

#HIS311 – Canadian External Relations (2016)

Origins of the Cold War



Origins of the Cold War: Overview

- ❖ What's in a name? Defining the Cold War
- ❖ Illusions, Ignorance & Isolation
- ❖ Contextualizing the Cold War: When & How
- ❖ "The Seeds are Sown:" WWII -> Cold War
- ❖ Atomic weapons & new modes of warfare
- ❖ The Gouzenko Affair
- ❖ Kennan's Long Telegram
- ❖ Churchill's Iron Curtain Speech
- ❖ Strategies of "Containment"
- ❖ The early Cold War in Canada
- ❖ #Propaganda & winning "hearts & minds"
- ❖ Recap & Exam Prep





Illusion of danger
Illusion of strength
Illusion of solidarity
Illusion that Cold War
existed out of time
and will last forever

Illusions, Ignorance, Isolation



Pop quiz: Who came up with the term, "Cold War"???



George Orwell & the "Cold War"

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7 John Street, Bedford Row, London, W.C.1

Phone :
HOLborn 2258

Telegrams :
Natujay Holb, London

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{ **Leslie R. Adams** Branch Sec.
(Address) **66, Priory Lane, N.6**

Member's No.

"THE ATOM BOMBS ARE PILING UP IN THE
FACTORIES, THE POLICE ARE PROWLING
THROUGH THE CITIES, THE LIES ARE
STREAMING FROM THE LOUDSPEAKERS, BUT
THE EARTH IS STILL GOING ROUND THE SUN."

GEORGE ORWELL

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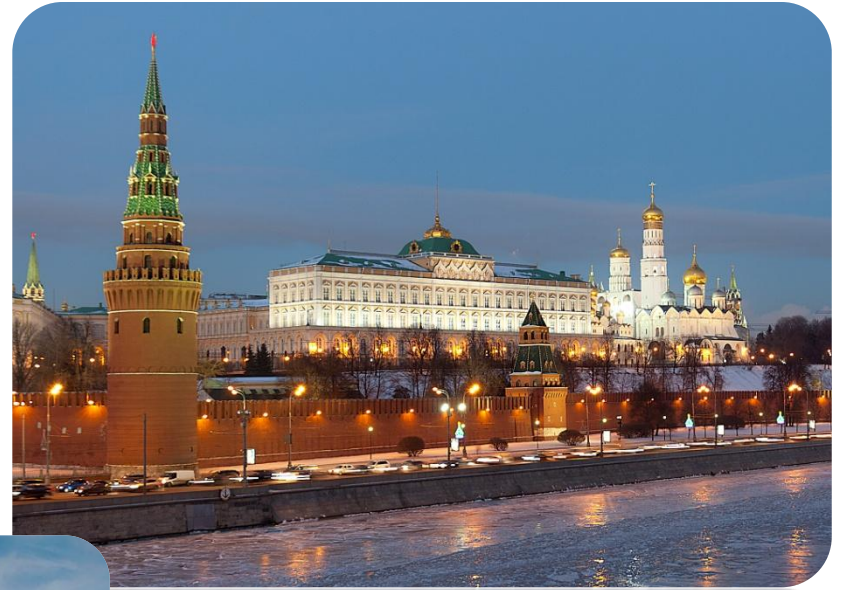
George Orwell, "You and the Atomic bomb"
London Tribune, Oct 19, 1945

Defining the Cold War

- A period of conflict, tension & confrontation between the Communist and non-Communist blocs that lasted for many decades without the outbreak of a major war between the contending camps.
- **Global** in nature & a **dominant force in IR**
- ideology, intelligence, strategy, culture, nuclear arms race, proxy wars, covert ops, etc.
- **Perception & fear** = very important drivers
- Fought at multiple levels & public participation

Contextualizing the Cold War

- Crisis-by-crisis
- Geography
- Social & cultural
- Ideological warfare



“spheres
of
influence”

When does the Cold War start?

- Long-term historic causes, intermediate factors, immediate sparks
- Realist perspective on IR: Rise of Great Powers & Struggle for Power in the international system
- Bolshevik Revolution 1917 OR Post-WWII (1945~)



1917 Bolshevik Revolution

- Spring & Fall 1917
- Tsarist regime -> Lenin
- Wilson's 14 Points & "self-determination"
- "War of Ideas" :which system?
- Early forms of containment
- Divided adversaries
- Bolshevik success in the 1920s
- Pre-existing split between the East & the West & eventual rise of Stalin



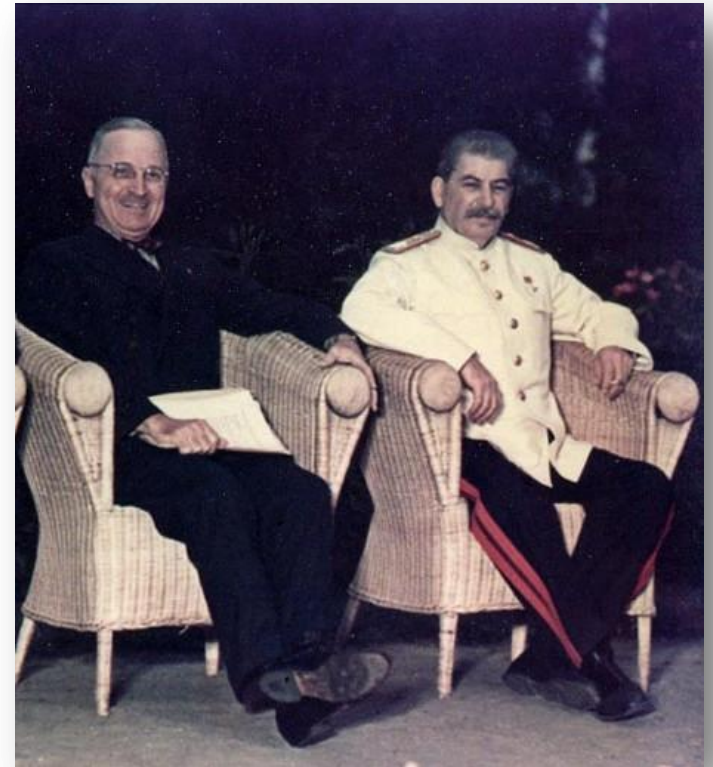
WWII & Cold War unfolds

- **Practical point of origin: Post-WWII**
- WHY? Inward-policies of the US/USSR in the interwar period (isolationism in the US & internal power struggles in the USSR)
- Russia focuses on command economy, Stalin's main efforts on suppressing dissent & turning agrarian economy into an industrial power (Great purges)
- Also, the WWII allies were already divided...

“The Seeds are Sown:” WWII->



**Churchill, Roosevelt & Stalin
@Yalta conference,
Feb 1945**



**Harry Truman and Joseph Stalin
@Potsdam Conference, July 1945**

Atomic Weapons & new mode of warfare



- Aug 1945
- American B-29 bombers
- Hiroshima & Nagasaki
- changing the face of warfare
- Canada's uranium production (Port Hope)
- Tension between US/USSR throughout the Cold War period
- Soviet Surveillance >> Gouzenko Affair

The Gouzenko Affair, Sep 1945



Soviet
defector

Igor Gouzenko



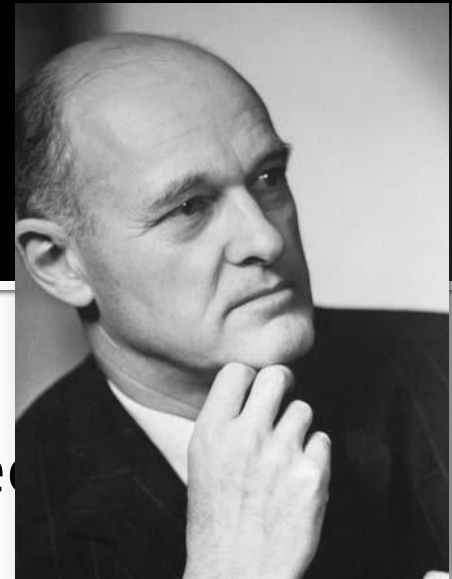
- King's cautious response
- Kellock-Taschereau Commission, 1946

Significance of the Gouzenko affair

- Starting gun of the Cold War
- Soviet spies were everywhere! (DEA, National Research Council, the Wartime Info Board, the British High Commission, House of Commons)
- Nature of the Soviet society: suspicious & skeptical
- Relative naiveté of the Canadian government
- Greater knowledge -> sense of disillusionment about our readiness
- End of meaningful communist activity in Canada -> RCMP officers tended to outnumber actual communists in Canada
- Worsening of relations between Canada & Soviet Union, as well as the Western allies vs the USSR
- Was the Soviet Union a true ally?
- Royal Commission findings -> Public fear of the "reds" in Canada, especially from Quebec > US public opinion
- Increased cooperation between CA/US/GB
- Inspired one of the seminal speeches of the era, the Iron Curtain address from Churchill

Kennan's Long Telegram

- Feb 1946: Stalin's speech
- Kennan's 8,000 word telegram dispatched from Moscow on **February 22, 1946**
- Profoundly affected US foreign policy
- The American policy towards USSR during and after WWII had been wrong
- Soviet foreign policy bore little relationship to what the West did or did not do; "the party line is not based on any objective analysis of the situation beyond Russia's borders...it arises mainly from basic inner-Russian necessities which existed before the recent war and exist today."



SECRET
-3- #511, February 22, 9 p.m. from Moscow via War

democratic) whose reactions, aspirations and activities happen to be "objectively" favorable to interests of USSR. These last must be encouraged and utilized for Soviet purposes.

(C) Among negative elements of bourgeois-capitalist society, most dangerous of all are those whom Lenin called false friends of the people, namely moderate-socialist or social-democratic leaders (in other words, non-communist left-wing). These are more dangerous than out-and-out reactionaries, for latter at least march under their true colors, whereas moderate left-wing leaders confuse people by employing devices of socialism to serve interests of reactionary capital.

So much for premises. To what deductions do they lead from standpoint of Soviet policy? To following:

(A) Everything must be done to advance relative strength of USSR as factor in international society. Conversely, no opportunity must be missed to reduce strength and influence, collectively as well as individually, of capitalist powers.

(B) Soviet efforts, and those of Russia's friends abroad, must be directed toward deepening and exploiting of differences and conflicts between capitalist powers. If these eventually deepen into an "imperialist" war, this war must be turned into revolutionary upheavals within the various capitalist countries.

(C) "Democratic-progressive" elements abroad are to be utilized to maximum to bring pressure to bear on capitalist governments along lines agreeable to Soviet interests.

(D) Relentless battle must be waged against socialist and social-democratic leaders abroad.

PART TWO

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RECEIVED
U.S. DEPT. OF STATE
FEB 23 1946
14 JAN 1946

Strategies of “Containment”

- John L. Gaddis, strategic/geopolitical codes
- **Containment**: the term coined by **George F. Kennan** in July **1947**
- generally used to characterize **American policy toward the USSR** in the postwar era
- can be seen as a series of attempts to prevent the Soviet Union from using the power and position it won as a result of that conflict to reshape the postwar international order.
- Called for a “**long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies**”
- **Truman doctrine (47)**: the US pledges to provide economic/military/political support to societies under threat from authoritarianism
- **The Marshall Plan (48)**: USD \$13 billion for the rebuilding of Western Europe (about \$130 billion in today’s terms)



Churchill's Iron Curtain Speech



"FROM STETTIN IN THE BALTIC TO TRIESTE IN
THE ADRIATIC, AN IRON CURTAIN HAS
DESCENDED ACROSS THE CONTINENT."

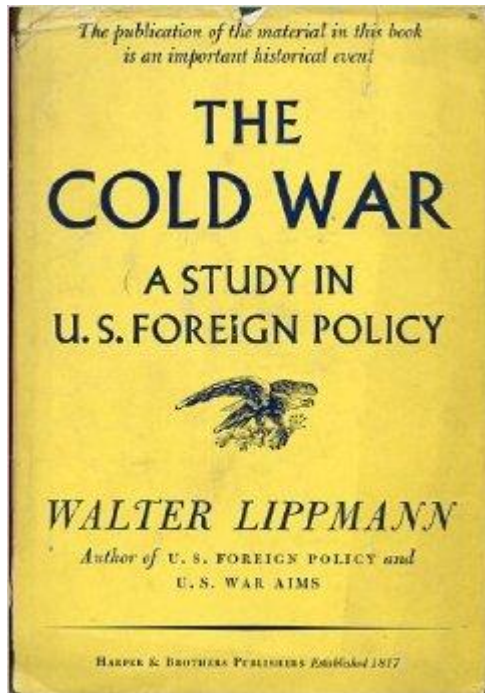
WINSTON CHURCHILL

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**"Sinews of Peace" - March 1946
@Westminster College, Missouri, Fulton, USA**

Popularizing the term “Cold War”

Walter Lippman (1947)



FOCUS ON>>>

CANADA & THE COLD WAR



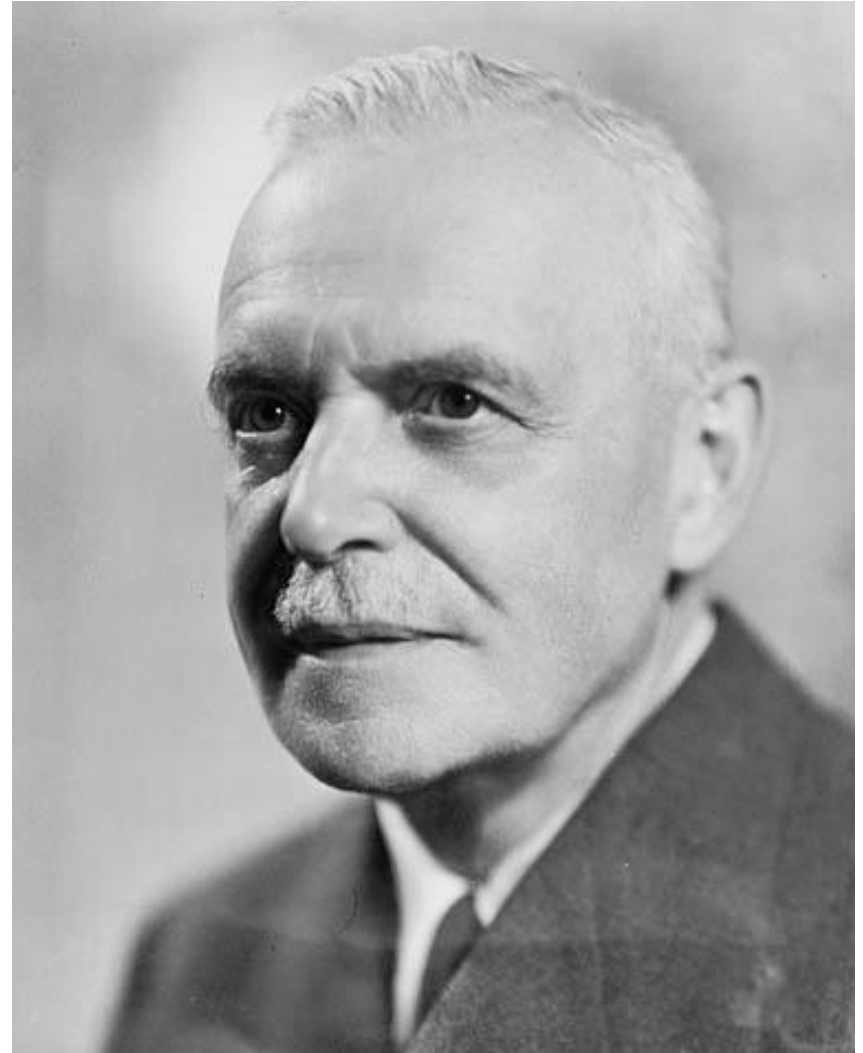
A glimpse of Post-WWII Canada

- The “baby boom”
- Economic growth
 - Leduc oil strike, 1947
 - Trans-Canada Highway, 49~
 - St Lawrence Seaway, 54~
- Closer relationship with the US
 - Cultural & economic
 - Political & military



The Rise of Louis St. Laurent

- Honest, intelligent, capable Quebec lawyer
- Secretary of State for External Affairs, 1946
- Gray Lecture, U of T (Jan 1947) ***EXAM!**



GRAY LECTURE (1947)



“The Foundations of Canadian Policy in World Affairs” by St. Laurent @U of T

- (1) the maintenance of national unity;**
- (2) respect for political liberty;**
- (3) the importance of the rule of law in international affairs;**
- (4) Promotion of human values and moral principles in external policy; and**
- (5) active involvement in international affairs**

Significance of the Gray Lecture

- **First public definition** & justification for Canada's Cold War & our foreign policy
- **Working multilaterally:** St.Laurent identified the Commonwealth, France, the US, the UN as partners for Canada to work with
- **Sense of proportion:** Canada was a secondary power and it would cooperate in constructive international action but not waste its efforts

The Transfer of Power, 1948-49

- Aug 1948: St. Laurent -> winner at the Liberal leadership convention
- King retires in Nov 1948
- St. Laurent: second French-Canadian Prime Minister
- Election of 1949: St. Laurent wins 49% of the popular vote; a majority government & a booming economy



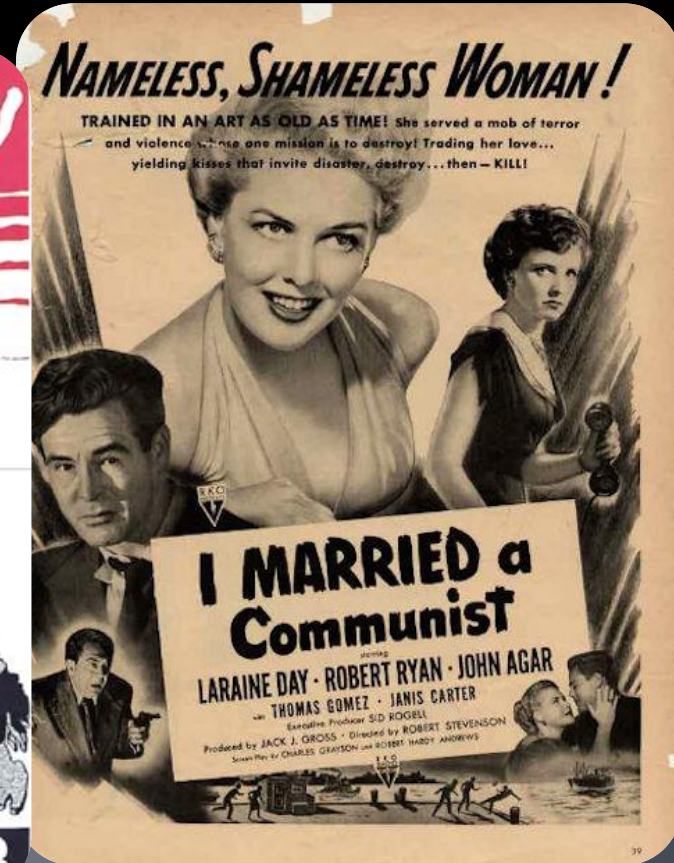
*King congratulates St. Laurent
on assuming the Liberal
leadership*

New direction under St. Laurent



- Cooperation with the United States on atomic energy
- North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 1949
 - Article 2, the 'Canadian article'
- Colombo Plan, 1950

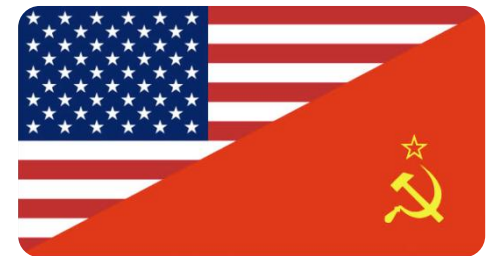
WINNING HEARTS & MINDS



A battle of “hearts & minds”

“What we have to do is to convince not only their minds but their hearts. What we need to do is to make the “Cold War” a “Warm war” by infusing into it ideological principles to give it meaning.”

- Raymond A. Hare, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs (U.S.), 1950



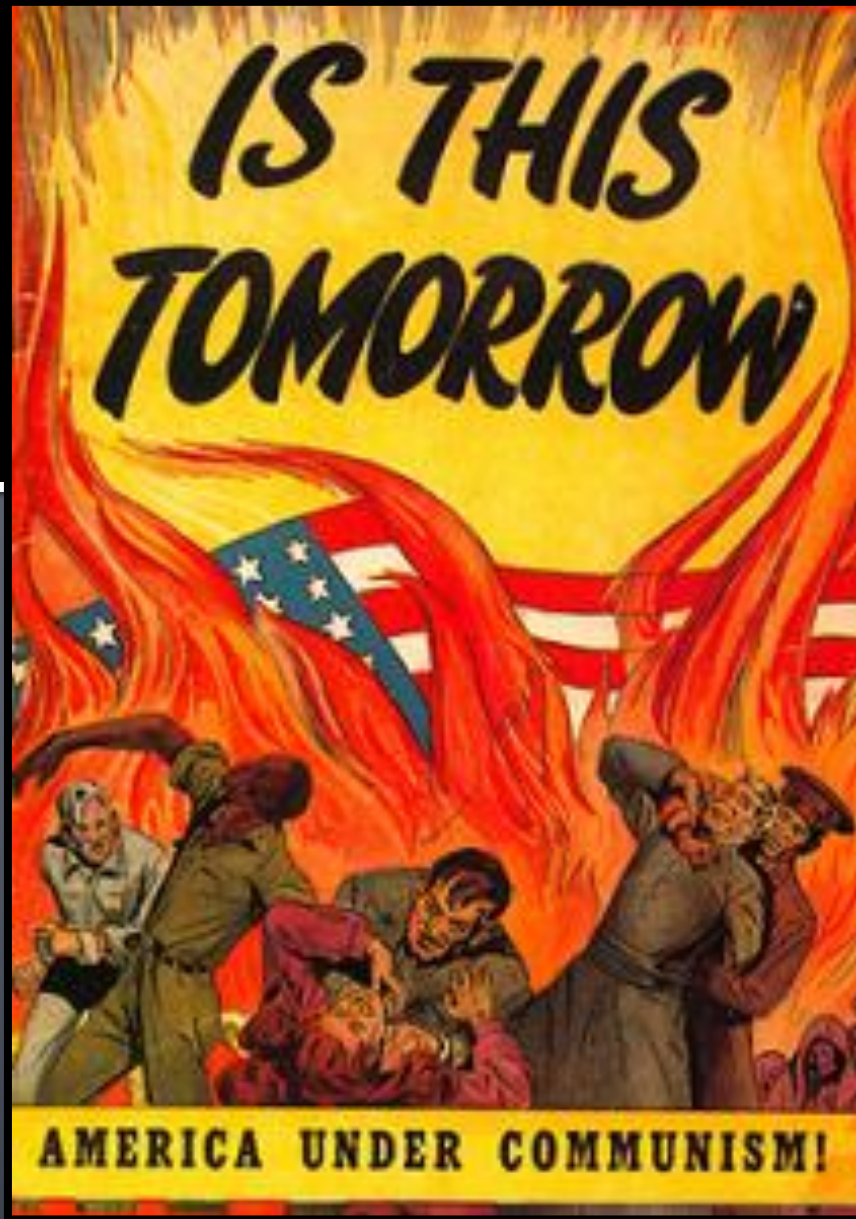


The peoples (nations) of the world
don't want a repeat of the tragic war.

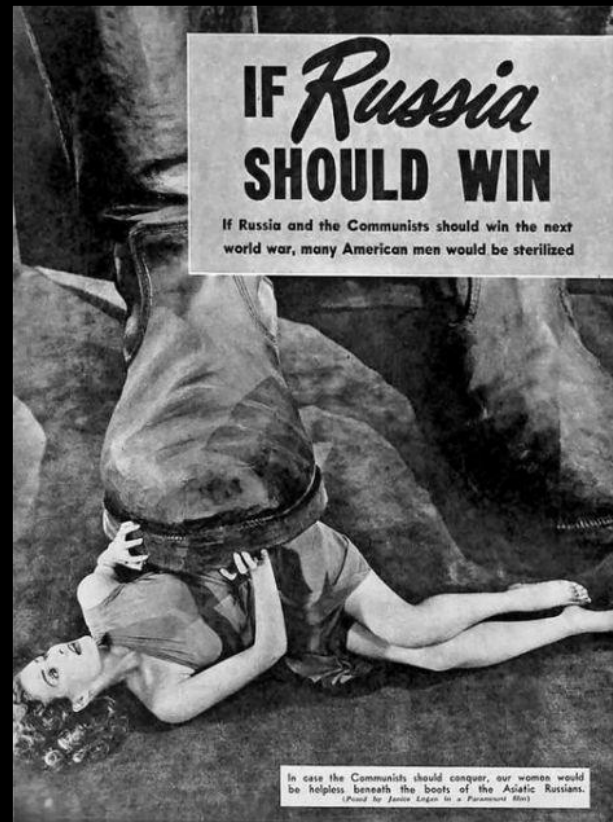


"For a strong world!";
"For people's democracy";
"Against those who begin wars!"





Published in 1947 by
the Catechetical
Guild Educational
Society of St. Paul,
Minnesota



George Orwell, 1984 (pub. 1949)



**BIG BROTHER IS
WATCHING YOU**

**"WHO CONTROLS THE PAST
CONTROLS THE FUTURE
WHO CONTROLS THE PRESENT
CONTROLS THE PAST"**



**WAR IS PEACE
FREEDOM IS SLAVERY
IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH**

IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH

Hollywood & Cold War movies



Culture & Cold War propaganda



“He may be a Communist”



1951 Children's Crusade Against Communism bubble-gum cards

CHILDREN'S CRUSADE AGAINST COMMUNISM

47.

War-Maker

Mao Tse-tung is the leader of the Chinese Reds who attacked the United Nations forces in Korea. His army was built up, in the first place, with the help of outlaws. Later the Russian Reds supplied him with arms and advisers. He captured the China mainland in three years of savage warfare against the Nationalist government. Mao delights in war. History, he says, "is written in blood and iron." The free world must find a way to keep war-makers like Mao Tse-tung from shedding the blood of innocent people.



FIGHT THE

RED MENACE



CHILDREN'S CRUSADE AGAINST COMMUNISM

72.

Olga And Ivan

A knock at the door — and the typical Russian family fears the worst. They are told where to work, where to live and what subjects they must master at school. Their daily routine insists on absolute obedience to their leaders and following Communist doctrine. A simple anti-communist remark by anyone of them could result in a visit by the police. An explanation will be demanded. Prison without fair trial or appeal faces all. This is life under Communism!

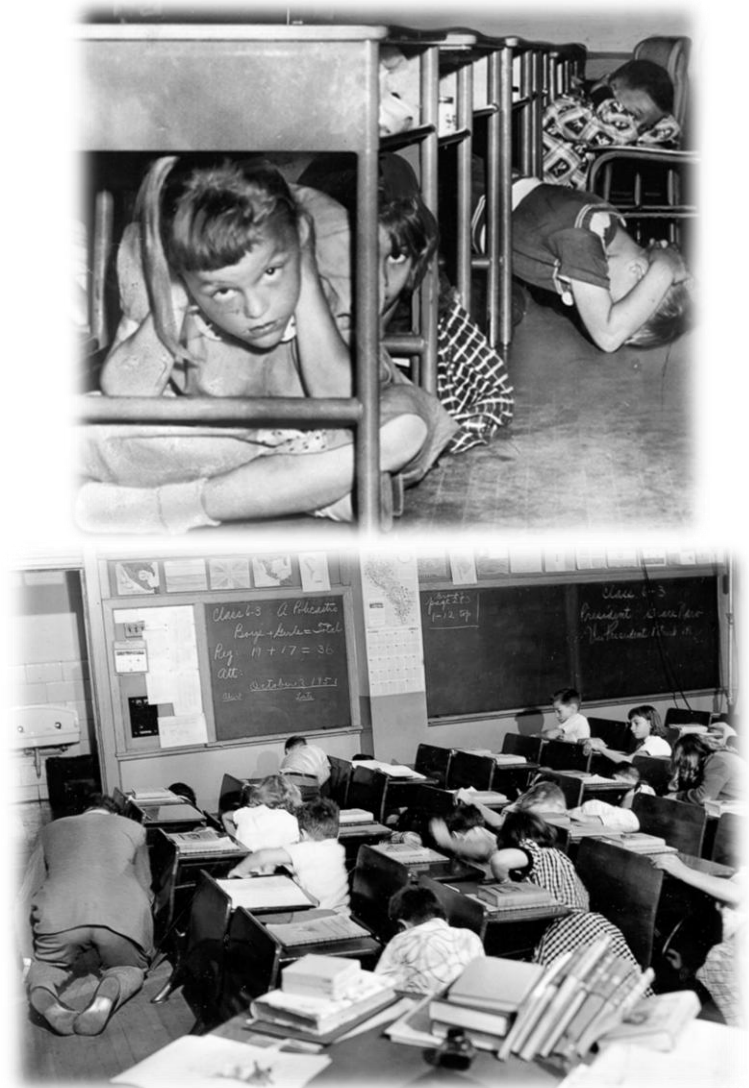


**FIGHT THE
RED MENACE**



"Duck and Cover" (1951)

- Duck and Cover :
a social guidance film
(1951) made by the
United States fed
government's Civil
Defense branch
shortly after the
USSR began nuclear
testing.



#RECAP: The Origins of the Cold War

- Complexities (origin, scope, dimensions)
- Alliance & illusion
- The “fear” factor: Propaganda, psychological mobilization & public opinion
- Characters & circumstances
- Gouzenko & early Cold War in Canada
- “containment” & “spheres of influence”
- Next class: the NATO

EXAM PREP

- **Key terms:** Yalta, Potsdam, George F. Kennan, the “Iron Curtain”, containment, the Gouzenko Affair, the Gray Lecture, the “spheres of influence” & winning “hearts and minds”
- **Practice questions:**
 1. **Discuss the origins of the Cold War & Canada’s role in the early phase of the Cold War.**
 2. **To what extent does the Gouzenko affair shape Canada’s approach towards the Cold War?**
 3. **Discuss the importance of the Gray Lecture in understanding Canadian foreign policy during the Cold War.**

ADMIN ISSUES

- Contact info: Tina.Park@mail.utoronto.ca
[HIS311- Your name] in the subject line
- Tina's office hours: Mondays 12-1pm
@Rotman cafe (across Robarts library)
- Tutorials resume on the week of Jan 26th
- Spring term essay due on March 17th @2pm
**try to choose your essay topic this week!