budapest and continued his reforms, dissolving the country's Communist Party and opening Hungary's borders so that tens of thousands of East Germans could famously escape to the West—and causing, four months later, the Berlin Wall to topple. Erich Honecker went home a spent political force who would be ousted in a coup d'état that began taking shape even before he left Bucharest. As for Nicolae Ceausescu, he would die by firing squad during the revolution that convulsed Romania at year's end.



MOSCOW — Mikhail Gorbachev, the first and last president of the Soviet Union, now 82 and increasingly frail, may have needed a helping hand to climb on stage for a speech at the state-run RIA-Novosti news agency. Oratorically, however, he seemed nimble enough, delivering a sharp poke in the gut to President Vladimir Putin and the Kremlin.

Alexander Zemlianichenko/Associated Press

Mikhail Gorbachev's speech on Saturday was itself attacked by members of President Vladimir V. Putin's party. "Politics is more and more turning into an imitation," Mr. Gorbachev said. "All power is in the hands of the executive. The Parliament only seals its decisions. Judicial power is not independent. The economy is monopolized, hooked to the oil and gas needle. Entrepreneurs' initiative is curbed. Small and medium businesses face huge barriers."

Mr. Gorbachev, invoking "perestroika" — the Russian word for "restructuring" and the brand name of his reforms that brought about the fall of communism and helped him win the Nobel Peace Prize — called for yet another renewal of the Russian political system.

His prepared speech, posted later on the Internet, was even tougher than the remarks he delivered. In it, he wrote that by curtailing freedoms and tightening restrictions on civil society groups and the press, Mr. Putin had adopted "a ruinous and hopeless path."

While he is still revered in the West for his role in ending the cold war, Mr. Gorbachev has largely faded into insignificance in Russia. He is remembered far more for the chaos and deprivation of the 1990s that followed him than for delivering the citizens of the Soviet Union from tyranny.

Nonetheless, his speech, made on Saturday as he briefly ventured from a Moscow hospital where he is undergoing a lengthy checkup, quickly drew angry and dismissive responses from the Kremlin. "We have had enough restructuring," said Mr. Putin's spokesman, Dmitri S. Peskov.

Sergei Neverov, the deputy speaker of the lower house of Parliament and a leader of United Russia, the party that nominated Mr. Putin for president, said, "Mikhail Sergeyeveich has already been the initiator of one perestroika, and as a result we lost the country." Mr. Neverov defended the policies of Mr. Putin and United Russia, which he said "helped us to preserve the state, to solve the problem of poverty and to stop the criminals trying to grab power."

Aleksei Pushkov, a member of United Russia and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee in the lower house, similarly rejected Mr. Gorbachev's objections by criticizing Mr. Gorbachev. "The cost of a painful process, the cost of huge losses from a major transformation of our country has already occurred," Mr. Pushkov told the Interfax news agency.

Mr. Gorbachev, in an interview with the BBC in early March, made similarly harsh remarks about Mr. Putin's government, saying it was replete with "thieves and corrupt officials," and he offered a harsh assessment of laws recently adopted in Russia clamping down on nongovernmental organizations.

"The common thread running through all of them is an attack on the rights of citizens," he said in that interview. "For goodness sake, you shouldn't be afraid of your own people." In the BBC interview, Mr. Gorbachev also defended himself. "I'm often accused of giving away Central and Eastern Europe. But who did I give it to? I gave Poland, for example, back to the Poles. Who else does it belong to?" In his speech at RIA-Novosti, Mr. Gorbachev acknowledged that he was not well. "Now, I am seriously sick," he said. He appeared to have gained a substantial amount of weight, and he had trouble both reading from his text and, later, hearing questions.

In his remarks, Mr. Gorbachev allowed that Mr. Putin's government had beaten back a rising political opposition movement in Moscow. "They managed to put down the wave of protests for some time," he said. "But the problems of the country have not gone away." Specifically, he pointed to widening income disparity and corruption. "The gap in incomes and living standards between the small mostly well-to-do stratum of the population and all the rest is unacceptably high," Mr. Gorbachev said. "Corruption has acquired a colossal scope."