

Superpower Relations and the Cold War 1941-91

Section 1A The Origins of the Cold War 1941-58?

Why did the wartime alliance begin to breakdown in 1945?

- Stalin did not, and never had, trusted the West. He had signed the non-aggression pact with Hitler in 1939 because he was convinced should Hitler ever attack Britain, France, nor America would come to his aid.
- So when Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941 Stalin entered into a “marriage of convenience” with the west until such time as a “common enemy” had been defeated.
- He was determined, once the war was over, to build a buffer zone against further German attacks.
- Throughout 1941-43 the ideological differences between the capitalist west and the communist East remained. What were they?

	Capitalism believed in	Communism believed in
Politics		
Social structure		
Economy		
Rights		

- During the war the Soviet people suffered terribly, 26,000,000 died altogether. This made Stalin determined that this should never happen again.
- He remembered that the Western Allies had intervened in the Civil War in 1918-9 and he suspected that they had encouraged Hitler in the 1930s. Britain and France had turned down an offer of an alliance with the Soviet Union in 1939.
- From 1941-43 the Soviet Union bore the brunt of the fighting against Nazism. Stalin demanded the west open a “second front” on Germany’s western border through France, so that the German army would be forced to divert troops away from the Eastern Front and so relieve pressure.
- By 1943 this still had not happened and this made Stalin very suspicious of the West. He believed that they had wanted the Soviet Union to destroy itself fighting Germany on its own.
- So even before the leaders met for the first war time conference at Tehran there was tension within the “Grand Alliance”. Making matters worse the three leaders had different attitudes, temperaments and personalities

The beliefs and attitudes of Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill (the Grand Alliance)

Joseph Stalin

- Stalin became the ruler of the Soviet Union in 1928. He was also very suspicious of Britain and the USA. He remembered that they had intervened in the Russian Civil War in 1918-9 and he suspected that they had encouraged Hitler in the 1930s. In 1938, at the time of the Munich Crisis, Stalin had offered to form an alliance with Britain and France, but they had not taken him up.
- Since the 1920s Stalin's basic policy had been 'Socialism in One Country'. This meant building up the Soviet Union defences so that it was as strong as possible.
- After the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Stalin believed that the West had hoped that Germany and the USSR would destroy each other. He had urged Roosevelt and Churchill to invade France to take pressure off of the Soviet army, but they refused. The invasion, D Day, only took place in 1944.
- So in 1945, Stalin did not trust the West and was determined to build a buffer zone against further German attacks, particularly as Germany had invaded Russia twice during the twentieth century.
- When the three leaders met at Yalta, Stalin's main aim was to ensure that the Soviet Union was safe from another attack by Germany. He wanted Germany to be as weak as possible.

Roosevelt

- Roosevelt believed in democracy but felt he would need the support of the USSR in its war with Japan. For this reason he was not always as tough on communism as Churchill would have liked. He believed long term peace after Hitler could only be achieved if the USSR was accepted as a world power.

Churchill

- Churchill despised communism. He was sure Stalin intended to spread communism throughout Europe and saw his role as trying to stop communism spreading.
- Unfortunately he was a big supporter of Empire and Roosevelt saw this as just as bad as communism. For this reason he was a bit of an outsider and moaned to friends the Big Three were really a Big Two
- So there was great tension when the leaders met at Tehran. It must be remembered the outcome of WW2 was still in the balance so the west had to keep Stalin happy.

Decisions made at Tehran

- USA and Britain would open a “second front”
- Stalin would declare war against Japan and support USA AFTER Hitler had been defeated
- Agreed in principle that Germany should remain weak after the war so Soviet Union could keep land seized from Poland and Poland would receive land on her western border from Germany
- United Nations would be set up.
- Stalin was happy because he kept Eastern Poland as a “buffer” zone and he got his “second front”
- Roosevelt was happy because he had Soviet support for war with Japan
- Churchill was not happy. He wanted the “second front” in the Balkans but was over ruled.

The Yalta Conference

In February 1945 Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin met again at Yalta in the southern Soviet Union to plan the end of the Second World War. By this time victory over Nazism was almost certain and the USA were optimistic about “Operation Manhattan.” By Yalta Roosevelt was increasingly confident USA would soon have a functioning Atomic bomb.

What happened at Yalta?

- They agreed to divide Germany into four zones, each one would be occupied by one of the allies.
- Stalin reluctantly agreed to accept France as one of the powers and Berlin would also be divided into four sectors.
- Germany was to pay \$20 billion in reparations with \$10 billion going to the Soviet Union
- 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).
- 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 also agreed Eastern Europe was to be a Soviet “sphere of influence.”

Why did the West not take a firmer line at Yalta?

- Roosevelt believed that Stalin would keep his promises. He also believed that the Soviet army would be needed in the final attack on Japan, so he was prepared to leave the Soviet Union in control of Eastern Europe.
- Churchill did not think that this was a good idea. By the time of the Potsdam conference in July, it was clear that Churchill had been right.

The Potsdam Conference July/Aug 1945

- By Potsdam the USA had a new president- Harry Truman.
- Truman had served in the US army during the First World War and had seen the effects that warfare could have. He visited Europe in 1945 in order to attend the Potsdam Conference and was horrified by what he saw. He was also determined to 'get tough with the Russians' and force them to keep the promises that they had made at Yalta.

- Truman convinced the US people that the USA could not afford to adopt an isolationist policy after the Second World War. It was the duty of the USA, he stated repeatedly, to take a leading role in the United Nations and accept its responsibilities in a new world order.
- Truman believed that a stand had to be made against the growing influence of the Soviet Union and was afraid that otherwise there would be a repetition of the situation in the 1930s, when Hitler had been allowed to get away with a series of aggressive moves.
- Truman also believed that Germany must be allowed to recover from the effects of the war, this would help to prevent a recreation of the situation in the 1930s. Stalin considered this outrageous.

Decisions made at the Potsdam Conference

- 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.
- The Nazi Party would be dissolved. War criminals would be tried and punished.
- 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.
- All the Allies agreed to take part in the United Nations.

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. To Stalin it was unacceptable to have non-communist governments on his borders.
- Stalin was angry that the USA had not told him about the atomic bomb which he knew that the USA had developed. (the first successful test happened one day before the conference opened)
- He believed the USA would use this to force concessions at Potsdam—"Atomic diplomacy." In fact it made Stalin more determined to have a buffer zone and develop his own nuclear bomb. By 1949 he had achieved this.

Why did the Grand Alliance unravel?

- Truman became increasingly convinced the Soviets had no intention of leaving Eastern Europe. What the US had agreed should be a Soviet "sphere of influence" was becoming a Soviet "zone of control"
- Stalin, however, was annoyed by the US use of Atomic bombs at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. He felt these had been used as a deliberate attempt to intimidate the USSR. It made him more determined to develop his own nuclear bomb and to surround the Soviet Union with a buffer zone of "satellite states. This became known as the Iron Curtain.

The Long and Novikov Telegrams

- In 1946 Moscow and Washington asked their embassies to report on the attitudes they were finding in each other's countries.
- The US Ambassador, Kennan Long, reported that while the Soviets wished to destroy the American way of life they were not "suicidal" in wanting it. Relations could be handled without "military conflict." This telegram is believed to signal the birth of the "containment" policy.
- Novikov's telegram back to Moscow was more pessimistic. He claimed the US Government and public wanted to use their military power for world domination. It was vital therefore, he claimed, that the Soviets build up as much protection as possible. It was this mindset that led to the development of the Iron Curtain.

What was the Iron Curtain?

- The Iron Curtain was the name given to the border between east and west in Europe that was set up by Joseph Stalin, the ruler of the USSR in the years after the Second World War. The name came from a speech made by Winston Churchill in 1946.

- The Iron Curtain became a thousand mile fence cutting off the Communist countries of Eastern Europe from the non-communist west

How did the Soviets create the Iron Curtain- “slicing off salami”

- The **Red Army** (Torrent of Lava) didn't leave the country at the end of the war and were used to intimidate the population. They were welcomed –WHY?
- **Communist leaders** were trained in Moscow during the Second World War and returned to the countries of Eastern Europe in order to use their new skills –Initially they were welcomed
- Often the Communist Party became part of a **coalition government** in the country.
- **Terror and/or propaganda** were always used to intimidate and eradicate non communists in government.
- 'Free democratic' elections were held but were in no way 'free' or 'democratic'- elections were **“rigged”**

Why did Stalin build the Iron Curtain?

- He wanted to set up a buffer zone of countries in Eastern Europe to protect the USSR against another invasion by Germany. Between 1945 and 1948 all the countries which had been occupied by the Red Army at the end of the war were brought under Soviet control. In Czechoslovakia the leaders were simply murdered.
- He did not trust the west
- He was trying to prevent western influence reaching the East and refugees leaving the east for Western Europe.

Section 1B The Development of the Cold War?

- At Potsdam it was agreed to divide the Germany into four zones, one each for the USA, the USSR, Britain and France.
- Each of the four allies was to be responsible for its own sector. Decisions affecting Germany as a whole would be taken jointly and it was intended that Germany would be reunited in the future.
- Berlin the capital of Germany was inside the Soviet zone, so this was also divided into four sectors. It was governed by the Joint Kommandatura, which contained the military leaders of the four allies.

West Berlin

- West Berlin was formed by the US, French and British sectors in Berlin from 1945 to 1991. It was very awkward for the Soviet Union and East Germany. It allowed people behind the Iron Curtain an opportunity to see what life was like in the West.
- West Berlin benefited from **MARSHALL AID**, which began after the **TRUMAN DOCTRINE** was published in March 1947, but East Berlin and East Germany did not.

What was the TRUMAN DOCTRINE?

In February 1947 the British government informed the USA that it could no longer afford to support the Greek government against Communist rebels. The US government stepped in with an offer of \$400,000,000. Harry Truman also took the opportunity to extend the offer of aid.

The Truman Doctrine was announced by Harry Truman, the president of the USA, in March 1947. He offered to help any country that was being threatened either from within or from without its own borders. He did not name any country, nor did he specify what sort of aid would be given.

Why was the Truman Doctrine published?

- Truman wanted to help the countries of Europe recover from the effects of the Second World War. He had seen the devastation, which the war had caused and he wanted the USA to play a part in recovery. Marshall Aid was announced at the same time.
- Truman was trying to stop any other countries in Europe becoming Communist. Already the Iron Curtain had cut Europe in two, he did not want that to go any further.
- Truman also hoped that he might be able to persuade some of the countries of Eastern Europe to break away from Communism. **MARSHALL AID** was also intended to help here.

- While the Truman Doctrine did not actually mention the Soviet Union, it was obvious that it was intended as a warning to Stalin that Truman was not going to let him get away with any more attempts to take control of Europe. Truman had said that he was going to 'get tough with Russia', this was one example of his policy.
- Truman was making US policy clear- they were abandoning isolationism with a new policy of “**containment**”
- Truman recognised that communism grew wherever there was poverty- so the best way to stop communism in Europe was to end poverty in Europe. For this reason Marshall Aid accompanied the Truman Doctrine.

How did MARSHALL AID work?

- Marshall Aid was an attempt to rebuild Europe after the Second World War. It put the ideas of the Truman Doctrine into effect. In March 1947 President Harry Truman offered grants of American money to all European countries. The plan was named after his secretary of state George C Marshall.
- Truman intended that Marshall Aid would be made available to all countries in Europe, but in fact only countries in the west accepted it.
- The USSR and other eastern countries attended the first meetings in 1948, but withdrew when they discovered that they would have to join the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation.
- The **MARSHALL PLAN** would control how Marshall Aid would be spent. Individual countries would not be able to decide for themselves
- This would mean that the USA would be able to influence the countries of the east and undermine communism. This was what Truman had hoped would happen.
- When the Soviet Union realised what Truman was up to, other Eastern Bloc countries, Czechoslovakia and Poland in particular, were forced to withdraw applications for Marshall Aid.
- Altogether seventeen countries received a total of \$13,750,000,000, which allowed them to recover from the war much more quickly than the countries of the east. Italy, which had been an ally of Germany during the war, received \$600,000,000. Britain got more money than any other country, receiving \$2,600,000,000 in total.
- Marshall Aid was one of the reasons why Stalin tried to force the west out of West Berlin in 1948. He viewed Marshall Aid as “dollar imperialism” and reacted with his own version.

The Formation of Cominform and 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.
- By 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 1990s.
- It was in response to this the USA established The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) in 1949,

THE BERLIN CRISIS-testing the west

At first travel between the four sectors in Berlin had been easy; people could live in one sector and work in another. Then in June 1948 Stalin blockaded West Berlin.

From June 1948 until May 1949, Joseph Stalin ordered that all traffic between West Germany and West Berlin should be stopped. He was able to close the road, canal and rail routes, but was not able to prevent the western allies, Great Britain, France and the USA from bringing supplies into West Berlin by air.

The Berlin airlift lasted ten and a half months and one plane landed in West Berlin every ninety seconds.

Why did Stalin blockade Berlin?

- The main reason for the blockade was that Great Britain and the USA had made it clear that they intended to rebuild the economy in their zones of Germany. In 1947 the British and US zones were joined together in 'Bizonia' and the French zone was added in 1948.
- Stalin believed that Germany should be kept weak to prevent any risk of further trouble. He also wanted to get reparations from Germany to help rebuild the Soviet Union.
- In 1948 the western allies announced that they were going to introduce a new currency in the west to help the economy get going again. This would mean that east and west would be separate economically.
- West Berlin was a temptation to East Berliners. In the west the Marshall Plan was beginning to make life much better. Already East Berliners and East Germans were trying to escape to the west-the "Brain Drain"

How did the Allies react?

- They 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.

In May 1949 Stalin gave up. It was obvious that the West was not going to give in so he ended the blockade.

What were the consequences of the Berlin Blockade?

- Many East Germans began to try to escape from the Soviet zone to the other three.
- **NATO** was set up in 1949.
- The Federal republic of Germany was set up in 1949.

What is NATO?

- NATO is the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, which was set up in 1949 after the Berlin Blockade. The West believed that they were now under threat from Stalin and needed to protect themselves from a possible invasion.
- 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.

WEST GERMANY

- After the Berlin Blockade the Allies decided to create the Federal Republic of Germany, with its capital at Bonn in the Rhineland. This became known as West Germany.
- West Germany existed as a separate country from 1949 to 1990. It became a member of the UN and was admitted to NATO in 1955, although it was never allowed to have nuclear weapons. The Allies continued to occupy it and there are still British forces in Germany today.
- In 1949 the Soviet Union also exploded its first atomic bomb. This led to an Arms Race between the superpowers.
- With the creation of West Germany and its admission to NATO in 1955, the Soviet Union became alarmed at a powerful Germany on the borders of soviet controlled Eastern Europe.
- Within a week the Soviets had formed their version of NATO, called the **Warsaw Pact**. Its members (Soviet Union, Poland, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Albania, Hungary and East Germany) became known as the “**Eastern bloc**”.

The two Superpowers had now given up any pretence of co-operation. The Cold war had begun in earnest.

Section 1C The Cold War intensifies

The Significance of the Arms Race 1950-58

- The explosion of the Soviet atomic bomb led to the arms race. From 1950-58 the superpowers competed with each other in the production of more and more deadly weapons.
- 1945 - US atomic bomb
- 1949 - Soviet atomic bomb
- 1952 - US hydrogen bomb
- 1953 - Soviet hydrogen bomb
- 1957 - First Soviet ICBM (Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles) this was also the year of sputnik- the first soviet satellite in space. The fear now was that while the US were ahead in the **arms race** they were behind in the **space race**.
- By the late 50s both sides had huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons and it became important to stay ahead in the weapons race.
- It led to a change in thinking about war. Both sides recognised that neither side could win a nuclear- the bombs therefore acted as a **deterrant**.
- Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD) theory claimed nuclear weapons made the world safer.

New leaders

- In 1953 both the USA and the USSR saw new leaders come to power. **Dwight Eisenhower** had won the 1952 election with the promise of being “tough on communism” and he was determined to block any attempt at communist expansion. He had fought in Korea to stop communism spreading there.
- Stalin’s death in March 1953 had led to **Nikita Khrushchev** becoming the new leader of the USSR. He openly criticised Stalin’s style of ruling and suggested there should be “**peaceful co-existence**” between the East and West.
- This all seemed very hopeful. The Korean war had ended peacefully and with less spending on arms the super powers could concentrate on building better lives for the peoples they ruled.
- There was even a meeting in Geneva in 1955 on disarmament. Although they failed to agree on key issues, disarmament and the future of Germany, there was an atmosphere of co-operation.
- All this was to end when, in late 1955, West Germany joined NATO and the USSR set up the Warsaw Pact.
- In fact by the mid 50’s nations of the world was dangerously tied into organisations akin to the alliances before WW1. Not only was there NATO and Warsaw Pact, there was CENTO and SEATO. Conflict between any two nations could easily lead to an escalation involving many other countries.
- Worse was to come in 1956 with the Hungarian Uprising.

Why was there unrest in Hungary in 1956?

- In 1956 Khrushchev faced protests in Poland after the ‘Secret Speech’. He decided to allow a new leader Gomulka to take power and removed some unpopular Stalinists from the government, but Gomulka had to promise that Poland would remain a loyal member of the Warsaw Pact and the Communist Party remained firmly in control.

Much more serious were events in **HUNGARY** later in the year.

In the past Hungary had been linked to the West. Now the emphasis was on links to the East. Religion was discouraged and life was dominated by the Communist Party, which controlled the press and media.

What happened in Hungary?

- In October 1956 fighting broke out in Budapest between Hungarians and Soviet troops. Hungarians were protesting about lack of political freedom, fuel shortages and poor harvests.
- Khrushchev tried to deal with the situation by withdrawing the Soviet troops from Hungary and replacing Rakosi Imre Nagy as leader of the Hungarian government. He was a former communist prime minister who believed in “communism with a human face” ie there should be personal freedoms.
- Nagy set up a new government, which included non-communists, and then on 1 November announced free elections and Hungary’s withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact.
- On 4 November Khrushchev ordered the Soviet army to invade Hungary and crush the uprising. There was bitter street fighting; 7,000 Soviet troops and 20,000 Hungarians were killed.
- Nagy was arrested and later shot and replaced with Janos Kadar.
- It was a clear message from the Soviet Union that they would not tolerate opposition or calls for democracy.

International Reaction

- The West protested, but did nothing because they were afraid that military action would lead to war. Containment was one thing, but Eisenhower was reluctant to interfere in the affairs of an existing communist country.
- The West was also distracted by the Suez Crisis, in which Britain and France had attempted to invade Suez to reclaim the Suez Canal. The US government had put pressure upon Britain and France to withdraw.

Cold War crises 1958-70

2A Increased tension and the impact of The Berlin Wall

Why did Khrushchev order the building of the Berlin Wall?

- It had always been possible for Berliners to travel from one part of the city to another. Many worked in one sector and lived in another. It was easy for them to see what life was like on the other side.
- Consequently hundreds of thousands of people had escaped from East to West, since the end of the Blockade in May 1949. On average the number ranged between 20-25,000 each month. By 1958 3,000,000 East Germans had crossed over to the west.
- Most defectors were well educated; engineers, teachers, doctors, lecturers. They were just the sort of people that the Communist Bloc could not afford to lose as it tried to modernise its industry and agriculture.

Khrushchev’s Berlin Ultimatum

- In November 1958 he demanded that the three western powers should leave West Berlin. It should be demilitarised and be a “free” city (by which he meant controlled by the Soviet Union)
- The West refused and called for talks on the reunification of East and West Germany.
- There followed three summit meetings on Berlin as both sides recognised the “Berlin problem” could cause war.
- Summit One was held in Geneva in May 1959. Both sides put forward proposals but there was no agreement.
- Summit Two was at Camp David in September 1959. Again there was no agreement but Khrushchev did agree to withdraw the Berlin ultimatum and agreed to further talks in Paris the following summer.
- Summit Three (Paris May 1960) was destroyed by the **U2 Spy plane** incident. Just before the summit the Soviets shot down a U2 spy plane over Russia. Eisenhower refused to apologise and Khrushchev walked out of the meeting.

Vienna 1961- the last throw of the Dice

- In January 1961 John F Kennedy became the new president of the United States.
- He continued to build up US military forces but wanted to find a solution to the Berlin problem.
- Khrushchev viewed Kennedy as a “pretty boy”, too inexperienced for Cold War politics and he knew that Kennedy’s reputation had suffered over his poor handling of the **Bay of Pigs** (see later)
- Khrushchev took a hard line and restated the **Berlin Ultimatum** of 1958

- Kennedy would not back down and refused to make any concessions over Berlin.
- After Vienna Kennedy increased military spending by \$2 billion dollars pe year to make it clear he was prepared to fight over Berlin.

Why did people defect from the East?

- Defectors left because life in the east was dominated by the Communist Party. The Communist Party controlled the media, which meant that there was no legal means of finding out about what was happening in the world on the other side of the Iron Curtain. Newspapers and the radio and television could only report the official version of the news.
- People were subject to the secret police, in the Soviet Union, the KGB. Such organisations operated outside the law and there was little that an ordinary citizen could do about their actions.
- Consumer goods were limited and often of poor quality. Sales of foreign goods were restricted. Foreign travel was difficult and currency sales were strictly controlled in an effort to obtain foreign exchange.

Why did Khrushchev build the Wall?

- Because John F Kennedy, the US president, had been made to look foolish over the Bay of Pigs and since Vienna Khrushchev had decided that Kennedy was inexperienced and could be easily pushed around.
- In August 1961 40,000 East Germans defected to the west.
- The east German leader, **Walter Ulbrecht**, urged Khrushchev to close the border to stop this “brain drain”
- On 12th August 1961 East German troops built a barbed wire fence around Berlin and between East and West Berlin.
- It was only the beginning-soon it was a 165 km concrete wall.

The Impact of the Wall

- In Berlin the wall cut through streets and even buildings. Entire families were permanently separated and many Berliners died trying to get over or under the Berlin wall.
- There were in fact two wall separated by “no-mans land” packed with booby traps, minefields and barriers.
- There were look out towers and machine gun nests.
- Over 130 people were killed in their desperate attempts to get over the wall-Peter Fechter perhaps the most notorious.
- For the USA and the USSR the wall had a mixed impact, as the table below shows.

	Negative Outcomes	Positive Outcomes
Soviet Union	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Khrushchev had to give up on his “ultimatum” ▪ The wall proved the Soviets had to lock citizens inside East Berlin- proved the people preferred capitalism to communism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Stopped the “brain drain” as thousands of potential defectors were now blocked ▪ Sent message communism would survive in Berlin and there would be no reunion of Germany
USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The Soviets had closed a border with no consultation with USA ▪ People would no longer be able to flee communism and there was nothing USA could do about it 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The wall showed Khrushchev had to accept western control of West Berlin and couldn't bully Kennedy ▪ West Berlin became a symbol of western defiance of Communism

- Kennedy's reputation improved dramatically. When he visited West Berlin in June 1963 he was treated like a rock star and gave his now famous “Ich bin ein Berliner” speech.
- For the world it was bad. Building a concrete wall showed how both sides were unable to make peace and reminded people of Churchill's Iron Curtain speech. It became a symbol for division.
- On the plus side it made the likelihood of war over Berlin less likely and in a strange way reduced tensions. Tensions were to rise again quickly however in the Cuban Missile crisis.

2B Background to the Cuban Missile Crisis

- In 1959 **FIDEL CASTRO** seized power in Cuba. Until then Cuba had been under US influence and many companies had invested heavily in the country. The USA cut off all aid to Cuba and Castro then nationalised all businesses. He was not at first a Communist, but US actions forced him to accept aid from the Soviet Union.
- In 1960 the Soviet Union signed an agreement to buy 1,000,000 tonnes of Cuban sugar every year. This tied the two countries closely together. There was now a Communist country in the western hemisphere.

- In April 1961 the CIA backed an invasion of Cuba by 1,400 Cuban exiles at the Bay of Pigs. It was a fiasco. Kennedy, the new US president had not been behind the invasion, but he had not stopped it. It made him look foolish.
- In December 1961 Castro announced that he was setting up a communist government in Cuba.
- There was now a communist country within 70 miles of American soil.

The Cuban Missiles Crisis

- In October 1962 A US spy plane took photographs which showed Soviet missile bases being built on Cuba.
- This meant that all US missile defence systems were now practically useless.

The Crisis

- From 16 October Kennedy spent one week asking his defence chiefs for possible reactions and considering alternatives. He decided on a blockade because they could not promise that an air strike would destroy the sites but not hit anywhere else.
- The blockade came into effect on 24 October after Kennedy had given Khrushchev a warning. 180 ships were used including a fleet of nuclear submarines.
- Khrushchev replied with a statement accusing the USA of interfering in Cuba's internal affairs.
- But the Soviet ships sailing to Cuba slowed down and even began to sail in circles.
- Khrushchev now sent two letters. One in public was defiant, the second offered a compromise. The missile sites would be destroyed if the USA guaranteed to leave Cuba alone.
- Kennedy agreed to Khrushchev's offer. The blockade was removed, the sites were destroyed and Cuba was left alone.
- In a secret meeting between Robert Kennedy and the Soviet ambassador, the US government agreed that US missiles would be removed from Italy and Turkey. However as these were in a NATO force it could not be announced immediately. They were removed three months later.
- Kennedy also suggested that the two leaders should begin talks on arms reduction.

Why did the Cuban Missiles Crisis end like this?

- Kennedy realised that he had to make a stand.
- Khrushchev realised that he had gone too far.
- Neither of them was prepared for nuclear war.
- The crisis focused the minds of the leaders of the Superpowers on their responsibilities.

2C Czechoslovakia and the Prague Spring 1968

- After the Second World War, Czechoslovakia fell under Soviet control. The communists infiltrated the government, police and civil service; the foreign minister, Jan Masaryk was apparently murdered in 1948, when he was thrown from a window and President Benes resigned later in the year.
- Czechoslovakia gained the reputation of having the most successful spy network of all the communist countries and of being the most successful industrial country behind the Iron Curtain. However, its most famous product, the Skoda, became a laughing stock under communist control.

Otherwise, life in Czechoslovakia was very similar to life in any country of the Eastern Bloc.

- Soviet control of public life, the armed forces, the media and education
- Stalinist rule under President Novotny, which offered few freedoms and little hope of change
- Strict censorship and secret police, which prevented the free exchange of news
- A low standard of living, as a very high proportion of government spending went on the armed forces.

What was the Prague Spring of 1968?

- January - 1968 President Novotny was replaced as First Secretary of the Communist Party by Alexander Dubcek.
- March 1968 - Novotny was forced to resign as president.
- April 1968 - General Ludvik Svoboda was elected president and Oldrich Cernik became prime minister. The Communist Party was reorganised and freedom of speech, the press, assembly and religion were announced. Slovakia was also to be given some self-rule.
- Dubcek did not try to leave the Warsaw Pact and did not want to bring an end to Communism. This was the big difference between Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Hungary in 1956.

How did the Soviet Union react?

- 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.
- August 20 - 1968 Warsaw Pact forces invaded Czechoslovakia and Dubcek disappeared. He reappeared in Prague on 27 August and announced that the reforms had been stopped.
- There were widespread protests from the West, but little could really be done.
- October 1968 - All reforms were reversed and a temporary Soviet military occupation was announced.
- September 1969 - Dubcek was dismissed from the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party.
- December 1969 - Dubcek was sent as Czech ambassador to Turkey.

The Brezhnev Doctrine

- The Brezhnev Doctrine was the Soviet Union's response to the Prague Spring. It declared that the Soviet Union had the right to intervene in any neighbouring country where socialism was threatened. This was to be the basis for the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979

3A Attempts to Reduce the tension

- As mentioned earlier following the arms race of 1950s a belief in "mutually Assured Destruction" (MAD) convinced leaders that to risk a war would lead to their own destruction.
- The Cuban Missile Crisis, however, showed how easily events could get out of control and the possibility of an accidental nuclear war. In light of this the 1970s saw a "**thaw**" in the Cold War as both sides tried to establish a more stable and co-operative relationship.
- This is known as **Détente**.

Why Détente?

- Both nations had internal reasons for wanting Détente. Richard Nixon had come to power in USA promising to get the US out of Vietnam- there had been 60,000 casualties by this point and the war was costing \$2000 per second!!!
- There were huge anti-war protests, enormous inequality between the rich and poor and the black civil rights issue, triggered by the assassination of Martin Luther King, were causing further headaches.
- Spending less money on the Cold War would allow the US to solve its own social problems
- The USSR had similar problems. The communist rulers were getting older (gerontocracy) and the economy was stagnating.
- Brezhnev wanted to spend more money on improving living standards and modernising the economy.
- There was also pressure from Europe. The new Chancellor of West Germany, Willy Brandt, had a policy of "Ostpolitik" which was about building better relations between East and West Germany. Such a policy required better relations between USA and USSR.
- The appointment of the hugely talented Henry Kissinger as national security adviser ensured this could happen.

SALT 1

- In 1972 the first Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) was signed. It agreed:
- Anti-Ballistic Missiles (ABMs) were only allowed on two sites and each site could have a maximum of 100 missiles.
- Restrictions were placed on ICBMs and SLBMs (the US could have 1054 and 740 respectively and the USSR 1618 and 740)

- The Basic Principles Agreement laid down rules for the conduct of war such as not putting nuclear warheads on the seabed.
- Both sides agreed to make every effort to show restraint if tensions rose and to “make every effort to avoid this risk

But

- In reality it was unlikely either side would abide by a piece of paper if war became likely.
- Both sides already had enough weapons to destroy the other many times over
- The Treaty did not cover latest technological developments like Multiple Re-entry Vehicles (MIRVs) which carried multiple warheads.
- Its importance was more symbolic than anything else and showed that both sides wanted to demonstrate better relations publicly.
- In 1973 Nixon visited Brezhnev in Moscow and vice versa.
- Agreement was made for SALT 2 talks in 1974 to resolve issues not discussed in SALT 1.

The Helsinki Accords

- In 1973 33 nations from NATO and Warsaw Pact countries met to build on what had been discussed in SALT1.
- By 1975 both sides were happy to publish the agreements made in three areas, or as the conference organisers called them, the three baskets.
- In **Basket One on European borders** it was agreed that borders were **inviolable**-they could not be altered by force. This was the first time Germany’s boundaries and that of Soviet controlled countries had been accepted. This annoyed several politicians back in the USA
- In **Basket Two on International Co-operation** it was agreed to work for closer relations between Western and Soviet countries-including **trade agreements, technology sharing and a joint space mission.**
- In **Basket Three on Human Rights** each side agreed to respect human rights and individual freedoms such as **freedom of speech, religion and movement** across Europe. The Soviets were least happy with Basket Three. As Gromyko (Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs) said “Who is the master of this house? We are the masters of it...”

SALT 2

- Talks towards SALT 2 continued up until 1979 when Carter and Brezhnev signed a complex and technical agreement. It included restrictions on missile launchers, a ban on testing or using the ICBMs.
- But by this time the detente good feeling was beginning to fade. SALT 2 was not ratified by the US Government for four reasons. They were:
- 1 Growing belief within the Democratic and Republican parties that the Soviet Government could not be trusted. They were angered by Soviet support for Communist groups close to home in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Also angered by Soviets supporting Communists in Angola
- 2 In November 1979 Islamic militants captured the American Embassy in Tehran.60 diplomats and their families were held hostage for 444 days. Many Americans felt détente “tied the hands” of US Government in showing a stronger hand to any one threatening its interests.
- Carter’s own advisers, such as Zbigniew Brzezinski, urged Carter to show a stronger/firmer line against the Soviets.
- But it was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 that brought Détente to an end. For the next six years there would be “flashpoints” that would once more heat up the Cold War.

3B Part One Flashpoints in superpower relations 1979-84

Why was the Soviet Union interested in Afghanistan?

- Afghanistan was viewed by the Soviet Union as an important neighbour which they viewed as being within their “sphere of influence”
- In 1979, a revolution in Iran deposed the Shah (king/emperor) and he was replaced by a Muslim **fundamentalist** Government.
- The Soviets were determined this fundamentalism would not cross over its borders as the Soviet Union had many Muslim citizens.
- The Soviets were determined that there should be a pro Soviet government in Afghanistan as there had always been.

What triggered the Soviet Invasion?

- In April 1978 a pro Soviet government was elected in Afghanistan and received economic assistance from the USSR
- In September this government was overthrown by **Hafizullah Amin** and his followers. At first Moscow was quite pleased as he was pro Soviet, but soon other pro Muslim forces were plotting to overthrow in an attempt to repeat what had happened in Iran.
- Brezhnev was also concerned that Amin had asked the USA for help, so he knew he would have to act quickly.

- On Christmas Eve 1979 Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan claiming they had been invited by Amin to support his government against terrorists.
- On 27th December Amin was assassinated (almost certainly by Soviet commando) and replaced by the pro Soviet Babrak Kamal.
- It was intended to be a quick war, but in fact became the “Soviet Vietnam”. The Soviets were forced to remain in Afghanistan for the next 10 years fighting opponents of Kamal. The Afghan opposition, the **Mujahideen**, used the same guerrilla tactics in the mountains and deserts of Afghanistan as the Vietcong did in the jungles of Vietnam.

The US Reaction to the Invasion

- To the US this invasion was a Soviet attempt to spread communism abroad and Carter claimed it was the biggest threat to world peace since World War Two
- He withdrew from SALT 2 proposals (see p18) from the Senate (US House of Lords) and increased spending on arms.
- In January 1980 Carter even said he would resist “**with force**” any threat to American interests in the Persian gulf. This became known as the “Carter Doctrine” (sound familiar?)
- Carter imposed sanctions on the USSR and even sent arms to the **Mujahideen**.

The Impact of the Invasion on USA-Soviet relations

- The invasion was the final nail in the coffin of “détente”
- Some claim the US deliberately over reacted to the invasion as an excuse to “get out” of détente.
- The invasion made Carter look weak and in the 1980 presidential election Ronald Reagan promised he would make USA strong again and stand up to communism. He won a landslide victory. But the consequences of the invasion were more profound and far reaching than this. The invasion had political, economic, military and cultural consequences.

Political consequences	Economic consequences	Military consequences	Cultural consequences
Afghan government was replaced	The war cost the Soviet Gov't \$8 billion per year	War lasted an unexpected 10 years and opposition to it grew	US boycott of the 1980 Moscow Olympics- over 60 nations supported it
USA supplied the Mujahideen- a terrorist organisation	US sanctions imposed on USSR	1.5 million civilian deaths	USSR Boycott of 1984 Los Angeles Olympics-15 countries boycotted
SALT 2 abandoned	Contributed the stagnation of Soviet economy	“Skilled up” the Mujahideen- Bin Laden was trained in this war	These boycotts ruined a two great global cultural events
Carter Doctrine			

3B Part 2 The Rise of Solidarity of ‘Solidarity’ in Poland. Was it the first sign?

- If the Soviets didn't have enough trouble in Afghanistan, by the late 70's a more worrying threat was emerging much closer to home in Poland. Remember it was an uprising here in 1956 that the Soviets had crushed
- In June 1976 there were widespread riots in Poland against rises in food prices. These were encouraged by the election of Karel Wojtyla as Pope John Paul II. He visited Poland in June 1979.
- In July 1980 the Polish government announced rises in the prices of food, which led to further riots.
- In August Solidarity, an independent trade union led by Lech Walesa, based on the Gdansk shipyards, demanded political and religious freedom. By the end of the year the union had grown to more than 9,000,000 members.
- The Soviet Union considered using forces against the trade union, but as it had so many members, left the task to a new prime minister, General Jaruzelski, who took office in February 1981
- In December 1981 martial law was declared and Solidarity's leaders were arrested. In October 1982 new trade union laws meant that Solidarity was illegal.
- But Jaruzelski was forced to release Walesa and the other leaders in 1983 and failed to stop them becoming more and more popular. When he tried to crack down on the Catholic church, which supported Solidarity, sanctions were applied by western governments.
- The appointment of Mikhail Gorbachev and his policy of **Glasnost** made Jaruzelski's position almost impossible. He attempted to introduce economic reforms, but they were turned down in a referendum in 1987
- Although martial law had been lifted in 1983, Solidarity remained outlawed until 1989, when the government was forced to accept it. In June 1989 a general election resulted in a landslide victory for Solidarity and Lech Walesa became president.

Why was Solidarity important?

- It was the first occasion that a popular movement had opposed the authorities in Eastern Europe and had got away with it.
- It was an example to other countries of the East that the power and influence of the Communist Party and the Soviet Union could be defeated.
- It showed that the Soviet Union was not prepared to use force to crush opposition. It was while the issue of Solidarity raged that the US elected a new president. His attitude towards the Soviets was summed up in his autobiography "I deliberately set out to say some frank things about the Soviets and let them know there was some new fellows in Washington."

Ronald Reagan and the Second Cold War

- Reagan took an even tougher view on Soviet Union than Carter- relations became so hostile people spoke of a "second cold war"
- In a 1983 speech Reagan referred to the Soviet Union as "an evil empire" and said USA represented forces of "good"
- He dramatically increased arms spending by 13% in 1982 and 8% in 1983 and 1984 on Trident submarines and Stealth Bombers.
- He announced the "**Reagan Doctrine**" saying the US would support all anti- communist groups and **especially** those fighting to **overthrow** communism
- Support was given to anti-communist groups in El Salvador and Nicaragua and US forces even invaded Grenada in the Caribbean to overthrow the communist government there- the first example of "roll back" since WW2.

The Strategic Defence Initiative (AKA Star Wars)

- By 1983 Reagan knew the soviet economy was "stagnating" and realised that by increasing spending and support for anti-communist activities would create difficulties for the soviet economy.
- Because of this Reagan announced a new policy to put soviet spending under more pressure- the Strategic Defence Initiative or Star Wars as it was known.
- It involved putting satellites into orbit with powerful lasers to shoot down soviet missiles BEFORE they entered US air space. This contravened the 1967 Outer Space Treaty.
- Reagan spoke of SDI as a reality when in fact it was far from ready. Moscow believed it and now knew that would have to spend billions to catch up as their missile stockpile was now redundant.
- The soviets knew, given the state of their economy they could not afford this level of thinking- international analysis was suggesting soviet citizens lived in the "second world" in terms of living standards.
- When Mikhail Gorbachev became soviet leader in 1985 he was well aware of this and called for "new thinking"

3C Collapse of Soviet Control in Eastern Europe 1985-91

Gorbachev's "New thinking"

- Gorbachev was made quickly aware of the dismal state of the Soviet economy when he came to power and he knew why the Soviet economy was 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.
- 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 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.
- 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. 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.
- The Afghan War was merely the final straw. Soviet troops were withdrawn in 1988.

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 election 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.

The end of Soviet Control and its implication for world affairs

- Soviet troops were withdrawn from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which had been occupied since 1945 and the countries became independent again
- In 1989 Communist rule collapsed in Poland and Lech Walesa became President in 1990 after the first free elections.
- 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.
- In November 1989 the Communist governments of East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria all resigned
- 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.

Why did Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms fail?

- Gorbachev wanted to reform the system not end it. By the late 1980s shortages were so severe that reform would not work. By 1985 it was simply too little too late.
- Gorbachev had not been aware of the seriousness of the problems facing the Soviet Union until he actually became leader. 40% of factories were running at a loss. 15% of the economy was on the 'black market'. 10% of workers were drunk at any one time, and these were what was admitted by the state. The true picture was probably much worse.
- Gorbachev had no real idea what he meant by 'Perestroika', he had to make up policy as he went along from hand to mouth. The result was increasing chaos.
- Glasnost, which resulted in dissidents being released from prison and the KGB being disbanded, only encouraged people to demand more freedom.
- Gorbachev knew that the Soviet Union needed financial and technical aid from the West. He expected that if he made concessions on arms, the West would provide aid. He was wrong.
- Gorbachev tried to maintain the power of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union. This was a serious error. Gorbachev also wanted to maintain the Soviet Union, which in most people's eyes meant control from Moscow.
- Glasnost and Perestroika revealed one of the fundamental weaknesses of the Soviet Union. It was made up of many different peoples, cultures and nationalities. Once tight control from Moscow, imposed by the Red Army, ended, everybody wanted to escape.

There was one last attempt to save the Soviet Union.

- Gorbachev's reforms horrified hard-line members of the Communist Party. 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.

The impact of the collapse on world affairs

- 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.
- 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 and financial or through increased tourism.
- 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 Belorussia.
- Inside the Russian federation, separatist movements developed in autonomous regions such as Chechnya. This led to increased instability in Russia itself.