

#### Cold Wars

What was the Cold War that shook world politics for the second half of the twentieth century? Standard narratives focus on the Soviet-American rivalry as if the superpowers were the exclusive driving forces of the international system. Lorenz M. Lüthi offers a radically different account, restoring agency to regional powers in Asia, the Middle East, and Europe, and revealing how regional and national developments shaped the course of the global Cold War. Despite their elevated position in 1945, the United States, Soviet Union, and United Kingdom quickly realized that their political, economic, and military power had surprisingly tight limits given the challenges of decolonization, Asian-African Internationalism, pan-Arabism, pan-Islamism, Arab-Israeli antagonism, and European economic developments. A series of Cold Wars ebbed and flowed as the three world regions underwent structural changes which weakened or even severed their links to the global ideological clash, leaving the superpower Cold War as the only major conflict that remained by the 1980s.

Lorenz M. Lüthi is Associate Professor at McGill University and a leading historian of the Cold War. His first book, *The Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World*, won the 2008 Furniss Award and the 2010 Marshall Shulman Book Prize. His publications on the Vietnam War, Asian–African Internationalism, and Non-Alignment have broken new ground in Cold War history.





## Cold Wars

Asia, the Middle East, Europe

Lorenz M. Lüthi

McGill University, Montréal





# **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi $-\,110025,$  India

79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108418331

DOI: 10.1017/9781108289825

© Lorenz M. Lüthi 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd, Padstow, Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Luthi, Lorenz M., 1970- author.

Title: Cold Wars: Asia, the Middle East, Europe / Lorenz Lüthi, McGill University, Montreal.

Description: New York : Cambridge University Press, 2020. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019031573 (print) | LCCN 2019031574 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108418331 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108289825 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Cold War – Diplomatic history. | World politics – 1945–1989. | Decolonization. | International relations – History – 20th century.

Classification: LCC D843 .L866 2020 (print) | LCC D843 (ebook) | DDC 909.82/5–dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019031573

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2019031574

ISBN 978-1-108-41833-1 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-40706-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For Catherine





### Contents

	List of Maps	page ix
	Acknowledgments	X
	Note on Names, Transliterations, and References	xiii
	List of Abbreviations	XV
	Introduction	1
1	From High Imperialism to Cold War Division	13
Part	t I Elusive Unities	37
	Introduction to Chapters 2 to 4	39
2	The United Kingdom and the Arab League	42
3	The Soviet Union and the Socialist Camp	68
4	The United States and the Free World	90
Part	II Asia	113
	Introduction to Chapters 5 to 7	115
5	China	117
6	Vietnam	138
7	India	162
Part I	II The Middle East	183
	Introduction to Chapters 8 to 10	185
8	Arab-Israeli Relations, 1948-64	188
9	Arab-Israeli Relations, 1964-75	212
10	The Palestinians	240
		vii



viii	Contents	
Part I	V Alternative World Visions	261
	Introduction to Chapters 11 to 13	263
11	Asian–African Internationalism	266
12	Non-Alignment	287
13	Pan-Islamism	307
Part	V Europe between the Superpowers	329
	Introduction to Chapters 14 to 16	331
14	Nuclear Weapons	334
15	Western European Integration	358
16	The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance	381
Part V	VI European Détente	407
	Introduction to Chapters 17 to 19	409
17	Germany	413
18	The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe	438
19	The Vatican	462
Part V	II The End of the Regional Cold Wars	487
	Introduction to Chapters 20 to 22	489
20	The Middle East	493
21	Asia	520
22	Europe	538
23	The End of the Superpower Cold War	563
24	Legacies of the Cold War	595
	Conclusion	605
	Notes Index	614 736



## Maps

1	Europe and the Ottoman Empire, 1914	page 15	
2	Europe, 1945	23	
3	American and Soviet alliance systems in Europe, 1955	32	
4	4 The Middle East before and after the collapse of the Ottoman		
	Empire	47	
5	Socialist Eastern Europe and socialist East Asia, late 1940s	74	
6	Indochina	140	
7	South Asia	165	
8	The partition of Palestine according to (1) the Peel		
	Commission in 1937, (2) the UN partition proposal in 1947,	,	
	and (3) after the end of the war in 1949	192	
9	Israel and the Occupied Territories after the June War in 196	7 219	
0	Germany in 1945	415	



## Acknowledgments

Fifteen years of teaching, research, and writing have gone into this book, and many more years of thinking beforehand. Along the way, I explored topics and countries about which I had known little previously. I often found myself like a little boy standing in a giant candy store with hungry eyes wide open. In the process of producing this book, I have received much support, encouragement, and constructive criticism from numerous people and institutions.

This project would not have been possible without the generous funding of four research grants and two conference grants from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada, a research grant from the Fonds de Recherche du Québec – Société et culture (FRQSC), a fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, a New Directions Fellowship from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and a fellowship from the Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD). All these funding institutions – including McGill's support to apply (thank you to Kathleen Holden!) – enabled me to conduct wide-ranging research in almost two dozen archives on four continents, to take leave from teaching and service for longer periods of time, and to acquire new skills.

I have benefited greatly from the knowledge and support of the staff of the National Archives of Australia, the Foreign Ministry Archive of the People's Republic of China, the Jiangsu Provincial Archive, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, the National Archives of India, the Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation, the Russian State Archive of Contemporary History, the Archive of Yugoslavia, the Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Relations in Bulgaria, the Political Archive of the Office for Foreign Affairs of Germany, the Federal Archives of Germany, the Federal Commissioner for the Documents of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic (Stasi-Archive), the Archive of the German Caritas Association, the Federal Archive of Switzerland, the Archive of the International Olympic Committee, the Austrian State Archive, the Archives of the Ministry of

X



#### Acknowledgments

хi

Foreign Affairs of France, the National Library of Sweden, the British Library, the National Archives of the United Kingdom, the Labour History Archive and Study Centre, Library and Archives Canada, the United Nations Archive, the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, the Richard Nixon Presidential Library, the Jimmy Carter Presidential Library, and the Special Collections Department of UCLA Library. During my stays at various places during my travels, Reinhard Wolf, Karin Schiebold, Martin Kaufmehl, and Sarah and Christian Miescher have provided me with a comfortable bed, great food, and even better company.

Over the course of fifteen years, many research assistants have contributed to this project. My gratitude goes to Sarah Balakrishnan, Petia Draguieva, Sarah Ghabrial, Hussein Hassan, Stephanie Hu, Ira Hubert, Disha Jani, Garima Karia, Jean-Robert Lalancette, Robert Larson, Liu Jing, Mao Xiaosong, Laila Matar, Simeon Mitropolitski, Jonathan Newburgh, Joyce Ng, Dafe Oputu, Jonah Ross-Marrs, Maya Shopova, Philip Stachnik, Erik Underwood, Eliza Wood, Brian Wright, Boyao Zhang, Zhang Qian, and Yuan Yi Zhu.

Numerous colleagues have provided me with historiographical references, raised ideas and objections, assisted in archival research, or read chapters. I want to express my thanks to Malek Abisaab, Hussam Ahmed, Anastassios Anastassiadis, Pierre Asselin, Megan Bradley, Mark A. Brawley, Gregg Brazinsky, Subho Basu, Cai Jiahe, Giancarlo Casale, Jovan Čavoški, Roland Cerny-Werner, Paul Chamberlin, Chen Hao, Dai Chaowu, Ruud van Dijk, Lyubodrag Dimič, Sean Fear, Yakov Feygin, F. Gregory Gause, Christopher Goscha, Maximilian Graf, Bernd Greiner, Pierre Grosser, Eric Helleiner, Daniel Heller, David Holloway, Talbot Imlay, Kristy Ironside, Jabin Jacob, Wanda Jarzabek, Juliet Johnson, Matthew Jones, Pierre Journod, Andy B. Kennedy, James C. Kennedy, Piotr Kosicki, Lynn Kozak, James Krapfl, Erik Kuhonta, Guy Laron, Brian Lewis, Li Danhui, Catherine Lu, Laura Madokoro, Setrag Manoukian, Leonard Moore, Michael C. Morgan, Wolfgang Mueller, Farid Abdel-Nour, Lien-Hang Nguyen, Phi-Van Nguyen, Maria Popova, Laila Parsons, T. V. Paul, Krzysztof Pelc, Jeronim Perović, Lou Pingeot, Jacques Portes, Vincent Pouliot, Srinath Raghavan, Janós Rainer, J. Simon Rofe, Douglas Selvage, Mahesh Shankar, Shen Zhihua, Balazs Szalontai, Eric Tagliacozzo, Jeremy Tai, Christopher Tang, Joshua Teitelbaum, Martin Thomas, Oldřich Tůma, Peter Vámos, Hamish van der Ven, Adrian Vickers, Robert Vitalis, Steven Wagner, Wang Dong, Juan Wang, Manfred Wilke, Robert Wisnovsky, and John Zucchi. I fear that I have forgotten somebody – thank you, too!

I am also grateful to my colleagues, who participated in the book manuscript workshop at McGill in September 2018, for their



#### xii Acknowledgments

innumerable (and mostly accepted) criticisms and suggestions for improvement. Thank you to Subho Basu, Gregg Brazinsky, Jeffrey Byrne, Cindy Ewing, Kristy Ironside, Juliet Johnson, Piotr Kosicki, Laila Parsons, Vincent Pouliot, Judith Szapor, and David Welch. O. Arne Westad has read and commented on the whole manuscript even if he could not attend – thank you, too!

Of course, I take full responsibility for all mistakes remaining in the text.

Several chapters have been partially published in previous publications. I want to thank the President and Fellows of Harvard College and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology for granting permission to reprint parts of "The Non-Aligned Movement and the Cold War, 1961–1973," originally published in the Journal of Cold War Studies (18/4, pp. 98–147); the University of Pennsylvania Press for granting permission to reprint parts of "Non-Alignment, 1946–65: Its Formation and Struggle against Afro-Asianism," originally published in *Humanity* (7/2, pp. 201–23); the Taylor & Francis Group for granting permission to reprint parts of "Non-Alignment, 1961–1974," originally published in Neutrality and Neutralism in the Global Cold War: Between or Within the Blocs? (edited by Sandra Bott, Jussi M. Hanhimaki, Janick Schaufelbuehl, and Marco Wyss, pp. 90-107); and the Woodrow Wilson Center Press / Stanford University Press for granting permission to reprint parts of "Strategic Shifts in East Asia," originally published in *The Regional Cold Wars in Europe*, East Asia, and the Middle East: Connections and Turning Points (edited by myself, pp. 223-44).

I am very grateful to my editor, Michael Watson at Cambridge University Press, for his support of this project from the moment of our first meeting, two anonymous reviewers who came to opposite conclusions about the manuscript, Ian McIver for shepherding the manuscript through production, Rachel Harrison for pre-copy editing, Kay McKechnie for copy-editing, and Caroline Diepeveen for indexing. Thank you also to Marc Desrochers and Valentin Rakov for repeatedly fixing my irritable laptop.

Last but not least, this book would not have been possible without the love, support, and patience of Catherine, who had heard about this project virtually since the first months of our relationship, let me go to many archives around the world to conduct research on people long dead, and listened to my excited, detailed, and entirely boring reports about my many archival finds. Without you, this book would not have been written!



# Note on Names, Transliterations, and References

For reasons of space, the full bibliography appears online at www .cambridge.org/luthi and the author's institutional website, but full references are also given when a reference is first cited in each chapter.

Names appear according to historical custom. Usually, for Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese individuals, they occur in the sequence of last name – first name, and for the rest in the reverse order. I tried to keep exceptions to a minimum. Any name with a widespread English spelling that diverges from the correct transliteration is exempt from the belowmentioned transcription rules, as for example: Warsaw (Warszawa), Khrushchev (Khrushchyev), Gamal Abdel Nasser (Gamal abd al-Nasir), Chiang Kai-shek (Jiang Jieshi), etc. For Vietnamese names, I follow the inconsistent but customary usage, which can be confusing: For example, Ho Chi Minh appears as Ho (last name) in the short version, but Vo Nguyen Giap appears as Giap (first name) in the short version, etc. Some country names have changed since 1945, but they will appear in their historical form as well, such as Burma (Myanmar) and Ceylon (Sri Lanka). I applied the following transcription conventions for the multitude of languages used in this book:

All European languages using the Latin alphabet (English, German, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, Romanian, Italian, and French) keep their diacritical marks.

For Cyrillic languages, I followed the transliteration tables generally used by the Library of Congress (ALA-LC Romanization table; see www.loc.gov/catdir/cpso/roman.html), with the following exceptions: 1. Soft vowels such as 10, 11, and ë are transliterated as yu (not iu), ya (not ia), and ye (not ë). 2. The following signs and diacritical marks are dropped: ' for the soft sign 15, " for the Russian hard sign 15, " if or the Bulgarian unstressed vowel 15, " on it (ii), on et (ii), and above a cluster of Latin letters (ts, yu, ya),

xiii



xiv Note on Names, Transliterations, and References

indicating that they jointly stand for one transliterated Cyrillic letter (II, IO, IO).

Vietnamese and Korean names lose their diacritical marks, due to publishing constraints and because they often appear without any in numerous documents.

For Chinese, the Pinyin system applies.

For Arabic and Persian, common spellings of names in Englishlanguage sources are used.



### Abbreviations

AAPSO Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization

ABM Anti-Ballistic Missile (Treaty, 1972)
ASEAN Association of Southeast Asian Nations

CCP Chinese Communist Party

CENTO Central Treaty Organization (Baghdad Pact)

CIA Central Intelligence Agency

CMEA Council for Mutual Economic Assistance

CoCom Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export

Controls

Cominform Communist Information Bureau

Comintern Communist International (Third International)

CPSU Communist Party of the Soviet Union

CSCE Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe DRV Democratic Republic of Vietnam (1945–76; North

Vietnam)

EC European Communities (1967–93; ECSC, EEC, and

EURATOM)

ECHR European Court of Human Rights (since 1959) ECSC European Coal and Steel Community (1951–93)

EDC European Defense Community

EEC European Economic Community (1957–67) EFTA European Free Trade Association (since 1960)

EPC European Political Cooperation EU European Union (since 1993)

EURATOM European Atomic Energy Community (since 1957)
Fatah Palestinian National Liberation Movement (reverse

acronym)

FLN Front de libération nationale (National Liberation

Front of Algeria)

FRG Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany)

G-77 Group of 77

GDR German Democratic Republic (East Germany)

ΧV



	T
XV1	List of Abbreviations

GMD Guomindang (Nationalist Party of China)

IBEC International Bank of Economic Cooperation (CMEA)

ICP Indochinese Communist Party

ICSC International Commission for Supervision and Control

(Vietnam)

ICWA Indian Council of World Affairs

IDF Israel Defense Forces

IIB International Investment Bank (CMEA)

IMF International Monetary Fund INF Intermediate Nuclear Forces

KGB Komitet Gosudarstvennov Bezopasnosti (Committee

for State Security)

KOR Komitet Obrony Robotników (Workers' Defense

Committee)

LTBT Limited Test Ban Treaty (1963)
MAD Mutual Assured Destruction

MLF Multi-Lateral Force

MNF Multinational Force (Lebanon)
NATO North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEFA North-East Frontier Agency (after 1954)
NEFT North-East Frontier Tracts (until 1954)

NEP New Economic Policy

NLF National Liberation Front (South Vietnam) NPT Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (1968)

OAPEC Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries

OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and

Development

OEEC Organization for European Economic Cooperation
OSCE Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
Panchsheel Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (1954)
PCF Parti Communiste Français (French Communist

Party)

PCI Partito Comunista Italiano (Italian Communist Party)

PFLP Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

PLA People's Liberation Army (China)
PLA Palestinian Liberation Army
PLO Palestine Liberation Organization
PRC People's Republic of China

PRG Provisional Revolutionary Government (South

Vietnam)

ROC Republic of China



List of Abbreviations

ROPCiO Ruch Obrony Praw Człowieka i Obywatela (Movement

for Defense of Human and Civic Rights)

RVN Republic of Vietnam (1955–76; South Vietnam)

SALT Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (1972) SALT II Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (1979)

SDI Strategic Defense Initiative

SEATO Southeast Asia Treaty Organization

SED Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (Socialist

Unity Party of Germany)

sihuasi xiandaihua (Four Modernizations; PRC)SRVSocialist Republic of Vietnam (since 1976)STARTStrategic Arms Reduction Treaty (1991)START IIStrategic Arms Reduction Treaty (1993)START IIIStrategic Arms Reduction Treaty (2010)

SVN State of Vietnam (until 1955)

UAR United Arab Republic
UK United Kingdom
UN United Nations

UNCTAD United Nations Conference on Trade and

Development

UNEF United Nations Emergency Force (Sinai)

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organization

UNIFIL United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon

US United States (of America)

USSR Union of Soviet Socialist Republics VCP Vietnamese Communist Party

VWP Vietnamese Workers Party (since 1951)

WAPA Warsaw Pact

xvii

