

# Cold War

## The Division of Europe along ideological lines: The Iron Curtain descends

### - Ideological differences between capitalism, communism and democracy

- *capitalism*: an economic system that encourages competition and private ownership. Creates efficient production, distribution, exhibition and consumption practises which produce capital. Capital established markets for goods and services. Capitalism provides wealth for citizens, corporations and governments, however those not enabled become marginalised and there is greater inequality.
- *communism*: totalitarian political and economic system in which representatives compete within the party for power to produce community ownership through community effort, based on the theory of Karl Marx and Engels. Theoretical basis that the equality for citizen can only be achieved by the state determining national economic output through total control of production.
- *democracy*: a multi party political system in which representatives compete in popular election for the peoples vote. It organises society through the promotion of rights of the citizen, co-ordinated by the separation of powers (L,E,J). Theoretical basis is that equality can only be achieved by citizens determining their individual needs and wants, protected by mechanisms of the state.
- *Cold War*: The division of the world into 2 ideologies: communism and democracy. The term was first used in 1947 by US journalist Walter Lipmann to define the conflict between the West and the Soviets. The Cold War also included various ventures such as the Arms Race to show superiority between the 2.

### - Post-war conferences (Yalta and Potsdam) and conflict between leaders (Stalin, Truman and Churchill)

- *Tehran Conference*
  - main issue- second front.
  - 1943; Tehran, Iran
  - between Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill
  - referred to as “The Big Three”
  - second war front delayed by Allies
  - purpose to “map out the post war world”



- Agreed at conference:
  1. Soviet would control Outer Mongolia and Manchuria, as well as declare war on Japan
  2. West would create a second front in 1944
  3. US would receive endorsement for a United Nations Security Council
- Soviets mistrusted West due to the Second front, believed it was delayed to ensure USSR couldn't exploit through Eastern Europe
- *President Roosevelt's Global Vision*
  - a) promote democracy
  - b) decolonisation
  - c) a global market access
- devised during Atlantic Charter 1941
- *West Mistrust of the USSR*
  - 1930's, stories of atrocities from the USSR filtered into the West
  - famine, gulags, Terror - estimated 20 million died
  - Whole regions of people killed/starved in collectivisation
  - Rapid industrialisation, by 1941 USSR was second most industrialised nation after America (Kort 1999)
  - Ideological differences- The West saw communism as evil
  - didn't want another dictator to take place as Hitler did
  - Churchill believed Allies should advance as far east as possible - feared Red Army wouldn't leave East Europe (mainly Poland) given that a communist government had been established
  - HOWEVER
    - Russia pushed Germany out of Moscow 1942
    - many believed USSR should be acknowledged
    - Stalin referred to more affectionately, "Uncle Joe", by the West
- *The Yalta Conference*

- Held February 1945
- Yalta- Crimea
- Between Big Three
- also known as “Grand Alliance”
- war was still a reality for the leaders
- ‘Stalin had turned the place into an impregnable zone...reinforced air raid shelters had been specially built for the occasion’ - Volkogonov, 1999
- Some decisions made public, however some secrecy as Japan and Germany hadn't been defeated yet
- secrecy fed the minds of anti-Communists - believed that Roosevelt and Churchill had betrayed the people of Eastern + Central Europe by agreeing to let Soviets promote communism.
- last conference held before the end of war in Europe
- Believed Soviet control of Eastern Europe was only acceptable to Roosevelt and Churchill as they needed Soviet help defeating Japan.
- REVISIONIST SCHOOL OF THOUGHT- instead of a “betrayal” by West, what was agreed to at Yalta could have easily been taken by force by Soviets without agreement
- *Reasons for Yalta*
  - (1) voting procedures and membership rules for UN
  - (2) Fate of Poland and Eastern Europe in general
  - (3) treatment of defeated Germany and Austria
  - (4) Soviet participation against Japan
- “if Tehran was...a rehearsal for Yalta, then Yalta in turn set the stage for the dawning international regime...known as the Cold War” - Kennedy 1999
- *Agreements of Yalta*
  1. Germanys unconditional surrender
  2. 4 power occupation of Germany and Austria (USSR UK US France)
  3. war-crime trials for leading nazis
  4. necessity for UN

5. free elections in Eastern Europe

- didn't agree on Germans' reparation (left open for further discussion) or Poland's self determination without Soviet influence
- *Secret agreements of Yalta*
  1. Soviet pledge to enter war in Asia, 2-3 months after Germanys surrender
  2. provisions for Soviet territorial gains in Asia at expense of China and Japan
  3. allocation of 2 extra votes to USSR in UN General Assembly
  4. Poland's post war borders, territorial gains to Soviet at expense of Poland in east and against to Poland in west at expense of Germany
- Churchill believed Polish question was "most urgent reason for Yalta- conference demonstrated deep disagreement over Polish problem"
- Churchill asked whether Poland would be "a mistress of her own house and captain of her soul"
- Stalin, thought plan as a "question of both honour and security" for USSR
- *Stalin at Yalta*
  - Negotiated from a position of military strength
  - Western allies hadn't crossed Rhine River in Western Front
  - Soviet Red Army occupied: POLAND, ROMANIA, BULGARIA, HUNGARY, EAST PRUSSIA, (within miles of Berlin)
  - "wherever Russian armies penetrated...they set up communist governments" Morison 1967
  - Stalin made clear issue of security for USSR would determine Poland's future
    - invaded twice by Poland, wanted to ensure it never happened again
- *Roosevelt at Yalta*
  - health failing him, dying
  - had global concerns: determined UN wouldn't fail like League of Nations had
  - Committed to idea that Big Three would support UN and each other
  - ERROR: didn't tell Stalin about the development of the first atomic bomb

- done through top secret Manhattan Project (1939-1946)
- Soviet spy rings in US and UK, were aware of atomic development
- Use of atomic bomb would shift military superiority into hands of US
- Stalin believed he'd been deceived by Roosevelt on atomic bomb, only fuelled USSR mistrust of West
- Meeting March 1945 between Germany US UK, discussing surrender in Italy
- Soviets frozen out of negotiations, Stalin send Roosevelt letter accusing him of being a liar
- Lack of consensus about Poland demonstrated US and UK mistrust of Soviets
- Stalin refused to recognise democratic government of Poland , installed communist government
- 'The chill that began at Yalta began to depend and the post-war peace soon was encrusted in the frosts of the Cold War' - Kort 1998
- *The Potsdam Conference*
  - Held July 1945, city outside Berlin
  - Stalin, Atlee, Truman
  - after Germanys unconditional surrender May 1945
  - last major conference of WWII
  - Prior to conference, Soviets decided Polish/German border should be on lines of rivers Oder and Niesse (NOT part of Yalta agreements)
  - Russian army began pushing Germans outside USSR zone in Germany
  - 'Stalin's aims were clearly expansionist' - Lowe 2002
  - Churchill and Roosevelt not impressed with USSR influence
  - DOMINO THEORY: If a country fell into Soviet sphere its neighbour would follow and the surrounding area would fall into communism like dominoes (Lowe 2002)
  - Truman now POTUS - "no nonsense style" berated USSR Foreign Minister Molotov about no consultation re. Polish border changes
  - Churchill replaced by ATLEE
- *Agreements of Potsdam*

(a) Allied Control Council to be established to oversee occupation of Germany into 4 zones

(b) Germany treated as a single economic unit

- in practise only first followed- Soviet eventually reject German economy
- *Deadlock issues of Potsdam*
  1. Soviet demand for \$10 billion reparation from Germany rejected
  2. Oder-Niese Line viewed as temporary by West, Stalin handed over land from Germany to Poles. As a consequence, Poles look to Soviets to protect borders in West. Soviet new border permanent. If Allies wouldn't allow reparations, USSR could still determine how much Germany paid if they controlled their zone within Germany
  3. Disagreement about Polish self determination
  4. No agreement about Soviet control of Black Sea straits
- Potsdam concluded with 21 protocols
- Potsdam Protocols basis for the actual framework of post war reconstruction

• *21 Potsdam Protocols*

POLITICAL	MILITARY	ECONOMIC	SOCIAL
Council of Foreign Ministers established for PEACE SETTLEMENTS	Disposal of German navy divided equally between USSR US UK	Reparations claims for US UK to be taken from Western zone , renounce claims to enterprise in East	German population living outside Germany to be treated humanely
certain Principles would govern treatment of Germany in initial control period by 4 powers.	All troops withdrawn from Iran	Reparation claims for USSR taken from Eastern Zone , renounce claims to enterprise in West	
City of Koenigsberg given to USSR	Military commanders in Germany from 4 zones to be clear about duties and respect protocols	no reparations from Austria	
War crimes tribunal established	use of allied property as war trophies for reparations to be worked out by diplomatic channels.	Commission established to determine removal of oil equipment in Romania	
Polish Provisional Governemnt created, with free elections		Unrestricted navigation on inland rivers to assist trade referred to future conference	

POLITICAL	MILITARY	ECONOMIC	SOCIAL
Peace Treaties concluded. All peace nations admitted to UN.			
Italian territories to be examined in further meeting			
Allied Control Commission procedure for Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary to be revised.			
City of Tangier to remain international (despite Soviet claims)			
Issue of Black Sea straits to be discussed in further detail			
European Inland transport conference reconvened			

- *Negotiation Styles of the Big Three*

- US UK democracies- will of people determined leadership of country (can see with Churchill being booted out and replaced by Atlee)
- democracy requires compromise, consensus and negotiation
- Soviet negotiation- determined by foreign policy of the leader
- STALIN maintained power through purges of party and ruthlessness
- Negotiation through military strength of RED ARMY
- Soviets demonstrated that the greater the strength, less likely the need to follow democratic model
- Revisionist perspective- Stalin hardly likely to believe Roosevelt's global goodwill vision or trust intentions of allies
- View of negotiation by Molotov was "to expand the borders of the fatherland [Russia] as much as possible" - Kort 1998

- *Conflict between the Potsdam Participants examples*

- Churchill stated that Molotov had smile of Siberian Winter
- Churchill told Stalin Soviet east occupation was an "Iron Curtain"
- Stalin stated Churchill believed in "fairytales"

- Stalin thought Truman was “worthless”
- THEREFORE
  - conference ended with participants believing new war may begin
  - frost at Yalta was deepened at Potsdam
  - now a clear division of power in Europe had blanketed east and west
- **ideology versus expansionism, containment versus security**
  - *ideology versus expansionism*: democratic capitalism (the West) against expanding communism, Iron Curtain (USSR)
  - *containment versus security*: Refers to the Polish situation, in which the US were after the containment of communism, whereas the USSR wanted security. Poland had invaded the USSR twice in the 20th century, Stalin argued that a “friendly government” was essential for her survival.
- **1946 Iron Curtain speech, 1946 Long Telegram, 1947 Truman Doctrine and 1948 Marshall Aid**
  - *The Long Telegram*
    - George F. Kennan, US State Department Russian expert
    - early 1946
    - sent 16 page telegram to Washington from Moscow, telegrams traditionally only a few words
    - Warned US that Soviets driven by permanent sense of insecurity and communist outlook was fiercely hostile to West/anti-capitalist.
    - USSR was police state and Stalin justified dictatorship by creating foreign enemies
    - USSR would continue expansionist program to undermine democratic states of Western Europe -threat to US
    - Truman+administration looking for confirmation for adopting a tougher stance - Long Telegram gave ammunition required
    - HOWEVER
    - September 1946- Soviet responded with own telegram



- from Russian ambassador in Washington, Nikolai Novikov
- warned of America's drive for world dominance
- country's prep for war against Soviets
- *The Iron Curtain speech*
  - March 1946
  - Former UK PM Winston Churchill gave "Iron Curtain" speech at Fulton, Missouri
  - Speech focused on Soviet expansionism
  - "from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron curtain has descended across the Continent" -famous first line
  - "all these famous [European cities]...lie in what I must call the Soviet sphere, and all are subject to...control from Moscow...This is certainly not the liberated Europe we sought to build up"
  - Stalin's response
    - Statement in Pravda, March 1946
    - "Mr Churchill now takes the stand as the warmongers"
    - "The Soviet Union, anxious for its future safety"
    - "How can anyone...describe these peaceful aspirations of the Soviet Union as expansionist tendencies"
  - After Churchill and Stalin made positions re. Europe, world awaited US response
  - August 1946, Middle East
    - USSR maintaining demand to Turkey for equal access to Black Sea Straits connecting Mediterranean Sea
    - Stated in Potsdam Protocols
    - British and French offered support to Turkey
    - Truman ordered naval vessels in area- USSR backs down
  - Civil war in Greece, overthrow of Greek government by Greek communists
    - USSR supported Greek communist forces
    - USA and UK supported democratic forces

- ITALY and FRANCE: communist parties flourishing
- continual disputes arising in Germany between Allied Occupation Council regarding admin of West and Soviet Zones
- CONCLUSION
  - By 1947, blanket of diplomatic frost over Europe had thickened and a decision was required on future of Europe, THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE
- *The Truman Doctrine*
  - 12th March 1947
  - Truman gave speech to US congress, laid out foreign policy position and called for containment of communism
  - “every nation must choose between alternative ways of life”
  - “one way of life is based upon the will of the majority..the second...relies on terror and oppression”
  - policy of containment known as “the Truman Doctrine”
  - Congress supported POTUS - granted \$400 million worth of aid to Greece and Turkey
    - NOTE: Atlee (British PM) told US that it couldn't afford to find Greek government against communists funded by Soviets
  - US feared without backing, Soviets would overrun
- *The Marshall Plan*
  - Fear of Soviets using other means to control Black Sea Straits, despite threat from USSR to Turkey easing
  - Ensuring containment of communism, Truman laid out policy that divided world into Free and tyrannised
  - Secretary of State- George C. Marshall
    - gave speech at Harvard University
    - announced European Recovery Program, known as MARSHALL PLAN
  - “Our policy is directed not against any country or doctrine but against hunger, poverty, desperation and chaos”
  - mechanism for Truman’s containment of communism

- April 1948- Congress agrees to \$17 billion worth of aid to flow to Europe over 5 years
- Marshall proposed Europe economic situation could only be resolved with US investment of finance, goods and services.
- believed that by PROMOTING CAPITALISM, spread of communism would be dampened and contained
- All European countries offered assistance including USSR
  - USSR rejected assistance, made sure none of the countries in sphere would receive aid
  - Molotov called it “Dollar Imperialism” - a capitalist plot

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## Cold War Divisions- Conflict in the East, Cooperation in the West

### - Berlin Blockade

- *Prelude: Cominform and Yugoslavia*
- Cominform
  - Soviet Foreign Trade Commissar MIKOYAN
  - Mikoyan tried to persuade Stalin to use US assistance, would enable USSR to recover quickly from war and made them more independent
  - Stalin disagreed with Mikoyan, supported Molotov’s rejection of the plan
  - August 1947 Soviets countered US Marshall Plan with own trade agreements in SPHERE OF INFLUENCE
    - “Polish Conference”
      1. Poland
      2. Hungary
      3. Czechoslovakia
      4. Hungary
      5. Romania

6. Bulgaria

7. Yugoslavia

- September 1947
- Soviet representative ZHDANOV told delegates that world was divided into 2 hostile camps: Capitalist-Imperialist camp led by US vs Democratic Anti-Imperialist camp led by USSR
- Conference ended with formation of the Communist Information Bureau “COMINFORM”
  - aim: to encourage fully communist governments and centrally planned economies like USSR
- Yugoslavia
  - All countries of Polish Conference followed Soviet lead except YUGOSLAVIA
  - Led by Josef Broz, “Tito” - won power in 1945 after defeating German forces
  - Tito refused to accept Soviet authority, Yugoslav Communist Party supported him despite Stalin wanting him to be removed
  - Failed assassination attempts of Tito ordered by Stalin
  - Yugoslavia expelled from Cominform June 1948
  - REMAINED AN INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST STATE, not considered part of the Soviet Bloc (Soviet sphere of influence)
  - First of Stalins post war failures
- *The Berlin Blockade 1948-1949*
  - Failure of foreign ministers conferences from 1946 re. re-unification of Germany
  - led US UK France to plan establishment of a provisional German government within their occupation zones (joining)
  - Communist control of Czechoslovakia, coup d’etat Feb 1948 in PRAGUE with support of Soviets: clear Iron Curtain was ADVANCING INTO THE WEST
  - “To an unprepared American and Western European public, the Prague takeover was the most appalling event yet in the emerging Cold War” (Gaddis 1998)
  - Western powers unsure of Stalins intentions

- Stalin's "meddling behaviour" re. Czechoslovakia Coup led West to believe he couldn't be trusted
  - Western interest needed to be placed on FRONT FOOT rather than reacting to Soviet expansionism
- March 1948
  - US UK France announced separate state of WEST GERMANY
  - created with its own government
  - Acting on belief that
    - i) Strong West Germany = containment zone against Soviet expansionism
    - ii) West Germans represented allied against communism rather than defeated enemy
    - iii) revived West German economy would allow Germans to "pay their own way for the reconstruction of their society" (Briggs 2005)
- West had breached Potsdam Protocols
- USSR protested — couldn't do anything about it
- USSR representative in Allied Control Council instructed to "walk out in disgust"
- formal strengthening of West alliance alarmed Stalin
  - Brussels Pact 1948—created the Western European Union (WEU)
  - improve trade, info transfer and military cooperation
  - France, UK, The BENELUX countries: Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg
  - Essentially a defence pact aimed at USSR
- new economy in West Germany = new currency, "Deutschmark"
- Deutschmark introduced into West Berlin + zones June 1948
- Soviet response: new currency in their zones the following day
- Soviets then BLOCKADED road, rail and canal communication links crossing their one
  - Effectively encircled 2.5 million West Berliners in the Soviet Zone

- Cut off all electricity and coal supplies to West Berlin — in hope of making West abandon plans for West German state
  - bonus: squeezing out Western nations from West Berlin
- USSR + Western powers seemed to be heading for military confrontation
- West Berliners would need 3600 tonnes of fuel, food and clothes per day to survive
- *USA response to the Blockade*
  - General Lucius Clay- commander of American occupation forces in Europe
  - Clay warned if Western nations were forced out of Berlin they could lose Western position in Europe
  - Truman faced difficult choice:
    - hand Berlin over to Soviets
- OR
  - order American troops to force open communication links
- Truman's advisors offered alternative solution: AIRLIFT into city
- “they resolved to hold on at all costs and began a massive airlift of supplies to keep the 2.5 million West Berliners from starving” (Lowe 2002)
- *The Berlin Airlift*
  - first flights 26th June 1948
  - delivered tonnes of food, coal and medicine
  - early weeks of life- one plane landing in West Berlin approx. every 3 mins for 24 hours a day
  - each plane loaded up to 1090kg of supplies
  - PEAK: every 45 seconds, 12 000 tonnes of supplies being distributed
  - extra airfields built to accomodate increasing air traffic
  - Blockade lasted 300 days before Stalin called it off May 1949
  - TOTAL: approx. 277 000 flights delivered 1.8 million tonnes of supplies (Nash 1999)
  - Blockade was a foreign policy disaster for Soviets and another defeat for Stalin
  - West responded to courage of West Berliners

- Democratic countries INSPIRED by spirit of rescuers
- HOWEVER
  - despite end of blockade
  - trains, motor convoys and aircraft that had to negotiate East German territory experienced minor disruption well into mid 1960's
- Western powers created FRG: Federal Republic of Germany in May 1949
- Soviet zone became GDR: German Democratic Republic of East Germany in October 1949
- THUS, loose borders in West and sealed Soviets became clear division between communism and democracy
- *Effects of the Blockade*
  - A. West- public opinion outraged at Stalin and Soviets behaviour, outburst of anti-communist feeling at government
  - B. NATO was formed (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) April 1949. 12 signatories from the West, Benelux and other countries (Italy, Portugal etc.). Members pledged “continuous self help and mutual aid”. Basis for agreement was ATTACK ON ONE, ATTACK ON ALL. All state defence forces under joint NATO command led by EISENHOWER, to co-ordinate defence of West. Significant- first time US entered a treaty during peacetime. NATO created devastating defeat for Soviet policy in Europe — signalled unnatural division of Europe into communism and capitalism
  - C. West Germany created 23rd May 1949
  - D. USSR response to NATO by forming COMECON in 1949. “Council for Mutual Economic Assistant”— done to co-ordinate the economic policies of the Eastern block. Laid path for WARSAW PACT (1955)— military equivalent of NATO
  - E. Now clear political division, with separate states of East Germany and West Germany
  - F. Truman’s containment policy worked despite Czechoslovakia fall to communism. USSR made no conquests in Europe or Middle East.

**- Impact of the Arms Race and Space Race**

- *The Suez Crisis 1956*
  - Disputes in Middle East
  - 1952- King Farouk of Egypt removed from power in Coup led by army officers
  - General GAMAL ABDUL NASSER new dictator of Egypt
  - initially supported by Dwight Eisenhower (POTUS after Truman, 1953-1961) as NATIONALIST
  - The Suez Canal
    - strategic position for Egypt trade
    - 1954- British and French corporate interests had control
    - UK govt largest shareholder in canal, had a small military base in area to protect interests
    - NOTE: Canal had been declared a neutral zone—open to all ships, however Israel was banned due to previous conflict
  - ORDER OF EVENTS
    - A. US Secretary DULLES agreed to close military base
    - B. UK agreed to in 1954
    - C. West forced Nasser to negotiating table as Aswan Dam project needed \$\$
    - D. World Bank, UK, US organised finance, DULLES informed Nasser asked USSR for cheaper arrangements
    - E. Dulles called off American offer
    - F. NASSER seized control of canal and expelled UK and French employees
  - International conferences to resolve issue
  - NOTE: NEW BRITISH PM ANTHONY EDEN
    - believed force would have to be used if Nasser didn't negotiate
    - Robert Menzies, AUS PM, eventually persuaded Nasser
  - Nasser offered CIA bribe (under Kermit Roosevelt) of \$3 million to resolve issue in CIA's favour



- Nasser took money and built functionless tower in Cairo, known as ‘Roosevelt’s erection’
- USSR offered Nasser support, supplied Egyptians with weapons from 1955
- Khrushchev threatens rocket attacks on Britain, France and Israel if they didn't agree to cease fire
- Khrushchev decision BOLD: altered Soviet foreign policy by supporting Nasser
- Nasser closed canal, sunk ships across channel
- Soviets condemned invasion - called it imperialist aggression
- America denounced invasion, as NATO allies had acted without consent — US relationship with world tarnished
- Cease fire agreed to 6th November. US France Israel withdrew
- *Results of Suez Crisis*
  - i) USSR able to strengthen friendship with Arab nations
  - ii) Khrushchev able to offer Nasser loans and aid to complete Aswan Dam
  - iii) Israel denied access to canal
  - iv) UK and France, old empires seen as declining powers. Possessed “super-power” technology
  - v) Nasser remained in control of Suez Canal, Egypt receiving all revenues
  - vi) USSR under Khrushchev’s peaceful co-existence able to demonstrate to Arab’s its superiority.
- *The Eisenhower Doctrine*
  - 5th January 1957
  - Eisenhower administration - announces commitment to use military force to contain communism in Middle East
  - As a result of SUEZ, US wouldn't permit USSR to fill power vacuum left by British and French
  - Authorised president intervention with military support in Middle East
  - help against “overt armed aggression from any nation controlled by International Communism” (Robinson 1997)

- extension of Truman Doctrine
- (Asia - not applicable?) US viewed Nasser's coups as Soviet mischief making
- *Sputnik*
  - Oct 1957
  - USSR launch first Satellite SPUTNIK 1
  - (term used extensively in 1950's McCarthyism)
  - Launched by ICBM- Intercontinental Ballistic Missile
    - USSR blasted 2 ICBMs from Kazakhstan to Pacific Ocean (5000 km)
  - publicity huge in USSR
  - strong political and social impact in West
  - Khrushchev keen to have successful space program to demonstrate USSR superiority
    - assisted his authority in USSR, leadership being challenged by Molotov
  - Marked beginning of Space Race, also showed that Soviets could lead West rather than react
  - *Media Reactions*
    - Stunned US, (Freedman 2000) "It could no longer be assumed that the United States was without rival in its technological capacity"
    - PRAVDA, surprisingly restrained, "First man-made earth satellite makes a most important contribution to the treasure house of world science and culture"
    - UK headline of News Chronicle, "RUSSIA WINS SPACE RACE"
    - US most emotive, "Atlanta Constitution" - "The Russians have the the weapon... [and] our country is vulnerable to attack"
- *The Vanguard*
  - Soviets sent second Sputnik into orbit in November
    - with dog Laika, died on mission
  - December 1957 - US navy attempted to match Soviets with satellite Vanguard
  - Vanguard reached few centimetres into air before exploding

- National humiliation, US press found humorous side - “Flopnik” “Stayputnik”  
HOWEVER

- January 1958
- US Army successfully launched Explorer 1 - first American artificial satellite
- demonstrated US quick response to space race

- *The Arms Race*

- Concern in US and USSR - development of thermonuclear bomb technology in US (50x greater than Hiroshima)
- Khrushchev talked up Soviet nuclear ability - linked success of Sputnik to ICBM's that launched into space
  - aware that Soviets were behind in nuclear technology
- Eisenhower's response
  - US missile program speeded up
  - military budgets increased - 4.3 billion to 5.3 billion in 1 year (Nash 1998)
  - sped up efforts to create stockpile of weapons for NATO
  - (prediction Soviets would have 1 000 ICBM's by 1960, US 70)
  - 1958- established NASA, putting space exploration into hands of non-military agency
  - US Congress emphasised science education with National Defence Education Act (1958)
  - placed THOR and JUPITER, intermediate-range ballistic missiles in Europe that could reach Soviet sphere
    - couldn't be launched from US
    - UK deployed rockets between 1959-1964
    - Jupiter deployed throughout Europe by NATO
    - Late 1950's, USSR encircled by missiles

- **The Threat of Nuclear War (Mutually Assured Destruction)**

- *M.A.D.*: doctrine of military strategy in which a full-scale use of nuclear weapons by opposing sides would cause complete annihilation of the attacker and defender. Based on theory of deterrence. IN SIMPLE TERMS, “whoever shoots first, dies second”
- In Early Cold War, applies later in DETENTE however
- Official nuclear policy of US, “massive retaliation” - coined by Eisenhower’s secretary John Foster Dulles
  - called for massive attack against USSR if they invaded Europe (whether it was conventional or nuclear)
  - 1962 CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS- both sides had developed nuclear-missile launching technology from submarines
    - able to fully implement MAD doctrine
- **Formation of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and Warsaw Pact**
  - *Formation of NATO*
    - 1949
    - Prospect of communist expansion prompted US + 11 other West nations to form NATO
    - After Czechoslovakian coup in 1948 sponsored by USSR, US leaders joined discussion with European leaders about a joint security agreement
    - process gained new urgency after Berlin Blockade
    - April 4th 1949- discussions concluded
    - Washington DC- 12 countries in North America and Western Europe signed NATO
    - Primarily SECURITY pact
      - Article 5 “attack on one, attack on all”
    - Change in US foreign policy - first time since 1700’s that US had formally tried security to European nations
    - ORIGINAL MEMBERS: Belgium, Britain, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, USA
    - Backbone of West military security against USSR
    - Membership grew larger over the course of the Cold War

- *Warsaw Pact*
  - 1955
  - In some way a response to NATO, didn't occur until 6 years after
  - more inspired by re-arming of West Germany and its admission into NATO 1955
  - After WWII, USSR concerned about Germany becoming military power (concern shared by many Europeans on both sides)
    - HOWEVER
  - Mid-1950's, US and NATO members began to advocate making West Germany part of NATO
    - allowing military under tight restrictions
  - Warsaw pact signed less than 2 weeks after West Germany joined NATO
  - Members: USSR, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania
  - Line-up constant until Cold War ended with dismantling of all Communist Governments 1990
  - Focused on creating coordinated defence among member nations to deter enemy attack
  - international security component useful to USSR
  - Provided mechanism for USSR to exercise tight control over communist states in Eastern Europe
    - EXAMPLE: When USSR used military force to put down Hungary revolts, they presented it as being carried out by Warsaw Pact
- **The use of the Warsaw Pact (Hungary, Berlin Wall and Berlin Blockade, Prague Spring)**
  - *Hungary*
    - Hungarian Uprising of 1956
    - Background
      - nationwide revolt against the communist Hungary government 23rd October-10th November

- death of Stalin 1953 - Eastern European people given hope of freedom from Stalinism
- FEB 1956- “de-Stalinisation” attack by Khrushchev
- Communist Hungarian leader Rakosi forced to resign
- October 23rd - student protesters in Budapest
- issue “Sixteen Points” including removal of secret police, more food, remove Russian control etc.
- (Poland had been granted rights following street rebellions)
- IMRE NAGY appointed Prime Minister and JANOS KADAR foreign minister
- Moscow felt this appointment of “liberals” was best way to keep protesters in check
- Red Army pulled out and Nagy allowed political parties again
  - HOWEVER
- 31st October- Nagy announced Hungary would withdraw itself from Warsaw Pact
- Kadar disagreed- formed own government in Eastern Hungary supported by Soviet Tanks
- 4th November - Soviet tanks under “Warsaw Pact nations” entered Budapest to restore order
- 30 000 killed, 200 000 fled
- Nagy executed and Kadar put in charge with Soviet rule re-established
- EISENHOWER, “I feel with the Hungarian people”
- J.F Dulles American Secretary of State, “to all those suffering under Communist slavery, let us say you can count on us”
  - HOWEVER
- US, Britain, France etc. took no action regarding the Hungarian Uprising , due to Suez Canal Crisis which was seen as of greater relevance
- *Prague Spring*
  - 1968
  - Background

- Dubcek- reformer: becomes First Secretary in January 1968 (of Czechoslovakia)
- Czechoslovakia, concerns about economy led to rift between pro-Moscow government and democracy
- Czechoslovakian economy controlled by Soviet Centralised process
- intellectual life and politics needed to be freed to allow Czechoslovakian people to reach their potential
- KHRUSHCHEV FORCED TO RESIGN 1964 - replaced by Brezhnev
- Leonid Brezhnev
  - eventually became sole leader
  - leader until death in 1982
  - less tolerant than Khrushchev of criticism within Soviet bloc
  - tough stance on Prague Spring
- Dubceck and reforms
  - Economic difficulties experienced by all in Soviet bloc 1960s
  - Czechoslovakia- concerns about economy led to rift between pro-Moscow government and reformers who wanted democracy
  - Czechoslovakia economy controlled through Soviet Centralised process
    - all produce imported from within Soviet bloc regardless of quality
  - Breznev visited Prague Dec 1967
    - didn't solve issue between problem and rival factions
  - 5th January 1968- pro-Moscow leader NOVOTNY forced to resign
  - Dubcek becomes new leader
  - Kremlin + Brezhnev concerned with Dubceks reforms
  - Dubceks reforms (“Socialism with a human face”)
    1. censorship of press and tv removed
    2. competitive retail markets established
    3. Industry decentralised, factories run by works councils instead of party officials

4. De-collectivisation of farms
  5. Trade unions given greater powers
  6. more trade with West
  7. People had freedom to travel abroad
  8. Border with West Germany reopened
  9. Discussion about establishment of non-communist parties
- Dubcek saw himself as Leninist - HOWEVER believed in democracy
  - Wanted Czechoslovakia to remain communist but with feature of a democracy
  - continuing ally of USSR and remain in Warsaw Pact - however 1968 Moscow intervened
  - Prague Spring
    - Dubcek's reforms popular within Czechoslovakia
    - led to widespread political discussion
    - media played vital role in discussions
    - some Czech leaders felt reformation was going too far
    - USSR, Brezhnev and Politburo had no desire to intervene UNTIL
      1. Dubcek suggested non-communist political parties allowed
      2. criticisms of US in Czech press
    - Soviet bloc states anxious of reforms, (Tito visited to encourage reform program)
    - Czech conservatives sent "appeal for help", Kremlins active
    - 21st August - 500 000 Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops with tanks crossed border
    - moved into Prague and other Czech cities
    - RESISTENCE
      - 250 000 Czech citizens, mainly students climbed onto Soviet tanks and questioned invasion



- Moscow weren't able to persuade people to end revolt HOWEVER  
September 1969 , protests ended when it was clear Soviet tanks wouldn't  
back down
- Dubcek arrested, forced to drop reform program
- replaced by conservative GUSTAV HUSAK - followed USSR
- NOTE: not all East Europe states agreed with Soviet invasion,  
YUGOSLAVIA and ROMANIA objected
- Consequences of invasion
  - Military intervention embittered Czechs - had been most pro-Soviet of all  
satellite states
  - Soviet intervention put stop to an further official moves towards reform in  
Soviet Bloc
  - BREZNEV DOCTRINE
    - Issued 12th October 1969
    - statement by Breznev
    - Warsaw Pact countries not allowed to follow policies involving any  
departure from one-party state
    - If development took place in country that seemed like threat to socialism,  
right + duty of other member states to intervene militarily in order to bring  
reforms to end
- **Beginning of trading relations between the Western European countries including: the Monnet vision, the ECSC, Euratom and the EEC (European Economic Community or Common Market) and the implications in the West (including mistrust of the UK by De Gaulle and impacts on NATO)** -De Gaulle, vetoed UK 2x in 1960's, also thinks british too involved with america and very much against dominant US influence hovering over Europe. Pulls france out of NATO millitarily, trying to establish increasing french influence in Europe, its initially france and germany that dominate the common market, must into the promotion of french influence and esteem
  - *Monnet's Vision*
    - Jean Monnet, French foreign diplomat
    - lived through 2 world wars involving rivalry between European nations
    - Believed there would be no peace in Europe if the European states were reconstituted  
on the basis of national sovereignty.

- Believed they should constitute themselves into a FEDERATION
- *ECSC- European Coal and Steel Community*
  - Established by treaty 1952, dissolved 2002
  - Designed to integrate coal+steel industries in western Europe
  - original members
    - France
    - West Germany
    - Italy
    - Belgium
    - Netherlands
    - Luxembourg
  - expanded to include all members of EEC
  - 1950- proposed by ROBERT SCHUMAN (French foreign minister), common market for coal and steel for countries willing to delegate control of these sectors for economies to independent authority.
    - later known as Schuman Plan , prepared by Monnet
    - head of French planning agency
    - continued concern over massive Ruhr reserves and potential for dominance
    - Initially just France and West Germany, later included Benelux in TREATY OF PARIS (1951- note: varying Treaty's of Paris)
- *Euratom - European Atomic Energy Community*
  - established by Euratom Treaty March 1957
  - ORIGINAL MEMBERS
    - Belgium
    - France
    - Italy
    - Luxembourg
    - the Netherlands

- West Germany
- Established at same time as EEC
- less-well known due to lower profile, has seen very little amendment
- original purpose: creating a specialist market for nuclear power in Europe, developing nuclear energy and distributing it to its member states while selling surplus to non-member states
- Originally going to be extended to ECSC Community
  - HOWEVER
- Jean Monnet (President of ECSC) wanted separate community to cover nuclear power
- *EEC- European Economic Community*
  - not a direct consequence of cold war, tremendous influence on post-war Europe
  - statesman after war- co-operation between Western Europe was vital if economic recovery and political stability were to be achieved
  - Principles of co-operations Established within
    1. formation of 1947 BENELUX, custom union: Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg
    2. setting up in 1948 of European Economic Co-operation (OEEC), originally to administer Marshall Aid
    3. Schuman Plan 1950- pooled coal and steel resources of Western Europe, led to formation of ECSC. Model for EEC
    4. March 1957 TREATY OF ROME
      - Signed by Benelux countries + France, West Germany, Italy
      - key features establishment of free trade between member states
      - imposition of common tariff against non-member States
      - Longer term objectives: economic integration + co-ordination of national economic and monetary policies
- **The significance of Khrushchev (peaceful co-existence and de-Stalinisation) and Eisenhower (rollback strategy to force change) on relations between USA and USSR in Europe**

- *Nikita Khrushchev*
  - Emerged as leader in USSR by 1955
  - Khrushchev preached 'peaceful co-existence' and 'de-Stalinization'
  - Peaceful Coexistence
    - Announced at the 20th Party Congress- February 1956
    - policy saw shift from Marxist-Leninist principle of clash between capitalism and communism
    - war no longer seen as 'Inevitable'
    - saw necessity two powers needed to decrease tensions - nuclear war would be catastrophic
    - Commitment through various international peace conferences
    - Camp David
      - September 1959
      - accepted invitation from US POTUS Dwight Eisenhower to attend presidential retreat known as Camp David to discuss Cold War issues
      - After 2 day long meeting, Eisenhower and Khrushchev released joint statement saying discussions helped better understand one another
      - Referred to 'the Spirit of Camp David' - good relations between the two
      - Khrushchev softened "Berlin ultimatum"
  - Geneva Summit
    - July 1955
    - Held between Big Four: Eisenhower, Anthony Eden (Britain), Soviet premier BULGANIN and PM France- Fuar
    - Accompanied by Foreign ministers (USSR Molotov, US John Dulles) and Khrushchev
    - purpose to bring together world leaders to begin peace discussions - led down many roads (arms, nuclear warfare etc), influenced by a common goal for GLOBAL SECURITY

- Khrushchev willing to allow united Germany if it was neutral HOWEVER West German entry into NATO complicated
- also wanted removal of Warsaw Pact and NATO
- Conference marked era of renewed optimism, however disrupted by the Suez Canal Crisis
- Relations with the East
  - June 1955
  - Travelled to Belgrade to visit Tito
  - Tito (Yugoslavian leader), attempted to repair relations since Stalin expelled Yugoslavia in Eastern Bloc
- Increasing Tensions
  - Despite its name, peaceful coexistence had the adverse effect of increasing tension and hostilities
  - Hungarian Uprising - Imre Nagy announcing leave of Warsaw Pact
  - SOLIDIFIED EASTERN BLOC
  - Arms Race - while a success of Khrushchev showed his brash/provocative behaviour
  - ‘the Russians have weapons and our country is vulnerable to attack’ - rocket ‘rhetoric’ often exaggerated
  - Fueled in Soviet media, PRAVDA gloating, “Even the capitalist press has been forced to admit the superiorities of the Soviet system...America will now be forced to abandon the Arms Race”
  - MISSILE GAP: used in the US for the perceived superiority of the number and power of the USSR's missiles in comparison with its own. Term first used by Kennedy 1958
  - Khrushchev emphasised missile gap, rocket rhetoric to promote fear. “We are turning out missiles like sausages”
  - Capture of Gary Powers U-2 Spy Plane incident
  - De-Stalinization
- Announced at the 20th Party Congress- February 1956

- “Secret Speech” to the Congress condemned Stalin’s role, returning Lenin to rightful place and stamping his own authority on USSR
- Shocked the world, denounced CULT OF PERSONALITY- called for an end of his hero worship
- Martin McAuley, argues speech purpose to ‘liberate party officials from the fear of repression’ -if party were efficient mechanism stripped of abuse of a=power, could transform USSR
- Gulag institutions closed, MVD Order 020 January 1960
- ‘Raised hopes of the countries within the Soviet Bloc that change would occur’
- Poland: Khrushchev accepted rise of power of Premier Gomulka 1956
  - less Soviet government
  - ‘different roads to socialism’ - concession to Poland demands
- Moved Stalin’s body, changed Stalingrad to Volgograd
- *Eisenhower - ELECTED 1952*
  - Rollback Strategy
    - More aggressive and risky foreign policy than containment or detente
    - USA would overthrow communist regimes, replace with friendly
    - Rarely used in Eisenhower rule
    - Did not intervene in Hungarian Uprising 1956 - containment after than rollback, which risked nuclear confrontation of the USSR
    - FOCUSED MORE ON SUEZ CANAL CRISIS
- **Negotiations between Eisenhower and Khrushchev before the U2 spy plane incident**
  - *U2- Spy Plane Incident*
    - May 1960
    - USSR shot down a US U-2 Spy Plane
    - Pilot Gary Powers
    - Initially US stated that flight was for a weather mission not for spying

- According to Khrushchev, plane had flown in from Pakistan not Adana as previously stated by US
- 7th May - Khrushchev revealed Gary Powers was alive (US CIA pilot instructed to kill themselves rather than be captured by Soviets)
- Actually a spy mission - 'peeping under the Iron Curtin'
- Sentenced to 10 years in Soviet prison Moscow
- HOWEVER February 1962 exchanged for Soviet spy Rudolf Abel
- *Paris Summit*
  - May 1960 -16th
  - BETWEEN BIG FOUR: McMillan (Britain), De Gaulle, Eisenhower , Khrushchev
  - Khrushchev believed U-2 timed deliberately for Summit
  - Warned countries that they would be targets of Soviet aggression if working with US in spy missions
  - May 11th - Eisenhower took responsibility for U-2 Spy flights but refused to apologise
  - Eisenhower refused to promise U-2 Spy planes would end
  - Khrushchev main concern spy missions might show 'missile gap' didn't exist (Schlesinger 1973)
    - would have severely weakened bargaining at Paris
    - Khrushchev at Summit, "to lose faith in peaceful coexistence would mean to doom mankind to war"
  - Khrushchev walked out on Eisenhower for refusing to apologise
  - Summit ended 18th May, little agreed to
  - MASSIVE FAILURE, "prelude to some of the darkest moments of the Cold War" (Evans 1998)
- *Khrushchev post-Paris Summit*
  - UN General Assembly September 1960
  - Spent 3 weeks in US, rocket rhetoric increase, made brash statements:

- Soviet missiles “coming off conveyor belts like sausages”
- “the Soviets would bury the West”
- “only a matter of time before the Capitalist system [was] liquidated”
- removed one his shoes and banged it on a table, heckling
- “Khrushchev deliberately wrecked the spirit of Camp David in the interest of his own survival, not only as leader of the Soviet Union but also as leader of the communist world” -Briggs

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## Brinkmanship and détente

### - “Brinkmanship in practise: Berlin Wall 1961 and Cuban Missile Crisis 1962

- *Brinkmanship*: practice of trying to achieve an advantageous outcome by pushing dangerous events to the brink of active conflict. It occurs in international politics, foreign policy, military strategy etc. This maneuver of pushing a situation with the opponent to the brink succeeds by forcing the opponent to back down and make concessions, by threatening to use extreme measures. During the Cold War, the threat of nuclear force was often used as such an escalating measure. The main examples are the Berlin Wall and Cuban Missile Crisis.
- *The Vienna Conference*
  - Kennedy (inaugurated 20th January 1961) and Khrushchev
  - Vienna, Austria 3rd-4th June 1961
  - Kennedy “still licking wounds after Bay of Pigs fiasco” (Briggs 2005)
  - Khrushchev an experienced negotiator, Kennedy an amateur
  - Kennedy realised he faced a ruthless opponent- believed that Khrushchev’s plan was to manipulate Third World nations governments through DECOLONISATION or NATIONAL LIBERATION WARS and bring them under communist control
  - Khrushchev believed Kennedy was manipulating nationalist third world countries through dollar diplomacy, to bring these resource rich countries under US control
  - Khrushchev believed he could bully Kennedy into handing over West Berlin
  - Kennedy refused to compromised



- 1960 Food shortages, many individuals left East Berlin and migrated to West
- West provided passage for freedom, subway system
- 1961, 3.5 million had left. 20% of East German population
- “cream of the country”- skilled workers, teachers, lawyers
- “haemorrhage” East Berlin’s brightest to the West - fed up with rationing of food and harsh working conditions
- Humiliating for the weakened Soviet bloc
- Khrushchev proposed peace treaty with East Germany
- Conclusion of conference
  - Kennedy mobilised American military in West Berlin
  - Dealings at Vienna toughened Kennedy to task of avoiding being driven out of Berlin
- *Lead-up to the Berlin Wall*
  - 25th July 1961
  - US position on Berlin announced on television broadcast
  - Kennedy sought higher defence budgets, new weapons etc.
  - Asked American people for additional \$3.25 billion
  - message to Soviets: US willing to risk fate of Berlin
  - “The solemn vow each of us gave to West Berlin in time of peace will not be broken in time of danger”, Kennedy (August 1961)
  - East Germans pushing Khrushchev to use military force to remove West from Berlin
    - likely unaware of Khrushchev claim of nuclear and military superiority
  - Walter Ulbricht, leader of EAST Germany. Suggested to Khrushchev that wall would be used to partition Berlin
  - Ulbricht, July. Public warned Khrushchev that stopping East refugees was URGENT
  - US senators Mansfield and Fulbright- publicly questioned why Ulbricht and Khrushchev didn't just close the border
    - GREEN LIGHT for Ulbricht and Khrushchev

- Kennedy, “a wall is a hell of a lot better than a war”
- *The Berlin Wall*
  - 1am, 13th August 1961
  - 50 000 East German police surrounded West Berlin, contractors began building barbed wire fence
  - Cut through West and East Berlin zones
  - intended to build larger brick wall once West reaction assessed (began 19th August)
  - Ulbricht and Khrushchev broke agreements to preserve free access between the two sectors
  - Khrushchev- believed GDR economic problems were relieved by wall, “border control” between West and East
  - Ulbricht reported economy improved
  - allegedly: prices lower for consumer goods, demand for food lower because West no longer shopping there
  - Clear construction of wall transformed Cold War- SYMBOL
  - Iron Curtain has closed ^^
  - possible to trace start of détente from this point: West tolerance of East territory and willingness to communicate
  - Freedman (2000) REVISIONIST- West decided not to act militarily, would have given communists pretext to take control of all Berlin
  - If done in open, would have been viewed as an attempt to deter the West from acting militarily
  - Tanks sanctioned in West Berlin didn't fair on Soviet tanks in East Berlin
  - HOWEVER
  - “the restrained response reflected Kennedy’s realisation that the Berlin Wall...was something of a godsend” (Dallek, 2003)
  - No war, but serious showdown in Cuba about to begin
- *The Bay of Pigs Invasion*
  - Kennedy (inaugurated 20th January 1961)

- Inaugural speech contained many memorable phrases “ask not what your country can do; ask what you can do for your country”
- 1959- Communist Fidel Castro took over Cuba
- many reforms - took control of American sugar, redistributed land to peasants, schooling for the poor
- Khrushchev provided aid to Castro - USSR also brought in KGB officers to assist Castro with secret police force
- January 1961 before Kennedy sworn in - Eisenhower broke off all diplomatic relations with Cuba
- APRIL 1961, rising speculation of intervention in Cuba
- Kennedy, “there will not be, under any conditions, an intervention in Cuba by the US Armed Forces”
- Aided trained Cuban exiles in planned invasion of the Bay of Pigs , hoping it would lead to removal of Castro
- Failed- Castro was aware of planned invasion and deployed 20 000 troops in preparation
- Exiles soundly beaten
- Massive humiliating failure for Kennedy- “he gambled on the basis of insufficient strength and then abandoned the operation before it was complete”
- *The Cuban Missile Crisis Timeline*

TIMELINE 1962	EVENTS
MAY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- US implement ‘Operation Mongoose’ to destabilise Castro</li> <li>- Soviets plan ‘Operation Anadyr’ to hold Castro power</li> </ul>
JUNE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- force of 161 Soviets send under secrecy to Cuba to form backbone of Soviet operations</li> </ul>
JULY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Soviet missile regiments, + other military regiments send to Cuba</li> </ul>
AUGUST	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Soviets explant sphere of influence by sending 40 000 troops to Cuba</li> </ul>

<b>2ND SEPTEMBER</b>	- Soviet Union admits to sending armaments and troops to Cuba
<b>11TH SEPTEMBER</b>	- Soviets claim its for defence reasons
<b>10TH OCTOBER</b>	- Senator Keating claims USSR constructing missile launch pads
<b>14TH OCTOBER</b>	- U-2 reconnaissance (obtain visual info) mission over Cuba - Photographs long-range missile sites under construction
<b>15TH OCTOBER</b>	- Photos from reconnaissance show missile launching pads near completion
<b>16TH OCTOBER</b>	- JFK advised that USSR have missiles in Cuba - establishes Executive Committee (ExCom) to advise POTUS - McNamara suggests quarantine or blockade of Cuba - “13 Days” of crisis begins
<b>18TH OCTOBER</b>	- ExCom believes quarantine is best option
<b>19TH OCTOBER</b>	- U-2 flights show more missile sites - ExCom + JCS (Joint Chiefs of Staff) advises JFK that bombing of missile positions best option
<b>22ND OCTOBER</b>	- JCS can’t guarantee that all missile bases can be destroyed in US bombing raid - Kennedy rejects first strike option - speaks to US people about crisis - QUARANTINE accounted against USSR - Warsaw Pact ships sail into Cuba
<b>23RD OCTOBER</b>	- USSR shipping approaches quarantine line - accompanied by submarines
<b>24TH OCTOBER</b>	- Shipping stopped before quarantine line - Khrushchev sends first message to US - U-2 shot down over Cuba - pilot killed - Secretary General of UN makes peace appeal to powers

<b>25TH OCTOBER</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- JFK diplomatically allows 2 ships through quarantine line against ExComm</li> <li>- photographic evidence of Soviet missiles</li> </ul>
<b>26TH OCTOBER</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Khrushchev second message, more aggressive</li> <li>- JFK suggests replying only to first friendly message</li> </ul>
<b>27TH OCTOBER</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- US guarantees it won't invade Cuba</li> <li>- Withdraws missiles in Turkey</li> </ul>
<b>28TH OCTOBER</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- USSR agree to dismantle missile pads in Cuba</li> <li>- CRISIS OVER</li> </ul>

- *Perspectives on the Cuban Missile Crisis*

- American

- Robert Kennedy, "a confrontation between the two giant atomic nations...which brought to the world to the abyss of nuclear destruction and the end of mankind"
- peak of brinkmanship, dangerously close to world

- Soviet

- Khrushchev, "When we put our ballistic missiles in Cuba, we had no desire to start a war...our principle aim was only to deter America from starting a war"
- Brinkmanship, preventing M.A.D
- Contestable - Khrushchev's brash, provocative behaviour

- Cuban

- Castro, "it was a strategic issue, it was necessary for the socialist bloc"
- Security v Containment

- **Lead up to détente: removal of Khrushchev, Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the hotline between the White House and the Kremlin**

- *Removal of Khrushchev*

- Forced resignation October 1964 following various behind-the-scenes struggles for power within USSR

- Replaced by Leonid Illyich Brezhnev (Secretary General of Communist Party) with Alexei Kosygin as Premier
- Mirrored dual leadership of Malenkov and Khrushchev in 1953
- Brezhnev eventually became sole leader
- ‘first amongst equals’ — Led until death in 1982
- Brezhnev less tolerant of criticism than Khrushchev about criticism within USSR and Soviet Bloc
- Democratic trends in Czechoslovakia 1968, USSR and Warsaw pact invaded
- Reforming government in Czechoslovakia removed and replaced with strong pro-Moscow regime
- BREZHNEV DOCTRINE announced November 1968 to justify invasion
- Proclaimed USSR could intervene in international affairs in any communist state if socialism was threatened
- *Nuclear Test Ban Treaty*
  - 5th August 1963
  - US , USSR , Britain signed Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty
  - prohibited testing of nuclear weapons in space, underwater or in atmosphere
  - JFK assassinated 3 months later 22d November 1963
  - hailed as first step toward control of nuclear weapons
  - Post-Cuban Missile crisis, public feared brink of nuclear war
  - Talk began in 50's, however negotiations resumed June 1963
  - France + China asked to join but refused
  - small but significant step towards control of nuclear weapons
  - 1996- Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty adopted - stricter + more countries ratified
- *Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons*
  - July 1968
  - US, UK, USSR (+ 59 other states)

- Countries that possessed nuclear weapons agreed not to assist other states in obtaining or producing nuclear weapons
- Effective March 1970
- Remain for 25 years
- additional countries later ratified: as of 2007 only 3 countries refused to sign
- *Moscow-Washington Hotline*
  - Established June 1963
  - Direct communication link between US and USSR
  - Idea originated from many
  - Cuban Missile Crisis made hotline a priority
    - During standoff, diplomatic messages took long time
    - US- took nearly 12 hours to receive and decode Khrushchev's 3 000 word original settlement message
    - White House advisors taught faster communications could have averted crisis
    - 2 countries signed Hotline Agreement June 1963 — First time they took action to cut risk of starting nuclear war intentionally
- **Détente: Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) 1 1972 and SALT 2 1979, the Helsinki Accords**
  - *Détente*: A French word meaning relaxation of political tension. The word began to be used to explain foreign policy actions and attitudes during the Cold War, particularly from President De Gaulle's time of President of France (1959-1969). It is most clearly aligned with the foreign policy of US President Richard Nixon (1969-1974), Ford (1974-1977) and Carter (1977-1981)
  - *Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) 1 1972*
    - Brezhnev and US POTUS Richard Nixon
    - Met in Moscow May 1972
    - Agreements most far-reaching attempts to control nuclear weapons ever
    - US looking for help in extricating itself from Vietnam War
    - SALT had been occurring for 2.5 years - little progress

- Breakthroughs
  - Limited number of antiballistic missiles (ABM) to two each
  - Number of intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles frozen at existing levels
  - Nothing in agreements about single missiles carrying multiple nuclear warheads or development of new weapons
- US + Soviets saw agreements as tremendous, helped improve relations between the two
- August 1972 - US Senate agreed to sign SALT 1 Treaty
- *Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) 2 1979*
  - Series of talks between US and USSR 1972-1979
  - Sought to curtail manufacture of nuclear weapons
  - Continuation of SALT 1
  - Signed by Jimmy Carter (US POTUS) and Brezhnev Vienna June 1979
  - Meant that:
    - limitation of 2400 on strategic nuclear launchers, which included missiles and bombers
    - Limitation of 1320 MIRV-equipped ballistic missile launchers
    - Bans on building of new heavy missiles (note: USSR was allowed to equip its current 308 heavy missiles)
    - Notification to be given to either side of nuclear testing
    - Exchange of information on nuclear arsenals
    - Verification through satellite technology not to be impeded by other side
  - US Senate and USSR refused to ratify - agreement severely criticised in the US as giving Soviets too many advantages
  - Both sides adhered to its terms until SALT II ended 1985
- *The Helsinki Accords*
  - Also called Helsinki Final Act
  - August 1975
  - major diplomatic agreement signed Helsinki, Finland at conclusion of the first Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe



- Primarily an effort to reduce tension between USSR and Western Blocs
- Secured their common acceptance of post-War status quo in Europe
- SIGNED: all Europe (except Albania), USA and Canada
- Pledged 35 nations to respect human rights and to cooperate in human rights - NO BINDING STATUS
- Talk began 1950s but USSR and Soviets reluctant, shift to detente during 1970's encouraged Western leaders to reconsider
- Initially unpopular in the West, proved to be important at end of Cold War - led to greater co-operation with West and East Europe
- **Negotiating in the West, maintaining control in the East; Brezhnev Doctrine**
  - Negotiating in the West - the Helsinki Accords
  - Maintaining control in the East through Warsaw Pact
- **Importance and role of leaders in the lead up to and during the Dètente period: Khrushchev, Kennedy, Brandt (ostpolitik), Brezhnev, Nixon, Carter and Ford**
  - Nikita Khrushchev
    - Not a significant role in the Detente period - dismissed 1964
    - After the Cuban Missile Crisis backdown by Khrushchev, realised how dangerous nuclear war could be
    - Peaceful coexistence in a 'bipolar' world (superpower v superpower)
  - Leonid Brezhnev 1964-1982
    - used the period of dètente to achieve nuclear parity with the US while also pursuing conventional forces
    - PARADOX of detente - easing tensions while also pursuing military build up
    - Took part in SALT 1972 agreement - first ever Soviet-American Arms Control
    - Helsinki Accords 1975 - recognised Soviet post-WWII border changes in Eastern Europe
      - For this recognition, the West required Soviet to recognise obligation for human rights
    - SALT II 1979 - by then, OVERTLY AGGRESSIVE Soviet policy and benign US policy saw collapse of Detente

- MOST PEACEFUL TIME OF SOVIET HISTORY- Volkogonov 1999, Czechoslovakia 1968-Soviet invasion of Afghanistan 1979
- Brezhnev - achieved military parity with US
- Arms Race had huge economic cost - 'threatened to degrade the already low general standard of living' (Volkogonov 1999)
- Increased military expenditures from 1966-1970
- Ready to reduce nuclear expenditure but increase the size and role of his ground troops
- STRENGTHENED USSR'S MILITARY POSITION
- Brezhnev promoted idea that economic stagnation was economic stability
- John F. Kennedy 1961-1963
  - Bay of Pigs failure
  - Reaction to the Berlin Wall
    - "a wall is a hell of a lot better than a war" August 14th
    - Stayed 'silent' - no West Reaction, pinpoint start of detente
- Willy Brandt
  - West German Chancellor 1969-1974
  - *OSTPOLITIK*
    - initiative of Brandt
    - Acknowledged power of the Soviet Bloc, meant that West Germany couldn't ignore its place in a divided Europe
    - West Germany would have to attempt to reduce Cold war tensions, was on frontline
  - Promotion of Ostpolitik
    - during détente
    - Allowed for a signing of a non-aggression pact with the USSR in 1970 (Treaty of Moscow)
  - Nobel Peace Prize 1971 for his efforts in reducing Cold War tensions
  - 1972 - West Germany signed treaty with East Germany
    - provided securing for West Berlin
    - Freed travel restrictions between East Berlin and West

- Established diplomatic relations between the West and the East
- Forced to resign when it was discovered one of his key advisors was a spy
- Richard Nixon
  - POTUS 1969-1974
  - Used improving international environment to address topic of nuclear peace
  - Went to Moscow 1972- met with Brezhnev
  - Engaged in intense negotiations with Brezhnev, summit introduced trade agreements and 2 landmark treaties
    - SALT 1 - first comprehensive limitation pact signed by 2 superpowers
    - Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, banned development of system designed to intercept missiles
  - Brezhnev and Nixon proclaimed new era of 'peaceful coexistence'
  - Watergate - resigned
- Gerald Ford
  - Replaced Richard Nixon in 1974
  - New York Times , Ford had "inherited the worst inflation in the country's peacetime history, the highest inflation rates in a century and a stagnant economy with large-scale unemployment in prospect"
  - November 1974 - participated in SALT II, Vladivostok
  - Conclusion of SALT II, Ford produced what he thought to be an acceptable compromise - both sides would limit their strategic arms missiles to 2400
  - NOTE: Edmonds 1983, US had 850 missiles working and Soviets had none operating successfully
  - Agreement eventually signed by CARTER
  - Mid-1974, detente "put on the back-burner" when US Congress upset USSR by passing law linking granting of USSR "most favoured nation" status in regards to trade with emigration of Jewish citizens to Israel
  - USSR secretly allowed Jewish citizens to move to Israel 1968, 1973 = 35 000
  - Law drafted by critics who believed US needed to be tougher on USSR by exposing immigration policy

- Kalmann, 2000 “Ford had the misfortune of becoming president as the mood of his party shift right. Detente was one casualty”
- Despite setback, detente continues as preferred foreign policy between USSR and US
- Ford’s presidency oversaw HELSINKI ACCORDS
- Despite Helsinki Accords having no enforcement mechanism, they were ‘detente’s high-water mark’
- FORD, on Human rights in Helsinki Accord’s “it is important that you [USSR] recognise the deep devotion of the American people and their government to human rights and fundamental freedoms”
- Evans 1998 - human rights agreement slowly boomed in the USSR
- Helsinki ‘watchgroups’ and dissidents in Eastern Europe saw Soviets take action
- Human rights agreement printed in Pravda 1975
- Provisions of the agreement appeared in new Soviet Constitution on 1977, no enforcement of agreement
  - Life for dissidents didn’t improve until 1980’s
- Promotion of rights by US was one of the reasons for the end of the Cold War
- Jimmy Carter
  - POTUS 1977-1981
  - Achievements:
    - negotiations at Camp David, led to signing of the Israeli-Egyptian Peace Treaty 1978
    - Negotiations with Brezhnev in 1979 to achieve limitations in SALT II
  - US economy a mess January 1977 at Carter’s inauguration
  - Both foreign and domestic policies of Jimmy Carter “demonstrate the limits of good intentions and hard work” (Wells 2003)
  - Early foreign policy position can be seen as continuation of detente - particularly though arms limitation promotion
  - Detente had fallen out of favour in American politics
  - Growing conservatism in America suggested detente was weak and “the forces of evil” - appeasement of Soviets
  - Carter’s foreign policy summary

- adjustment to international change
- DOWNPLAYING THREAT OF SOVIET COMMUNISM AND USE OF FORCE
- human rights focus
- moral leadership of the US
- multilateralism, end to 'bi-polar' politics
- negotiation rather than force
- proactive diplomacy
- Camp David Accords
  - not needed much knowledge
  - concerning peace between Egypt and Israel - gave Israel right to exist
- Soviet Reaction to Carter
  - Adam Ulam, USSR expert
    - USSR frustrated by what they perceived to be Carter's inconsistency in his approach to foreign policy
    - Gromyko, USSR foreign minister, Carter's human rights comments "poison the political climate..... we do not need any teachers when it comes to the internal affairs of our country"

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## The Second Cold War and the Importance of Gorbachev

### - The Decline of Detente in the late 1970's

- Mid-1970's, clear that power shift was occurring
- 'multi-polar' world had emerged - US efforts to contain communism had failed
- Soviet's effort to expand sphere of communism were accelerating and couldn't be defeated
- Evident through:
  - South America 1970, Marxist president elected in Chile
  - 1973, US had withdrawn all its troops from Vietnam
  - August 1974 - NIXON WATERGATE SCANDAL
  - 1 million Americans lost jobs in 1974

- US Unemployment in 9% May 1975
- US failed to contain communism in Asia. April 1975 - Vietnam fully communist
- Pro-communist governments Laos and Cambodia (NB: DOMINO EFFECT)
- Brezhnev and USSR took closer relationship between US and China as sign that American power was in decline
- Historian Raymond Garthoff - detente failed because US and USSR had different interpretations of detente
  - US: detente was way of managing the emergence of USSR power in world politics at time of nuclear equivalence
  - USSR: Detente was perceived as way of dealing with transitioned of the US from position of military superiority into more suitable role in world politics
  - GARTHOFF, “each saw itself has the manager of a transition by the other”
- Issues with détente
  - US acknowledged nuclear parity (equality) but didn’t appreciate that this parity meant there’d been a decline in ability of US to manage world affairs
  - More important role of USSR didn’t mean that they were wielded with same power as the Americans
  - USSR and US had different perceptions of world order - began to move in different directions
- Kort, 1999. REASONS FOR THE FAILURE OF DETENTE
  - USSR believed detente was binding in specific Soviet-American agreements only
  - USSR didn’t consider that detente stopped them from promoting communism in the 3rd world
  - Continuing arms race undermined detente, with sides rapidly increasing stockpiles of MIRV technology
  - M.A.D could be implemented with new technology that promoted fears of “first strike” capabilities eg. Soviet SS-18 missile
  - USSR technological developments created growing criticism of SALT 1 and detente in US
  - USSR concerned that US MX missile meant that the US possessed “first strike” capabilities against USSR

- Ending of SALT 1 in 1977, US and USSR had more nuclear arms than before treaty was signed in 1972
- BREZHNEV ERA- SOCIETY AND ECONOMY
  - Main policy to achieve parity with the US and USSR to be recognised as an equal in superpower arms race
  - Successes
    - massive nuclear and conventional arms build-up
    - promotion of Soviet communism across the globe
    - promotion of detente when it suited foreign policy
    - the collapse of Detente, creating a “New Cold War” with the invasion of Afghanistan
  - Growing technology gap became evident - failed to prevent
  - Corruption increased in the Politburo
  - Socially and Economically - Soviet stagnation
  - VOLKOGONOV - regime able to slow down the inevitable collapse through selling off extensive gas, oil, gold resources
  - Selling of resources to pay for grains it couldn't produce at home - showed the world that communism would collapse unless changes were made
- End of Detente - new world leadership
  - Context of increasing nuclear tension:
    - ongoing Soviet action in Afghanistan since 1978
      - eventual invasion in December 1979
        - militaristic communism on the rise
        - America appeared to be in decline
    - Hostage crisis in Iran 1979-1981, made the Carter administration appear weak, indecisive and lacking in cohesion
  - Renewal of Cold War in Third World through ‘proxy wars’
  - US: Raegan, UK: Margaret Thatcher, POLAND: Lech Walsea, USSR: Mikhail Gorbachev
  - **Soviet Leadership : Brezhnev Era**
    - main policy to achieve parity with USA

- USSR to be recognised as an equal in superpower arms race (at expense of domestic affairs)
- growing technology gap evident in the late 1960's
- Politburo - Mafioso style of government marked by corruption (fear and intimidation to control Soviet citizens)
- social and economic stagnation: fall in living standards, selling of countries gas + oil resources to pay for grain
- **the 'Evil Empire' and 'Star Wars' re-intensification of the Cold War**
  - Ronald Reagan 1981-1989 (POTUS)
    - Attitude to Communism
      - Not the American way
      - Strong opposition to detente and SALT II treaty - believed it benefitted the USSR and weakened the US
      - Believed Soviet power "rested on terror at home and blackmail abroad" (Pipes, 1995)
      - USSR and Communism - the "EVIL EMPIRE": unsophisticated moral terms, limited human freedom, denied choice and killed the human spirit
    - US Economy: Reaganism
      - Promised economic reform - productivity and output increase, taxation decrease, less government regulation
      - 'Greed is Good'
      - Improved productivity and living standards, contrast to USSR living standards: stagnant economy and falling living standards
      - National debt climbed , Wall Street Crash October 1987
    - Reagan's Military initiative
      - changing social and economic environment - Reagan negotiated with USSR for end to nuclear arms race
      - Initiated largest military buildup of the Cold War: spending increased by 13% in 1982 then another 8% following years
      - Conventional, nuclear and other areas of the military
  - Attitudes to Reagan



- UK's Margaret Thatcher: showed strong good working relationship, similar views on communism
- USSR: didn't appreciate ramping up of Cold War rhetoric
- US - Reagan's focus on Cold War neglecting domestic problems
- Experts - skeptical of SDI, unproven technology and expensive (Andropov)
- Reagan- BACKED BY NATO: continued installation of new missile sites in Europe to counter Soviet SS-20's that had already been deployed
- Strategic Defence Initiative 1983: STAR WARS
  - experimental system of missile defence that would give US protection from incoming Soviet nuclear missiles
  - Umbrella defence shield in space
    - Satellite technology to fire laser beams destroying missiles in space before they destroyed America
  - \$1.5 trillion over 5 years, an unreformed USSR - problems competing and obsolete weaponry
  - Events assisting the promotion of SDI
    - Revolt in Gdansk shipyards by 'Solidarity' union movement
    - Further stimulus by election of Pope John Paul II (1978)
      - VATICAN worked with Thatcher and Reagan administration to undermine communism in Eastern Europe
    - Overt Soviet aggression with puppet government in Poland 1983
      - imprisonment of Solidarity leaders
    - Free elections 1989 - Walesa first non-communist president of Poland
  - Soviet shoot down Korean Airline Passenger Jet
    - 1st September 1983
    - invaded Soviet airspace - thought to be a US spy plane
    - all 269 dead
  - 1983 STARTs
    - Strategic Arms Reductions Talks
    - All 3 ended in chaos with Soviet
  - Change in Reagan's Cold War Rhetoric

- 1980-1983: BELLICOSE - aggression / willingness to fight
  - “Reagan Doctrine” : US support for anti-communist rebels fighting communism in Third World
- 1984-18898: ENGAGEMENT
  - Superpowers shared problems that needed partnership to be solved
  - only way forward = to begin dialogue
- **the rise of Gorbachev, Perestroika and Glasnot**
  - Gorbachev, gained power in 1985
  - Inherited an economic mess
  - No intention but to “tinker with the system” (Matlock, J) - progressive policies and negotiations with West helped collapse communist system
  - Chernobyl Disaster 1986
    - Soviet state of Ukraine
    - result of flawed design
    - Exploded - 30 people died within weeks, looming effects of radiation still prominent
    - Soviet foreign minister Alexandr Messmertnykh “[Chernobyl] had a tremendous impact. We now realised the danger of everything nuclear”
    - Prompted relations with the US
  - Perestroika and Glasnot,
    - Glasnot- openness, intended to allow cultural freedom in the USSR and transparency within the government
      - Citizens able to discuss governmental flaws without fear of persecution
      - Remained relaxed in nationalist movements/ ABANDONMENT OF BREZHNEV
    - Perestroika- rebuilding the USSR’s political/economic systems
      - policy used to implement variety of economic reforms
      - Removed fundamental aspects of communism: Private property allowed, restrictions on foreign trade relaxed, encouragement of West investment
    - DEBATE: Policies of glasnost and perestroika encouraged nationalist movements
    - Democratizatsia - spread of democratic processes within institutions of the USSR
    - Novomyslenie - emphasising improvements in foreign policies with the West

- **Summits between Reagan and Gorbachev 1985-1988**
  - 1985 Geneva Summit
    - agenda: Afghanistan, arms control
    - laid foundations for later summits
    - no significant agreements made, but process of thawing Cold War tensions
  - 1986 Reykjavik Summit
    - Iceland
    - Agreed to eliminate all nuclear weapons except 100 each
    - Gorbachev wanted SDI to be confined to laboratory but Reagan wouldn't budge
    - Failure - no agreement made on SDI
  - 1987 Washington Summit
    - Signing of the INF treaty
    - 'Gorbymania'
  - INF Treaty
    - 1987
    - viewed by some as end of rivalry between the 2 superpowers
    - eliminated ALL nuclear and conventional missiles
    - Promised 10 year inspections by both sides on one another in missile development
    - Intermediate Nuclear Forces
  - 1988 Moscow Summit
    - Exchange ratifications of the INF Treaty
    - agreed further reductions required
- **Collapse of Brezhnev Doctrine, Polish Solidarity, fall of the Berlin Wall**
  - Collapse of the Brezhnev Doctrine
    - originated in 1968 - was still significant in bringing about the end of the cold war
    - Original purpose: Permitted USSR to militarily intervene in any country where socialism was at risk and ultimately justified the invasion of the Czechoslovakia in 1969
    - ALSO USED IN THE MIDDLE EAST - 1979 Afghanistan Conflict
      - "had shown that socialist internationalism and Soviet national interests were not always compatible" (Ouimet, M 2003)

- Proved USSR needed to go to excessive means to preserve socialism, thus demonstrated the loss of confidence in the system
- Talks of repealing in 1972, however only repealed when Gorbachev came into power
- Abandonment had profound effect in bringing down end of communism
- Relaxed Soviet foreign policy
- Lenience towards nations undergoing political reforms such as Poland and Hungary
- MARK KRAMER, historian “Beyond the Brezhnev Doctrine” (1989-1990) - notion that due to the fact that USSR and Eastern Bloc countries were micromanaged, when doctrine was abandoned the USSR could no longer control or impose communism ideologies on nations
  - therefore USSR began to diminish
  - Brezhnev Doctrine was the driving force that kept the USSR together
- Polish ‘Solidarity’
  - Rise of nationalism in Eastern Bloc countries - USSR began to deteriorate
  - SOLIDARITY: Trade union established in 1980, first independent trade union in Poland
  - Banned in 1981, continued as an underground organisation until 1989
  - Height of economic downfall in late 1980’s in USSR and Eastern Bloc
  - Considerable unrest in Poland - series of strikes and protest in 1988 demanding decriminalisation of the union
  - April 1989, Solidarity LEGALISED
    - Solidarity able to participate in countries first elections
    - Won 99/100 seats in Senate and 161 in lower house
  - Tadeusz Mazowiecki first non-communist leader of Poland
- Fall of the Berlin Wall
  - Wanted to Reagan, although he wasn’t POTUS when it happened
    - ‘Mr Gorbachev, tear down this wall!’
    - BRANGENBURG GATE SPEECH
  - symbol of collapse of Communism

- collapse in Eastern Europe - “domino theory in reverse”
  - one country fell to democracy the another
- Uprisings 1956 and 1968 and creation of Berlin Wall 1961 showed that Eastern Europe could only be forced into ideology by fear
- Best demonstrated in East Germany - growing democracy
- USSR declining influence in late 1980’s set off chain reaction
- RE-UNIFICATION OF GERMANY 1990
  - East German people protesting for the removal of communist ERICH HONECKER
  - successful in October 1990
  - East Germans began fleeing country through Hungary
  - “trickle at the beginning became like a flood by November”
  - 9 November 1989 government capitulated and issued visa to the West to anyone who wanted one
  - PEACEFUL BREAKING DOWN OF BERLIN WALL
  - 2 Germany’s unified 3rd October 1990 - creating Federal Republic of Germany
    - Population of 78 million
    - Economy of 1 trillion per year
- USSR Collapse
  - Mikhail Gorbachev resigns 25th December 1991
  - Banned any Communist Party involvement in government affairs
  - 74 years monopoly on political power comes to an end
  - USSR began to broke up, nationalist movements
  - Ukraine declared independence after August 1991 Coup
  - USSR officially ceased to exist 31st December 1991

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## Break-Up of the Soviet Union and the Reunification of Germany

- **Social, political and economic change in the Soviet Union, collapse of communism in the East**

- Explosion of Nationalism within the USSR
  - By late 1980's - nationalist movements in USSR increasing
  - All a result of Gorbachev's Glasnot and Perestroika
  - Movements within 15 republics of USSR able to be made public rather than repressed to underground movements
  - Significant including Ukraine, Belarus and Armenia (alongside Armenia/Azerbaijan Conflict), Lithuania
  - Ukraine
    - former breadbasket of the USSR
    - Centre of Soviet's technological and arms research in arms race
    - RUKH movement - People's movement of Ukraine
      - Essential to Ukraine's fight for independence, 21st January 1990 protest for independence organised between Kiev and Kviv
    - Ukraine officially declared independent from USSR August 1991, made official with a referendum in December, over 90% voted for independence
  - Belarus/Belorussia
    - Belarusian nationalist movement prompted following discovery of mass graves from 1930's terror
    - 8th December leaders from Belarus, Ukraine and Russia
      - NB: Yeltsin not Gorbachev
    - met in Poland to formally announce the dissolution of the USSR through Belavezha Accords
  - Other countries
    - Lithuania- March 1990
    - Uzbekistan- June 1990
    - Moldova - nationalism surge led to violent riots in 1989, independence 1991
- START I
  - Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty
  - Began in 1983, talks between Reagan and Gorbachev about reduction of arms
  - Although nothing ratified until 1991
  - START I signed July 1991 between Reagan and Bush
  - called for major cuts in superpower's nuclear arsenals

- Treaty to last for 15 years
- Assistance from Margaret Thatcher, 'I like Gorbachev, we can do business together'
- Collapse of Communism in the East
  - POLAND - Solidarity
  - Rather than trying to save these corrupt regimes Gorbachev chose to accept their demise
  - Bulgaria - recounted communism, claimed independence
  - East Germany (GDR) - 18th October, Honecker resigned
  - Fall of the Berlin Wall - 9th December 1989, "without a shot being fired"
- Czechoslovakia
  - 'Velvet Revolution', November/December 1989
  - Power peacefully transferred to democratic parliament
  - Independence declared
- Romania
  - Communist leader ousted and executed
  - New government May 1990
- Round-Table Talks
  - Hungarian Government
  - October 1989 - communist party re-established itself as socialist
- **1990 Reunification of Germany 'Two by Four Treaty' 1990**
  - 12th April 1990 - East announces wish to join West - strong support
  - Initial Opposition by
    - Thatcher
    - Franche (Mitterand)
    - USSR Gorbachev: Dec 1990 promised he would see no harm would come to GDR, Feb 1990 told Kohl that Germans themselves would decide on Germany unity
    - FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl sought agreement of USSR, USA and Main Western Allies
  - Negotiations: Two Plus Four TALKS
    - Formula for proceeding with reunification

- Would bring together
  - 2 Germanys
  - Four former occupying powers still had residual rights (France, US, UK, USSR)
- 1990 - Series of negotiations in Bonn, Berlin, Paris, Moscow
- Kohl - insisted on a united Germany continued membership of NATO and incorporation into the EC (European Community)
  - stilled by Western opposition
- Soviet opposition overcome by generous West German loans
  - Gorbachev hoped that it would assist with modernisation of Soviet economy
- TWO PLUS FOUR TREATY
  - Signed in Moscow 12th September 1990
  - Ended partition in Germany
  - Terminated residual rights of former occupying powers
  - Recognised Oder-Neisse border with Poland
  - 2nd October 1990 - GDR and FRG integrated
- **The Role of Helmut Kohl as first Chancellor of a reunified Germany and problems with reintegration**
  - KOHL chancellor 1982-1998
    - East German regime crumbled in 1989 and Berlin Wall came down - Kohl “grabbed the mantle of history” (his own words)
    - Driving force behind reunification - set the agenda etc.
    - Mixture of pressure and persuasion - convinced leaders in East and West to accept large unified Germany- ended half a century of Cold War division
    - Unity and European Unity “two sides of the same coin”
    - Firm advocate of European integration
    - Policy of binding Germany to double framework of NATO and European Union would avoid replay of great power rivalries
    - Made possible by Two by Four Treaty
      - agreement between 4 power and German states established Germany as combined



- Guaranteed countries borders, limited weapons and military forces
- Regulated withdrawal of USSR troops and permitted to keep membership of NATO
- Problems with German Reunification
  - 1990 election campaign - first in country, Kohl promised that within 4 years East Germany's economy would turn into a flourishing landscape
  - AUFSCHWUNG OST (Eastern recovery) was slower and more painful
  - Government poured billions of Deutschemarks into East - regions rate of unemployment remained 18%
  - Disappointment and disillusionment in the east widespread
  - First time socialist and capitalist economy had become one - NO GUIDELINES
    - Major problem: poor productivity of East German economy and links to former USSR
    - Treuhand/Trust Agency established to take over East German firms and turn them into new management through privatisation
    - 14 000 enterprises privatised by 1994, CONSIDERABLE COST
    - Property claims on former GDR territory impacting investment levels
    - Conversion rates of GDR mark and Deutschemark added problem of high production costs
- **Yeltsin and the creation of the Russian oligarchs**
  - Boris Yeltsin
    - first directly elected president of Russia
    - Rose through party ranks
    - Major break August 1991 - COUP, climbed onto a tank and rallied opposition, turned into popular hero
    - Met with Ukraine and Belarus to form the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States)
    - Hailed new era of democracy and economic freedom HOWEVER
      - Country plunged into chaos trying to shift towards market oriented economy
      - massive privatisation took a country that used state control to its core
  - KAPITALIZM
    - Fixed prices came to an end
    - Inflation soared - eroded value of savings

- Emergence of retail trade and the market economy
- PRIVITAZATSIA
  - State managed enterprises up for sale - vouchers worth certain amount of money given to Russian people
    - Could be used to buy shares
    - some bought up vouchers and obtained control of a large company
  - People facing shock therapy of change to market economy
    - security for lifelong employment gone
    - no free health, education, subsidised housing, energy etc
  - Yeltsin - leader of movement for complete dismantling of USSR Economic System
  - 1993 Yeltsin announced he was suspending Congress and called for new elections
    - Congress Voted Yeltsin out of office
    - Yeltsin ordered tank to fire shot at congress building - White House
    - Congress leaders imprisoned
    - YELTSIN ACTED UNDEMOCRATICALLY AND CONTROVERSIALLY - unpopular
  - New Parliament - state Duma
    - Few supporters
    - Yeltsin won Presidential vote
    - Had power to issue decrees and vote to overturn Dumans decisions
    - low voter turnout - democratic system not working well
  - 1995 - 30% of people below poverty line
- NATO supportive of Yeltsin
  - complicated matters by offering Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary full membership of NATO - despite Yeltsin protests
  - Seemed to be forcing Russia into Isolation
- CHECHNYA - War
  - Chechnya: causes region republic
  - Non Russians 3/4 of population
  - Mainly muslim

- Looking for independence - seized government buildings in Grozny and voted for independence (formed army)
- Cut off financial from Russia - BLACK MARKET ECONOMY
- Oil sales, arms deals common
- Russia invaded in 1994
  - Bombed Grozny
  - Russian humiliation but eventual control of the city
  - Russian soldiers lacked motivation - guerrilla style war
  - Treaty signed but question of independence shelved until 2001
- Russian Oligarchs and Gangsters
  - 1996 - private companies controlled 3/4 of Russian industry
  - rapid privatisation and higher proportion than some Western nations where Government run enterprises were common
  - Great wealth inequality (Russia - 3rd world state with snow)
  - 10% controlled 50% of wealth, 30% in poverty
  - 'sale of the century' - sums up attitude towards switch from State enterprises to privatisation
  - Serious decline in health standards - life expectancy below 58 in 90's
  - Communist candidate nearly defeated Yeltsin in 1996
  - VLADIMIR PUTIN
    - Acquired ownership of state enterprise that produced 20% of world's supply of nickel and world's platinum
  - Creation of Russian Oligarchs
  - Russian Mafia - organised crime began to exert influence - paying protection money was common
  - 1998 - Russian rouble fell 30% - business closed, wages not paid
- Yeltsin controversial figure
  - democracy
  - market economy
  - White House attack
  - Chechnya

- dependent on Western financial institutions and humbling of a once great international power
- Economy shrunk to half its size - WORSE THAN WWII
- Resigned 1999 and replaced by Putin (ex-colonel of KGB)
- 2000- 2ND CHECHNYAN WAR, terrorist activity in Russia (bombing of Moscow shopping mall)
- 2000 Sinking of Kursk - nuclear submarine

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## The European Community: Development of the EU

### - Overview

- Ever-changing nature of EU has seen flexible coalition of countries
- Adapting to both internal and external pressures, drastic change
- Creation of significant treaties
  - Treaty of Paris 1951
  - Treaty of Rome 1957
  - Single European Act 1986
  - Maastricht Treat 1992
- Have allowed for European economic and political integration, expansions, increase of institutional power
- creation of a form of governance where responsibility is dispersed between many, facilitating cooperative and networked form of administration

### - Treaty of Paris 1951

- Direct aftermath of WWII - much of Europe left ravaged by economic gloom, largely result of extreme nationalism
- Many wanted change to avoid CONFLICT in Europe
- Zurich 1946, Winston Churchill painted vision of 'United States of Europe'
  - France and Germany at centre of formula for securing peace developed through mutual cooperation or integration
- 2 founding fathers of the EU- Foreign Minister Robert Schuman and political economist Jean Monnet
  - Proposed pooling coal and steel production, would make a future war between France and Germany "not merely unthinkable, but materially impossible"

- Treaty of Paris 1951

- **Treaty of Rome 1957**

- Communal production of coal and steel, success for the 'Inner 6'
- Created the European Economic Community through Treaty of Rome 1957 (EEC Treaty)
- Intended to bring further economic

- ESTABLISHED THE EUROPEAN COAL AND STEEL COMMUNITY (ECSC)

- First of a series of supranational European Institutions

- France
- West Germany
- Italy
- Benelux: Belgium, Netherlands and Luxembourg

- ECSC - integral significance in facilitating European integration, formed basis of what would become today's contemporary EU as
  - "The first concrete foundation of a European federation, indispensable to the preservation of peace"

- **Treaty of Rome 1957**

- Communal production of coal and steel, success for the 'Inner 6'
- Created the European Economic Community through Treaty of Rome 1957 (EEC Treaty)
- Intended to bring further economic integration and boost trade amongst member states
- EEC treaty created COMMON MARKET - based on Four Freedoms
  - Movement
  - Capital
  - Services
  - Labour
- Freedoms remain DEFINING FEATURE of contemporary EU single market
- EEC Treaty created provisions for common policies to which EEC states could cooperate
- Established many key structures including:

- European Commission
  - European Parliament
  - Council of Ministers
  - Courts
- **The Single European Act 1986**
- Late 1970's - mid-1980's saw Europe plagued by 'Euroscelerosis'
  - STALL IN EUROPEAN INTEGRATION
  - Single European Act turning point development of EU, designed to remedy problems of unemployment and economic stagnation
  - SEA Treaty
    - signified departure from relatively stagnant gradualist period
    - prepared Europe for new round of integration
    - "Amendment to the EEC" - Transformed common market with few barriers to trade and commerce between national markets into a single market
      - conversely one big EU-wide market with 0 barriers of any kind
    - Paved the way for creation EU in 1993
- **The Maastricht Treaty 1992**
- Also the 'Treaty on the European Union', arguably the most significant in bringing modern EU
  - Maastricht Treaty went beyond Community's original fiscal objective and changed nature of the EU from economic to POLITICAL/ECONOMIC
  - Moving force of Maastricht - mix of external events
    - Collapse of communism in Eastern Europe
    - Outlook of German reunification + internal events
    - 3 Pillar Structure and 'co-decision procedure' which vastly increased the role of European Parliament
      - major integrative step taken
      - EMU - European Monetary Union - EURO AS COMMON CURRENCY FOR THOSE WHO WANTED IN 2002
    - Social benefits of Maastricht
      - Creation of European citizenship, EU passport

- National citizenship - gives EU citizens “the right to circulate and reside freely in the community”

- **Governance in the EU**

- Political administration of European space
- manner that is less hierarchical than government
- Comprised of individual governments
- Each have role of Governance in European Space
- Emergence of “supernationalism” and “intergovernmentalism”
- SUPERNATIONALISM
  - integration by stealth, long term comprehensive strategy towards closer Union in vision of founding father
- INTERGOVERNMENTALISM
  - Rejected powerful European institutions saw Union to facilitate and coordinate cooperation
  - Highlighted: Charles De Gaulle rejection of an integrated defence force over concerns of national sovereignty

- **Expansionism**

- Through accession of new member states
- First Wave 1970's - Denmark, UK, Ireland
- 1980'S - Greece, Spain, Portugal in 1986 join the European Communities.
- 1995- Australia, Finland Sweden formed the EU-15

- **Treaty of Amsterdam 1997**

- prepare for influx of member states following fall of communism
- Join the EU- state needs to fulfil economic and political conditions called COPENHAGEN Criteria
  - Required stable democratic government that respects rule of law, freedom and institutions