Paper Perspectives On International Relations And World History

Lesson (E): Cold War: Different Phases

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Cold War: Different Phases

1. Introduction:

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed an intricate but protracted conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union which never broke open as war till its formal end. This state of affair between the newly emerged great powers after the World War II is referred to as the Cold War. The two great powers—rather greatest powers by virtue of being politically vigorous, militarily impregnable and economically sound—of that period the US and the USSR ranked as superpowers. These two superpowers were ideologically incompatible, strategically at variance, politically pole apart and economically adherent to two contrasting models. Yet, there has been a substantial debate over the date of the beginning of the Cold War; nonetheless, its tangible shape appeared in international politics after American president Harry S. Truman's Congressional speech of March 12, 1947 pledging to contain world-wide "Soviet expansionism" as tyrannical force threatening the freedom of people in "open societies". The Truman Doctrine poised with the Marshal Plan developed deep apprehension in the minds of Soviet leaders and they deprecated such move even in the UN in September 1947. Andrei Vyhinsky, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, addressing the UN General Assembly blamed United States of interfering in the internal affairs of European states. Moreover, the Soviet Union also responded with like policies and plans. Progressively more rise in such incidents deepened the mistrust; and the cleft between them gradually widened. The two superpowers embroiled militarily for the first time in 1948 called Berlin Blockade and continued on several occasions in nerve-racking confrontations causing extreme anxiety to the world of potential third world war till their final involvement what is known in the international politics as Afghan crisis which apparently led to the end of this phase.

2. The Cold War: Explicating Meaning and Etymology

2.1 What does the Cold War refer to?

The Cold War was a veiled conflict, a war-like situation but not the open war which characterised an era in the international history between 1945 and 1990. It was a state of political bitterness, mutual distrust manifested in military rivalry and aggressive posture, entrenched strategic entanglement and brewing enmity, bolstered by specific ideological underpinnings, use and misuse of propaganda, various forms of diplomacy and espionage, technological warfare, arms race, including nuclear ones between the two superpower led blocs. Mansbach and Taylor have argued rightly as : "The Cold War was the climactic struggle of the second half of the twentieth century. In this conflict, the United States and

its allies, including supporters of capitalism, engaged in ideological warfare against the Soviet Union and its allies, advocates of communism, an alternative and incompatible, economic and political system."[1]

The post-atomic attack scenario of Hiroshima on 6 August 1945

Source*:

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/58/Hiroshima_Dome_1945.gif

As a consequence, the world stood divided into the East and the West: the East led by the Soviet Union thrived upon socialist-Marxist ideology and the West led by the United States succeeded on liberal-capitalist ideology. Thomas Borstelmann's observation seems to be pertinent as he argued: "The Cold War developed after 1945 as a state of heightened tensions between the two great powers that emerged from World War II, the United States and the USSR…. as the two victorious nations found themselves face-to-face in Central Europe, East Asia, and the Middle East."[2] "Their visions of the world order", Borstelmann reiterated, "that should be reconstructed after the war were largely incompatible: command economies run by Communist parties versus global capitalism free from most state interference. US policymakers were deeply concerned about Communist influences in the anticolonial nationalist movements in Asia and Africa."[3]

Needless to mention, setting aside the goodwill of the World War II being as part of Allied Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States fell apart amidst escalated tension over above said issues. To reiterate that the two powers created two blocs making finally the world order a bipolar one. This situation continued without breaking off open war till the

formal declaration of ending it in 1990. During the entire period of forty-five years the two superpowers did not embroil physically in spite of the fact that many a times they came closer to seemingly fierce war which might have turned up into another world war.[4] An apt remark of Michael Cox is applicable in this context. To Cox, the Cold War was composed of five different levels of reality:

- A strategic confrontation between the USSR and the United States;
- An ideological stand-off between communism and capitalism;
- A geographical and military confrontation that kept Europe and Germany divided for the best part of forty years;
- An ongoing struggle for future control of the Third World; and
- Finally, a wider opposition between two material civilisations both of which insisted that they, and they alone, represented the wave of the future.[5]

Cox further argued that "yet in spite of its confrontational character the Cold War also had its own unwritten rule of engagement. These not only helped regulate the relationship—especially important in an age of nuclear weapons—but introduced a degree of order to international relations."[6]

2.2 The Etymology

The term "Cold War" seems to be as an oxymoron. War signifies either hot involvement or open conflict; then how can it be referred to as cold? Nonetheless, the Cold War was neither open nor frozen to the extent one may assume from its literal sense. The Cold War was as powerful as a phenomenon in international system that influenced the people of the world directly or indirectly; however surprisingly, there has not been a settled view who coined the term "Cold War" first and when? It is believed that the brewing rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union was named for the first time as Cold War by George Orwell, a British novelist, journalist and famed intellectual, in his essay published originally in the Tribune on 19 October 1945. Orwell went on illustrating as:

> For forty or fifty years past, Mr. H.G. Wells and others have been warning us that man is in danger of destroying himself with his own weapons, leaving the ants or some other gregarious species to take over. Anyone who has seen the ruined cities of Germany will find this notion at least thinkable. Nevertheless, looking at the world as a whole, the drift for many decades has been not towards anarchy but towards the reimposition of slavery. We may be heading not for general breakdown but for an

> epoch as horribly stable as the slave empires of antiquity. James Burnham's theory has been much discussed, but few people have yet considered its ideological implications — that is, the kind of world-view, the kind of beliefs, and the social structure that would probably prevail in a state which was at once *unconquerable* and in a permanent state of 'cold war' with its neighbours.[7]

George Orwell sensing the American scepticism of not informing about their atomic project to Soviets and Soviets aggression in Balkan region gave a sign of rift and playing against each others' ego. Orwell predicted then about the latent conflict indicating towards the Cold War between the Communist and Liberal worlds.

Bernard Baruch was another figure who popularised and widely used the term "Cold War" during late 1940s. Baruch was an influential advisor of quite a few American presidents including incumbent Harry S. Truman and established figure in the power corridor of the United States. Baruch in a speech in April 1947, given during the unveiling of his portrait in the South Carolina House of Representatives, coins the term "Cold War" to describe relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.[8] Indicating that the US society was under challenge by the rival ideological and political system, Baruch used this term. Baruch warned: "Let us not be deceived—we are today in the midst of a cold war. Our enemies are to be found abroad and at home".[9] Later Baruch used the term in a congressional debate in 1947, and described the war as increasing tensions between the Soviet Union and the US.

Besides, another influential US journalist Walter Lippmann earned the credit of popularising the term as he in response of President Truman's doctrine and George Kennan's *Foreign Policy* article published by pseudonym "X" laying down the policy of containment. Lippmann published a book in 1947 *The Cold War: A Study in US Foreign Policy* in which a systematic exposition of the phenomena characterising tensed international situation was illustrated. Winston Churchill is also regarded as the one among those who set off the row over fermenting enmity between the USA and the USSR in a subtle but penetrative intellectual discourse. Without directly naming that state of affair as the Cold War, Churchill insinuated about the contrasting moves of the two rising powers. Winston Churchill's famous speech entitled "The Sinews of Peace" at Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, on March 5, 1946 in the presence of American President Truman is supposed to have worked like catalyst to fuel the East-West divide.[10] In his speech Churchill unequivocally set a bar for democratic world to meet the challenges stemming from communist USSR and invited the United States

to shoulder the noble opportunity. To many, this was psychological brainstorming by Churchill. Churchill spoke:

> .....The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn moment for the American Democracy. For with primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future. If you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done but also you must feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. Opportunity is here now, clear and shining for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the after-time. It is necessary that constancy of mind, persistency of purpose, and the grand simplicity of decision shall guide and rule the conduct of the English-speaking peoples in peace as they did in war. We must, and I believe we shall, prove ourselves equal to this severe requirement.....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 many cases, increasing measure of control from Moscow.[11]

Churchill at Westminster College, Fulton during his "Iron Curtain" Speech on 5th March, 1946.

Source± : http://www.historyextra.com/feature/winston-churchills-greatest-speeches

3. The Onset of the Cold War: Thinking Theoretically

It intrigues historian, international relations' analysts and journalists alike as to what caused the Cold War? And, how it began in international politics? However, there is a variety of analyses presented by a host of scholars. For example, Richard W. Mansbach and Kirsten L. Taylor argue that the Cold War's causes can be found at all levels of analysis: (a) At individual level analysis it is discovered that the ideologies, insecurities, and disillusionment of key leaders like Churchil, Truman and Stalin fuelled early Cold War tension. (b) At the unit level analysis it is found out that incompatible political, economic and social systems and internal sources of foreign policies were crucial factors in the origin of the Cold War. (c) At system level analysis it comes into being that spheres of interests, bipolarity and spiralling mistrust exacerbated the Cold War.[12]

When a theoretical survey of the causes of the Cold War is taken into consideration, it is believed that there are dominantly three popular schools which interpret them in their own specific ways. First one is the traditionalist or orthodox school, second is revisionist school and third is post-revisionist school.

3.1 The Orthodox School

The orthodox school levels charge against the Soviet Union for causing the beginning of the Cold War. According to this school it was Soviet belligerence in Europe, aggressive ideological pursuit and uncompromising attitude of Soviet leadership which set fire to the new conflict with the United States. David S. Painter and Melvyn P. Leffler observe that "this orthodox rendition of events portrayed the Soviet Union as relentlessly expansionist and ideologically motivated. According to this view, US officials wanted to get along with the Soviets but slowly came to realize that accommodation was impossible because of the Kremlin's drive for world domination."[13] For example, one of the prominent exponents of this school Thomas A. Bailey wrote in his seminal work *America Faces Russia* (1950), "that the breakdown of relations was a direct result of aggressive Soviet policies of expansion in the immediate postwar years. Stalin's government violated its solemn promises in the Yalta accords, imposed Soviet-dominated governments on the unwilling nations of Eastern Europe, and schemed to spread communism throughout the world. American policy was the logical and necessary response."[14] Other major figures of the school Herbert Feis and George Kennan rested their view on the same line. Kennan in his "Long Telegram" which was later published in *Foreign Policy* viewed the Soviet as intrinsically opposed to the

capitalist world. A war-mongering, irrational, paranoid Soviet Union can never be a reliable friend.[15] Thus to meet such risk the US needed to beef up its own level of preparedness. Policy of containment was unveiled.

3.2 The Revisionist School

Second school of the Cold War is revisionist school. According to Painter and Leffler, this school emerged "in the 1960s as the Vietnam War and the growing availability of US records led to a more critical appraisal of US policies."[16] Scholars of this intellectual tradition were called "new left". This set of scholars presented a critical analysis of the role of the United States in post War international politics. The revisionist school basically was nourished in the fertile environment of high-pitched anti-Vietnam tone in the United States. The logical contention against professed noble intention of USA in terms of its foreign policy agenda began to be placed under sustained scrutiny. Chiefly three scholars of the school William Appleman Williams, Gabriel Kolko and Gar Alperovitz took the view that behind opening the Cold War the responsible force was the United States. It was US expansionist policy both economically and militarily shrouded in the veil of ideological scabbard which led to struggle with the Soviets. The revisionists argued that US policies were also expansionist and thus played an important role in starting the Cold War. Many revisionists pointed to the long history of American economic expansionism and argued that ideological beliefs and economic interests significantly shaped US policies.[17] For instance, Williams in his work *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* argued that US statesmen were continued following the open door policy since 1899 and in the post War condition they saw the situation turned conducive to meet the grand design. European reconstruction plan and capitalist expansionism were manifestation of this design.

Other prominent scholar Gabriel Kolko in his book *The Limits of Power: The World and U.S. Foreign Policy,* 1945-1954 has shed light on the apprehension US foreign policy expressed and actually it was worried against. The United States had more fear of revolutionary nationalism than communism; hence narrowing the expanding Soviet influence in new areas of the world implicated it in the Cold War with the USSR. However, the most scintillating argument on this line was placed by Gar Alperovitz who in his work *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam* published in 1965 came out with a view that the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were dropped not to destroy Japan and end the War but to deter Soviet Union of the US power. In fact it was done by US to serve twin purposes: to establish it as superior military power unmatched by any power including USSR and to succeed in

shaping the world order of its choice with least resistance. Alperovitz claimed that US President Truman deliberately cultivated the hostility and onus goes to US to initiate the Cold War.[18]

3.3 The Post-Revisionist School

Third school has placed more balanced view on the beginning of the Cold War. This tradition is known as post-revisionist tradition. The main proponent of the school is John Lewis Gaddis whose illustrious account of the Cold War history *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947* has come up with view that it was domestic compulsion of US foreign policy and style of Soviet leadership which gave rise to a confrontation. Therefore, neither US nor USSR alone should be blamed for the beginning of the Cold War nor either of two should be exonerated; rather, both were equally responsible along with the inescapable post-War conditions.[19] The post-revisionist school with careful historical analyses and in the light of new evidences has observed that the desire of two powers to monopolise the post-War international order was primarily at the root of hostile engagement. Nothing less was the responsible factor than the role of leaders, who construed, conceived and carried on the foreign policy agenda of their nations through the lens they thought appropriate.

4. Causes of the Cold War

4.1 Ideological incompatibility

It was well evident even before the onset of the WW II that formidable rise of communist Soviet Union would create unease to the established great power of Europe and the United States which after WW I had cultivated close proximity with them. It must be noted that when civil war broke out in Russia in 1918, several capitalist states – the USA, Britain, France and Japan – sent troops to Russia to help the anti-communist forces.[20] This crystallised apprehension in the mind of Soviet leaders about capitalist design of eliminating communist forces elsewhere in the world. As Norman Lowe writes, Stalin got convinced against survival threat to the communist forces from the capitalist forces when USSR was attacked by Germany in 1941 and when launching the invasion of France, the Second Front, until June 1944 was deliberately delayed by the USA and Britain to reach Soviets to the point of exhaustion. In spite of the fact that the USSR was part of the Allied Powers, the decision of dropping atom bomb on Japan was not conveyed to it by the USA.[21]

This stark divide had ideological chasm. The Soviet Union emerged as vanguard of the communist ideology and the United States was frontrunner of the liberal capitalist ideology. The two ideologies were diametrically opposite insofar as the communist ideology influenced by Marxism put more emphasis on collective ownership of the resources and centrally planned economy under the command of the state. The objective was to put each one in the society equally in determining their fate (economic, political and social) by contributing utmost to their ability to the system. Therefore, collectivised life was hallmark of communism which worked wonder in Soviet society during three decades after 1918. Contrary to this, liberal capitalism laid emphasis on private ownership of resources in which each individual is master of his/her destiny and state was envisaged as mere night-watchman. Individual autonomy and laissez-faire were twin plugs of capitalist engine. Private entrepreneurship and free market mechanism are conditions through which maximisation of capital would be considered to be an outcome of such exercise. The two ideologies espoused two distinct styles of political systems, economic organisations and other systems of the society. The communist Soviet Russia followed centralised communist state while liberal-capitalist America followed liberal democracy. The Soviet Union followed closed economic system while the United States followed free-market economy. Consequently both societies had distinct societal characters. Such fundamental differences appeared to them unbridgeable as their professed ideologies were bulwark of their national lives. Confrontation on ideological incompatibility led two powers at daggers drawn causing rift between them increasingly wider.[22]

4.2 Personality Clash: Stalin versus Truman

How a nation behaves in an international setting is much determined by a leader of that nation as to which way he/she looks at the national interest and the modalities to accomplish it. The two powers joined the World War II in 1941 under two different conditions: the United States joined the War on December 7, 1941 after Pearl Harbour attack of Japan. The Soviet Union's full-fledged engagement pronounced after German violation of War-time Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact by attacking USSR in June 1941. It is argued that Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union and US entry into the War in 1941 did not work to bring them in trust; further "the two continued to harbour suspicions of each other."[23] Moreover, "the USSR suffering enormous casualties, suspected that its allies were willing to let Moscow fight the war for them, a suspicion heightened by repeated delays in the Western invasion of continental Europe before the D-Day landings in Normandy (June 6, 1944). For their part, the American and British were suspicious of Soviet political motives as

the Red Army westward after 1942. With Germany's defeat, the glue that held the alliance together disappeared."[24]

Stalin was apprehensive of Truman since beginning. Truman's hostile posture was not the post war effect but far more before Truman when FDR declared aid to USSR in 1941 vehemently opposed as Senator from Missouri, He said: "If we see Germany is winning we ought to help Russia and if Russia is winning we ought to help Germany and that way let them kill as many as possible. . . ."[25] Truman became President in 1945. The war-time bonhomie started depleting; the warmth in relation between former US President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Stalin lost its fervor and replaced by distrust. Stalin felt cheated when he came to know about Truman's ambitious "Project Manhattan", which was about producing atomic bomb, through Soviet spies before he was informed by any American authority. Interestingly when three big leaders: Truman, Stalin and Attlee (British Prime Minister after Churchill) met at Potsdam in July 1946, the Soviet leader was not informed about atom bomb. Suddenly when it was dropped on Japan in August 1946, Molotov articulated the Soviet view and said that the bombs that were exploded on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were not aimed at Japan but rather at the Soviet Union.[26] On the other hand Stalin emboldened by German defeat indulged in expanding zone of communism with interference in Eastern Europe. Stalin's mental frame vis-à-vis capitalist world led by the USA was mirrored in his action and speech both. It is argued that "Stalin frightened the West further by a widely reported speech in February 1946 in which he said that communism and capitalism could never live peacefully together, and the future wars were inevitable until the final victory of communism was achieved."[27]

Did you know:

The Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact

The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, named after Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav Molotov and German foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop, was an agreement officially entitled the Treaty of Non-aggression between Germany and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed in Moscow in the early hours of August 24, 1939, dated August 25, that renounced warfare between the two countries and pledged neutrality by either party if the other were attacked by a third party. Each signatory promised not to join any grouping of powers that was "directly or indirectly aimed at the other party." The Pact is known by a

number of different titles. These include the Nazi-Soviet Pact; Hitler-Stalin Pact; German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact and sometimes as the Nazi-Soviet Alliance. It remained in effect until Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941 in Operation Barbarossa.

Source: http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Molotov-Ribbentrop_Pact

4.3 Interwar Summits: Yalta and Potsdam in 1945

There were two inter-War summits held between leaders of great powers on the issues of post War settlement in 1945; the first took place at Yalta in February 1945 and the second one in July-August 1945 at Potsdam. However, amidst hope of cooperation between great powers, these two summits bred more schism between Soviet Union and the West (the US and Britain). The United States and Britain suspicious of thriving Soviet influence in East and Central Europe wanted to seek Soviet's acceptance over freed zone that they would promote freedom to their people and enjoy right of free election for choosing their government. This was not acceptable to the Soviet leader Stalin simply because communism entailed distinguished systemic arrangement contrary to the West, coupled with strategic rationale not to let go the region out of its hands. Nevertheless, there was no apparent divide came in open. At Yalta F.D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin attempted to agree on three major issues: (a) The division of Germany into four occupation zones dividing into American, Soviet, British and French zones and the issue of reparation; (b) modalities of the proposed United Nations Organisation; and (c) launching an attack on Japan after the end of the War in Europe.[28] There at Yalta, a spirit of cooperation worked. But this evaporated eventually as "before the surrender of the Reich, the Red Army had quickly occupied the eastern part of Germany, part of Austria and all of Central Europe. Stalin, aware of this territorial advantage, took the opportunity to install Communist governments in the countries liberated by the Soviets".[29] Further, "Stalin completely redrew the map of Eastern Europe. Pending the conclusion of peace treaties, the British and Americans provisionally accepted the Soviet annexations and the new borders set at the Oder-Neisse line."[30]

Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta Conference in February 1945

Source[Ω]:

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/99/The_Yalta_Conference%2C_Crimea%2C_February_1945_TR2828.jpg

To assess the success of Yalta framework when another summit sat in July 1945 at Potsdam, significant changes at domestic and international levels had already taken place. New American President Harry S. Truman after demise of Roosevelt and new Prime Minister Clement Attlee in place of Churchill in between the Summit were major developments. Meanwhile atomic test of the US in July was an astounding episode which was kept secret from the Soviet leaders. The information about the same was conveyed to the British PM by American President but the American side abstained from sharing it with Stalin. Clash of personality cult become visible now. Interestingly, when Truman requested to postpone the Potsdam meeting which was earlier scheduled to be held in June 1945 caused suspicion and was learnt by the Soviet leaders as Truman's ploy to first conduct the atomic test otherwise not informed to them. However, Soviet secret service had already reported about Project Manhattan. It is rightly argued that "at Potsdam, the three Great Powers were divided by their increasingly contradictory viewpoints. The overriding aim was no longer to unite to

defeat Nazism, but rather to prepare for the post-war era and to divide up the 'spoils'. Just a few months after the Yalta communiqué that had promised so much, deep divisions were already beginning to form between the West."[31]

4.4 Superpowers' Schism: Expansionism versus Containment

The US increasingly set itself as an unmatched power by demonstrating its superior military prowess and growing economic clout. As a sole nuclear power and stable economic force, the US was invited by rapidly weakening European powers to fill the vacuum surfacing in the international order following WW II. The post WW II American president Harry S. Truman, to guide its foreign policy agenda, divulged what is known as "Truman Doctrine" which later strengthened by his Secretary of State George C. Marshall with a plan known as "Marshall Plan" for helping war ravaged European nations for their reconstruction with certain conditionalities.[32]

The Marshall Plan was wrapped-up with USA's long term strategic, economic and political plans in Europe. It was taken by the Soviet Russia as an offensive directed against it which was attempted to be countered by a similar plan known as Molotov Plan.[33] The Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan both rested upon the premise that the emerging Eurasian giant, the USSR, had all possible knobs to alter the European politico-strategic environment hence required to be checked. The USA's perceived threat of the expansion of antithetical ideology in terms of communism and hostile political regime based on it coupled with closed economic system was looming large. Therefore, the effort of containing the expansion was sought as first-rank strategy.[34] Drawing more light on this view John Lewis Gaddis however writes as:

> "..That the gravest threat to western interests in Europe was not the prospect of Soviet military intervention, but rather the risk that hunger, poverty, and despair might cause Europeans to vote their own communists into office, who would then obediently serve Moscow's wishes; that American economic assistance would produce immediate psychological benefits and later material ones that would reverse this trend; that the Soviet Union would not itself accept such aid or allow its satellites to, thereby straining its relationship with them; and that the United States could then seize both the geopolitical and the moral initiative in the emerging Cold War."[35]

As a counter to the Truman Doctrine, the USSR also pursued a doctrine known a Zhdanov Doctrine after the name of CPSU leader and close aide of Stalin. The doctrine posited that

"the world was now divided into two irreconcilable camps: an 'imperialist and antidemocratic camp led by the United States' and an 'anti-imperialist and democratic' camp led by the USSR".[36] Further, it stated that, "the anti-imperialist bloc across the world relied on the democratic workers' movement, on Communist parties and on those involved in liberation movements in colonial countries. In 1947, the world therefore became bipolar, divided into two conflicting blocs."[37]

However, prelude to such events were diplomatic briefings of American and Soviet diplomats to their respective governments. George F. Kennan, a prominent American diplomatic staff to the USSR sent a telegram in February 1946 to Secretary of State James Byrnes stating about Soviet's international conduct. Kennan portrayed pessimistic image of the Soviet Union claiming that they were involved in aggressive design to threaten the free world. The Soviet Union's act was adversarial to the American people. In acerbic terms Kennan viewed that there was no hope to have conciliatory steps between the totalitarian USSR and democratic USA. What Kennan wrote that "the Soviet Union could not foresee "permanent peaceful coexistence" with the West. This "neurotic view of world affairs" was a manifestation of the "instinctive Russian sense of insecurity." As a result, the Soviets were deeply suspicious of all other nations and believed that their security could only be found in "patient but deadly struggle for total destruction of rival power."[38] Kennan foresaw: "The Soviets would try to expand their sphere of influence, and he pointed to Iran and Turkey as the most likely immediate trouble areas. In addition, Kennan believed the Soviets would do all they could to "weaken power and influence of Western Powers on colonial backward, or dependent peoples." Fortunately, although the Soviet Union was "impervious to logic of reason," it was "highly sensitive to logic of force." Therefore, it would back down "when strong resistance is encountered at any point." The United States and its allies, he concluded, would have to offer that resistance."[39]

On the other hand, similar kind of briefing was done by Nikolai Novikov, the Soviet ambassador to the US. The secret report was sent to the Soviet foreign Minister Molotov in September 1946 outlining "the imperialist tendencies of American monopolistic capital, which is striving for world's supremacy." As written by Mansbach and Taylor:

> Novikov argued that American policy was dangerous because US leadership had changed and the US was embarked on a course of action to achieve global dominance. The ascendance to power of President Truman, a politically unstable person but with certain conservative tendencies, and the subsequent appointment of Byrnes as Secretary of State meant a strengthening of the influence of US foreign

> policy of the most reactionary circles of the Democratic party. The United States has instituted military draft, increased defense expenditures, and based military forces around the world, actions that Novikov believed had the single purpose of using military power to achieve world domination. No longer was the United States interested in cooperating with the USSR. Instead, US policy toward other countries was directed at limiting or dislodging the influence of the Soviet Union from neighbouring countries and securing positions for the penetration of American capital into their economies.[40]

Initial diplomatic feed from both sides alleging other side a threat to very ideological foundation, political adherence, security and economic needs called for intensive policy-stand to counter it. Expanding one's influence and containing other became established norm of international politics through various doctrines and plans leading the two powers towards escalated schism.

5. The Cold War: Major Events and Different Phases

5.1 Berlin Blockade

Berlin Blockade was the first open manifestation of East-West confrontation. In-fact this was a Soviet move to constrain and impede the US, British and French affairs in their occupied sectors of Berlin, which Soviet thought them of inimical to its economic, political and security concerns. The background of this confrontation was authored after ending of the WW II. The Allied powers mutually captured parts of Germany: The USSR established its authority in the Central Germany; while in the South the US, Western and Northern parts were occupied by Britain and French occupied South-Western part of Germany. Not only that, Berlin City was divided into four zones, each controlled by the US, the USSR, Britain, and France. But interestingly the entire Berlin was situated inside Soviet zone of influence. Immediately after Potsdam Summit in August Inter-Allied Control Council was created to administer Berlin without any formal pact ensuring access to Berlin via Soviet zone. However, amidst this reality, the US and Britain attempted to restructure the economy of their zones and established the Bi-zone and introduced the Deutsche as a new currency thereby helping improve the economy. With joining of French zone of Berlin in this plan of coordination the Bi-zone became Tri-zone thereafter sharply dividing the occupation zone of Berlin into two sides. Meanwhile, the Inter-Allied Control Council was suspended. Tension sharpened. The USSR, "denouncing what it called the Anglo-American policy of acting

without consultation, the USSR reacted to this initiative on 24 June 1948 by imposing a total blockade of the Western sectors of Berlin."[41]

Airlift rescue during Berlin Blockade in 1948

Source≠: http://www.gettyimages.in/detail/news-photo/sacks-of-coal-are-loaded-onto-an-aircraft-at-the-fassberg-news-photo/152894704

"The aim of the Blockade," Norman Lowe writes, "was to force the West to withdraw from West Berlin by reducing it to starvation point."[42] Notably it caused a total cut-off of Berlin from Western reach. "Access to Berlin by road, rail and water was impossible until 12 May 1949. Food supplies and electricity were cut. The introduction of the DM in the Western sectors of Berlin was the official cause, but the Soviet Union probably wanted to capture the capitalist island in its occupation zone by making the British, French and Americans leave Berlin."[43] According to Lowe, the Western powers, convinced that a retreat would be the prelude to a Russian attack on West Germany, were determined to hold on.[44] Consequently, the Western alliance responded by "initiating a round-the-clock airlift of supplies and fuel to the 2 million embattled residents of West Berlin in one of the most storied, and tension-filled, episodes of the early Cold War.[45] The Berlin airlift exercise included "over 200,000 flights in one year, providing to the West Berliners up to 8,893 tons of necessities each day,

such as fuel and food."[46] The airlift exercise was successful and won the heart of common masses of West Berlin as they were rescued from such a hardship imposed by the USSR ultimately making realization of ushering in to another complicated trouble the Blockade was lifted on 12 May 1949.

The Berlin Blockade left following impacts:

- It sharply divided the Europe and the world into two antagonist camps, bringing major European powers closer to the US against the USSR in first open confrontation.
- The lifting of Blockade emboldened the West as it was a moral victory over the Communists which gave them ample clue to expand their influence.
- It caused the western powers to coordinate their defences by the formation of NATO.
- The division of Germany took place in German Federal Republic as West Germany and the German Democratic Republic as East Germany which continued till 1989.
- Nuclear arms race opened and parity was secured as the USSR tested its first atomic bomb in August 1949.

5.2 Korean War

Korean War was also resulted from the unfinished issue of the World War II. The War brought the Cold War beyond Europe in Asia. The background of the War rested with Japanese defeat and consequently its lost hold in Korea. Swiftly the northern part of Korean peninsula was captured by the Soviet Army and southern by the USA. Both the powers agreed to divide Korea along 38 Parallel Line to manage the Japanese surrender and withdrawal. Political interest of parties involved and security dynamics of the peninsula gradually deteriorated the possible amicable resolution of the issue as attempt of unifying the separated parts brought more complication similar to the German crisis. The UN supervised elections in the south resulted into a government of Syngman Rhee, setting up Republic of Korea (South Korea) with its centre in Seoul in August 1948. On the other hand, in September 1948 the Soviet established the communist government of Kim Il Sung in the north naming Democratic People's Republic of Korea with its centre at Pyongyang. Amid enormous anger of Koran people for imposing external decision to drive the political destiny of the country both the powers withdrew by 1949.[47]

There was another development going on in the proximate region of Korea: the struggle of communists with nationalists in China. The moral and material support of North Korean communists to Chinese communists proved to be of great help and with the creation of the People's Republic of China in 1949 emboldened the Korean communist government. The communist government of China led by Mao was suspicious of "deep insecurity owing to China's history of unequal treatment in relations with the West and the sense that reactionary forces were seeking to thwart China's ambitions. Of these reactionary forces, Mao considered the US to be the most dangerous enemy of the Chinese people and the Chinese revolution."[48] On the one hand outright support of the USSR in an altered strategic situation and on the other promise of the PRC to lend all possible help in dire need pushed obviously North Korea to play with military adventurism. The Korean People's Army breached the 38 Parallel Line and attacked ROK. The war broke between the two Koreas. The US decided to intervene into the situation. The President trapped in complex politico-security situation, "determined to support the authorities in the South….In June 1950, US air and naval forces landed on the peninsula. Sixteen countries, including the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg, were involved in the creation of an international force under US command."[49]

The situation worsened when in November 1950 the PRC launched a massive counter offensive ultimately capturing again Seoul by January 1951 shocking the US. However, by June the UN forces compelled the communists out of South Korea and secured the border. It is also believed that General MacArthur, Commander-in-Chief of the United Nations Command (UNCOM), suggested President Truman to use the atom bomb that was declined by him. Finally, when the war ended followed by a peace talk which yielded outcome after long two-years of negotiation in 1953, it was termed as exceptionally bloody war. "Nearly 5 million people died. More than half of these–about 10 percent of Korea's prewar population–were civilians. (This rate of civilian casualties was higher than World War II's and Vietnam's.) Almost 40,000 Americans died in action in Korea, and more than 100,000 were wounded."[50] Lowe rightly stated as : "The conflict brought a new dimension to the Cold War. American relations were now permanently strained with China as well as with the USSR: the familiar pattern of both sides trying to build up alliances appeared in Asia as well as in Europe."[51]

5.3 The Cuban Missile Crisis

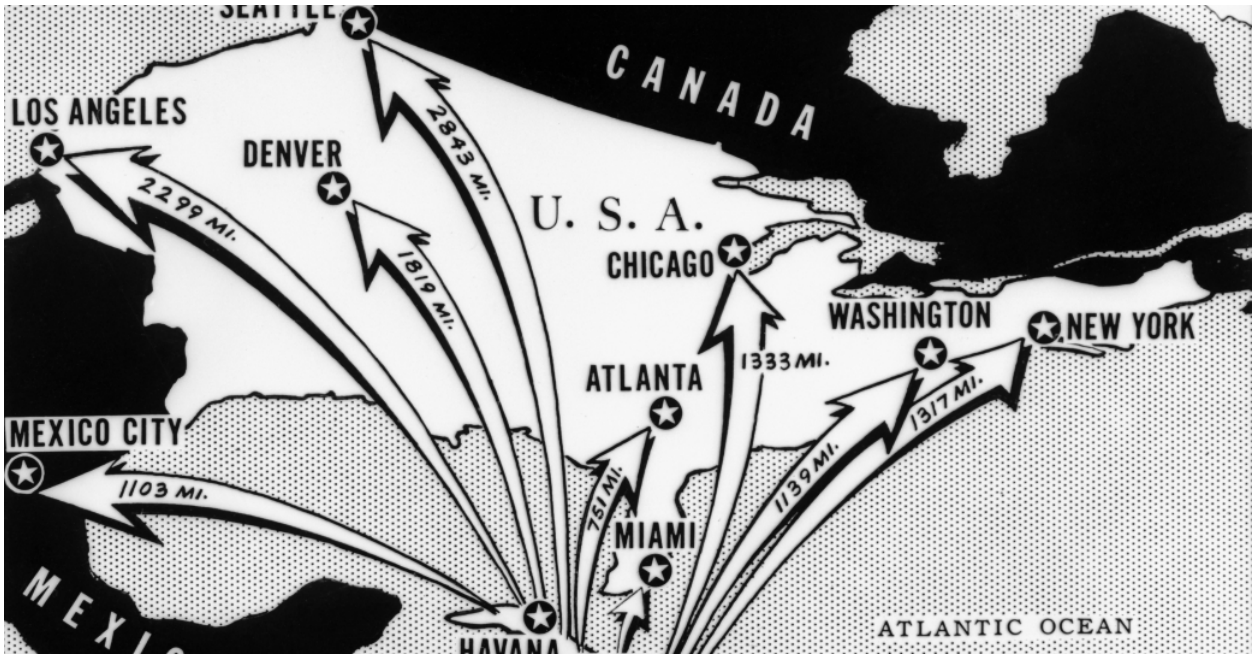
Graham Allison has quoted that "The Cuban Missile Crisis stands as a seminal event. History offers no parallel to those thirteen days of October 1962, when the USA and the Soviet Union paused at the nuclear precipice." "Never before had there been such a high probability", as Allison put forth, "that so many lives would end suddenly. Had war come, it could have meant the death of 100 million Americans and more than 100 million Russians, and millions of Europeans as well. Other catastrophes and inhumanities of history would have faded into insignificance."[52] Undoubtedly, The Cuban Missile Crisis is branded as a major crisis which the Cold War had generated. The crisis was about to take the ugliest turn in international relations insofar as the tension between the US and the USSR rose to the level of potential nuclear war. The Crisis was instigated after the US learnt in September 1962 that Soviet Union secretly installing nuclear missile in Cuba for offensive purposes. The entire Crisis of intense diplomatic engagement, military maneuvering, and political manipulation between the two superpowers ran for 13 days between October 16 and 28, 1962 eventually diffusing the catastrophic situation with Soviet leader Khrushchev's letter stating to dismantle its missile installation programme in Cuba.

The immediate cause of Soviet's this move was to salvage comrade Fidel Castro's Communist government from impending American attack. Cuba sought Soviet support, taking lesson from an invasion along Bay of Pig—CIA orchestrated and led by US-backed former Cuban dictator Batista—took place in April 1961 which was aborted by Cuban forces. Another important reason is discerned from the fact that it was a tailor-made opportunity for the USSR to strategically balance with nuclear-powered missile encirclement after deployment of US Jupiter nuclear missiles in Turkey targeting the USSR. Readily accepted by the Cuban government of its plan, the USSR installed missiles in Cuba of the range of over 2000 K.M. with target of hitting major American cities from New York and Washington to Chicago. Khrushchev himself wrote in his memoirs that "the American had surrounded our country with military bases, now they would learn that what it feels like to have enemy missiles pointing at you."[53] However, the Americans confirmed USSR's ongoing plan sending spy planes for taking photographs of the missile installation site.

Apart from these two immediate causes, there were certain other factors which compelled Khrushchev to take into consideration while arming Cuba with nuclear ICBMs. First, having known to the strategic and tactical superiority of the US in nuclear launching capability, the USSR pondered to neutralize by whatever ways possible. In comparison of the US, the Soviets had less number of ICBMs. Therefore, having launching base near USA would be of immense importance, and Castro's acceptance for allowing USSR to have it was considered as fair opportunity to compensate it.

Secondly, so for as the expansion of Communist zone of influence was concerned, after Europe and Asia American continent did see great advancement when "Castro formally declared Cuba a socialist state on May 1, 1961 and proclaimed himself a "Marxist-Leninist" in a televised speech on December 2, 1961, communist power in Cuba had been consolidated. Cuba would not only provide a base for anti-American activities in the Western Hemisphere but the island would also serve to project Moscow's influence throughout the Third World.."[54] USSR's moral and material support to Cuba was an indispensable condition to embolden Communist fraternity.

Soviet Missile Range of US Cities installed in Cuba in October 1962



Source[∞] : http://www.history.com/topics/cold-war/cuban-missile-crisis/pictures/cuban-missile-crisis

Thirdly, the Cold War tension in Europe reached to its zenith when the Berlin wall was erected in late 1961 dividing Berlin into East and West, griping the control of East Germany over its territory. Berlin Wall was christened by German Democratic Republic as *Antifaschistischer Schutzwall* (Anti-Fascist Wall) while West Germans depricated it as the Wall of Same. How Cuban missile plan of the USSR was fastened in Cold War calculus especially of German issue has been described by Kennedy himself:

> Khrushchev would use the missiles to solve the Berlin problem—on his terms. As a prelude to a confrontation over Berlin, Khrushchev's manoeuvre made sense. If the Americans did nothing, Khrushchev would force the West out of Berlin, confident that the missiles in Cuba would deter the Americans from starting a war. If the Americans tried to bargain, the terms would be a trade of Cuba and Berlin. Since Berlin was immeasurably more important than Cuba, that trade would also be a win for Khrushchev. If the Americans blockaded or attacked Cuba, Khrushchev could then use this as the excuse for an equivalent blockade or attack on Berlin. 'So that whatever we do in regard to Cuba,' Kennedy said, 'it gives him the chance to do the same with regard to Berlin.[55]

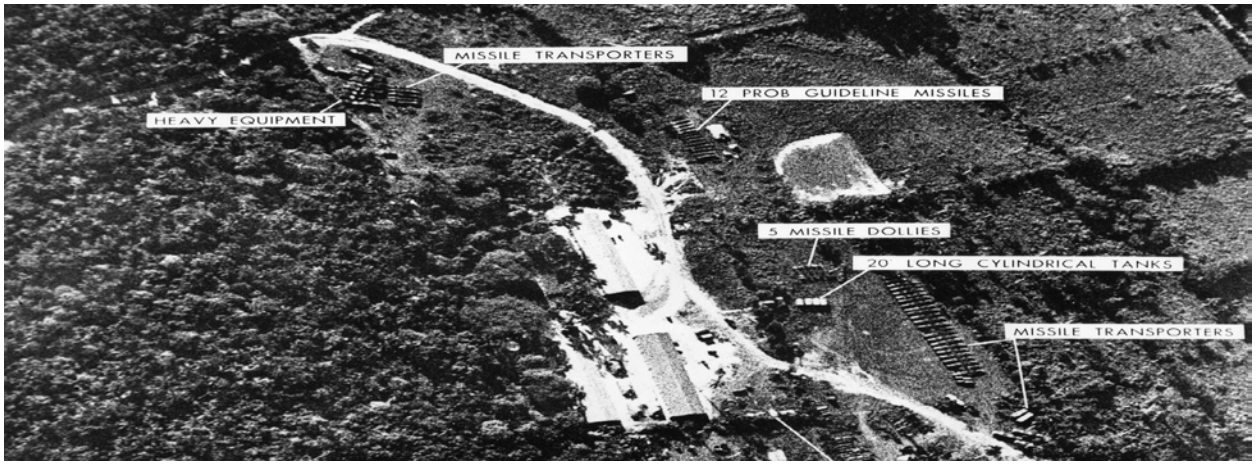
Besides, the USA was also responsible for igniting the conflict. In attempt to destabilize Castro government, the United States devised two major operations: the first one in April 1961 when CIA backed attack took place along Bay of Pig and another was a secret plan known as Operation Mongoose authorized by President Kennedy in November 1961. USA was displease to see Castro tilting towards USSR as in May 1960, Castro established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, and the United States responded by prohibiting the importation of Cuban sugar. To prevent the Cuban economy from collapsing–sugar exports to the United States comprised 80 percent of the country's total–the USSR agreed to buy the sugar.[56]

The tensed period reached to its zenith when the US spy U-2 plane on 14 October 2016 photographed Soviet missiles being installed in Cuba, President Kennedy formed a group of advisors and officials known as the executive committee, or EXCOM. For nearly the next two weeks, the president and his team wrestled with a diplomatic crisis of epic proportions, as did their counterparts in the Soviet Union.[57] President Kennedy and his EXCOM advised brainstormed for hours and hours and "came up with a variety of options, including a bombing attack on the missile sites and a full-scale invasion of Cuba. But Kennedy ultimately decided on a more measured approach. First, he would employ the U.S. Navy to

establish a blockade, or quarantine, of the island to prevent the Soviets from delivering additional missiles and military equipment. Second, he would deliver an ultimatum that the existing missiles be removed."[58]

Through inexorable diplomatic maneuvering and political consultations the two superpowers attempted hard first to vindicate their stand on the position they had taken but later they also worked for breaking the deadlock. "During the crisis, the Americans and Soviets had exchanged letters and other communications, and on October 26, Khrushchev sent a message to Kennedy in which he offered to remove the Cuban missiles in exchange for a promise by U.S. leaders not to invade Cuba. The following day, the Soviet leader sent a letter proposing that the USSR would dismantle its missiles in Cuba if the Americans removed their missile installations in Turkey."[59] The Crisis finally ended on 28 October 1962.

Arial View of Cuban Missile Installation



Source[n] : http://cdn.history.com/sites/2/2015/07/hith-cuban-missile-crisis.jpg

Noam Chomsky in his own analysis has written that "in 1962, war was avoided by Khrushchev's willingness to accept Kennedy's hegemonic demands. But we can hardly count on such sanity forever. It's a near miracle that nuclear war has so far been avoided. There is more reason than ever to attend to the warning of Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein, almost 60 years ago, that we must face a choice that is stark and dreadful and inescapable."[60]

5.4 Normalcy in Relations

The Cuban Missile Crisis was successfully resolved; the world heaved a sigh of relief. What Allison has rightly put forth "nuclear crises are manageable, as the Cuban Missile Crisis shows, since in situations where vital interests are at stake, leaders of both nations will think soberly about the challenge and their options and find limited actions to resolve disputes short of war."[61] A direct hot-line between Moscow and Washington was installed to take use of it in the situation of crisis.

However, US moral victory in Cuban Missile Crisis encouraged it to intervene militarily in Vietnam which later proved to be a great historic mistake. In post Crisis period, the inflexible nature of Cold War between two superpowers received a new fillip when the period was allowed to script a new strategic equation. Few developments had obvious effects. Besides deep involvement of the US in Vietnam, the Soviet Union saw split in its alliance as China fought a war over territory dispute known as Ussuri River war. The Developing counties rise was also a newer development; to maintain independence of their foreign policy and action without getting influenced by any camps these countries created a front Non-Aligned Movement. This worked like a cushion to absorb the tension-shock of the Cold War. Having infused by a successful nuclear non-proliferation pact, the world saw a positive drift in international strategic state of affairs. Such developments gave rise to détente, a phase of normalcy in relationship between the two superpowers. The phase of détente is reinforced by Europeans, especially West Germans, called *Ostpolitik.* The idea opened by chancellor of West Germany, Willy Brandt, had much impact on uneasy relations between the two divided Germany. In order to bring qualitative change in their relations, the US and USSR mutually bound in arm control treaties, for example, the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) one was signed in 1969, while SALT two in 1979. However, the phase of détente ended with beginning of New Cold War in 1979 when the USSR intervened into Afghanistan.

5.5 The Revival of the Cold War

The period of détente was replaced by a period of hostile reengagement after Afghan intervention by the USSR in 1979. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan took place at a time when Jimmy Carter was president of the United States. However, after a year Cater was replaced by Ronald Reagan in a presidential election in 1980. Moreover, Carter himself alarmed by the surprising shifts of the Soviet Russia appeared to take advantage of US' geostrategic and geopolitical mess cropped-up in forms of Vietnam War. Soviet's Afghan intervention raised international hackles. Afghanistan being a neutral country was seen by

the West as a scapegoat of Soviet imperialism as Afghanistan never openly took side of the either bloc. The intervention took place in a tangled conditions led by assassination of President Nur Muhammad Taraki in September 1979 by the then Deputy Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin. President Nur Muhammad Taraki was backed up by Soviet establishment. Soviet Union suspected that Amin was playing into hands of the CIA. Under a treaty signed in 1978 (Soviet-Afghan Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Good Neighborliness) Soviet felt obliged to take action to salvage the deteriorating condition by military intervention.[62] In such a situation the US beefed up offensive, resulting into a belligerent posture. American President Carter in a special plan decided to raise defence budget to help operations against Soviet intervention and its ramifications on international politics. Carter increased defence spending visibly up to $1200 billion for next five years which subsequently increased by the next US President Ronald Reagan to $ 1600 billion.[63]

The revival of the Cold War is marked with US offensive as "Carter imposed a grain embargo against the Soviet Union, ordered a symbolic boycott of the 1980 summer Olympics scheduled to be held in Moscow, resumed military draft registration, and pronounced a new "Carter Doctrine" that pledged "to repel any effort by an outside power to gain control over the Persian Gulf by any means necessary, including military force".[64] The relation between the US and the USSR worsened during next US President Reagan's period. Reagan's policy against Soviet Union was unbendable insofar as he expressed in a straightforward manner that he will not deal with America's conventional enemies in a conventional route with conventional means. Being vitriolic against USSR, Reagan went on to dub it an "evil empire".

According to Patrick Glynn, "Reagan and his advisors came into office rejecting the carrot and stick approach toward the Soviet Union that had been practiced by the Nixon and Carter administrations." In its place they openly "challenged the Soviets by building up American arms, by restricting American aid, and by unleashing a rhetorical and psychological attack to keep the Soviets off balance."[65] Such offensive posture increased "tensions between the two countries to the highest level in twenty years."[66] The policy finally yielded the favourable result as the "United States achieved a superior power position....[and] one unforeseen by product of this final shift in the correlation of forces was the collapse of communism and an end to the Cold War itself."[67]

5.6 The End of the Cold War

The Cold War finally ended on December 3, 1989 at Malta Summit where supreme leaders of two superpowers accepted that the hot war was over; and the Cold War was ended. American President Bush made a statement in all jubilation that the East-West divide was transformed into East-West cooperation…. "That is the future that Chairman Gorbachev and I began right here in Malta."[68] Mikhail Gorbachev in response, said: "I assured the President of the United States that I will never start a hot war against the USA."[69]

There were several prominent reasons of the end of the Cold War, but hardly anyone would have predicted that it would end in such a startling manner. The most prominent reasons of ending the Cold War were: (a) Soviet intervention in Afghanistan which attracted international criticism and alarmed USA to be cautious of other similar moves of the USSR in international arena; (b) taking advantage of USSR's aggression, the US beefed its offensive postures, increased level of defence expenditure, introduced new warfare plan such as expensive B-1 bomber programme, development of the B-2 (Stealth) bomber, deployment of the controversial MX (Missile Experimental) and the sophisticated Trident submarine missile system, expansion of the Navy from 450 to 600 ships, and disbursal of considerable funds to the CIA to support an enhanced covert arm[70]; (c) mounting internal crises of Soviet society in terms of narrowing economic resources due to heavy resource allocation for meeting defence requirements and also growing internal socio-political upheavals; (d) rising protests in European countries against making Europe a theatre of superpower rivalry; and (e) transformed role of Soviet leader Gorbachev who introduced policy of Glasnost, *Perestroika Demokratizatsiya*, and Sinatra Doctrine to restructure state policy comprehensively.

Value Addition:

Timeline of the Cold War

- On 8 February 1945 the Yalta Conference began to decide the post-World War II settlements.
- Potsdam Summit took place between 17th July, 1945 and 2nd August 1945 agreeing to divide Germany into four zones and East European fate was discussed along with legal trial of war criminals.
- On 6August 1945 first atom bomb was dropped by the US on Hiroshima,

Japan.

- On 9August 1945 second atom bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, Japan
- On 22 February 1946, George Kennan, an American diplomat in Moscow sent a Telegram, giving his detailed view on ongoing strategic and political developments within and outside Soviet Union.
- On 6 March 1946 Winston Churchill delivered his famous Iron Curtain speech at Fulton, the US.
- On 12 March 1947 American President Truman announced Truman Doctrine.
- Famous Marshall Plan was opened on June5, 1947. However, it was brought into effect on 3rd April 1947.
- Infamous Berlin Blockade took place on 24 June 1948.
- On 15 August 1947 a vibrant developing nation attained its independence from British colonial power.
- On April 4, 1949 The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was founded.
- Berlin Blockade ended on May 11, 1949.
- On October 1, 1949 Mao Zedong declared establishment of the People's Republic of China.
- North Korea's invasion on South Korea took place on 25 June 1950.
- The UK tested successfully its atomic bomb on 2 October 1952 and became third country to have atom bomb.
- Korean War ended on July 27 1953.
- South East Asian Treaty Organisation (SEATO) was established on 8 September 1954
- Warsaw Pact was established by the USSR with Communist states on 14 May 1955.
- Egyptian President Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal on 26 July 1956. In October Suez Crisis erupted with joint attack of Britain, France and Israel on Egypt.
- On 16 February 1960 France tested successfully it atom bomb.
- Bay of Pig CIA designed invasion of Cuba took place on 17 April 1961.
- The infamous Berlin Wall was started erecting on August 13, 1961.
- Cuban Missile Crisis started on 16 October which lasted for thirteen days till 28 October 1962.
- Partial Test Ban Treaty was signed on August 5, 1963.
- On October 16, 1964 China tested its first atom bomb.

- In March 1965 Vietnam War started.
- On 15 August 1965 Pakistan attacked India.
- On 5 June 1967 Arab Israel war started.
- On July 1, 1968 the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) is opened for signature.
- People's Republic of China was declared legitimate representative of China on 25 October 1971 by the UN.
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks signed on May 26, 1972.
- Vietnam War ended with the Paris Peace Accord signed on 27 January 1973
- On February 17, 1979 China attacked Vietnam as revenge for latter invasion of Cambodia.
- With Soviet attack on Afghanistan on 24 December 1979 the New Cold War commenced.
- American President Ronald Reagan in his most vitriolic address on March 8, 1983 equated Soviet Union as "Evil Empire".
- Exercise Able Archer which started on 2 November 1983 bringing two superpowers in almost a situation of heightened tension.
- On December 7, 1988 Mikhail Gorbachev pronounced not to intervene in the internal political affairs of East European states from the podium of UNGA.
- At Malta Summit on 3 December 1989 virtually a formal declaration of ending Cold War was acceded by the two superpowers.
- On 3 October 1990 the Berlin Wall was fell down and Germany was reunified.
- Formally the Soviet Union was disintegrated on 26 December 1991.

6. Summary

The Cold War was an inimitable phenomenon in the international politics as there were no war but the world remained under dense cloud of war like situation. In the history of human civilisation, societies would have fought hundreds of thousands of war, and immediately before beginning of the Cold War the world underwent a horrific six-year long phase of world war. However, the Cold War appeared to be brought on the brink of hot war on several occasions such as Berlin Blockade in 1948, Korean crisis between 1950 and 1953, Cuban Misile crisis in 1962, Arab Israel war 1967 and Exercise *Able Archer* in 1983. The ideological divide, strategic discord, difference in professed political objectives and

diametrically opposite economic models were established traits of the two camps led by two superpowers the US and the USSR. Apparently there was heavy friction as far as relations between the countries of two different blocs are concerned; developing countries almost gave away their autonomy of foreign policy dealings under geostrategic and geopolitical constraints; their own organisation NAM failed to yield substantial outcome. Intermittent superpower or their allies' embroilment finally met an end with the Fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989. The Cold War ended with an emergence of New World Order. Spectre of inter-state conflicts was replaced by intra-state and trans-national conflicts. Emergence of new power centres has given rise to the prediction that the twenty-first century power politics will be centred around Asian powers like China and India. Recently, Russian campaign against ISIS in Syria and sharp reactions against its *modus operandi* from major powers has reminded of revival of a Cold War sort of tension.

Value Addition:

Let us know what we have learnt so far through Multiple Choice Questions:

Tick (√) the correct answer:

(i) The Able Archer exercise in 1983 refers to :

(a) A tension caused by Egypt against Israel

(b) An US military exercise in Europe causing a tension with the USSR

(c) A music concert thrown in Able Archer

(d) A football match practice held in Able Archer

(ii) Cuban Missile Crisis ended with:

(a) Declaration of Khrushchev of dismantling missile installation in Cuba

(b) Unification of Germany

(c) The beginning of EU (d) The end of European hostility

(iii) Detente brought forth a phase of calm down in the hostile relationship between two powers which were:

(a) UK and France (b) Israel and Palestine

(c) US and USSR (d) India and Pakistan

(iv) Who propounded and employed the idea of *Glasnost* and *Perestroika* in USSR?

(a) Lenin (b) Gorbachev

(c) Brezhnev (d) Yeltsin

(v) Inter-Allied Control Council was created in 1945 to administer Berlin without any formal pact ensuring access to Berlin via:

(a) American Zone (b) British Zone

(c) French Zone (d) Soviet Zone

Answer: (i)-(b); (ii)-(a); (iii)-(c); (iv)-(b); (v)-(d)

7. Essay Type Questions

1. What were the responsible factors of the beginning of the Cold War?
2. Describe in detail the theoretical view points of the origin of the Cold War.
3. Discuss elaborately the consequences of the Cold War.
4. Write a short essay on the Cuban Missile Crisis. Assess the role of diplomacy in diffusing the Crisis.
5. What were main causes of the end of the Cold War?

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