MODERN HISTORY

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SECTION A: THE COLD WAR — 2

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THE COLD WAR

- What were the causes of the Cold War?
- How did Cold War ideology contribute to increased tensions and conflict?
- What were the consequences of the Cold War on nations and peoples?
- What caused the end of the Cold War?
- How did the social, political, economic and cultural conditions influence and change the post-Cold War world?[1]

1945 — **24 OCTOBER 1945**
United Nations is founded

500%
INCREASE IN NASA'S BUDGET BETWEEN 1961 AND 1964

5 million
TV SETS SOLD EACH YEAR DURING THE 1950s IN THE US

272,000
NUMBER OF FLIGHTS MADE INTO WEST BERLIN DURING THE BERLIN BLOCKADE

'There probably was never any real possibility that the post-1945 relationship could be anything but hostility verging on conflict. … Traditions, belief systems … all combined to stimulate antagonism, and almost no factor operated in either country to hold it back.'

HISTORIAN ERNEST MAY

'From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent.'

WINSTON CHURCHILL, MARCH 1946

[1] Extract from the VCE Modern History Study Design (2022–2026) © VCAA, reproduced by permission.

40 million tonnes
THE AMOUNT OF GRAIN THE USSR HAD TO IMPORT IN THE 1980s TO FEED ITS OWN CITIZENS

A SOVIET R-12 MISSILE DURING A MILITARY PARADE IN MOSCOW IN THE 1960S.

AMERICAN TROOPS PROTECT THE US EMBASSY FROM VIET CONG ATTACK DURING THE TET OFFENSIVE IN FEBRUARY 1968.

SOME OF THE SOVIET EQUIPMENT SENT TO CUBA IN THE LEAD UP TO THE MISSILE CRISIS

24 R-12 MISSILES
24 R-14 MISSILES
42 IL-28 BOMBERS
144 SA-2 ANTI-AIRCRAFT MISSILES
10,000 TROOPS
2 BATTALIONS OF T-55 TANKS

'You have a row of dominos set up; you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is that it will go over very quickly.'

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, 1954

'We are eyeball to eyeball and the other fellow just blinked.'

US SECRETARY OF STATE DEAN RUSK

THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL ON 9 NOVEMBER 1989

'Mr Gorbachev, open this gate. Mr Gorbachev, tear down this wall!'

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN, JUNE 1987

COLD WAR TENSIONS

'Let us not be deceived: we are today in the midst of a cold war.'

HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE, JOURNALIST, 1947

The term 'Cold War', used to describe the relations that existed between the US and USSR in the second half of the twentieth century, was first used in the mid-1940s. British writer George Orwell employed the phrase only two months after atomic bombs were dropped on Japan, but the term was chiefly popularised by American journalist Walter Lippmann's 1947 book *The Cold War*.

The word 'cold' accurately describes the atmosphere that developed between the US and the Soviet Union after the 1945 post-war negotiations over Europe. Unlike a 'hot war', which involves direct action in the form of battle, the two nations competed with each other on the world stage economically, socially, technologically and politically to prove the superiority of their own ideology and way of life. What it really meant for society was a heightened sense of fear and division, as the looming threat of nuclear holocaust jeopardised the quest for peace.

SIGNIFICANT EVENTS

1948 — **24 JUNE** — The Berlin Blockade begins

1949 — **4 APRIL** — NATO is established

1950 — **9 FEBRUARY** — Senator Joseph McCarthy denounces communists in the US

1955 — **14 MAY** — The Warsaw Pact is established

1957 — **5 OCTOBER** — The USSR launches *Sputnik 1* into space

Source 2.01
Berliners watch a US aircraft coming in to land at Tempelhof Airport, Berlin, 1948.

KEY QUESTIONS

- Why did Berlin become the focal point of the Cold War?
- What were the significant features of the tensions brought about by the Cold War?
- How did the Soviet Union and the US demonstrate and exert their power?
- How did this rivalry affect the everyday lives of ordinary people around the world?
- How are the events of the early Cold War interpreted by historians?

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

JOSEPH McCARTHY
Senator from Wisconsin (1947–1957)
Accused many US officials of being communists
Lost support after the televised hearings on suspected Communists in the US Army

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER
Head of Allied ground forces in Europe during the late stages of World War II
President of the United States (1953–1960)

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV
Replaced Stalin as the leader of the USSR by 1956
Condemned Stalin's rule in a secret speech to the CPSU

HISTORICAL INQUIRY

The Cold War, which lasted from approximately 1945–1989, was an intense period of competition, rivalry and brinkmanship between the two superpowers that emerged from the ashes of World War II. However, in their quest for superiority, both the US and the USSR ruined the lives of many of their own civilians. As you read this chapter, ask the following questions.

2.01 *How* and *why* did the USSR and US compete for dominance during the Cold War?

2.02 What detrimental effects did the ideological struggle have on the lives of ordinary people?

BERLIN BLOCKADE

PRESIDENT TRUMAN: 'The Berlin *Blockade* was a move to test our ability and our will to resist.'

blockade
To isolate a place by surrounding it with military forces.

Cominform
Short for 'Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties', Cominform was set up by the Soviet Union in 1947 to draw together the various communist parties of Eastern Europe. Activities were coordinated and information exchanged.

In late 1947, following the establishment of *Cominform*, Soviet politician Andrey Zhdanov suggested that two clear camps had formed in Europe. Cominform—which aimed to consolidate all communist parties under Soviet direction—was a direct response to the US Marshall Plan that was aiding Western Europe. With both camps now providing their own forms of assistance, Germany became the key location for this competitive rivalry to play out. In West Germany, which comprised three zones controlled by the Allied Powers, the US, British and French began rebuilding infrastructure and industries, as well as ensuring that democratic governments were established. Economically they founded a central bank for all Western zones of Germany, instigating a currency reform from 20 June 1948 called the mark. This currency reform was to combat the black market and remove price controls. This provoked similar changes in the Soviet-occupied zone of Germany. The Soviets also introduced a currency with the belief that it would be used across all of East Germany, including Berlin. However, upon discovery of the distribution of the mark in West Berlin, the Soviets felt that the West was trying to undermine their efforts to build a socialist society. Their reaction was sudden and dramatic, marking the first major event of the Cold War.

Did you know? In 1835, French traveller and writer Alexis de Tocqueville wrote the following prophetic insight about the US and USSR in his book *Democracy in America*: 'Their starting point is different, and their courses are not the same, yet each seems marked out by the will of heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.'

Fearing that Germany would become strong again and threaten the Soviet Union, on 24 June 1948 Stalin ordered the blockage of all roads, trainlines and canals between East and West Germany. He hoped to seize control of West Berlin, which was isolated within the Soviet zone of East Germany. While interruptions and restrictions to cargo travel had been occurring since April 1948, the Soviets had now also severed all connections between the Soviet zone of Berlin and the Western zones. They stopped supplying food to the population living in non-Soviet zones of the city, and cut off the electricity supplies to Berlin, using their own generating plants in the Soviet zone. The Soviets rejected all legal claims to the use of supply routes from West Germany into West Berlin, arguing that no agreement was ever formalised and that the Soviet Union

had demonstrated goodwill by allowing access for the past three years. As a result, people living in West Berlin had thirty-six days' worth of food and forty-five days' worth of coal remaining. Historians have suggested that Soviet authorities believed Westerners would decide that maintaining a democratic presence in the heart of communist East Germany was too difficult and would simply give in.

However, knowing that the Soviet Union had 1.5 million troops surrounding Berlin, the Western zones decided to undertake an *airlift* of supplies using air corridors that had been agreed to in 1945. Such an operation would force the Soviets to either shoot down an unarmed cargo plane or back down. Over 321 days, the West made 272,000 flights into West Berlin until 12 May 1949 when the Soviets ended the blockade, reopening the borders and supply routes. For now, the fear of another European war breaking out was resolved.

airlift
When aircraft are used to transport a large number of supplies in a short amount of time.

↻ **Source 2.02** German children look on as bags of flour are unloaded from a US plane.

BERLIN AIRLIFT STATISTICS

68,000 people flown out

Cost the US $350 million

Unloaded in 20–30 minutes

By 1949, a plane arrived every minute

Food supplies: 2000 tonnes daily

2300 calories per day

Coal was 65% of all tonnage

700 aircraft; 100 civilians operated

West Germany | East Germany | Allied Berlin | Soviet Berlin | East Germany
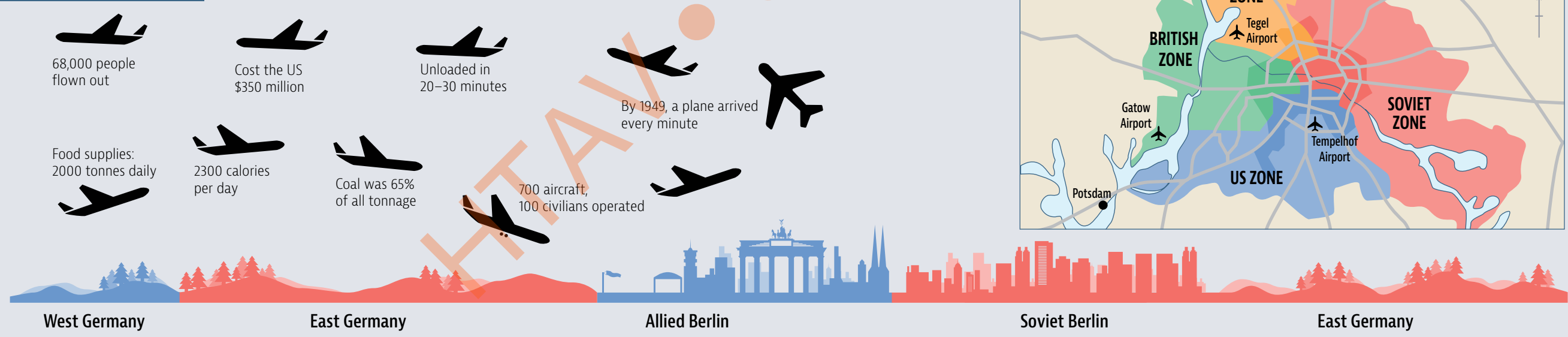
↻ **Source 2.03** Map of Berlin showing Soviet and Allied zones after World War II.

BERLIN DIVIDED AFTER WORLD WAR II
FRENCH ZONE | BRITISH ZONE | US ZONE | SOVIET ZONE
Tegel Airport | Gatow Airport | Tempelhof Airport | Potsdam
km 0 8 16

THE CHOCOLATE FLIER

On 17 July 1948, airlift pilot Gail Halvorsen met with many curious children who watched his aircraft land at Tempelhof Airport in Berlin, and then gave them chewing gum. As long as they did not fight over it, he told them he would drop off more when he next returned. One child asked how they would know if it was him flying. Halverson replied, 'I'll wiggle my wings'. The following day Halvorsen dropped chocolate bars attached to a handkerchief parachute to the children below. With the crowd of children increasing daily, mail started to appear at the operation base addressed to 'Uncle Wiggly Wings' or the 'Chocolate Flier'. Soon the gesture expanded into an operation, and as the news spread, US children also began sending their own candy to help the mission. Such publicity resulted in an estimated 150,000 Chocolate Flier parachute drops.

Source 2.04 Children in Berlin watching one of the airlift planes.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

2.03 Explain how tensions between the superpowers developed because of their actions in Germany.

2.04 Why did Stalin order the blockade of all road, rail and canal routes into West Berlin?

2.05 How did the Western powers respond to Stalin's blockade?

2.06 How long did the blockade last, and how many flights did the Western powers make into West Berlin?

2.07 Why do you think Stalin eventually ended the blockade?

2.08 How might have the activities of the Chocolate Flier assisted the Americans in their competition with the Soviet Union?

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

2.09 Outline a long-term, short-term and immediate cause of the Berlin Blockade.

2.10 Create a mind map of the consequences of this event. Try to separate the consequences into economic, social and political strands, and ensure that both Western and Eastern perspectives are considered.

ALLIANCES ESTABLISHED

LORD ISMAY (BRITISH GENERAL AND DIPLOMAT): 'Keep the Russians out, the Germans down and the Yanks in.'

The Berlin Blockade heightened the spheres of influence within Europe, and placed pressure on both the US and the Soviet Union to confirm their superpower status by creating military alliances. With the establishment of a unified military command in the *Pentagon* and the creation of the *Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)*, the US set about influencing European security. In line with Truman's containment policy, it became essential for the US to maintain its position in Berlin. Berlin was considered a listening post; it was the only access the West had to life behind the Iron Curtain, and it provided vital intelligence. Events that occurred in Berlin affected international policymaking. This was made evident when China fell to communism in 1949. The spread of communism to a country with the world's largest population was considered a huge threat to the US. If the Soviet Union shared its technology and military power with China, communism could spread throughout Asia. It was already known that China's communist leader, Mao Zedong, had prioritised military action against nations such as Taiwan, Laos, Tibet and Burma. It seemed that the Cold War was leading towards conflict on a global scale.

Source 2.05 The US and USSR duel over Berlin. Cartoon from a British newspaper, 5 April 1948.

NATO

On 4 April 1949 the founding treaty of the *North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)* was signed in Washington, DC. This alliance consisted of twelve members: the US, Canada, Great Britain, France, Denmark, Italy, Belgium, Iceland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway and Portugal. The three main purposes of the NATO alliance were to:

- deter Soviet expansionism
- prevent a revival of national militarism
- encourage political cooperation (thus, ending the US tradition of isolationism).

Did you know? The label 'Third World' originally referred to a country that was not aligned with either the US (First World) or the Soviet Union (Second World).

Pentagon
The five-sided building in Washington, DC that houses the US Department of Defense.

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
The chief spy organisation of the US.

HISTORICAL SOURCES— PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 2.05 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

2.11 Identify the two leaders represented in this image.

2.12 Identify the two features that suggest both sides are prepared to attack.

2.13 Explain why this event exemplifies the definition of a Cold War.

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)
NATO was formed in 1949 by Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the UK, Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Portugal and the US. It stated that an attack on any of these states was an attack on the group as a whole.

All members agreed on a system of collective and mutual defence. Article 5 of the Treaty outlined that an attack on any member from an external party would be considered an attack on them all, allowing for armed force to be used if necessary. In 1952, Greece and Turkey also joined NATO, followed in 1955 by West Germany.

THE DIVISION OF GERMANY

In April 1949, the French were persuaded to join the British and US zones of Berlin to form 'Trizonia'. Once it was reluctantly accepted by the occupying powers that Germany was divided and not likely to be reunited, they established the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) on 23 May 1949. Not to be outdone, the Soviets then established the German Democratic Republic (East Germany) on 7 October 1949 and handed authority over to East German officials.

WARSAW PACT

During the early 1950s, the Soviet Union attempted to reunify Germany, set up collective security treaties for the whole of Europe and even join NATO. Except for the Austrian State Treaty, which allowed the country to return to neutrality, all of these proposals were rejected by the Western powers. In direct response to the establishment of NATO, the *Warsaw Pact* was established on 14 May 1955. The main aim of the Warsaw Pact was mutual defence and cooperation among the member countries: the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania. Yugoslavia was the only communist Eastern European country that did not join, as it had already established its own defence alliance and remained relatively independent. The Warsaw Pact helped to secure the ideological beliefs and strategic positions of the Iron Curtain countries, yet the largest military operations carried out by the Warsaw Pact would be against its own members.

DEATH OF STALIN

In the late 1940s, Soviet life was constrained by Stalin's strong *nationalist* ideals. In particular, the arts became a major form of propaganda as restrictions and purges hit theatres, literature, music and cinemas. Imperialist influences were removed so that ideological messages could be spread. This movement led to the imprisonment of many talented intellectuals in the Soviet Union. In a dramatic act of anti-Semitism, in 1953 Stalin ordered the arrest of predominantly Jewish doctors whom he believed were conspiring against Soviet officials in what was known as the Doctor's Plot.

A bust of Joseph Stalin.

Ironically, soon after this order was made, Stalin suffered a massive stroke. Treatment was delayed at first because people were afraid to enter his room. After waiting an entire day, a guard finally entered Stalin's room but struggled to find a doctor because of the purge. Stalin eventually died on 5 March 1953. A week later the doctors were released from prison when the alleged conspiracy was revealed to be a fraud.

nationalist
An individual who is devoted to their country and puts its interests above those of other nations.

Warsaw Pact
Formed in 1955 by the Soviet Union and its Eastern allies, it promised mutual assistance and was the Eastern Bloc's response to the formation of NATO.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

2.14 Why was West Berlin so important to the US during the Cold War?

2.15 What was the significance of China becoming a communist country in 1949 in the broader context of the Cold War?

2.16 What was the primary aim of NATO?

2.17 What was the primary aim of the Warsaw Pact?

NEW LEADERS, BIG SPEECHES

EISENHOWER: 'America is today the strongest, most influential, and most productive nation in the world.'

The year 1953 brought about new leadership for both superpowers, with Eisenhower inaugurated as US president in January and Nikita Khrushchev emerging as the sole Soviet leader following a power struggle after Stalin's death in March. Both leaders set about establishing a new conciliatory tone to the Cold War through their policies and their speeches.

EISENHOWER

President Eisenhower wanted to build domestic economic strength rather than devote expenditure to military operations. He developed the New Look policy, which relied on relatively inexpensive nuclear weapons as the main form of security because of the pressure they placed on the Soviet Union. Through the New Look policy, Eisenhower hoped to reduce budget deficits by cutting land and naval forces and to create a situation of mutual *deterrence* for both superpowers. In his 'Chance for Peace' speech, Eisenhower highlighted the costs of rivalry for humanity. Additionally, his 'Atoms for Peace' speech was a propaganda campaign to quell the public's fears about a nuclear future, as atomic energy reactors had only recently been created. Further, Eisenhower's 'Open Skies' speech in 1955 proposed that the US and USSR exchange maps showing military bases within their nations and allow surveillance to occur to ensure that both sides were compliant with any arms agreements formed. Khrushchev rejected the idea, believing it was an *espionage* plot.

↻ Dwight Eisenhower, thirty-fourth US president.

deterrence
The idea of preventing an attack by scaring or intimidating the other side.

espionage
The practice of spying or using spies, typically undertaken by governments to obtain political and military information.

Eisenhower's speech: The Chance for Peace, 16 April 1953

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone.

It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children.

The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than 30 cities.

It is two electric power plants, each serving a town of 60,000 population.

It is two fine, fully equipped hospitals. It is some 50 miles of concrete highway.

We pay for a single fighter plane with a half million bushels of wheat.

We pay for a single destroyer with new homes that could have housed more than 8000 people.

This, I repeat, is the best way of life to be found on the road the world has been taking.

This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.

↻ **Source 2.06** '"The Chance for Peace Speech" Address Delivered before the American Society of Newspaper Editors, April 16, 1953', The Eisenhower Presidential Library, Museum and Boyhood Home, *https://www.eisenhowerlibrary.gov/sites/default/files/file/chance_for_peace.pdf*

The 1950s was a time of economic prosperity in the US. Its goods were exported to the Western world. New companies emerged providing modern technology, and household names such as IBM, General Electric, Holiday Inn, Hush Puppies, Tupperware and Pizza Hut were established. As cities grew and new suburbs formed, *consumerism* skyrocketed, with Americans buying cars, refrigerators, toasters, vacuum cleaners and stoves. There were more than five million televisions sold each year during the 1950s. With so many new appliances, domestic life in the US became an important propaganda tool to spread internationally, as it promoted the nation's high standard of living.

KHRUSHCHEV

Khrushchev's new stance brought about a change in international relations during the mid-1950s. Many people hoped that it would be the beginning of a 'thaw' in the Cold War—or even a *détente*. Khrushchev's new policies for the Soviet Union were expressed during his 'On the Cult of Personality and Its Consequences' speech ('The Secret Speech') to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party in February 1956. At this major forum in Moscow, Khrushchev's 4-hour speech condemned the policies and actions of Stalin, who had 'showed in a whole series of cases his intolerance, his brutality and his abuse of power'. While not wishing to start anti-communist uprisings, Khrushchev felt it necessary to point out the many areas in which Stalin strayed from socialist ideology. This led to the policy of *de-Stalinisation* in the Soviet Union, which aimed to improve people's standard of living and remove Stalin's legacy. The son of a peasant, Khrushchev was aware of the poverty that still burdened Russians despite the revolution. In 1958 he noted the need to produce more grain and stated, 'If after forty years of Communism, a person cannot have a glass of milk or a pair of shoes, he will not believe Communism is a good thing, whatever you tell him'.[2]

Did you know? During the Cold War, Nikita Khrushchev said to Mao Zedong, 'Berlin is the testicles of the West. Every time I want to make the West scream, I squeeze on Berlin.'

Under de-Stalinisation, Khrushchev *decentralised* the economy. This did not bring the results hoped for, as wages stagnated and expectations grew. However, the population was allowed to enjoy a little more freedom as the power of the secret police was reduced, the death penalty was abolished, and greater freedom of speech was allowed, sparking a literary renaissance. One significant change was the release of thousands of political prisoners from the *gulags*. De-Stalinisation even ensured the relocation of Stalin's body from the Red Square to the Kremlin, and statues of Stalin were removed. Apart from the domestic policy of de-Stalinisation, Khrushchev also attempted to demonstrate a theory of *peaceful coexistence* by travelling internationally and attending peace conferences such as the Geneva Summit. When visiting Britain in 1956 he stated, 'You do not like communism. We do not like capitalism. There is only one way out—peaceful coexistence.'

Source 2.07 A 1950s advertisement depicting a happy housewife with her new washing machine.

consumerism
The idea that people buy large quantities of manufactured goods for use in the home or for leisure activities; a key feature of capitalist societies.

détente
A more permanent relaxation of tension between the US and USSR that evolved after the Cuban Missile Crisis and lasted until the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

de-Stalinisation
A process of political reform within the Soviet Union that diminished Stalin's reputation after his death in 1953.

decentralise
The process of shifting political or economic control to a greater number of people who are lower in a hierarchy or power structure.

gulag
The name given to prison and labour camps in the Soviet Union.

peaceful coexistence
Khrushchev's term for the idea that the USSR and US could learn to live with each other without resorting to conflict.

⊘ **Significant individual**

DWIGHT EISENHOWER, 1890–1969

Was the thirty-fourth US president (1953–1961).

Believed in the use of nuclear weapons to deter the spread of communism around the world.

He said: 'The only way to win the next war is to prevent it.'

Said about: 'To him belongs the credit of the first American president to try to bury the Cold War.' *(Hugh Brogan, historian)*

Contributed to Cold War tensions by threatening the Soviet Union with a massive nuclear weapons build-up and supporting the French in the First Indochina War.

⊘ **Significant individual**

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, 1894–1971

Was general secretary of the CPSU (1953–1964) and leader of the Soviet Union (1956–1964).

Believed in directly challenging the US for world supremacy.

He said: 'Whether you like it or not, history is on our side. We will bury you!'

Said about: 'Khrushchev's public rhetoric made Soviet-American reconciliation difficult, if not impossible.' *(Ronald Powaski, historian)*

Contributed to Cold War tensions by ordering the construction of the Berlin Wall and establishing nuclear missile bases in Cuba which threatened the US.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

2.18 Explain the aim of President Eisenhower's 'New Look' policy.

2.19 How did he justify the 'New Look' policy in his speech on 16 April 1953?

2.20 What was the purpose of Eisenhower's 'Atoms for Peace' and 'Open Skies' speeches?

2.21 How was American prosperity in the 1950s used as a propaganda tool?

2.22 What was the main purpose of Nikita Khrushchev's 'On the Cult of Personality' speech?

2.23 What were the key features of Khrushchev's 'de-Stalinisation' policy?

2.24 How did Khrushchev improve relations with the West?

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

2.25 Assess how Eisenhower and Khrushchev influenced the dynamics of the Cold War. Structure your response in two paragraphs focusing on what they continued from the previous leadership and what they changed.

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

2.26 Historians have argued that Eisenhower's New Look policy created a dilemma with international repercussions. Discuss how the policy of increasing the number of nuclear weapons for security may have instead led to the further endangerment of society.

2.27 What changes in the USSR by 1956 were a result of Khrushchev's leadership?

COLD WAR: HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Historians debate the causes of the Cold War, raising various arguments as to who or what was responsible for its development. It is important to understand the views of historians and eyewitnesses to develop your own opinion. Some believe the Cold War was caused by the Soviet Union's aggressive expansionism, while others believe it was caused by the US's push for capitalism.

More recent historians, who have the benefit of hindsight when assessing the Cold War, prefer to look at individual events and the complicated nature of international relations from 1945–1991. Before you read the views on the following pages, think about whether you would blame one superpower more than another, or whether there was a particular event that possibly sparked this division.

INTERPRETATION: THE SOVIET UNION WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COLD WAR

CONTEXT
- This was the conventional view until the 1960s.
- Commonly held by US historians.

ARGUMENTS
- Stalin's expansionist policy was ruthless.
- The Soviet Union wanted an international revolution.
- The US had no choice but to meet the challenges posed by Soviet actions.
- Perhaps US presidents were too accepting of Soviet demands for a sphere of influence.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS FOR THIS INTERPRETATION

Winston Churchill: 'The Soviet Union has become a danger to the free world.'[3]

Herbert Feis: The Soviets 'were trying not only to extend their boundaries and their control over neighbouring states but also beginning to revert to their *revolutionary* effort throughout the world'.[4]

Arthur Schlesinger Jr: 'The Cold War could have been avoided only if the Soviet Union had not been possessed by convictions both of the infallibility of the communist word and of the inevitability of a communist world.'[5]

'The Cold War was the brave and essential response of free men to communist aggression.'[6]

revolutionary
Someone who wants to bring about total and rapid change to the political, social and economic features of a country. Sometimes violence is used to achieve this.

monopoly
Exclusive control or possession.

INTERPRETATION: THE US WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COLD WAR

CONTEXT
- This approach reached its height during the Vietnam War.

ARGUMENTS
- The Cold War was caused by the US's desperation to continually build its capitalist trade markets.
- The US was expansionist by trying to create 'dollar imperialism'.
- The US adopted atomic diplomacy due to its *monopoly* over nuclear weapons in the years following World War II.
- Stalin had created buffer states to defend the Soviet Union's national interest.
- Stalin could not risk another invasion of his country.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS FOR THIS INTERPRETATION

Joseph Stalin: 'The imperialistic powers will wring your necks like chickens.'[7]

William Appleman Williams: On the US: 'One of the most unnerving features was the extensive elitism that had become ingrained in the policy-making process.'[8]

'Even the American public came more and more … manipulated and controlled in the effort to establish and maintain the American Way as the global status quo.'[9]

'Firm conviction, even dogmatic belief, that America's domestic well-being depends upon such sustained, ever-increasing overseas economic expansion.'[10]

Walter LaFeber: 'The Cold War has dominated American life since 1945. It has cost Americans $4 trillion in defense expenditures, taken the lives of nearly 100,000 of their young men, ruined the careers of many others during the McCarthyite witch hunts. … It has not been the most satisfying chapter in American diplomatic history.'[11]

Gar Alperovitz: 'American officials calculated that using the atomic bomb would enormously bolster US diplomacy vis-à-vis the Soviet Union in negotiations over postwar Europe.'[12]

Joyce and Gabriel Kolko: The 'basic source of the world crisis was an expansive American foreign policy'.[13]

'To contain and reconstruct the world according to its own needs, the United States was prepared to destroy itself—morally, socially, and economically—in a deepening trauma whose effects began to weaken American capitalism.'[14]

INTERPRETATION: THE COLD WAR WAS A SHARED RESPONSIBILITY

CONTEXT
- This view emerged in the later years of the Cold War.

ARGUMENTS
- There was mutual self-interest, misperception, suspicion and reaction.
- Not who was to blame but what was to blame (e.g. the mentality of the leaders).
- Tension arose due to each superpower's determination to uphold its national security, which influenced policymaking.
- The superpowers misperceived each other's ideology and way of life.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS FOR THIS INTERPRETATION

John Lewis Gaddis: 'Both the United States and the Soviet Union had been born in revolution. Both embraced ideologies with global aspirations: what worked at home, their leaders assumed, would also do so for the rest of the world.'[15]

Melvyn P. Leffler: 'It was not so much the actions of the Kremlin as it was fears about socioeconomic dislocation, revolutionary *nationalism* … and Eurasian vacuums of power that triggered US initiatives to mold an international system to comport [conform] with its concept of security.'[16]

Ernest May: 'There probably was never any real possibility that the post-1945 relationship could be anything but hostility verging on conflict. … Traditions, belief systems … all combined to stimulate antagonism, and almost no factor operated in either country to hold it back.'[17]

nationalism
Pride in belonging to one's country.

INTERPRETATION: THE GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE COLD WAR

CONTEXT
- This view was developed within the field of political science.
- It emerged after the end of the Cold War.

ARGUMENTS
- A power conflict between two *geopolitically* dominant nations wanting to secure more land.
- Competition over practical capabilities rather than ideologies.
- Focus on international relations, economic power and agreements between superpowers.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS FOR THIS INTERPRETATION

Kenneth Waltz: 'So long as the world was bipolar … the [US] and the Soviet Union held each other in check.'[18]

Marc Trachtenberg: 'The crux of this problem lay in Soviet fears of German power set against an American need for a remilitarized Germany to assist in Western security.'

'It seems that both sides' leaders were more "power politics" oriented than originally perceived. Ideology did not provide an overly tight constraint on their freedom of action.'[19]

geopolitical
Concerned with politics and the way geographical features of a country or region influences its power, policies and relationships with other countries.

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Read the interpretations of the causes of the Cold War and answer the following questions.

2.28 Despite placing the blame on different countries, what similarities exist between the arguments for each interpretation?

2.29 What is overlooked or omitted in each interpretation?

2.30 Which views do you believe most strongly relate to the reasons for creating alliances such as NATO and the Warsaw Pact?

2.31 Which historical interpretation do you find most convincing? Support your response with reference to evidence.

2.32 Explain why interpretations that have arisen since the end of the Cold War may provide more useful and reliable arguments.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES:
FOCUS ON RELIABILITY AND USEFULNESS

Historians and students of the past rely on primary sources. Without them we cannot know anything about what happened before our own time. They offer a crucial insight into the perspectives of those who lived in the time period we are studying. Primary sources come in many forms (documents, architecture, cartoons, newspapers, diaries, etc.), and historians use them to construct narratives and arguments about the past. However, before a historian decides to use a primary source, they must determine the **reliability** and **usefulness** of a source.

Reliability

One of the first questions a historian must ask about a primary source is 'how reliable is it?' It is important to determine how **truthful** an account of the past is, but how do we best do that? French historian Marc Bloch wrote, 'A document is a witness, and like most witnesses it rarely speaks until one begins to question it.'[20] To assess the reliability of a source, historians must ask particular questions of it:

- » What is the source? This could be a letter, a law, a speech, etc.
- » When was it produced? Was it close to the event to which it refers?
- » Who produced the source? Provide a name, age, gender, class, nationality, organisation, etc.
- » For whom was it produced?
- » Why was it produced? What was the intention of the author, their argument or opinion?

It is very important to read the captions accompanying a source, as these will help you to answer at least some of these questions. While no source is ever completely reliable or unreliable, if these questions can be answered then the historian should have a good idea about the degree of reliability of a source.

As with a witness, evidence from documents should be corroborated. This means that it should be compared with other primary and secondary sources about the past to see if there is broad agreement about the event or person being discussed. Of course, these corroborating sources also need to be checked for reliability.

Usefulness

Once the extent of a source's reliability has been established, a historian can then think about its usefulness. This will depend on whether or not the source is reliable, and the questions about the past that the historian is asking.

Even if a source is identified as biased government propaganda that distorts the truth about the past, it still has usefulness to a historian who might want to study the nature of Soviet or American propaganda during the Cold War. Hence, even one-sided propaganda is useful in this regard. Conversely, a thoroughly reliable first-person account of the Yalta Conference, for example, might not be useful to a historian who wants to know about the impact of World War II on the lives of ordinary Europeans.

Overall, historians must carefully sift through the sources they discover in the course of their inquiry so that they can create a detailed, truthful and relevant argument about the key events and people of the past.

A range of views

Sometimes we assume that everyone who lived at a particular time held the same opinion on important events. Of course, this is not the case. People in the present do not all agree, and neither did people in the past. They could hold very different views and perceive historical events in completely different ways. As students of History, then, it is always important to understand the notion of complexity and nuance. Things are never as simple as they seem.

For example, during the Cold War, some in the West recognised the reasons for Stalin's establishment of buffer states in Eastern Europe, particularly given the death and destruction suffered by Russia during World War II. US Vice-President Henry A. Wallace (1941–1945) tried to see the world through Russian eyes. 'How would it look to us,' he asked, 'if Russia had the atomic bomb and we did not?'[21] Conversely, others saw Stalin's expansion as irrefutable proof that communism was spreading and would soon take over every country in the world. American diplomat George Kennan argued that the USSR had 'learned only to seek security only in patient but deadly struggle for total destruction of rival power'.[22]

Therefore, the contrasting views of Wallace and Kennan remind us that just because two people are in the same place at the same time, we should never assume they held the same opinion. We need to read and analyse historical sources carefully, and be open to the idea that a range of different views can be held by people living in the same era.

HISTORICAL SOURCES: RELIABILITY AND USEFULNESS

Using Source 2.08 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

➔ **Source 2.08** A political cartoon by Leslie Illingworth that appeared in Britain's *Daily Mail* on 16 June 1947.

2.33 What is the source?

2.34 When was it produced?

2.35 Who produced the source? (You might need to conduct background reading and research on this.)

2.36 For whom was it produced?

2.37 Why was it produced?

2.38 Compare this source to what else is known about the origins of the Cold War. Use three other sources (primary and/or secondary, visual and/or written) that must also be analysed for their reliability. You could use some of the historians' views on the previous pages. Copy and complete the following table to help you corroborate the source.

QUESTIONS	SOURCE 1	SOURCE 2	SOURCE 3
What is the source?			
When was it produced?			
Who produced the source?			
For whom was it produced?			
Why was it produced?			
Does it agree or disagree with the opinion expressed in Source 2.08?			

2.39 Make an overall assessment on the reliability of the document in Source 2.08. Do you think it presents a truthful assessment of the causes of the Cold War? Explain your answer with reference to other sources on this topic.

2.40 Would a historian who is interested in creating an accurate account of the origins of the Cold War find Source 2.08 useful? Explain your answer.

2.41 If you answered 'No' to Question 2.40, write down a historical inquiry question for which Source 2.08 *would* be considered useful. With a partner, discuss the difference between your new inquiry question and Question 2.40.
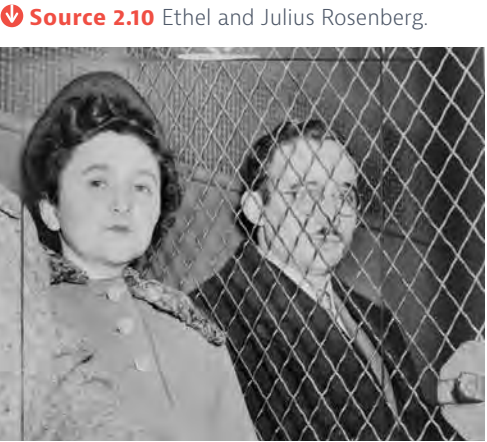
Source 2.09 *Is This Tomorrow: Australia under Communism* was a comic published in Melbourne around 1949. The opening scene shows Parliament House in Canberra with hammer and sickle flags. In the comic, the Communist Party plans to 'engineer a total crisis'.

Source 2.10 Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

THE RED SCARE

As the Cold War developed during the 1940s and 1950s, anti-communist hysteria spread throughout the US and other Western nations. Many people who expressed compassionate views towards underprivileged people, or who argued for *civil liberties*, were accused of being communists. Conservative politicians such as Senator Joseph McCarthy found that there were votes in creating a communist scare. Newspapers, film, television and advertising all tapped into the fear of communism and heightened the hysteria. This campaign, known as the 'Red Scare', also led to many arbitrary legal processes. People in the literary and artistic fields, as well as many Hollywood actors and directors, were accused on the flimsiest evidence of having 'red' (communist) sympathies. Doubt was even expressed about the loyalties of actress Katharine Hepburn because she wore a red dress to the Oscars. The Red Scare raised awareness of the possibilities of spies on home soil, and led to catch phrases such as 'Reds under the bed'.

J. Edgar Hoover was the first director of the *Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)* when it was established in 1935. He remained in that position until his death in 1972. He was able to gather enormous amounts of information; only after his death did his abuse of power become known. Collecting secret files on political leaders, harassing dissenters and illegally gathering evidence meant that Hoover was so powerful that even US presidents were intimidated, allowing him to continue as director well past retirement age. In 1947, President Truman signed Executive Order 9835, which established the Federal Employee Loyalty Program. This order authorised the FBI to identify any communist sympathisers working for the government, and led to the investigation of approximately three million federal government employees. Of these people, 300 were dismissed as security risks. While no one was accused of spying, many employees were considered communist sympathisers (referred to as 'pinkies' or 'fellow travellers').

Did you know? To spy on communist activity, the CIA launched an operation codenamed Acoustic Kitty. This involved implanting cats with bugging devices so they could eavesdrop on Soviet conversations. The US$15 million mission ended after a cat was run over.

The Loyalty Program soon spread to other institutions such as schools, and whole organisations could be considered *subversive*. By 1948, almost eighty organisations were viewed as suspicious and many migrants were deported, even if they had become US citizens. This era in the US became known as 'the purges'. Individuals who admitted their guilt and begged forgiveness were still required to implicate others who were thought to be communists. People suspected of sharing secrets with the Soviet Union paid the ultimate price. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed for espionage in 1951. They were accused of leading a *spy ring* that passed secrets about the atomic bomb to the USSR. While there was much debate over the penalty chosen, President Eisenhower refused to give clemency, stating, 'I can only say that, by immeasurably increasing the chances of atomic war, the Rosenbergs may have condemned to death tens of

millions of innocent people all over the world. The execution of two human beings is a grave matter. But even graver is the thought of the millions of dead whose deaths may be directly attributable to what these spies have done.'[23]

UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

The *House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)* was established in 1938 as a temporary committee to investigate anyone undertaking un-American or subversive actions. HUAC became a permanent committee in 1945, and focused on suspected communists. It had the power to subpoena citizens and hear their testimony before Congress. People suspected of assisting communists were deliberately intimidated, and any dramatic revelations from them were used to arouse public hysteria. People who refused to answer questions about their political beliefs were considered subversives, especially if they justified their silence by referring to their *constitutional rights*. Refusal to answer questions could lead to prison or *blacklisting*. Blacklisting meant that suspects would lose their jobs and be prevented from gaining alternative employment within their industry. In some instances, the tactics used by HUAC became a *witch-hunt* against a specific group of people, ruining their reputations.

The most prominent example of a HUAC witch-hunt was the 'Hollywood Ten' in October 1947. HUAC believed there were many communists in the film industry, so it pressured the major studios to blacklist anyone suspected of communist activity. The Hollywood Ten was a group of writers and directors who refused to cooperate with investigations, pleading the rights of the US Constitution to every question asked. They were each subsequently held in contempt, sentenced to prison for one year and ordered to pay a US$1000 fine. All appeals were unsuccessful. Due to the fear and the focus on communists within Hollywood, some blacklisted writers kept writing under false names. One blacklisted writer even won an Academy Award, but did not collect it. The film industry blacklist continued to grow throughout the 1950s as more careers were damaged. It did not end until the 1960s. HUAC contributed greatly to the atmosphere of mistrust within the US during this time.

Source 2.11 Hollywood actors protest against HUAC.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND INQUIRY

2.42 Espionage undertaken during the Cold War is still classified information in many cases. Despite this, a few key organisations, individuals and projects provide insights into the tactics used on both sides. Your mission, should you wish to accept it, is to choose a topic from the list below to research. Each person will then create a top-secret pamphlet summarising their topic, and work in small 'spy rings' that swap their pamphlets with each other to ensure they are gathering intelligence.

Possible research topics:

- Alger Hiss
- Oleg Penkovsky
- CIA and FBI
- The Petrov Affair
- *The McCarran Internal Security Act 1950*

- Ursula Kuczynski
- Cambridge Five
- Rudolf Abel
- Venona project
- Peter and Helen Kroger
- Theodore Hall

- MI5
- George Blake
- Operation Gold
- KGB
- Klaus Fuchs
- GRU.

MCCARTHYISM

Joseph McCarthy became a prominent figure in US politics during the 1950s, when he took advantage of the Red Scare. Elected to the US Senate in 1946, McCarthy came to public attention on 9 February 1950 when he announced that 'card carrying communists' had infiltrated the government. Such allegations were supposedly supported by evidence from Hoover's FBI loyalty searches, but were never actually substantiated.

McCarthy attacked both President Roosevelt and President Truman for being soft on communism, and led a smear campaign against General George C. Marshall, who had established the Marshall Plan to prevent the spread of communism in Europe. In 1953, McCarthy became chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations. This was a committee that normally dealt with waste and corruption in government. However, as chair of the committee, McCarthy decided to focus on subversion instead, especially communism. McCarthy promoted the use of HUAC and led investigations with the intention of bullying and terrifying others, often targeting high profile figures both within and beyond government. His actions against creative expression were exemplified by the removal of thousands of books from libraries, pressuring universities to fire more than one hundred lecturers and encouraging the blacklisting of 324 Hollywood personalities.

↑ Source 2.12 Senator Joseph McCarthy.

Did you know? In the 1946 election to the US Senate, McCarthy campaigned for one of two seats in the Senate for the state of Wisconsin. McCarthy campaigned under the slogan, 'Congress needs a tail-gunner'. This was a reference to McCarthy's nickname during World War II—'Tail-gunner Joe'. McCarthy served in the Pacific during the war, and flew twelve missions as an observer/gunner in a dive-bomber.

However, McCarthy's provocative accusations—especially his claims about disloyalty in the US military—ultimately led to his political demise during 1954. Many newspapers expressed their concerns about McCarthy's unsubstantiated claims. A television journalist, Ed Murrow, exposed the investigations undertaken by the US Air Force into its own servicemen. On 9 March 1954 Murrow broadcast an episode of his show, *See It Now*, that allowed the public to see McCarthy's underhanded tactics for the first time—and allowed McCarthy to condemn himself with his own words. The US Army then accused McCarthy of trying to get favourable treatment for a soldier who had been his aide. This led to a three-month televised hearing known as the Army–McCarthy hearings. These hearings used the same trial techniques that McCarthy had used on people he accused of being communists. McCarthy's support from the public—and even from his own party—evaporated, and it was the end of his life as a major public figure. He died three years later.

McCarthy's legacy lives on in the word 'McCarthyism', which means publicly accusing someone of being subversive or disloyal without substantial evidence.
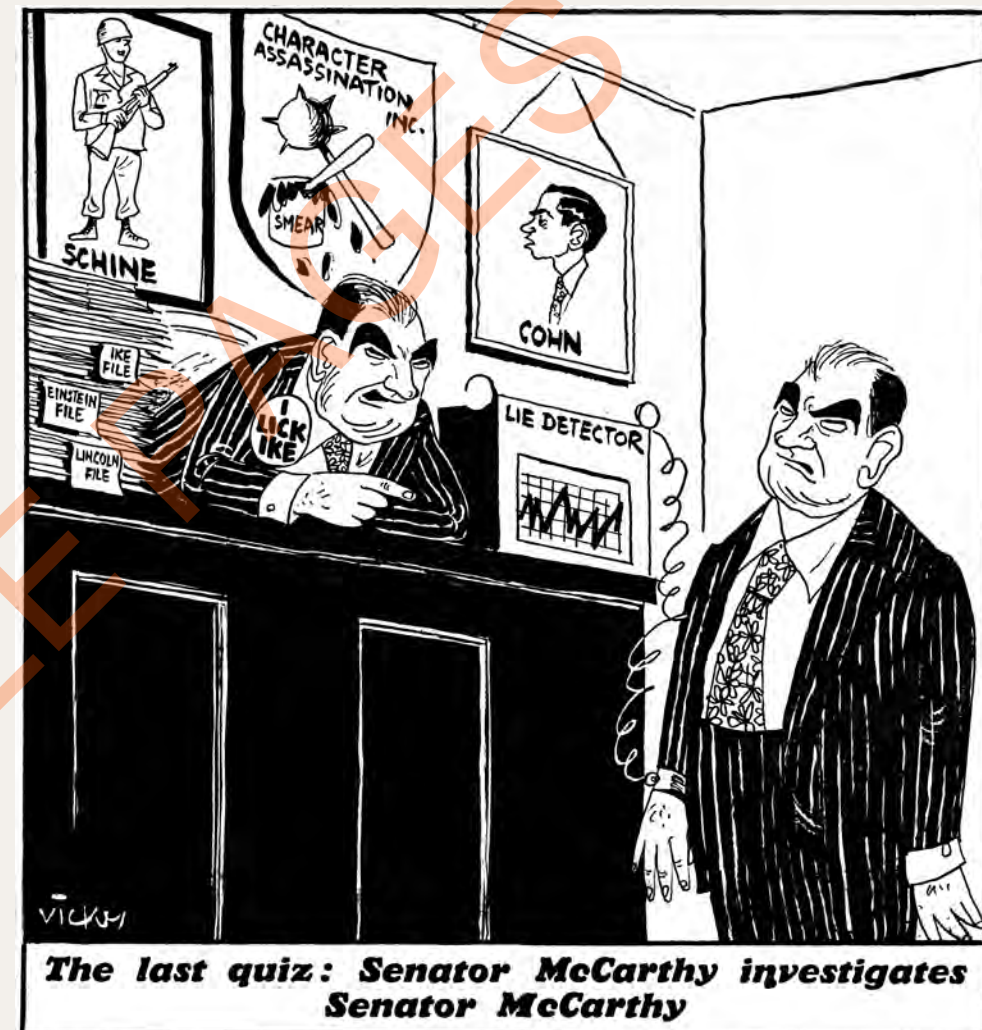
← Source 2.13
'The Last Quiz: Senator McCarthy Investigates Senator McCarthy', by Vicky. Published in the *Daily Mirror,* 16 March 1954.

Did you know? The campaign badge the seated McCarthy is wearing reads 'I Lick Ike'. This is a play on the 'I Like Ike' phrase used in Eisenhower's 1952 presidential campaign. In this instance, 'lick' means to defeat or beat.
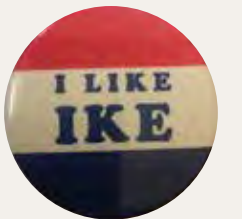
HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 2.13 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

2.43 Identify two items depicted in the image that refer to the tactics McCarthy used.

2.44 Describe how McCarthy has been depicted in this cartoon. Why would the cartoonist draw him this way?

2.45 List the targets of McCarthy's accusations. Conduct your own research into who these people were and why McCarthy targeted them.

2.46 Evaluate the extent to which this cartoon is an accurate depiction of the effect that McCarthyism had on the lives of American people during the 1950s and 1960s. Use evidence to support your answer.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

2.47 What were some of the causes and consequences of the 'Red Scare' in the US?

2.48 What effect did the Federal Employee Loyalty Program have on the lives of the American people?

2.49 Why were Julius and Ethel Rosenberg executed?

2.50 What was the purpose of HUAC? What effect did this have on the Hollywood film industry?

2.51 What brought Senator Joseph McCarthy to American national attention in 1950? What effect did he have on the HUAC proceedings?

2.52 What eventually brought McCarthy's political career to an end?

ARMS RACE

BERTRAND RUSSELL: 'To spread ruin, misery and death throughout one's own country as well as that of the enemy is the act of madmen.'

After the impact of the atomic bomb in Japan was assessed—especially its ability to end a war within a week—it became apparent to both the US and the USSR that atomic bombs would significantly alter the nature of warfare. America's monopoly of atomic weaponry ended in August 1949 when the Soviet Union detonated its first nuclear bomb. The 1950s marked the beginning of an *arms race* as both sides competed to create more powerful bombs. This race led to the creation of the hydrogen bomb, which was 1000 times more powerful than the atomic bomb. Instead of a fission reaction that splits the atom's nucleus, nuclear fusion causes the subatomic particles to join together, which generates an enormous amount of energy.

The arms race reached new heights in 1954 when the US secretary of state, John Dulles, announced a policy of 'massive retaliation' should the Soviet Union launch an attack. Both superpowers spent billions of dollars producing nuclear weapons that could destroy all of humanity. However, once both sides had nuclear weapons, they would both be destroyed if one attacked and the other retaliated. This theory became known as *mutual assured destruction (MAD)*, and it prevented the outbreak of nuclear war. By the late 1950s it was realised that such bombs had no strategic military value and that a better delivery system was required instead of a plane that could easily be shot down. This led to the development of *intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs)*, which required satellites to direct their path as they left the atmosphere and then returned. By 1960, both sides had bombers armed with nuclear weapons patrolling the Earth and missile bases placed in strategic locations. Dulles called this *brinkmanship*. The US had short-range missiles situated throughout Western Europe and Turkey that could strike the Soviet Union within minutes. These were backed up with US-based long-range missiles that could reach the USSR in 30 minutes.
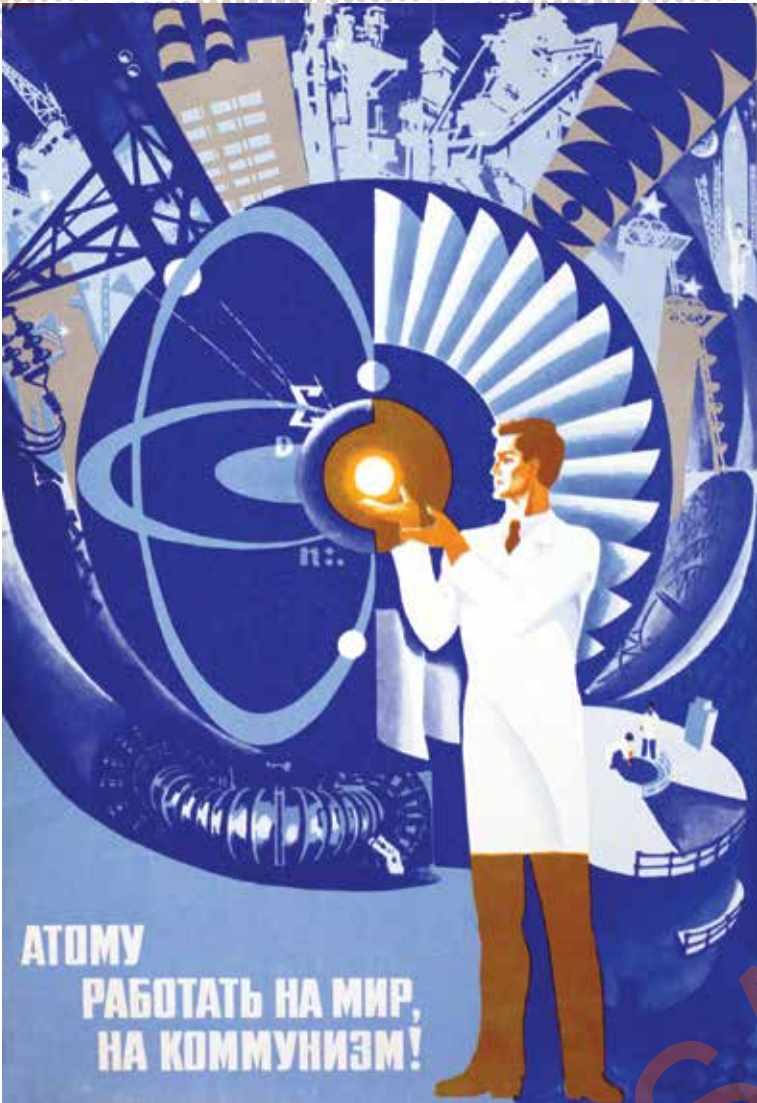
Source 2.14 A Soviet poster celebrating putting the atom to work for peace and communism.

arms race
When two or more countries increase their armed forces to gain military and diplomatic advantage.

mutual assured destruction (MAD)
Understanding that using or retaliating with atomic or nuclear bombs will cause the complete annihilation of both the attacker and defender.

intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM)
Missiles with a nuclear warhead that can be fired at targets on the other side of the globe.

brinkmanship
Pushing a competitor to the brink of war, without actually precipitating war, to make them back down and offer concessions.

Source 2.15 Map showing missile launch capabilities in Europe, c. 1955.

TIMELINE OF ARMS RACE DEVELOPMENTS

22 KILOTONS

29 AUGUST 1949 — The Soviet Union tests its first atomic bomb, called 'First Lightning' or 'Joe-1', with a yield of 22 kilotons of TNT.

23 SEPTEMBER 1949 — President Truman announces the explosion of the first Soviet atomic bomb.

OCTOBER 1949 — US government approves a program to expand production of uranium and plutonium.

1949

31 JANUARY 1950 — President Truman announces his decision to develop the hydrogen bomb.

1950

41 KILOTONS

24 SEPTEMBER 1951 — Soviet Union tests a plutonium bomb called 'Joe-2' with a yield of 38 kilotons. Weeks later 'Joe-3', which yielded 41 kilotons of TNT, is airdropped and detonates 400 metres above the ground.

1951

11 MEGATONS

3 OCTOBER 1952 — UK conducts its first nuclear tests in Australia.

1 NOVEMBER 1952 — US tests the first hydrogen bomb, 'Ivy Mike', at Enewetak in the Pacific. It vapourises everything within 5 kilometres, including the island. It has the strength of 11 megatons of TNT. The mushroom cloud rises 33 kilometres in 2 minutes. Ninety minutes after the explosion, four jets fly into the cloud to do radioactive testing only to fall victim to the thermonuclear energy. The area is not safely decontaminated until 1980.

1952

400 KILOTONS

AUGUST 1953 — Soviet Union announces its possession of a hydrogen bomb that is tested days later, yielding 400 kilotons.

1953

14.8 MEGATONS

40 KILOTONS

1 MARCH 1954 — The US tests the 'Bravo' hydrogen bomb at Bikini Atoll in the Pacific. Miscalculating the fusion reaction, it was predicted to yield 5 megatons of TNT but actually yields 14.8 megatons. The mushroom cloud is 40 kilometres in diameter.

14 SEPTEMBER 1954 — The Soviet Union conducts the Totskoye military exercise, dropping a 40-kiloton atomic bomb and then ordering 44,000 Soviet troops to march around the epicentre of the blast area. Local civilians are not warned.

1954

1.6 MEGATONS

10 MAY 1955 — The Soviet Union unexpectedly accepts a UN proposal for nuclear disarmament.

22 NOVEMBER 1955 — The Soviet Union tests a hydrogen bomb that yields 1.6 megatons.

1955

MARCH 1956 — The US opposes a UN proposal for nuclear disarmament, stating that atomic weapons are a 'powerful deterrent to war'.

1956

30 OCTOBER 1961 — The Soviet Union detonates the most powerful nuclear bomb ever exploded, nicknamed the 'Tsar Bomba'. Although capable of yielding 100 megatons, it was reduced to 50 megatons. Theoretically, the heat produced by the blast would give third-degree burns within 100 kilometres of the epicentre.

50 MEGATONS

1961

0	10,000	20,000	30,000	40,000	50,000

KILOTONS

Note: Bomb measurements have been left in US tons (907 kg) rather than converted to tonnes (1000 kg) so that their comparative sizes are easier to understand.

During the 1960s, an international peace *movement* challenged the use of nuclear arms. In response, the two superpowers began to negotiate disarmament. In 1963, a *Partial Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty* agreed to in Moscow banned the detonation of all bombs in the atmosphere or in the ocean. This meant that all future tests were to occur underground (although both China and France have since conducted above-ground tests in spite of this treaty). In 1968, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty to limit the spread of nuclear weapons was signed by the US, the Soviet Union and the UK. It was ratified by a further forty-seven countries two years later. Additional discussions took place in 1969 at the *Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT)*, which aimed to reduce the development of nuclear weapons.

DUCK AND COVER

While Americans were experiencing prosperity in the 1950s, they were also experiencing an extreme sense of anxiety over the prospect of a nuclear war. In response, the US government reassured the population that they could survive a nuclear explosion. A pamphlet called 'Facts about Fallout' played down any concerns about radioactivity, suggesting that it would all be gone within a few days. This propaganda led to many families building underground fallout shelters in their backyards. Architectural designs included cubes, domes, cylinders and pods made from steel, concrete, wood or fibreglass. Millions of dollars were dedicated to such shelters, with 200,000 built by 1965. Prices were in the range US$100–5000, with investors predicting the business to gross US$20 billion. In Las Vegas, wealth could even buy you a fallout shelter with a putting green, swimming pool, kitchen and formal dining room, and bathtubs. Washington, DC opened its first fallout shelter in 1962; three years later it had 1000 of them spread over every corner of the city. Shelters in government buildings could provide for 36,000 people. In one fallout shelter, 20 tonnes of wheat crackers were stored for food. Today, the fallout shelter signs in the capital are preserved as monuments of this frightening time in US history.

movement
Any organisation or group of people who are pushing for change in a particular area.

Partial Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty
An agreement signed by the US and USSR in 1963 that restricted the testing of nuclear weapons.

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks/Treaty (SALT)
A series of formal agreements and corresponding treaties between the US and the Soviet Union to limit arms build-ups and curb the arms race.

Did you know? It is believed that the Soviet Union thought that the routinely heavy traffic outside a building in the centre courtyard of the Pentagon was a top-secret meeting room or bunker, so it always had at least two missiles pointing at it during the Cold War. It turned out it was a hot dog stand.

Did you know? During the 1960s the US continuously flew B-52 bombers carrying nuclear bombs around the world in case of an attack by the Soviet Union. Five of these planes crashed and two resulted in nuclear contamination, one over a village on the southern coast of Spain and the other near the coast of Greenland.

⤵ Source 2.16 A pamphlet detailing the facts about fallout.
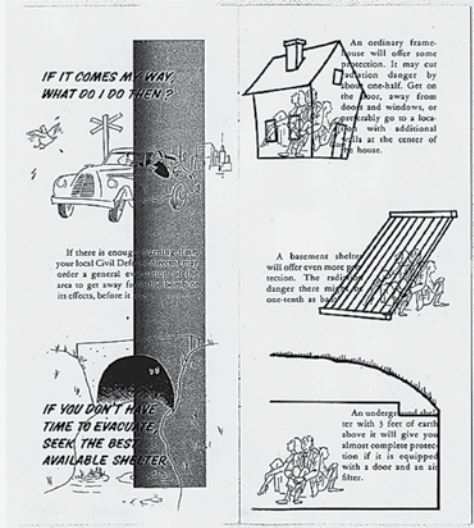
Another form of nuclear war propaganda took place within schools. Teachers were encouraged to perform air-raid drills where students were expected to hide beneath their desks, clutching their heads. In some cases, schools even distributed dog tags to help identify children after an attack. From this, the government developed an educational film called *Duck and Cover* (1952) in which an animated turtle named Bert would duck his head into his shell whenever a monkey set off a firecracker nearby. A convoy toured the film across the US in 1952 to spread the message through posters and a film theatre, reaching more than one million people. However, it was its distribution into schools and to television stations that increased its audience to tens of millions. Hollywood also took advantage of the arms race, producing nuclear war doomsday films such as *On the Beach* (1959), *The Last Man on Earth* (1964), *The Day the World Ended* (1955), *The Atomic Kid* (1954), and *Dr Strangelove* (1964). The documentary film *The Atomic Cafe* (1982) is a satire of life during the 1950s that emphasises the extensive propaganda used to keep the US population optimistic about surviving possible nuclear warfare.

↥ Source 2.17
Fallout shelter with provisions, c. 1957.

➔ Source 2.18
The *Fallout Shelter Handbook*.

Geoffrey Roberts analyses the secrecy of the arms race

After Stalin died there were many more Soviet nuclear tests, thousands of atomic bombs were produced, and Moscow was never shy of publicising and boasting of the USSR's technological achievements in this sphere. Curiously, Moscow remained silent about the first test, which took the world by surprise and should have been a cause for celebration in the USSR. In the West, the expectation had been that it would take the Soviets many years to develop a bomb, notwithstanding their success in stealing Western atomic secrets. The news of the Soviet test was, in fact, broken to the world by Truman on 23 September [1949]. The next day the Soviet news agency Tass issued a statement claiming that the USSR had possessed the bomb since 1947 and that the recent explosion was connected to 'large-scale blasting' necessary for infrastructural building works such as mines, canals, roads and hydroelectric power stations. Such coyness may have reflected the Soviet obsession with secrecy or it may have been calculated to avoid provoking the Americans too much. It may also have been connected to Vyshinskii's [Soviet foreign minister, 1949–1953] imminent address to the UN about Soviet proposals for disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear weapons, and the control of atomic energy. Indeed, on 23 November 1949 Vyshinskii claimed at the UN that, in contrast to the aggressive US nuclear tests, those of the Soviet Union were peaceful because they were being used to level mountains and move rivers—a claim described by one incredulous American author as 'one of the most nonsensical statements ever perpetrated on an international organisation'.

↥ Source 2.19 Geoffrey Roberts, *Stalin's Wars: From World War to Cold War 1939–1953* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).
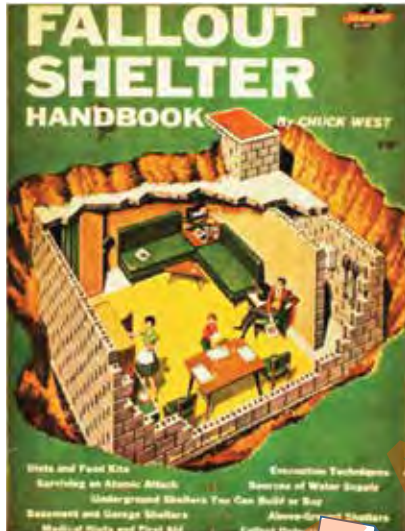
HISTORICAL SOURCES— INTERPRETATIONS

Using Source 2.19 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

2.53 Explain why it was surprising that Moscow downplayed, and even denied, the detonation of the Soviet Union's first atomic bomb.

2.54 What reasons are given for the Soviet Union's 'coyness' (or secrecy) about this matter?

2.55 How does Vyshinskii contrast US testing of nuclear weapons and testing carried out by the Soviet Union?

2.56 Explain how the superpowers used the UN to advance their own world view and national interests during the Cold War.

2.57 Evaluate the significance of the test of nuclear weapons and a factor that contributed to the deteriorating relations between the US and USSR after World War II. Use evidence to support your response.

SPACE RACE

JOHN F. KENNEDY, 1962: 'We choose to go to the Moon in this decade and do the other things, not because they are easy, but because they are hard.'

Another showcase of power to emerge alongside the arms race was the 'space race'. Once again, the USSR and the US sought to prove their technological might and superiority as they explored outer space. The Soviet Union took the lead when it launched the first satellite into orbit on 5 October 1957. *Sputnik 1* was launched using an ICBM. Its launch surprised the US, which saw space as the next frontier that it would be first to explore. As the Soviet Union continued to break new records, such as the first animal and the first man in space, the US acted with urgency to launch its own satellite, *Explorer 1*, in 1958, and create the *National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)*. Concerns over the Soviet Union's ability to gather intelligence and send ICBMs into US airspace led Eisenhower to create other space programs, such as the National Reconnaissance Office, which was a classified mission that used satellites to collect intelligence about the Soviet Union and its allies.

The competition between the two powers intensified on 25 May 1961 when the new US president, John F. Kennedy, pledged to land a man on the Moon by the end of the 1960s. To move things along, Kennedy even suggested a joint program between the USSR and US. This was rejected by Khrushchev, who believed that the US was trying to steal Russian space technology. From 1961 to 1964, NASA's budget increased almost 500 per cent, and 400,000 employees were required. Although spacecraft did not need to have astronauts aboard, it seemed that the world was in need of an international hero. Soviet propaganda launched tourism campaigns based on its own ability to send people to outer space, and the media maintained the hype around a possible Moon landing. Eight years after President Kennedy's statement, on 21 July 1969, the US reached its goal when Neil Armstrong walked on the Moon. Using an Australian tracking station and telescope, the first images of Neil Armstrong on the Moon were broadcast to 600 million people on Earth, who heard the famous line, 'That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind'. In line with the competitive rivalry between the USSR and the US, the astronauts planted a US flag on the Moon's surface; they also spoke to the White House, signalling that the US had won the race. Over the next three years, the US would continue a series of Apollo missions to the Moon before it was ended due to funding cuts. The Soviet Union made four failed attempts to land on the Moon. By 1975 the space race was over. A joint mission that year between the two superpowers, called the Apollo–Soyuz Test Project, witnessed a 'handshake in space' between the two commanders. This action symbolised an improvement in relations during the Cold War era.

Did you know? During the Cold War, the US developed a top-secret plan to detonate a nuclear bomb on the Moon to demonstrate its military strength. It also used bears to test the ejector seats in supersonic jets in the 1960s.
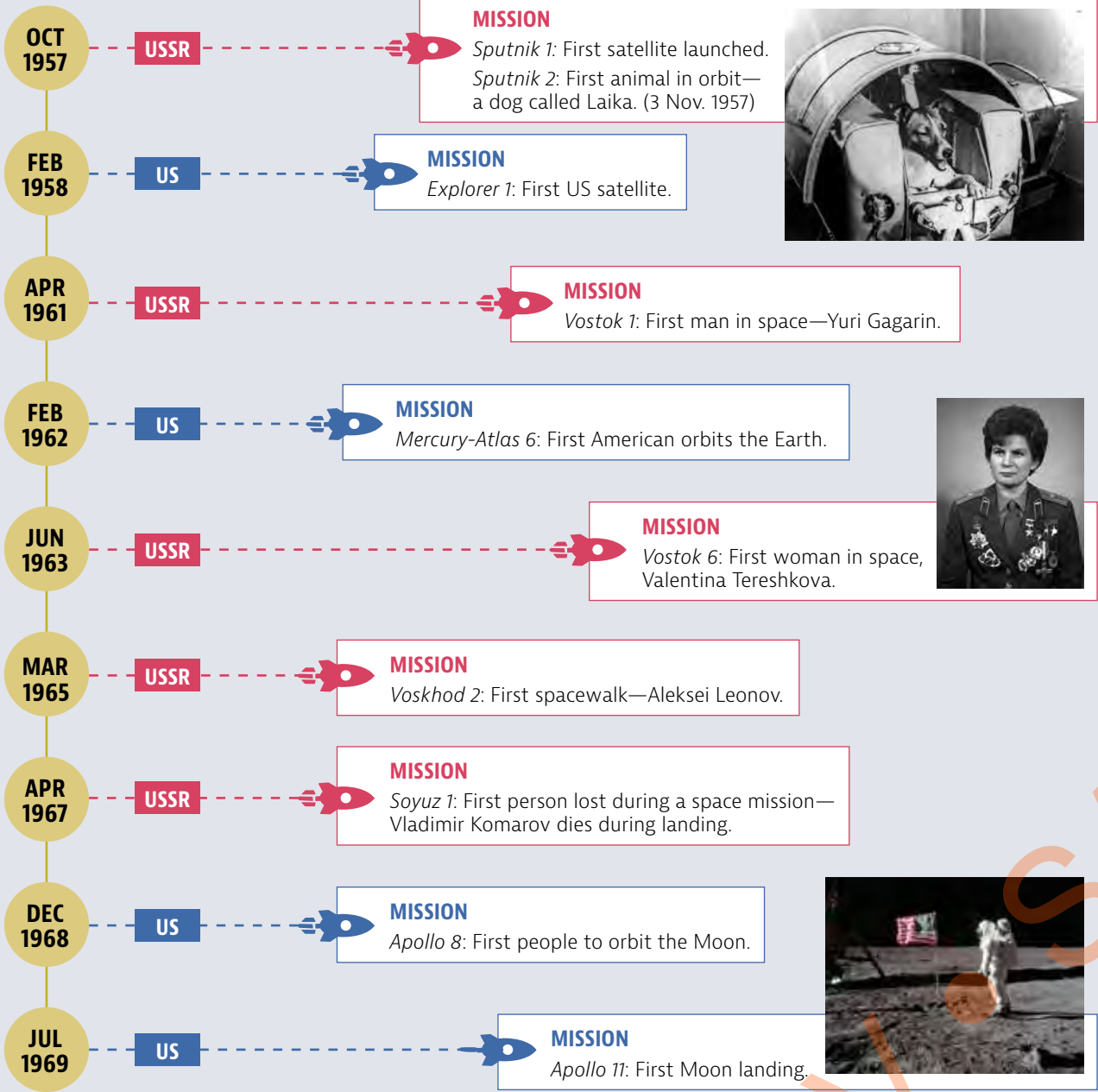
National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)
The US agency responsible for space exploration.

⟳ Source 2.20 Soviet poster from 1963. 'Soviet man you can be proud, you opened the road to stars from Earth.'

TIMELINE OF SPACE RACE DEVELOPMENTS

OCT 1957 — **USSR**

MISSION
Sputnik 1: First satellite launched.
Sputnik 2: First animal in orbit—a dog called Laika. (3 Nov. 1957)

FEB 1958 — **US**

MISSION
Explorer 1: First US satellite.

APR 1961 — **USSR**

MISSION
Vostok 1: First man in space—Yuri Gagarin.

FEB 1962 — **US**

MISSION
Mercury-Atlas 6: First American orbits the Earth.

JUN 1963 — **USSR**

MISSION
Vostok 6: First woman in space, Valentina Tereshkova.

MAR 1965 — **USSR**

MISSION
Voskhod 2: First spacewalk—Aleksei Leonov.

APR 1967 — **USSR**

MISSION
Soyuz 1: First person lost during a space mission—Vladimir Komarov dies during landing.

DEC 1968 — **US**

MISSION
Apollo 8: First people to orbit the Moon.

JUL 1969 — **US**

MISSION
Apollo 11: First Moon landing.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH AND INQUIRY

2.58 In pairs, research the impact of the space race on both the USSR and the US. Create four inquiry questions that explore varying factors such as social, economic, political, cultural and technological.

For example, to what extent has knowledge gained from the space race been applied to products and applications that have helped modern life (e.g. anti-icing technology used on the wings of aircraft)?

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

2.59 When did America's monopoly of atomic weapons end?

2.60 Explain the notion of 'mutual assured destruction' and how, in theory, it prevented nuclear war.

2.61 Who started the space race, and when did it begin?

2.62 How did developments in the space race assist the arms race?

2.63 Why do you think the world was in need of an international hero? Provide multiple reasons.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW

When George Orwell first referred to the idea of a Cold War in 1945, he suggested that the world may be entering a time that was 'horribly stable'. In some respects, life during the 1950s was restrictive and personal liberties were limited, as both superpowers were determined to oversee the successful implementation of their ideologies within their spheres of influence. Yet, if anything, life for most people only became more unpredictable. Politically, neither the US nor the USSR could anticipate each other's actions or responses, as leaders constantly contradicted themselves. Historian Fred Halliday has suggested this was a time of 'oscillatory antagonism', meaning that diplomatic relations were always changing. Eisenhower wanted to improve the lives of ordinary Americans by cutting military spending, but at the same time he made the public more anxious by provoking an arms race. Khrushchev suggested 'peaceful coexistence' and accepted proposals for nuclear disarmament, but years later detonated the world's largest bomb. As each country desperately tried to build its national security and power, people around the world became more uncertain about what the future would bring. The Cold War soon spread throughout the world as this atmosphere of uncertainty, propped up by intensive propaganda campaigns, elevated into protests, uprisings, hot wars and even the threat of nuclear war.

KEY SUMMARY POINTS

- Stalin's attempt to starve the West out of Berlin failed.

- The rival alliances of NATO and the Warsaw Pact were formed.

- The fear of communism dominated American social and cultural life in the 1950s.

- The US and USSR engaged in an arms race that saw the rapid development of ever-more powerful nuclear bombs.

- A space race emerged from the intense rivalry between the US and USSR.

REVIEW

2.64 Create a concept map that displays the key tensions of the Cold War. Categorise different types of tensions under headings such as 'Territorial', 'Military' and 'Technological'.

EXTENDED RESPONSE

Write a 250–350-word extended response to one of the topics below. Your response should include a clear contention, arguments supported by relevant evidence, and a clear conclusion.

- **2.65** Explain how the Berlin Blockade sparked further political actions in the following years.
- **2.66** Explain how propaganda increased the US public's fear and suspicion during the 1950s.

ESSAY

Write a 600–800-word essay on one of the topics below. Your essay should include an introduction, paragraphs supported by relevant evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations, and a conclusion.

- **2.67** Discuss how the Cold War affected each superpower. You may consider a range of social, political, technological, economic and cultural factors.
- **2.68** Compare how both the US and USSR displayed power during this era.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

It is important to understand how people in the past tried to understand their world, how they were affected by it and how they tried to change it.

2.69 Choose one of the following perspectives and write a creative piece exploring their thoughts about the threat of nuclear weapons on life within the US:

- a US government official
- a scientist
- a primary school child
- a mother or father living in the suburbs
- an architect.

2.70 Do you believe that governments still have an impact on perspectives held within society today? Discuss as a class, and think of present-day examples to support your arguments.
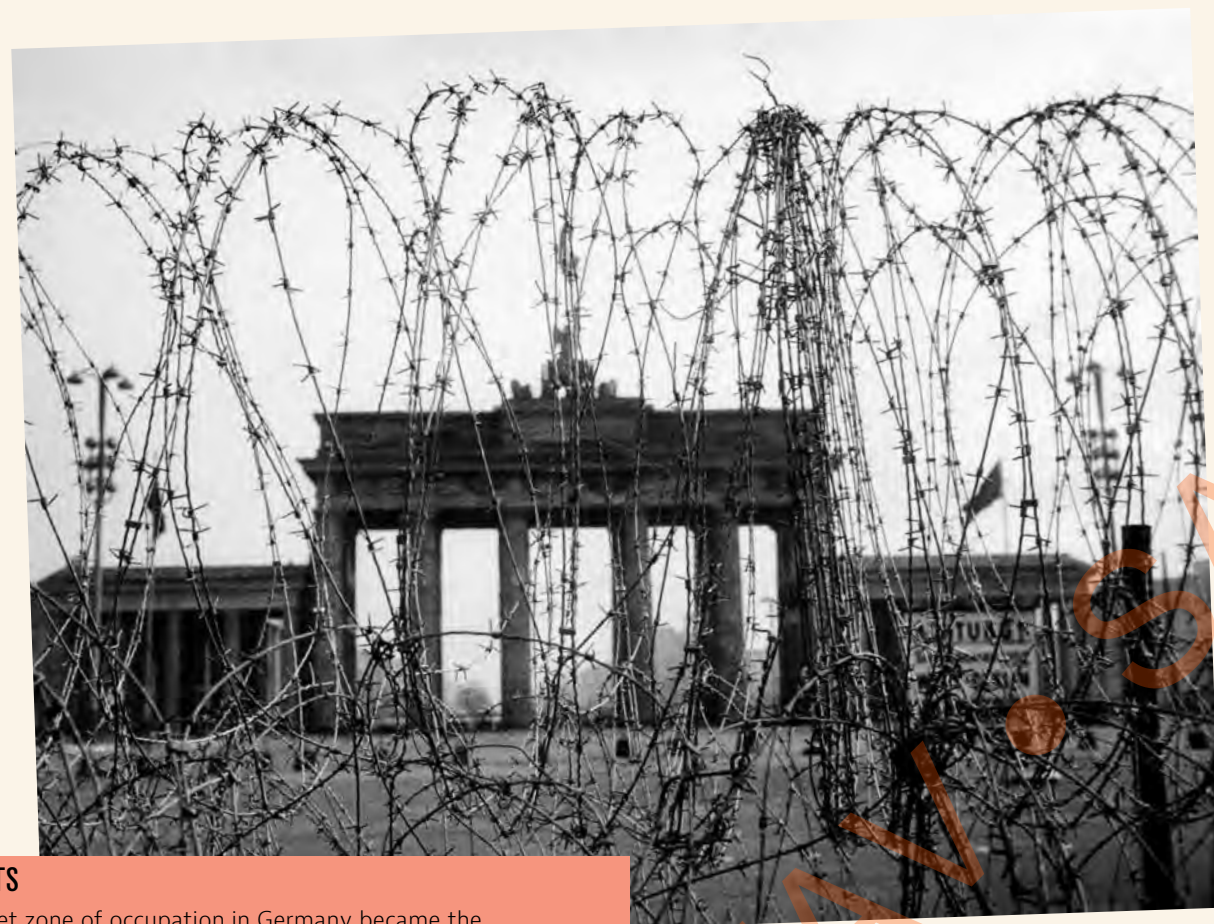
EXTENSION

2.71 Research a Cold War topic in greater depth and write a report or create a presentation for the class. Some suggested topics are:

- film
- sport
- radio
- economies
- defence
- literature.

LIFE IN EAST GERMANY

'From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the Continent.'

WINSTON CHURCHILL, 1946

⬆ **Source 1** The Brandenburg Gate in Berlin. The barbed wire is on the western side, and was laid by Berlin's British military command.

KEY POINTS

- The Soviet zone of occupation in Germany became the German Democratic Republic (or East Germany) in 1949.
- Socialism resulted in declining living standards.
- An uprising against the regime was crushed in June 1953.
- To prevent its citizens fleeing to the West, the East German government built the Berlin Wall in August 1961.
- Many were killed trying to cross the barrier between East and West.
- The secret state police (Stasi) of East Germany monitored and arrested anyone who challenged the authority of the government.

LIVING UNDER COMMUNISM

The *standard of living* under communism was considerably lower than in Western democracies. The economies of communist countries were dictated and controlled by the state, which decided what would be produced, the timeline in which goods would be manufactured, and the wages that would be paid to the workers. Economies concentrated heavily on industrial manufacturing, in particular focusing on steelmaking and coalmining, with large quotas imposed on the workers. Agriculture was subject to *collectivisation*. People were no longer able to own their own businesses and make a profit. As a result, consumer goods became rare and expensive.

standard of living
The general conditions under which people live; often measured by life expectancy, health metrics, income, assets etc.

collectivisation
An element of socialist economics that gathers a state's productive capacity, such as farms, into large, state-owned enterprises with the aim of improving efficiency and productivity.

⬅ **Source 2** East Germans queuing in the city of Jena in 1987. The sign above the door reads, 'The stronger socialism is, the safer the peace'.

LIFE UNDER COMMUNISM

Very limited private ownership of businesses. Economy controlled by the state.	Everyone had a home, often in prefabricated high-rise apartment blocks.	Media controlled by the government.	Lack of consumer goods.	Lower wages.	Secret police used to control population through fear, intimidation and terror.
Lack of personal freedom and individual liberties.	Forced collectivisation of agriculture.	Low standards of living.	Culture controlled by the state and used to promote communist ideals.	Free education for all.	No trade unions: workers unable to improve work conditions.
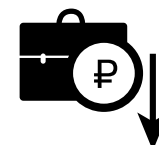
THE EAST GERMAN UPRISING, JUNE 1953

The Soviet Union had to suppress several uprisings in its Eastern Bloc 'allies' throughout the course of the Cold War. The first occurred in East Germany in June 1953.

Causes

With the failure to reunify Germany in the immediate aftermath of World War II, East German communist leader Walter Ulbricht commenced the full socialisation of the economy in July 1952. There was a new focus on heavy industry, private firms were taxed heavily and agriculture was collectivised. However, these measures led to a rapid and dramatic decline in the living standards of East Germans. As collectivised farms were generally less efficient and productive, food prices rose sharply while wages for factory workers fell. Between 1951 and 1953 nearly 500,000 East Germans fled to the West.[1] In early June 1953, the German Communist Party renounced many of its economic measures. However, one remained—the increase in hours for factory workers. For many Germans this was the catalyst for a demonstration against the regime.

Course

After a few days of small strikes and protests, on 16 June, 300 construction workers walked off the job and marched to the government buildings in East Berlin. The next day, 80,000–100,000 East Berliners took to the streets and congregated in the city centre to demand better living conditions, fairer wages and free elections. There were similar scenes in the other major cities of East Germany. The night before, however, the East German government had called for help from Moscow. Soviet tanks and soldiers were sent in against demonstrators all over East Germany to quell the uprising. They fired into the crowds and caused dozens of deaths. It is thought that thirty-two Soviet soldiers who refused to fire on the protestors were shot by the Russian counterintelligence agency *SMERSH*.[2] The Soviet troops and East German police regained control of the streets by the evening. Although there was sporadic protest activity over the next few days, it had almost entirely ceased by 24 June.

Consequences

The uprising was a failure, and East Germans would not challenge their government on this scale again until November 1989 when the Berlin Wall fell. The East German government responded by increasing the size and powers of the *Stasi* (*Staatssicherheit*) and never again attempted such large-scale economic reforms.

⬆ **Source 3** A Russian T-34 tank rolls through the streets of East Berlin on 17 June 1953.

SMERSH
The Russian counterintelligence agency tasked with discovering and eliminating all internal threats to the Soviet state.

Stasi
'Stasi' was the common shortened form of *Staatssicherheit*, or state security. The Stasi was East Germany's secret police.

GERMANY AND BERLIN DIVIDED

Steve Phillips (author): 'West Berlin had become an island of prosperous capitalism in a sea of communism.'[3]

Under the terms of the Potsdam Agreement, both Germany and Berlin were divided into four zones of occupation. The Berlin Blockade had resulted in the formation of two countries: the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) and the German Democratic Republic (East Germany). Berlin remained a symbolically divided city. Nowhere were the differences in lifestyles between the capitalist West and communist East more sharply highlighted than in Berlin. Berlin was in a unique position, as there was fairly free movement through the city before the wall was built in August 1961. East Berliners could see for themselves the prosperity of the West, where consumer goods that were often unavailable in East Germany could be purchased cheaply. It also allowed many East Germans to flee to the West via Berlin.

By the mid-1950s the recovery of West Germany and its entry into NATO caused concern in the Soviet Union. In 1958, Khrushchev suggested that Berlin become a neutral city and that the occupying powers should leave, but then a US spy plane was shot down in Soviet air space just before the May 1960 Paris summit, and relations between the two superpowers grew decidedly frosty. When Kennedy became US president in 1961, Khrushchev decided to try and push the new, young and inexperienced leader, who had already suffered an embarrassing international incident—the failed *Bay of Pigs* invasion (see Chapter 3, p.91). Khrushchev demanded that the West recognise East Germany, withdraw their troops from West Berlin and hand over access routes to the East German government. At the Vienna summit in June 1961, Kennedy refused Khrushchev's demands, and followed up in July by announcing increased arms spending.

Did you know? The leader of the East German Socialist Unity Party, Walter Ulbricht, declared two months before the construction of the Berlin Wall began that 'Nobody has the intention of building a wall'.

THE BERLIN WALL

Nikita Khrushchev, 1963: 'Berlin is the testicles of the West. When I want the West to scream, I squeeze on Berlin.'

During the 1950s, Walter Ulbricht, the first secretary of East Germany, introduced two Five-Year Plans that saw heavy industry production double. However, the benefits to industry came at a cost, as there was a shortage of consumer goods and East Germans continued to suffer from low wages and food shortages. The shortage of food was exacerbated under the second Five-Year Plan (1956–1960) when many farmers walked away from their farms rather than enter a state-run farm under forced collectivisation. Food production fell and rationing was reintroduced in 1961. Many people were disillusioned with life under communism and left for West Germany. So many East Germans were defecting to West Germany that the population drain was beginning to threaten the East German economy. Many of the people who were fleeing to the West were young professionals and skilled workers. Konrad Adenauer, the chancellor of West Germany, called this the *magnet theory*, as people sought freedom and higher wages in the West. In April 1961, 30,000 East Germans fled via West Berlin amid rumours that the border between East and West Berlin was about to close.

Number of defectors: East to West Germany
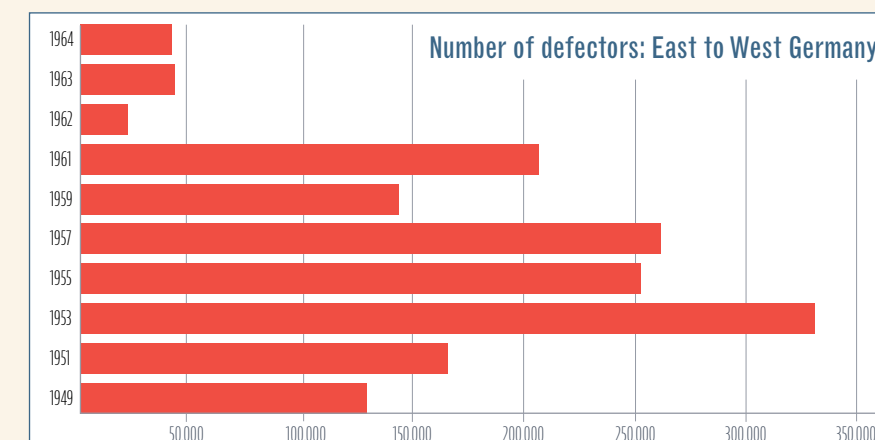
Bay of Pigs
The failed invasion of Cuba by an anti-Castro militia trained and equipped by the CIA in April 1961.

magnet theory
Factors that draw people to a new place, such as higher wages, more freedom or a better standard of living.

↺ **Source 4** Graph showing the number of people who defected from East Germany to West Germany between 1949 and 1964.

Source 5 Construction begins on the concrete wall that eventually surrounded West Berlin.

Sunday 13 August 1961 became known as *Stacheldrahtsonntag* ('Barbed Wire Sunday'), as East German soldiers and police placed barbed-wire fencing along a 50-kilometre stretch, closing the border between East and West Berlin. Over the next 48 hours, the barbed wire was replaced with a concrete wall. The East German government called it an *Antifaschistischer Schutzwall* ('anti-fascist protection barrier').

The building of the wall extended to encompass the whole of West Berlin. Families were divided and cut off from each other. Many East Germans lost their jobs in the West. Strict travel restrictions meant that it was virtually impossible for families to visit one another. The Berlin Wall was a symbolic reality of the division between communism and capitalism. The West did nothing to prevent the building of the Berlin Wall.

In the following decades, more than 100 people died attempting to cross the Berlin Wall. One of the most well-known deaths was that of Peter Fechter in 1962. Fechter was one of the first people to be shot attempting to cross the Berlin Wall. He bled to death as East German border police refused to help him. Those in the West feared the reaction from the Eastern side and did nothing. His death was witnessed by many people.

Source 6 East Berliners escaped through houses adjacent to the Berlin Wall before they were boarded up.

Source 7 The body of 18-year-old East Berliner Peter Fechter being carried away by East German border soldiers, almost an hour after he was shot.

Source 8 'I just closed off what's mine—for the rest I'm ready to negotiate', by Edmund Valtman.

'I JUST CLOSED OFF WHAT'S MINE – FOR THE REST I'M READY TO NEGOTIATE'

Did you know? Regarding the construction of the Berlin Wall, US President Kennedy said, 'It's not a nice solution but a wall is a hell of a lot better than war'.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

S.09 Draw up a table to identify the differences between East and West Berlin.

S.10 Why was the Berlin Wall built?

S.11 What were the consequences of the decision to build the wall for the people of Berlin?

SUMMARY

S.12 Create a diagram to show the causes and effects of defections to West Germany.

CREATIVE TASK

S.13 Imagine you live in East Berlin. Write a letter to your cousin in West Berlin describing what your life is like after the Berlin Wall was built.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—PERSPECTIVES

Using Source 8 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

S.14 Identify the two leaders represented in the cartoon.

S.15 Describe the background as drawn of the cartoon. Why do you think Berlin has been portrayed in this way?

S.16 Explain the events leading up to the construction of the Berlin Wall.

S.17 Analyse the consequences of Khrushchev's decision to build the Berlin Wall on Soviet–American relations. Use evidence to support your response.

THE STASI

The 'Stasi' used fear and intimidation to control the population of East Germany and ensure that any perceived dangers to the regime were eliminated. It was founded in 1950 and was answerable only to the government of East Germany, which was the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (*Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands*, or SED). The aim of the Stasi was to prevent the development of non-conformist or *dissident* ideas and behaviour. The Stasi employed over 90,000 people full time, and had a network of unofficial collaborators who gathered information on people from all areas of society. Suspects could be arrested on suspicion without having committed any offence. Just having hair that was too long was enough for someone to appear suspicious. The Stasi used a range of methods to stamp out non-conformist ideas, from physical violence, arrests, kidnappings and show trials to rumours and manipulation. They tailed suspects, bugged telephones, installed video cameras in buildings, searched apartments and destroyed friendships and careers in the name of ensuring East Germany's security.

The Stasi targeted all aspects of people's lives to control and minimise subversive behaviour. Youth organisations were used to politically educate and control young people to ensure that they were loyal citizens, as well as use young people as informants. The Stasi had representatives in all walks of life: they infiltrated factories, schools and hospitals; a Stasi representative lived in every apartment block; and many clergymen were recruited as informers. Stasi officers would accompany athletes to international competitions, as they were concerned that sportspeople would escape and defect once they were out of East Germany.

Censorship

The Stasi was also responsible for culture and media. Censorship was applied to every aspect of culture. All novels and plays had to be submitted for review before they could be published. Anything considered to contain criticism of the communist state was not allowed, so references to life in East Germany were banned. Newspapers, radio and television were all strictly controlled by the state.

Control of sport

East Germany went to extremes to prove its superiority, and used sport as a propaganda tool. The use of drugs to enhance sporting performances became systematic from the 1970s, and it was monitored by the Stasi. East German athletes were the equivalent of rock stars. They enjoyed greater freedom than ordinary East Germans, but that freedom came at a price. Due to the state-sanctioned use of anabolic steroids (synthetic versions of the male sex hormone testosterone), female athletes suffered from infertility and miscarriages. Other athletes later suffered from liver disease, heart disease and cancer.

dissident
Behaviour or communication that criticises and challenges a government or the status quo; also used as a label for anyone who holds such views.

Extract from *Stasiland* by Anna Funder

The Stasi was the internal army by which the government kept control. Its job was to know everything about everyone, using any means it chose. … The Stasi's brief was to be 'shield and sword' of the Communist Party, called the SED. But its broader remit [goal] was to protect the Party from the people. It arrested, imprisoned and interrogated anyone it chose. It inspected all mail in secret rooms above post offices (copying letters and stealing any valuables), and intercepted, daily, tens of thousands of phone calls. It bugged hotel rooms and spied on diplomats. It ran its own universities, hospitals, elite sports centers and terrorist training programs for Libyans and the West Germans of the Red Army Faction. It pockmarked the countryside with secret bunkers for its members in the event of World War III. Unlike secret services in democratic countries, the Stasi was the mainstay of State power. Without it, and without the threat of Soviet tanks to back it up, the SED regime could not have survived.

⬆ **Source 9** Anna Funder, *Stasiland* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2003), 5.

HISTORICAL SOURCES—INTERPRETATIONS

Using Source 9 and your own knowledge, respond to the following.

S.18 Identify two goals of the Stasi.

S.19 Identify two ways the Stasi monitored people.

S.20 Explain why the SED used the Stasi to maintain control.

S.21 Analyse the impact of security agencies on the lives of ordinary people during the Cold War. Use evidence to support your response.

RESEARCH

S.22 Conduct research into one male and one female East German athlete. Look in to their sports, training regimes, diet, use of drugs, competitions entered, success, and longer-term effects. Some examples include Renate Neufeld, Dagmar Käsling and Steffen Zesner.

THE STASI FILES

ANNA FUNDER: 'The thoroughness of the regime was horrifying: it accumulated, in the 40 years of its existence, more written records than in all of German history since the Middle Ages. East Germany was run on fear and betrayal: at least one in 50 people—by CIA estimates, one in seven—were informing on their relatives, friends, neighbours and colleagues.'[4]

After the Berlin Wall fell in 1989, Stasi officers were ordered to destroy the files they kept on East German citizens. They were interrupted by citizen groups who occupied the Stasi headquarters and had discovered approximately 16,000 bags full of shredded or torn files, plus partially destroyed photos, slides and recordings.

The Stasi Records Agency was established in 1992 with the aim of preserving Stasi documents. Since 1995 it has had the painstaking task of reconstructing torn documents by hand. More recently, computer-supported techniques have been used to speed up the process.

Since 1991 the Stasi Records Agency has received more than 7.3 million requests to view files. In January 2015 it made some files available online for the first time.

Stasi files in numbers

Total documents: 111 kilometres of files

File cards: 41 million

Photos, film negatives, slides: 1.95 million

Film, video and audio recordings: 25,576

Shredded material: 15,500 bags

Reconstructed shredded files: 1.67 million pages or file cards

⬆ **Source 10** Das Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives), 'About the Stasi Archives', *https://www.stasi-unterlagen-archiv.de/en/archives/about-the-archives/*

⬆ **Source 11** Reconstructing the Stasi files, 1996.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

S.23 What was the Stasi?

S.24 In the eyes of the East German regime, why was the Stasi necessary?

S.25 How did the activities of the Stasi affect the lives of ordinary East German people?

SUMMARY

S.26 Create a concept map to show the type of activities the Stasi might have considered a threat to East German security.

Additional resources: **www.htavshop.com.au/beyond-the-book**