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## War in practice: The Cold War

## I. Çeviri Çalışması: Aşağıdaki metinleri tercüme ediniz.

1. The cold war was a period of intense antagonism between the two superpowers—the United States and the Soviet Union—lasting from 1945 to 1991. Because there was no direct armed conflict between the two continental giants the description 'cold war' remains an accurate one. Now that it is over, and we know the outcome, it is tempting to re-define this period of recent history as the 'long peace'. The cold war began in Europe with the division of Germany and the establishment of the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe in 1945. It ended with the break-up of that empire in 1989, the re-unification of Germany in 1990 and, finally, the collapse of the Soviet Union itself in 1991. In the middle of this 45-year period the cold war spread around the world to Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America.

John W. Mason, The Cold War: 1945-1991, Routledge, Londra, 1996, s.x

Vocabulary

Antagonism Continental lasting temp to

2. The deadlock between East and West was the single most momentous development in the post–World War II period and dominated the next half century. The term "Cold War" apparently originated in 1893 with German Marxist Edward Bernstein, who used it to describe the arms race in pre– World War I Europe in which there was "no shooting" but there was "bleeding." Its usage for the East-West confrontation, however, seems to have originated with the British writer George Orwell in an article of 19 October 1945. More famously, American financier Bernard Baruch used the phrase in the course of a speech in 1947. Put in its simplest terms, the Cold War was the rivalry that developed between the two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States—as each sought to fill the power vacuum left by the defeat of Germany and Japan. Leaders on each side believed that they were forced to expand their national hegemony by the "aggressive" actions of the other. Misunderstandings, bluff, pride, personal and geopolitical ambitions, and simple animosity between the two sides grew until the struggle became the Cold War.

Spencer C. Tucker, Cold War: A Student Encyclopedia, ABC Clio Inc, 2008, s.17

Vocabulary

originate confrontation seek to pride arms race rivalry power vacuum animosity

3. Who or what caused the Cold War? Almost since it began, those questions have been the subject of fierce debate among scholars and policy makers. There are three main schools of opinion: traditionalists, revisionists and post-revisionists. The traditionalists (also known as the orthodox) argue that the answer to the question of who started the Cold War is quite simple: Stalin and the Soviet Union. At the end of World War II, American diplomacy was defensive, while the Soviets were aggressive and expansive. The Americans only slowly awoke to the nature of the Soviet threat. Immediately after the war, the United States was proposing a universal order and collective security through the United Nations. The Soviet Union did not take the United Nations very seriously because it wanted to expand and dominate its own sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. After the war, the United States demobilized its troops, whereas the Soviet Union left armies in Eastern Europe. The United States recognized Soviet interests; for example, when Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill met in February 1945 at Yalta, the Americans went out of their way to accommodate Soviet interests. Stalin, however, did not live up to his agreements, particularly by not allowing free elections in Poland.

Joseph S. Nye, Understanding International Conflicts, New York 2007, s. 117

Vocabulary

Fierce Awake expansive sphere of influence

4. Revisionists agree with orthodox scholars about the nature of the cold war, but reverse the focus of blame. Revisionism became popular in the 1960s during the Vietnam War, but it remains a marginal school of thought within the United States. Revisionists emphasise the power of the United States during and after 1945. For example, although the United States lost 400,000 lives during the Second World War, the USSR lost 27 million lives. The American economy benefited from the war whilst the Soviet economy was almost destroyed. According to some revisionists, Soviet behaviour was merely a defensive attempt to build a legitimate security zone in Eastern Europe, whilst the United States was trying to reconstruct the international economic system for its own national interests. In short, the cold war was a period of American dominance whose legitimacy was based on a mythical Soviet 'threat'. True, the Soviet Union's inherent economic weaknesses were crucial in explaining its collapse in 1991, but the end of the cold war could have occurred much earlier and without the horrendous expense of the arms race. The post-cold war era is a very dangerous time, since the United States now has no challenge to its military might, nor any political challenge to its own views about the most desirable international order.

Martin Griffiths, Terry O'Callaghan, International Relations: The Key Concepts, s.41.

Vocabulary

Reverse Security zone Reconstruct Political challenge benefit from legitimate national interest international order

5. Post-revisionist interpretations seek to avoid the polarities of blame-it-all on- the-Soviets or blame-it-all-on-the-Americans. They see the situation as so infinitely complex that no generalisation about who was to blame will suffice. The weaknesses of the orthodox and revisionist analyses are evident: the former pays little attention to the legitimate security needs of the USSR, while the latter ignores Soviet behaviour which gave rise to shifts in American policy. Neither analysis had had access to Soviet sources. Neither could make up its mind whether the Cold War should be seen as an almost inevitable consequence of the collision of two diametrically opposed sociopolitical systems or whether the whole episode could have been avoided if the signals from each side had been read correctly and acted upon. The mishandling of the information available to the US government on Japanese intentions before Pearl Harbor does not inspire confidence in American intelligence, and American incompetence was certainly paralleled on the Soviet side. It is asking too much to expect two states which had very little experience of dealing with each other before 1941 to learn to 'read' eachother correctly so quickly.

Martin McCauley, Origins of the Cold War: 1941-1949, Pearson, 2003, sf.15

Vocabulary

Polarity Collision suffice mishandle

6. After the unconditional surrender to the Allied forces, Germany was divided into four occupation zones-each one under the control of the Soviet Union, the USA, Britain and France. Berlin, the capital of Germany, fell in Soviet occupation zone but Berlin itself was divided into four occupation zones on the same pattern as the whole of Germany. The military occupation was a temporary arrangement till the time the Peace Treaty was concluded. The Potsdam Conference was convened to finalise the peace treaty with Germany. The Allies were not clear on critical issues, such as whether Germany should be disarmed, demilitarised and partitioned. To what degree was the reconstruction of the German industry to be allowed? The Soviet Union wanted a pauperised and weak Germany so that its interests did not get threatened by Germany. The Soviet Union also demanded US\$ 20 billion from Germany as reparation fees. But the western allies did not agree to these proposals. Later the British, American and French zones were merged into one and Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) came into existence. After the election in the new state a pro-west government came to power. It started getting heavy financial aid from America. Soon, with the Soviet help the other zone also created a state called German Democratic Republic (East Germany).

The Cold War Era and Its Politics, sf.130

Vocabulary

Unconditional surrender Arrangement Disarm Pauperised occupation zone convene demilitarise reparation fee



7. Containment policy is a key U.S. foreign policy strategy during the Cold War. It is impossible to understand the origins and course of the Cold War without comprehending the policy, or doctrine, of containment. The concept can be traced back to February 1946 when George F. Kennan, deputy head of the U.S. mission in Moscow, sent an 8,000-word telegram to Secretary of State James F. Byrnes. In the message-dubbed the "Long Telegram"-Kennan provided both an analysis of Soviet behavior and a diplomatic strategy to deal with Moscow. Arguing that "at the bottom of the Kremlin's neurotic view of world affairs is the instinctive Russian sense of insecurity," Kennan went on to suggest that Soviet leader Josef Stalin required a hostile international environment to legitimize his autocratic rule. Kennan also asserted that the Marxist-Leninist ideology upon which Stalin had built his regime contained elements of a messianism that envisioned the spread of Soviet influence and conflict with capitalism. The only way to stop the communist contagion, Kennan opined, was to strengthen Western institutions, apply appropriate counterforce when needed, and wait for the Soviet system to either implode under its own weight or sufficiently mellow so that it could be rationally bargained with. In short, the Soviets were to be "contained." Kennan, however, was not at all specific as to how containment was to be achieved.

Spencer C. Tucker, Cold War: A Student Encyclopedia, ABC Clio Inc, 2008, s.484

Vocabulary

Course Deputy Hostile Messianism Contagion comprehend dubbed autocratic rule envision implode

8. The most dangerous nuclear crisis of the cold war took place over 13 days in October 1962. It originated in the summer of 1962 when Khrushchev placed strategic, intermediate-range offensive missiles on the island of Cuba, just 90 miles off the coast of Florida. It ended when he agreed to withdraw the missiles on 28 October. In January 1959 the corrupt Batista regime in Cuba was overthrown by a rural guerrilla army led by Fidel Castro. Castro's relations with the United States worsened after he nationalised American-owned businesses in Cuba. After the abortive, CIA-inspired Bay of Pigs invasion in April 1961, Castro turned to Moscow for military protection. When an American U-2 reconnaissance flight discovered Soviet missile installations in Cuba in October 1962, President Kennedy imposed a naval blockade to stop any further shipments of missiles to Cuba. Kennedy then called for the removal of all Soviet offensive missiles from Cuba, under threat of invasion within 24 hours. Following a complicated exchange of letters, the Soviet Union agreed to withdraw its missiles, in return for a United States promise not to invade Cuba.

John W. Mason, The Cold War: 1945-1991, Routledge, Londra, 1996, s.32

## Vocabulary

Withdraw missiles **Overthrow Reconnaissance** 

**Translation** 

abortive installation



9. During 1960s, the United States continued building up its strategic forces. Although the number of US missile launchers leveled off by the end of the decade, technical progress enabled the United States to build more accurate missiles, and, in the second half of the decade, to develop multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs), multiple warheads on a single missile capable of being aimed at separate targets. The US nuclear stockpile peaked in 1966 at about 32,200 nuclear warheads, while the number of US tactical nuclear weapons in Europe almost tripled to 7,200 during the 1960s. As the Soviet nuclear arsenal grew, some US strategists began to downgrade the importance of numerical superiority and espouse the doctrine of assured destruction. Labeled mutually assured destruction (MAD) by its critics, the idea behind assured destruction was to convince the Soviets that an attack on the United States would result in nuclear retaliation and the assured destruction of both sides. Assured destruction never became the basis for US targeting strategy, which remained focused on Soviet nuclear forces, but it provided a conceptual basis for limiting strategic weapons since only a small number of nuclear weapons would be needed to cause unacceptable damage.

David S. Painter, The Cold War: An International History, Routledge, Londra, 1999, sf.58

Vocabulary

| Launcher | targetable                   |
|----------|------------------------------|
| Warhead  | peak                         |
| Espouse  | mutually assured destruction |

10. Gorbachev was now leading a country with major problems. The war in Afghanistan was proving a costly failure. Sino- American relations were steadily improving. The Soviet system was extremely expensive - trade credits, aid and arms were costing between \$15 billion and \$20 billion annually after 1980. There were systemic economic problems and growing dissident movements in Eastern Europe. By the beginning of the 1980s Soviet economic growth had fallen to zero. This was partly a function of low population growth - about 1 per cent annually - and the burden of military spending in the arms race with the United States. Military expenditure amounted to one-sixth, perhaps one-quarter, of GDP. More important was the gross inefficiency of the Soviet command economy. A vast bureaucracy, which was a mixture of inefficiency, confusion and corruption, sought and failed to direct resources and manpower to produce goods and services. The result was an economy characterised by shortages and poor quality products. One way of keeping pace with the rapid growth of Western technology was for the KGB and other Eastern bloc intelligence services to find ways of acquiring this technology. The rise in oil prices in the 1970s obscured these problems for a while as the country benefited from higher prices for its Siberian oil. By 1975 the Soviet Union had become the world's largest oil producer. In the 1980s, however, prices began to decline.

Michael L. Dockrill, Michael F. Hopkins, The Cold War: 1945-91, Palgrave, 2006, sf.144

Vocabulary

Steadily Population growth Keep pace with dissident military expenditure

