

2R: The Cold War, 1945-1991

The Origins of the Cold War, 1945-1949

Introduction: Who was responsible for the Cold War?

The Orthodox School

- Popular until the 1970s with historians such as W. H. McNeill in *America, Britain and Russia, Their Co-operation and Conflict 1941-6*, 1953. This blamed the Cold War on Soviet expansionism.
- By 1947, many United States' spokesmen no longer limited the Soviet challenge to an imperialistic design but rather to a Moscow-centred ideological crusade aimed at the total destruction of the Western traditions of government and society.
- They viewed Stalin's ruthless transformation of the Eastern European nations into Russian satellites, following the Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine, as proof less of Soviet insecurity than of the unlimited ambitions of Soviet communism, demanding after 1948 a Western policy of military containment in Europe.

The Revisionist School

- Very much influenced by those in USA who criticised US involvement in war in Vietnam in the 1960s.
- Historians such as G. Kolko and G. Alperowitz blamed the Cold War on the provocative actions of the USA.

The Post-Revisionist School

- 1970s move away from blaming either side. Historians taking a more detached view and looking at range of causes.
- E.g. D. Kergin *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State*, 1977.

Long term causes of the Cold War

- **Bolshevik Revolution.** This brought conflict with the West due to fears of the spread of communist ideas especially as Lenin advocated world revolution.
- **Wilsonian Liberalism.** This conflicted with Bolshevism. It was based on his belief in national self-determination with no government imposed on national groups, open markets and collective security based on the League of Nations. The Bolsheviks saw all these as tools of world capitalism.
- **Stalin** remembered and resented US and British intervention in the Civil War in support of the Bolshevik opponents, the Whites.
- He was also suspicious of the Anglo-French policy of appeasement in the 1930s towards Nazism and Fascism; were the West intending to use Nazism against the Soviet Union?

- **Economic differences.** Marxism blamed the division of society on capitalism and private ownership and wanted state ownership of all businesses and land. This was the antithesis of the US economy which was based on private enterprise.
- **Political differences.** The USA increasingly championed liberal democracy based on freedom to vote, of speech, of worship and of the press.
- Communism opposed multi-party states which created conflict and divisions and believed in a one-party state ruling on behalf of the people.

US, British and USSR relations in 1945

- **The Grand Alliance** was borne out of necessity – The USA, USSR and Britain allied against the Axis Powers. There were several strains in the Alliance.
- **Stalin** was furious at the delay in opening up a second front against Germany until June 1941. He believed that the West wanted to see the Soviet Union defeated by Nazi Germany.
- **Poland** increased the East-West differences. Britain had gone to war to maintain Polish independence. Stalin, on the other hand, had no intention of accepting an unfriendly government in Warsaw.
- Strategically, **Soviet control of Poland** was vital to prevent future invasions. Britain and the USA were appalled when, in August 1944, the Warsaw uprising took place and the Soviet army, which had reached the River Vistula outside Warsaw, did nothing to help.
- Many in the USA, especially **Harry Truman**, the Vice-President, hated communism and disliked working closely with the USSR.

The legacy of the Second World War

- This was the immediate reason for the Cold War.
- The power vacuum created by the defeat of Nazi Germany. Huge areas of Europe had been liberated. What form of government and economy would they have?
- The USA wanted the liberated countries to be given freedom of choice over government and economy.
- In the huge areas of Eastern Europe occupied by the Red Army, Stalin favoured Soviet type regimes.
- Stalin made this clear in 1945: ‘whoever occupies a territory imposes his own social system. It cannot be otherwise’.
- Distrust and suspicion on both sides fuelled by western support for the Whites during the Russian Civil War and western dislike of Stalin’s purges of the 1930s.
- This was intensified by the US decision to use the atomic bomb against Japan in 1945.

- Stalin was furious at not being consulted. It also sent out a clear message about the military superiority of the USA.

Soviet attitudes in 1945

To what extent was the Soviet Union responsible for the Cold War?

- The traditional view blamed Stalin and Soviet expansionism when the USSR imposed Soviet style regimes on Eastern Europe.
- Stalin's aims were more complicated than this. He was determined to maintain the security of the Soviet Union and prevent a future invasion.
- Over 20 million Soviet citizens were killed during the Second World War. Stalin wanted to create Soviet controlled buffer zones in Eastern Europe but for survival rather than world revolution and the spread of communism. Expansionism was not his primary objective.
- Russia and the Soviet Union had been invaded by Germany twice in the twentieth century; Stalin was determined that it should not happen again.
- The Soviet Union was in a very weak position in 1945 and the situation grew worse with major shortages and serious unrest in 1946.

US attitudes in 1945

- Roosevelt had been prepared to co-operate and compromise with Stalin especially over the future of Eastern Europe. He also needed Soviet support for an assault on Japan.
- He died in April 1945 and was replaced by Harry Truman who was greatly influenced by anti-communist groups in the USA and was very suspicious of Stalin's motives.
- Truman's inexperience in foreign policy was reflected in his workings with Molotov, Stalin's foreign minister.
- The latter accused Truman of acting like a 'Missouri mule driver' when he informed the Russian that the commitments agreed to at the Yalta conference in 1945 had not been carried out.
- The **Long Telegram** of 1946 seemed to confirm all Truman's suspicions. It was written by George Kennan, the USA's Deputy Chief of Mission at the US Embassy in Moscow.

George F. Kennan (1904 – 2005) and the Long Telegram

- George Kennan was a leading American student of Soviet politics and became US ambassador to the Soviet Union in 1951.
- In 1946, he sent a 'long telegram' (16 pages) to President Truman in Washington. In this telegram, he described the serious threat posed by the Soviet Union to the United States and how American foreign policy should be designed to react to this threat.

- His fundamental belief was that the Soviets did not believe in 'peaceful coexistence' and were 'committed fanatically to the belief' that there could be no permanent peace with the United States.
- The United States should adopt a policy of 'long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies'.
- He believed that Soviet pressure has to be 'contained by the adroit and vigilant application of counterforce at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points'.
- Truman, wanting 'to get tough with Russia', accepted this idea of containment and its belief in 'no compromise' with the Communists.
- Many Republicans opposed the idea of containment as not being strong enough. Instead, they favoured the idea of the 'rollback' of Soviet expansion, a policy that could increase the likelihood of military intervention.

Truman's approach

- Truman adopted a hard-line or 'Iron Fist' approach as a reaction to the failure of appeasement in the 1930s to stop Nazi expansionism.
- He appears to have fallen under the influence of men that wanted to take hard line towards the Russians and make a clear stand in terms of the US position.
- A change of personnel does not alone explain the Cold War; it was yet another factor influencing the breakdown of the old wartime alliance.
- The US failed to understand Stalin's obsession with security against attack. Instead they were influenced by the Comintern and the desire of the USSR to encourage world revolution.
- This seemed to be confirmed by Soviet attempts to impose governments on Eastern Europe. An expansionist and aggressive Soviet foreign policy was viewed as the product of the totalitarian regime in the USSR.
- US industry pressurised the government to protect its markets in Europe against the spread of communism.
- The United States government, led by Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, attempted to use its pre-dominant economic power to penetrate Europe.
- That policy, culminating in the Marshall Plan, triumphed in Western Europe, but failed to penetrate the Iron Curtain.
- The United States, with its vast economic power, might have extended credit to the Soviet Union in 1945 to relieve its economic plight.
- Instead, the Truman administration cancelled Lend-Lease abruptly and without explanation.
- In 1946, Stalin announced another five-year plan to rebuild Russian industry and assure the technological independence of the Soviet Union.

When did the Cold War start?

- For historians such as Arthur Schlesinger, who see the Cold War as a clash of rival ideologies, it began with the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.
- Others, such as William A. Williams, believe it was caused by the US decision to take a major role in world affairs in 1945.
- J. R. Starobin and other post-revisionists believe that negotiation and compromise were still possible in 1945 but broke down in the ensuing two years. The Cold War began properly in 1947.

Yalta and Potsdam: the collapse of the Grand Alliance

- By 1947 there was a deep rift between East and West due to differences over the future of Germany, the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan.
- The first real signs of differences occurred at the allied conferences of 1945.

The Yalta Conference, February 1945

- In February 1945 Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met at Yalta in the southern Soviet Union to plan the end of the Second World War.
- Tension between Churchill and Stalin grew and when the Big Three next met at Yalta, clear differences emerged.
- Nevertheless, Churchill and Roosevelt needed Stalin's support in case it was necessary to invade Japan.
- By February, the Soviet Union was advancing through Eastern Europe and Churchill was convinced that Soviet troops would remain in the countries they liberated from German occupation.

What happened at Yalta?

- The Allies agreed to divide Germany into four zones; each one would be occupied by one of the four allies.
- Stalin agreed to accept France as one of the powers – this was after much persuasion by Churchill. Berlin would also be divided into four sectors.
- Poland would be given land in the west, which would be taken from Germany and would lose land to the USSR.
- Stalin agreed that some members of the Polish government in exile (the London Poles) would be allowed to join the Polish government that he had set up (the Lublin Poles). Free elections would be held.
- The USSR would declare war on Japan three months after the end of the war with Germany.

- Stalin promised to allow free elections in the countries of Eastern Europe, which had been occupied by the Soviet army.
- It was agreed that Nazi war criminals would be tried in an international court of justice.
- The Big Three agreed that a conference at San Francisco in April of 1945 should formulate plans for a new world body – to be called the United Nations. Its aim would be to keep peace.
- However, no agreement could be reached about reparations.
- They agreed on the setting up of the United Nations, the post-war partition of Germany and the principle of free elections in Eastern Europe.
- There was some disagreement over Poland. Stalin had set up a communist government at Lublin but agreed to the demands from the West for free elections in return for keeping the parts of Poland occupied in 1939.

Potsdam, July 1945

- Relations were far less cordial. Truman was now President and distrusted Stalin.
- He had already torn Molotov off a strip when he visited Washington in April 1945.
- Molotov had been on his way to San Francisco for the opening of the UN. He stopped in Washington to express his condolences on the death of Roosevelt.
- The Potsdam conference was the last of the conferences between the leaders of the allies during the Second World War.
- President Roosevelt died on 12 April and he was succeeded by Harry Truman who took a much tougher line with Stalin.
- By July, the USA had developed the atomic bomb, which meant that Truman no longer needed to rely upon the Soviet Union in the war against Japan.
- During the conference, Churchill was replaced by Clement Attlee, who had become Britain's new Prime Minister following the July general election.

What was decided at Potsdam?

- Germany was divided into four zones. Each zone would be occupied by one of the four Allies, Great Britain, France, the USA and the USSR. Berlin was divided into four sectors.
- Germany was to be de-militarised. All German naval and merchant ships were to be given to the Allies.
- The Nazi Party would be dissolved. War criminals would be tried and punished. Nazis were removed from important positions and leading Nazis were to be put on trial for war crimes. These trials were held in Nuremberg during 1946.
- There would be free elections in Germany, freedom of speech and a free press.

- Germany would pay reparations for the damage caused by the war. Most of this would go to the USSR, either in money or goods.
- \$10 billion would be sent to the Soviet Union in machinery; Stalin would supply food in return.
- Germany would become an agricultural and light industry economy; this was later fleshed out in the Morgenthau Plan in 1946 and embodied in JCS 1067.
- German steel production was eventually limited to 3 million tonnes pa. Car production was restricted to 10% of that pre-war
- The Ruhr, the main industrial area in Germany, was in the British Zone. Stalin expected that he would be allowed a say in what happened there.
- All the Allies agreed to take part in the United Nations.
- Poland's frontier was to be moved westwards to the rivers Oder and Neisse. Germans living in Eastern Europe would be transferred into Germany.
- Decisions on Germany would be taken jointly by the four occupying powers; at some time in the future, Germany would be reunited.

But there were also disagreements at Potsdam.

- The new US president, Harry Truman tried to force the USSR to allow free elections in the countries of Eastern Europe, which had been occupied after the end of the war.
- Stalin was angry that the USA had not told him about the atomic bomb, which he knew that the USA had developed.
- This was the beginning of the 'Cold War'. During 1945–46, Stalin's policies showed that he did not trust the West and he kept control of those countries of Eastern Europe that had been liberated from Nazi rule. This led to Winston Churchill coining the term '**Iron Curtain**'.
- The USA and Britain were annoyed at Stalin's actions in Eastern Europe. Communist groups were being positioned in important government roles.
- Soviet influence was expanding in Poland where there seemed little chance of free elections.
- In the Soviet zone in Germany, the communists and socialists were merged into the SED (Socialist Unity Party) in an effort to win elections in all four zones.

Soviet reactions to Potsdam

- Soviet leaders were disappointed by the American stand at Potsdam. Stalin and his foreign minister, Molotov, protested that the Americans were retreating from earlier pledges.
- Stalin said that he had been promised a role in the supervision of the Ruhr.
- Molotov stressed that Russia desperately needed the metallurgical, chemical and machinery factories that were located there.

- Stalin believed that the successful testing of the atomic bomb was encouraging the Americans to negotiate from strength and renege on former commitments.
- Andrei Gromyko recalled Stalin saying:

The USSR is being cheated. The British and the Americans are not behaving as allies. They want to force us to accept their plans affecting Europe and the world. Well, that's not going to happen.

The Atomic bomb

- Stalin was furious that he had not been consulted.
- At Yalta, Stalin had agreed to declare war on Japan eight months after the end of the war in Europe. VE Day was 8th May 1945. The A-Bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on 6th August.
- Stalin was prevented from attacking Japan and taking spoils of war.
- Truman saw this as an ideal opportunity to show the military strength of the USA and, at the same time, make Stalin more amenable in Europe.
- Stalin believed that the bomb dropped on Nagasaki on 9th August was unnecessary and intended as a threat to the Soviet Union.

Attitudes continued to harden in 1946

- Churchill's '**Iron Curtain**' Speech, March 1946. Churchill delivered the speech at Fulton, Missouri and insisted that an iron curtain had descended across Europe from 'Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic'.
- He stressed the need for an alliance between Britain and the USA to prevent further Soviet expansion.
- Truman reiterated his iron fist approach. 'Unless Russia is faced with an iron fist and strong language another war is in the making'.

Developing tensions

The Soviet occupation of Eastern and Southern Europe

Stalin's motives

- Two very different views.
- Historians such as Samuel Sharp and F. Shuman believe he was following the traditional expansionist policies of the Tsars.
- Revisionists believe his motives were far more defensive and involved the security of the USSR.

Defensive

- This was due to the weakness of the Soviet Union in 1945.
- Militarily Stalin felt threatened by the USA especially after the use of the atomic bomb.
- Economically, the USSR was weak after 4 years of war.
- The war had resulted in the deaths of 20 million Soviet citizens, the highest of any countries involved in the wars.
- Poland was traditionally hostile to Russia and would need to be controlled.
- Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria had all allied with Nazi Germany.
- Stalin therefore wanted a series of buffer states to secure the USSR against possible future western invasions.
- The USA failed to understand Stalin's defensive motives and saw this as evidence of Soviet expansionism.

Buffer states

- Stalin's views appear to have changed between 1945 and 1947.
- In 1945, he appeared willing to accommodate the west and accept limited free elections in Eastern Europe. Indeed he did not believe communism would suit countries such as East Germany.
- By 1947 he realised that he could only maintain control through the imposition of Soviet style regimes.

Soviet policies 1945-8

'Takeover' 1945-7

- About 11 million Red Army troops were stationed in Eastern Europe at the end of the Second World War. This number was reduced over the next two years although sixty divisions were left to police the area.
- In Hungary and Romania, two countries which had fought on the Nazis' side, Stalin felt justified in keeping Soviet troops there as occupying forces.
- Stalin ensured that any new governments were coalitions which meant that the Communist Party would have a say in the running of the country.
- Gradually the Communist Party would infiltrate the key areas of government and security organisations.
- When elections took place, the Communist Party used any means necessary to discredit and frighten opponents.

- Such tactics enabled the Communist Party to take over the government of the country and then began to establish a one-party country – a communist state.

Czechoslovakia

- The Communist Party was the largest party in the coalition government by 1947. Stalin ordered Gottwald, the Communist leader to remove the non-communists in the government.
- In 1948, all communist opponents were removed. Masaryk, a leading opponent of Gottwald was found dead.

Poland

- Having been a member of the coalition for two years, the Communist Party fixed the elections of January 1947.
- The Polish Communist Party set up a government which took its orders from Stalin in Moscow.

Bulgaria

- The November elections of 1945 were fixed and the Communists won a majority of seats and in 1946, a one-party state was established

Hungary

- The Communist Party secured a large share of the vote and took over the government following the general election of August 1947.
- All other parties were then banned and the Communist leader, Rakosi, established a Stalinist regime.

Romania

- By the November election of 1946, the Romanian Communist Party had won a huge majority and set up a government which then forced King Michael to abdicate in 1947.
- Soviet domination was thus complete.

US relations with Europe

- Truman's policy became one of 'containment'; communism had to be prevented from spreading to Western Europe.

The Truman Doctrine

- Soviet support for communism in Greece seemed to confirm the worst suspicions of the West.
- Post-war Greece saw a struggle between the British sponsored royalist government and communists who were strong in the countryside.

- In February 1947, Britain, almost bankrupt, told the US government that it could no longer maintain troops in Greece.
- In March, Truman issued a statement known as the Truman Doctrine. 'It must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressure'.
- Although its immediate aim was to support the Greek government, it had important long term implications.
- Truman was not prepared to allow communism to triumph. Whenever there was a straight choice between communism and democracy, the USA would intervene against communism.
- The USA was assuming the role of the 'policeman of the world' to stop the spread of communism.
- US aid of \$400,000,000 was enough to defeat the communists in Greece.

The USA's involvement in Europe

Disagreements over Germany

- In January 1947, the US and British Zones were merged in Bizonia. This had more to do with British economic weakness than economics.
- Concern over the state of Germany developed in early 1946. The Morgenthau Plan was not working.
- Food in Germany was in short supply; some claimed that people were only receiving 1,000-1,500 calories a day.
- In July 1947, JCS 1067 was replaced by JCS 1779; Germany would be allowed 'economic rehabilitation'.
- This in turn meant that movements of factory machinery to the Soviet Union would be scaled down and be replaced by goods.

Marshall Aid

- This was USA aid to those countries in Europe devastated by the Second World War. It furthered the divisions between East and West. It was offered in 1947 just months after the Truman Doctrine.
- Churchill believed the Marshall plan was 'the most unselfish act in history'. It was not. The USA was trying to protect its economic and political interests in Europe.
- A bankrupt Western Europe would not be able to trade with the USA and might well be susceptible to a communist takeover.
- The Soviet attitude was negative, but not one of out-right rejection. Poland and Czechoslovakia also indicated that they would apply.

- Stalin, only changed his outlook when he learned that credit would only be extended under conditions of economic cooperation and
- Aid would also be extended to Germany in total, an eventuality which Stalin thought would hamper the Soviets' ability to exercise influence in western Germany.
- Aid was discussed at a meeting in Paris in July 1947; Polish and Czechs representatives planned to attend but the Czech foreign minister was summoned to Moscow and dissuaded.
- Poland was awarded a five year trade deal and \$40 million of credit by the Soviet Union
- To the Soviet Union it was a deliberate attempt by the USA to extend their political and economic influence into Western Europe, another example of American imperialism.
- The USSR retaliated by setting up the COMINFORM, an organisation to co-ordinate communist parties throughout Europe, and the COMECON, an organisation to provide economic assistance to the states of eastern Europe.

COMECON

- Stalin set up a Soviet version of Marshall Aid, COMECON the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance on January 25 1949.
- It was intended to be the Soviet Union's response to Marshall Aid. Stalin offered aid to communist countries to help them recover from the effects of the Second World War.
- In 1958, Communist China, North Korea, North Vietnam and Mongolia agreed to integrate their economies with COMECON and in 1964 an International Bank of Economic Collaboration was established.
- But COMECON was only a pale shadow of the economic institutions of the West. The Soviet Union lacked the financial strength of the USA and the attempt to set up a communist rival led to bankruptcy and ruin.
- COMECON was a major drain on the resources of the Soviet Union and helped to bring about its economic downfall in the 1980s.

Did Truman miss a trick over Marshall Aid?

- The initial reaction of Stalin was suspicion but not rejection; it was the conditions attached to aid that worried him.
- The Marshall Plan (European Cooperation Act) was passed by Congress in 1948 and set up the European Cooperation Administration.
- Membership of the OEEC (Organisation for European Economic Cooperation) was compulsory.
- The structure of the Plan and the conditions attached forced Stalin to reject them outright.
- This resulted to stricter Soviet control over Eastern Europe and the creation of COMECON and COMINFORM.

Conflict over Germany

Developments within the sectors

- By the end of 1947, clear political divisions had appeared between the Soviet zone and the western zones. These were accentuated by economic developments.
- At Potsdam, the Allies had committed themselves to 'common policies' which would cover trade, the currency and transport. Changes or reforms would have to be agreed by all four occupying powers.
- In practice, the economies of the four zones were completely separate. The Soviet and French zones suffered from depredations by the occupying power. The French even hoped that the Saar would be ceded to France.
- In the Soviet zone, industry was nationalised and reparations were extorted. Under the Potsdam agreement the USSR was entitled to take \$10 billion
- The British also favoured nationalisation, under the influence of the Labour government, which was taking control of key industries at home.
- But Britain was finding it very difficult to raise the £320 million that was needed every year to run the British zone.
- Consequently, in January 1947, the US and British zones were united in **Bizonia** and American policy was to establish free enterprise capitalism. The French zone was added to form Trizonia in 1948.
- Bizonia was administered from Frankfurt and was largely German run. It was the basis for the future Federal Republic of Germany.
- In June 1947, Marshall Aid was announced and funds began to arrive in the Western Zones from 1948.
- The combination of Bizonia and Marshall Aid resulted in increased industrial production in the West. In 1947, it rose by 33%.

Currency reform

- Further progress depended on the establishment of a new currency. The Reichsmark was heavily devalued and hyperinflation was only prevented by strict control on wages and prices.
- Attempts to reform the currency had failed because there had been no agreement between East and West.
- The Deutschmark was introduced on 20th June 1948 and Germans were allowed to exchange Reichsmarks on a 1 to 1 basis.
- This broke the Potsdam agreement and the USSR protested vigorously. On 23rd June it introduced its own East Mark, but the exchange rate with the Reichsmark for individuals was set at from 3-13 to 1, whilst that for state-owned industries was set at 1 to 1.

- This meant that individuals and private businesses were deliberately penalised and allowed the Soviet authorities to extort further 'reparations'.
- The creation of the two currencies virtually cut off the economies of the two Germanys. It had been difficult to trade beforehand because only the US dollar was accepted in the West, but now it was impossible because neither accepted each other's currency.

How did the Soviet Union react to western moves towards unity?

- Initially, the Soviet authorities tried to combat moves by playing on the fears of Germans. They held two People's Congresses in 1947 and 1948 and invited delegates from the West.
- Most of the western delegates were members of the KPD and therefore the Congresses had little effect.
- The reaction to the Deutschmark was more severe. On 24th June, transport links to West Berlin by road, rail and canal were cut and the Blockade began. It lasted for ten and a half months.

The Berlin Crisis, 1948-9

- The Berlin Blockade presented the West with a challenge that it could not afford to lose.
- The Allies were determined that Stalin should not succeed. General Lucius Clay the US commander in Berlin said, 'If West Berlin falls, West Germany will be next'.
- Clay offered to fight his way out of West Berlin, but was ordered not to by Truman.
- The Allies believed that if they gave in Stalin would behave as Hitler had in the 1930s. More and more countries would be taken over.
- The Allies began to bring supplies into West Berlin by air. 4,000 tonnes were needed every day. Eventually they were bringing in 8,000 tonnes; even coal was brought in by plane.
- More than 320,000 flights were made altogether and 79 pilots died. The Airlift did not end until September 1949, four months after the end of the Blockade.
- It was intended to drive the West out of Berlin. It had the opposite effect and simply made the West determined to stay. West Berlin became a symbol of the West behind what became the Iron Curtain.
- The Blockade also reinforced the West's decision to create a political state out of the Western zones. The US authorities had been reluctant to take this step at first. They preferred to reach some sort of agreement with their Soviet counterparts.
- In 1947, the USA had considered a proposal to send reparations to the USSR from the Ruhr, but had dropped it on British advice. Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary believed that a united Germany would be a target for Soviet communism.
- In fact, Stalin would have settled for a neutral Germany which was not susceptible to Western influence.

- Instead, the USA refused to offer extra reparations until progress had been made on economic unity. The Blockade was the final straw in deciding to create a West German state.
- The decision was reinforced during talks held in January 1949 to try to reach a compromise. It became clear that the Blockade was not just a protest against the Deutschmark, but an attempt to force the West out of Berlin and prevent a separate state being created in the West.

Results

- The West organised an airlift of supplies to West Berlin. All food and fuel supplies for over 2 million Berliners were flown into the city. By May 1949 Stalin had conceded defeat and lifted the blockade.
- The Berlin crisis showed the need for a co-ordinated defence strategy by the West and the formation of NATO.

NATO, 1949

- NATO is the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, which was set up in 1949 during the Berlin Blockade.
- It was a sign that relations between the Superpowers were now so bad that some form of military alliance was necessary.
- Thirteen countries joined in 1949, including Britain and the USA.
- It led to US troops and aircraft being stationed in European countries to protect them against a possible attack by the countries of Eastern Europe.
- The most important aspect of the alliance was that if anyone of the member countries was to be attacked, all the others would immediately protect it.
- Since 1949 most countries of Western Europe have joined NATO and in the last years some of the former communist countries, such as Poland and Hungary have joined. Since the alliance was set up, none of the members has been attacked.
- It ended any hope of reunification between East and West Germany. In August 1949, the three western zones of Germany joined together to become the Federal Republic of Germany.
- In response, the Soviet zone became the German Democratic Republic.
- Relations between the USSR and USA reached an all time low in 1949.
- The creation of NATO meant that US forces were sent to Europe and the Iron Curtain now became a front line.
- Some Soviet historians claimed that the Berlin Blockade was no more than a bluff by Stalin. He was trying to distract the West from what was happening in China.
- 1948-9, the Chinese Civil War reached a climax with the victory of Mao Zedong in October 1949.

The Widening of the Cold War, 1949-1955

US containment in action in Asia

- During the Second World War, the GMD (Nationalists) and CCP (Communists) had fought against the Japanese in a United Front
- In 1945, Chiang Kaishek (GMD leader) was recognised as the ruler of China and was granted a seat on the Security Council of the UN.
- Chiang was supported by the USA and the USSR. The USSR signed a treaty with Chiang.
- The USA provided air transport to move GMD forces to key areas to receive the Japanese surrender.
- The GMD had 2,700,000 soldiers, including many trained by the US, a large air force and much heavy artillery.
- The USA provided \$2 billion in aid.

The CCP

- The CCP was not recognised as the government of China by any country.
- Mao had an army of about 1,000,000 men, but lacked an air force and had little heavy artillery.
- Soviet forces in Manchuria, however, handed over Japanese bases to the CCP along with their equipment and ammunition.

Why did it prove impossible to maintain the Second United Front?

- Once the Japanese had been defeated, there was little reason to continue with an alliance between the GMD and the CCP.
- The CCP took over Manchuria when Soviet forces invaded.
- The CCP refused Chiang's demand to control its forces and northern China.
- US forces occupied northern cities to help the GMD take over.
- There was a temporary respite when Stalin intervened to order Mao to withdraw from Manchuria.
- President Truman also sent General Marshall to China and a cease-fire was arranged in January 1946.
- A coalition government was set up, but Chiang refused to accept democratic government and began to attack CCP bases in Manchuria.
- In July 1946, Chiang began an offensive against all CCP positions in the north and civil war broke out.

- From autumn 1947, the tide began to turn against the GMD. Its forces in the cities of the north were increasingly isolated and, with no way of escape, began to desert to the CCP. This put vast stores of equipment in the hands of the CCP.
- Manchuria was lost in November 1948 after a prolonged campaign by the CCP forces under Lin Biao.
- Chiang had tried to send supplies by air but when this failed, 500,000 GMD troops surrendered.
- CCP forces swept south and Chiang failed to stop them at Xuzhou in January 1949. The cities of Nanjing and Shanghai fell to the CCP in the spring of 1949 and Chiang was forced back into Canton.
- The final collapse of the GMD came in October and November 1948.
- As many of his soldiers deserted to Mao, Chiang resigned as president in January 1949 and fled to Formosa and set up the country of Taiwan.
- The People's Liberation Army (as it had been known since 1946) entered Beijing in January 1949 and the People's Republic of China was proclaimed in October 1949, by which time almost all resistance from the GMD was ended.

The Korean War

Background to the Korean War

- Korea had been under Japanese occupation since 1910. With the defeat of Japan in 1945 the USA and USSR agreed to divide the country into two zones along the 38th Parallel.
- The United Nations demanded free elections for the whole country and was supported by the USA which did not see this as a permanent division and believed that since their zone contained two-thirds of the population, the communist north would be outvoted.
- Korea became part of the general post war cold war rivalry and no agreement could be reached.
- Elections were held in the south, supervised by the UN, and the independent Republic of Korea, or South Korea, was set up, in 1948, with Syngman Rhee as President.
- Within a month the Soviet Union had created the Democratic People's Republic of Korea under the communist government of Kim Il Sung.
- In 1949 Russian and US troops were withdrawn but in June 1950 North Korean troops invaded South Korea

Which side started the war?

- The North claimed it was started by South Korea who shelled an area on the Ongjin Peninsula on 23 June 1950 and then sent their 17th Regiment to seize the town of Haeju.
- The 17th Regiment was a crack unit of soldiers formerly from the North who hated communism.

- The more likely explanation is that the 17th Regiment was acting in retaliation to an invasion from the North.

Why did Kim II Sung invade South Korea?

There are two schools of thought among historians.

- One school believes he was encouraged by Stalin as a means of spreading communism and testing Truman's policy of containment.
- They had supplied the North Koreans with tanks and other equipment. A communist takeover would strengthen Russia's position in the Pacific and make up for Stalin's failure in Berlin.
- The other school of thought, influenced by Khrushchev's memoirs, believes that Stalin was too cautious to risk an escalation of the conflict into a possible war with the USA and looks for other reasons.
- It was Kim IL Sung's own idea, possibly encouraged by a statement by Dean Acheson, the US Secretary of State, earlier in 1950.
- Acheson was talking about which areas round the Pacific the USA intended to defend, and for some reason, he did not include Korea.
- Kim II Sung may also have been encouraged by the new Chinese Communist government.

Why did the USA intervene?

The principle of deterring aggression

- The entry of the USA was, on the face of it, a response to the aggression of North Korea in invading the South.
- The USA was able to force a resolution through the UN Security Council, taking advantage of the absence of the Soviet Union, on the invasion to justify their intervention.
- 'The armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea constitutes a breach of the peace'.
- The US claimed that it was acting to uphold democracy and peace against aggression. But, on the other hand, Syngman Rhee's regime in South Korea was not a model of freedom and democracy.
- Truman insisted he was determined to avoid the mistakes of the League of Nations in the 1930s in the face of aggression and uphold the principles of the UN.
- By using the UN, the USA gained the support of its allies for armed intervention.
- Truman would have preferred indirect intervention but the South Korean army was too weak to hold back the communist forces.

Context of the Cold War

- The communist invasion of the South came at a time when the USA felt increasingly under threat in its rivalry with the Soviet Union and attempts to contain the spread of communism.
- In 1949, the Soviet Union successfully tested its first atom bomb. The USA had believed this was unlikely to occur until late 1950 and had lost its lead in the development of nuclear technology.
- The success of Mao and communism in China was another blow to the US policy of containment. The defeat of the US-supported Nationalist forces was a failure for US policy.
- The Soviet Union now had a powerful communist ally in Asia and also a base for future communist expansion throughout the region, and especially neighbouring Indochina and Korea.
- This seemed to confirm the idea that once one Asian state became communist, the rest would follow. As Truman said:
- ‘If we let Korea down, the Soviets will keep right on going and swallow up one piece of Asia after another’.
- From 1954, this came to be known as the ‘Domino Theory’.

Domestic pressures

- Truman faced pressure at home to take a strong line over Korea.
- Republicans accused him to being too ‘soft’ on communism and he was blamed for the loss of China.
- The USA was experiencing the early stages of the McCarthy witch-hunts and there was growing and strong anti-communist feelings fuelled by the trials of Hiss and the Rosenbergs.
- Hawks in the air force, such as Vandenburg and Finletter, were pushing for direct action against the communists.
- Truman had accepted the National Security Council Paper 68 (NSC-68), which had recommended a stronger policy to contain communism and a substantial increase in the armed forces of the USA.
- Korea gave Truman the excuse to justify the implementation of NSC-68, especially having to raise taxes to finance military expansion.

Changing aims of the USA

- US aims changed due to developments during the war.
- The initial reason for intervention was to save the South from North Korea’s forces. This had been achieved by September 1950, with Stalin offering little or no aid to the North.

- This limited intervention changed when Truman authorised the invasion of the North. The USA was now committed to removing communism from the whole of Korea.
- MacArthur, more or less unilaterally, took the decision to escalate the war even further into a war in Asia. Truman, however, was more cautious and eventually forced MacArthur's resignation in April 1951.
- The intervention of the Chinese and their initial success forced Truman to revert to the original aim of driving communist armies north of the 38th parallel.

The impact on East-West relations

- US involvement in Korea also brought changes to US policy in the rest of Asia.
- The USA became far more committed to Chiang Kaishek and his Nationalist government of Taiwan.
- Indeed, the US Seventh Fleet was sent to the seas around Taiwan as a warning to Mao not to invade Taiwan.
- Until Korea, the USA had shown little sympathy for the French struggle to defeat the communists in Indochina led by Ho Chi Minh. They preferred to distance themselves from this example of European imperialism.
- From 1950, Indochina was seen as crucial in the fight to contain communism. This led to \$1 billion a year aid to the French and the early stages of US involvement in the war in Vietnam.
- US support for Japan was increased as a possible counter-weight to China in the Far East.
- The USA also developed defensive alliances, on the lines of NATO, to contain communism in Asia.
- In 1951 they signed ANZUS, an anti-communist alliance with Australia and New Zealand.
- In 1954 they set up SEATO, the South East Asia Treaty Organisation, with states in this area as a bulwark to communism.
- The Korean War escalated the Cold War from Europe to Asia and was the first 'hot war'. Yet, at the same time, it also established the principle of limited war.
- The USA avoided the use of nuclear weapons but now had to develop tactics involving conventional weapons to contain the spread of communism. This had important implications for later involvement in Vietnam.

Increasing Cold War tensions

McCarthyism

- Growing US involvement in Cold War politics after 1945 encouraged the view that difficulties faced abroad resulted from treason and subversion at home.

- The Senate House Committee on Un-American Activities (later called The House Un-American Activities Committee or HUAC) was formed as early as 1938. It served initially as a platform to denounce The New Deal as a Communist plot.
- After World War Two, increasing numbers of Democrats and Republicans took up these anti-Communist sentiments and many Americans became subject to loyalty oaths.
- Growing Cold War tensions raised concerns about US security and particularly the loyalty of the 80,000 Communist Party members some of whom held key government positions.
- In 1945, a raid on the offices of a pro-Communist magazine revealed that classified documents had been given to the periodical by two State Department employees and a naval intelligence officer.
- In late 1946, Truman named a commission to investigate the loyalty issue. In March 1947, he issued Executive Order 9835 establishing loyalty checks on all government workers.
- Criticisms of American foreign policy could result in accusations of disloyalty and government employees could lose their jobs if they liked foreign films, associated with radical friends or were past members of organisations declared disloyal.
- Between 1947 and 1951, loyalty boards forced nearly 3,000 government employees to resign and a further 300 were sacked on charges of disloyalty.
- Universities banned controversial speakers and some popular magazines ran articles with headlines like 'Reds are after your Child'. By the end of the Truman presidency in 1953, 39 states had loyalty programmes.
- Schoolteachers, college professors and state and city employees were forced to sign loyalty oaths or lose their jobs.
- In 1947, the House Un-American Activities Committee began hearings to expose Communist influence in American life.
- Those refusing to answer HUAC questions often lost their livelihoods. HUAC also frightened labour unions into expelling Communist members and ignoring progressive causes.
- HUAC extended its investigations into the entertainment industry. Film directors and screenwriters who refused to co-operate were cited for contempt and sent to prison.
- The Justice Department prosecuted eleven leaders of The American Communist Party under the Smith Acts of 1940.
- The case of Alger Hiss increased the fears of a 'Red Scare'. In the middle of the 1948 presidential election campaign, HUAC conducted a sensational hearing.
- Whittaker Chambers a senior editor at Time magazine and a former Soviet agent who had broken with the Communists in 1938, identified Hiss as an underground party member throughout the 1930s.
- In the hearing that followed, Chambers was portrayed as part of a crusade to save the West from Communism.

- In contrast, Hiss symbolised the US liberal establishment. He was a graduate of The Harvard Law School and had acted as clerk for Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.
- He served as a presidential adviser on foreign affairs including The Yalta Conference and headed The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- He denied any Communist affiliation and actually claimed not to know Chambers. Most Liberals supported Hiss.
- They saw him as a victim of a right-wing Conservative campaign to tarnish liberalism whilst President Truman himself dismissed the allegations made by Chambers as a 'red herring'.
- Fears grew that the Democratic administration was teeming with Communists. Under rigorous questioning from Richard Nixon, Hiss actually admitted knowing Chambers but denied being a Communist.
- Chambers increased his accusations claiming that Hiss had committed espionage in the 1930s by giving him State Department documents to be sent to the Soviet Union.
- Although he protested his innocence, a grand jury indicted him for perjury and for lying under oath.
- In January 1950, Hiss was convicted and received a 5 year prison sentence. This verdict encouraged Congressional conservatives to seek out other liberals who might be branded as pro-Communist.
- The Republican senator, Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin told an audience in West Virginia that Communists in The State Department had betrayed America.
- He claimed to have 'a list of 205 names known to The Secretary of State as being members of The Communist Party and who nevertheless are still working and shaping policy'.
- McCarthy achieved national prominence. The Senate Committee found his accusations 'a fraud and a hoax' but he still persisted with his campaign despite the continuing absence of supporting evidence.
- He ridiculed US Secretary of State Dean Acheson as the 'Red Dean' and called Truman's dismissal of General Douglas MacArthur 'the greatest victory the Communists have ever won'.
- McCarthy also enjoyed much support among blue-collar workers and his flag-waving tactics appealed to many Catholic ethnic groups eager to show their 100% American credentials and their anti-Communist zeal.
- In 1950, despite the veto of Truman, Congress adopted The McCarran Internal Security Act requiring organisations deemed Communist by the attorney general to register with The Department of Justice and provide membership lists and financial statements.
- It barred Communists from employment in defence plants and authorised the government to deny them passports.

- The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act and The Nationality Act of 1952, both passed despite a presidential veto, maintained the discriminatory quotas based on national origins.
- The 1952 presidential election was fought out against a background of public apprehension about the loyalty of government employees combined with frustration over the stalemate in the Korean War.
- Eisenhower disliked McCarthy intensely but was reluctant to confront him whereas Richard Nixon, the vice-presidential candidate continued to use his ideas to portray the Democrats as liberals and pro-Communist.
- In 1954, McCarthy accused the army of harbouring Communist spies whilst, in response, the army charged McCarthy with using his influence to obtain preferential treatment for a staff member who had been drafted.
- The Army-McCarthy Senate hearings began in April 1954 and were televised throughout the nation. McCarthy conveyed a poor impression to the American people and his dark scowl, raspy voice and irrational outbursts left many disenchanted.
- In December 1954, he was officially rebuked by the Committee Chairman for endless interruptions and for showing contempt for its proceedings.
- McCarthy and others helped to create an environment in post-war America in which liberals, many academics, intellectuals and those thought to harbour Communist sympathies were seen as suspicious and a threat to the security of the nation.

The isolation of China

- On 1st October 1949, Chinese Communist leader Mao Zedong declared the creation of the People's Republic of China.
- The announcement ended a costly civil war between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Nationalist Party or Kuomintang (KMT) which began again after World War II but had been raging intermittently since the 1920s.
- The 'fall' of mainland China to Communism in 1949 led the United States to suspend diplomatic ties with the PRC for decades.
- During World War II, popular support for the Communists had increased. US officials in China reported a dictatorial suppression of dissent in Nationalist controlled areas.
- These undemocratic policies, combined with corruption, made the Republic of China Government vulnerable to the Communist threat.
- The Communists were successful in their efforts at land reform and were praised by the peasants in fighting the Japanese invaders.
- President Roosevelt had backed the regime and Chiang Kai-shek received military aid and 'lend-lease' in considerable amounts. He was seen as the sole option for preventing Communist control of China.

- US forces flew thousands of Nationalist Chinese troops into Japanese-controlled territory and allowed them to accept the Japanese surrender.
- Attempts by General George Marshall to broker an agreement between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong failed and by 1946, both sides were engaged in all-out civil war.
- Between 1945 and 1949, the Americans sent nearly 3 billion dollars to the Nationalists in the form of either military assistance or economic stabilisation loans.
- Although the Communists did not hold any major cities, they had strong grassroots support, superior military organisation and morale and large stocks of weapons seized from the Japanese.
- The Soviet Union occupied Manchuria and only pulled out when Chinese Communist forces were in place to claim that territory.
- Years of corruption and mismanagement eroded popular support for the Nationalist Government and, as early as 1947, the island of Taiwan (Formosa) was being considered as a place of retreat.
- The Nationalist forces collapsed in October 1949 and Chiang Kai-shek fled to Taiwan. The success of Mao in establishing Communism in China shocked many Americans.
- In August 1949, the Truman administration had published the 'China White Paper' explaining past US policy towards China and that only Chinese forces could determine the outcome of their civil war and that nothing could have been done to stop Mao.
- This step failed to protect Truman from charges of having 'lost' China and embittered many American conservatives who believed that America's future lay in Asia and that the revolution led by Mao could be reversed.
- Mao's victory, combined with the Soviet announcement that they had exploded an atomic bomb, would spawn anti-Communist hysteria in the United States.
- For more than twenty years after the 1949 Revolution, there were few contacts, limited trade and no diplomatic ties between the United States and Communist China.
- Until the 1970s, the United States continued to recognise the Republic of China, located on Taiwan as the true government of China and supported that government holding the Chinese seat in the United Nations.

Alliances and shifts

FRG and NATO

- The FRG was created when it became clear that the four Allies could not agree on the economic regeneration of Germany.
- Stalin wanted Germany to be kept as weak as possible, fearing a further attack on the USSR.
- He wanted a Germany that was politically neutral which perhaps could be used as a vehicle for extending communist influence in Western Europe.

- He tried to appeal to the people of German through the People's Congresses and by attempting to unite the KPD and the SPD.
- Stalin viewed the events of 1947-8 with suspicion: the Truman Doctrine, Marshall Aid, the Marshall Plan and the Deutschmark all suggested that the West was going ahead with economic regeneration without his approval. These actions broke the Potsdam Agreements.
- The West wanted a Germany in which the economy was restored to prevent the recurrence of the conditions that had led to the growth of Nazism in the 1930s.
- US policy was influenced by the views of Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, who was the most outspoken advocate of a united West Germany. He saw this as a way of reducing expenditure on the British zone.
- People in the western zones were appalled at the behaviour of the Soviet troops when they had invaded Germany in 1945. Their reputation made a rapprochement with the East under Soviet control almost impossible.
- The Berlin Blockade simply forced the issue and the West established the FRG. Stalin only set up the GDR when he realised that the situation was out of his control.

How was the FRG set up?

- There was a balance between the West German political parties and the demands of the Allies. The West Germans were allowed to draw up the constitution, which was then subject to the approval of the occupying powers.
- A committee of experts drew up a draft, which was then submitted to a council elected by the parliaments of the Lander.
- On the council, the CDU alliance and the SPD both had twenty-seven seats, but there were five liberals and various minorities and two communists. All but the communists backed the CDU.
- Adenauer was elected president of the council, which gave him the opportunity to establish a national reputation.

How was the GDR set up?

- A draft constitution was drawn up in March 1949, but Stalin did not approve the setting up of the GDR until after the first elections in the FRG; these took place in August 1949.
- Stalin was aware that division would cut off all Soviet access to the main industrial areas of Germany, which were in the Ruhr.
- In October 1949, the GDR was established with a constitution which was in theory very similar to that of the FRG. However, in practice it was a one-party dictatorship.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact

- These two organisations symbolised the Cold War, the divisions between East and West.

- The Warsaw Pact, which was set up in 1955 in response to the admission of West Germany (the German Federal republic to NATO), was an attempt to protect the USSR by drawing the countries of Eastern Europe even closer together.
- This showed the fear that the Soviet Union had of a further invasion by Germany.
- The members of the Pact were the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and East Germany.
- The full title was the 'Pact of Mutual Assistance and Unified Command'. It had two important effects.
- It created a joint command of the armed forces of the alliance.
- It set up a Political Committee to co-ordinate the foreign policies of the members.
- The Pact increased the influence of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe and led to more Soviet troops being stationed there. This made the crushing of the Hungarian Rising of 1956 all the easier.
- From the 1950s to the 1980s, the threat from the Warsaw Pact was taken very seriously by the West. Its forces outnumbered those of the West and an invasion through northern Germany always seemed very likely.
- In fact, support for the Pact was financially ruinous for the Soviet Union and was an important factor in the bankruptcy and collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991.

Brinkmanship

The term was coined by Dulles during the height of the Cold War. Dulles defined his policy of brinkmanship as 'The ability to get to the verge without getting into the war'.

SEATO

- Mistrust between the USA and the Soviet Union increased with the foundation of the South East Treaty Organisation (SEATO) in 1954.
- US Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, was convinced that South East Asia was the weak part of the Western alliance and could be exploited by Russia. He set up The South-East Asia Treaty Organisation, a copy of NATO designed to contain Communism in the Far East.
- Besides the United States, the members were Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines.
- They pledged themselves to defend each other against attack which could have embarrassed them if SEATO had ever amounted to anything solid – it was neither a deterrent nor really a defence system.

Attitude to the French struggle in Indo-China

- At the end of WW2, it was expected that Ho Chi Minh would be recognised as the ruler of an independent and Communist Vietnam.

- General De Gaulle, head of the French government (1944-46) decided to reimpose French rule.
- France was heavily damaged by war and simply not strong enough to subdue her former subjects. Nevertheless, it persisted for nine years in trying to hold on to Indo-China, attempting to entangle the United States in their efforts.
- On taking office as US president, Truman was advised that his 1st priority was to re-establish France as an effective ally against Russia; it was therefore convenient to back France in strength in Indo-China.
- Congress was reluctant to become involved BUT the Cold War led many American politicians to believe that Indo-China was a further example of 'the international Communist conspiracy'.
- It was seen as important for the US to stand with France in Indo-China to ensure French support against the USSR in Europe.
- In December 1946, with American approval, the French drove Ho Chi Minh back into the jungle and brought Emperor Bao Dai back from exile in Hong Kong.
- The French created 3 puppet nations, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and gave them independent status within the French Union in February 1950.
- The United States agreed with this step. The USSR and China recognised the regime of Ho Chi Minh and began to arm it. The US responded by doing the same for the French.
- After the 1950 invasion of South Korea, Truman increased aid to the French on the grounds that if Stalin was foiled in Korea, he might launch an assault on S. E. Asia.
- In 1951, the United States was giving \$ 21.8 million in aid and £425.7 million in military assistance to the French.
- By 1952, the Americans were paying 40% of French military costs. By 1953-54, they were paying 80% of the French war effort.
- BUT in their military struggle, the French were losing. In early 1954, the Vietminh trapped and besieged 12,000 French troops in the valley of Dien Bien Phu.
- The French appealed for US intervention but President Eisenhower refused to commit US forces. In May 1954, the French surrendered at Dien Bien Phu: a complete and humiliating defeat.
- In April 1954, the foreign ministers of North and South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, China, the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France negotiated The Geneva Accords or Agreement.
- Throughout Vietnam there was to be a cease fire and the country was to be divided along the 17th parallel of latitude.
- North of the parallel would lie North Vietnam which would be Communist and ruled by Ho Chi Minh. Hanoi became its capital.

- To the South lay South Vietnam with Saigon as its capital. It would be ruled by Ngo Dinh Diem who was a strong opponent of Communism and supported by the United States.
- As part of the agreement, French troops would leave Vietnam and Vietminh soldiers would leave South Vietnam. Each side had 300 days to withdraw troops. The Vietnamese people could choose to live in the North or the South.
- By July 1956, a general election would be held throughout Vietnam to decide the future of the country.
- Vietnam was not the united country which Ho Chi Minh had hoped for but he was not unduly worried. He knew that the Communists would win any free elections because they offered the only solutions to the poverty of the peasants.
- Eisenhower, the US president, continued the policy initiated by Truman. He agreed that if free elections took place, 80% of the Vietnamese would vote Communist.
- He realised that the American people would not support sending troops to Vietnam, particularly since more than 50,000 soldiers had recently been killed fighting in Korea.
- Instead, he sent in a small group of 'advisers', whose task was to use advertising, propaganda and American dollars to persuade the South Vietnamese people to support Ngo Dinh Diem as president.
- Joseph Stalin died in 1953 and he was succeeded by Nikita Khrushchev. He believed in **Co-existence**. Rather than try to destroy the West, the Soviet Union should accept that it had a right to exist.
- Khrushchev wanted to prove that the Soviet System was better. He wanted to compete with the USA throughout the world.

The Geneva Summit

- For the first time since Potsdam, the leaders of the 'Big Four' met face to face. They discussed trade, tariffs, international security and the stockpiling of weapons.
- Khrushchev stated that he was prepared for the reunification of Germany if it was neutral
- Eisenhower proposed the 'open skies policy'; an international monitoring system.
- In fact, there were no agreements on easing restrictions on trade and hopes for Germany were dashed after the admission of Federal Republic to NATO.
- The summit did little more than 'break the ice' and paved the way for a series of summits from 1957 to 1960.
- Despite the disappointment, the years from 1956 to 1960 seemed to suggest that Cold War tensions were easing.
- Khrushchev did not intend, however, to weaken the ties between the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe. He set up the Warsaw Pact in 1955 after West Germany was admitted to NATO.

- He was not prepared, as a result, to take a more lenient attitude to West Germany. In 1958, he began a campaign to force the Allies out of West Berlin.

Khrushchev

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The Global War, 1955-1963

Khrushchev and East West relations

- Khrushchev adopted the policy of 'Peaceful Coexistence'; he accepted that the West had a right to exist and wanted to prove that the Communist way was better than Capitalism.
- He poured money into sport in the Soviet Union to try to win as many Olympic gold medals as possible.
- He put the first satellite, **Sputnik**, into space in 1957 and the first man in space, **Yuri Gagarin**, in 1961.
- He offered foreign aid to the new countries in Asia and Africa.
- He began to build more and more weapons, creating a military arms race.
- He travelled the world meeting world leaders and grabbing the headlines wherever he went.

The effects of de-Stalinisation in the 1950s

- In 1956, Khrushchev made the Secret Speech, in which he attacked Stalin's use of terror in the Soviet Union.
- The ensuing policy of de-Stalinisation led to the release of many political prisoners and easing of censorship in the Soviet Union.
- Khrushchev's attempts at de-Stalinisation encouraged movements for reform in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland and Hungary.
- The ruthless way in which the Soviet Union crushed these revolts, especially in Hungary, shocked Western public opinion.

Poland

- Unrest in Poland in 1956 was dealt with leniently. In October, crowds gathered outside the secret police headquarters and broke its windows.
- Public meetings, demonstrations, and street marches took place in hundreds of towns across Poland.
- Crowds often took radical action, in many cases resulting in unrest on the streets and clashes with police
- Gomulka was elected First Secretary of the Polish Communist Party and enacted moderate reforms. Collectivisation of agriculture was ended and the Catholic Church was given greater independence
- He demanded, and got, the dismissal of Marshal Rokossovsky the Polish Defence Minister. He did not attempt to undermine communism or break away from Soviet control

Hungary, 1956

Causes

- Hungarian reformers were encouraged by Khrushchev's policy of de-Stalinisation and believed it was the time to demand change.
- Also encouraged by events in Poland where the workers rioted, demanding an end to food shortages and an end to communism.
- The rioters were crushed but the Polish government appointed a moderate communist leader in an attempt to calm tensions.
- Hungarian reformers started demonstrations in order to put pressure on the government to reform. The hard-line Hungarian government of Gero could not control the resulting violence.

Events

- Soviet troops stationed in Budapest were forced to leave the city. Under Soviet pressure, Gero was replaced by the more moderate Nagy, who the Soviet leaders believed would make only moderate demands.
- Khrushchev withdrew Soviet forces in an effort to achieve a peaceful solution.
- Nagy was forced by reformers to bring in more extreme reforms such as multi-party democracy and to leave the Warsaw Pact.
- This was too much for the USSR who sent in troops and tanks and replaced Nagy with Kadar.
- Over 35,000 Hungarians, including Nagy, lost their lives during the uprising. It was crushed with great brutality by the Soviet Union.

Importance

- It showed that the Soviet Union was vulnerable to demands for liberalisation in Eastern Europe especially in the wake of de-Stalinisation.
- It also demonstrated the Soviet determination to maintain its control over the satellite states.
- Western public opinion was shocked by the brutality of the Soviet response but the West did not intervene.
- This established the unwritten rules of the Cold War. Not to interfere in the other superpower's area of influence. In any case Britain and France were preoccupied by the Suez Crisis.

US reactions to Peaceful Coexistence

Dulles

- John Foster Dulles was US Secretary of State from 1953 to 1959. He was the architect of 'Rollback'; the Republican alternative to Democrat 'Containment'.

- Rollback was an aggressive policy that sought to counter communist advances. Dulles wrote in 1949:

‘We should make it clear to the tens of millions of restive subject people in Eastern Europe and Asia, that we do not accept the status quo of servitude and aggressive Soviet Communism has imposed on them, and eventual liberation is an essential and enduring part of our foreign policy.’

- In 1956, he commented that:

Neutrality has increasingly become an obsolete and, except under very exceptional circumstances, it is an immoral and short-sighted conception’.

- He is also credited with the comment:

The United States of America does not have friends; it has interests.

- Dulles was also credited with the development of ‘brinkmanship’; the policy of pushing opponents to the limit in the belief that they would back down.
- Such comments infuriated politicians in many non-aligned countries and created a negative image of the USA around the world.
- Dulles was responsible for the creation of anticommunist alliances, such as SEATO and the organisation of the coup in Iran in 1953, which restored the Shah.
- On the other hand, he strongly opposed the Franco-British action in Suez in 1956, but became an outspoken opponent of President Nasser in 1958.
- He stopped US exports of arms to Egypt and opened the Middle East to Soviet influence.
- He misunderstood the position of Nagy in Hungary, believing him to be pro-Soviet, and advised Eisenhower to take no action.
- Overall, Dulles did little for US standing in world politics and handed tactical and strategic advantages to Khrushchev the ebullient Soviet leader.

Eisenhower

- He continued the policy of ‘containment’ inaugurated by Truman, but also followed the ‘rollback’ policy of Dulles. This included ‘covert’ operations against governments believed to be unfavourable to the USA.
- He authorised US involvement in the overthrow of Prime Minister Mossadeq in Iran in 1953 and in the Guatemala coup d’etat in 1954.
- In February 1955, Eisenhower sent the first US military advisers to South Vietnam. In 1960, he secretly supplied arms to rebels in the Congo Civil War.
- Eisenhower was shaken by the launching of the Sputnik in 1957 and founded NASA in response.

- He believed (quite wrongly) that the Sputnik could be used as a means of attack and authorised defence spending to expand the nuclear option.
- Although he discussed disarmament with Khrushchev, he refused to make any concessions unless they would be to the advantage of the USA.
- Nevertheless, Eisenhower did make efforts to improve relations with Khrushchev. He invited the Soviet leader to Camp David in September 1959.
- The two leaders agreed to meet in **Paris** in May 1960 with Harold Macmillan and Charles de Gaulle also present. The meeting was ruined by the U2 Incident

The U2 incident

- Relations between the Soviet Union and the USA were worsened by the **U2** incident, when a US spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union.
- The pilot Gary Powers was put on trial in Moscow. This came in the middle of a Summit Meeting in Paris.
- Khrushchev accused the USA of spying; Eisenhower replied that the U2 was a weather plane.
- He had been informed that the plane would have been destroyed and the pilot killed. In fact, Gary Powers was alive and the plane was on display in Moscow.
- Khrushchev was able to use the incident to embarrass the USA and stormed out of the meeting
- Powers was exchanged for a Soviet spy in 1962.

Cold War rivalries

The extension of the arms race

- Relations at Potsdam had deteriorated because Truman did not notify Stalin of the A Bomb.
- Stalin ordered Soviet scientists to produce a bomb as soon as possible; this was achieved in June 1949.
- The arms race played a very important part in the Cold War:
- It increased tension between the Superpowers.
- It brought severe economic strain on both the USA and USSR.
- Paradoxically, it may well have prevented a major war between the two countries.

1945 - US atomic bomb

1949 - Soviet atomic bomb

1952 - US hydrogen bomb

1953 - Soviet hydrogen bomb

1957 - First Soviet ICBM

Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles

1960s Nuclear weapons

1966 - Soviet ABMs	Anti-Ballistic Missiles
1968 - US ABMs and MIRVs	Multiple Independently Targeted Re-entry Missiles
1979 - Soviet SS-20s and US Cruise Missiles	
1983 - SDI, Star Wars	Strategic Defence Initiative

What caused the arms race?

- Arms were viewed as necessary to safeguard the interests of East and West.
- The development of the atomic bomb sparked off a nuclear arms race. Each side was determined to keep ahead of the other in the development of weapons of mass destruction.
- The US Star Wars initiative of the 1980s by which defence systems were located in space brought an end to the race. The USSR could not afford to match such a programme.
- Military influence in each country pressurised successive governments to maintain the arms race. Khrushchev was forced to resign in 1964 when he attempted to slow it down.
- Powerful economic/industrial concerns benefited from the manufacture of arms and wielded considerable control over politics, especially in the USA. Eisenhower's concerns about arms spending floundered due to powerful industrial opposition.

What impact did the arms race have?

- The arms race increased rather than reducing rivalry and insecurity.
- Stalin was convinced that the USA used the atomic bombs on Japan as a warning to the Soviet Union. The USSR felt especially vulnerable in the years 1945-9 until they had developed their own atom bomb.
- By 1957 the USA was convinced that the USSR had pulled ahead especially after the launching of Sputnik. The result was a massive build up of US missiles.
- At the end of the 1960s the USA developed the Multiple Independently Targetable Re-entry Vehicle (MIRV) which increased the chances of nuclear missiles hitting their intended target. The USSR developed its own MIRV programme.
- The danger of initiating nuclear war acted as a restraint on both sides. Limited war, such as in Korea and Vietnam, was used to avoid direct confrontation.
- In the 1950s, the USA developed the tactic of **brinkmanship**, of being prepared to go to the brink of a nuclear war in order to stop enemy aggression. This was shown most significantly in the Cuban Missile Crisis.
- In the 1970s, both sides had enough weapons to totally destroy each other. This led to MAD (Mutually Aided Destruction). A more flexible range of responses was necessary.
- As nuclear weapons became more destructive, they became less usable.
- The arms race also provided one of the reasons for ending the Cold War because it bankrupted the USSR and prompted the political events of the late 1980s.

The nature of the 'Cold War'

- The term 'Cold War' was first used by the US columnist Walter Lippmann to describe East-West tension.
- This was because there was no major, direct conflict or 'hot war' between the USSR and the USA. What were the features of this Cold War?

Ideological conflict

- Several historians, such as Norman Graebner and Hans J. Morganthau, have tried to play down the role of ideology in the Cold War. They insist that this was merely an excuse.
- The real issue was great power rivalry, such as that before the First World War, on a world-wide scale.
- This too easily dismisses ideology. On the one side, successive Soviet leaders believed, implicitly, in communism, central state control and the one party state.
- To the USSR, democracy was an expression of the people's will and freedom which could only be achieved through socialism.
- Similarly, US presidents totally believed in the superiority of capitalism, private enterprise, liberal democracy and freedom of political expression.

Economic measures

- These played an important role in accentuating East-West differences and in extending the Cold War.
- The USA used Marshall Aid to ensure the recovery of Western Europe, tie their economies more closely to that of the USA, and prevent the growth of communism. This certainly worked in France and Italy.
- The Soviet Union used Comecon to extend its economic influence over Eastern Europe, although not in such a positive manner.
- East Germany was systematically stripped of its industrial plant while Comecon was used by the USSR to exploit the economic resources of its satellite states.
- Both countries also offered economic aid to Third World countries in order to extend their influence and encourage their system of government.
- The Soviet Union was especially successful in African states such as Egypt and Angola who were more responsive to the anti-colonial stance of the USSR who encouraged African leaders to nationalise foreign businesses.

Propaganda

- This was used by both sides to widen support in their own country and spheres of influence.

- US propaganda stressed the values of freedom, democracy, private enterprise and attacked the 'evils' of communism – lack of religious freedom was seen as ungodly, communists were portrayed as rude, humourless and cruel to animals.
- The US government set up the United States Information Agency to spread its views across 150 countries.
- Its message was conveyed in over 70 languages using radio stations such as Voice of America. Truman set up the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs to further this process.
- America also made use of the film industry. Films such as *The Red Menace* and the *Iron Curtain*, did much to promote anti-communist feeling in the USA and western Europe.
- Stalin used propaganda to develop a siege mentality. The USSR faced the threat of western invasion.
- 'Zhdanovshchina', named after Andrei Zhdanov, a member of the Politburo, laid down strict guidelines for literature and other arts.
- Films were also used to promote the communist view and foreign films were banned.
- From 1948 the USSR jammed foreign stations in order to limit western influence and propaganda.
- There was strict control of all the media with the main news agency, *Tass*, controlled by the state. Over 70% of those who worked for *Tass* were secret agents.
- Soviet propaganda was not as successful abroad because of their technological backwardness compared to the USA.

The use of espionage

- Soviet espionage was organised by the KGB (State Security Committee) which was set up in 1954. Its membership rose to half a million.
- Soviet agents played an important role in securing the secrets of the atomic bomb. This enabled the Soviet Union to test its first bomb in 1949, several years ahead of schedule.
- Spies such as Julius Rosenberg and Harry Gold provided atomic secrets to the USA.
- US espionage was organised by the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) set up by Truman in 1947. Its operations were greatly expanded under President Eisenhower.
- CIA successes include discovering Soviet missile sites on Cuba in 1962 and supporting the overthrow of the left wing government of Allende in Chile in 1973.
- Failures include the abortive Bay of Pigs operation in Cuba in 1962 and the shooting down of a U2 plane over the Soviet Union in 1960.

The Berlin Crisis, 1961

Causes

- East and West had failed to find a permanent solution to the problem of Berlin. West Berlin continued to prosper in marked contrast to the poverty stricken East Berliners.
- Many East Germans fled to the West. By July 1961, 30,000 East Germans were fleeing each month and many of these were young and skilled. Since 1949 3 million had left East Berlin and the country could not maintain this level of loss.
- West Berlin also highlighted the prosperity of capitalism and the inadequacies of communism.

The Berlin Wall

- The East German leader, Walter Ulbricht, had demanded this for several years but Khrushchev had refused.
- Instead, in 1958, he demanded that Berlin become a free city with the existence of East Germany recognised formally by the west.
- The West was unwilling to give up West Berlin due to its unique propaganda value as a symbol of capitalist progress.
- In 1960 restrictions on travel between the four sectors were imposed by the East Germans for the first time.
- Khrushchev tried again with President Kennedy in June 1961, at the Vienna Summit. Kennedy refused to agree.
- Khrushchev now accepted Ulbricht's solution and in August security constructions of the borders were built in a military-style operation.
- The Berlin Wall was a huge concrete structure over three metres high which now effectively divided East and West Berlin.

Importance

- The West used it to fuel anti-communist propaganda, referring to it as the 'wall of shame' designed to cordon off the inferior communist part of the city. It was a symbol of the bankruptcy of the Soviet bloc.
- It stopped the flood of refugees from east to west although some 5000 risked their lives escaping over or under the wall, of which 191 died.
- Although the Wall was condemned by the West, once again the USA did not directly intervene to prevent its construction.

Conflict in Asia

Indo-China under Ho Chi-Minh

- After the division of Vietnam, Ho established a communist regime in the north. He carried out land reform and a purge of opponents.
- The NLF was created in 1960 to fight for control of the south and to support the Vietcong guerrillas.

Diem

- In 1955, Ngo Dinh Diem seized power in South Vietnam and made himself president and then ruled as a dictator.
- The elections were not held in 1956 and Diem became increasingly corrupt and violent. Trade unionists, religious leaders and journalists were thrown into jail.
- Diem was a Catholic in a country where 70% of the population was Buddhist. Increasingly he faced opposition from Buddhists and replied with greater cruelty.
- In Diem's actions led to opposition groups forming the National Liberation Front and began a guerrilla war against the government of South Vietnam. It was backed by North Vietnam and Ho Chi Minh sent supplies.
- Eisenhower decided to prop up the Diem regime and ignore the Geneva Settlement. He set up MAAG, the Military Assistance Advisory Group, to provide military advisers to South Vietnam.
- Substantial aid was given to Diem to promote a policy of 'Nation Building' by which he was supposed to bring in economic and social reforms. He ignored the US advisers and used the money to strengthen his own regime.

Kennedy

- President Kennedy was determined to maintain the survival South Vietnam especially after Khrushchev, in a speech in 1961, made clear Soviet intentions to support liberation movements throughout the world. This, at a time, when Diem was more unpopular than ever.
- Kennedy, therefore, greatly increased US aid and involvement. The Green Berets were sent to train the Army of South Vietnam in guerrilla warfare and the CIA organised Civilian Irregular Defence Groups to act as local militia.
- Kennedy also introduced the policy of 'strategic hamlets' in an attempt to separate the population from the Vietcong.
- This involved moving peasants into fortified villages, guarded by troops. This backfired due to the forcible moving of peasants from their land.

- He even considered sending troops to Vietnam in 1961 but was advised against it. As Diem's regime lost more and more support, Kennedy sent more and more equipment and advisers and, eventually, 200,000 troops.
- The US public was led to believe that each increase in US aid was bringing success in the war between the north and south.
- Many in the US government ignored the real situation in order to justify this step by step approach – that the Vietcong was attracting more and more support in the south and the government of Diem less and less.
- By 1963 Diem's rule in South Vietnam was so corrupt that he was facing continuous opposition. Several Buddhist monks burned themselves to death in protest.
- Kennedy threatened to withdraw military aid and then backed a plot by South Vietnamese generals to arrest Diem. He was murdered just three weeks before Kennedy's own assassination.

Confrontation between the superpowers

Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962

Long-term causes

- Cuba was regarded as a US sphere of influence. Cuba's economy was based on the production and export of sugar, much of which was grown on US owned plantations.
- Since 1933 the government had been in the hands of the US sponsored dictator, Fulgencia Batista.
- There was much hostility to Batista's corrupt and harsh government. Fidel Castro led a successful rebellion and in January 1959 Batista fled the country.
- At first Castro seemed to be a liberal nationalist but he was refused aid by the USA, which then cut sugar imports by 95%.
- In 1960 a deal was struck with the Soviet Union for a million tonnes of sugar exports every year.
- In December 1961 Castro announced his adoption of communism. This increased East-West tension.
- The USSR exploited the situation to establish influence in Cuba whilst the USA could not easily accept a communist regime, under Soviet influence, so close to the US mainland.
- President Kennedy wrongly agreed to the Bay of Pigs operation in 1961 in an attempt to overthrow the Castro regime.
- It was a total disaster, convincing Castro that the USA were working to overthrow his government and driving him closer to the Soviet Union.

Immediate causes, 1962

- In October, 1962, US spy planes brought back photos of missile bases under construction in Cuba for Soviet medium-range ballistic missiles.
- Kennedy set up the executive committee of the US National Security Council, known as 'ExComm', to discuss US options.

Kennedy's motives

- Kennedy was determined to make a stand and even risk nuclear war. The missiles could reach most of the large cities of the USA as well as the US space centre at Cape Canaveral.
- The USA feared the domino effect in South and Central America. Communism in Cuba might lead to communism elsewhere.
- The USA regarded Cuba, Central and South America as their area of influence. The Soviet Union had broken the unwritten code of the Cold War by intervening in a US area of influence.
- Kennedy was under pressure due to the failure of the Bay of Pigs operation and his failure to take action against the construction of the Berlin Wall. He desperately needed a diplomatic success.

Khrushchev's motives

- He underestimated Kennedy, believing he would back down as he had over Berlin in 1961.
- The USA had built missile bases in Turkey, close to the USSR. Therefore Khrushchev felt justified in setting up the sites in Cuba.
- He accepted Castro's conviction that the USA was determined to overthrow Cuba's communist government.

The events of the crisis, October 1962

- Kennedy had several options including military action against Cuba. Instead he decided to blockade Cuba.
- On 22 October he announced a 'quarantine zone' round Cuba. IF any Soviet ships entered this zone, action would be taken.
- On the same day Soviet ships stopped and turned away from Cuba. Kennedy now began plans for an immediate invasion of Cuba.
- 180,000 troops were moved into Florida as if in preparation for an invasion.
- Nuclear submarines were sent to patrol the waters around Cuba.
- Bomber squadrons equipped with nuclear weapons were ordered to fly sorties around Cuba.
- The crisis was defused by two messages from Khrushchev.

- The first one agreed to remove the missiles if the USA promised not to invade Cuba.
- The second asked the USA to withdraw its missiles from Turkey. In public, Kennedy accepted the first and, privately, agreed to the second.

Results of the crisis

- Cuba was driven even closer to the Soviet Union and continued to seek aid and support.
- It provided a much needed diplomatic success for Kennedy although the agreement over Turkey was kept secret until 1968.
- In addition Kennedy had to accept the Castro regime and Soviet influence over the island. The Cuban Crisis brought home the dangers of communism spreading to US backyard.
- The Crisis was the climax of the US policy of brinkmanship. Nevertheless, Kennedy maintained the option of compromise.
- Khrushchev was seen to have backed down over Cuba and was never forgiven by the Soviet armed forces. This was one of the reasons for his dismissal in 1964.
- Both sides realised the need for improved communications between the two superpowers. A 'hot line' was established allowing immediate contact between the US and Soviet leaders.
- The two sides were determined to limit the possibility of nuclear destruction leading to the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty of 1963. This banned the testing of nuclear weapons above ground and under water.
- The crisis encouraged both sides to avoid confrontation in the future and led to Détente or a more permanent relaxation of tensions.
- It also highlighted the importance of the role of individuals in the Cold War. The crisis was very much the product of Khrushchev's decision to support Cuba and Kennedy's determination not to back down.

From Détente to the end of the Cold War, 1963-1991

Confrontation in the Vietnam War

Johnson's policy in Vietnam

- President Johnson, Kennedy's successor in 1963, was criticised by Republicans in Congress as being soft on communism. Some historians believe he rejected a possible solution that would have enabled US withdrawal.
- In 1963 Diem's successor, General Duong Van Minh, suggested the establishment of a neutral government of reconciliation for all Vietnam and subsequent elections. However, it is unlikely that this compromise would have worked.
- Instead, Johnson accepted the advice of his Defence Secretary, Robert McNamara, for a policy of flexible response.
- In other words send even more military equipment and specialist forces to Vietnam to increase policy options in the area.
- Johnson, however, needed greater presidential powers to implement to such a policy. The **Gulf of Tonkin Incident**, August 1964, when North Vietnamese troops attacked US naval vessels, gave him the excuse to pass the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and the power to wage war on Vietnam as he saw fit.
- After the fall of Diem, the position of the South Vietnamese government was weakened by a series of short-lived military governments.
- By 1964, 35 per cent of South Vietnam was in Vietcong hands. Johnson ignored negotiation and withdrawal.
- In 1965 he sanctioned 'Operation Rolling Thunder', the bombing of North Vietnam, in retaliation to Vietcong attacks on US military bases in the South. He believed that US superior technology would force North Vietnam to the negotiating table.
- Operation Rolling Thunder failed to make any impact on the war. Strategic bombing as ineffective against a mainly agricultural country with few specific industrial and military targets.
- At the same time Johnson sent the first combat troops into Vietnam with two battalions of US marines arriving at Da Nang in March 1965. Johnson deliberately played down this action to give Congress and the US public the impression that US intervention remained limited.
- As the USA took over the running of the war in the South, the number of troops increased rapidly to 535,000 by 1968.
- These troops were under the command of General William Westmoreland and employed a variety of strategies to root out the Vietcong.
- Policies such as search and destroy missions to find communist bases in the jungle and eliminate them, air attacks to provide support for ground troops, and Operation Ranch Hand which involved chemical warfare to strip the Vietcong of their jungle cover.

Tactics and relative strengths

US tactics

- A 'Hearts and Minds' campaign tried to win the Vietnamese peasants over by attempting to persuade them that the peasants were on their side – the policy failed.
- In 1962, Kennedy approved 'Operation Ranch Hand'. This involved spraying Agent Orange which destroyed thousands of trees but it was later found to have caused birth deformities in children and cancers in soldiers fighting the war.
- Military intelligence officers working in Vietnam advocated the bombing of Hanoi in an attempt to persuade North Vietnam to cut off supplies to the NLF.
- Curtis LeMay, the commander of the US air force, argued that by using the latest technology, North Vietnam could be blasted 'back to the Stone Age'.
- Three months after being elected president, in March 1965, Lyndon B. Johnson launched Operation Rolling Thunder.
- Unlike the single bombing raid in August 1964, this time the raids were to take place on a regular basis.
- The plan was to destroy the North Vietnamese economy and force her to stop helping the guerrilla fighters in the south.
- Bombing was also directed against territory controlled by the NLF in South Vietnam. The plan was for Operation Rolling Thunder to last for six weeks but it lasted for the next three years. In that time, the US dropped 1 million tons of bombs on Vietnam.
- The response of the NLF to 'Rolling Thunder' was to concentrate its attacks on US air bases in South Vietnam.
- On 8 March, 3,500 US marines arrived in South Vietnam. They were the first 'official' US combat troops to be sent to the country.
- A public opinion poll carried out that year indicated that nearly 80% of the American public supported the bombing raids and the sending of combat troops to Vietnam.
- B-52 bombers, flying at heights that prevented them from being seen or heard, dropped 8 million tons of bombs on Vietnam between 1965 and 1973.
- As well as explosive devices, the US air force dropped a considerable number of incendiary devices. The most infamous of these was napalm.
- A reported three quarters of all napalm victims in Vietnam were burned through to the muscle and bone (fifth degree burns). The pain caused by the burning is so traumatic that it often causes death.
- The US also made considerable use of anti-personnel bombs. The pineapple bomb was made up of 250 metal pellets inside a small canister.

- The United States also experimented with the use of plastic rather than metal needles and pellets in their anti-personnel bombs. The advantage of plastic was that they could not be identified by X-Ray machines.
- In 1962, President Kennedy had approved Operation Ranch Hand. This involved the spraying of chemicals from the air in an attempt to destroy NLF hiding places.
- In 1969 alone, Operation Ranch Hand destroyed 1,034,300 hectares of forest. 'Agent Orange', the chemical used in this defoliation programme contained traces of the most toxic forms of dioxin. It not only destroyed trees but caused chromosomal damage in people.
- Chemicals were also sprayed on crops. Between 1962 and 1969, 688,000 agricultural acres were sprayed with a chemical called 'Agent Blue'.
- The aim of the exercise was to deny food to the NLF. However, research suggests that it was the civilian population who suffered most from the poor rice harvests that followed the spraying.

Vietnamese tactics

- The Vietnamese Communists, or Vietcong, were the military branch of the National Liberation Front (NLF).
- For arms, ammunition and special equipment, the Vietcong depended on the Ho Chi Minh trail. Other needs were met inside South Vietnam.
- Main force Vietcong units were uniformed, full-time soldiers and were used to launch large scale offensives over a wide area. Regional forces were also full-time but operated only within their own districts.
- Unlike the main troops, who saw themselves as professional soldiers, local Vietcong groups tended to be less confident.
- Initially, local guerrillas received only a basic minimum of infantry training, but if they were recruited to a main force unit, they could receive up to a month of advanced instruction.
- By the mid-1960s, most main force Vietcong troops were armed with Chinese versions of the Russian AK-47 submachine gun. They also used a range of effective Soviet and Chinese light and medium machine guns.
- For destroying armoured vehicles or bunkers, the Vietcong had highly effective rocket-propelled grenades and recoilless rifles. Mortars were also available in large numbers and had the advantage of being very easy to transport.
- Many weapons, including booby traps and mines, were homemade in villages.
- Local forces also designed primitive weapons, some designed to frighten intruders but others were extremely dangerous 'Punji traps'.

Guerrilla tactics

- Mao Tse Tung had used guerrilla tactics when leading the Communist revolution in China, which ended in victory in 1949. Ho Chi Minh and the NLF greatly admired Mao and decided to use the same tactics against the Americans and South Vietnamese army in South Vietnam.
- So, in December 1965, Ho Chi Minh and the North Vietnamese leadership ordered a change in the way in which the war in the South was to be fought.
- From now on, the Vietcong would avoid pitched battles with the Americans unless the odds were clearly in their favour.
- They organised the guerrilla army into small groups of between three and ten soldiers, called cells.
- The Vietcong, following the example of Chinese guerrillas, always gave the highest priority to creating safe base areas.
- Mao, like Ho the leader of millions of peasants, believed that ‘without the constant and active support of the peasants, failure is inevitable’ and stressed the importance of treating them with respect.
- Ho’s NLF guerrillas had to follow a strict code of conduct.
- The NLF won the support of the peasants because they promised to take land from large landowners and give it to the peasants.
- In some cases, they actually became guerrillas and joined the war. The vast majority of peasants backed the guerrillas but those who refused, despite the code of conduct, were often threatened and beaten.
- Using the peasant villages as their base, the guerrillas went out into the jungle. They attacked units of the South Vietnamese army, the ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam), and ambushed patrols of American soldiers.
- American soldiers often tortured the villagers to get information and sometimes burnt their houses and crops. This angered the peasants even more and made them support the NLF.
- Out in the jungle, the guerrillas never chose to fight unless they were certain of winning.
- The American soldiers suffered a terrible ordeal. The jungle they had to patrol was dense and the rice fields wet. The heat was often intense, the climate unfamiliar, and they were attacked by insects and leeches.
- There was also a threat of Vietcong booby traps, sharpened bamboo staves, mines, grenades and artillery shells, waiting to be stepped on and set off.
- Hiding guerrilla bases was always a high priority for the Vietcong. With American spotter planes everywhere, it became more vital than ever to protect them.

- The orders coming from NLF headquarters were very clear. Tunnels were not to be treated as mere shelters. They were fighting bases capable of providing continuous support for troops.
- There were complexes big and small scattered across the country. Each villager in an NLF area had to dig three feet of tunnel a day.
- The biggest tunnel systems were in the Iron Triangle and the Cu Chi District, only 20 miles from Saigon.
- The guerrilla base at Cu Chi was a vast network with nearly 200 miles of tunnels.
- At regular intervals, branches led back to the surface and other secret entrances. Some openings were even concealed beneath the waters or streams or canals.
- At the deeper levels, there were chambers carved out for arms factories and a well for the base's water supply.

The Tet Offensive

- The Tet Offensive was a series of surprise attacks by the Vietcong and North Vietnamese forces, on scores of cities, towns, and hamlets throughout South Vietnam. It was considered to be a turning point of the war.
- North Vietnamese leaders believed that they could not sustain the heavy losses inflicted by the Americans indefinitely and had to win the war with an all-out military effort.
- In addition, Ho Chi Minh was nearing death and they needed a victory before that. The combined forces of the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese Regular Army (NVA), about 85,000 strong, launched a major offensive throughout South Vietnam.

The main events

- By late 1967, forces of the US army, its allies, and the army of the Republic of South Vietnam (ARVN), were reporting growing success in the countryside.
- A series of scattered diversionary attacks by the Vietcong gradually drew more US and ARVN troops away from the cities.
- Then in late January 1968, the first day of Tet, which had previously been observed with a cease-fire, 70,000 North Vietnamese soldiers and the Vietcong launched surprise attacks on 36 cities and towns throughout Vietnam.
- It was now clear that the attacks on US garrisons of the previous September had been intended to draw American soldiers from the towns they were defending to prepare for the Tet Offensive.
- In Saigon, the Vietcong attacked the presidential palace, the airport, ARVN headquarters and fought their way into the US Embassy grounds.
- They did not capture the building but killed five American marines and took the main radio station.

- The Americans were also deeply worried that the NLF were able to find 70,000 new soldiers so soon, having lost 90,000 up to the end of 1967.
- The US and ARVN forces who were caught off guard, quickly responded and within a week had recouped most of the lost territory.
- Hue was different, however, as the Vietcong held their ground. By the time the city was retaken on 24th February, the historic city had been all but levelled.
- They held it for 25 days until the ARVN and US forces recaptured the city. Before this happened, the VC executed about 3,000 civilians because they had links with the South Vietnamese government as officials or army officers.
- It is clear that the NLF had taken this opportunity to remove many of its enemies. The massacre helped the argument of those Americans and South Vietnamese who claimed that more would die if the communists won – a reason for continuing the war.
- From a military viewpoint, it could be said that the Tet Offensive was an American victory. The US lost 1536 soldiers with 7764 wounded, but 45,000 NLF soldiers were killed.
- BUT when General Westmoreland reported that completing the Vietcong defeat would necessitate 200,000 more American soldiers and require an activation of reserves, even loyal supporters began to see the need for a change in strategy.
- From the Vietnamese viewpoint, Tet demonstrated the resolve of the Vietcong and the tenuous control of the South Vietnamese over their own territory.
- With large numbers of NLF soldiers coming into South Vietnam down the Ho Chi Minh trail, many Americans were beginning to see this war as one which they could not win.

Nixon's policies in Vietnam

- Nixon was elected President in 1968 mainly because he promised to 'de-Americanise' the war.
- For this, a policy of '**Vietnamisation**' would be followed. The soldiers of the South Vietnamese army would have to fight.
- In May 1968, peace talks between the US and North Vietnam began in Paris. After one year, no progress had been made.
- North Vietnam wanted the communist NLF to be part of the new government in the South but the Americans wanted North Vietnamese and American troops to leave South Vietnam, followed by free elections. Nixon believed that bombing the North would make them accept peace. He was wrong.
- The Hanoi government realised that all it had to do was hang on. The anti-war movement in the United States was getting stronger each day.
- Eventually, the Americans would pull out of South Vietnam, leaving the South on its own. The ARVN would be no match for the Communist forces and South Vietnam would be reunited with the North.

- By October 1972, a peace agreement had been worked out between the USA and North Vietnam - four and a half years after negotiations had begun. The chief North Vietnamese negotiator was Le Duc Tho. The chief US negotiator was Henry Kissinger
- The terms of the peace agreement were that all fighting throughout Indo-China would stop. American troops would withdraw from Vietnam within 60 days of the end of the fighting.
- American prisoners of war, about 700, would be freed. Elections would be held in the South to choose a new government. Each side would stay only in those areas it controlled when the fighting stopped.
- Nguyen Van Thieu, the South Vietnamese President, was furious at these terms. He realised that South Vietnam would be at the mercy of the North. But Kissinger was anxious for an agreement to be signed.
- The US presidential elections were due in November. If the war could finally be ended, Nixon was certain to win the election.
- When Van Thieu rejected the agreement, North Vietnam broke off negotiations. On 18th December 1972, Nixon ordered another massive bombing of the North.
- The North started negotiations again and Van Thieu was forced to accept the agreement – Nixon told him that if he didn't, the United States would sign it without him. It was signed in Paris on 27th January 1973.

Laos and Cambodia

- On 30th April 1970, Nixon announced to the American people that the day before, the 29th, US troops had entered Cambodia. He had ordered them in to attack and destroy Communist sanctuaries and supply dumps.
- Although the United States had been conducting bombing raids for over a year, Nixon did not see the sending in of ground troops as extending the war nor as an unwarranted invasion of another country.
- However, many Americans did wonder if Cambodia was going to become another Vietnam and protests against the decision began in universities across the country.
- On 4th May 1970, in a protest at Kent State University, Ohio, four students were killed and nine injured by National Guard soldiers. The killings sparked off over 400 protests and strikes.
- A week after the shootings, 100,000 anti-war demonstrators converged on Washington, D.C. to protest at the shooting of the students in Ohio and the incursion of the Nixon administration into Cambodia.
- Although the demonstration was quickly put together, protesters were still able to bring out thousands to march in Washington. It was an almost spontaneous response to the events of the previous week.
- Soon afterwards, a National Student Strike occurred. More than 450 university, college and high school campuses across the country were shut by student strikes and both violent and non-violent protests.

- In military terms, the invasion of Cambodia achieved little and US troops withdrew after two months.
- In February 1971, Nixon approved a South Vietnamese invasion of Laos to block the Ho Chi Minh Trail. ARVN forces were supported by US planes.
- After six weeks, the South Vietnamese troops withdrew, losing nearly 50% killed or wounded. The failure of the ARVN proved that the South Vietnamese, on their own, could not stand up to the North Vietnamese.
- The first US troop withdrawals from Vietnam began in June 1969 with further withdrawals in September. By the end of 1971, only 158,000 troops remained.
- At the end of March 1973, the remaining 691 prisoners in North Vietnamese hands had been handed back. The last American troops left Saigon on 29th March 1973.
- As the Americans were leaving, South Vietnam appeared to be in a strong position. It had the world's fourth largest air force and an army of one million soldiers equipped with modern American weapons.
- The Communists, on the other hand, were in a weak position. They were short of men, weapons, ammunition and food.
- However, the situation changed dramatically and the South Vietnamese army soon began to collapse. By the summer of 1974, 90% of South Vietnamese were not being paid enough to support their families
- When the North Vietnamese and Vietcong forces moved further south, the South Vietnamese could not stop them.
- By late spring 1975, Saigon was surrounded. Van Thieu complained that the Americans had let the South down yet it still had plenty of guns and tanks.
- On 25th April 1975, Van Thieu fled South Vietnam with hundreds of government officials. They were all frightened that when the Communists took over, they would be captured, tortured or even killed.
- On 30th April, the last 6000 Americans to leave Vietnam were lifted out by helicopter.

Relations with China

Why did Sino-US relations improve?

US Motives

- Improved Sino-American relations became a key to the Nixon administration's Soviet strategy, Kissinger
- Vietnam War led to pressure on Congress and public support /pressure in USA for more constructive efforts to end war.

- US wanted to reduce commitments in Asia (1972 Communique) but still have bases; therefore needed to ensure stability in region.
- Nixon personally wanted to make history Kissinger to 'restore fluidity'.
- China now had ICBMs; it was dangerous to leave her isolated.
- Sino-Soviet split showed US global communism was not monolithic 'deal with countries on basis of their actions not ideological formulas' Nixon
- UN membership changing, ex-colonies emerging and votes might change, US would not be able to control the vote in the General Assembly much longer.
- The breakdown of Sino-Soviet relations in the 1960s meant that the USA could take advantage of the split in the communist bloc.
- China was now seen as an independent agent.
- The weakening of the Cultural Revolution from 1968 produced more moderate policies in China
- Trade restrictions were relaxed by both countries in 1969, but further contact was delayed by US attacks in Indo-China.
- In 1971, ping-pong diplomacy began between the USA and the PRC; a US table tennis player apparently missed his bus at the world championships in Japan and was invited onto the Chinese bus.
- Some see this as a contrived set-up by the Chinese who wanted to avoid total isolation.
- The US team was invited to visit China and arrived in April 1971.
- Henry Kissinger visited China secretly in July 1971 and President Nixon announced that he would visit China soon afterwards.
- Nixon was in China for a week in February 1972 and both sides announced that they would work towards normal relations.
- The main impact of improved US-China relations was further détente between the USA and the Soviet Union.
- Brezhnev (1964-82) was keen to reduce expenditure on arms and wanted to avoid complete isolation.
- Improvements had been taking place since the beginning of SALT I talks in 1969 and led to trade and technology agreements in the early 1970s. SALT I was signed in 1972.
- In 1975, cosmonauts and astronauts met in space and the Helsinki Agreement on Human Rights was signed.

China's motives

- Threats to Chinese security:– tension on all sides (Vietnam, Taiwan, S Korea, Japan, India & clashes on border with USSR)
- Sino-Soviet split so Mao did not want two enemies, reduced tension with US was therefore essential.
- There was a real fear of Soviet attack; Mao knew US would not want this because it feared USSR expansion.
- US seemed a declining power after Vietnam and would be ready to do deals.
- Rapprochement would mean China could gain much e.g. UN, Taiwan, US out of Vietnam, even regional control
- Personal motives; Mao had just stepped back into power so wanted to re-launch himself.
- Ideological: reactionary Soviet revisionism seemed to be a greater threat than US.
- Mao had a desire to lead the communist world.
- Third world countries would see China as less fanatical if she talked to the West and so China would be respected more.
- China argued that temporary detente was legitimate in order to play enemies off against each other so that in the long run they could be defeated. (Mao)
- Sino –American rapprochement enormously enhanced Washington's strategic position in its global competition with the USSR.

Cooperation

Attitudes of Khrushchev and Kennedy

The background to detente

- In 1963 the **Hot-Line** was set up. This was a direct tele-printer between the Kremlin and the White House. It was eventually replaced by a direct telephone link.
- In 1963 the **Test Ban Treaty** was signed. This stopped nuclear tests above ground.
- In 1964, the Soviet leader, Khrushchev, was forced to resign and was replaced by Brezhnev. At first Brezhnev built up the Soviet Unions long range weapons. But this led to a severe budget deficit in the Soviet Union.
- Brezhnev also began to use the KGB to crush opposition in the Soviet Union.
- In 1965, US combat troops landed in Vietnam and the USA became involved in the war.

- In 1968, the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty was signed.

Pressures on the USSR

- Life in Czechoslovakia was very similar to life in any country of the Eastern Bloc.
- The Czech Communist Party had complete control of public life, the armed forces, the media and education. There was extremely strict censorship.
- There was a low standard of living, as a very high proportion of government spending went on the armed forces.
- President Novotny had been leader since 1957 and he rigidly followed Stalinist policies so that there was little hope of change in the light of Khrushchev's de-Stalinisation speech.
- When he did introduce change, it was rather slow and did less than some of the other Soviet satellite states.
- Czechoslovakia began to experience economic stagnation and this added to the climate of disappointment within the country.

The growth of opposition to Novotny

- In 1965, Novotny tried to improve the situation by restructuring the economy when he introduced the New Economic Model.
- This failed to bring any visible improvements. At the same time there were calls from some writers for greater freedom and for the first time, Novotny experienced widespread opposition.
- Alexander Dubcek, leader of the Slovakian Communist Party openly challenged Novotny and then invited Brezhnev, leader of the Soviet Union, to visit Prague.
- Novotny was replaced as First Secretary of the Czech Communist Party by Dubcek on 5 January 1968.
- Novotny then gave up his role as President being replaced by Ludvik Svoboda.

Socialism with a human face

- In early February 1968, one of Dubcek's closest supporters published an article in the Communist party paper, Rude Pravo (Red Justice) calling for the removal of obstacles which were preventing the introduction of economic and social reforms.
- By March 1968, the Czechoslovak leadership was criticised by five Iron Curtain party leaders i.e. Brezhnev (Soviet Union), Gomulka (Poland), Kadar (Hungary), Ulbricht (East Germany) and Zhivkov (Bulgaria).
- Ulbricht and Gomulka demanded that Dubcek launch an attack on those who sought to reform communist life in Czechoslovakia.

- Dubcek put forward his ideas more clearly in his Action Programme in April. It also came to be known as 'socialism with a human face'.
- Dubcek was committed to socialism but wanted to remove the worst aspects of communist rule. He was careful to explain how any reforms would take place under the rule of the Czech Communist Party.
- Dubcek announced a series of reforms. These included:
 - Political reform which would result in a multi-party state and a new form of democratic socialism.
 - the abolition of censorship and the right of citizens to criticize the government. Newspapers began publishing revelations about corruption in high places.
 - free speech - it was the duty of party members to act according to his conscience. It criticized the traditional view of members being forced to provide unconditional obedience to party policy.
 - the creation of works councils in industry, increased rights for trade unions to bargain on behalf of its members and the right of farmers to form independent co-operatives
 - the rehabilitation of victims of the purges of 1950s
 - freedom of movement was to be guaranteed
 - freedom of assembly and religion
 - a reduction in the powers of the secret police

The re-establishment of Soviet control

- One problem for Dubcek was that there were many now in Czechoslovakia who demanded further and more rapid change. This alarmed the Soviet Union just as much as Dubcek's reforms did.
- In July 1968, Dubcek was summoned to attend conferences in Warsaw and Moscow, but refused to go.
- The whole Soviet Politburo then visited Prague to try to persuade Dubcek to reverse the reforms.
- Brezhnev feared any reforms in Czechoslovakia because he could see a potential break from the Warsaw Pact. Czechoslovakia was geographically strategic and if it left the Warsaw Pact would leave a wedge which NATO would be more than ready to fill.
- He did not want Czechoslovakia to act as an example to other Warsaw Pact members – on the other hand, he was being pushed by East Germany and Poland to step in to prevent the reforms.
- Finally, the economic links that Czechoslovakia was trying to establish with West Germany added to the Soviet Union's concerns.

- The fear was that West Germany and then other capitalist countries might come initially to dominate the economy of Czechoslovakia and then the remaining satellite states.
- Brezhnev took the decision to invade Czechoslovakia.
- On 20-21 August 1968, about 200,000 Warsaw Pact troops and several thousand tanks poured into Czechoslovakia. The Czech army did not resist, but many ordinary citizens did. About 100 civilians died.
- Dubcek disappeared but reappeared in Prague on 27 August and announced that the reforms had been stopped.
- In October 1968, all reforms were reversed and a temporary Soviet military occupation was announced.
- The following year, Dubcek was dismissed from the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party and was sent as Czech ambassador to Turkey.
- Gradually, all Czech leaders were purged and the new leader, Gustav Husak, re-established a strong communist state.

What were the consequences of the Soviet invasion?

- The Soviet invasion had important consequences for the Soviet Union and its satellite states. In November 1968, the Soviet Union issued what became known as the Brezhnev Doctrine:
- However, there was some opposition to the Soviet Union, President Ceausescu of Rumania refused to send troops to Czechoslovakia and began to forge his own independent policies.
- There were some protests from the USA but 1968 was the height of the Vietnam War and there were many domestic upheavals which diverted President Johnson's attention.
- In 1968, Warsaw Pact forces invaded Czechoslovakia to put an end to the Prague Spring.

The Brezhnev Doctrine

- The Brezhnev Doctrine declared that the Soviet Union had the right to intervene in any neighbouring country where socialism was threatened.
- Brezhnev used this as the reason behind the invasion of Czechoslovakia. This was to be the basis for the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

The Brezhnev Era, 1972-1985

The extent of Détente to 1979

Moves to détente after 1968

- In 1968 the **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty** was signed. The Superpowers guaranteed not to supply nuclear technology to other countries.
- There was even more progress when Richard Nixon became President of the USA in 1969. Brezhnev also wanted to reduce Soviet military spending so that he could sort out the problems facing the Soviet economy.
- The result of Soviet spending on arms was that by the early 1970s the USSR had a distinct advantage in ICBMs.
- Brezhnev now wanted to reduce Soviet military spending so that he could sort out the problems facing the Soviet economy. The most obvious way was by cutting expenditure on arms.
- So in 1970 Brezhnev agreed to begin Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the USA. The talks soon became known as **SALT**, and later **SALT I** following the second agreements in the late 1970s.

SALT 1 and SALT 2 and strategic arms limitation in the 1970s

SALT 1

- The SALT talks led to the signing of the SALT I treaty in 1972. This limited the increase in numbers of nuclear missiles.
- There would be a five year delay on the building of more missiles. At the end of the five year period a further agreement would be necessary.
- The figures agreed were:

	USA	Soviet Union
ICBMs	1000	1600
SLBMs	650	700
- A separate treaty restricted the number of ABMs, Anti-Ballistic Missiles. These were missiles that could be used to shoot down ICBMs
- At the same time the two sides agreed to begin Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Talks (MBFR). These continued until the 1980s, when there had been more than 300 meeting with almost no agreements.
- Both sides also agreed to allow each other to use spy satellites to make sure that the numbers were being kept to.
- The USA also signed a trade deal to export wheat to the Soviet Union and both sides agreed to develop artistic and sporting links. In 1975 Soviet and US astronauts linked up in Space for the first time.

- SALT I was the first time that the Superpowers had reached an agreement on arms limitation, but the talks only dealt with strategic weapons, long-range nuclear weapons.
- They did not cover multiple warhead missiles or battlefield weapons (tactical nuclear weapons). In fact the USA continued to produce multiple warheads, at the rate of three a day, throughout the 1970s.

SALT II

- **SALT II** began in 1974 and continued until 1979. Agreement was reached on further reductions in strategic weapons, which were to last until 1985.
- Weapons allowed

	USA	Soviet Union
ICBMs	1054	1398
SLBMs	656	950
- But even before agreement was reached on SALT II, relations between the Superpowers began to break down.

Why did relations between the Superpowers grow worse in the late 1970s?

- In 1977 President Carter of the USA criticised the Soviet Union's human rights' record at the Belgrade conference. He wanted to link the issue of human rights to arms reduction. The Soviet Union was not prepared to do this.
- In 1979 **SALT II** was signed by Carter and Brezhnev, but before it could be ratified relations between East and West broke down.
- The real crisis in Superpower relations, however, came in 1979.

Ostpolitik

Adenauer and the East

- In September 1955, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer issued the Hallstein Declaration: if any state recognised the GDR, it could result in the end of diplomatic relations.
- The declaration was actually based on a telegram sent in June 1955 by Walter Hallstein from the Foreign Ministry to all West German embassies.
- There could only be one German embassy in any country. An exception was made for the USSR
- Aid to Asia and Africa would only be offered if states refused to recognise the GDR.
- In practice, the Hallstein Declaration deepened the divisions between East and West Germany.

Willi Brandt

- Willi Brandt became Foreign Minister in West Germany in 1966. He had already been Mayor of West Berlin and argued for better relations with East Germany.

- He developed Ostpolitik (reconciliation between East and West) and this replaced the Hallstein Doctrine of Konrad Adenauer.
- In 1969, Brandt became Chancellor of Germany and in 1970 reached agreement with the Soviet Union on the boundaries of Berlin.
- In 1971, he reached a further agreement allowing easier access for West Berliners to East Berlin.
- In 1972, the Basic Treaty was signed between the government of East and West Germany.
- The two countries committed themselves to developing normal relations on the 'basis of equality, guaranteeing their mutual territorial integrity as well as the border between them and recognising each other's independence and sovereignty'.
- West Germany also exchanged ambassadors with the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Romania

Helsinki

- Nixon visited Brezhnev in Moscow in July 1974 and as well as agreeing to relax tensions throughout the world; they said they would try to promote increased understanding between their two countries.
- Détente soon covered other areas, however, when in 1975 the USA and the Soviet Union, along with 33 other countries signed the Helsinki Agreements.

The Helsinki Agreement on Human Rights

- The signatories guaranteed that they would: 'respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion'.
- However, President Carter complained about Soviet violations of the 1975 Helsinki agreements. Carter criticised the Soviet Union's poor record on free speech and freedom of movement.

The Second Cold War

Flashpoints in the late 1970s

- There were revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua. In Iran, the Shah, who was pro-western, was overthrown and an Islamic republic was set up.
- The US embassy was attacked and hostages seized. In Nicaragua, Communist guerrillas seized power.
- Cuba sent armed forces to Africa to help rebels in Angola.
- New Soviet SS-20 missiles were sent to Eastern Europe, and there was a build up of conventional forces in the Warsaw Pact.

- In December, NATO announced that Cruise and Pershing missiles would be deployed in Europe.
- On Christmas Day 1979, Soviet forces entered Afghanistan. The president Hafizullah Amin was arrested and executed, and a pro-communist government was set up.
- President Brezhnev announced that the Soviet Union 'had responded to an urgent request from the Kabul government for help'. Barbrak Kamal became the new president.

Why did Soviet forces invade Afghanistan?

- In 1978 a Marxist government had come to power in Afghanistan and a twenty year treaty of friendship had been signed with the Soviet Union.
- In September 1979, Nur Mohammed Taraki, the Marxist president of Afghanistan, was deposed and murdered. The post of president was taken by the prime minister Hafizullah Amin.
- The Soviet Union feared that this would lead to a collapse of the Marxist government and intervened following the Brezhnev Doctrine.
- This stated that the Soviet Union was entitled to use force to protect Socialism in any country where it was under attack.
- But the situation in Afghanistan was more complex than the Soviet Union realised. In the summer of 1979, Muslim resistance groups had been set up to oppose land reforms and educational changes.
- When the Soviet forces invaded, the Mujaheddin, as they became known, continued their resistance.

Why did the Soviet forces lose the war in Afghanistan?

- The Soviet forces were initially successful; they were able to take control of the cities, but increasingly were unable to counter the guerrilla tactics of the Mujaheddin and lost control of the mountainous countryside.
- Many of the Soviet troops sent to Afghanistan were conscripts, unprepared for the fighting that they were exposed to.
- Their heavy weapons could not be used effectively and they were subject to constant and sudden attacks.
- Increasingly there was little appetite for the war amongst the Soviet troops. Afghanistan did not seem worth fighting and dying for.
- Their opponents, on the other hand, believed that they were fighting for their religion.

What effects did the Afghan War have on the Soviet Union?

- There was increasing opposition to the war from many people inside the Soviet Union as casualties mounted. A Superpower was being humiliated by guerrillas.

- The cost of the war was colossal and played a significant part in the bankruptcy of the Soviet Union in the 1980s. This in turn led to the attempts by Mikhail Gorbachev to reform the Soviet economy.

New personalities

Reagan

The US reaction to Afghanistan

- Since the late 1960s, relations between the Superpowers had been improving. However, almost immediately after the invasion, the good relations between the USA and the Soviet Union broke down.
- Exports of US grain to the Soviet Union were stopped.
- The USA refused to ratify SALT II.
- President Carter took a very firm line with the Soviet Union. His policy towards the Soviet Union became known as the Carter Doctrine.
- The Carter Doctrine stated that the USA would use military force if necessary to defend its national interests in the Persian Gulf region.
- The deterioration in Superpower relations was made worse by the election of Ronald Reagan as president of the USA in 1980 and by illness of President Brezhnev and the deaths of his two successors, Andropov and Chernenko.
- For five years there was almost no progress in negotiations between the two countries.

The Olympic boycotts, 1980 and 1984

- President Carter announced that the USA would boycott the Moscow Olympic Games if the Soviet Union failed to withdraw troops from Afghanistan.
- President Carter put pressure on the US Olympic Committee to boycott the games and hoped this would encourage other nations to follow the USA.
- In all, 62 countries refused to participate and some of those who boycotted the games held alternative ones called the 'Liberty Bell Classic'.
- In 1984, Chernenko, leader of the USSR, announced the Soviet boycott of the Los Angeles Olympic Games.
- Thirteen other communist countries joined the Soviet boycott and as in 1980, alternative games were held. They were called the Friendship Games.
- The USA was not too concerned about the boycott, because the games were the largest ever held and China participated for the first time since 1932.
- Reagan became president in 1981. He made no secret of his hatred for the Soviet Union. He called it 'The Evil Empire'.

- He made it clear that he was prepared to discuss arms limitation, but was only prepared to negotiate from strength. If things did not work out, he was not prepared to compromise.
- He was keen to let the world know that the USA was still a Superpower. This meant restoring confidence in the USA and showing that the defeat in Vietnam was a thing of the past.
- For Reagan, this meant challenging communism. He wanted to show the people of the USA that he was not frightened of the Soviet Union.
- When Reagan put forward his defence programme for the USA, he indicated he would spend one trillion dollars.
- His advisers also persuaded him that the USA could win a limited nuclear war. This became known as - (Nuclear Utilization Target Selection – NUTS)
- In 1981, talks on Intermediate Range Missiles (SS-20s and Cruise) began. Reagan offered the 'Zero Option'. Both sides would dismantle and remove their weapons from Europe. Brezhnev refused.
- When martial law was imposed in Poland in December 1981 to stop the activities of the trade union 'Solidarity' led by Lech Walesa; Reagan stopped high technology exports to the Soviet Union.
- In 1982 Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) began. But all talks soon became deadlocked.
- In 1983 Reagan ordered US forces to land in Grenada to crush a Communist takeover.
- The situation was made much more difficult by the death of Brezhnev in 1982, the illness of Andropov in 1983 and the appointment of Chernenko in 1984.
- It was difficult for Reagan to develop any kind of relationship with the Soviet Union as a result of this. For three years very little happened until the appointment of Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985.

The Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI or 'Star Wars')

- In 1983 Reagan announced 'Star Wars', the Strategic Defence Initiative. This was a plan to shoot down Soviet missiles using lasers in Space.
- This was not a serious proposition in 1983, but it had the effect of putting pressure upon the Soviet leaders.
- The Soviet response to the announcement of SDI was to accuse Reagan of warmongering. Reagan was portrayed as the man who was prepared to start a nuclear war and emerge as victor.
- Andropov, the Soviet leader, knew that if SDI was possible then the Soviet Union could not compete in the technological research because the Soviet economy was in dire straits.
- However, there was no official response to SDI; Andropov showed no sign of being ready to back down.

- The Soviet response to the threat from SDI was delayed until Gorbachev took over in 1985.

Thatcher

- Thatcher offered immovable support to Reagan in helping to bring about the end of the Cold War.
- She won a degree of influence in the White House unmatched by any other Western leader.
- Sometimes, she would speak for both America and Britain at summits, declaring what 'Ron and I both think'.
- Reagan, often vague and stumbling in public, had an aversion to detail. Mrs Thatcher, the chemist and tax lawyer by training, was never less than fully briefed on any subject that mattered.
- Their minds worked in different ways, yet both shared identical instincts and the same Manichean view of the global struggle represented by the Cold War.
- She was also the first to identify a Soviet politician who grasped the hard reality that his country could not win the Cold War.
- While still only a member of the Politburo, Mikhail Gorbachev visited Britain in December 1984 and met Mrs Thatcher at Chequers.
- Afterwards, she declared: "I like Mr Gorbachev. We can do business together." That was exactly the seal of approval Gorbachev was looking for.
- Six months later, he took over the Kremlin with the aim of ending the Cold War. He needed to convince Reagan of his seriousness - and winning over Mrs Thatcher was the first step.
- Armed with this endorsement, Gorbachev duly made his way to the White House, where he and Reagan negotiated the disarmament treaties that ended more than four decades of nuclear-tipped confrontation.

Pope John Paul II

- Pope John Paul II's intervention was an influential in ending the Polish Communist Party's rule, there remains much disagreement in his role in the collapse of the USSR.
- On October 16, 1978, Karol Wojtyla was elected to the papacy. As the first-ever Polish pope and the first non-Italian to be elected to the papacy in over four hundred years, his election came as somewhat of a surprise to many Catholic scholars worldwide.
- The new pope visited his homeland within the first year of his papacy. On June 2, 1979, John Paul II made his first papal visit to Poland. Three million people came to the capital to greet him.
- The pope held Mass publicly in the Victory Square in Kraków, which was usually reserved for state-sponsored events.

- In the Lenin Shipyard, John Paul II held Mass in memory of the Polish workers who had been killed in a 1970 strike, carrying a large wooden cross which some took to symbolize the burden of communism on the Polish people.
- In January 1981, Lech Walesa visited Rome and met with the pope for the first time, receiving his official recognition and support.
- Initially, the Polish communists resisted the Solidarity rebels, imprisoning many of the movement's leaders between 1981 and 1983, but over the course of the 1980s, the movement gained more power and thus, more legitimacy.
- Pope John Paul II and President Ronald Reagan kept up a regular letter correspondence and met in Rome in both June 1982 and June 1987.
- This interaction has caused many historians to believe that the cooperation between the leaders strengthened the anti-communist cause.
- However, other historians have argued that both men were able to make their own individual political achievements.
- On December 1, 1989, the pope met Mikhail Gorbachev. It was the first time that a Catholic pope had met with a Soviet leader.
- The two leaders agreed to establish diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the Soviet Union. Gorbachev also pledged to allow greater religious freedom within the Soviet Union.
- In 1990, Walesa was elected president of Poland and began large-scale market reforms. By 1992, Soviet troops had begun to leave Poland. This trend was paralleled by demonstrations and revolts in several other satellite states.
- Even though the pope was primarily a religious leader, his leadership also had significant political consequences.
- John Paul II clearly used his Polish identity and connections to bring about the collapse of the nation's communist regime.
- While the intervention of Pope John Paul II was undoubtedly an essential factor in the ending of communism in Poland, it is less clear how significant the pope's leadership was in the rest of Eastern Europe and within the Soviet Union itself.
- The efforts of anti-communist leaders, such as Pope John Paul II and President Ronald Reagan did not make the fall of the Soviet Union inevitable.
- These leaders did hasten the end of the Cold War and the fall of Soviet communism, particularly in Eastern Europe.

The crushing of Solidarity in Poland

- Solidarity was a trade union set up by shipyard workers in Gdansk. On December 13, 1981, General Jaruzelski began a crack-down on Solidarity.

- Solidarity's leaders were arrested and isolated in facilities guarded by the Security Service and some 5,000 Solidarity supporters were arrested in the middle of the night.
- Censorship was expanded, and military forces appeared on the streets. Strikes were broken up.
- At one of the largest demonstrations, on December 16, 1981, government forces opened fire on demonstrators, killing 9 and seriously injuring 22
- By December 28, 1981, strikes had ceased, and Solidarity appeared crippled. On October 8, 1982, Solidarity was banned.
- Solidarity received widespread support: no other movement in the world was supported by Reagan the Pope, Margaret Thatcher, peace campaigners and NATO spokesmen.
- Reagan imposed economic sanctions on Poland, which eventually would force the Polish government into liberalizing its policies.
- Solidarity reappeared again in 1988, having survived underground for six years.
- By 1988, Poland's economy was in worse condition than it had been eight years earlier. International sanctions, combined with the government's unwillingness to introduce reforms, intensified the old problems.
- Polish exports were low, both because of the sanctions and because the goods were as unattractive abroad as they were at home
- Reforms introduced by Jaruzelski came too little and too late, especially as changes in the Soviet Union had bolstered the public's expectation that change must come, and the Soviets ceased their efforts to prop up Poland's failing regime.
- In February 1988, the government raised food prices by 40%. On April 21, a new wave of strikes hit the country.
- On May 2, workers at the Gdańsk Shipyard went on strike. That strike was broken by the government between May 5 and May 10.
- On August 15, a new strike took place. By August 20 the strike had spread to many other mines, and on August 22 the Gdańsk Shipyard joined the strike.
- On August 26, the Minister for Internal Affairs declared on television that the government was willing to negotiate, and five days later he met Wałęsa.
- The strikes ended the following day, and on November 30. On December 18, a hundred-member Citizens' Committee (*Komitet Obywatelski*) was formed within Solidarity.
- Wałęsa and the majority of Solidarity leaders supported negotiation, while a minority wanted an anticommunist revolution.
- Under Wałęsa's leadership, Solidarity decided to pursue a peaceful solution, and the pro-violence faction never attained any substantial power, nor did it take any action.
- The Polish Round Table Talks took place in Warsaw from February 6 to April 4, 1989.

- The Communists, led by Gen. Jaruzelski, hoped to co-opt prominent opposition leaders into the ruling group without making major changes in the structure of political power.
- Solidarity, while hopeful, did not anticipate major changes. In fact, the talks radically altered the shape of the Polish government and society
- On April 17, 1989, Solidarity was legalized, and its membership soon reached 1.5 million.
- A new Election Law allowed Solidarity to put forward candidates for only 35% of the seats in the Sejm, but there were no restrictions in regard to Senate candidates.

The shooting down of KAL 007

- Korean Air Lines Flight 007 was a scheduled Korean Airlines flight from New York to Seoul.
- On September 1, 1983, the flight was shot down by an aircraft of the Soviet Union. All 269 passengers and crew aboard were killed, including two Congressmen.
- The Soviet Union initially denied knowledge of the incident, but later admitted the shooting down, claiming that the aircraft was on a spy mission.
- The Soviet Union suppressed, such as the black box recorders; these were released eight years later after the end of the Soviet Union.
- The incident was one of the tensest moments of the Cold War. The opposing points of view on the incident were never fully resolved.

Developments in Africa and the Americas

Cuban intervention in Angola and Ethiopia

- In the 1970s, Cuban brigades were sent to African countries to support Marxist regimes.
- In November 1975, Cuba launched a large-scale military intervention in support of the left wing People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola.
- This opposed against US-backed interventions by South Africa and Zaire in support of two other liberation movements competing for power in the country.
- By the end of 1975 the Cuban military in Angola numbered more than 25,000 troops.
- Following the withdrawal of Zaire and South Africa, Cuban forces remained in Angola to support the MPLA government against UNITA in the continuing Angolan Civil War.
- In 1988, Cuban troops intervened again to avert military disaster in a Soviet led offensive against UNITA, which was supported by South Africa.
- The Ogaden War was a conflict between Somalia and Ethiopia in 1977 and 1978. Fighting erupted in the Ogaden region as Somalia attempted to liberate the area. The conflict ended with a Somali retreat.

- When the Soviet Union began to support the Ethiopian government instead of the Somali government, other Communist nations followed.
- The Cuban army sent 15,000 combat troops along with aircraft to support the government and the USSR military advisors in the region.
- To the USA, Cuban intervention suggested that the Soviet Union was attempting to export communism to the African continent.
- These events coincided with growing tension in Europe after the failure of the Helsinki Agreement.

US intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean

- US governments in the 1970s and 1980s made clear that they regarded the Americas as their territory.
- Attempts to impose left wing governments would be opposed; the USA appeared to reserve the right to intervene whenever it perceived its interests to be at risk.

Chile

- In 1970, Salvador Allende was elected president of Chile. The US government was afraid that the new government would be Marxist and spent \$8 million in the next three years supporting the opposition.
- CIA activity was present in almost every major election in Chile in the decade between 1963 and 1973, but its actual effect on electoral outcomes is not altogether clear.
- Chile, more than any of its South American neighbours, had an extensive democratic tradition dating back to the early 1930s, and even before. It is difficult to gauge how successful CIA tactics were in swaying voters.
- In 1973, Augustin Pinochet seized power in a coup. There is evidence that the CIA knew in advance and may have provided support.
- The CIA definitely supported the military junta after the overthrow of Allende.

Grenada

- Grenada became independent of Britain in 1974, but retained the Queen as head of state.
- The left wing New Jewel Movement seized power in a coup in 1979 and suspended the constitution.
- In 1983, an internal power struggle ended with the murder of revolutionary prime minister Maurice Bishop.
- The US government intervened to 'restore order'; the invasion began early on 25 October 1983.
- US actions were widely condemned and infuriated Margaret Thatcher. US forces remained in Grenada until democratic elections were held.

Nicaragua

- In 1979, the Sandinistas overthrow the government of Somoza in Nicaragua. He had been supported by the US government and his forces trained by the US military.
- The Sandinistas governed Nicaragua from 1979 to 1990. levels of literacy rose dramatically and health care and education improved.
- The Carter administration attempted to work with the new regime, but Reagan offered support to opposition groups, the Contras.
- From 1981, there was a civil war in which thousands of people were killed. By 1982 Contra forces had begun carrying out assassinations of members of the Nicaraguan government.
- In 1983, the Contras had launched a major offensive and the CIA helped them to plant mines in Nicaragua's harbours to prevent foreign weapons shipments from arriving.
- Nicaragua became an example of the proxy Cold War until a peace plan was devised in 1987. Sandinista rule ended after the 1990 general elections

The ending of the Cold War, 1981-1991

Why did the Cold War come to an end?

1: The Soviet economy could take no more because:

- The cost of supporting communist regimes and movements around the world through COMECON
- Subsidies for inefficient industries and for prices to keep populations quiet
- The cost of the Afghan war
- 96% of Soviet agriculture was in collective farms which produced 75% of the country's food. 4% was in private plots which produced 25% of the country's food.
- Economic globalisation created major changes in the world economy at the end of the twentieth century.
- Western economies using market systems were able to transfer labour to services, to reorganize their heavy industries and to switch to computers. The Soviet Union could not keep up.
- When Gorbachev came to power in 1985, there were 50,000 personal computers in the Soviet Union; in the United States there were 30 million.
- Four years later, there were about 400,000 personal computers in the Soviet Union, and 40 million in the United States.
- According to one Soviet economist, by the late 1980s, only eight percent of Soviet industry was competitive at world standards.
- It is difficult to remain a superpower when 92 percent of industry is not competitive.

2: Pressure from the USA as a result of the policies of President Reagan

- From 1981 to 1985 he ratcheted up the Cold War by policies such as SDI.
- The response from the USSR was largely negative. Andropov and Chernenko showed no interest in reaching any agreement.
- He then abruptly changed his policy from 1985 and reached agreements with Gorbachev on arms reduction.
- Reagan had combined a serious analysis of Soviet systemic weaknesses with a fairly coherent strategy of squeeze and pressure.
- There is some doubt as to whether he was making a connection between what he talked about and practised in his first term in office regarding the superpower relationship and what later unfolded in his second term.
- Was this his intention all along, or was it pragmatic when Gorbachev was appointed?

- According to Jack Matlock, Reagan's ambassador in Moscow, the President commented:

Let there be no talk of winners and losers. Even if we think we won, to say so would set us back.

- This was a very different Reagan from that who spoke of 'The Evil Empire'.

3: The policies of Mikhail Gorbachev from 1985, in which he sought support for the West.

- The United States could raise its own military expenditures as high as it liked, but without a very different kind of Soviet leader responding to some very real Soviet problems it is impossible to envisage 1989 ever happening.
- Gorbachev discovered the parlous state of the Soviet economy when he became leader in March 1985
- Gorbachev embarked on a programme of sudden reforms without any real understanding of what would happen.
- Perestroika and Glasnost and later Democracy had consequences that he could not foresee.
- Although reforms were implemented in the years 1985-87, they were mostly within the existing communist structure and had little effect.
- New state organisations were created to encourage local planning and investment, but they fell foul of communist mentality.
- Offers of state land for private investment found few takers because people did not believe that changes would last.
- Gorbachev's aims were to preserve communism and the Soviet Union, but his actions had the opposite effects.
- The West refused to supply the finance and technology that Gorbachev needed to save the USSR.

4: The moral bankruptcy of the Soviet system

- For nearly seventy years the Soviet people had had drab lives in a controlled environment; in the end it and they were just worn out.
- The rigid command economy created by Stalin and endorsed by Brezhnev was not capable of making the technological changes that were taking place elsewhere at the end of the twentieth century.
- Oil exports declined in the later 1980s and Gorbachev was forced to reduce imports of consumer goods.
- The United States might have played its part in weakening the legitimacy of communism and exposing its weaknesses.

- The damage was not being done from outside the USSR but from within by an economy that could not innovate and an ideology in which fewer and fewer believed.
- The end was inevitable; Reagan and Gorbachev merely hastened it.

Pressures on Gorbachev

Why did the Soviet forces lose the war in Afghanistan?

- The Soviet forces were initially successful; they were able to take control of the cities, but increasingly were unable to counter the guerrilla tactics of the Mujaheddin and lost control of the mountainous countryside.
- Many of the Soviet troops sent to Afghanistan were conscripts, unprepared for the fighting that they were exposed to.
- Their heavy weapons could not be used effectively and they were subject to constant and sudden attacks.
- Increasingly there was little appetite for the war amongst the Soviet troops. Afghanistan did not seem worth fighting and dying for.
- Their opponents, on the other hand, believed that they were fighting for their religion.

What effects did the Afghan War have on the Soviet Union?

- There was increasing opposition to the war from many people inside the Soviet Union as casualties mounted. A Superpower was being humiliated by guerrillas.
- The cost of the war was colossal and played a significant part in the bankruptcy of the Soviet Union in the 1980s. This in turn led to the attempts by Mikhail Gorbachev to reform the Soviet economy.
- Soviet forces were withdrawn in 1988.

The importance of Soviet economic problems

The impact of Brezhnev

- Khrushchev's successor was Leonid Brezhnev, one of his own protégés. He soon gave up any idea of change.
- For the next eighteen years, until Brezhnev died in 1982, the Soviet Union stagnated. Brezhnev was an invalid for years before he died.
- Brezhnev began to spend more on the arms race, because he believed that the Soviet Union had fallen behind the West. Consequently, by the late 1960s he was already looking for ways of saving money.
- Brezhnev appointed Yuri Andropov to be the head of the KGB in 1967. Andropov wanted to attack corruption in the government and the party.

- However, Brezhnev promoted members of his own family to senior posts. This led to serious cases of corruption. His daughter and her lover and his sons were all involved.
- Andropov could, however, attack dissidents. Many were arrested in the 1970s and often put into mental hospitals. These included writers, poets and scientists.
- The economic problems of the Soviet Union continued and gradually got worse. There were permanent food shortages.
- 30% of government spending went into agriculture, but the Soviet Union could still only produce 65% of the wheat it needed.
- There were no real further attempts to introduce reforms.
- In 1981 Brezhnev, at the Twenty-sixth Party Congress, listed the reasons for the lack of success of the Tenth Five Year Plan, these included:

‘lack of skilled labour, alcoholism, absenteeism and lack of effort on the part of civil servants’, who manned the vast organisation which tried to plan the economy.
- In agriculture, there was little incentive for peasants to work hard and no money for investment in new machinery, fertilisers and technology.
- 20,000,000,000 roubles every year were spent on subsidies to keep prices down. 55% of Soviet factories ran at a loss.
- When Brezhnev died in November 1982 his successor was expected to be Konstantin Chernenko, but instead Yuri Andropov was chosen by the Politburo.
- Andropov was Head of the KGB from 1967 to 1982 and had attacked corruption. He was known as a reformer.
- However, in August 1983 he was taken ill and died in February 1984. Chernenko took his place. He was seventy-two and in poor health.
- He made few public appearances after becoming seriously ill in July 1984. Most people saw him as a stop-gap.
- He was; he died in 1985 and was replaced by Mikhail Gorbachev

What problems did Gorbachev face?

- The Soviet Union was bankrupt. Gorbachev desperately needed financial and technological aid from the West
- Industry was hopelessly inefficient. 55% of factories were working at a loss. 15% of the economy was on the Black Market. 10% of workers were drunk at any one time.
- Gorbachev had had no idea how serious the problems were before he became leader.
- Despite his slogans of Perestroika and Glasnost, Gorbachev had no real plans to deal with the problems. He worked from hand to mouth with no overall plan.

Gorbachev knew that the Soviet Union was bankrupt. Why was it bankrupt?

- For forty years it had supported Communist regimes around the world through COMECON. In 1977 Cuba had joined. Cuba depended almost totally on the Soviet Union for aid.
- Prices in the Soviet Union were controlled and subsidised. This was a heavy drain on the government.
- The Space programme had been very ambitious and very expensive. In 1975 Soviet and US astronauts had met in Space. It would become almost the last symbol of Superpower status.
- Military expenditure had gone on rising. This stopped spending on consumer goods. No leader dared offend the military in case he was overthrown by a coup.
- The Afghan War was merely the final straw. Soviet troops were withdrawn in 1989.
- The Soviet Union had increasingly come to rely on imports of food and technology from the West. This had to be paid for in foreign currency.
- The Soviet Union was desperate for foreign currency. Sales of roubles were strictly controlled and foreign visitors were allowed to buy in 'Beriozka' shops which contained goods which were not available to Soviet citizens.
- Soviet exports were usually of poor quality; 'Ladas', cheap 'Qualiton' records, for example. There was little incentive to workers to raise standards as everyone was guaranteed a job, cheap housing and public services.
- Officially the last person to be unemployed in the Soviet Union had found a job in 1932.
- There was immense 'black market' in western goods and currency. Tourists would be offered roubles at three or five times the official exchange rate.
- Gorbachev knew that if the Soviet Union was to survive, he had to reduce expenditure. But he also needed foreign aid and new technology.
- When Gorbachev came to power in 1985, there were 50,000 personal computers in the Soviet Union; in the United States there were 30 million.
- Four years later, there were about 400,000 personal computers in the Soviet Union, and 40 million in the United States.
- According to one Soviet economist, by the late 1980s, only 8% of Soviet industry was competitive at world standards.
- It is difficult to remain a superpower when 92% of industry is not competitive.
- The only way of getting it was by making agreements to reduce arms with the West.

The impact of Gorbachev and the collapse of Communism in the USSR and Eastern Europe

- Gorbachev came to power with two slogans PERESTROIKA and GLASNOST.
- Perestroika referred to 'economic restructuring' in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev believed that the Soviet Union could only survive if the economy was completely rebuilt, doing away with the command economy which had existed since Stalin.
- Glasnost referred to new sense of 'openness', both within the Soviet Union and also with the West. The powers of the KGB were restricted and criticism of the government was allowed. Free elections were held in 1990.
- Gorbachev realised that the Soviet Union's survival depended upon the West. He needed investment, new technology, but most of all arms agreements which would allow him to reduce the Soviet Union's massive defence spending.
- When he became leader, Gorbachev indicated that the Soviet Union would no longer follow the Brezhnev Doctrine.

Why did Gorbachev's attempts at reform fail?

- Gorbachev had no real plans. He was making it up as he went along. Even he did not really know what Perestroika meant.
- It was too little too late. Gorbachev wanted to alter the system not change it. By the late 1980s shortages were so severe that this would not work.
- The problems he faced had been building up since the death of Stalin. The only serious attempt to solve them by Khrushchev had failed.
- Gorbachev knew that he needed help from the West, especially financial support from the G7 countries, which included the USA, Britain, West Germany, Japan and France.
- He believed that if he made concessions on arms, they would provide cash. He was wrong.
- Gorbachev tried to maintain the power of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union; more and more people were tired of Communism, of drab lives with little food.
- Glasnost and Perestroika revealed one of the fundamental weaknesses of the Soviet Union; it was made up of many different peoples, cultures and nationalities.
- Only strict discipline and the Red Army had kept the Soviet Union together. By the late 1980s the Red Army was no longer being paid and Gorbachev was not prepared to use force to keep the Soviet Union together.

Reagan and Gorbachev: the changing relationship between the Superpowers

- Gorbachev knew that if the Soviet Union was to survive, he had to reduce expenditure. But he also needed foreign aid and new technology.
- The only way of getting it was by making agreements to reduce arms with the West.

- Reagan also wanted to cut military expenditure. In 1983, the USA spent \$300,000,000,000 on defence. More than the entire British budget.

The summits between the USA and the USSR

- During the period of the summits Gorbachev made several visits to European countries. Wherever he went he was greeted by huge crowds.
- The term 'Gorbymania' was coined and he was mobbed every where he went - it was as if he was a pop star. The world came to expect a great deal from him.
- The wives of the two presidents also played important roles. Raisa Gorbachev was lively and outgoing and liked to dress fashionably. She was quite different from the wives of previous leaders.
- Nancy Reagan persuaded her husband to moderate his opposition to the Soviet Union. The two women got on well and their friendship wore off on their husbands.

Geneva, 1985

- Gorbachev and Reagan held their first summit meeting in **Geneva** in November 1985.
- Reagan still insisted that the USA would develop 'Star Wars'.
- Few firm decisions were made, but it seemed that the two leaders liked each other and they met without advisers and aides.
- The Geneva Accords were published which indicated that arms limitation talks and human rights were key concerns of the two Superpowers.

Reykjavik, 1986

- There were initial agreements but the fundamental differences over SDI caused the talks to break down.
- Despite the failure, the summit paved the way for the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, signed in 1987.

Washington DC, 1987

- The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty was signed in 1987. **For the first time**, the Superpowers were to destroy nuclear weapons.
- By 1991, as a result of INF, the Soviet Union destroyed 889 of its intermediate-range missiles and 957 shorter-range missiles, and the U.S. destroyed 677 and 169 respectively.
- The Treaty included remarkably extensive and intrusive verification inspection and monitoring arrangements to check that weapons were being destroyed.
- It was this acceptance by the Soviet Union that convinced the USA that the two countries could trust each other.

Moscow, 1988

- The INF Treaty was formally ratified.
- Reagan indicated that the Soviet Union could improve its stance on human rights.
- Gorbachev promised to withdraw Soviet forces from Afghanistan.
- Further talks were held to discuss the reductions in armaments and also conventional forces. The talks were known as Strategic Arms Reduction Talks – (START).

New York, 1988

- This was the last summit between Reagan and Gorbachev and it was also attended by President-elect George Bush Snr.
- Gorbachev indicated he was going to speed up arms reduction wanted to complete the START Treaty before Bush became president.
- President-elect Bush and his own advisers were less trusting of Gorbachev than Reagan.

The collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe

- By the late 1980s, Gorbachev was not prepared to use force to try to keep the countries of Eastern Europe under control, and in any case the Soviet Army was unwilling to act.
- Its morale had been destroyed in Afghanistan and many soldiers did not always receive regular payments.
- Gorbachev rejected the **Brezhnev Doctrine**. The satellite states of Eastern Europe knew that there would not be the kind of response seen in 1956 and 1968 if there were challenges to Soviet authority.
- Gorbachev openly accepted that the countries of the Warsaw Pact could make changes to their own country independently.
- This became known as the Sinatra Doctrine – from the song ‘My Way’. Each state was eventually permitted to follow its own political path.
- Communist rule collapsed in Poland during 1989, and Lech Walesa became President in 1990 after the first free elections since the end of the Second World War.
- In September 1989, Hungary opened its borders with Austria and East Germany opened its borders with Austria. Massive numbers of refugees began to flood west.
- This was the signal for change, because it now seemed that the ‘iron curtain’ could no longer hold back those who opposed Soviet domination.

The ending of Cold War tensions

- The collapse of the Soviet Union not only brought an end to the Cold War, but it also produced much greater co-operation between the countries of East and West.
- Within a matter of years, former members of the communist bloc were seeking admission to NATO and the European Union.
- The United Nations Security Council began to work with much greater unity.
- COMECON collapsed and with it financial support for Marxist regimes around the World.
- Communist regimes around the world collapsed for lack of support. Only Cuba and China managed to survive, but both were forced to look for economic support from the West, either industrial or financial, or through increased tourism.
- Cuba was no longer able to provide military support for regimes in Africa
- In Africa and South America, Soviet support for rebel groups disappeared overnight.
- The division of the Soviet Union into separate republics led to an increased threat of nuclear accidents, as nuclear weapons fell into the hands of the Ukraine and Belarus.
- Inside the Russian federation, separatist movements developed in autonomous regions such as Chechnya. This led to increased instability in Russia itself.

The end of the Cold War

Malta, 1989

- This was between the new President – George Bush Snr. and Gorbachev.
- Gorbachev assured Bush that he would never start a ‘hot war’ against the USA.
- Observers were quick to point out that if Yalta (1945) was the beginning of the Cold War, then Malta (1989) was the end of it.

Washington, 1990

- Bush Snr. and Gorbachev discussed Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START).
- The Treaty for the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms (START I) was signed on 31 July 1991.
- This meant reducing 25 to 35 per cent of all their strategic warheads.
- Following the work of the previous summits, the representatives of NATO and the Warsaw Pact signed the Conventional Armed Forces Treaty (CFE) which led to the reduction of weapons based in Europe.

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The Berlin Wall, 1989

- When Gorbachev visited East Germany in October 1989 he indicated that he would no longer interfere in events within that country.
- Unrest began to grow in East Germany and at the beginning of November 1989. The demonstrators demanded changes to the system of government.
- Demonstrations increased in intensity and one meeting had more than one million protestors.
- The East German government tried to defuse the situation by opening the border with West Germany. This served only to allow hundreds of thousands of East Germans to swarm into the West to visit relatives.
- East Germans then began attacking the Berlin Wall and the world saw startling images of the Wall being dismantled. The date was 9 November 1989.
- In preparation for reunification, East Germany left the Warsaw Pact in 1990.
- On 3 October 1990, East and West Germany were reunited.

The collapse of the Soviet Empire

- The Communist governments of Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria both resigned in 1989.
- Soviet troops were withdrawn from the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which had been occupied since 1940. The Soviet Union accepted their independence in 1991 independent again.
- In December 1989 the numbers increased dramatically when Nicolai Ceausescu, the Romanian dictator was overthrown and shot.
- In December, Gorbachev met George Bush, the new US president and they declared that the Cold War was over.
- In 1990, the first free elections since November 1918 were held in the Soviet Union.

The end of the Warsaw Pact

- In January 1991, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland announced they would leave the Warsaw Pact.
- Bulgaria also announced its intention to withdraw from the Pact in the following month.
- One again, the Soviet Union did not challenge these decisions. It stated that the military structure of the Pact would be dismantled at the end of March 1991.
- The Warsaw Pact was formally ended on 1 July 1991.

Why did Gorbachev do nothing to stop the collapse of the Soviet bloc?

- He was not prepared to use force and risk bloodshed.
- The Red Army was not paid regularly and its morale had been destroyed in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union was on the verge of financial collapse.
- Gorbachev needed aid from the West; he knew that he would not get it if he ordered a clampdown on the East.
- Events in Eastern Europe influenced different national and ethnic groups inside the Soviet Union. The Baltic States began to press for independence in 1989 and were granted freedom by 1991.
- In May 1991, the new president of the Russian state, Boris Yeltsin began to encourage the socialist republics of the Soviet Union to break away.

There was one last attempt to save the Soviet Union.

- In August 1991, Communist hard-liners tried to overthrow Mikhail Gorbachev while he was on holiday in the Crimea.
- Within three days the coup had failed. The Soviet army refused to back the coup.
- The leading figure in the defeat of the Communists was Boris Yeltsin, the Russian president.
- For the first time in seventy-two years the White, Blue and Red flag of Russia, outlawed under Communism, flew over the Kremlin. The Soviet Union no longer existed.
- On December 8, 1991 the Soviet Union was officially declared dissolved and it was replaced by the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).
- On December 25, 1991, Gorbachev resigned as president of the USSR.

Why did Gorbachev resign as President of the Soviet Union in December 1991?

- From 1989 the Soviet Union began to break up. It always had been a Russian Empire controlled by the Red Army.

- When the Soviet government could no longer pay for the army, it began to lose its grip on the republics of the Soviet Union.
- Gorbachev failed to realise that in withdrawing the Red Army from the countries of the Warsaw Pact, he was encouraging the break up of the Soviet Union.
- He also did not realise that offering limited freedom and reforms to the peoples of the Soviet Union was bound to lead to demands for greater freedom.
- People were not satisfied with the concessions that Gorbachev offered and asked for more.
- The Soviet Union was a complex affair. Although in theory there were fifteen republics of equal importance, in fact the Russian Federation made up more than half the population and Russia controlled most of the senior posts. All citizens had to learn Russian.
- Stalin had deliberately destroyed ethnic groups that he did not trust at the end of the Second World War. Chechens and Tartars had been moved to Siberia. Opposition in Georgia had been crushed by severe purges.
- The Russian Federation was made up of a network of autonomous regions. Each had different degrees of self-government.
- Many of these also attempted to gain independence; the Chechens were the most well known example. When Gorbachev loosened the reins, all of the pent up hatred of Russia erupted.
- The first republics to leave were the Baltic States, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. These had been occupied during the Second World War and had always resented Soviet (Russian) domination.
- The key factor in the Baltic States was Gorbachev's refusal to use force and risk bloodshed. He was just not a Brezhnev or a Khrushchev, and still less a Stalin.
- Gorbachev was also deserted by some of his key supporters. Edward Shevardnadze, his Foreign Minister, 'defected' to become the President of Georgia.
- But the most important factor was the growth of the power of Russia led by Boris Yeltsin. Once Russia began to act independently, Gorbachev had lost the power base of the Soviet Union.
- The key event was the coup to overthrow Gorbachev in August 1991. Gorbachev, who had wanted to preserve the Soviet Union, was arrested by plotters who accused him of betraying it.
- He was saved by Boris Yeltsin's defiant stand at the Russian Parliament, the White House.
- But the most significant moment in the coup was the decision by the army units that advanced into central Moscow to turn back under pressure from the local people.
- This was a simple confrontation between old-fashioned Soviet force of arms and democracy.
- By choosing democracy, Gorbachev put himself into the position where he could not stop the process that he had created. By December 1991 he was President of nothing.