



Reasons for Cold War Success in Europe and Failure in Asia

- Communists were armed minorities, whose striggs were pulled by Stalin in Greece and Berlin
- Limited force was sufficient there
- Pragmatism not ideology guided it

- Assumptions behind
 Assumptions were false
 - containment were true After 1950, communists were not minorities or puppets in Korea or Vietnam
 - Limited force was insufficent, unlimited force was self-defeating
 - Ideology distorted Reality

Containment and its **European Prodigies**

- 1947: Greece and the Truman Doctrine
- 1948: Marshall Plan
- 1948-1949: Berlin Airlift
- 1949: NATO
- · Truman's Reward: Accusations of 'Softness' on the Communists

Early Cold War Reverses in Europe

- 1948: Czechoslovakian Coup
- 1949: China Goes Red: "Who Lost China?"
- 1949: USSR Explodes A-Bomb
- Alger Hiss-Whittaker Chambers Case and HUAC, 1948-1949
- · North Korean Invasion of South Korea: June,
- · Sensational Accusations of Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wisconsin)

World War II's Impact on the Cold War Mind From Hitler to Stalin, a perceived

- question of totalitarianism
- A Military Balance between the US Nuclear Monopoly and the Red Army's Supremacy Sets the Stage for an Unmovable Status Quo
- The Result: No Possibility of Either Compromise or Substantive Change in the Status Quo
- An Assumption of the Permanence of the Cold War Sets In

Domestic Casualties of the Cold War

- Segregation, Anti-Semitism and Ignorance of the Problems of the "Third World"
- Civil Liberties: The McCarran Internal Security Act (1951) and McCarthy Witch-Hunting
- Immigration Reform: The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act (1951)
- Cultural Pluralism: The Homogenization of America as America Moves to "Levittown"

McCarthy's America, 1950-1953

- A Conspiracy So Immense
- Legislative Effects
- Eisenhower in Retreat
- The Corruption of American Politics -- the campaigns of George Sanders against Claude Pepper and Richard Nixon against Helen G. Douglas
- Army-McCarthy Hearings -- the emergence of television

The "Duck and Cover" Mentality

- Congenial to 1950s Assumptions of American Moral and Military Superiority
- The Basic Thrust: The End of the US Nuclear Monopoly and the "Godless" Totalitarianism of the USSR make Nuclear War a Probability
- It can be survived, but even if not, "Better Dead than Red"
- The Impact on Policy: An An Arms Buildup and an Arms Race Becomes a Rational Strategy

Images of "Duck and Cover"

Click for 1950s Cartoon, "Duck and Cover

The Cuban Missile Crisis Turning Point, 1962

- The Closest the World Has Come to the Brink
- Both Sides were Shocked and Vowed to Pull Back from the Brink
- The Test Ban Treaty of 1963 marked the start
- Cooperation through 1975 was limited to the area of Arms Control
- SALT-I (1972): The reduction in arms increases (not a reduction in existing weapons) reinforced the view that a nuclear standoff was manageable but semipermanent
- Nixon's Foreign Policy Shatters the Containment Consensus

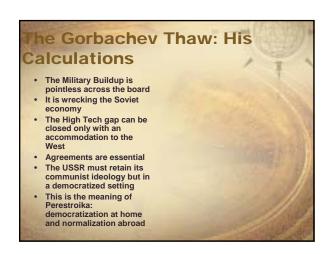
Other Seeds in the Sixties of the Cold War's Thaw

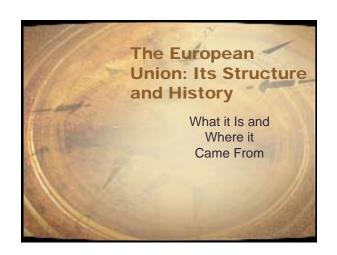
- The Sino-Soviet Split becomes permanent and public, 1960-1965
- The quagmire and localized nature of Vietnam becomes more apparent, 1965-1968
- The Space Race Comes to an End (1969)
- The Nixon administration (1969-1974) perceives a simultaneous opening to China and Russia as a way to break the logjam in Vietnam

Strides Toward Détente: The Early Seventies • Détente: Peaceful Coexistence of Regimes Publicly Recognized as Permanent • The China Opening (1972) • SALT-I (1972) • NASA-Soyuz Cooperation



Back to the Future: The Cold War Seems to Worsen, 19761984 • Afghanistan, 1979 • Miracle on Ice, 1980 • Reagan's "Evil Empire," 1983 • A Paralysis of Soviet Political Leadership, 1981-1984









Most 10's are Intergovernmental Organizations

- Examples: NATO, UN, OAS
- They do not cede one iota of national sovereignty
- Nothing is agreed to unless each nation agrees with the others

Steps Toward Supranationalism

- Definition: an evolutionary process in which member states lose their right to veto acts of the IO and the IO becomes autonomous, above the state and coercive of internal policies of the member state
- The EU has gone farther in this direction than any other IO in history -- but it is still not there

US History: A Model for the European Union?

- The Articles of Confederation Resemble the Treaty of Rome (1957)
- Problems With the Articles Force a Reassessment (1777-1787)
- The Constitution Strengthens Supranational Powers without eliminating State Rights
- Tensions Between the Hamiltonian (Industrial) states and the Jeffersonian (Rural) states

The US History Model (Continued)

- The War of 1812 and Northern Sectionalism
- The Battle over Slavery and Southern Sectionalism, 1815-1850
- The Civil War Ends the Debate in Blood
- And This in a Country with a Common Language, History and Culture, Unlike Europe

What the US has that the EU Lacks

- A common history that unites rather than repels
- a common culture and language (relatively speaking) that unites rather than repels
- a single military establishment, a single political leadership, a single currency, a single citizenship, a united front in foreign policy -- the European states are nowhere near as weak in relation to the EU as the American states are in relation to the U.S. Government



Obstacles to Union, 1945-1960

- Postwar Bitterness between the winners and losers or World War II
- French and British Memories of Prewar Greatness (the desire to reestablish imperial power and the continued tug of nationalism)
- European Economic Devastation
- The Shift in the Balance of Power from Europe to the United States and USSR

Memories of World War II's outcome was fresh Europe was "a charnal house" as Churchill said, a place from which little positive was expected Germany seemed hopelessly divided On the Other Hand, these Problems spurred a search for something new

Prance after 1945 DeGaulle was a corrosive influence on the road to Union France was determined to recapture imperial greatness in Algeria and Vietnam France's wartime role only rubbed salt in her wounds

Pritain after 1945 Under Churchill, Britain wanted to keep the empire a place where the sun never set Britain's finances did not match her imperial ambitions The Greek crisis of 1947 symbolized her eclipse, but Britons ignored it

Factors Facilitating Union, 1945-1960 European Economic Devastation The Shift in the Balance of Power from Europe to the United States and USSR The desire to keep the Iron Curtain from spreading Westward The coming to power In European countries of leftwing politicians, willing to jettison laissez-faire in favor of State planning The Example of the Marshall Plan (1948) Watershed Events Symbolizing the Futility of Imperialism and Nations "Going Their Own Way" Monnet's "Functional" Approach

