

The 20th Century International Relations since 1945



These photos show a brick-built house 5km away from a nuclear test explosion. It was hit 11 seconds after the explosion, first by a searing blast of heat, then by a shock wave with a force of around 200 tonnes, then by a 300 km-per-hour wind.

'The Cold War' refers to the tension that existed between the world's most powerful countries between about 1945 and 1990. (Your GCSE course examines all of this). On one side was the United States and its allies, often known as 'the West'. On the other was the Soviet Union and its allies, often known as 'the East'. The war never spilled into direct open conflict between the two sides. This is why it was a 'cold' war rather than a 'hot' war. There were times, however, when they were fighting indirectly. For instance, when North Korea fought South Korea, the great powers were helping either side. There was also at least one occasion when it seemed certain that a full-scale nuclear war would break out that would destroy the world.

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The Cambridge IGCSE Syllabus – Core Content

4. Who was the more to blame for starting the Cold War: the USA or the USSR?

- Why did the USA-USSR alliance begin to break down in 1945?
The origins of the Cold War
- How had the USSR gained control of Eastern Europe by 1948?
the 1945 summit conferences and the breakdown of the USA-USSR alliance in 1945-6
- How did the USA react to Soviet expansionism?
Soviet expansion into Eastern Europe to 1948, and American reactions to it
- What were the consequences of the Berlin Blockade?
the occupation of Germany and the Berlin Blockade.

5. How effectively did the USA contain the spread of Communism?

- America and events in Korea, 1950–53
American reactions to North Korea's invasion of South Korea, involvement of the UN, course of the war to 1953
- America and events in Cuba, 1959–62
American reactions to the Cuban revolution, including the missile crisis and its aftermath
- American involvement in Vietnam.
American involvement in the Vietnam War.

6. How secure was the USSR's control over Eastern Europe, 1948–c.1989?

- Why was there opposition to Soviet control in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, and how did the USSR react to this opposition?
- How similar were events in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968?
- Why was the Berlin Wall built in 1961?
- What was the significance of 'Solidarity' in Poland for the decline of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe?
- How far was Gorbachev personally responsible for the collapse of Soviet control over Eastern Europe?

7. Why did events in the Gulf matter, c.1970–2000?

- Why was Saddam Hussein able to come to power in Iraq?
The rise to power of Saddam Hussein in Iraq
- What was the nature of Saddam Hussein's rule in Iraq?
The rule of Saddam Hussein up to 2000, and the consequences of his rule for different groups in Iraq
- Why was there a revolution in Iran in 1979?
The nature of the Shah's rule in Iran and the Iranian Revolution of 1979
- What were the causes and consequences of the Iran-Iraq War, 1980–88?
The causes and consequences of the Iran-Iraq War, 1980–88; Western involvement in the war
- Why did the First Gulf War take place?
The causes, course and consequences of the Gulf War, 1990–91.

Who was to blame for the Cold War?

ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

Background: long-term origins

It might initially seem strange that countries uniting against Hitler so quickly became hostile to one another once the War had ended. However, there are plenty of reasons that explain the tension between the USSR on one side, and America and its European allies on the other.

1. Capitalism and communism are opposites. Ever since the success of the communist revolution in Russia in 1917, the capitalist world felt threatened by the prospect of communism spreading. The Russians tried to make this happen, setting up an organisation called the **Comintern** whose aim was to 'export' communism. But when this failed to happen, the Russians felt isolated, and were equally suspicious of efforts by the capitalist world to stamp out communism. When there was a **civil war** in Russia (1917-21), countries like America, France and Britain sent military help in the form of men and equipment to the rebels (the 'whites') who were trying to overthrow the new communist government (the 'reds').
2. Britain and France were angry that the new communist government pulled Russia out of the First World War when it came to power in 1917. Russia was not invited to the **Versailles** peace conference in 1919. The victors in World War I set up Poland as a country in its own right¹. Prior to the war, this territory had been Russian-owned. Communist propaganda portrayed the world leaders at Versailles as greedy capitalists sharing out the spoils of war.
3. When Stalin became Russian dictator in the 1930s, he deliberately used propaganda to create the impression that the capitalist west was trying to close in on Russia. He encouraged rumours and myths about foreign spies infiltrating the soviet regime in order to create an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion that would help to cement his own hold on power.
4. Stalin wiped out millions of his own citizens in the **purges** of the 1930s. The west saw him as unstable and corrupt - a brutal man was unlikely to keep promises.
5. During the **Spanish Civil War** (1936-9) Stalin sent help to the left-wing government of Spain that was fighting fascist rebels (led by General Franco). Defenders of Stalin said he was helping to keep the legitimate government in power, and to prevent a country falling victim to an illegal fascist takeover. Opponents of Stalin said he was trying to spread communism beyond the borders of the USSR. Spain saw opposing left and right-wing ideologies actually spilling over into physical conflict.
6. Russia was not invited to the **Munich Conference** in 1938. Stalin thus stood on the sidelines, watching Britain and France consent to the Sudetenland (part of Czechoslovakia) being given to Hitler without a fight. This helped to convince Stalin that the West was trying to buy Hitler's goodwill in the hope that the Nazis would turn their aggression eastwards towards Russia instead. Stalin suspected that the west was hoping to stay neutral in a war between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia that would exhaust both these powers, wiping out both ideologies.

¹ Poland had ceased to be an independent country back in 1795.

7. When Britain guaranteed Polish neutrality in March 1939, it was a promise that could not be enforced. Britain could only protect Poland with the help of Russia. But again, Russia was not consulted. This convinced Stalin that Britain was untrustworthy and full of empty promises. This is one reason why he made an agreement with the Nazis in 1939 rather than with the British and French.
8. When communist USSR made a deal with Hitler in August 1939 (the '**Nazi-Soviet Pact**'), Britain and France saw this as a betrayal. How could Stalin make a deal with Hitler's communist-hating regime? It confirmed prejudices that the two dictatorships must be equally corrupt and untrustworthy. Now Stalin was suspected of trying to buy Hitler's goodwill in order to deflect Nazi aggression westwards.
9. Once World War Two started, Stalin took over half of Poland (by agreement with Hitler) and then he invaded Finland later in 1939. In 1940 he took over the Baltic States (Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia). Stalin saw it as self-defence against the Nazi threat. His enemies saw it as greedy and opportunist expansionism, extending communist horizons by stealth.
10. Stalin saw the '**Phoney War**' as typical of western cowardice and untrustworthiness. Britain and France had declared war on Germany, but made no attempt to invade it.
11. After the fall of France in May - June 1940, Stalin felt that the USSR was bearing the brunt of Nazi aggression. During epic struggles such as the Battle of Stalingrad, the British and Americans said that they were still not ready to relieve the pressure on Russia by attacking Germany from the west. The opening of this '**Second Front**' in France did not begin until D-day in June 1944. Such tensions surfaced at various conferences held between the anti-Nazi allies (see chapter 3).

And so, against such a setting, the rapid deterioration of relations between capitalist west and communist east after 1945 is more understandable. Their alliance during World War Two was a marriage of convenience – once the enemy they had united against was gone, they had nothing in common.



The 'Big Three', suitably warmly dressed at Yalta.

World War Two Conferences



■■■ Land taken by Poland from Germany: territory east of the Oder-Neisse Line and part of East Prussia

||||| Land acquired by the USSR during the war

Occupation zones in Germany and Austria:

- | | |
|-----------|------------|
| 1 Russian | 3 French |
| 2 British | 4 American |

Map 7.1 Europe after 1945

Yalta, February 1945

Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt met in Yalta to discuss the war and what would happen after.

Items on the agenda included:

- Poland
- Japan
- Dividing and governing Germany
- Eastern Europe

Yalta is in the Crimea region of Russia. Stalin insisted that the conference was held in the USSR, because he wanted to pamper his guests, seeing that charm had worked at a previous conference in Teheran (1943). F.D. Roosevelt tried to ingratiate himself to Stalin by discussing divisions that existed between the USA and Britain. Stalin's occupation of much of eastern Europe was a fait accompli – the west had nothing to negotiate with. It was decided that:

1. There would be **4 occupation zones** in Germany when the War ended. Stalin didn't want France included, but America and Britain pressurised him to agree.
2. **Berlin** would be split up in a similar way.
3. Nazism should be destroyed, and its leaders tried for war crimes.
4. Germany should pay **reparations**: Roosevelt agreed that \$10,000 million should go to the USSR and \$10,000 million to other victims of Nazi aggression.
5. The **Declaration on Liberated Europe** said that countries liberated by the Allies would have **free and fair elections** after the War.
6. USSR secretly agreed to declare war on Japan within three months of the end of the war in Europe. In return Russia would regain land lost to Japan after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5.
7. Earlier plans for the **United Nations** Organisation should go ahead. Questions over the power of veto and entitlement to membership of the UN were cleared up.
8. Polish and Yugoslav governments in exile (in London) would be involved in running these countries after the War.
9. It was agreed (on paper – and Stalin had to be taken at his word) that there would be a coalition government in Poland, which would include westerners, and that free and fair elections would be held there.
10. The eastern boundary of Poland would be roughly that agreed by Stalin and Hitler in the Nazi-Soviet Pact
11. To compensate, Poland should have part of eastern Germany, probably on a line following the Rivers Oder and Neisse. No firm decision was reached on this.

Potsdam, July-August 1945

Potsdam is near Berlin. US hostility towards the east started before the Potsdam Conference. President Roosevelt (Democrat Party) had died on April 12th 1945. His vice-president, replaced him. **Harry Truman** complained that the Yalta declaration was not being carried out in some places. The meeting was bad tempered. Again, Stalin held most of the cards because he now occupied more of Eastern Europe. The USA would not give official recognition to some of the governments being set up there.

Stalin said his troops were ready for war against Japan.

Churchill was voted out of office during the conference and was replaced by Britain's new Labour Prime Minister, **Clement Attlee**.

The **atom bomb** had become a vital factor in international relations. The USA successfully tested an atomic bomb on 16th July, the day before the conference began. Truman only described it to Stalin as a 'new weapon'. Stalin didn't react very strongly - he already knew about it through the espionage of his own intelligence network. **Hiroshima** was on August 6th (4 days after the conference ended) and **Nagasaki** was on August 9th.

At Potsdam it was agreed that:

- A Council of Ministers would be formed to draw up the peace treaties with the different Axis powers.
- Many of the decisions made at Yalta were endorsed or developed in detail e.g.:
 - the prosecution of Nazi war criminals
 - setting Poland's boundaries. But the Oder-Neisse line was still regarded as temporary, depending upon the formal agreement of the Germans as part of a peace treaty. In fact a peace treaty was never signed, and the FRG (West Germany's government) didn't finally recognize the Oder-Neisse line until 1970.
 - Germany would pay **reparations** to Russia and the other countries she had invaded. These would be paid in kind – e.g. factories and their equipment / machinery would be sent to Russia from allied occupied western Germany. It was agreed that 25% of the industrial goods made in the western zones would go to the USSR. In exchange, coal and wheat would be sent to the West from Russian-occupied zones. The Russians stripped the factories in their zones, sending the machines to the USSR.

1945 – Short-term origins of the Cold War

1945 – The ‘Grand Alliance’ holds together (just)

- The three great powers jointly defeated Nazi Germany (May 1945) and Imperial Japan (August 1945). Hitler was dead. Soviet and Anglo-American forces met in the middle of Germany and celebrated together.
- Agreements were made at the Yalta conference (see earlier). (Roosevelt was more trusting of Stalin than Churchill, though).
- The West returned Russian POWs, often against their wishes – these soldiers (rightly) feared that Stalin would punish them for having surrendered to the Germans.
- In 1946 all the Allies, including the Russians, held a combined trial of Nazi war criminals at **Nuremberg**, in the American occupation zone of Germany.

The Split begins and the Iron Curtain descends

Both Western Allies and Russians wanted to prevent the revival of Nazism, and world war, but there the similarity of aims ended.

The West:

- planned a liberal-democratic, independent, and capitalist Europe, a continent safe from both totalitarian threats - fascism and communism. They hoped that shortly all countries should rule themselves, without interference by any of the ‘Big Three’ wartime Allies. Trying to learn from the mistakes of Versailles (1919), they now wanted leniency towards Germany, and to keep it as a single prosperous country.

The Russians:

- felt that the **Hiroshima** and **Nagasaki** nuclear bombs had not been detonated simply to end the war in Japan, but also to threaten the USSR.
- wanted to continue dominating Eastern Europe, ignoring promises at Yalta about free elections. The West had tried to invade Communist Russia (1918-20) and had appeased Hitler in the 1930s. Russians saw the parts of Europe they now occupied as a necessary buffer zone against capitalism and ‘imperialism’, be it German, British or American. They would keep the Red Army stationed here, and would exercise political control through **local Communist parties** monitored from Moscow.
- aimed to compensate for the enormous war devastation in Russia by stripping the areas they held in Germany, Austria, Hungary and Rumania, of resources.
- hoped to keep Germany **permanently occupied, partitioned** (split), and **economically restricted**. Russia had been invaded three times from the west since 1914. In 1941, Germany attacked deep into Russia, killing 20,000,000 of her people (whereas Britain or the USA had not been invaded and had only lost some 350,000 dead each).

Within a few months tensions were surfacing:

- During World War Two, Polish, Czech and similar governments in exile had set up in London. Stalin did now agree to their return, but he was determined to deny control to these 'London Poles, London Czechs', etc. In the long term he wanted to squeeze them out. They were obstructed, defied and slandered by the Communists with whom they were supposedly in 'democratic coalition'. Communist propaganda started alleging that the Western Allies and their London-Exile friends had secretly sympathised with the Nazis.
- The West demobilised most of its wartime forces, keeping a minimum of troops in Occupied Germany. But the Red Army remained numerous in Poland, Hungary and Rumania as well as its zone of Germany.

As in 1918, many Americans felt isolationist towards distant Europe and its problems. However, **President Truman** and his advisers feared that Eastern Europe was slipping under Stalin's dictatorship and that Western Europe might too. But Truman was afraid to criticise America's heroic wartime Russian allies himself - his voters might turn against him. So, who better to warn Americans than Europe's greatest living statesman (and America's greatest European friend), ex-Prime Minister **Winston Churchill**? Truman invited him to Missouri, his home state, with this clever propaganda move in mind. In a speech to a university gathering at **Fulton**, Churchill took the pre-arranged opportunity to say:

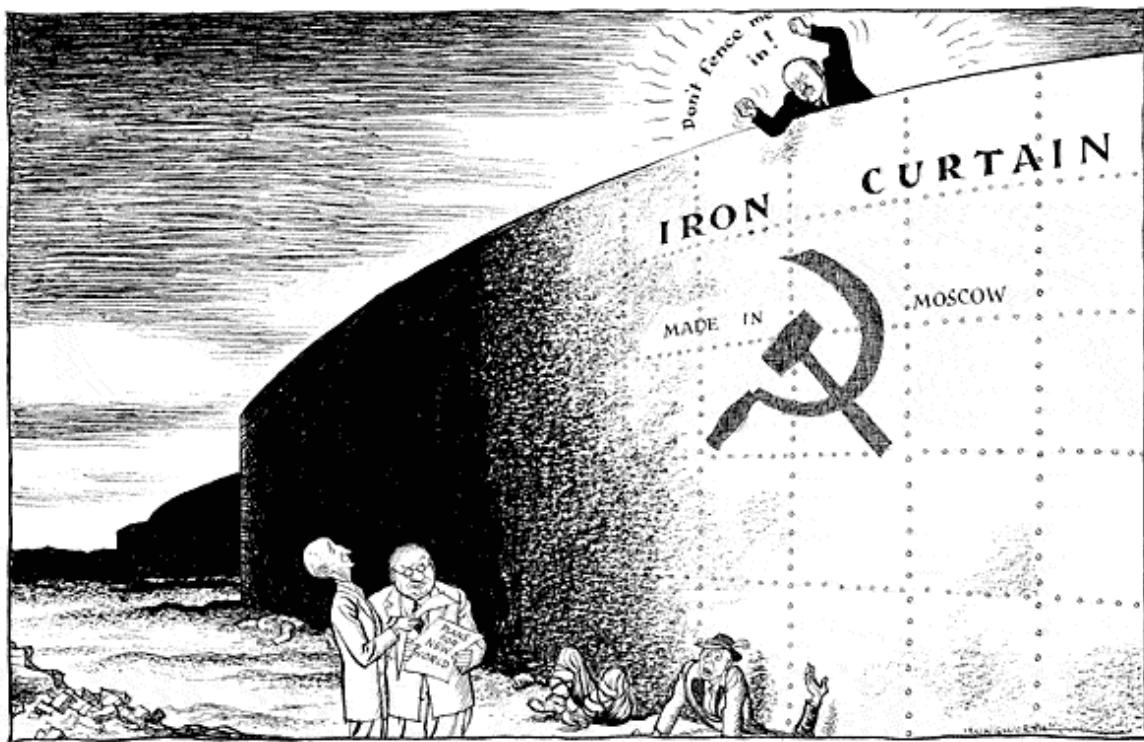
'from Stettin on the Baltic to Trieste on the Adriatic an iron curtain is descending across Europe'.

Churchill – Fulton Speech, 5th March 1946

And so the term '**Iron Curtain**', meaning the Soviet-enforced east-west division of Europe, hit the headlines around America and the world. For the first time the international public was in effect told that the **Cold War**³ was on. To Churchill and Truman's satisfaction, the Fulton speech impressed the Western public and caused them to see the Russians as very much ex-allies. Predictably Stalin responded to the speech by calling Churchill and Truman '**imperialist provocateurs**'. By 1948, Europe was divided between communist East and the non-communist west. At first, the division was no more than a line on the map. But before long, the communist countries started to fortify their western borders with **barbed wire, watchtowers and minefields**. By the 1950s the 'iron curtain' had become an actual barrier across Europe which few people were allowed to cross.

² This was the first public occasion when the phrase 'iron curtain' was used. The phrase had also been used by Churchill in a private cable to Truman in May 1945, by Josef Goebbels in February 1945, and by Ethel Snowden back in 1920.

³ The phrase 'cold war' was first used a year after Churchill's Fulton speech by Bernard M. Baruch who was an American financier, presidential adviser, and friend of Churchill. The phrase 'cold war' was suggested to Baruch by H.B. Swope, former editor of the *New York World*.



Cartoons of the Iron Curtain



SOVIET EXPANSION INTO EASTERN EUROPE

Churchill had been right - by the end of 1947 every state in Eastern Europe (except Czechoslovakia) had a fully communist government. Elections were rigged, non-communist members of coalition governments were expelled, many were arrested and executed, and eventually all other political parties were dissolved. All of this was monitored by the secret police and Russian troops. It happened in a similar way to Hitler's dismantling of opposition groups when he came to power in Germany in 1933. However, Stalin moved more slowly and covertly.

By the end of 1949, there were 9 states in the communist bloc: USSR, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia.

Romania

- King Michael was made to abdicate in December 1947. The government was a communist-dominated coalition

Albania

- Communist internal affairs minister, Koze Xoxe, was removed and executed in 1949 because he sympathized with Tito.

Bulgaria

- 1946: Dimitrov became the Communist leader
- The Prime Minister, Koslov, was arrested and executed (1949)

Poland

- All opposition parties were banned in 1947
- Communist party leader, and Vice-President Gomulka was imprisoned because he had spoken out in support of Tito.

Hungary

- Saw free elections. The communists won less than 20% of the votes in 1945, but the USSR saw to it that over 50% of the cabinet were communists.
- A more hardline Communist leader called Rákosi took over in 1947.
- About 200,000 people were expelled from the communist party in 1949.

East Germany (and West Germany)

- See later notes on the Consequences of the Berlin Blockade to see how and when these two countries were set up.
- To start with, even in Germany, the Iron Curtain was just like any other frontier. One might easily work in a different zone to that in which you lived. But in May 1952 Communist East Germany decided to **block off its western border**. Guards erected barbed wire and observation towers along the border. The reason was due to the number of skilled workers fleeing to the West. Also the East Germans were worried about the disparity in wealth between East and West, and about the spread of non-Communist ideas.

Yugoslavia

- 1945 – a communist government was freely elected. Tito won the election because of his role in World War II as a resistance fighter against the Nazis. Tito, not Stalin, had liberated Yugoslavia from Nazi occupation. Tito resented Stalin's attempts to interfere in Yugoslavia, and was very much his own man. He became an independent dictator until 1985.

Czechoslovakia

- 1946: A coalition government of communists and other left wing parties was freely elected. (The communists had 38% of the votes and 1/3 of the Cabinet posts).

Prime Minister:	Klement Gottwald	(communist)
President:	Benes	(not communist)
Foreign Minister:	Jan Masaryk	(not communist)

- Elections were due in May 1948, but it looked as if the communists were going to lose ground (because they were blamed for the Czech refusal of Marshall Aid – see chapter 7). So in February 1948 they seized power in an armed coup.
- All non-communist ministers except Benes and Masaryk resigned. A few days later, Masaryk fell out of a window – was he pushed or was it suicide? The truth was only proven in 1989: he was pushed.
- In the May elections, only communist candidates were allowed to stand.
- Benes resigned and Gottwald became President.
- Because the west could not prove Russian involvement (the coup was an internal affair, even though Stalin had encouraged it) there was little that could be done to protest. This completed the 'iron curtain'.
- Later, in 1952, the Communist party general secretary in Czechoslovakia, Rudolph Slansky, and ten other cabinet ministers were executed.



This cartoon by the British cartoonist Illingworth was published in June 1947



THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE (March 1947)

Truman Doctrine

The Truman Doctrine is often seen as the 'official declaration' of the Cold War. In March 1947 Harry Truman, the US President, said:

I believe that it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.

NB He didn't use the word 'communism' - he said '**armed minorities**'. Nor did he mention Stalin or the USSR - he said '**outside pressures**'. But there was no mistaking what he meant. America was agreeing to send money, weapons and advisers to any country, anywhere in the world that felt threatened by communism.

What caused it? And why March 1947?

The answer concerns **Greece**. In 1944 - before World War II ended - war broke out there between Greek communist guerrillas (ELAS - the National People's Liberation Army) and the Germans. British troops helped to liberate Greece from Germany in 1944, and restored the monarchy. With the Germans gone, ELAS started to fight to overthrow the monarchy, taking 2/3 of the country. British forces helped the Greek government, but the financial cost of this was too much for Britain.

- In February 1947 the British government was forced by financial crisis to tell the USA that it could no longer afford to give aid to Greece and Turkey. (British aid to Germany alone was costing \$1 million a day, and still thousands of people died there in the winter of 1946/7 from lack of fuel and food). So Truman told Congress that he wanted to give Greece and Turkey \$400 million. He made no secret of the fact that the reason was to stop the spread of communism.
- The Americans did supply the Greeks with advisers and massive amounts of arms and other supplies. Consequently, the Greek communists were successfully defeated by 1949. (Turkey received about \$60 million of aid too). The USA was not going to return to a policy of isolationism, like it had after World War One. The policy now was one of '**containment**'.
- The defeat of the Greek communists was not just down to American intervention:
 1. Stalin had told Churchill that he wasn't interested in a communist Greece. He had kept his word. Stalin didn't back ELAS.
 2. Tito in Yugoslavia withdrew his support for ELAS when he broke away from the Cominform.



*President Harry S. Truman.
Truman had been Vice-President
under President Roosevelt*

THE MARSHALL PLAN (June 1947)

Marshall Aid was an American plan to provide massive financial aid to help the governments of Europe recover from the damage which World War II had done to their economies. A **total of \$13,000 million** was eventually distributed in Europe in **16 countries**. The plan was first outlined in June 1947 by a former American wartime commander - **General George Marshall** - who now held the post of **US Secretary of State** (which is the equivalent of being the Foreign Minister in Britain).

The money was distributed over a period of 4 years. The Marshall Plan was a way of putting the Truman Doctrine into practice. The purpose was to counter the spread of communism. If the Truman Doctrine was '**the stick**', the Marshall Plan was '**the carrot**'. The Truman doctrine had talked about resisting 'armed minorities'. But supposing if people freely voted for communist governments? This seemed a distinct possibility. Poverty and despair in Europe was a consequence of the ravages of war. Famine threatened. This made it easier for communists to recruit - communism represented hope to many of the poor.

Some American politicians were reluctant to back the Plan, but later events such as the Czech communist revolution in February 1948 (during which the non-communist Foreign Minister Masaryk 'fell' from a window) shocked the isolationists.

Any country accepting aid was assumed to be friendly to the USA. America offered aid to Iron Curtain countries as well as to the West. In theory, Marshall Aid was also available to the USSR. Aid was not just financial, but came in the form of food, fertilisers, vehicles, fuel, agricultural machinery, mules (!), reconstruction, and human expertise. The large majority of aid (about 80%) came in the form of grants, not loans.

- Czechoslovakia originally accepted the offer, but Stalin summoned Gottwald and Masaryk to Moscow (July 1947), threatened them, and made them withdraw.
- Yugoslavia (under Tito) accepted, resisting pressure from Moscow to decline. The USA agreed to giving \$150 million to Yugoslavia (which had been suffering poor harvests) in 1950.
- In France there were widespread strikes in 1947. America used the threat of depriving France of Marshall Aid until the communist threat was under control in order to make the communists unpopular there.

U.K.	\$ 3 176 M	ITALY	\$1 474 M	DENMARK	\$ 271 M
FRANCE	\$ 2 706 M	W. GERMANY	\$1 389 M	NORWAY	\$ 254 M
BENELUX	\$ 1 635 M	GREECE	\$ 694 M	YUGOSLAVIA	\$ 109 M
AUSTRIA	\$ 677 M	TURKEY	\$ 60 M		

- In response to the Marshall Plan, Stalin set up the **Cominform** (1947), and **Comecon** and the **Molotov Plan**, both in 1949. (see below)

Why was America so generous?

America benefited from Marshall Aid:

- The cost of not giving the money would have been even more because Europe would have collapsed economically. Marshall Aid was the cheaper option.
- It helped the American economy, because the Europeans spent a lot of the cash given to them on American goods. This stimulated the growth of the U.S. economy, tied it to Europe's, and ensured markets for American exports.
- It certainly contributed to combat the spread of communism in Europe. Truman later wrote, 'The Marshall Plan will go down in history as one of America's greatest contributions to the peace of the world...without it, it would have been difficult for Western Europe to remain free from Communism.'

Did it increase Cold War hostility? Whose fault?

A) The West's

Stalin was justified in his suspicion of the Marshall Plan. Firstly, it was preceded by the Truman Doctrine. Secondly, although Marshall Aid was in theory open to the USSR, Stalin's spies discovered that America didn't really want the USSR to accept. America's motivation behind offering aid to the east was merely to present the illusion of goodwill, and to encourage other eastern bloc countries to 'take the bait'. America did not want the USSR to join. Stalin was annoyed that America was interfering in Eastern Europe, which he saw as his sphere of influence. Molotov described the Marshall Plan as '**dollar imperialism**'. Marshall described the plan as 'directed not against any country or doctrine, but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos'. This was misleading. Most people would agree that the main aim of Marshall Aid was political.⁴

B) The East's

March 1947: Talks in Moscow about Germany's future were getting nowhere. General Marshall was present. He suspected Stalin of using **delaying tactics**. The longer there was deadlock at the talks, the more chance there was of communism taking root in Europe without the Red Army having to invade. Stalin's policy towards the defeated Germany was to keep it on its knees (understandably, perhaps, given what Russia went through to win the War). But U.S. policy to Germany was to help it recover, otherwise the European economy as a whole would not revive either.

Cartoon on the Marshall Plan, 1949



⁴ For more blatant evidence of America's political aims, look no further than Italy. The first general election since World War II was due in April 1948. It looked as if the communists might win. American money was channelled, via the newly formed CIA, to fund non-communist candidates. Back in the USA, the government organised a propaganda campaign: 10 million Italian immigrants in the USA sent letters to their Italian relatives telling them not to vote communist. It was hugely successful: the communist vote almost halved.

The USSR'S Response: COMINFORM (September 1947) and COMECON (January 1949)

Shortly after the 1917 Revolution, Lenin had set up the **Comintern**. This stood for COMmunist INTERNational. It was an organisation which was designed to help spread communism globally. Despite its failure to do so, it was still in existence until 1943.

Stalin set up the **Cominform** in 1947 to replace the Comintern. It is an abbreviation for the COMmunist INFORMation Bureau. All the USSR's satellite states began as members, and the French and Italian communist parties were also represented. Apart from providing information, its job was to:

- co-ordinate the work of the Communist Party in Europe
- control the eastern bloc countries
- encourage western communists to take power.

The timing of Stalin's decision, coming as it did so swiftly after the Marshall Plan, was no coincidence. He wanted to tighten his grip on the satellites. To be communist was not enough. It must be Russian-style communism. Eastern Europe should be industrialised, collectivised and centralised. States were expected to trade primarily with Cominform members, and all contacts with non-communist countries were discouraged.

Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform in 1948. Tito, its dictator, refused to take a Stalinist line. He was strong enough to be able to stand up to Stalin, because he, and not the Red Army, had liberated Yugoslavia from Nazi occupation.

Comecon was also a direct response to Marshall Aid. Indeed, it was Stalin's equivalent. It stands for the COuncil for Mutual ECONomic Assistance. Its function was:

- to prevent countries being torn from the Soviet sphere of influence.
- to co-ordinate the economic policies of the eastern bloc countries.
- In 1949, the **Molotov Plan** was introduced, offering Russian aid to the satellites (e.g. grain to Czechoslovakia after a bad harvest).

Back in 1947, the USSR had not really been able to retaliate against the Marshall Plan with promises of its own money. Stalin could not afford it. Russia had been devastated by the War, and had had its own economy to rebuild, its own food shortages to contend with (there was a famine in the Ukraine in 1947).

THE BERLIN BLOCKADE June 1948 - May 1949



The occupied zones of Germany in 1945.

Long Term Causes

- Germany, as agreed at Yalta and Potsdam, was split into four occupation zones. So was Berlin (100 miles inside the Russian zone), even though it had been liberated by the Russians. Free access rights, using agreed road, rail, and canal routes as well as air corridors across the Soviet zone, were given to allow movement of people and goods between western German sectors and western sectors of Berlin. The four zones of Germany were administered by a body made up of army leaders called the **Allied Control Council (ACC)**. It met regularly in Berlin, exchanged information, tried to resolve problems and to regulate an economic policy. This arrangement was meant to be temporary until Germany was reunited. But by 1948 East-West relations were worsening and reunification seemed less likely.
- The USSR wanted to weaken Germany by keeping it split - under 4 power control. They also wanted the West to leave Berlin. Britain and the USA stopped sending industrial goods to the soviet zone because Russia failed to send back food and coal as agreed at Potsdam (see chapter 3). The USSR was disgusted when the **West abolished reparations (May 1946)**. Stalin was determined to make Germany pay for all the damage it had inflicted on Russia. He drained the resources away from his zone to Russia.

- **The West** wanted to build up the German economy to avoid what happened after World War I. They believed that prosperity would create stability and peace, and would help to regenerate the whole European economy. Keeping Germany weak would constantly drain western resources: people in the western zones would need feeding for years to come. The western allies decided to build up their German zones. Western Germany accepted **Marshall Aid** and this helped to highlight the disparity in wealth between the east-west zones.

Short Term Causes

- Britain, France and the USA were planning for their new Germany at a **secret conference** in London.
 - ⇒ Soviet spies knew of this and the USSR asked what the meeting was about.
 - ⇒ They were given unhelpful replies.
 - ⇒ March 20 1948: The Soviets walked out of a meeting of the ACC. The USSR also restricted free access to their zone to the USA, Britain & France.
 - ⇒ Britain, France and the USA took steps to merge the French zone's economy with that of 'Bizonia' (the British-American zone, merged back in Jan 1947). This second merger later went ahead in June 1948.
 - ⇒ The Soviets tried to hinder this by demanding the right to board trains (and, later on, canal barges) en route to Berlin. On 1 April 1948, two American passenger trains were refused entry to the Soviet zone because the train commandants refused to be inspected by Soviet border guards. Throughout April and May, the USSR began to make western access by road, rail and canal increasingly difficult.
- 1 May 1948: Stalin merged the socialist and communist parties in the Russian zone, relaunching them as the 'Socialist Unity Party' (SUP).
- 18 June 1948: the western powers announced that a **new currency** - the Deutschmark - would replace the Mark in the Allied zones of West Germany. (It was issued two days later). The old currency had become virtually worthless. Each person could exchange 40 marks only. All other old money was worthless. The West had not informed Russia that they were planning currency reform. The motive for the reform was to:
 1. wipe out black marketeers
 2. tie Germans to the West
 3. combat runaway inflation and economic collapse
 - ⇒ 19 June: USSR announced a **new currency** of their own, and they said it would apply in **all** of Berlin.
 - ⇒ 22 June: The allies told the Soviet authorities that their new Deutschmark was now being brought in to West Berlin, to make it easier for goods to be traded between Berlin and the Allied zones. Next day, this happened.
- Berlin now had two currencies. Western Deutschmarks were worth between 5 and 7 times more than the Soviet ones. Controls on pricing and rationing were removed on most goods. Production and consumption increased rapidly. This, along with Marshall Aid, showed a clear growing disparity in east-west prosperity - which could be used as propaganda in the Cold War.
- ⇒ 23 June: The Soviets responded immediately with a **blockade**: all road routes into Berlin, all passenger train services, all rail freight trains and canal traffic were restricted. The routes were not sealed, but the daily import of 12,000 tons of food and coal was not possible. Electricity supplies to factories and offices were cut. West Berlin did not have its own power station (it had been dismantled in 1945 as part of the reparations to the USSR). The aim was to **force the west to withdraw** from West Berlin by reducing it to starvation point.
- ⇒ The west imposed a **counter-blockade** on the Soviet zone of Berlin.
- These blockades led to unemployment and hardship in the whole of Berlin.

- **To the Russians**, the introduction of the new currency by the west looked as if the Allies intended to incorporate West Berlin permanently in West Germany, making both independent of the Russian-dominated Eastern zone. This would give the West a base well inside the Iron Curtain.
- **To the West**, the blockade looked like an attempt to force the west to leave West Berlin - as indeed it was. This was the first direct challenge to the American idea of containment.

Summary of Short Term Causes

Allied secret conference to plan the merger of allied zones
 → soviets start to restrict free access to their zones
 → new western currency
 → new eastern currency (including Berlin)
 → western currency now applied to Berlin
 →soviet blockade
 →allied airlift and counter-blockade

The Airlift

America had 3 choices:

1. Evacuate Berlin - which would be a victory for Stalin: might he attack West Germany next? America's **General Lucius Clay** thought so. He wanted to...
2. Send an armed convoy through the blockade. He favoured this policy even after the airlift started. However, this would risk war, and Truman did not want to take that step.
3. Maintain links by air at a vast cost and for an unforeseeable amount of time. No one was certain that flying in supplies could meet Berlin's demands. However, it was calculated - correctly - that the USSR would not risk war (Russia still had no nuclear capability) by shooting down the planes. During the airlift, the USA used B29 bombers which could carry nuclear bombs - the USSR couldn't be sure.

- 26th June: the **Berlin airlift** began. (In 1945 the west had agreed with the USSR on three 20-mile-wide fly zones from the west into two Berlin airports).
- 2,000 tons of supplies per day were needed. West Berlin had a 45 day supply of coal and a 36 day supply of food. Working for the airlift gave jobs to unemployed Berliners. A 9 ton cargo could be unloaded in 7 minutes.
- The Russians used various tactics to intimidate and endanger the pilots. For instance, they 'jammed' the airwaves used by pilots, they 'buzzed' them with soviet fighter aircraft, and tried to intimidate them by practising military manoeuvres on the ground underneath.
- By August, the west's counter-blockade was beginning to hurt Russia. The East Berliners were lacking machine tools, coal and steel. Time was not on Stalin's side.
- As winter approached, West Berlin's demands (e.g. coal) would increase. Now it seemed that time was not on the West's side. Electricity was being rationed to 4 hours a day.
- West Berliners could still move freely around the city during the blockade (although they were subject to constant ID checks and searches). In East Berlin there were normal peacetime conditions: dance halls, heat and light. West Berliners were offered the chance by the USSR to buy food in the eastern sector. 10% took up the offer.
- Autumn 1948: 300,000 Berliners (including many East Berliners) staged an anti-Russian demonstration in Berlin. Troops fired: 1 killed, 12 injured.

- 1949: Easter Sunday: a record **13,000 tons** was airlifted in 24 hours. It was clear that Berlin could be supplied indefinitely by air. One pilot might fly on 3 missions a day. At one airport, a plane would land every 45 seconds. In all, 2 million tons of supplies were flown in.
- May 12 1949: After 11 months, Stalin caved in. The blockade was lifted.



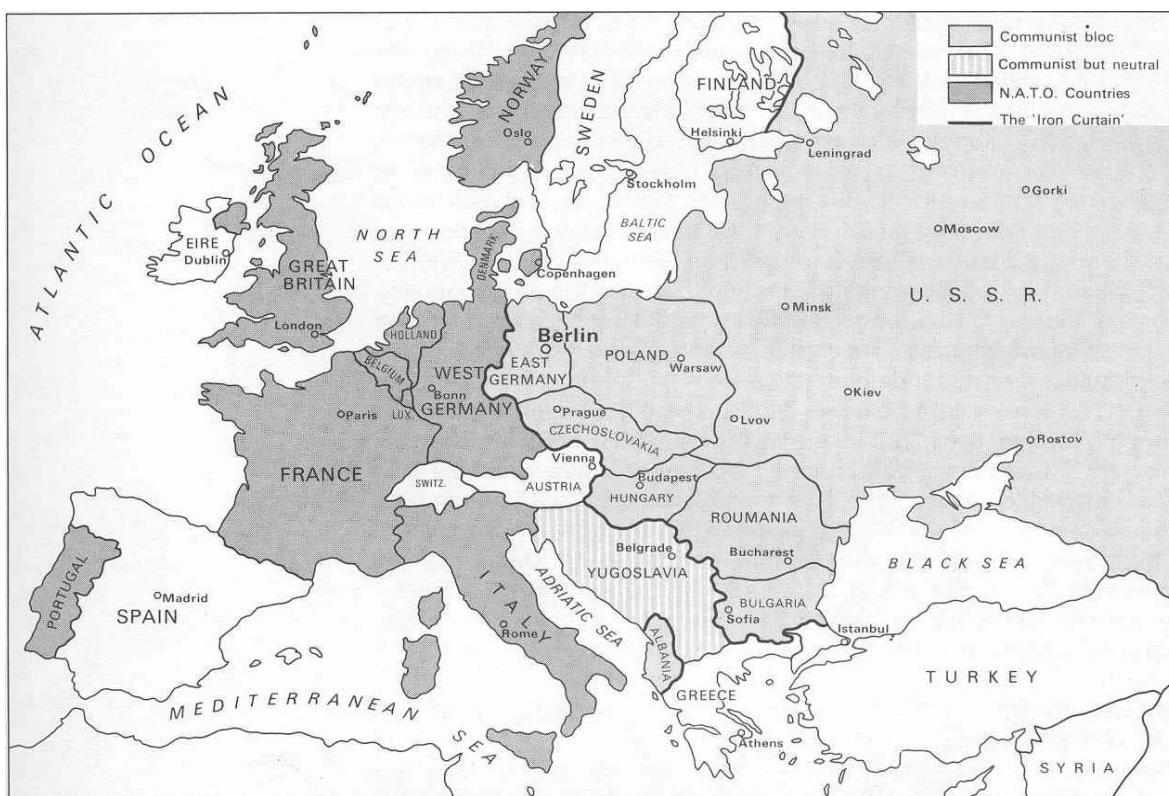
The Consequences

1. It had been the first climax of the Cold War
2. Although 29 lives were lost, the success of the airlift gave the West a great psychological boost. But it brought relations with Russia to their worst so far. It can be argued that Stalin was humiliated by having to end the blockade, and that this is a possible cause of the **Korean War** the following year (1950).
3. It doomed Germany to remain divided for the foreseeable future.
4. The formation of **NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation)** on 4th April 1949. The importance of the NATO alliance was that America was now committing itself in advance to go to war on another country's behalf. This was the first time ever that the USA had made such a commitment. This contrasted greatly with America's isolationist stance after World War I. Back in 1919, the US view was to avoid getting dragged into the conflicts of other countries that were thousands of miles away. Now, America was NATO's strongest member by far.
5. The creation of the **Federal Republic of Germany** (West Germany / **FRG**) on 23rd May 1949. (It formally came into being in August 1949)
6. The USSR responded by naming its zone of Germany the **German Democratic Republic** (East Germany / **GDR**) in October 1949. When (six years later) the **FRG joined NATO**⁵, five days later the **Warsaw Pact** was signed (14th May 1955)

⁵ In 1955, to make up for their shortage of manpower, the USA, Britain and France allowed the FRG to join NATO and to conscript its own Army, the Bundeswehr. In 1955 the USA also brought its first tactical (battlefield) nuclear missiles to West Germany.



This cartoon of 14th July 1948 by Shepard for 'Punch' shows Stalin watching as storks fly coal and food into Berlin



The North Atlantic Treaty	The Warsaw Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation, and Mutual Assistance
<p>Article 1</p> <p>The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations, to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations....</p> <p>Article 5</p> <p>The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all; and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in the exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognized by article 51 of the charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.</p> <p>Any such armed attack and all measure taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the security Council. Such measure shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measure necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.</p>	<p>Article 1</p> <p>The Contracting Parties undertake, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations Organization, to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force, and to settle their international disputes peacefully and in such manner as will not jeopardize international peace and security.</p> <p>Article 4</p> <p>In the event of armed attack in Europe on one or more of the parties to the Treaty by any state or group of states, each of the parties to the Treaty, in the exercise of its right to individual or collective self defence in accordance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations Organization, shall immediately, either individually or in agreement with other Parties to the Treaty, come to the assistance of the state or states attacked with all such means as it deems necessary, including armed force. The Parties to the Treaty shall immediately consult concerning the necessary measures to be taken by them jointly in order to restore and maintain international peace and security. Measures taken on the basis of this Article shall be reported to the Security Council in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations Organization. These measures shall be discontinued immediately the Security Council adopts the necessary measures to restore and maintain international peace and security.</p>
<p>Signed Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, United Kingdom, United States.</p> <p>Washington. 4th April 1949.</p> <p>[Greece and Turkey joined in 1952. West Germany joined in 1955.]</p>	<p>Signed Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, East Germany, Poland, Romania, Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia.</p> <p>14th May 1955.</p> <p>[Albania withdrew from the Pact on 13th September 1968]</p>

How effectively did the USA contain the spread of Communism?

THE KOREAN WAR June 1950 - July 1953

Causes

- Korea (a peninsula attached to the Chinese mainland) had belonged to Japan since 1910. When Japan was defeated in World War II, the Allies had to decide what to do with Japanese territory. They (except Stalin) had promised Korea would become independent after the War.
- The Japanese surrendered to Russia in North Korea (which shares a small border with Russia) and to Americans in the south. The two superpowers remained in occupation. After 1945 Korea was partitioned along the 38th parallel (38° north).
- Plans to unite the two halves failed: the UN tried to hold elections in 1948, but communists in the north refused to accept the result. So in 1948 both occupation zones were granted independence.
- 15 August 1948: the southern US zone became the Republic of Korea, led by **Syngman Rhee**. He was an anti-communist, very tough, patriotic, and unforgiving.
- 9 Sep 1948: the northern soviet zone became the Korean People's Democratic Republic, led by **Kim Il Sung**. He had spent World War II in the USSR and was now groomed for power.
- Soviet forces left the north by the end of 1948. American forces left the south by June 1949.
- Neither the North nor the South Korean governments were happy with the partition of their country. Both claimed to be the rightful government, claiming authority over all Korea. The UN tried in vain to unite the two halves, which were both building up their armed forces. There were frequent frontier skirmishes in which thousands of soldiers died.
- Kim Il Sung visited Moscow in March 1949, secretly asking Stalin for permission to invade the South. Stalin rejected the idea because he was preoccupied with the Berlin Crisis.
- Why did the North invade the South in 1950?
- It may be to do with Stalin's desire to make up for his failure in West Berlin.
- Alternatively, the North Koreans may have decided for themselves, with Stalin approving rather than initiating the events.
- By 1950 communists felt increasingly confident in a global sense for two reasons:
 - ⇒ the detonation of the **first soviet atom bomb** in August 1949.
 - ⇒ the final success of the **communist revolution in China** in October 1949.
- It may even have been a show of Russian soviet strength to China - i.e. one communist country signalling to the other who was boss.
- North Korea (falsely) claimed that South Korea began the war by crossing the 38th parallel.

The Events

There were four main phases to the war (see map), but NB phases 1-3 were quite fast



Phase 1

- 25 June 1950: North Korea's army, under Marshal **Choe Yong Gun**, invaded South Korea without warning. He had 7 divisions; South Korea only had 4 poorly equipped divisions, so his advance was rapid. Some of North Korea's tanks, artillery and advisers were supplied by the USSR.



- Truman was determined to make a stand. He ordered US troops based in Japan (under US occupation since 1945) to move to Korea even **before** the UN had decided what to do. He felt that such a large invasion must be Russian-backed, and was therefore part of the Cold War. Failure to respond might set a precedent.

The USA was already angry that the communists had come to power in China in the first place (1949). America been giving weapons to anti-communists in China up until 1946, but this aid was withdrawn because sometimes it had fallen into the wrong hands.

When the communists triumphed in 1949, the USA realised it had blundered. The USA did not want to repeat previous mistakes. It wanted to make amends by ensuring that South Korea did not go the same way as China. Communists were also fighting for power in Vietnam, Malaya and Indonesia. Although contained in Europe, it seemed to be spreading fast in Asia.

BACKGROUND

- The **UN Security Council** asked member states to assist South Korea when North Korea ignored UN demands to withdraw. The USSR could not veto this action - it was boycotting the UN at the time (because China had not been allowed to join). The UN members deemed the invasion as an attack on themselves. The UN force came from 16 member states, but the USA made up **88%** of its soldiers, **86%** of its ships, and **93%** of its aircraft. Why did European UN members back America in Korea? The US commitment to defend Europe (see the NATO agreement) must have played its part.
- 28 June 1950: North Korea **captured Seoul**, the South Korean capital. Then the unprepared South Koreans and Americans were rapidly driven into a corner of the Korean peninsula near the port of **Pusan**. They lacked effective anti-tank weapons.



Phase 2

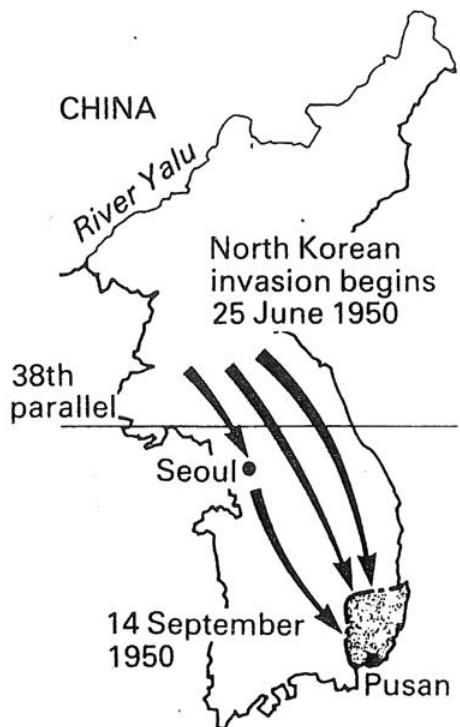
- 15 Sep 1950: **General MacArthur** (a legendary hero of World War II) took a gamble and launched a daring seaborne invasion at **Inchon**, which was **200 miles** behind enemy lines. This caught the North Koreans off guard. They were routed by soldiers pushing up from Inchon and Pusan, and driven back behind the 38th parallel.
- MacArthur (backed by a UN resolution on the reunification of Korea) advanced into North Korea. Truman also backed this - he wanted to unite the whole of Korea and to hold free elections. Chinese warnings that they would intervene if UN forces entered North Korea were ignored.
- UN forces seized **Pyongyang**, the North Korean capital (the only communist capital ever to fall to the west during the Cold War), fast advancing to the Chinese border.
- mid November 1950: the reunification of the 2 Koreas was effectively achieved.



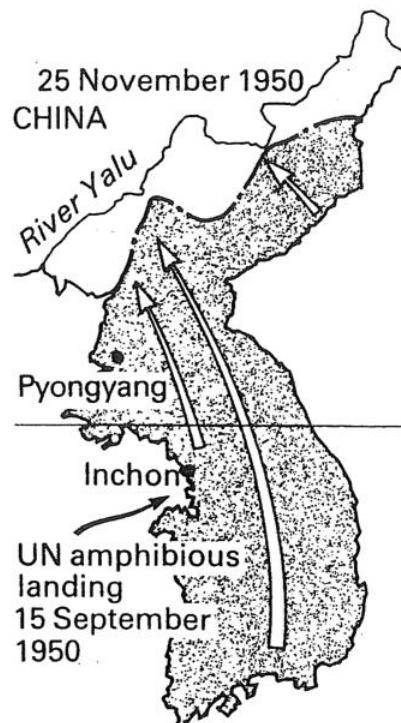
A Chinese poster stating: 'The Korean People's Army and Chinese People's Volunteer Army, victorious forever!'

Phase 3

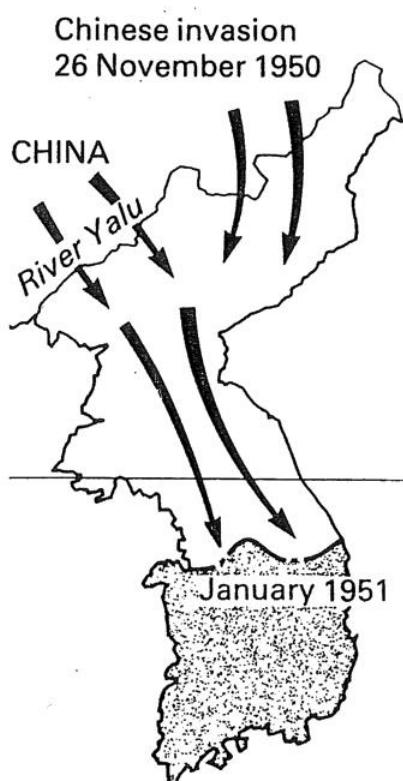
- 25 November 1950: **China intervened** (with Stalin's encouragement), coming to North Korea's aid. MacArthur had assured Truman it would never happen, but he had become complacent. Massive Chinese armies crossed the Yalu River (the border of China and North Korea). The **300,000** soldiers were called 'volunteers' so that China could avoid an official war declaration on the UN forces. In theory, it was still a civil war between North and South Korea. Unofficially, it was a great power conflict: the USA (and its allies) against Chinese Communists (aided by Soviet weapons and advisers).
- The Chinese drove a huge wedge between the two UN armies. MacArthur's forces had to **retreat**. It was a rout. Temperatures as low as -25°C further demoralised US troops. Mao was right in saying a better motivated army could defeat a better armed army. The Chinese were zealous in 'defence of their motherland' against 'US imperialism'.
- 31 December 1950: Chinese and North Korean forces crossed the 38th parallel once again, and took **Seoul** for the second time.



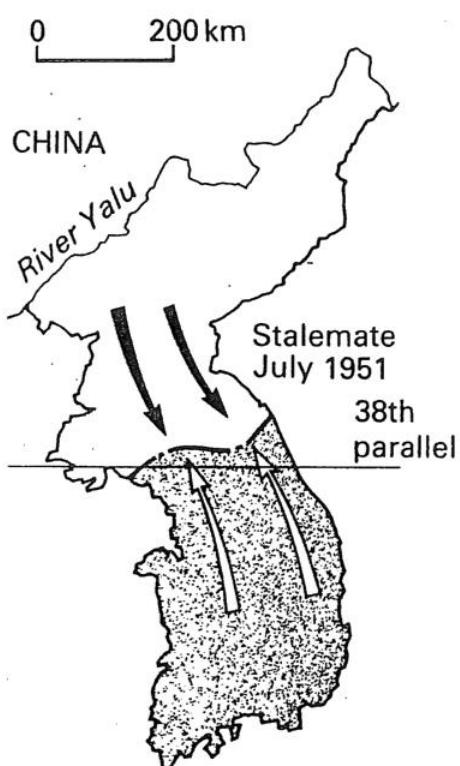
① June–September 1950



② September–November 1950



③ November 1950–
January 1951



④ January–July 1951

Phase 4

- 14 March 1951: After much hard fighting, **Seoul** was recaptured for the second time by counter-attacking UN forces. The Red armies were driven back to a front line on or about the 38th parallel.
- April 1951: MacArthur was **sacked** by Truman because the General wanted to bomb Chinese cities (with atom bombs if necessary) and carry on the war in mainland China. Truman thought this would:
 1. waste more American lives
 2. risk a 3rd world war
- Truman ruled out using the atom bomb because he knew the USSR would retaliate. He hoped that sacking MacArthur would send a clear signal to the communists about the limitations of US objectives.
- Summer of 1951: stalemate developed. Each month saw 2,500 UN casualties. Hopes faded of unifying Korea. Virtually the same front line was held for two years (almost at the point where fighting had begun). In peace talks hundreds of meetings over 2 years got nowhere because negotiations were treated as a battlefield tactic, simply to bide time. **POWs** became a sticking point in talks. Communists were infuriated that North Korean prisoners were given the option to defect to the west - nearly 50% wanted to.
- America had air superiority. Russia tried to combat this by supplying its own fighters and pilots. Originally Russia had planned only to train N. Korean pilots. Now it was risking direct conflict with the USA, so it was kept secret. Much of the death and destruction in the Korean War was caused by relentless bombing. America dropped almost as many bombs on N. Korea as on Germany in WWII.
- July 1953: Both sides eventually signed an **armistice** agreement at Panmunjom. **Stalin's death** in March 1953 helped - he had wanted to keep the war going. His successors wanted to end it. Truman's replacement by **President Eisenhower** in January 1953 also helped. In the election campaign, Eisenhower pledged to end the War. He won with a landslide victory.

CLEVELAND—Party cheer by hot and humid weather today and tonight. Expected thunderstorms in the evening. High yesterday 82 low 61. See Page 27

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KOREA ARMISTICE SIGNED; HOSTILITIES CEASE TODAY

**HEAT FELLS.
LEGION TRIO
ON PARADE**

Breiling Sun Wills Girls as
75,000 Watch Marchers
Strut Downtown

Heat prostrated three girl
marchers yesterday afternoon at 75,000 spectators
watched the Ohio American
Legion convention parade here.

The trio of marchers collapsed while 8,000 Legionnaires and others trudged downtown streets under a broiling sun.

Treated at St. Vincent Charity Hospital and released were Anna Shultz, 16, of Toledo; Louise Farren, 16, of Middlefield; and Margaret Green, 18, of Westerville.

In another incident, the parade was halted momentarily by Police Sergt. Anthony Kostiglano, grand marshal, to let through a car carrying Nathan Margolin, 24, who is Park Director in Cleveland.

**10-MINUTE CEREMONY
ENDS 3 YEARS OF WAR;
PRISONERS DUE SOON**

Reds Broadcast Order to Troops to Halt Fighting at Nine This Morning; 18 Copies of Truce Document Ratified by Chief Negotiator; Rhee Aides Absent

BULLETIN

MUNSAN, Monday, July 27.—(AP)—Gen. Mark W. Clark today signed the Korean armistice agreement and dispatched the historic document back to Panmunjom to the Communist high command for signing by North Korean Marshal Kim Il Sung and Chinese Gen. Peng Teh-Huai.

BY ROBERT TUCKMAN

PANMUNJOM, Monday, July 27.—(AP)—U.N. Command and Communist senior truce delegates signed the long-awaited Korean armistice in a crisp 10-minute

Who 'won'? Consequences of the war

1. In one sense there are no winners in war: 54,000 Americans and 3,000 troops from other UN countries were killed. An estimated 3 million north and south Korean civilians & 1 million soldiers were killed. 500,000 Chinese were killed. 5 million Koreans were left homeless. Korea's division seemed permanent⁶.
2. The Cold War had escalated. In Korea the Cold War had become a '**hot war**' for the first time. American relations were now permanently strained with China, not just Russia. East and West were even more hostile to one another as a result of the war. Both sides in the Cold War began to build up allies in Asia as they had done in Europe.
3. On the other hand, the great powers had succeeded in preventing the spread of war beyond Korea and further into Asia.
4. America had decisively and convincingly rushed troops to defend the victim of an act of aggression. This told the Russians and the Chinese that the Americans would be no pushover in any future conflict, and would not tolerate the aggressive 'exportation' of communism. Many American Republicans felt that the USA had lost an opportunity to destroy communism in China, and this feeling contributed towards **McCarthyism**
5. Communism had been **contained**. Like the Iron Curtain in Europe, the 38th parallel became an unpassable barrier. South Korea remained non-communist, independent, and later became one of the strongest economies in the region. It was a defeat for communism in the sense that it had not been imposed in South Korea. But...
6. China had proved that it would not tolerate threats to its own security and that it would not be bullied. It was now a world power. The fact that it was still not allowed a seat in the UN seemed even more unreasonable.
7. The UN had shown its authority, but it was denounced by the communist world as a tool of the capitalists.
8. The Korean War had boosted the economy of Japan, helping to turn it into a bastion of capitalism in the struggle against communism in Asia. Japan was only 130 miles from South Korea, so a communist conquest of South Korea might have compromised America's position in Japan.
9. Russia was forced into an expensive **arms race** with the USA. The USSR saw US actions as evidence of encirclement.

⁶ To this day, the border between North and South Korea remains the most heavily fortified on the planet. Most families that were split back in the 1950s have no notion of whether their brothers and sisters are still alive. Communication is not allowed between the civilians of the two countries. In the year 2000, a few reunions were allowed by the authorities. This was the exception rather than the rule - the event was televised, but at the end of it, the families had to return home, wondering if they would ever see one another again.

THE PARTIAL THAW : 1953 - 56

THE FREEZE BEFORE THE THAW

The early Cold War was at its frostiest during Stalin's last years (1948-53).

- At that time there was a witch-hunt atmosphere, almost a paranoia, in both America and Russia. In the Soviet bloc Stalin purged the Communist Parties in every "satellite" country (Czechoslovakia, Rumania, etc) as well as in the USSR's second largest city, Leningrad. It was rumoured that he would unleash another massive purge like the mindless killing of the 1930s.
- Simultaneously, in the USA Senator Joseph McCarthy led a huge investigation into "crypto-Communists" or "reds under the bed" who were allegedly employed in the State Department (foreign office), universities, and Hollywood. Unlike in Russia these were disgraced and sacked, not killed, though several of its victims were driven to suicide.
- The Berlin Blockade, Chinese Revolution, and Korean War followed immediately on from one another.⁷
- The USSR tested its first atom bomb (1949), and the USA responded with its first hydrogen bomb (1952), to be followed by the USSR's first hydrogen bomb (1953). Opposing armed forces were on full alert and World War III seemed to be on the cards.

THE POST-STALIN THAW, 1953 - 56

However, some years of thaw then took place. Historians disagree over how much of a thaw it really was. The case for and against is on the following pages:

⁷ Communists also took control of much of French Indo-China (in South East Asia), and in 1954 captured a French army at Dienbienphu (North Vietnam), causing France to withdraw from her former colony.

THE CASE FOR

HOW REAL WAS THE THAW?

THE CASE AGAINST

<p>1. Stalin died in March 1953. Three Politburo colleagues replaced him. They arrested and shot Beria (Stalin's notorious secret police chief), halted the arrests and trials which had been going on since 1949, and released millions of political prisoners from the "Gulag" (labour camps).</p>	
<p>2. In the satellite countries such keen Stalinists as Rákosi, the hated Hungarian dictator, were made to share power with more moderate Communists who had previously been demoted, sacked, or imprisoned.</p>	<p>As early as June 1953, in a mood of optimism after Stalin's death, East German workers had gone on strike, causing Khrushchev and his Politburo colleagues to send in the Soviet Army to restore order. Dozens got killed. Khrushchev also cracked down in 1956 on the Hungarian rebels (see later).</p>
<p>3. Truman's term as US President ended. In November 1952 General Eisenhower (of World War II fame) won the presidential election, partly on a promise to end the Korean War and "<i>bring the boys home</i>". (He took office in January 1953). In July 1953 the two sides in the Korean War signed the Panmunjom Armistice.</p>	
<p>4. By 1954, Senator McCarthy had discredited himself in the USA by alleging that influential people (such as General Marshall) were communists. After a poor performance in a televised Senate hearing, he was outvoted by fellow-senators and resigned from his "Committee on Anti-American Affairs". The witch-hunt stopped. He foolishly attacked the new President for supporting the Senate.</p>	
<p>5. In the winter of 1954-55 Russia met the USA, Britain and France at Geneva, to discuss various troubled parts of the globe. The two main outcomes were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Indo-China was split into four: a Communist state (North Vietnam), a US-allied state (South Vietnam), and two neutrals (Laos and Cambodia). • The four great powers (including Russia) ended their partition and occupation of Austria - it became an independent, neutral, republic. <p>During these talks Khrushchev and Bulganin paid friendly visits to Britain, France, and neutral countries like Yugoslavia and India - the first foreign visits of two key Soviet leaders.</p>	<p>The Soviet Politburo had only allowed the neutralisation of Austria, Laos and Cambodia as a way of creating buffer zones between the Communist bloc and the West, not as the start of a Communist retreat back into Russia.</p>

6. Early in 1956 the Cominform was ended - in theory allowing satellite states to make policy without referring to Moscow.	
<p>7. Most importantly, in February 1956 Khrushchev, now First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, delivered a secret speech to the 20th Party Congress. He startled the assembled delegates by denouncing his onetime boss Stalin as a “<i>butcher, bungler and dictator</i>”. He accused Stalin of betraying the ideals of Marx and Lenin, and of creating a “Cult of Personality” for himself. He said the Party should now be run democratically, and must turn its back on illegal and inhuman methods. He said that the USSR should practise “peaceful co-existence” with the West, defeating it economically and morally, not militarily, because modern war spelt nuclear annihilation. Khrushchev was not abandoning Marxism, but attempting to reform and strengthen it. He did not publish or broadcast the speech because he aimed to “re-educate” the Party leadership before making a public attack on Stalin. However, Israeli intelligence got hold of the text and leaked it to the West; soon the gist of it was known all over Eastern Europe. It seemed not only that Russia was liberalising itself, but would allow much more freedom to its Polish, Hungarian, East German, and other satellites.</p>	<p>Khrushchev was not in reality making the Soviet Communist Party more democratic, but was building up his personal control of it. In 1957 he was to sack all his rivals and critics in the Politburo (liberals as well as Stalinists)—such as Molotov, Malenkov and Bulganin, and take on near-dictatorial powers. However, unlike Stalin, Khrushchev sacked and disgraced his opponents rather than jailing and killing them.</p> <p>Khrushchev expected that his reforms would bind his Eastern European satellites closer to him; he had no intention of letting them be more independent - and certainly no intention of allowing any existing Communist regime to fall.</p>
8. NATO promised that the Germans would never be allowed to return to their pre-war fascism, to act independently of NATO command (dominated by the USA / UK), or to get their hands on nuclear weapons.	<p>But the Russians, remembering their 20 million dead at Hitler’s hands, and paranoid about any revival of German military aggression, refused to be convinced, and responded to what they called “the German-fascist threat” by setting up the Warsaw Pact and creating an East German (Communist) Army (both in 1955). They put 500,000 of their own best troops on East German soil. One reason, or at any rate excuse, for Russia’s hostility to the FRG was territorial disagreement over Germany’s most eastern borders. In reality, most of the German people had been expelled from these areas in 1945 and the land had become part of Poland and the USSR.</p>

11. THE HUNGARIAN UPRISEING, 1956.

Leaders of Hungary

1947-53 Rakosi
1953-5 Nagy
1955-6 Rakosi
1956 Nagy
1956-88 Kadar

CAUSES

Long term background

- In 1945, the Communists in Hungary only secured 17% of the vote.
- In 1947, the Communist victory in elections was very fraudulent.
- In the 1949 election, no opposition candidates were allowed to stand.
- In the immediate years after World War II ended, a politician called **Imre Nagy** gained a popular reputation for giving out land to the peasants rather than collectivising it. But by 1949 the soviets were enforcing a programme of **collectivisation**. Russians took food out of Hungary, and this caused bread and potato shortages. Industrial workers were also very demoralised, and workers cheated to meet the impossible production targets that were set for them. The quality of products also suffered as a result.

Short term background

- After Stalin's death, the pro-Stalin leader of Hungary, **Matyas Rakosi**, a ruthless dictator, was replaced by a more moderate communist, Imre Nagy. But Rakosi continued to interfere and forced Nagy out of office in 1955 expelling him from the Communist Party. Public resentment against the government built up steadily.
- Rakosi's brutal regime saw at least 2000 people executed and 200,000 others sent to prisons and concentration camps.
- Living standards of ordinary people were declining. Hated Communist party leaders lived comfortable lives. Their Russian backers were equally hated.
- Khrushchev's **famous speech in February 1956 at the Twentieth Congress** encouraged the Hungarians to resist their government. (The speech was made in secret, but the script was leaked by Israeli intelligence).
- Anti-soviet demonstrations in the Posen region of Poland in June 1956 and a general strike led to the rise to power of Gomulka. Although a communist, he had been formerly imprisoned by Stalin, and now the soviets decided to trust him. Seeing the compromise of Poland winning limited independence gave encouragement to the Hungarians.
- In **July 1956 Rakosi resigned** under pressure from the Soviet Government. (He was 'informed' that he was ill!) Khrushchev thought a more liberal leader could satisfy the voices of dissent now being heard in Hungary. But the move backfired...

EVENTS

THE FIRST WAVE OF VIOLENCE

- This lasted for 5 days.
- Events were triggered by a student demonstration that was campaigning for **free speech, free elections, and the withdrawal of soviet troops**. A small delegation of these students was allowed into the building from which the state radio was broadcast. When they failed to come out again, the crowd outside became restless. The secret police fired on the crowd which caused chaos. Ammunition factories were raided and a general strike began.
- 23 October 1956: thousands of Hungarians took to the streets of Budapest to protest against the presence of Soviet troops. They paraded Hungarian flags (with the Soviet emblem torn out) on public buildings and confronted the authorities. They carried portraits of Imre Nagy - who, at first, underestimated the public mood and was slow to take charge.
- Stalin's huge statue in Budapest was toppled.... no crime in Khrushchev's eyes, but the situation escalated...
- The tottering communist government appealed to Russia for military help. The Hungarian rebels were backed by the Hungarian army. Only the security police (**ÁVO**)⁸ stayed loyal to the USSR. Over four days, hundreds were killed (on both sides) in clashes with Soviet troops. Civilians armed with rifles, machine guns and Molotov cocktails tried to block the entry of Soviet tanks into Budapest. Much of the city was ruined. **Soviet tanks pulled out** - soviet presence was not strong enough to crush the revolt - 2 Soviet divisions had been present and were defeated.
- 24 October: **Imre Nagy was made Prime Minister**.
- 28 October: Nagy arranged a cease fire and Russia agreed to withdraw troops from Budapest, hoping that Nagy could be trusted, and that he would restore communist authority. On the 29th October, soviet tanks withdrew.
- Nagy, now gaining in courage, cautiously backed the Hungarian rebels.
- Hungarians rejoiced at Nagy's return - they thought they had won. Western journalists flocked to Budapest. Many Hungarians looked to the USA and the west to help them against Moscow and to secure the revolution. But the only help that came was propaganda - messages of support were broadcast from US radio stations in West Germany.
- Now that Soviet troops had left, some Hungarians took the law into their own hands: the hated secret police were publicly humiliated or beaten and murdered. Communist Party offices were ransacked. Free speech flourished briefly. Nagy promised free elections.
- **China** and other communist states urged Khrushchev to use force. He couldn't decide. Western attention was distracted by the **Suez Crisis**⁹ and a presidential election in the USA¹⁰. Khrushchev decided to send troops back in.
- On Thursday 1 November, **soviet tanks returned** and crossed the Hungarian border. Nagy stated that **unless the tanks turned back, he would declare Hungarian neutrality, and withdraw Hungary from the Warsaw Pact**.

⁸ ÁVO = Állam Védelmi Osztály / Internal Security Police

⁹ Britain, France, and Israel were fighting Egypt over control of the Suez Canal

¹⁰ (that saw Eisenhower re-elected for a second term)



During the revolt in Budapest, a huge statue of Stalin was toppled to the ground and later dragged through the streets by a dustcart.

THE SECOND WAVE OF VIOLENCE

- This lasted for nearly **two weeks**
- 4 November: when 1000 Russian tanks returned, about **20,000** Hungarians were killed and many more were rounded up and imprisoned. About **200,000** refugees fled from Budapest to seek asylum in the west through Austria.
- Fighting lasted until 14th November before the Hungarians were brought under control.
- Nagy was treacherously captured (he had been promised freedom).

RESULTS

- Nagy was later **executed (1958)**
- The UN called for the withdrawal of Russian troops as early as 8 November, 1956. Russia's response was that the UN was **interfering in the internal affairs of a sovereign state**, and that this was illegal.
- In the UN the Soviets described the uprising as a '**fascist putsch**' and justified their action by saying that it had been carried out **at the Hungarian Government's request**.
- Russia also claimed that the West was using Hungary to distract world attention away from their 'imperialist aggression' in the Suez region.
- The Russians installed **Janos Kadar** (formerly imprisoned on Stalin's orders, he was a former colleague of Nagy and ex-enemy of Rakosi). Although a reliable ally of Russia, he later introduced many reforms and helped, in fact, to liberalise Hungary¹¹.
- But this could not eradicate the disillusionment felt by many Communists in the West at the Soviet use of force to crush the uprising. **Many westerners left the Communist Party** in disgust.
- The fact that the West did not intervene could be interpreted as part of the thaw in Cold War relations. On the other hand, the Hungarian revolt had been an **east - east conflict, not and east - west one**. Unlike Korea, the Hungarian crisis had never seen communism trying to extend its influence into capitalist territory, so perhaps western non-intervention was unsurprising, Suez or no Suez.

¹¹ He stayed in power until 1988

THE BUILDING OF THE BERLIN WALL, 1961

BACKGROUND

- In 1959, propaganda in East Germany celebrated 10 years of socialist achievement. In reality, chaos prevailed. There were no consumer goods, private farms had been collectivised, propaganda tried to control people's thoughts. Only soviet support kept the economy going. East Germany could not compete with the west's swelling economy. In Berlin, a 2 minute tube journey took you from one world to the next. West Berlin remained a thorn in the side of the communist east. Thousands of East Berliners moved freely between Berlin's sectors for work and leisure. West Berlin posed a threat to socialism and the GDR. Thousands crossed to the west every month and never came back. Most refugees were young and skilled, and this was bad news for the East German economy. In West Germany, every effort was made to help migrants get work and to settle.

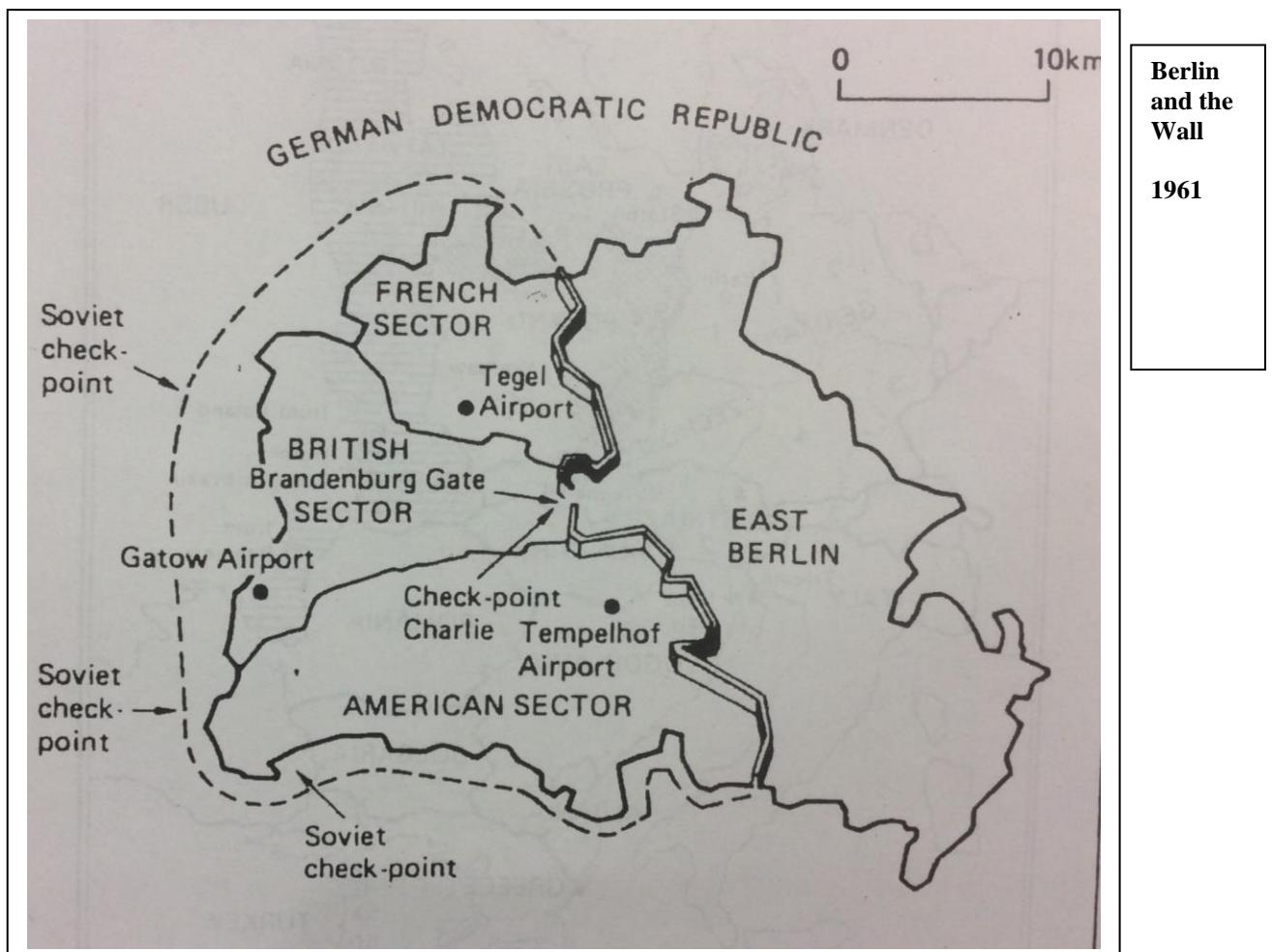
CAUSES

- In 1958, Khrushchev (encouraged perhaps by the USSR's apparent lead in some areas of the nuclear arms race) proposed that the occupying powers should leave Berlin, leaving a free city of Berlin with special rights, such as its own foreign policy and police.
- In November 1958 the west rejected this.
- So Khrushchev offered a peace treaty to East Germany which threatened western rights in Berlin. The treaty said that Berlin would go to East Germany within 6 months. Khrushchev announced that the USSR no longer recognized the rights of the western powers in Berlin. The west saw this as an ultimatum.
- Talks led nowhere. Compromise seemed impossible, because any concession to the USSR would be an erosion of the western position there.
- Khrushchev backed down and shelved his ultimatum.
- September 1959: Khrushchev became the first soviet leader to visit the USA. He went in the world's largest aircraft (soviet built). He believed that face to face exchange would enable him to get more than covert and provocative action.
- In January 1961 President J.F.Kennedy was elected to office. In his election campaign, he had argued for a more vigorous American foreign policy.
- June 1961: Khrushchev and Kennedy met in Vienna. Khrushchev said that he had West Berlin surrounded and that he could take it any time he wanted. Kennedy said that western troops were there by right because they fought in World War II. The meeting was unproductive.

EVENTS

- The failure of the Vienna meeting caused Khrushchev to renew his ultimatum (see 1958), suggesting that the west withdraw from Berlin. He also increased his arms budget.
- JFK asked his advisers to list his military options.
- July 1961: JFK asked Congress for extra defence funds and called reservists to arms. He was determined not to quit Berlin. He said "we cannot separate its safety from our own." But the USA was not prepared to go to war over what Russia did in East Berlin.
- Meanwhile, the flow of refugees was becoming a torrent. There were fears that East Germany might collapse, pulling NATO and soviet forces into conflict. The sense that something must happen about the crisis only served to motivate thousands and thousands more to come across the border before it did happen. In 1961, over 100,000 emigrated in just 6 months. Since 1945, over 3 million had emigrated.
- July 1961: East Berlin begged the soviets to let them stem the flow. They were fed up with promises (which only served to stimulate the flow) and wanted action.
- Border controls were intensified. Khrushchev and Ulbricht (the East German premier) were planning something harsher, and this went undetected by western intelligence.

- August 12 1961: their secret plan (which had been in preparation for several weeks) was activated by armed troops. It was announced publicly on East Berlin radio at midnight
- Sunday August 13 1961: Berliners awoke to find the city divided. Barriers had been erected under armed guard. Khrushchev told Ulbricht not to tread an inch in taking away any American / French / British rights.
- The action caused chaos and fear on the streets. Border guards were given verbal abuse from both sides of the 28 mile barrier. West Berliners couldn't believe that the western allies would allow the barriers to remain.
- 17 August: Barbed wire began to be replaced with concrete blocks.
- The west was unsure how to react. Their rights had not been infringed. It took them 12 hours to realize that a total seal was being imposed.
- October 1961: After a US diplomat had been stopped on this way to the theatre in East Berlin, General Lucius Clay ordered armed US soldiers to escort vehicles back and forth across the border at Checkpoint Charlie in order to test the East German reaction. He also moved tanks up to the checkpoint. The Russians did the same. Western forces, strategic air command and NATO all went on alert. Khrushchev told his troops to respond with force if the west used force, but not to give grounds for provocation. JFK asked Khrushchev (through a back channel) to withdraw a certain distance so that the USA would not lose face. They did so by about 5 or 10 metres. Then the USA did the same.
- There were plenty of escape attempts - in some streets where the border was a row of houses the West German fire brigade would often help. So the East Germans bricked up all the windows. Others swam lakes and canals, hid under trains and in cars. Many failed and were killed - 50 died in the first year.
- Telephone lines were cut to prevent communication between the two.
- The wall was reinforced: it was made higher; trip wires and tank traps were laid; and back-up fences were built.



RESULTS - A VICTORY FOR EAST OR WEST?

- Berlin was not enough of an issue for either side to start a Third World War.
- It was Berliners who paid the real price¹².
- Building the wall was in a sense a relief for **both** East and West: it was a way out of the Berlin crisis:
 - All western policy had focused on the danger of the USSR attempting to take over all of Berlin. From Kennedy's viewpoint, allied rights had not been infringed. It represented a stabilisation of the Berlin situation. Besides, short of declaring war there was nothing they could do.
 - There was nothing further the Russians could do, either, to get the allies out of Berlin. For Khrushchev, putting up the wall was a gesture that both avoided open conflict and helped to save face.
- On the other hand...

The USSR looked weak because

- Khrushchev had failed to force the West to leave Berlin.
- The wall was a symbol of eastern failure and inferiority - this was a propaganda victory for the west.

The USA looked weak because

- Kennedy had failed to stop East Germany from imprisoning its own people.

- In June 1963¹³ Kennedy visited Berlin and spoke of his hopes for the city being reunified. He said "all free men, wherever they live, are citizens of Berlin and therefore as a free man I take pride in the words 'I am a Berliner'¹⁴."

¹² The Berlin Wall did not come down until 1989.

¹³ (five months before his assassination)

¹⁴ JFK said "*Ich bin ein Berliner*", meaning either "*I am a native of Berlin*" or "*I am a jelly doughnut*." Using "*ein*" gives the word "*Berliner*" this meaning. Kennedy was grammatically correct, but the form is unclear, and rarely used. [In English, it's like saying "*I am a Hamburger*" instead of "*I'm from Hamburg*".] "*Berliner*" denotes a male person from Berlin. Jelly donuts are called "*Pfannkuchen*" there. Outside of Berlin, a "*Pfannkuchen*" is a pancake, that's why it became necessary to say "*Berliner Pfannkuchen*" to denote the jelly donut, which was then shortened to "*Berliner*".

THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS, October 1962

Background

- 1956-8: 2 year civil war in Cuba after Fidel Castro's invasion began a revolution to remove the corrupt dictator, US-backed **President Batista**.
- Castro formed a left-wing revolutionary government and announced many far-reaching social and economic reforms. But these included **nationalising** the vast American-owned estates and factories in Cuba.
- America's nearest point is less than 100 miles from Cuba. Near the eastern tip of the island they still had a large naval and air base.¹⁵
- Relations deteriorated. In January 1961, the USA broke off diplomatic relations and trade links.
- This pushed Castro into the communist camp and he signed trade agreements with the Russians instead.
- The CIA began secretly to train supporters of the former President, Batista, in preparation for an attack on Cuba which, was intended to start a revolution.
- April **1961**: This attack by 1400 men at the **Bay of Pigs** was a disaster, and it humiliated the American government. (Castro only had 2 jet planes). It was a disastrous start to Kennedy's Presidency - he had only been in power for three months. (The CIA had misled him about how easy it would be). It also made Castro officially declare a socialist revolution in a bid to get Russian support: later in 1961 he announced that he was a **Marxist**.

Causes and Events

- July - October 1962: American spies on Cuba saw Russian cargo ships secretly unloading unusual objects. Cubans reported seeing long cigar-like objects on lorries. Russian engineers and other experts were also coming ashore - 43,000 arrived disguised in holiday cruise-ships and dressed as holidaymakers. Hundreds of tanks and anti-aircraft missiles were also delivered under cover of night.
- The USA used high-altitude spy planes to take photographs
- 14 October 1962: photos from a U2 spy plane proved beyond doubt that the Russians were building large nuclear missile launching sites.
- Previously, the USA would always have had a **15 minute** warning of a Russian missile attack from land-based missiles in the USSR. Now they would only have **3 minutes**. Reconnaissance photographs showed that construction work was proceeding rapidly and that a fleet of 25 Russian cargo ships had been spotted in the Atlantic heading for Cuba.

¹⁵ In 1901, Cuba was under American military occupation. In order to get its independence, Cuba agreed to an American request for the future right to intervene militarily in Cuba's internal affairs whenever it felt necessary. In 1903, the USA exercised this right and took over Guantánamo. In 1934, Cuba requested that this be changed to a 99 year lease. America agreed. But both sides must agree before the lease can be terminated.



Nikita Khrushchev and Fidel Castro

John F. Kennedy



Why did Khrushchev take such a risky decision?

There are several theories:

1. because Russia had lost the lead in **ICBMs** (Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles). In 1962, the USA had 295 long-range missiles. The Soviets had 75. But the soviets had plenty of shorter-range missiles. Placing them close to the USA would be a quick and cheap way of catching up.
 2. to put the Americans in a similar predicament to the USSR who faced US missile sites in **Turkey**.
 3. to back Castro who was under threat of US invasion. Missiles could be used against invading American troops.
 4. President Kennedy was new and young: it would test his resolve.
 5. Missiles could be used to bargain with the west over removal of American missiles from Europe, or a withdrawal from **Berlin** by the west.
- President Kennedy was informed on 16th October, and consulted with advisers and generals for a week. It hadn't occurred to them that Russia might place nuclear weapons outside its own borders. Russia had claimed it was only installing defensive weapons. Missiles might be used offensively as well as defensively, so were the Russians lying?¹⁶ Well, they claimed that if America didn't invade Cuba then there was no danger.
 - Those of Kennedy's advisers called '**hawks**' wanted to bomb the Cuban sites. But this would kill Russian engineers and risk an immediate Third World War.
 - The '**doves**' advocated caution.
 - JFK announced his decision on television on 22 October, opting for a '**measured response**'. It was designed to allow Khrushchev to climb down without him having to admit outright defeat.
 1. Use the US navy and air force to **blockade** ('quarantine') Cuba. All ships would be searched. Any found carrying arms would be sent back to Russia.
 2. Demand the dismantling of missile sites and the removal of missiles already in Cuba. Only then would the blockade be lifted.
 3. As a back-up plan, preparations were made for air-strikes and a back-up invasion force was made ready. Viewers were told the armed forces had been ordered to prepare for 'any eventuality'.
 - On 23rd October, nuclear war was a grave possibility. Khrushchev refused to tell his ships to turn back. US missiles were ready to fire at a second's notice.
 - On 24th October, the blockade began. Cuba was ringed by 100 US warships and the Americans drew up invasion plans. Fifty-two bombers, armed with nuclear bombs, flew patrols.
 - 26th October: Khrushchev sent Kennedy a secret message suggesting a deal. If Kennedy promised not to invade Cuba, Khrushchev would withdraw the missiles from the island.
 - When the Russian ships (escorted by a Russian submarine) reached Cuba, some were searched and passed through the blockade.
 - 27th October: at the last moment, others turned back. Khrushchev had ordered the ships carrying missiles to return to base. **None of this solved the problem** of the missiles **already** on the island.
 - Later that day, a US **U2 spy-plane was shot down** over Cuba by a Soviet missile.
 - Then Khrushchev sent Kennedy a second message (October 27th) which was tougher than the previous day's message. (This is because he was under pressure from his military leaders). In addition to the previous demand of a promise not to attack Cuba, he said Kennedy must promise to remove the Jupiter missiles from Turkey. The message was also public - it was broadcast on the radio.
 - War was averted. Secret talks were held between the two superpowers. Kennedy got round the problem of the two messages by accepting the first in public, and replying secretly to the second. Publicly, he promised that the USA would not invade Cuba again. Publicly, he refused to remove the Jupiter missiles from Turkey, but privately he agreed to do it once the crisis was over.

¹⁶ Castro only wanted short-range missiles capable of hitting Miami, but Khrushchev installed medium range missiles capable of striking most major US cities.

- In the end this was enough for Khrushchev, and on 28th October the crisis was over. Kennedy paid a compliment to him: it was 'an important contribution to peace'. The USA had decided to invade Cuba if the USSR had not responded by 29th October.

A US Naval photograph showing Soviet nuclear missile sites in Cuba, 1962



*Khrushchev
and Kennedy*



Consequences

1. Within two months, soviet ships took the missiles back home under close American surveillance.
2. It showed the USA that the Russians could be reasonable after all.
3. Both superpowers could claim that they had got something out of the crisis.
4. But to the American public, Khrushchev appeared to have backed down because Kennedy's promise to remove missiles in Turkey was private.
5. The inability of the two superpowers to talk directly to one another at a time of great crisis led to the installation in 1963 of a direct teleprinter link from the White House in Washington to the Kremlin in Moscow. This was called the '**hotline**', and it allowed swift and easy communication in any future crisis.
6. It showed Khrushchev and the USSR that the USA meant business, and would stand firm on a major issue.
7. Relations between east and west actually **thawed** because of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Coming so close to nuclear war seemed to bring both powers to their senses. Since Russia had shied away from the prospect of a nuclear war, negotiations on nuclear arms limitation might be fruitful.
8. It gave ammunition to Khrushchev's enemies to fire at him in future. The Chinese, in particular, had nothing but contempt for him because he had climbed down. (Khrushchev was overthrown by his own Politburo in 1964).
9. In July 1963 the USSR, USA and Britain signed a **Nuclear Test Ban Treaty** agreeing to carry out nuclear tests only underground (i.e. not under water, in the atmosphere or in space) in order to reduce further pollution.
10. The crisis did not end the arms race, however. It made the Soviet military leaders more determined than ever to catch up with the USA. They sped up their long-range missile-building programme: by 1970, they had 1300 missiles. The USA had 1054.

Significance

We have seen how the Chinese criticised Khrushchev. At the time, Kennedy's handling of the crisis was highly praised. But some historians have subsequently been more critical, arguing that Kennedy should have called Khrushchev's bluff, attacked Cuba, and overthrown Castro. Other historians have attacked Kennedy for allowing the crisis to escalate in the first place. Was it reckless to bring the world to the brink of a nuclear war when Soviet long-range missiles could already reach the USA from Russia itself? Did the missiles in Cuba really pose a new threat? Experts could appreciate this, but Kennedy was perhaps more worried about public opinion - elections for US Congress were imminent.

THE VIETNAM WAR, 1954-75

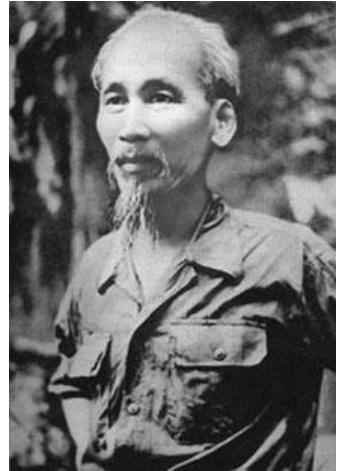


Background

Vietnam (VN for short) is in **South East Asia**. Before World War II it was part of the French colony of **Indochina**, which also included neighbouring **Laos** and **Cambodia**. When the French were defeated by the Germans in 1940, Indochina was occupied by the Japanese.

After the Japanese surrender the French returned, expecting to resume their rule. But during the war a resistance movement had grown up in Vietnam, called the **Vietminh**. These were Vietnamese **nationalists** and communists, **led by Ho Chi Minh**, who wanted to expel the Japanese and rule their own country. They had no desire to be re-colonised by the French, and they used the same **guerrilla** war tactics that they had employed against the Japanese on the French army. From 1945-54 the French got bogged down in an increasingly costly war against the Vietminh. Attempting to lure them into a decisive battle, they took up position at a place called **Dien Bien Phu**. But the French were cut off from supply and bombarded with artillery. Defeated and demoralised, they surrendered and withdrew from Indochina.

The Geneva Agreements and the division of Vietnam



When the French left in 1954 there were rival claimants to rule Vietnam. At the Geneva Conference the country was divided into North and South Vietnam, with a demilitarised zone in between at the 17th Parallel. The North was run by the Communist leader **Ho Chi Minh**, from **Hanoi** (*above left*). The South was run by the anti-communist **Ngo Dinh Diem**, from **Saigon** (*above right*). The idea was that there would be elections throughout Vietnam by 1956 to determine how the country would be re-unified, but neither side actually wanted these.

From 1959 the North decided to encourage a communist revolution in the South. It organised a National Liberation Front (NLF) to mobilise the people. The military wing of the NLF was known as the **Vietcong**, or VC for short¹⁷.

Why the US got involved in Vietnam

First, remember the context. This was the era of the **Cold War**. In 1947 President Truman had announced that America was going to send money, weapons and advisers to any country, anywhere in the world that felt threatened by communism. It was the policy of **containment**, which became known as the **Truman Doctrine**. To this end the USA had given aid to Greek anti-communists in 1947 (successfully), Marshall Aid to most of Western Europe, aid to Chinese nationalists until 1948 (unsuccessfully) and fought the Korean War from 1950-53. In fact, the US had even supported the French in Indochina (despite an instinctive hostility to colonialism) when the French presented their war there as one against communism. Now, the US had to defend SVN from the threat.

Second, the **domino theory**¹⁸. This stated that if one country fell to communism, then other neighbouring states would also (see below). China, the big power in the Far East, went communist in 1948. They had encouraged the communists in NVN. The pressure was now on SVN. If populous SVN went communist, the smaller states of Laos and Cambodia would certainly fall, then perhaps Thailand, etc.

¹⁷ Later known as "Charlie" to the Americans (VC=Victor Charlie).

¹⁸ This was a phrase made famous in 1954 in a press conference by President Eisenhower. "You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly."



US 'involvement' escalated.

- The US offered political advice to SVN and connived at the **overthrow of Diem in a military coup in 1963**
- The US offered financial aid and military aid (arms, ammunition, equipment) for **ARVN**, the Army of the Republic of Vietnam
- **Kennedy** sent in combat advisors/trainers in **1961**
- The USAF provided air support from bases in SVN and in the Philippines
- The 7th Fleet provided naval support from carriers and destroyers
- **President L.B. Johnson** (photo above) deployed **180,000 ground troops (1965)**.
- **This grew to 540,000 (1968)**
- Johnson also authorised heavy bombing of NVN and of Laos and Cambodia.

A key moment in the escalation came in 1964, in the **Gulf of Tonkin** incident. An American destroyer attacking NVN radar stations came under attack itself from torpedo boats. Little damage was done, but the Pentagon exaggerated the incident and Congress obligingly passed a **resolution** giving the President power to 'take all necessary steps' to defend SVN. This gave Johnson a free hand and made him look strong in the election that year.

Why the US withdrew from Vietnam – ① hearts and minds

The Americans knew perfectly well that to defeat the VC they had to win over the ordinary Vietnamese. But this was hard:

- i) The government of SVN was incredibly corrupt, and did little for the ordinary people, as opposed to landlords.
- ii) Diem was a Roman Catholic, and the key jobs went to other Catholics. The majority of the population were Buddhists, and felt themselves to be second class citizens. In response, monks carried out horrifying protests, immolating themselves in front of the world's cameras.
- iii) The VC were able to portray the government of SVN as a puppet government run by foreigners. They played upon the strongly nationalistic sentiments of most Vietnamese. American troops rarely spoke Vietnamese, knew little of the culture, and looked different.
- iv) Military action often created resentment. Bombs and shells would fall off target and kill civilians. Moving villagers to **strategic hamlets** was disruptive. Angry American troops, having come under fire and taken casualties from the VC, would often mistreat local villagers or burn their houses.



Why the US withdrew from Vietnam – ② military difficulties

Vietnam presented a number of problems for the American military:

- i) The VC fought a **guerrilla war**. The American General, Westmoreland, faced a cunning foe in the form of General Giap (see right). US forces had massive conventional firepower and the latest technology. They never actually lost a battle. But when the Americans came in force, the VC disappeared – into the jungle, into the mountains, into underground **tunnels**, even into the population.

Indistinguishable from peasants, they could hide their weapons and pretend to be farmers. They demoralised the Americans by inflicting casualties with booby traps and ambushes, getting in close so that the enemy couldn't call in fire support. US units sent out on 'Search and Destroy' operations learned to behave defensively after taking losses, rather than going after the VC. Some demoralised soldiers, many of whom were young conscripts, took to drugs or alcohol. Some even murdered over-zealous officers.



Use of napalm

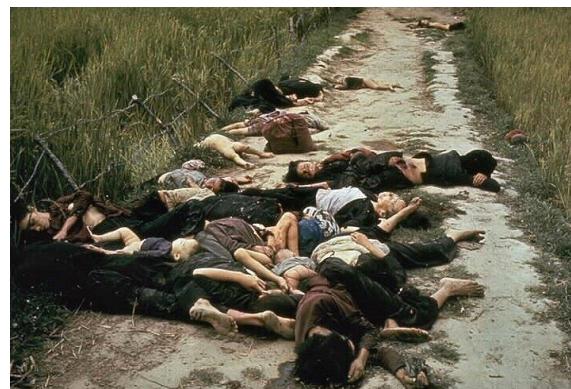
- ii) The VC had better intelligence. They had spies in the towns and in the countryside. They knew what the Americans were planning and fed them false information.
- iii) The VC were kept supplied from NVN, which got arms from the USSR and China. As the demilitarised zone was heavily guarded, the supply routes went through Laos and Cambodia. Called the **Ho Chi Minh Trail** (see right), it was actually an elaborate network of roads, interconnected so that a line could be maintained even if one road was blocked by heavy bombing. After 1964 it was also used by units of the regular NVN army.
- iv) Aerial bombing was ineffective. The US dropped more bombs on NVN than on the whole of Germany in World War Two (see right). But as NVN was essentially an agricultural economy it was not a 'target rich environment'. False intelligence also led to bombs being dropped on the wrong locations. The Vietnamese turned the craters into fishponds. And the later bombing of Laos and Cambodia only served to establish the power of the communist Pathet Lao and Khmer Rouge.



Why the US withdrew from Vietnam – ③ opposition at home

Opposition to the war at home undermined the US determination to fight. This was due to:

- i) **The steady stream of casualties.** The US lost 57,000 men in the war, and over 300,000 were wounded. This might have been a price worth paying if there was visible progress, but there wasn't. The US military measured success in enemy **bodycount** – but this missed the point. The Vietnamese were prepared to absorb the losses, Americans weren't.
- ii) **Bad publicity.** Unrestricted media access allowed the adverse effect of US actions (inaccurate bombing, napalm, defoliants) to be seen on TV every night, whilst the cruelty of the VC (at night, in obscure villages) went unnoticed.
- iii) **US atrocities** like that at **My Lai** (where 300 civilians were massacred by US troops Lt. Calley, see right). Such events undermined American faith in the rightness of their cause.
- iv) **The Tet Offensive of 1968.** This exploded myth that the war was being won. The VC set off revolution in the cities of the North. This didn't happen, and 50,000 guerrillas were killed. But this tactical failure was a strategic success. Americans saw the fighting on TV and even saw VC penetrate the compound of the US embassy in Saigon.
- v) **The cost of the war** (\$30m/year) damaged the US economy and obstructed social reforms designed to tackle poverty. Leaders like Martin Luther King came out against the war.



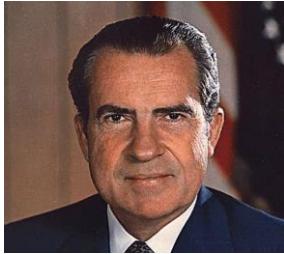
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- vi) **Conscription.** Short of men, the US introduced **the draft**. When this was extended to college students, there were anti-war demonstrations across America. At Kent State University National Guardsmen shot students dead. This generated more protests. Even veterans joined in, throwing away their medals. The war was tearing America apart. President Johnson decided not to run for re-election in 1968.

Why the US withdrew from Vietnam – ④ strategic reasons



In 1968 **Richard Nixon** (see left) was elected President, pledged to achieve 'Peace with Honour'. He stepped up negotiations with NVN, and introduced a policy of **Vietnamisation**, which involved withdrawing US troops and expecting the ARVN to do the fighting, supported by US military aid. The aim was partly to reduce US casualties. But there was also a strategic reason. Nixon, and his wily Secretary of State, **Henry Kissinger**, (see right) saw an opportunity to drive a wedge between the USSR, the US's superpower rival, and Communist China. But winning over China (which was supplying NVN) would be difficult all the while the US was engaged in SVN.

Nixon visited Mao Zedong in China in 1972. Nixon had redefined containment – from containing communism to containing the USSR and its allies.

Conclusions: How effectively did the USA contain the spread of Communism?

For a while Vietnamisation worked. An all out VC attack on the SVN failed in 1972. But by 1973 all the US troops had gone home, with their air support. The ARVN, whose soldiers were brave but whose officers were often appointed for their political connections, wasn't strong enough to resist the VC and NVN regulars, and even Saigon fell. The last Americans fled by helicopter from the roof of the embassy in 1975, (see right) leaving those who had worked with them to be imprisoned in communist **re-education camps**. VN was re-unified and Laos and Cambodia fell, domino like, into communist hands.



American involvement in Vietnam had *delayed* but not prevented the spread of communism, at the cost of 57,000 US lives and perhaps a million Vietnamese¹⁹.

¹⁹ Ironically, Communism as an economic system was later abandoned by VN, as it was in China. The USA now has friendly relations with VN, even conducting joint naval manoeuvres in 2010.

What was the 'Prague Spring'? 1968

Czechoslovakia was an important part of the Warsaw Pact because of its wealth, the industrial base, and its geographical position (in the heart of Germany). But by 1968, the new Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev [on the left] was faced with a reforming Czech leader, Alexander Dubcek [on the right]. Although this photo seems to show unity, in fact they had very different outlooks.

By 1968 there was a large **counter-culture** that had spread from Western Europe and America. A revolution in fashion, music and youth activism, the American Civil Rights Movement , anti-Vietnam war protests, 'Beatlemania' and Hippiedom were all interlinked aspects of a new **protest movement** of the baby-boom generation. For instance, in the Spring of 1968 in Paris, French police clashed with university students who staged 'sit-ins' to demand changes in government policy.



Dubcek's 'Action Reform'. Therefore, Western progressive cultural and political ideas called for **social rights** demanding that state authority should be reduced over the lives of ordinary people. In March 1968, Dubcek allowed foreign media to be available in Czechoslovakia. Western news – especially stories of young people demanding change - was exciting for a country like Czechoslovakia, whose population had been under Soviet political control for over two decades. In the spring of 1968, Dubcek responded to public pressure by introducing a new **Action Reform** programme:-

-lifting of police powers of arrest.

-press freedom.

-economic freedom to allow the production of more consumer goods.

He summed up these changes with the slogan **socialism with a human face'**.

Although he was a member of the Communist Party, he was also tolerating the emergence of a new Social Democratic Party. This was too much for other Warsaw Pact leaders who feared that Czechoslovakia was going to become a multi-party democratic state.

Repression of the 'Prague Spring' In August 1968 the "Warsaw Five" (USSR, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria and East Germany) met in Bratislava and questioned a Czechoslovak delegation over the planned reforms. The Czechs insisted that they had no intention of leaving the Warsaw pact but their neighbours were not reassured. They produced the **Bratislava Declaration** which declared:-

- commitment to 'international socialism'.
- struggle against 'bourgeois capitalism'.

On 21 August 1968 the armies of four Socialist countries (Poland, USSR, Hungary and Bulgaria) invaded Czech territory. Brezhnev claimed that this was at the invitation of the Czech government, but Dubcek denied this. Dubcek ordered his population not to resist; there was some street fighting but most of the protestors seemed to be using Martin Luther King's examples of **passive resistance**. Most of the protestors simply put flowers in the barrels of tanks guns. Troops and the crowd actually inter-mingled. It looked more like the civil rights activism that was happening in southern US, Paris and Northern Ireland at the same time.

Aftermath of the repression of the Prague Spring:-

-Around 70 Czech and Slovak soldiers were killed by Warsaw Pact invading forces. Most were ordered to stay in their barracks. Therefore, Dubcek did not fight against this joint invasion.

-Unlike in the Hungarian Uprising, which was crushed only by Soviet troops, the whole of the Bratislava Four entered Czech territory in a force of 500 000. However, only 30 000 of these were non-Soviet troops. Was it just a face-saving exercise, for the Russians – and how enthusiastic were the other eastern Europeans?

- The United Nations Security Council met. Although the American representative protested against the use of force, USSR claimed that it was 'fraternal assistance' at the request of the Czech government. Therefore, nothing was done. The Chinese criticised the repression, as did the Rumanians. Neither of these communist states had challenged the 1956 repression of the Hungarians.
- there was a clampdown on Dubcek and his supporters. He was downgraded from his post, and eventually expelled from the Communist Party in 1969. He was replaced by a hardliner, Gustav Husak. Public meetings were broken up by Soviet troops and forbidden thereafter.
- passive resistance continue to happen in Czechoslovakia – for example, Jan Palach set fire to himself in Wenceslas Square in 1969 in protest against the renewed curb on freedom of speech. This underlined the fact that the challenge of the Czechs had been mainly **moral** rather than **physical resistance**.
- around 300 000 Czechs illegally fled the country to live in the West.
- Brezhnev's policy was dubbed the '**Brezhnev Doctrine**' in the American press. This was that Soviet troops would be used to enforce:
 1. Integrity of the Warsaw Pact
 2. One-party socialist state



Although it was not as bloody as the Hungarian Uprising, the Prague Spring demonstrated the Soviet Union's determination to maintain its grip on Eastern Europe by force.

What was the significance of ‘Solidarity’ in Poland for the decline of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe?

Soviet occupation of Poland was probably more problematic than other countries because of the history of conflict between Russia and Poland. You will remember the anger caused when the Russians occupied Poland in 1945; Stalin did not allow the government-in-exile to merge with the Lublin Poles, who were seen as Soviet puppets.

From the 1970s, (mainly because of the 1973 oil crisis – see footnote 23) living standards declined. It was becoming clear that economic shortages were being caused by Polish **communist mismanagement**. This photograph shows a queue outside a supermarket. In June 1980, the Polish government announced that there would be **an increase in the price of meat**. **This provoked a series of strikes by a new trade union set up to organise the Strikes. This union was called ‘Solidarity’ and its leader was Lech Walesa.**

<i>Some of the demands of Solidarity</i>
1. Pay increase
2. End of censorship
3. Workers' benefits to match those of Communist party members
4. Allow broadcasts of Catholic Church on radio and TV



Lech Walesa speaking to Solidarity members in 1980

Lech Walesa was an electrician who worked in a shipyard in Gdansk. He was from an ordinary background. But he was a brilliant organiser. Quite quickly, Solidarity had the following achievements:

- His demands (above) were accepted by the government
- Membership of Solidarity grew to 9 million by January 1981.
- He organised mass meetings where government policies were openly discussed.
- Corruption (especially of the communist party leadership, who enjoyed better housing, healthcare and leisure) was exposed.

The Polish government resigned because of the strength of the protests, and instead the military took over under **General Jaruzelski**. Would USSR send in the tanks? Probably the Polish army took control in order to reassure the Soviets. Walesa was put in jail as were 10 000 Solidarity leaders. **Martial law** was declared. Strikes were banned.

Why was Solidarity such a threat to the Polish Communist Party?

1. **Popularity.** Solidarity enjoyed a vast membership. The Communist Party had only 3 million members by comparison. Solidarity was also supported by the Catholic clergy who themselves were heard by the vast majority of the population at Sunday Mass. The Pope (Jean Paul II was a Pole who was elected in 1978 deliberately by Western cardinals) and Lech Walesa became hero-figures to the Poles.
2. The problem for the Communist leadership was that Solidarity was a protest organisation of ordinary workers. Because socialism supports the idea of workers' rights, it was very hard for the regime to crush a trade union that had been elected by them. Almost half of Polish workers had elected Walesa. This means that he enjoyed more legitimacy than General **Jaruzelski**. Therefore, Solidarity seemed to represent the principle of **workers' democracy**.
3. Solidarity also enjoyed the admiration of the West. For example, Margaret Thatcher, the British Prime Minister publicly supported Lech Walesa because he was championing democracy. Of course, Britain had gone to war over Polish self-determination in 1939, and it was natural for the Western Powers to welcome Solidarity's challenge to USSR. Perhaps Poland would break from Communism and leave the Warsaw Pact?
4. Lech Walesa became a martyr-figure. Jaruzelski had used force to break the illegal trade union and put their elected leaders in jail. Although this temporarily solved the problem of organised criticism, it had the effect of making Walesa an even more popular figure of defiance to Soviet control.

What was the outcome of Solidarity's challenge?

1. Lech Walesa was put in jail in 1981, and then house arrest.
2. Jaruzelski remained at the head of the government until 1989.
3. By 1985, many people thought that Solidarity had become a thing of the past by the late 1980s.

The role of Gorbachev in the USSR and Eastern Europe

PROBLEMS IN THE USSR

The ‘Second Cold War’.

After the improved superpower relations of the 1970s (sometimes called a period of ‘détente’, or relaxation) tensions mounted after 1979:-

Dec 1979 – The Soviet Union **invaded Afghanistan**. This was to prevent an Islamic Revolution similar to the one in neighbouring Iran. The United States condemned this aggression by **boycotting** the Moscow 1980 Olympics (and USSR then boycotted the 1984 Olympics). The war in Afghanistan was hard to fight against the *mujahedeen*. America supported rebels (including a young man called Osama Bin Laden) to fight the Soviet invading forces. This was another example of a ‘proxy war’.

Jan 1980. Ronald Reagan (Republican) became president. He was a **hardliner** against communism, and dubbed the Soviet Union an ‘evil empire’ because of its invasion of Afghanistan and continued dominance in Eastern Europe. Mar 1983 Reagan announced the ‘Strategic Defence Initiative’ (nicknamed the **‘Star Wars programme’**) which was a \$200bn plan to develop a laser guided space missile defence system to protect USA against Soviet inter-continental ballistic missiles. The programme was probably unrealistic, but the Russians now realised that their defence budget would have to match the American spending (see right). The Americans were also deploying more bombers and missile systems such as Trident.

The ‘second arms race’ was worrying for Europeans, which witnessed the growth of large anti-nuclear protests. The most forceful were in West Germany where America deployed its tactical weapons; East Germans realised that any confrontation would make their country the theatre of nuclear holocaust. Reagan was not just building up military pressure. The Americans highlighted the plight of the *refuseniks* – **Soviet human rights** critics such as Andrei Sakharov (a nuclear physicist who had also won the Nobel Peace Prize for his activism for civil rights in USSR) who had spent stints in jail for their political opinions. US government said that improvement in their relations would be **dependent** upon the USSR lifting repressive policing of its own population.

GORBACHEV’S REFORMS

In 1985 **Mikhail Gorbachev** became leader of USSR. He was a different kind of politician to his predecessors. He was open to debate, and turned his back on Soviet dictatorial methods.

Gorbachev ordered:

- **Cut expenditure** - A withdrawal from Afghanistan. It had cost over 15,000 lives, and he called it ‘Our Vietnam’ because it seemed to be unwinnable and too expensive.
- A reform of the communist economy and political system (**‘Perestroika’, re-structuring**). Gorbachev argued that a command economy had failed to keep up with the wealth creation of the West. Therefore, he wanted to allow the emergence of free market, with price controls lifted,

some privatisation and an end to government subsidies of industry. This 'reformed Socialism' would be more dynamic in increasing productivity and ending shortages, he said.

- Openness ('**Glasnost**') in the Soviet media and political system. Gorbachev knew that many Soviet officials would dislike these reforms, because it threatened their jobs and status. Therefore, he allowed freedom of press and broadcasting (to enhance public debate) and even announced in 1988 that non-Communist politicians would be allowed to stand for election. This would be a relief to **refuseniks**.
- '**Constructive engagement**' with the West. Reagan wanted to increase US spending and criticised control of USSR over Eastern Europe. Reagan got on well with Gorbachev. Having a better relationship with US was important so Gorbachev could cut military spending and lessen the need for control of Eastern Europe. Gorbachev wanted to meet Ronald Reagan to end the arms race.
- ARMS CONTROL Therefore, in **1986** Gorbachev and Reagan met in **Reykjavik (Iceland)** to discuss Gorbachev's proposals for the complete eradication of Intermediate Range Nuclear Missiles (INF). This initiative precipitated a number of **arms control treaties**. Gorbachev wanted to cut expenditure on Intermediate and long-range nuclear missiles.

	Arms control and the end of the Cold War	Other developments
Dec 1987, Washington	INF Treaty:.. All ground-based missiles of 300 - 3,000 mile range removed from European soil. USSR destroys 1,836 missiles, USA destroys 867 missiles. (1/5 of world's nuclear forces)	Dec 1986 – Sakharov released from jail. Aug 1987 – Non-communist political parties can be formed in USSR.
1988	Gorbachev announced 10% cut in Soviet conventional armed forces. Talks for Conventional Forces in Europe open (which means	Jan 1988 - A market introduced for state companies in USSR.
1989	Soviet Union starts massive withdrawals of troops from Eastern Europe.	Jun 1988 - Communist Party allows other parties to contest future elections
1990	Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty signed in Paris. USA and USSR agree on a ceiling of 275 000 troops stationed in Europe. At the same meeting, it is agreed in principle that Germany should be re-unified	Jan 1989 – last Soviet troops leave Afghanistan 1990 - Mikhail Gorbachev is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize

The impact of the end of the Cold War on Eastern Europe.

Hungary had been the most resentful Soviet satellite state, and therefore its leadership quickly copied the reforms of Mikhail Gorbachev, and even accelerated beyond them. For instance, in May 1988 the old parties that were abolished in 1947 (such as the Small holders Party, and the Social Democrats) were re-formed and did well in the 1989 elections.



In May 1989, the Hungarian government **removed** the physical '**Iron Curtain**' (barbed wire fence) between Hungary and Austria. Hungary also allowed free movement, so some people crossed the border into Austria. East Germans made the journey to Hungary, Austria and then ended up in West Germany. The Berlin Wall was being circumnavigated (see map) by ambitious east German migrants.

In June 1989, Imre Nagy was finally given a state burial, and a large crowd gathered to demand democratic reforms.

In July 1989 **democratic elections** allowed the first non-Communist to win power in parliament.

In **Poland**, Gen. Jaruzelski legalised Solidarity in April 1989. Therefore, Lech Walesa was able to compete in elections, and he became part of the first non-Communist government of Poland. Free market reforms were introduced in 1989. This also had an effect in Czechoslovakia. The Communist leadership resigned, and Alexander Dubcek became the leader of the new Parliament, with a poet, Vaclav Havel, as the new President. This was done with no violence, leading Havel to describe Czechoslovakia's experience as a '**velvet revolution**'.

Gorbachev's press secretary was asked if the Soviet Union was going to intervene. He replied that they could 'do it their way'. This meant the **end of the Brezhnev Doctrine**. Of course, with the CFE Treaty (see above), the Russians had already removed many of their forces.

The fall of the Berlin Wall, 9th November 1989

All of these developments put pressure on the East German (GDR) government under a very unpopular leader, **Egon Krenz**. Should he not copy the democratic reforms of other Warsaw Pact states?

Krenz's biggest problem was that 1,000s of East Germans were fleeing into Hungary and then traveling across the open border to Austria and



then West Germany. It was obvious that Germany was 'reunifying by consent'. Around 1,000,000 citizens of East Germany fled to the West in the first year of freedom of movement.

Should Krenz stop this? Worse for him, crowds gathered at the Berlin Wall calling for it to be pulled down and for him to resign. Krenz telephoned Gorbachev to request for physical and political support. In a telephone conversation of 1st November, Gorbachev replied:

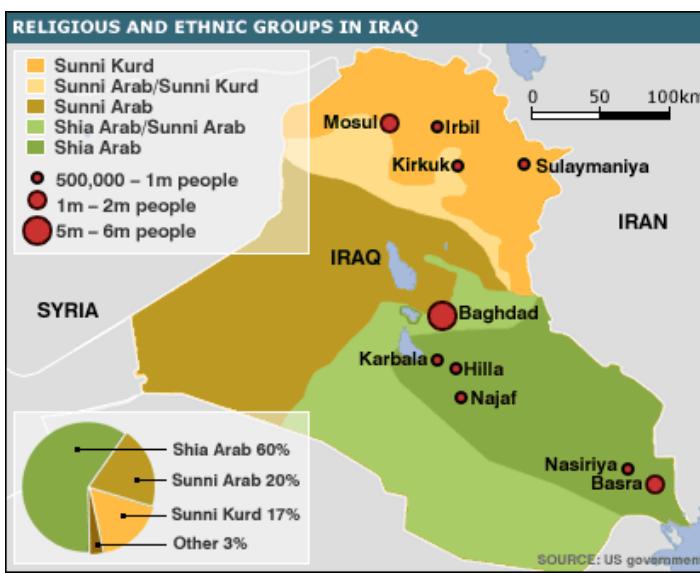
'The situation in the GDR, judging by everything we see, is moving at an increasing speed. Is there a danger of getting left behind the reforms? Remember, we said in Berlin that to be behind is always to lose. We know that from our own experience!'

Therefore, Krenz fled the country on 9th November and crowds climbed on top of the Berlin Wall to celebrate. Some hacked the wall down, as a hated symbol of their loss of freedom during the Cold War. **The Berlin Wall was torn down.** Russia agreed with western leaders a year later that the new government of East Germany should agree **reunification** with West Germany. In 1991, the USSR broke up, as the separate republics (Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia etc.) voted to secede.

Should Gorbachev take responsibility for the loss of Soviet control over Eastern Europe?	
Yes	No
<p>It was his personal and dynamic policies (Perestroika and Glasnost) which started a reform process in USSR.</p> <p>The eastern European governments either wanted to copy USSR, or found it hard to resist popular demands for democracy and economic liberalisation.</p> <p>Gorbachev pursued arms limitations agreements with USA. This ended the Cold War, which meant that Soviet motives for a defensive buffer in the East were no longer strong.</p> <p>Gorbachev would not support Krenz and other leaders following repressive policies to the democratic movement during the 1989 Revolutions.</p>	<p>The Soviet military could not match the arms build up of Ronald Reagan and therefore it was physically impossible to continue the Brezhnev Doctrine. USA had got too strong for USSR (economically and militarily).</p> <p>One man alone was not responsible for the protests emerging in 1988-1990. The Eastern Europeans had had enough of Soviet control. The popular movement was so large that only large-scale bloodshed would have prevented it.</p> <p>There was a strong underground opposition group (Havel, Nagy, Walesa) and these politicians were the real leaders of the revolutionary movement.</p>

Why did events in the Gulf matter 1970-2000?

Why was Saddam Hussein able to come to power in Iraq?



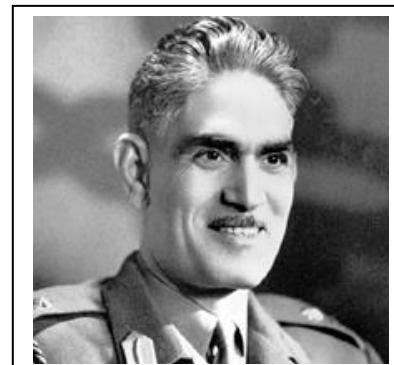
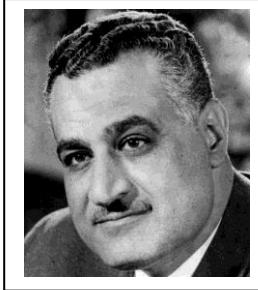
Saddam Hussein was born near the Iraqi town of **Tikrit**, to a family of shepherds. His mother named him Saddam (Arabic for "One who confronts"). He never knew his father who disappeared six months before Saddam was born. The infant Saddam was sent to the family of his uncle until the age of three.

His mother remarried, and Saddam gained three half-brothers. His stepfather treated Saddam harshly. Aged about 10, Saddam fled the family and returned to live in Baghdad with his uncle, Tulfah, the father of Saddam's future wife (his first cousin). Tulfah was a devout Sunni Muslim and a veteran of the 1941 Anglo-Iraqi War²⁰ between Iraqi nationalists and the United Kingdom, which remained a major colonial power in the region.

Later in his life relatives from his native Tikrit became some of his closest advisors and supporters. Under his uncle's guidance he attended a nationalistic high school in Baghdad. Saddam then went to an Iraqi law school for three years, dropping out in 1957, aged 20, to join the revolutionary pan-Arab **Ba'ath Party**²¹, which his uncle also supported. During this time, Saddam apparently earned a living as a secondary school teacher.

The pan-Arab nationalism of **Abdel Nasser** in Egypt heavily influenced young Ba'athists like Saddam. The rise of Nasser inspired a wave of revolutions in the Middle East in the 1950s and 1960s, with monarchies collapsing in Iraq (1921-1958), Egypt (1953), and Libya (1951-1969). Nasser inspired these nationalists by fighting the British and the French during the **Suez Crisis of 1956**, modernizing Egypt, and uniting the Arab world politically.

A year after Saddam had joined the Ba'ath party, army officers led by **General Abd al-Karim Qasim** overthrew **King Faisal II** of Iraq – he was murdered in the **14 July Revolution** (1958).



²⁰ A British campaign in May 1941 to bring the pro-British regent of Iraq back into power. Iraq had been a British mandate under the League of Nations until 1932. After this point, Britain retained military bases there and continued to control its petroleum industry. Iraqi nationalism was growing and during World War II a political crisis brought the country close to civil war.

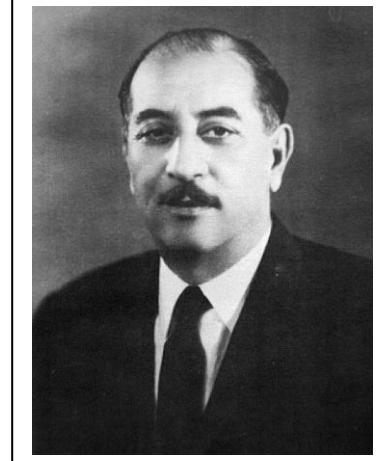
²¹ The **Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party** was a political party founded in Syria. Ba'athism (Arabic, *Al-Ba'ath* meaning 'renaissance' or 'resurrection') is an ideology mixing Arab nationalist, pan-Arabism, Arab socialist and anti-imperialist interests. It calls for unification of the Arab world into a single state. Its motto, 'Unity, Liberty, Socialism', refers to Arab unity, and freedom from non-Arab control and interference.

Saddam's Rise to power

Of the 16 members of Qasim's cabinet, 12 were Ba'ath Party members; however, the party turned against him due to his refusal to join Abdel Nasser's United Arab Republic. To strengthen his own position within the government, Qasim created an alliance with the **Iraqi Communist Party**, which was opposed to pan-Arabism. In 1959, the Ba'ath Party was still a loose organisation of no more than 1000 members, mainly students and educated professionals. It decided to assassinate Qasim and Saddam was a leading plotter, although the idea may have been Nasser's. Qasim was hit in the arm and shoulder but survived (his chauffeur didn't). The assassins thought that they had been successful.

Some of them escaped to Syria, including Saddam. He fled to Egypt in 1959, and lived there until 1963. Others were arrested and put on show trial, six being given the death sentence (although they were not carried out).

Many foreign countries opposed Qasim, particularly after he threatened to invade Kuwait. Army officers linked to the Ba'ath Party overthrew him in **1963**, but Britain and the USA were also complicit in the coup. **Abdul Salam Arif** became president. Arif dismissed and arrested Ba'athist leaders.



Abdul Salam Arif died in a plane crash in **1966**, in what was possibly sabotage by Ba'athist supporters in the Iraqi military. A power struggle for the presidency occurred, and **Abdul Rahman Arif** was elected president. He was viewed by army officers as weaker and easier to manipulate than his brother.

Saddam returned to Iraq, but was imprisoned in 1964. He escaped in 1967. Saddam, who would prove to be a skilled organiser, revitalised the party. In 1968, Saddam participated in a bloodless coup led by **Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr** (1914-82) that overthrew **Abdul Rahman Arif**. Saddam had influence through his contact with Ba'athists in the military. Arif was given refuge in London and then Istanbul. Al-Bakr was named president and Saddam was named his deputy, and deputy chairman of the Ba'athist **Revolutionary Command Council**.

Although Saddam was al-Bakr's deputy, he was a strong behind-the-scenes party politician. Al-Bakr was the older and more prestigious of the two, but by 1969 Saddam clearly had become the moving force behind the party.

Political programme

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Saddam built a reputation as a progressive, effective politician. He focused on attaining stability in a nation riddled with tensions - social, ethnic, religious, and economic. **Sunni versus Shi'ite**²², Arab versus Kurd, tribal chief versus urban merchant, nomad versus peasant. The desire for stable rule in a torn country led Saddam to combine both **massive repression** with the **improvement of living standards**.

Saddam modernised the Iraqi economy and created a strong security apparatus to prevent coups from within or insurrections from below. Programmes of state welfare and development were intended to boost his popularity with the masses.

At the centre of this strategy was Iraq's oil. On 1 June **1972**, Saddam oversaw the seizure and nationalisation of international oil interests. At the time foreign companies dominated Iraq's oil sector. A year later, world oil prices rose dramatically as a result of the **1973 energy crisis**²³, and skyrocketing revenues enabled Saddam to expand his agenda.



Saddam seen talking to Michel Aflaq, the Syrian philosopher and founder of ba'athist thought, in 1979.

Within just a few years, Iraq was providing social services that no other Middle Eastern countries matched. Saddam established and controlled the **National Campaign for the Eradication of Illiteracy** and the campaign for **Compulsory Free Education in Iraq**. Universal free schooling up to the highest education levels was achieved and hundreds of thousands became literate in the ensuing years. The government also supported families of soldiers, granted free hospitalization to everyone, and gave subsidies to farmers. Iraq created one of the most modernized public-health systems in the Middle East, earning Saddam an award from UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization).

Oil revenues allowed Saddam to diversify an economy that was largely oil-based. A national infrastructure campaign greatly developed road-building, mining, and other industries. Electricity was brought to nearly every city and many outlying areas. Before the 1970s, most people lived in the countryside and about two-thirds were peasants. This number decreased quickly during the 1970s as global oil prices helped revenues to rise from less than a half billion dollars to tens of billions of dollars.

²² <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-16047709>

²³ This was when an oil embargo was imposed by the Arab countries and caused the price of oil to quadruple within 6 months. The cause of the embargo was American support of Israel in its 1973 war against Egypt and Syria. The embargo was lifted in 1974 when a settlement between Syria and Israel was negotiated.

Saddam focused on fostering loyalty to the Ba'athists in the rural areas. He supervised the modernization of the countryside. Spending doubled on agricultural development in 1974–1975. Agriculture was mechanised on a large scale. Land was distributed to peasant farmers. Farm cooperatives were established. Saddam's welfare programs were part of a combination of 'carrot and stick' tactics to enhance support for Saddam. The state-owned banks were under his control. Lending went to his political backers. Development accelerated so quickly that two million people from other Arab countries and even Yugoslavia worked in Iraq to meet the growing demand for labour.

Saddam's propaganda machine publicised him as the defender of Arabism against Jewish or Persian intruders. His **mukhabarat** (secret police) employed teams of Arab news editors, writers and artists to carry this out.

In 1972, Saddam signed a 15-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the communist USSR. Because America was a backer of Israel in the Cold War, any anti-Israeli state in the Middle East was a likely ally of the Russians. For the USA, any enemy of Saddam was a potential ally of America.

From 1973-5, America's **CIA**(Central Intelligence Agency) tried to weaken al-Bakr by colluding with the leader of Iran, **Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi** to finance and arm Kurdish rebels in a war between Iraq and the Kurds. When Iran and Iraq signed the Algiers Agreement in 1975 (see later notes), the support ceased.

Succession

In **1976**, Saddam rose to the position of **general** in the Iraqi armed forces, and rapidly became the strongman of the government. As the 62 year old al-Bakr became unable to execute his duties, Saddam took on an increasingly prominent role as the face of the government both internally and externally. He soon became the architect of Iraq's foreign policy and represented the nation in all diplomatic situations. He was the *de facto*²⁴ leader of Iraq some years before he formally came to power in **1979**. He slowly began to consolidate his power over Iraq's government and the Ba'ath party. Saddam cultivated a powerful circle of support within the party.

In 1979 al-Bakr started to make treaties with Syria, also under Ba'athist leadership, that would have led to the two countries uniting into one. Syrian President Hafez al-Assad would become deputy leader which would have marginalised Saddam. Saddam acted to secure his grip on power. He forced the ailing al-Bakr to resign in July 1979, and formally assumed the presidency.

Straight away, he convened an assembly of Ba'ath party leaders. During the assembly, which he ordered to be videotaped Saddam claimed to have found a fifth column²⁵ within the Ba'ath Party and directed Muhyi Abdel-Hussein to read out a confession and the names of 68 alleged co-conspirators. These members were labelled 'disloyal' and were removed from the room one by one and taken into custody²⁶. After the list was read, Saddam congratulated those still seated in the room for their past and future loyalty. The 68 people arrested at the meeting were subsequently tried together and found guilty of treason. 22 were sentenced to execution. Other high-ranking members of the party formed the firing squad. By 1 August 1979, hundreds of high-ranking Ba'ath party members had been executed.

²⁴ In reality / in fact

²⁵ This means a hidden group of plotters. It dates from the Spanish civil war when four columns of nationalist troops were reported as besieging the city of Madrid and a fifth group was said to be hiding inside the city itself.

²⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CR1X3zV6X5Y>

What was the nature of Saddam Hussein's rule in Iraq?

The rule of Saddam Hussein up to 2000, and the consequences of his rule for different groups in Iraq

Paramilitary and police organisations

Iraqi society splits along lines of language, religion and ethnicity. The Ba'ath Party was secular²⁷, adopted Pan-Arab ideologies which in turn were problematic for significant parts of the population.

There was a **Revolution in Iran in 1979** (sometimes known as the Islamic Revolution) that saw the overthrow of an American backed regime under the Shah of Iran (a ruling dynasty from 1925-1979). The new government was an Islamic Republic under Ayatollah Khomeini.

- Iraq was not immune to the danger of a similar regime change from two Shi'ite factions (Dawa and SCIRI). They wanted to make Iraq a **Shia theocracy**²⁸ like Iran now was.
- A separate threat to Iraq came from parts of the ethnic Kurdish population of northern Iraq. They were separatists who wanted independence (an ideology which had existed before Ba'ath Party rule).

To reduce the threat of revolution, Saddam afforded certain benefits to the potentially hostile population. Membership in the Ba'ath Party remained open to all Iraqi citizens regardless of background. However, repressive measures were taken against opponents.

The major instruments for accomplishing this control were the paramilitary and police organizations.

- From 1974, **Taha Yassin Ramadan** (a Kurdish Ba'athist), a close associate of Saddam, commanded the **People's Army**, which had responsibility for internal security. As the Ba'ath Party's paramilitary, the People's Army acted as a counterweight against any coup attempts by the regular armed forces.
- In addition to this, the **Department of General Intelligence** was the most notorious arm of the state-security system, feared for its use of torture and assassination.
- **Barzan Ibrahim al-Tikriti**, Saddam's younger half-brother, commanded **Mukhabarat**. Foreign observers believed that from 1982 this department operated both at home and abroad in its mission to seek out and eliminate Saddam's perceived opponents.

Saddam's regime brought about the deaths of at least **250,000** Iraqis and committed war crimes in Iran, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. **Human Rights Watch** and **Amnesty International** issued regular reports of widespread imprisonment and torture.

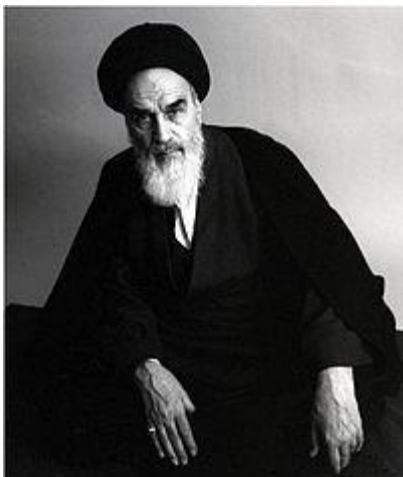
²⁷ 'non-sacred' i.e. having no connection to religious matters

²⁸ a system of government in which priests rule in the name of God or a god.

The Iranian Revolution (or Islamic Revolution) (or the 1979 Revolution)

Introduction / summary

This was when the **Pahlavi dynasty** (1925-79) under **Mohammad Reza Pahlavi** (reigned 1941-79) was overthrown. This regime had been supported by the USA. The regime that replaced it was an Islamic republic under the **Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini**.



Demonstrations against the Shah began in **1977**. They were political and religious in nature. Towards the end of 1978 strikes and demonstrations paralyzed Iran. The Shah left Iran in January 1979, as the last Persian monarch, leaving his duties to a regency council and an opposition-based Prime Minister. Ayatollah Khomeini was invited back to Iran by the new government, and his return to Tehran was greeted by several million people. Iran voted in a referendum to become an Islamic Republic in April 1979. Iran became a **theocracy**.



Shahya Square.
Meaning
'remembrance of the
Kings,' the square
symbolised monarchy.
Its Shahyad Tower was
inaugurated in 1971 on
the 2,500th
anniversary of the
Empire's foundation.
As the 'Gateway to
Iran' the expensive
monument was linked
with the Shah's
ignorance of people's
economic hardships. In
1979, the square was
renamed Azadi Square
(Freedom Square).

Causes of the Revolution

- a conservative backlash against the Western-backed and secular **Shah**. The Shah was seen by many as an American puppet who was hurting Iran's culture.
- **1971** - the government organised the 2,500th anniversary celebrations of the founding of the Persian Empire at **Persepolis**. It was criticised as an extravagant propaganda stunt.
- The oil boom of the 1970s produced inflation and a widening gap between rich and poor, town and country. Tens of thousands of unpopular skilled foreign workers lived in Iran. Oil was a mixed blessing. In 1973 oil revenue rises led to an over ambitious economic programme. This caused a short, sharp economic contraction in 1977-8 which led to anger at economic bottlenecks, shortages, and inflation. Government attempts to combat inflation (e.g. jailing merchants) served merely to politicize the merchants. To tackle inflation the government cut spending, but that caused job layoffs. Interference inadvertently worsened the black market.
- Lines between the state's earnings and the earnings of the Shah and his family were blurred.
- The Shah's regime became more corrupt. Its brutality drew western criticism for human rights violations.
- The Shah had lost some western support over the rising cost of petrol in the early 1970s. **Jimmy Carter**, running for American president, also criticized his predecessor Nixon's sale of weapons to dictators, naming Iran as an example. Only on becoming President did **Carter** realize how much America needed Iran. But his criticism gave opposition within Iran the false impression that it had America's backing.

Ayatollah Khomeini

Shia cleric Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini had first came to political prominence in **1963** when he led opposition to the Shah and his '**White Revolution**', a programme of reforms that broke up land holdings (including those owned by religious foundations) and allowed religious minorities to hold government office.

Khomeini was arrested in 1963. When released after eight months of house arrest he continued to agitate, condemning Iran's close cooperation with Israel. In late 1964 Khomeini was re-arrested and sent into exile where he remained for **15 years**, until the revolution.

Ideology of the Iranian Revolution

Khomeini preached that revolt, and especially **martyrdom**, against injustice and tyranny was part of Shia Islam, and that Muslims should reject the influence of both liberal capitalism and communism, ideas that inspired the revolutionary slogan '**Neither East, nor West – Islamic Republic!**'

Khomeini developed the ideology of **velayat-e faqih (guardianship of the jurist)** as government, that Muslims - in fact everyone - required –'guardianship', (rule or supervision by leading Islamic jurists). Such rule would protect Islam from deviation from traditional **sharia law** and in so doing eliminate poverty, injustice, and the 'plundering' of Muslim land by foreign non-believers.

This idea of rule by Islamic jurists was spread through his book '*Velayat-e faqih*' ('*Islamic Government*', 1970), mosque sermons, and cassette speeches by Khomeini, smuggled by his network.

Other Opposition Groups

There was other urban, middle class, liberal opposition that wanted the Shah to keep to the Iranian Constitution of 1906 rather than to replace him with a theocracy, but it lacked the cohesion and organization of Khomeini's forces.

Marxist groups had been weakened considerably by government repression. The most powerful guerrilla group - the **People's Mujahedin** - was leftist Islamist and opposed the influence of the clergy as reactionary.

Khomeini united opposition behind him (except for atheistic Marxists), by focusing on the socio-economic problems of the Shah's government (corruption and unequal income and development), while avoiding specifics that might divide the public, e.g. his plan for clerical rule.

Events

In 1977, conspiracy theories circulated that **SAVAK**²⁹ was killing possible opponents of the Shah's regime.

- One of these was Khomeini's son, **Mostafa**, who died of a heart attack in Najaf in Iraq. It put his father back in the spotlight because the Shah's government planted an article in the national press in **January 1978** denouncing Khomeini as a British agent. This caused clashes between religious students and police in the city of **Qom** at which deaths occurred.
- By Shi'ite custom, memorial services are held **forty days** after a person's death. Encouraged by Khomeini, these were used to generate further protests where 'Western' and government symbols such as cinemas, bars, state-owned banks, and police stations were set ablaze. The army would be used to tackle this, then more deaths would occur. This kept repeating itself on a 40 day cycle.
- The Shah switched more to negotiation rather than force, and by the **summer of 1978**, protests had stagnated, and the Shah's policy appeared to have worked.
- On **August 19**, in the city of Abadan, four arsonists barred the door of the **Cinema Rex** and set it alight. In what was the largest terrorist attack in history prior to September 11, 2001, 422 people inside were burned to death. Khomeini immediately blamed the Shah and SAVAK.
- The working classes joined the street protests in massive numbers. It was the Islamic holy month of **Ramadan**, bringing a sense of increased religiosity among many people.
- The Shah increasingly felt that he was losing control of the situation and hoped to regain it through **appeasement**³⁰. Censorship was virtually terminated, and newspapers began reporting on demonstrations, becoming highly critical of the Shah.
- **September 4** was **Eid**, the holiday at the end of the month of Ramadan. A permit for an open air prayer was granted, in which 200,000 - 500,000 people attended. Instead, the clergy directed the crowd on a large march through Tehran (the Shah reportedly watched the march from his helicopter, unnerved and confused). A few days later even larger protests took place, and protesters called for Khomeini's return and the establishment of an Islamic republic.

This caused the Shah to switch back to the policy of force.

- September 8th: the Shah declared **martial law** in Tehran and 11 other cities. All street demonstrations were banned, and night-time curfews were imposed.
- However, 5,000 protesters took to the streets. Warning shots failed to disperse the crowds, and troops fired directly into them, killing 64. By the end of this '**Black Friday**' (8 September) the death toll was 89. The deaths shocked the country, and damaged any attempt at reconciliation between the Shah and the opposition. Subsequent protest gatherings often took place without any serious intervention by soldiers.
- By late **October**, a nationwide **general strike** was declared, with workers in virtually all major industries walking off their jobs, most damagingly in the oil industry. The Shah did **not** attempt to crack down on strikers.
- Hoping to break Khomeini's contacts with the opposition, the Shah pressured the Iraqi government to **expel** him from Najaf. Khomeini left Iraq, instead moving to a house bought by Iranian exiles in a village near Paris. With superior French telephone and postal connections (compared to Iraq), his supporters flooded Iran with tapes and recordings of his sermons.
- Worse for the Shah, the Western media, especially the BBC, immediately put Khomeini into the spotlight.
- In **November**, a leader of one of the main secular political parties, the National Front, flew to Paris to meet Khomeini. There the two signed an agreement for a draft constitution that would be 'Islamic and democratic'. It showed there was now a clear alliance between the clergy and the secular opposition. In order to help create a democratic facade, Khomeini never spoke to the media of his intentions to create a theocracy.
- The opposition was increasingly arming itself, firing at soldiers and attacking banks and government buildings to destabilize the country.
- On **November 5**, Western symbols such as cinemas and department stores, and government and police buildings, were seized, looted, and burned. The British embassy in Tehran was partially

²⁹ The secret police organization of the Shah's government

³⁰ Giving in to your opponents in the hope of buying their goodwill

burned and vandalized (foreign observers called it '**The Day Tehran Burned**').

- The army and police were confused about their orders. Under pressure from the Shah not to risk initiating violence, they effectively gave up.
- On **November 6**, the Shah replaced his civilian prime minister with an army general. Although now a military government, the Shah hoped to restrain it from carrying out a full crackdown.
- The same day, the Shah made a speech on television, apologizing for mistakes committed, and promising to end corruption. He described the new military government as a temporary measure. The speech backfired when the revolutionaries sensed weakness. Khomeini announced that there would be no reconciliation with the Shah and called on all Iranians to overthrow him.
- **December 2nd** saw the **Muharram protests** (named after the Islamic month they began in). These were huge: over **2 million** protesters took to the streets, often defying the curfew and taking to rooftops, shouting 'Allahu-Akbar' ('God is Great').
- Protesters demanded the Shah's abdication, and Khomeini's return from exile. The protestors grew incredibly fast, reaching between **six and nine million** in the first week. About **10%** of the entire population³¹ had taken to the streets in the Muharram protests on **December 10 – 11**.

The Carter Administration was deadlocked over whether to support the Shah. As early as November, the US ambassador had contacted Carter (the famous '**Thinking the Unthinkable**' telegram), predicting the Shah would not survive. He suggested that if America could persuade The Shah to abdicate, then a coalition of pro-West army leaders, middle class professionals, and moderate clergy could be assembled. Khomeini could be a Gandhi-like spiritual leader.

- On **December 28** the Shah switched back from army rule to civilian rule, picking opposition politician **Shahpour Bakhtiar (National Front Party)** to be his Prime Minister. The Shah and his family went on 'holiday' on January 16, 1979. Millions celebrated on the streets, virtually every remaining sign of the monarchy was torn down by the crowds.
- Although a previous opponent of the Shah, Bakhtiar had joined the government because he was wary of Khomeini's undemocratic intentions to implement hard-line religious rule. Khomeini said that those who accepted Bakhtiar showed 'obedience to false gods'.
- Bakhtiar:
 1. dissolved SAVAK
 2. freed all remaining political prisoners
 3. ordered the army to allow mass demonstrations
 4. promised free elections and invited the revolutionaries into a government of 'national unity'
 5. invited Khomeini back to Iran, with the intention of creating a Vatican-like state in the holy city of Qom. **On February 1, 1979** Khomeini returned to Tehran on a chartered **Air France** plane. After landing, he was forced to take a helicopter after his convoy was overwhelmed by millions of enthusiasts.
- Khomeini was now the undisputed leader of the revolution. He appointed his own interim Prime Minister. Tensions between the two rival governments increased rapidly. Khomeini called for demonstrators to occupy the streets and he warned American officials not to support Bakhtiar. Bakhtiar was increasingly isolated - members of the government were defecting to Khomeini.
- The military was crumbling. Its leadership was paralyzed, unsure of whether to support Bakhtiar or act on their own. Ordinary soldiers were demoralized or deserting.
- On February 9, pro-Khomeini rebels in the air force struggled with pro-Shah elements in the army. Large crowds took to the streets of Teheran, supporting the rebels.
- The provisional government collapsed on **February 11** when the Supreme Military Council declared itself neutral in order to prevent bloodshed. Soldiers were ordered back to their bases.
- Government buildings, TV and radio stations, and the Shah's palaces were occupied. It was the end of a 2500-year-old monarchy in Iran. Bakhtiar fled the palace under bullet fire, leaving Iran in disguise. (He was later assassinated in Paris by an agent of the Islamic Republic in 1991).

³¹ possibly a higher percentage than any previous revolution. It is rare for a revolution to involve as much as 1% of a country's population.

Consolidation of power by Khomeini

From 1979 – 1982/3 Iran was in revolutionary crisis. The economy and the apparatus of government had collapsed, and military and security forces were in disarray. Yet, by 1982 Khomeini and his supporters had crushed the rival factions, defeated local rebellions, and consolidated power.

Hostage Crisis

This was the kidnap of 52 American diplomats for 444 days.

By late October 1979, the exiled Shah of Iran was dying of cancer. The Americans reluctantly allowed him into their country for medical treatment. In Iran there was an immediate outcry, demanding his return to Iran for trial and execution.

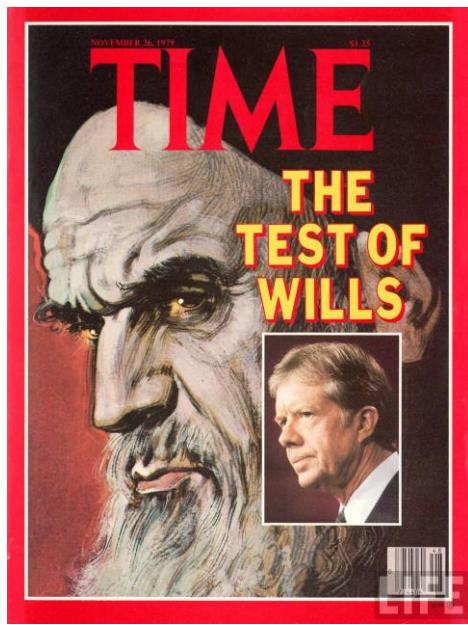
On **November 4** 1979, the American embassy compound was invaded and its staff kidnapped.

(Back in 1963 when the Shah had fled abroad in a previous crisis, the Embassy-based American CIA and British intelligence had organized a coup d'état to overthrow his nationalist opponent).

The holding of hostages was very popular and continued for months even after the death of the Shah. It served the purpose of uniting the Iranian people. It helped Khomeini to bring in a new constitution, to quieten moderates and to radicalize the revolution

The prestige of Khomeini was further enhanced with the failure of a hostage rescue attempt organized by the Carter regime.

The hostages were formally released in January 1981, just minutes after the new American president Ronald Reagan was sworn in.



Front cover of Time Magazine (end of November, 1979)

The Iran–Iraq War 1980 – 1988

Causes

General Introduction

Iraq invaded Iran by air and land on 22 September 1980. It followed a long history of border disputes, and was motivated by:

1. fears that the Iranian Revolution (1979) would inspire Iraq's long-suppressed Shia majority to do something similar
2. Iraq's desire to replace Iran as the dominant Persian Gulf state.

Iraq hoped to exploit Iran's internal weaknesses (revolution) and attacked without formal warning, but it made only limited progress into Iran and was quickly repelled; Iran regained virtually all lost territory by June 1982. For the next six years, Iran was on the offensive. The war finally ended with a U.N.-brokered ceasefire which was accepted by both sides. The last prisoners of war were exchanged in 2003.

The war cost both sides financially and in lives lost: **500,000** Iraqi and Iranian soldiers, with an equivalent number of civilians, are thought to have died, with many more injured. The war's end saw no reparations or border changes.

The conflict has been compared to World War I in terms of the tactics used, including large-scale trench warfare with barbed wire, manned machine-gun posts, bayonet charges, human wave attacks across no-man's land, and extensive use of chemical weapons such as mustard gas by the Iraqi government against Iranian troops, civilians, and Iraqi Kurds.

The USA, alongside regional and international powers, supported Iraq with loans, military equipment and satellite imagery during Iraqi attacks against Iranian targets. The UN Security Council did not name Iraq as the aggressor until 1991, 16 months after Iraq had started another war: the invasion of Kuwait.

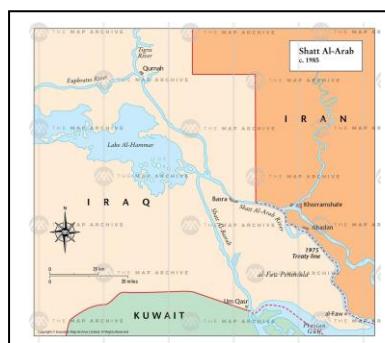
Long term causes

The **Shatt al-Arab Waterway** on the Iran-Iraq border was important for both states' oil exports, and was a cause of historic friction.

1. Which sea does this waterway flow into? _____
2. What two rivers join to become the Shatt al-Arab Waterway? _____

But both states made agreements in **1937**, and relations remained good for decades to follow. The 1937 treaty gave control of most of the waterway to Iraq. Iran had to pay tolls whenever its ships used it.

A more nationalist government took power in Iraq in **1958**. The new leader, **General Abdul Karim Qassim**, was unhappy that Iran possessed the oil-rich **Khuzestan province** (which the Iraqis called **Arabistan**). It is located in the West of Iran and also borders the sea at the northern tip of the Persian Gulf. It had a large Arabic-speaking population. The language of Iran is Farsi (Persian), not Arabic. Iraq began supporting and drawing international attention to the separatist cause in Khuzestan.



Medium term causes (1969-75)

Egypt's **President Nasser** died in **1970**. The Ba'ath Party took power in Iraq in coup in 1968, and Iraq started to claim itself as '**leader of the Arab world**'. By the late 1960s, Iran's power had built up under the **Shah**. His high military spending encouraged Iran to become more assertive.

In **1969**, Iran rejected the 1937 treaty over the Shatt al-Arab Waterway, and its ships ceased paying tolls to Iraq. The Shah of Iran justified this by arguing that:

1. almost all river borders around the world ran along the deepest part of the river
2. most of the ships that used the waterway were Iranian

Iraq threatened war over the Iranian move but, being the militarily weaker state, did nothing. But the serious tension that lasted until **1975** (the **Algiers Accords**, see later). In **1969**, **Saddam Hussein**, Iraq's deputy prime minister, stated:

'Iraq's dispute with Iran is in connection with Khuzestan, which is part of Iraq's soil and was annexed to Iran during foreign rule³².'

Soon, Iraqi radio stations began exclusively broadcasting into 'Arabistan', encouraging Arabs living in Iran and even **Balūchīs** (a desert and mountainous area where the south east of Iran borders Pakistan) to revolt against Iran. Basra TV stations began showing Iran's Khuzestan province as part of Iraq, calling it '**Nasiriyah**' and renaming all of its cities with Arabic names.

In **1971**, Iraq (now under Saddam's effective rule) broke diplomatic relations with Iran after claiming sovereignty rights over various islands in the Persian Gulf following the withdrawal of the British. As retaliation for Iraq's claims to Khuzestan, Iran began to sponsor Iraq's **Kurdish rebel minorities** in the **early 1970s**, giving them bases in Iran and arming them. Both Iraq and Iran had Kurdish minorities and both tried to stoke up this nationalism in the other's country. From **1974** to **1975**, Iran and Iraq fought border wars over Iran's support of Iraqi Kurds. In 1975, the Iraqis launched an offensive into Iran using tanks, and were defeated. Several other attacks took place, but Iran had the **world's 5th strongest military** at the time and its air force easily defeated Iraq. So Iraq called off the war, choosing instead to climb down to help end the Kurdish rebellion.

In the **1975 Algiers Agreement**, Iraq made territorial concessions in exchange for normalised relations, including:

- that the deepest part of the Shatt al-Arab waterway would be the border.
- In return Iran ended its support of Iraq's Kurdish guerrillas.

Iraqis viewed the Algiers Agreement as humiliating. However, the agreement ended Iranian and American support for the **Peshmerga**, (the military forces of the Iraqi Kurds) who were defeated by Iraq's government.

The relationship between Iran and Iraq briefly improved in **1978**, because Iranian spies detected a pro-Soviet plot inside Iraq for a coup against Saddam's government. Iran tipped off Saddam about this and he executed dozens of his army's officers. As a gesture of goodwill, he expelled the cleric **Ruhollah Khomeini** from Iraq. Khomeini had been sheltering in Iraq as an exile. He was a religious leader and opponent of the Shah of Iran.

But Saddam merely considered the Algiers Agreement to be a truce, and waited for an opportunity to contest it.

Short Term Causes

Iran's **Islamic revolution (1979)** and Iran's emergence as a Pan-Islamic force, worried Iraq's Arab nationalists. **Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini** called on Iraqis to overthrow Saddam's Ba'ath government. Despite this, Saddam gave a speech in July 1979 praising the Iranian Revolution (Saddam hadn't liked the Shah either) and he called for an Iraqi-Iranian friendship based on mutual non-interference in internal affairs. Khomeini rejected this olive branch because Iraq's Ba'ath party was **secular** and posed a threat to the Shia movement in Iraq. Shia clerics in Iraq were Iran's allies and Khomeini saw them as persecuted. Iraq suspected him of sponsoring Shia militants.

³² 'foreign rule' was a reference to the Ottoman Empire, centred in Istanbul.

Saddam's desire for war may have also stemmed from:

- only ever seeing the 1975 Algiers Agreement as a truce
- wanting to annex Khuzestan whose large ethnic Arab population would allow Saddam to pose as a liberator of Arabs from Persian rule.
- wanting to enlarge Iraq's petroleum reserves. Khuzestan Province was oil rich
- wanting to be the regional superpower and to dominate the Persian Gulf.
- wanting Iraq to replace Egypt as 'leader of the Arab world'
- seeing Iran's increased weakness due to revolution, sanctions, and international isolation. Certain Iranian exiles also helped convince Saddam that if he invaded, the new Islamic republic would quickly collapse.
- Watching the powerful Iranian army that frustrated him in 1974-1975 disintegrate, he saw an opportunity to attack, using the threat of Islamic Revolution as a **pretext**.
- experiencing anti-Ba'ath riots in 1979-80 in Iraq's Shia areas by groups wanting an Islamic revolution in Iraq.

In **1979-80** there was an **oil boom** that saw Iraq generate **\$33 billion**, allowing the government to spend heavily on both civilian and military projects. Saddam had invested heavily in Iraq's military since his defeat against Iran in 1975, buying large amounts of weaponry from the Soviet Union and France. By 1980, Iraq possessed **200,000 soldiers, 2,000 tanks and 450 aircraft**.

Fellow Gulf states such as **Saudi Arabia** and **Kuwait** (despite being hostile to Iraq) encouraged Iraq to attack, as they feared that an Islamic revolution might spread to them.

In 1980 Iraq **expelled** Iran's ambassador. Iran reciprocated. In April 1980, Saddam **hanged** Iraq's most senior Ayatollah, Mohammad Baqir al-Sadr and his sister as part of a crackdown to restore control. This caused outrage throughout the Islamic world, especially among Shias.

Iraq **confiscated** the properties of 70,000 civilians thought to be of Iranian origin and expelled them from Iraq. Many, if not most, of these were actually Arabic-speaking Iraqi Shias who had little or no family ties with Iran.

In April **1980**, Shia militants **assassinated** 20 Ba'ath officials. The Information Minister and also the Deputy Prime Minister (Tariq Aziz) were both almost killed. Saddam used these attacks as his pretext for attacking Iran five months later. Border skirmishes had already become a daily event by May **1980**.

Iraq also helped to instigate riots by national minority Arabs in Khuzestan and in Kurdish areas of Iran.

Iraqi preparations

Iraq was confident that it would succeed. Iran lacked both cohesive leadership and **spare parts** for their American-made equipment. Iraq, on the other hand, possessed a fully equipped and trained modern military, and morale was high. Through the 1970s, Saddam had armed his forces with the latest military hardware from the Soviet Union.

The only qualms the Iraqis had were over the Islamic Republic of Iran's Air Force. Iraq decided to carry out a surprise airstrike against the Iran's air force prior to the main invasion.

Iranian preparations

Iran's once-mighty military (the world's 5th most powerful back in 1978) was crippled by:

- purges of 12,000 of its leadership (85 senior generals executed and others forcibly retired). many pilots and officers were released from prison, or had their executions commuted³³ to combat the Iraqis. Many junior officers were promoted to generals.
- shortages of spare parts for its American-made hardware. Sanctions prevented replenishment.

War begins

Border skirmishes worsened in September 1980. Both sides were shelling each other. Despite a statement saying he did not want war, the next day Saddam's forces proceeded to attack Iran.

³³ reduced

Consequences of the Iran Iraq War

Introduction

- The Iran-Iraq War was the deadliest conventional war ever fought between regular armies of developing countries.
- Most historians and analysts consider Most Western analysts consider that the War had no winners. The new Islamic regime in Iran had been bloodied. Iraq still had a large military and was still a regional power, albeit with severe debt, financial problems, and labour shortages.
- Some say that Iraq emerged as the victor of the War, based on its overwhelming successes in the last year of the War. It thwarted Iran's territorial ambitions in Iraq and persuading Iran to accept the ceasefire.
- It might be said that Iran won. Although they did not defeat Iraq, they drove Iraq entirely from their border areas. Iran was fighting against a superior military, and thwarted Iraq's territorial ambitions. In 1990, two years after the War had ended, Iraq permanently gave up its claims to the **Shatt al-Arab**.
- Both Iraq and Iran manipulated loss figures to suit their purposes and it is hard to know exact numbers. The War cost Iran perhaps **a million** lives, and Iraq between **a quarter and half a million**.
- Thousands of civilians on both sides had died in air raids and ballistic missile attacks.
- Prisoners taken by both countries began to be released in 1990, though some were not released until 2003.
- Cities on both sides had also been considerably damaged.
- The financial loss exceeded **\$500 billion** for each side. Economic development evaporated and oil exports were disrupted. Iraq got into over \$130 billion of debt to countries such as Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, UAE, Jordan, Japan, the USSR, France, Germany, the USA, Italy and the UK.
- The War furthered the decline of the Iranian economy that had already begun with the Iranian revolution in 1978-79. Living standards dropped dramatically.

Why did the War come to an end, and why in mid-1988?

- In mid-1988 Saddam threatened to launch a full-scale invasion and attack Iranian cities with weapons of mass destruction. Iran had very real fears of an imminent all-out Iraqi chemical attack. One third of the urban population evacuated major cities in fear of chemical war.
- On top of this, Iran was internationally isolated. It was worried that the USA was about to launch a full-scale war on Iran. (On July 3rd the Americans had shot down **Flight 655**, a civilian Iranian airliner, killing all 290 people on board³⁴).
- Civilian life was becoming very disrupted in Iran. The death toll increased. By 1987, Iranian morale had begun to crumble, reflected in the failure of government campaigns to recruit 'martyrs' for the front.
- Iran was launching its own missile and air attacks as well, but not enough to deter the Iraqis from attacking.
- By July 1988, Iran's army inside Iraq (except Kurdistan) had largely disintegrated.
- Khomeini was advised that in order to win the War, Iran's military budget would have to be increased by 700% and war would last until 1993. Many officials also pointed out to Khomeini that while **Resolution 598**³⁵ would not give all of the gains that Iran wanted, it was the best offer they were likely to get, considering that it provided a return to the pre-war *status quo*³⁶, rather than having Iraq occupy Iranian border areas.

On 20 July 1988, Iran accepted Resolution 598, showing its willingness to accept a ceasefire. In a radio statement, Khomeini said:

'Happy are those who have departed through martyrdom. Happy are those who have lost their lives in this convoy of light. Unhappy am I that I still survive and have drunk the poisoned chalice...'

The news of the end of the War was greeted with celebration in Baghdad, with people dancing in the streets; in Tehran, however, the end of the war was greeted with a sombre mood.

In the month that followed, peace with Iran was restored. UN peacekeeping forces were present on the

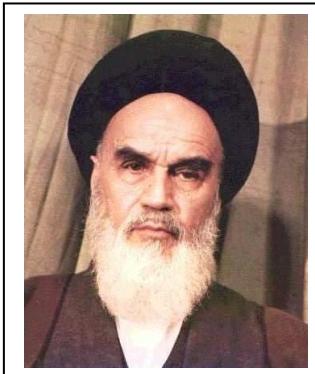
³⁴ Flight 655 from Tehran to Dubai was in Iranian airspace on its usual flight path over the sea in Iranian waters. It was brought down by surface-to-air missiles fired from a US navy vessel. A helicopter from this vessel had come under warning fire from Iranian speedboats because the vessel had entered Iranian waters. The American government claims the crew mistook the airliner for an attacking fighter plane.

³⁵ This UN resolution in July 1987 called for an immediate ceasefire between Iran and Iraq and the repatriation of prisoners of war, and for both sides to withdraw to the international border.

³⁶ status quo = the existing state of affairs

Iran–Iraq border for the next three years.

- While the War was now over, Iraq spent the rest of August and early September ‘mopping up’ its Kurdish resistance. Using 60,000 troops along with helicopter gunships, chemical weapons (poison gas), and mass executions, Iraq hit 15 villages, killing rebels and civilians, and forced tens of thousands of Kurds to relocate to settlements. Many Kurds immigrated to Iran. By 3 September 1988 all resistance was crushed, with a death toll of 400 Iraqi soldiers and at least 50,000 Kurdish civilians and soldiers.



Ayatollah Ruhollah
Khomeini, 1st Supreme
Leader of Iran 1979-89

President Rafsanjani
4th President of Iran
1989-97



Peace talks and postwar situation

The peace took over 3 years to achieve.

- Both countries sent representatives to Geneva to negotiate, but talks stalled. Iraq wanted to gain at the negotiating table what they failed to achieve on the battlefield.
- Iraq, in violation of the UN ceasefire, refused to withdraw its troops from 3,000 sq miles of Iranian territory unless the Iranians accepted Iraq's full sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab waterway.
- Foreign powers continued to support Iraq, portraying Iran as the obstacle to peace.
- Iran refused to release 70,000 Iraqi prisoners of war (twice as many as Iranian POWs in Iraq).
- Iran also continued to carry out its not very effective naval blockade of Iraq (Iraqi traded with Arab neighbours).
- By 1990, Saddam had become more conciliatory, and in a letter to the President Rafsanjani, he became more open to a peace agreement, although he still insisted at this stage on full sovereignty over the **Shatt al-Arab**.
- By 1990, Iran was reorganizing and purchasing weapons such as aircraft, tanks, and missiles from the USSR and China to the tune of \$10 billion.
- Iran changed its policy on chemical weapons, and started to manufacture and stockpile them (until 1993 when it destroyed them).
- A peace agreement was signed finalizing the terms of the UN resolution, diplomatic relations were restored, and by **early 1991** all the Iraqi military had withdrawn. UN peacekeepers withdrew from the border shortly afterward.

International impact

- By the early 1990s, Iraq had lost its support from the West, and its position in Iran was increasingly untenable.
- In Dec 1991, the UN reported that Iraq's initiation of the War was unjustified, as was its occupation of Iranian territory and use of chemical weapons against civilians.
- Iran was also improving relations with many countries that had opposed it during the War.
- Shortly after his invasion of Kuwait in 1990, Saddam wrote to Rafsanjani recognising Iranian rights over the eastern half of the **Shatt al-Arab Waterway** and that he would accept Iran's demands and withdraw Iraq's military from the disputed territories.
- Because Gulf Arab states banded together early in the Iran-Iraq War to help Iraq fight Iran, it could be argued that one consequence of the War was that it helped to create a forerunner for the Coalition of the Gulf War (the alliance of Arab States against Saddam in 1991).

Did Iran-Iraq relations improve in the long term?

- Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, Iran and Iraq relations remained in limbo.
- Both sides continued to have low-level conflicts.
- Iraq continued to host and support the **Mujahideen**³⁷, which carried out multiple attacks throughout Iran (including the assassination of an Iranian general, cross border raids, and mortar attacks).
- Iran carried out several airstrikes and missile attacks against **Mujahideen** targets inside Iraq. Contact continues between Iran and anti-Iraqi government activists and militias inside Iraq.
- In 2005, the new government of Iraq apologised to Iran for starting the war.

Unforeseen consequences of the Iran-Iraq War

- In addition to helping trigger the Persian Gulf War of 1990-91, the Iran-Iraq War also contributed to Iraq's defeat in the Persian Gulf War. Iraq's military was accustomed to using WMD or fighting against a slow-moving opponent and static defenses, using mostly unsophisticated tanks against infantry. But in the Gulf War of 1990-91 they were rapidly overwhelmed by the high-tech US forces with its quick manoeuvres.
- The War had its impact on medicine: treatment of brain injuries was much improved by Iranian doctors treating wounded soldiers. All Iraqis had been ordered to donate blood.
- The pre-existing extensive personality cult around Saddam reached new heights and the regime tightened its control over the military. Mass demonstrations of loyalty towards Saddam became more common. Persecution of minorities intensified.

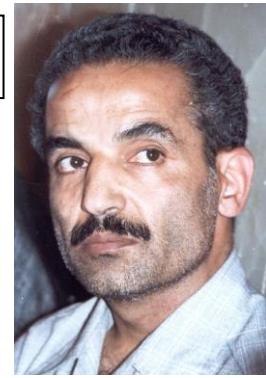
³⁷ Guerrilla type military units fighting jihad, often against Communist Russia's occupation of Afghanistan (1979-89)

Civil unrest

In 1981, street battles broke out between Iran's Revolutionary Guard and the left-wing Mujahiddin, lasting several days and killing hundreds on both sides. In September, the Mujahiddin attempted to seize power. Thousands of left-wing Iranians were shot or hanged by the government. The Mujahiddin began an assassination campaign that killed hundreds of regime officials. They killed Iran's president, **Mohammad-Ali Rajai**. The government responded with mass executions of suspected Mujahiddin members.

In addition to the open civil conflict with the Mukahideen, the Iranian government was faced with Iraqi-supported rebellions in Iranian Kurdistan, which were gradually crushed with fierce repression.

Mohammad-Ali Rajai Iran's 2nd President (for less than a month in 1981)



The Gulf War (August 1990 – February 1991)

Introduction

This War was the consequence of Iraq's invasion and annexation of neighbouring Kuwait, starting on **2 August, 1990**. The coalition forces against Iraq came from 34 nations, led by the United States. This was the largest military alliance since World War II. The USA deployed the largest amount of troops for the war, about 540,000 (about 75% of the total). The United Kingdom committed the largest contingent of any participating European state.

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait brought immediate economic sanctions against Iraq by members of the United Nations Security Council.

The great majority of the Coalition's military forces were from the US, with Saudi Arabia, the United Kingdom and Egypt as leading contributors, in that order. Saudi Arabia paid around US\$36 billion of the total \$60 billion cost.

The war was marked by the introduction of live news broadcasts from the front lines of the battle, principally by the US network CNN.

The initial conflict to expel Iraqi troops from Kuwait began with an aerial and naval bombardment on **17 January 1991**, continuing for five weeks. This was followed by a ground assault on 24 February. This was a decisive victory for the Coalition forces, who drove the Iraqi military from Kuwait and advanced into Iraqi territory. The Coalition ceased its advance and declared a cease-fire 100 hours after the ground campaign started. Iraq had launched Scud missiles against Coalition military targets in Saudi Arabia and against Israel.

Causes

- Throughout the Cold War, Iraq had been an ally of the Soviet Union, and therefore friction existed between Iraq and the USA.
- The U.S. was concerned with Iraq's hostility to Israel.

[The U.S. had remained officially neutral in the Iran–Iraq War, although it provided arms, resources, political support, and some 'non-military' aircraft to Iraq. When Iraqi President Saddam Hussein distanced himself from supporting terrorism in Palestine, the Reagan administration sent Donald Rumsfeld to meet Saddam as a special envoy and to develop ties].

- By the end of the Iran-Iraq war in 1988, Iraq was heavily debt-ridden, and tensions within society were rising. Most of its debt was owed to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.
- The Saudis had lent Iraq some 26 billion dollars during its war with Iran. (The Saudis had backed Iraq in that war, because they feared Shia Iran's Islamic 1979 revolution might inspire Saudi's own Shia minority). After the war, Saddam felt he shouldn't have to repay the loans due to the help he had given the Saudis by fighting Iran. Iraq pressured both nations to forgive the debts, but they refused.
- Saddam argued that the U.S.-supported Saudi state was an illegitimate and unworthy guardian of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.
- Iraq claimed that Kuwait was slant-drilling across the border into Iraq's Rumaila oil field. Iraq demanded \$10 billion to cover the lost revenues from Rumaila; the Kuwaiti response was to offer \$9 billion.

Invasion of Kuwait

On 2 August 1990, Iraq launched the invasion by bombing the capital, Kuwait City.

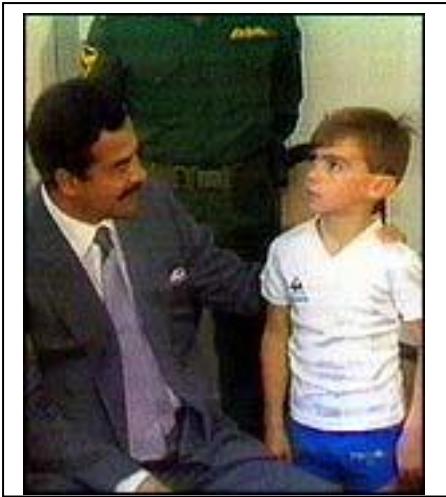
By 1988, at the Iran–Iraq War's end, the Iraqi Army was the world's 4th largest army; it consisted of 955,000 standing soldiers and 650,000 paramilitary forces in the Popular Army. It had around 5000 tanks, 500 combat aircraft and over 200 combat helicopters.

At the time of the invasion, Kuwait's army and air force was less than 20,000 strong. Despite Iraqi threats, Kuwait's forces were not even on a state of alert. Kuwait's Parliament was captured in minutes. Within 12 hours, most resistance had ended within Kuwait and the royal family and key ministers had fled to Saudi Arabia, leaving Iraq in control of most of Kuwait. Some of Kuwait's military also escaped to Saudi Arabia. After the decisive Iraqi victory, Saddam initially installed a puppet regime, named the 'Provisional Government of Free Kuwait' and assigned a cousin as its governor.

After consolidating Kuwait City, the Iraqi army headed south and assembled along the Saudi border.

Within hours of the invasion, Kuwait and U.S. delegations requested a meeting of the United Nations Security Council, which passed **Resolution 660**, condemning the invasion and demanding a withdrawal of Iraqi troops. On 6 August, **Resolution 661** placed economic sanctions on Iraq. **Resolution 665** followed soon after, which authorized a naval blockade to enforce the sanctions.

From the beginning, U.S. officials insisted on a total Iraqi pullout from Kuwait, without any linkage to other Middle Eastern problems. Saddam, by contrast, was making opposite statements by saying that solving the Israeli-Palestinian dispute would be a necessary precondition to solving Iraq's occupation of Kuwait.



On 23 August, Saddam appeared on state television with Western hostages to whom he had refused exit visas. This was all a propaganda attempt to deter the use of war against Iraq.

On 29 November 1990, the Security Council passed **Resolution 678** which gave Iraq 6 weeks to withdraw from Kuwait and empowered states to use 'all necessary means' to force Iraq out of Kuwait after the deadline.

Iraq's occupying army headed to the coastline of Kuwait to fend off any possible attack from the sea. But more worrying still, much of the army headed right through the country to its southern border, massing on the frontier with Saudi Arabia. Two hundred miles south was the richest concentration of oil reserves in the world. And the Saudi army was small. If the invasion pushed further it would give Saddam nearly half the world's oil supplies.

On the southern border of Kuwait the Iraqis built heavily defended positions with huge sand ramparts on the Saudi border. Behind this was a 2nd line: 1000s of troops. And 100 miles behind that, their final line of defence was Saddam's elite 'Republican Guards' waiting in reserve on the frontier of Iraq and Kuwait.

Operation Desert Shield began on 7 August 1990 when U.S. troops were sent to Saudi Arabia upon the request of its monarch, **King Fahd** who had entered into talks with the USA within 4 days of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

Building a Coalition

King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, an immensely rich country, was asked by the USA for \$15 billion to contribute to the military operation. He agreed, if Kuwait matched it. The Emir of Kuwait, in a Sheraton hotel in Saudi, did so the next day.

The USA was keen to build a global coalition so that the War could not be portrayed as a western attack on an Arab country.

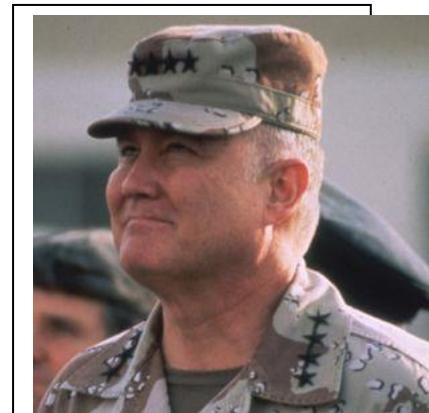
The USA entered talks with Egypt, a country it regarded as fairly friendly. President Mubarak of Egypt was indeed furious with Saddam for invading Kuwait. He agreed commit troops to the coalition forces – in return, the United States was willing cleared Egypt's 7 billion dollar debt.

Syria's President Assad hated Saddam. (Both feared plots by the other to depose them, dating back to aborted plans in the late 1970s to merge the two countries into one). So Assad agreed to pledge up to 100,000 Syrian troops to the coalition effort. This was a vital step in ensuring Arab states were represented in the coalition.

Justification for intervention

- the violation of Kuwait's sovereignty
- Iraq's history of human rights abuses under Saddam
- Iraq was also known to possess biological weapons and chemical weapons, which Saddam had used against Iranian troops during the Iran–Iraq War and against his own country's Kurdish population.
- Iraq was also known to have a nuclear weapons programme.

The battle



General Norman Schwarzkopf was an intelligent but fiery leader, using phrases like 'kick his butt' in media coverage when speaking of Saddam.

Fighting in the desert presented considerable challenges – sand in food, sand in machinery, heavy vehicles potentially sinking into the sand, not to mention the heat. The prospect of fighting off a chemical attack with prolonged wearing of gas masks in intense temperatures was very daunting. Heat exhaustion was a major concern in training.

James Baker, US Secretary of State, tried to deter Saddam from using chemical weapons by reminding Iraq that the USA had nuclear bombs.

The last major US conflict had been **Vietnam**. Memories of how this dragged on with an increasing body-count that eroded the public appetite for involvement was something that now haunted American leaders, 15 years on. Saddam was determined to turn this into another Vietnam, with thousands of US casualties. Using chemical weapons made this a real possibility, as his use of nerve agent '**sarin**' and mustard gas against Kurdish villages in northern Iraq had shown, back in 1988 – 5000 had been killed.

The key for Schwarzkopf was to keep his ground troops out of the battle for as long as possible. Therefore a colossal air attack would have to be launched both against the military on the ground, and on Iraq itself.

Six aircraft carriers with 400 planes were placed within striking distance. **750,000** troops were now in place, one week before the deadline expired. Ground troops would still have to be on standby as a backup in case Saddam refused to be cowed.

The coalition's **air campaign** was codenamed '**Instant Thunder**'. There were over 1000 sorties in the first night alone. The aim was to gain control of the skies first, preventing Saddam from being able to coordinate his forces. Then the target would be those forces themselves.

British pilots in Tornadoes were sent to crater Iraq's runways. America's first target was the capital. They were flying into a wall of anti-aircraft fire from 3000 guns.

The **Stealth bomber**, hopefully invisible to radar, was put to its first use in warfare. 2000 pound, laser-guided bombs were released on their targets. Such a bomb could explode within 3 metres of its target, even when fired from 7 miles away. **Cruise missiles** launched from US warships headed for Baghdad power stations, and the city was plunged into darkness.

The Iraqi air force's response was to try to sit out this ferocious attack, rather than risk leaving its hangars.

700 miles from Kuwait, Saddam started to launch **Scud missiles** towards **Israel**, beginning on January 18, 1991. There were fears that chemical weapons might be attached to these missiles.

His rationale was to get Israel to retaliate, putting it on the same side as Arab countries in the coalition. Therefore the Arab participants in the coalition would withdraw. Then the coalition would collapse. But it didn't work. Israel, under US pressure, did not retaliate for the time being, perhaps helped by the fact that no deaths occurred despite 8 Scuds being launched on the first night.

The coalition priority was now to hunt down the Scud launchers. Schwarzkopf said it was like looking for a needle in a haystack. Iraq only had 20 of these mobile launchers, and there were 1000s of square miles of empty desert where they might be hidden. Schwarzkopf diverted 40% of his air sorties to the hunting down of Scuds. The British **SAS** was sent in to try to destroy these launchers on the ground.

Saddam put captured British pilots in front of TV cameras, making them declare opposition to the War, in a propaganda attempt to erode western morale, but the effect was counter-productive.



Two weeks after the air war began, Saddam's forces had taken a huge hit. He now took the risk of **sending his troops over the border into the north of Saudi Arabia**. This was in an effort to lure the coalition into the risky ground war that it was seeking to avoid.

But American airpower managed to contain the assault after two days of fighting. 38 Iraqis were killed, and 43 on the Coalition side. Hundreds of Iraqis were captured.

After a month of being battered from the skies, Saddam has still not withdrawn from Kuwait. Iraqi civilian casualties from the bombings were giving the coalition bad publicity. In one infamous incident, two USAF Stealth planes bombed an Iraqi bunker in Amiriya, killing over 408 Iraqi civilians. An argument followed as to whether it was a civilian shelter, or whether the Iraqi military was using these civilians as human shields.

So Schwarzkopf had to curtail his bombings of targets where there was the risk of such collateral damage. He had to focus on purely military targets instead. A final burst on the Iraqi front line was to be the final preparation before sending in the ground troops. This included the use of Napalm dropped from B52s, just like in Vietnam. The explosions sucked the air out of victims' lungs.

Saddam blew up 100s of Kuwait's oilfields. Huge lakes of oil pooled in the desert sand, and the smoke blocked out the sun. This increased the pressure on Schwarzkopf to start the ground campaign.

Schwarzkopf made dummy preparations with tens of thousands of troops to give the impression that the main attack was coming from the south, across the Saudi border into Kuwait. In fact, the main blow was being prepared in a big 'left hook'. Under the cover of the air war he had moved huge amounts of men and tanks 300 miles west.

His mission was twofold:

1. Liberate Kuwait
2. Disable the Republican Guard against any future use

24 Feb 1991: the **ground attack** began. The US marines were the first to go in. They bulldozed the sandbanks to make way for tanks and artillery. This attack was supported by US warships launching a massive artillery barrage onto Kuwait's coastline.

Schwarzkopf was expecting a casualty rate of one in three, but Iraqi conscripts were sleep-deprived, shell-shocked and dehydrated. They surrendered in droves. The timing of the left hook was brought forward by 15 hours in order to prevent the possibility of a retreat by the Republican Guard. British troops headed for Kuwait City. US troops headed for the Republican Guard. A massive artillery barrage was used against them. The exploding rockets showered them with the equivalent of hundreds of hand grenades.

Saddam ordered a counter-attack on the US marines, but he lacked the same firepower. He fired a Scud at a coalition base in Saudi Arabia, killing 28 Americans and wounding hundreds.

On 26 February, the US tanks, after a 100 mile advance, came face to face with the Republican Guard. The Iraqi tanks were obliterated within minutes. Their range was shorter, and had to be static when firing.

But the Republican Guard was saved from destruction by the events on the 'Highway of Death'. This bottleneck of 2000 stolen escape vehicles was such a 'sitting duck' that the Coalition diverted all its firepower there. These TV images became a key factor in deciding when to end the War.

36 hours after this, Kuwait City was liberated. American troops were greeted as heroes. Atrocities under the Iraqi occupation came to light.

Bush decided not to chase the retreating enemy deep into Iraq. So he declared a ceasefire, 6 weeks after the operation began. It had been one of the most one-sided battles in modern history.

Casualties

- Over 1,000 Kuwaiti civilians were killed by Iraqis.
- Figures are unclear, but Iraq sustained 20,000 – 30,000 fatalities, including 3,000 civilians.
- Coalition deaths were around 250 – 350, including 3 US female soldiers.

Consequences of the War

1. Health effects on combat personnel: Gulf War Illness (Gulf War syndrome)
Many returning Coalition soldiers reported illnesses. Common symptoms included chronic fatigue, intestinal problems, and birth defects to the offspring of male veterans. There has been much disagreement about the causes, such as exposure to chemical weapons, and the effects of vaccines against anthrax.
2. Controversy about the Highway of Death
On the night of 26–27 February 1991, some Iraqi forces began leaving Kuwait on the main highway in a convoy of some 1,400 vehicles. These vehicles were spotted and the retreating soldiers were subsequently attacked, resulting in a 60 km stretch of highway strewn with debris. This event was later called by the media "The Highway of Death" and had a potentially negative propaganda impact.



Defenders of the operation argued that the people on this road had scarpered off into the desert when the aircraft started to attack, and that America was therefore not kicking an enemy that was already down. Nobody knows whether it was 100s or 1000s that died.

3. Another moral controversy about the rules of engagement: Bulldozer assault
Bulldozers were used to simply plow over and bury alive defending Iraqi soldiers on the trenches of the heavily fortified 'Saddam Hussein Line'. The alternative, however, would have been to send infantry into the trenches like in the First World War.
4. Palestinian exodus from Kuwait
After the Gulf War, the Kuwaiti authorities forcibly pressured nearly 200,000 Palestinians to leave Kuwait in 1991. This was because Palestinian leader **Yasser Arafat** had supported Saddam's invasion.
5. Terrorism against the USA
Since the war, the U.S. has had a continued presence of 5,000 troops stationed in Saudi Arabia – a figure that rose to 10,000 during the 2003 conflict in Iraq. Since Saudi Arabia houses **Mecca** and **Medina**, Islam's holiest sites, many Muslims were upset at the permanent military presence. It was one of the stated motivations behind **Bin Laden's 11 September terrorist attacks**, and other international terrorist attacks against Americans.
6. Sanctions
Resolution 661 imposed economic sanctions on Iraq - a full trade embargo (excluding medical supplies, food and other items of humanitarian necessity). Starting in 1991, these did not end until 2003. In Iraq this caused hyperinflation, widespread poverty and malnutrition. During the late 1990s, the U.N. considered relaxing the sanctions imposed because of the hardships suffered by ordinary Iraqis.

7. The 1991 uprisings

These were largely uncoordinated rebellions in March and April 1991 by minority groups against the government of Saddam, hoping for a revolution to depose him. In the north these were **Kurdish** minorities. In the South they were by **Shia** Muslims and **marsh Arabs** (see below, also). Tens of thousands died in this insurgency. The coalition imposed no-fly zones on the Iraqi air force in northern southern Iraq in order to protect these minorities. Many of the rebels had expected American support on the ground.

8. Draining of the Qurna Marshes (or Mesopotamian Marshes)

This was an irrigation project in Iraq during and immediately after the war and 1991 uprisings, to drain a large area of marshes in the Tigris–Euphrates river system. By 2000, 90% of the marshlands had disappeared, turning thousands of square miles into desert.

Initial draining of the Central Marshes was intended to reclaim land for agriculture, but later the policy became a tool of war and revenge - a political attempt to force the Marsh Arabs out of the area. The local Shi'ite population was relocated.

9. Environmental impact - Oil spill

Iraq dumped millions of gallons of crude oil into the Persian Gulf, causing the largest offshore oil spill in history at that time. It was a deliberate attempt to foil a potential U.S. Marines amphibious landing. (American dummy manoeuvres had been deliberately trying to mislead the Iraqis into thinking that such a method attack was a real possibility).

10. Environmental impact - Kuwaiti oil fires

The Kuwaiti oil fires were caused by the Iraqi military setting fire to 700 oil wells as part of a scorched earth policy while retreating from Kuwait in 1991. The fires started in January and February 1991 and the last one was extinguished by November 1991. The resulting fires burned out of control because of the dangers of sending in firefighting crews. Land mines had been placed in areas around the oil wells. Around 6 million barrels (950,000 m³) of oil were lost each day. Widespread pollution was also inevitably caused.

11. Cost

The cost of the war to the United States was calculated by the U.S. Congress to be **\$61.1 billion**. About \$52 billion of that amount was paid by other countries: \$36 billion by Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and other Arab states of the Persian Gulf; \$16 billion by Germany and Japan (which sent no combat forces due to their constitutions).

The War also caused disruption to the economies of many Gulf states, including oil supply and the impact on tourism.

12. Media coverage

The war was heavily televised. For the first time, people globally were able to watch live pictures of missiles hitting their targets and fighters departing from aircraft carriers. Allied forces were keen to demonstrate their weapons' accuracy. Specific buildings in downtown Baghdad could be bombed while journalists in their hotels watched cruise missiles fly by.

U.S. policy regarding media freedom was much more restrictive than in the Vietnam War. Most of the press information came from briefings organized by the military. Only selected journalists were allowed on supervised visits to the front lines or to conduct interviews with soldiers. This was ostensibly to protect sensitive information from being revealed to Iraq.

13. Technology

The War saw the use of new cutting-edge technology: Stealth bombs, cruise missiles, and precision guided bombs. Patriot missiles were used in combat for the first time (although perhaps only with a 10% success rate) to intercept Scuds.

APPENDIX 1

US Presidents

Thomas Woodrow Wilson	Democrat	1913-1921
Warren Gamaliel Harding	Republican	1921-1923
John Calvin Coolidge	Republican	1923-1929
Herbert Clark Hoover	Republican	1929-1933
Franklin Delano Roosevelt	Democrat	1933-1945
Harry S. Truman ³⁸	Democrat	1945-1953
Dwight David Eisenhower	Republican	1953-1961
John Fitzgerald Kennedy	Democrat	1961-1963
Lyndon Baines Johnson	Democrat	1963-1969
Richard Milhous Nixon	Republican	1969-1974
Gerald Rudolph Ford	Republican	1974-1977
Jimmy Carter	Democrat	1977-1981
Ronald Wilson Reagan	Republican	1981-1989
George Herbert Walker Bush	Republican	1989-1993
Bill Clinton	Democrat	1993-2001
George Walker Bush	Republican	2001-2008
Barack Hussein Obama	Democrat	2008-2017
Donald John Trump	Republican	2017-

Soviet Leaders

1917-1924	Vladimir Lenin
1924-1953	Josef Stalin
1958-1964	Nikita Khrushchev
1964-1982	Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev
1983-1984	Yuri Andropov
1984-1985	Konstantin Chernenko
1985-1991	Mikhail Gorbachev

Russian Leaders since the collapse of Communism

1991-1999	Boris Yeltsin, President
1999-2008	Vladimir Putin
2008-2012	Dmitry Medvedev
2012-	Vladimir Putin

³⁸ His parents chose the middle initial 'S.' But they gave him no middle name so that both his grandfathers, Solomon Young and Anderson Shippe Truman, could claim that he was named for them.

APPENDIX 2 – PAST PAPER 1 QUESTIONS – Core Content

Cold War	
Nov 02	
(a) Who were the Vietcong and what part did they play in the Vietnam War? (b) Why did involvement in the war become increasingly unpopular in the USA? (c) How successful was US policy towards Vietnam in the period 1963–1975? Explain your answer.	UNO Hungary
Nov 03	
(a) What was decided at the Yalta Conference? (b) Why was Eastern Europe largely in the hands of the USSR by 1946? (c) 'Only Stalin of the Allies achieved what he wanted as a result of the war with Germany.' Do you agree? Explain your answer. (a) Describe the Bay of Pigs incident. (b) Why did the USSR install missile bases in Cuba? (c) 'The Cuban Missile Crisis was not as serious as it appeared at the time.' Do you agree? Explain your answer.	Appeasement
June 04	
(a) What was agreed at the Yalta Conference, 1945? (b) Explain why the Soviet Union blockaded Berlin. (c) 'The Soviet Union was to blame for the Cold War.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. a. Describe the events in Hungary in 1956. b. Why did the USSR invade Czechoslovakia in 1968? c. 'Gorbachev was responsible for the collapse of Soviet control over Eastern Europe.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.	Marshall Plan
Nov 04	
a. Describe how the Berlin Wall affected the people living in Berlin. b. Why was the Berlin Wall built? c. How far can the decline of Soviet power in Eastern Europe be blamed on the Solidarity movement? Explain your answer. (a) Describe relations between Cuba and the USA in the period 1959–1961. (b) Why was the USA concerned about Soviet missiles in Cuba? (c) Khrushchev claimed that the Cuban Missile Crisis was a victory for the Soviet Union. Do you agree with this view? Explain your answer.	Origins of Cold War

June 05

- (a) What was the 'iron curtain'?
- (b) Why was Marshall Aid offered to countries in Europe?
- (c) 'The Berlin Blockade brought Europe close to war.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

- (a) Describe the USA's response up to 1961 to Castro's takeover of Cuba.
- (b) Why was the USA concerned about Soviet missiles in Cuba?
- (c) 'There was never any real risk of war over Cuba.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

Versailles

Nov 05

- (a) Who were the Vietcong?
- (b) Why did the USA get involved in the war in Vietnam?
- (c) How far can the American withdrawal from Vietnam be blamed on military failure? Explain your answer.

UNO

Cuba

June 06

- (a) What was agreed at the Potsdam Conference?
- (b) Why was there continuing tension over Berlin in the years 1945-1949?
- (c) 'It was Truman not Stalin who brought about the Cold War.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

- a) Describe how the Soviet Union reacted to events in Hungary in 1956.
- b) Why was the Soviet Union worried by developments in Czechoslovakia in Spring 1968?
- c) How important was 'Solidarity' in the decline of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe? Explain your answer.

Cuba

Nov 06

- (a) Describe relations between Cuba and the USA in the period 1959-1961.
- (b) Why did Khrushchev send missiles to Cuba?
- (c) 'Khrushchev handled the Cuban Crisis better than Kennedy.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

Korea / Congo

Versailles

June 07

- (a) Describe the response of the USA to Castro's takeover of Cuba.
(b) Why was the Bay of Pigs invasion a failure for the USA?
(c) 'The Cuban Missile Crisis was never a threat to world peace.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

- (a) What was the 'Domino Theory'?
(b) Why did the Vietnam War become increasingly unpopular with the people of America?
(c) 'The USA was unsuccessful in Vietnam because of the opposition's use of guerrilla tactics.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

UN Korea

Nov 07

- (a) What was the 'Cold War'?
(b) Why did tension between the Soviet Union and the West increase after the Potsdam Conference?
(c) 'The main reason for the escalation of the Cold War in the years 1947–49 was the Berlin Blockade.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

- a) What was the Berlin Wall?
b) Why was there a rising in Hungary in 1956?
c) Which was the more serious threat to Soviet control of Eastern Europe:
• events in Czechoslovakia in 1968
• the emergence of Solidarity in Poland? Explain your answer.

UN Korea

June 08

- (a) What did the Geneva Agreements of 1954 decide about the future of Vietnam?
(b) Why did Johnson increase American involvement in Vietnam?
(c) How successful was American foreign policy towards Cuba and Vietnam? Explain your answer.

- a) Describe events in Hungary in October and November 1956.
b) Why did Warsaw Pact forces invade Czechoslovakia in 1968?
c) How far were the policies of Gorbachev responsible for the collapse of Soviet control over Eastern Europe? Explain your answer.

appeasement

Nov 08

- (a) What was agreed at the Yalta Conference of February 1945?
(b) Why did the USA introduce the Marshall Plan?
(c) How far was the Cold War caused by Truman's hostility towards the Soviet Union? Explain your answer.

UNO

Vietnam

June 09

- (a) What did Stalin gain from the Yalta conference?
- (b) Why did tensions between the USSR and the Western Allies increase at the Potsdam conference?
- (c) Who was more to blame for starting the Cold War, the USA or the USSR? Explain your answer.

UN

Hitler 1930s

Nov 09

- (a) Describe the Bay of Pigs incident.
- (b) Why did the Soviet Union place missiles on Cuba?
- (c) 'The USA gained more than the USSR from the Cuban Missile Crisis.' How far do you agree

UN

With this statement?
Explain your answer.
End of Cold War**June 10**

- (a) What was the 'Iron Curtain'?
- (b) Why was Berlin a cause of tension between East and West after the Second World War?
- (c) How successful was the West in containing communism in Europe up to 1949? Explain your answer.

- (a) Describe relations between the USA and Cuba from 1959 to the Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961.
- (b) Why did the Cuban Missile Crisis cause so much alarm?
- (c) Which leader, Kennedy or Khrushchev, handled the Cuban Missile Crisis better? Explain your answer.

End of Cold War

Nov 10

- (a) Describe American involvement in South Vietnam between 1954 and 1963.
- (b) Why was the Vietcong an effective fighting force?
- (c) 'The Tet Offensive was the main reason for American withdrawal from Vietnam.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

- a. Describe the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.
- b. Why was Solidarity formed in Poland in 1980?
- c. How far was the collapse of Soviet control over Eastern Europe due to the reforms of Gorbachev? Explain your answer.

Hitler 1930s

June 11

- a. Describe how the Berlin Wall affected people's lives in Berlin.
- b. Why did Khrushchev order Soviet soldiers into Hungary in 1956?
- c. How far were economic problems responsible for the end of Communist control in Eastern Europe? Explain your answer.

UNO

Early Cold War

Nov 11

- (a) What were the main problems facing the Allied leaders when they met at Potsdam?
 - (b) Why was the Marshall Plan introduced?
 - (c) 'The USSR was responsible for starting the Cold War.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.
-
- (a) Describe the USA's response to Castro's takeover of Cuba.
 - (b) Why was Cuba important to the USA?
 - (c) How far could the USSR be blamed for the Cuban Missile Crisis? Explain your answer.

Versailles

June 12

- a) What was the 'Cold War'?
- b) Why were Western governments suspicious of the USSR in the period 1945 to Feb 1948 (the communist takeover of Czechoslovakia)?
- c) 'Truman and Churchill were responsible for starting the Cold War.' How far do you agree with the statement? Explain your answer.

UN

League of Nations

Nov 12

- (a) Describe the tactics used by the USA in Vietnam.
- (b) Why did the USA find it impossible to defeat the Vietcong?
- (c) 'The My Lai massacre was the main reason for the USA's withdrawal from Vietnam.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

UNO

Hungarian
Uprising

June 13

- a. What options were available to Kennedy to force the removal of missile sites on Cuba?
- b. Explain why the Soviet Union placed missiles on Cuba.
- c. How great a threat was the Cuban Missile Crisis to world peace? Explain your answer.

- a. Describe the impact on the people of Eastern Europe of Soviet control in the 1950s and 1960s.
- b. Why did the Soviet Union oppose the changes proposed by Dubcek for Czechoslovakia?
- c. How far were developments in the Soviet Union responsible for the collapse of Soviet control over Eastern Europe? Explain your answer.

Versailles

Nov 13

- a. Describe how Czechoslovakia became communist-controlled in 1948.
- b. Why did Stalin set up the Berlin Blockade in 1948?
- c. Was Soviet policy towards Eastern Europe from 1945 to 1948 aggressive or defensive in nature? Explain your answer.

Congo / Korea

Vietnam

June 14

- a. Describe developments in Czechoslovakia between 1945 and 1948 which led to the Communist takeover.
- b. Why did the Soviet Union blockade Berlin in 1948-9?
- c. 'The USSR and the USA were both to blame for the Cold War'. How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

- a. Describe events in Poland between 1980 and 1982 involving 'Solidarity'.
- b. Why was the Polish government unable to defeat the 'Solidarity' movement?
- c. 'The standard of living was the most important reason for growing opposition to Soviet control in Eastern European countries in the 1980s.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

Cuba

Nov 14

- (a) What was discussed, in relation to Poland, at the Yalta Conference?
(b) Why did tensions between the USSR and the Western Allies increase at the Potsdam Conference?
(c) 'The USSR was to blame for starting the Cold War.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

- (a) What was the Tet Offensive?
(b) Why were the methods used by the Americans to try to defeat the Vietcong unsuccessful?
(c) 'American public opinion was more important than Vietcong guerrilla tactics in bringing about the US withdrawal from Vietnam.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

t
Appeasement

June 15

- (a) What was agreed about Poland by the Great Powers in 1945?
(b) Why were there tensions at the Potsdam Conference in 1945?
(c) 'Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton was the main cause of tension between the West and the Soviet Union between 1946 and 1950.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

(a) Describe the Iranian Revolution of 1979.
(b) Why did Iraqi troops invade Iran in 1980?
(c) 'The most aspect of the Iran-Iraq War of 1980-88 was the threat to the stability of the Arab World.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

Rhineland,
1936

Nov 15

- (a) Describe the Bay of Pigs invasion.
(b) Why was the Cuban Revolution seen as a threat to the USA?
(c) 'The US policy of containment was more successful in Korea than in Cuba.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

a. Describe the reaction of the Western allies to the building of the Berlin Wall.
b. Why did the Communists build the Berlin Wall in 1961?
c. How different was the Soviet reaction to events in Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1968)? Explain your answer.

Berlin
Blockade

June 16

- (a) What issues were addressed at the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences?
(b) Why did Truman develop a strategy of containment?
(c) 'The Berlin Blockade was a serious threat to world peace.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

- (a) Describe the events which led to the UN involvement in the Korean War.
(b) Why did the USA oppose the North Korean invasion of South Korea?
(c) How successful was the USA's policy of containment in Korea? Explain your answer.

First
Gulf
War

Nov 16

- (a) What actions had Stalin taken, by the end of 1945, to extend Soviet power across Eastern Europe?
(b) Why was it difficult to reach agreement over the future of Germany after World War Two?
(c) 'The USA was responsible for starting the Cold War.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

League of Nations

- (a) What was Operation Desert Shield?
(b) Why did the Iraqi people suffer greatly from the First Gulf War?
(c) 'The main reason for Operation Desert Storm (1991) was to reduce the power of Saddam Hussein.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

June 17

- (a) By 1956, what made Hungarians unhappy with Soviet control? (b) Why were the Soviets concerned about events in Hungary in 1956?
(c) 'The Berlin Wall was built in 1961 to prevent mass migration.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

Peace Treaties

- (a) Describe how Saddam Hussein dealt with the Kurds between 1987 and 1991.
(b) Why was Saddam Hussein able to become President of Iraq in 1979?
(c) 'The Iran-Iraq War of 1980-88 was a success for Iraq.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer.

Nov 17

Following the ending of the Second World War both the USA and the USSR held strong views about the future.

- What did a strong Communist Eastern Europe provide for the USSR? [4]
- Why did the development of the atomic bomb increase tension between East and West? [6]
- How surprising was Stalin's decision to impose a blockade on West Berlin? Explain your answer. [10]

End of Cold War

After the Second World War, the USA viewed the Communist threat as significant.

- What happened to Vietnam immediately following the Geneva Peace Accords of 1954? [4]
- Why did Khrushchev place nuclear weapons in Cuba? [6]
- 'America failed to contain Communism.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. [10]

Jun 18

Differences between the USSR and the USA resulted in the Cold War

- What decisions about Germany were made at the Yalta Conference of 1945? [4]
- Why was the wartime unity of the Allies beginning to break down by the time of the Yalta Conference? [6]
- 'The main reason for the formation of NATO was the Berlin Crisis of 1948-49.' How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. [10]

League of Nations

The USA felt threatened by the spread of Communism

- What was the 'quarantine' of Cuba imposed by the USA in October 1962? [4]
- Why was America's policy of containment a failure in Vietnam? [6]
- For the USA, which was the more successful approach to containment: working with the United Nations in Korea or working on its own over Cuba? Explain your answer. [10]

Nov 18

After 1945 the wartime alliances of the victors broke down, resulting in a Cold War.

- (a) What decisions about Poland were made at the Yalta Conference? [4]
- (b) Why did the death of Roosevelt make a difference to the Potsdam Conference? [6]
- (c) ‘The actions of Stalin between 1946 and 1949 were responsible for starting the Cold War.’ How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. [10]

The USSR’s control over Eastern Europe collapsed quickly.

- (a) What was the Berlin Wall? [4]
- (b) Why was Solidarity important in the decline of Soviet power in Eastern Europe? [6]
- (c) ‘Gorbachev’s reduction of Soviet defence spending was the main reason for the collapse of Soviet control over Eastern Europe.’ How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. [10]

Hitler’s foreign policy

Jun 19

There were several threats to Soviet power in Eastern Europe in the period 1956 to 1989.

- (a) Describe the achievements of Lech Walesa in Poland. [4]
- (b) Why did Gorbachev decide not to intervene when countries in Eastern Europe moved towards democracy in 1989? [6]
- (c) ‘The Soviet Union dealt well with threats to communist control of Eastern Europe in the period 1956 to 1968.’ How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. [10]

Korean War

Events in the Gulf area were important to the West.

- (a) Describe the rule of the Shah of Iran. [4]
- (b) Why did the West get involved in the Iran-Iraq War? [6]
- (c) Which was the more responsible for the outbreak of war in January 1991, Iraq or the USA? Explain your answer. [10]

Nov 19

- (a) What was ‘Operation Rolling Thunder’?
- (b) Why were the Vietcong able to withstand attacks by US forces?
- (c) ‘The main reason why the US public turned against the Vietnam War was television coverage.’ How far do you agree with this statement? Explain your answer. [10]

Iranian Revolution

- (a) Describe Gorbachev’s role in the collapse of Soviet control over Eastern Europe.
- (b) Why was the Brezhnev Doctrine introduced?
- (c) How secure was Soviet control of Eastern Europe from 1948 to 1961? Explain your answer