Syllabus Points:

* an overview, as background, of the nature of the origins and early development of the Cold War to 1948, including the ideological, cultural and political differences between the United States and the Soviet Union; and the significance of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and Berlin Blockade
* the significant ideas of the period, including communism, capitalism, democracy, containment, peaceful co‐existence, détente, glasnost and perestroika, nationalism, and re‐integration
* the evolving nature and character of the Cold War in Europe from 1948 through to détente, including the impact of the arms race, the space race, and threat of nuclear war; the 1956 invasion of Hungary; the Berlin Wall; the Cuban Missile Crisis; the Prague Spring and the Brezhnev Doctrine; the new Cold War of the 1980s; and the collapse of communism 1989–1991
* significant developments that followed the end of the Cold War in 1989, including the break‐up of the Soviet Union and the resultant changes in the politics and economics of the Soviet Union; the reunification of Germany (the Two Plus Four Treaty 1990); the break‐up of the former Yugoslavia; and the changing role of North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) from Cold War Alliance to the NATO‐Russia Council
* the development of European governance and extension of the ‘European Union’, including the European Economic Community (EEC) (1958), the Maastricht Treaty (1992), the European Union (1993), the Eurozone (1999)
* the changing nature of world order in the period 1989–2001, with specific reference to the place of Europe and the European nation states within that world order
* the role of significant political leaders throughout the period

| Time | Leaders | Ideas | Politics | Events/Flash points | Agreements/Conferences | Europe |
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| 1945-53 1946: attitudes and suspicions hardening Beginnings of the Cold War | Truman:  Truman’s Iron Fist: reaction against WWII appeasement and sparked by a concern about the spread of Communism, aimed to open Europe for new trade markets. Escalated by military and industrial pressure on government to maintain funding for arms and production by spreading fears about the threat of the USSR.  Truman had an absolute commitment to democracy, refused to acknowledge genuine Soviet sphere of influence.  Truman Doctrine  Aim to ensure capitalism and democracy in as much of W and S Europe as possible, limit influence of Communism. Formally committed to policy of containment.  By mid-1946, Truman had formed view (thanks to Kennan, his own suspicions, and Soviet actions) that Stalin's Russia was expansionist, and would take advantage of any weakness to expand communism.  Believed that could only be stopped by the language that Stalin understood – force.  12 March 1947: Truman dramatically addressed Congress to stress how Europe increasingly divided into two hostile blocs.  Specifically, Greek civil war saw Communists fighting the British-backed Government.  In early 1947, Britain could no longer maintain support of Greeks  USA decided that they would provide financial support,– offered $400 million in aid to Greece & Turkey. Essentially recognized that most of Eastern Europe was ‘lost', and aimed to ‘save’ remainder of Europe. Czechoslovakia perhaps the only domino that could be saved. France and Italy were seen as under threat as they had large Communist Parties.  More a statement of intention and principle than actual specific policies – the Marshall Plan was the policy that put the principles of the Truman doctrine into action  Marshall Plan  Practical enforcement of policy of containment and the Truman doctrine: $14 b in grants (BBC, 2019).  Motive to keep out foreign influences  Objectives:   * build trade partners * ensure democracy in Europe * propaganda for capitalism, prosperity and economic might of US was incentive for countries not to be sympathetic to Communism * Prosperity of market might be enough to pull E Europe out of the Soviet bloc.   Announced in June 1947, followed by meetings of European countries to discuss  Was made open to all European countries (technically, including Russia) - however, USSR precluded any 'satellites' from signing up (Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland had shown some interest).  However, Congress had to approve it, and this was dicey given US' isolationist nature  Approval came after Czech coup in early 1948 – money started flowing, in huge amounts thereafter  Money went to all western European countries, and Yugoslavia. Key factor in recovery of Europe by 1952.  Countries that received most Marshall Aid - UK and France not at threat of occupation - motive is contestable.  -The largest recipient of Marshall Plan money was the United Kingdom (receiving about 26% of the total), followed by France (18%) and West Germany (11%).  Soviet response: USSR saw it as 'dollar imperialism' – USA using money to gain influence over all of Europe, including the area under Soviet influence. Soviets were suspicious of American actions and motives – saw it as undermining their 'buffer zone' by seeking to gain economic influence over Eastern Europe  Established Cominform and Comecon to provide an alternative to Marshall aid  Soviets also may have sped up process of communisation of Eastern Europe.  Czech coup partly out of fear of Czechoslovakia being too tempted by the west, and possibly turning away from Soviet influence.  Sep 1947: Cominform – the Communist Information Bureau – aim to tighten Soviet control in Eastern Europe, to build collective heavy industry in those countries and to create a trade network between Communist countries. Effectiveness was limited: shown when Yugoslavia left June 1948.  Aim to consolidate Eastern European bloc. Sovietisation of satellite states and defeat of Titoism/coordinate Communist parties  Jan 1949: Comecon – the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance – to administer its own Molotov Plan of financial aid to keep the Eastern Bloc countries on side. Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland and Romania all joined the Soviet Union in this group and were joined by Albania and East Germany shortly after. The group was not as successful as it might have been: USSR dominated in terms of industrial production and total economy size, however all countries were committed to Communist economic theory such as state-ownership and state-planning of the economy. was the Soviets’ response to the Marshall Plan - 1949. Enforced soviet-style rapid heavy industrialisation. Benefitted the USSR, who was able to access resources from across the region. The group became more important after Cominform disbanded in 1956. Participating states followed Soviet economic model: collectivisation, centralised economies, 5 Year Plans.  Significance: Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine committed USA to Europe — a contrast from the traditional isolationist policies of the past  Differences over how Europe should be rebuilt and run were now clearly evident — little compromise between them now possible  The Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, and Soviet response, confirmed each side's own perspective of the other   * US/UK saw Soviets as aggressively expansionist and seeking to take over as much as possible * Soviets saw US especially as happy to rebuild Germany to threaten USSR again, and use their economic strength to gain influence over all of Europe - including their 'buffer zone'.   Cemented policy of containment and active resistance, rather than just rivalry, against eachother.  Churchill:  5 March 1946: The Iron Curtain Speech by Churchill at Fulton, US. Response to Stalin’s Bolshoi Theatre speech in February.  Prior to 1947, ‘diversity rather than uniformity’ characterised Eastern Europe situation eg. Yugoslavia had own Communist regime, Poland under Soviet control, Finland independent etc.  After Marshall Plan, Stalin sought greater uniformity across Eastern Europe - led to polarisation of politics between Communist and capitalist forces.  - According to Harry Ryan from Cambridge Uni, “[Speech] the effect of his talk can be overestimated…it undoubtedly contributed to hardening western positions towards the Soviets. | Communism  Capitalism  Democracy  Authoritarianism  Expansionism  Containment: the policy in the US of actively seeking to prevent the spread of Communism. Formed the basis of US foreign policy under Truman.  Dollar Imperialism  Russian Expansionism Oct 1939 - Jun 1941  Conflicting Attitudes to Europe in 1945  Soviet Attitude: had been invaded three times in the 20th C from the East with tremendous losses (Williamson: 20 million Russians died in WWII), wanted to establish a zone of buffer states with friendly governments to protect itself. Had been caught off guard with Operation Barbarossa in 1941. Fading prospects of world revolution = focussed on internal survival of the regime (SOC). Stalin more concerned with his personal and external power rather than the spread of the Communist ideology - seen in ambivalence to Tito, to Communism in China, and to Communist parties in France and Italy. US saw as expansionism.  American Attitudes: Roosevelt’s 4 Freedoms (wanted to establish and uphold liberal democracy): Freedom from want and fear, freedom of speech and religion. Was willing to appease or at least object to USSR expansionism, as knew that US could not afford to go to war again.  1945 Apr 12: Roosevelt died, replaced by Harry S Truman: Truman inexperienced in foreign affairs which made him feel weak (added to by increasing pressure from anti-Communist groups in the US), became more and more hostile to Communism which in turn attracted hostility from the USSR. To convince the USSR to join the war against Japan, he considered limiting lend-lease shipments to those used in the war against Japan - seen by Stalin as economic pressure to gain political concessions  UK Attitudes: suspicious and hostile to USSR: UK bankrupt post-war, feared for its ability and reliance on US to maintain its position as a world power. Knew there was little to be done about Soviet expansionism in the East of Europe. 1945 Jul Churchill replaced by equally hard-line Clement Atlee. Foreign secretary Ernest Bevin was hostile to Communism and attempted to convince the US to involve itself in the battle in Europe against the spread of Communism by pointing out the USSR threat to Iran and Eastern Europe. By 1946, UK and US foreign policy largely harmonious re: USSR.  Hallstein Doctrine:  Created by FRG, announced that any state which recognised the statehood of the GDR would be considered automatically unfriendly, and would lead to an immediate break in relations. | 1944 Oct: Churchill-Stalin Meeting   * Churchill concerned with reducing Soviet power in post-war Europe as opposed to Roosevelt (mainly concerned with winning war) * To preserve British influence in the Mediterranean, Churchill proposed the deliberate division of SE Europe into spheres of interest * Percentages Agreement:  | Country | % Russia | % UK | | --- | --- | --- | | Romania | 90 | 10 | | Bulgaria | 75 | 25 | | Greece | 10 | 90 | | Yugoslavia | 50 | 50 | | Hungary | 50 | 50 |  * Churchill quietly rejected the agreement later, as he knew Roosevelt would outright reject it, which would strain the crucial UK-US alliance.   Long Telegram: February 1946 George Kennan (Deputy Chief of Mission at US Embassy in Moscow, Russia). Long Telegram analysed soviet foreign policy, emphasised role of Communist ideology in creating suspicion and aggressive expansionism. Encouraged an end to the policy of compromise, and an adoption of policy of containment in US. Confirmed Truman’s fears that only resistance to the USSR would prevent Communist expansion.  Novikov Telegram: September 1946  Essentially the Soviet mirror image to the Long Telegram. Novikov, the Soviet ambassador to the US, warns of US intention to engage in ‘dollar imperialism’ by seeking to gain economic influence in the Soviet sphere of influence, and also develop military bases around the globe, and therefore encircle the Soviet Union (a long-held fear). The impoverished circumstances of Europe presented the USA with a unique opportunity to gain economic control, and the Soviet Union was the only nation in a position to prevent this. Thus, like the Long Telegram, this reinforced suspicions about the other, and came to be the prism through which the Soviets viewed and interpreted American actions  **FRG and GDR**  Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) - Western  March 1949: constitution approved  August 1949: elections. Only 5.7% vote for Communists - end of Soviet hope to stall West German state.  Sep: parliament met, Konrad Adenaur first West German Chancellor.  France/US/UK still had final say on all foreign policy, security etc.  **German Democratic Republic (GDR) - Eastern**  Reluctantly made, as didn’t want to split Germany  May 1949: drafted constitution  12 October: government formed, Soviet occupation ended but Soviet Control Commission maintained significant power.  Soviet section of Berlin became capital  **Berlin**  Berlin remained divided  West Berlin had representatives in West German parliament but had no voting rights - still under Four-Power control  **NATO**  North Atlantic Treaty Organisation  US convinced that Western Europe needed a framework to protect itself - particularly after a Communist coup in Prague and the Blockade.  April 4 1949: signed for initial 20 year period: Canada, USA, UK, Italy, Belgium, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Denmark, Iceland. Came into force August 1949.  Aims:   * Resist armed attack by means of ‘continuous self help and mutual aid’ * Mutual use of armed forces in case of an attack on a NATO nation ‘attack on one is an attack on all’ * Enlargement of the Brussels Pact   Stalin saw NATO as provocative  **Growing Soviet Threat to West**  1948: Soviet artillery production quadrupled  Aug 1949: first Soviet atomic bomb - ended US nuclear dominance, was beginning of war fever and confrontation.  Oct 1949: China fell to Communists  **Western European Integration**  Was occurring slowly - lingering fear of a united and federated Germany  Growing Soviet threat meant push to integrate FRG into Western Europe - federated Germany would be a threat as it would be open to Soviet influence.  **European Defence Community (EDC)**  Proposed 24 October 1950 by French PM René Pleven  Would create European Army under supernational control, with European defence minister responsible to a European assembly appointed by national governments.  To ensure FRG stayed under control, smaller battalions of 800 men allowed, rather than divisions of 10,000 troops - quell fears.  Many countries felt the plan was unacceptable (didn’t deliver main aim of providing defence) - led to Spofford Compromise  *Spofford Compromise*  UK and US refused to join first version of EDC  Charles Spofford, deputy US representative to NATO suggested that practical steps to assuring defence in Western Europe should be taken before political issues of EDC were sorted out.  Result: NATO would make integrated forces in Europe, alongside a European army  Smaller German units tightly controlled by Allies.  *Issue of FRG membership in EDC*  Internally in the FRG, Social Democrats urged FRG not to join the EDC, as would permanently divide Germany. Meant that Adenaur had to negotiate greater independence. Threatening to France - didn’t want united Germany.  October 1951, negotiations on EDC began in Paris. France vetoed German membership of NATO, demanded restrictions on size of FRG units in EDC. EDC Treaty signed 27 May 1952.  October 1951, Bonn talks began to replace Occupation Statute with a treaty granting FRG semi-independence. Signed 26 May 1952.  **Arms race**   * Parity was the motive * Started with Hiroshima * 1949 Aug: Soviets tested first A bomb * 1953: Soviets tested first H bomb, 67 times stronger than the one used at Hiroshima * By 1960, USA had four ICBMs * 1962 US had 8 Polaris submarines at sea capable of firing 144 nuclear missiles.   **Rearmament of Western Europe 1948-52**  *Brussels Pact*  France and other small Western European states distrustful of establishment of FRG - united Germany was a threat.  17 March 1948: Brussels Pact signed by UK, France, Benelux states - promised mutual defence against an aggressor.  Established Consultative Council: greater European cooperation against spread of Communism  *NATO states increased rearmament* expenditure from $4.4 to 8 billion 1949-51 (Williamson)  August 1951: Organization for European Economic Cooperation called for 25% increase in Western European industrial production for next 5 years. Policy of ‘guns and butter’ - both rearmament and consumer goods. For next 20 years, great economic prosperity helped heighten east/west divide and consolidated Western bloc’s strength and appeal.  **Stalin’s response to rearmament**  World Peace Movement  November 1949 Cominform began Soviet peace movement - appealed for disarmament, aim to cause backlash against NATO.  Mar 1950: Launched Stockholm Appeal to call for banning and criminalisation of nuclear weapons  Viewed with suspicion by the West: saw it as a tool with which to sabotage national defence - little impact.  **Stalin Note**  March 1952, note to Western Allies proposing free elections in Germany supervised by all 4 occupying powers - would create an independent Germany. Showed that Stalin had given up on sacrificing the GDR to stop the rearmament of the FRG. Adenauer wanted a FRG integrated into the West, not a unified Germany.  **Western Economic Integration**  Aim to rebuild W Europe in the image of the USA so it would increase wealth:   * Deter people from wanting Communist government * Boost world trade * Provide market from US exports * Eventually draw E Europe out of the Soviet bloc   France and small European states saw Western Integration as a means of harnessing the industrial resources of the FRG to defend against Communism and the USSR   * British advised using strategy of NATO to rearm West Germany and align it firmly with the Western NATO powers, rather than in a framework of an integrated Western Europe * France feared that Germany within NATO would be able to develop its strength industrially and economically, and would overrun France again.   **European Coal and Steel Community**  Introduced July 1950  Would enable Western Allies to use Germany’s coal and steel resources for their rearmament without building a strong and independent West German state.  Community managed all coal and steel industries, distributing enough to each member state to ensure their needs were met.  Strengthened the Western Bloc.  **Soviet Control of Eastern Europe**  Only method of control and cooperation were bilateral treaties of friendship and mutual assistance based on: mutual defence, ban on joining hostile alliances (NATO) and recognition of equality and sovereignty (except USSR could still intervene in domestic politics)  How Stalin achieved obedience:   * Summoning leaders to Moscow frequently * Direct participation of soviet ambassadors in affairs of satellites * Threat of the Red Army * Cult of Stalin - economies, society had to be based on Soviet model | **The Atomic Bomb**  Manhatten Project tested Jul 16, 1945, one day before Potsdam Conference  Dropped on Japan 6 August (Hiroshima) and 9 August (Nagasaki)  Impact:  140,000 died (BBC, 2019)  Sep 1945: found that Soviet espionage network had been leaking information regarding the bomb to Stalin all along - but Stalin didn’t think that Truman would actually drop the bomb. By dropping the bomb without Soviet knowledge, US denied Stalin a role in liberating Japan, denying Soviet influence there. Offset balance of power between US and USSR, show of force in the East. Source of conflict.  **Berlin Blockade**  Soviet attempt to pressure US and UK into not forming West German state  Applied pressure to West Berlin - located in the Soviet zone but controlled by Allies. Was reliant on supplies passing through the Soviet zone from West Germany.  First immediate threat of going back to war - Cold War’s occurence becomes almost irretrievable.  23 June 1948: USSR put blockade on West Berlin, saying that the blockade was to prevent Soviet zone being swamped by old, devalued Reichsmark during its replacement by the Deutschmark. Electricity, road and rail links were cut. Seen by the US as the first Soviet attack on the West German state. Lasted 327 days (Fiehn).  Oversupplied some materials - was not only just to save the people  -West planes brought in 2.3million tonnes of food and fuel to west Berliners  - US General Clay “ When Berlin falls, western Germany will be next. If we mean to hold Europe against communism we must not budge”  Allied response: Berlin AIrlift.  Bevin had suggested to force an armed convoy through W Germany - rejected by General Clay.  Airlifting of materials through 3 flight corridors decided on.  By end of July, British and US planes were supplying average 2000 tonnes of food and raw materials to Berlin each day - not enough for winter, would need 5000 tonnes per day.  Moscow Talks: 2 August, British and US ambassadors met with Stalin in Moscow to negotiate agreements. USSR proposed circulation of Ostmark in all of Berlin (integration into the Soviet zone) and postponement of the London Conference decisions to make a West German state. US and UK initially agreed, but refused to back down on West German state. By 7 Sep 1948, talks broke down,  *End of the Blockade*  Stalin’s plan to wait for airlift to fail hadn’t succeeded by Jan 1949. By January, average tonnage per day was 5620t (WIlliamson) and had reached 8000t by April.  31 Jan 1949: Stalin said he would lift blockade if another foreign ministers’ conference was called  Feb 1949: Western powers declared Deutschmark only legal currency in West Berlin, stopped all exports to Soviet zone - pressure on USSR.  12 May 1949: US and USSR UN ambassadors agreed to lift blockade.  23 May: Paris Council of Foreign Ministers met to discuss Berlin currency and future of Germany - no decisive decisions made.  **Crisis in the GDR**  1951 First Five Year Plan starts. By 1952, had accomplished its aims of doubling industrial output of iron, steel and chemicals (Williamson).  Increasing discontent and tension: threats of collectivisation, prices increasing, working hours long (increased by 10%), non-Communist politicians arrested. Many professionals, skilled workers and farmers fled to the FRG - deprived GDR of vital resources.  Became expensive and unstable source of support for the USSR - Beria, head of KGB, began to assess the value of the GDR to the USSR, urged a push for a united Germany.  Moscow meeting with Ulbricht on 2 June 1952 - in interests of detente, to avoid an uprising, urged him to scale back his socialisation policy. Ulbricht failed to do so - some believe he deliberately increased production targets to trigger violent uprising so to necessitate an armed intervention by the USSR.  **East German Uprising**  16 June 1953: strikes and riots broke out in East Germany - demands for increased pay, political freedom, and re-establishment of Social Democratic Party. East Berlin - 100,000 protested on streets.  Soviets intervened June 17, backed by tanks - 125 killed (Williamson)  Ostermann ‘one of the most significant focal points in the history of the Cold War’  *US reaction*  Eisenhower did not intervene - hoped that Soviet intervention in East Germany would fuel fear of the USSR in the West, and ensure Adenauer’s re-election.  However, Eisenhower knew he had to do something to help East Germany:  Called Foreign Ministers’ Conference on future of Germany, while using provocative radio broadcasts to prolong the conflict in East Germany. Strengthened support for Adenauer - won election in September by a much larger margin than previous election.  **Berlin Conference**  25 Jan to 18 Feb 1954  Hope of a united Germany was dwindling - Beria had been executed for his ‘treachery’ in causing the EGU.  Both sides rejected each other’s plans - USSR feared anti-Communist reaction of free German elections, while West feared neutral disarmed Germany not in NATO would be vulnerable to Soviet influence. Stalemate. | **1938: Nazi-Soviet Pact**  **1941: Atlantic Charter**   * UK’s aim: to get the USA to join the war * US’ aim: to gain public support for a war effort, didn’t occur until Pearl Harbour Dec 7   **1943 28 Nov - 1 Dec: Tehran Conference**   * Tehran, Iran * Churchill, FDR, Stalin * Plan the liberation of Nazi-occupied France * Agreed on Operation Overlord: USA and UK would liberate France from the West at Normandy (at this point the Red Army was the only army fighting the Germans on land). Meant that USSR was free to liberate Eastern Europe and thus had a legitimate claim to it as their sphere of influence. * the USSR would join the USA and Britain in the war against Japan, once Nazi Germany was defeated. * Stalin made a claim to all Baltic and Polish territory that had been annexed in 1939-40, was met with no opposition   **1945 Feb: Yalta Conference**   * Stalin, Roosevelt, Churchill * Yalta in the Crimea * Germany would be divided into four zones of occupation with the USSR, Britain, France and the USA each controlling a zone. * The long term effect the summit did have, in David Reynolds view, was to bring about a “betrayal on both sides” * The German capital, Berlin, was about 100 miles inside the Soviet zone and it, too, was to be divided into four zones, each controlled by one of the Allied powers. * Declaration on Liberated Europe: All countries freed from Nazi control were to be guaranteed the right to hold free, democratic elections to choose their own governments. However, Stalin was offered a sphere of influence in Eastern Europe where communist ideals would dominate, and Soviet definitions of democracy differed from Western liberal democratic ideals. DLE became (journalist Martin Walker) the key text ‘upon which all future accusations of soviet betrayal and bad faith were made’ * Again, Stalin committed to joining the war against Japan, once Germany had been defeated. * All the leaders made a commitment to pursue, and put on trial, suspected Nazi war criminals. * The Allies agreed to the setting up of the United Nations   **1945 Aug: Potsdam Conference**   * Atlee, Truman, Stalin * Potsdam in Russian controlled Germany * Nuclear threat: The first detonation of a nuclear weapon conducted as part of the Manhattan Project. Just before the Conference began, on 16 July 1945, the USA had successfully exploded an atomic bomb at their test site in the New Mexico desert. When first told about the success of the experiment, Truman is said to have remarked: ‘if it works... I’ll sure have a hammer on those boys’. At Potsdam, Truman chose to inform Stalin that the US possessed a new weapon of unusual destructive force. * Expansion of communism: Despite agreeing at Yalta that free elections would be held in Eastern Europe after the defeat of Nazi Germany, there was little evidence at Potsdam that Stalin intended to allow them. In fact the Red Army was in control of Poland and the USSR was in the process of setting up a communist government. * Truman demanded that Stalin leave S and E Europe, and allow democratic elections, as had been promised at Yalta * Issue of Germany: parties agreed on issues of demilitarisation and denazification, punishment of war criminals. Couldn’t agree on German ACC, so separate control guaranteed - ACC was established composed of military commanders of the 4 occupying powers, each with complete control over their own zone - made the ACC inoperable, as couldn’t exercise any power of Berlin or Germany as a whole. * Disagreements on Reparations: UK and US wanted German economy not to be crippled so it could be self-sufficient, but Soviets wanted retribution for immense loss. Compromise: USSR and West each took reparations from their own zones, but USSR was granted 10% of the reparations from the Allied zones, and an additional 15% in exchange for food and raw materials from the Soviet zone.   1945 Sep: Paris Peace Treaties  1945 Dec: Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers   * Nov: after atom bomb, US, UK and Canada called for UN Atomic Energy Commission to regulate nuclear weapons. Atomic energy only to be used for peaceful means, all national atomic weapons would be eliminated. USSR agreed to terms. However, insisted that commission investigation should report to SC, where USSR had a veto, rather than GA. US opposed, tried to circumvent Soviet influence   1946 Jun: UN Conference   * Soviets refused to surrender their veto over atomic weapon commission, as would be outnumbered in SC. Suggested destruction of all nuclear weapons * US opposed, no safeguards to ensure all were destroyed * Dec 1966, Soviets vetoed US plan in retaliation   **London Conference of Foreign Ministers**  First Conference - 1947 Nov: Objective to establish a German state.  US aimed for Western European Integration: involved partition of Germany.  USSR opposed to partition, would allow industrial Ruhr region to fall into Western hands.  Conference broke up on 15 Dec - USSR accused US and UK of violating Potsdam by not delivering reparations to USSR.  Second Conference - 1948 Feb: West German State created - tightly controlled by US and UK. | Polish-Russian War:  Poland, allied with France, seized lands off Russia. Expansion of Poland to East and the creation of Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania created the cordon sanitaire (zone of states)  Liberation of Europe 1943-45  Allied Control Commissions took power from Axis states that were annexed, proxy-government set up based on whose troops were present. US and UK dominated ACC in Italy, USSR dominated ACC in Romania, BUlgaria, Finland and Hungary.  Governments- in - exile were political leaders that managed to escape German invasion and had set up government in London during the war. Had little control of partisan groups in their territories, allowing Communist partisan groups to emerge as the strongest local forces  Liberation of Italy  1943 Jul: Mussolini overthrown and imprisoned by Allies. Germany seized Rome and most of Italy but Allies fought their way up the coast from Sicily. By 1945 Apr Italy was captured by the Allies. ACC dominated by US and UK. Stalin instruced leader of Italian Communists, Palmiro Tagliotti to form coalition with socialist parties. Became Minister for Justice 1945 Apr  End of WWII  1945 8 May: Germans surrendered.  USSR controlled Berlin and Prague. UK and US troops were drawn out of the Soviet zone of Germany as agreed at Yalta. Hitler predicted that with a West/USSR confrontation in Berlin, and the defeat of Germany, the USSR and the USA would become two great and conflicting world powers.  Issue of Poland  UK: wanted a democratic Poland  USSR: wanted a friendly government in Poland, and the territories it had gained as a result of the Nazi-Soviet Pact.  To compensate, US and UK allowed USSR to annex East Poland up to the Curzon Line, and Poland would gain some Western Land from Germany. Warsaw would remain independent.  Soviet advance into Poland Jan 1944, had overstepped Curzon line by July 1944. USSR crushed Polish Home Army, undermined Polish govt-in-exile by establishing Committee of National Liberation (Lublin Committee).  Warsaw Uprising Aug 1944: PHA attempted to rise up against Nazi occupation of Warsaw before the Communists swept through. USSR didn’t intervene and the Polish were crushed by the Germans, which strengthened the influence of the USSR as the Red Army continued to move closer to Warsaw. Behaviour appeased by the UK and US in the interests of post-war unity and peace.  June 1945: Stalin set up Provisional Government of National Unity, including former leader of govt-in-exile, Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, to deflect Western criticism.  Feared that unpopular Communist party may lose a popular election (traditional view) so no elections held - Mikolajczyk resigned in protest August 1945. US and UK had ceded Poland to USSR under containment policy - failed to intervene. Communist bloc used terror and falsification to win elections: won 93% of seats.  **Issue of Czechoslovakia**  Socialist revolution had already occurred in Czechoslovakia by Dec 1945. May 1946 elections, Communists won 38% of vote with no violence or manipulation. President Beneš hoped Czech could remain a bridge between the East and West but Marshall/Cominform dichotomy made an environment where this was impossible.  Feb 1948, after denying compromise, Communist Party seized power in Czech coup.  For the Americans, coup was a reminder of the dangers of appeasement that had seen the rise of Hitler in 1938 - aggressive policy led to creation of NATO.  **Issue of Germany**  The fall of Fascism and the division of Germany agreed on at Yalta.  Soviet aims in Germany: Stalin explained plans for KPD (Communist Party) to gather support for Communism in Western zones. Hoped that KPD would form coalition with socialist and liberal parties, and eventually seize control of a unified Germany. Allies suspicious of a unified Germany. To broaden appeal of KPD, Stalin forced SPD and KPD to merge into Socialist Unity Party (SED) through interrogation and imprisonment. Made West suspicious of Soviet intentions.  - According to Avi Shlaim from Cambridge Uni, “the search for a solution to the problem of Germany which would safeguard the security of Europe and satisfy the basic security needs of both superpowers, represented an attempt to square the circle.  Reparations: Potsdam breaking down by spring 1946. Britain and USA keen for German economic recovery, as their zones were taking most German refugees from former German territories ceded to Poland. Wanted to delay deliveries of Potsdam reparations to USSR until Germany was self-sufficient. May 1946: General Clay announced no further reparations deliveries until a national, rather than zonal, plan was made for the German economy. Seen by USSR as an attempt to spread Western capitalism and trade across Germany. USSR responded by taking control of 213 German companies and increasing production, all of which would go to the USSR. USSR saw it as a Western strategy to weaken the Soviet Union.  **Bizonia**  July 1946: Paris Foreign Ministers’ Conference. USSR - Molotov insisted Germans pay USSR $10 billion in reparations. Byrnes (US) argues that reparations could only be paid once Germany had a trade surplus to cover the cost of food and raw materials imports. Byrnes offered to unify the US and other zones economically - UK joined as its zone had a failing economy. 1947 Jan: US and UK zones merged into Bizonia. Hoped Bizonia would prosper and eventually merge with the other zones to become a single functioning German economy, in order to fulfil Potsdam.  1948 Jun: West German State created. USSR still suspicious of a Western state. France hostile to a West German state. West Germans had to accept Occupation Statute which allowed UK, US, France great power over trade/foreign affairs/disarmament/economics  1948 20 Jun: US and UK introduced new currency to W. Germany without consulting USSR - 24 Jun Soviets respond by making Ostmark for E.Germany  Division in living standards: high in Marshall-aid fuelled Western Germany, poor in reparation-plundered Eastern Germany. Deutschmark - assert capitalism by stabilising economic conditions in Western Germany.  Berlin became a microcosm of the Cold War’s conflicts.  **Korean War**  25 Jun 1950: North Korean Communists invaded South Korea  Allies assumed N Korea was acting under Stalin’s orders, especially when East German leader, Ulbricht, supported N Korean aggression and recommended similar action to unite Germany.  Seen as a prelude to a global conflict where USSR may attempt to overrun Western Europe.  After war started - US tripled military spending (Williamson)  Here, US MIC was at its highest at 15%  *Anti-Communism in USA*  Increasing as a result of Communist China supporting N Korea in Vietnam War. Strengthened Republican claims for tougher policy against Communism. Truman (Democrat) also under attack from Senator Joseph McArthy who wrote a letter that accused 205 members of Truman’s administration of being Communists - led to a ‘Communist witch hunt’ in the USA.  **Salami Tactics take hold of Eastern Europe, 1945-1948**   * Stalin had been willing to tolerate coalition governments immediately after war, but with increasing mutual tension with the West, sought to establish firm Soviet sphere of influence, and firmly draw the iron curtain to the West. * Communist Parties in Eastern European states had genuine support following the war - disillusionment with current political systems and the Communist promise of a ‘new world’ were appealing, saw a genuine rise in popularity. * However, local peasant parties were also popular, especially in the countryside, and posed a threat to Communist hegemony and dominance. Elections were rigged, different parties had a pre-determined number of seats in the parliament * To what extent did Communism have control over Eastern Europe?   + To a moderate extent: genuine desire to overturn traditional forms of government.   + Soviet Communism did not go unchallenged - eg. Continued threats made a coup in Czechoslovakia necessary for the Communists to gain complete power in 1948.   + Firm establishment of Soviet influence until the 70s-80s when regimes began to challenge Communist power * Salami tactics used to gain control:   + Forming coalition government, then provoking splits and accusations to enable the Communists to rise to full power.   + Followed by abolition of all other political parties, establishment of a one-party state eg. Bulgaria, Poland, Romania 1947   **Yugoslav-Soviet split**  Winter 1947-48, tension increased as Tito talked of a Balkan federation - Greech, Bulgaria, Romania and Czechoslovakia. Tito had also stationed Yugoslav troops in Albania without consultation. Stalin thus feared that Tito’s Yugoslav Communist party would become the strongest force in the Balkans, meaning the Soviets would be less able to manipulate it.  Feb 1948, Stalin vetoes Yugoslav troops in Albania and proposes a Bulgarian-Yugoslav union. Tito refused to give in foreign policy to USSR. Stalin responded by withdrawing Soviet advisors and personnel from Yugoslavia, accused Tito of being an ideological criminal. June 1948, second meeting of Comecon, Eastern Bloc expelled Yugoslavia. First time a Communist nation had acted independently and defied the USSR. Tito began to turn to the West for assistance against Stalin’s military and economic pressure. Close links between CIA and Yugoslav secret police. Deviated ideologically from USSR - began to move away from centralised economy, workers’ control of factories. |
| Phase 2: 1953-62 Peaceful coexistence | **Death of Stalin 1953**  **Khrushchev**  Shared power with 4 others for 3 years after Stalin’s death 5 March 1953. Determined to undo Stalin’s police state and restore living standards. Knew that they needed a less hostile international climate.  Desire for détente: the easing of hostility or strained relations, especially between countries.  His influence was strengthened by the Hungarian and Suez crises. Dulles called him ‘the most dangerous person to lead the Soviet Union since the October Revolution’.  Promised liberalisation and a rollback of Communist policy - never happened.  Diplomatic - many international trips, evidence of his view that peaceful coexistence was necessary to avoid the most devastating war in history. He believed that he didn’t have to destroy the US, it would self-destruct - peaceful coexistence would be the way he would wait for it to do so. Quietly removed in 1964 as a result of the shame of the Cuban Missile Crisis  **Eisenhower**  Elected November 1952 after allegations of corruption in Truman’s administration (McCarthy) - sense of need for wartime security, elected ex-General Eisenhower.  Known for brinkmanship and notable hardening of Cold War attitudes.  Wanted to free Eastern Europe from Soviet control  1952 Nov 1: USA exploded first H bomb, USSR followed 1 year later.  By 1955, both sides had planes capable of dropping bombs on each other’s territory. Had reached near-parity - USA still had more bombs, but both could inflict catastrophic damage. Eisenhower knew the only solution was peaceful containment.  Developed domino theory - if one nation fell to Communism, others around it would too.  Eventually denounced the reliance on nuclear weapons - eg. tied his own hands in 1956, couldn’t intervene in Hungary for fear of massive war. | **Destalinisation**  **Parity**  **New Course**: peace with the West, focus on living standards, no  need to wage war - they will self-destruct  **Peaceful co-existence**  **Mutually Assured Destruction**  **Brinkmanship**  1953; both countries had tested the H Bomb  President Eisenhower and Secretary of State John Foster made it clear that they were willing to use all military force (including nuclear weapons) to stop Soviet aggression.  Brinkmanship - willingness to go to the edge or ‘brink’ of all-out war.  **Destalinisation/Khrushchev Thaw**  Greater independence with ‘many roads to socialism’  Khrushchev speech to 20th Party Congress Feb 1956: denouncing Stalin and recognising right for satellite states to find their ‘national ways to socialism’.  CIA managed to obtain a copy and spread it across Eastern Europe to promise reform - fuelled fire of uprisings across Eastern Europe later. (Polish Crisis, Hungarian Rising, Suez Crisis). These uprisings and their repression demonstrated the superficial nature of the Thaw.  **Nuclear Diplomacy**  Policy of Khrushchev - negotiations and diplomacy supported by the threat of nuclear weapons. Gained credibility in Suez Crisis, also in August 1957 when USSR launched world’s first intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM), and in October 1957 when they launched Sputnik, the first satellite, into space. | **The Great Kitchen Debate:**  **1953: US New Look Policy**  Designed by John Foster Dulles, US Secretary of State to Eisenhower.  The policy emphasized reliance on strategic nuclear weapons to deter potential threats, both conventional and nuclear, from the USSR. Committed the US to the doctrine of Massive Retaliation, which said they would massively retaliate to an attack by using a force disproportionate to the size of the attack. Policy of ‘rollback’ of Communism. Committed to spheres of influence - threat of Massive Retaliation if not (eg. US non-intervention in Hungary 1956)  **Space Race**  Began mid 1950s  Initially dominated by the Soviets  1957 October 4: Soviets launched Sputnik, world’s first artificial satellite, circled the globe every 96 minutes  PR nightmare for USA who believed the Soviets were spying  Heavy focus on propaganda  October 1957 USSR launched Sputnik, the first satellite, into space.  1961 April: USSR sent astronaut Yuri Gagarin into space a few weeks ahead of US astronaut Alan Shepard.  **The U-2 Incident**  Late 1950s, CIA began secret high-altitude spy missions with U2 spy planes over Russia  Infrared cameras took detailed pictures of Soviet troop movements and missile sites.  May 1 1960: Gary Powers’ U2 plane shot down over Russia, Powers parachuted into USSR, arrested, sentenced to 10 years prison - opened 60s with tension between USSR and US. Eisenhower lied, saying he had been a weather scientist - faith in him from population dropped. Eisenhower denied the existence of U-2 missions over the Soviet Union, but then the USSR produced the American pilot, whom they had captured alive. Embarrassed, Eisenhower refused to apologize or promise to suspend future spy missions against the USSR.  Repolarized the Cold War, reversing the thaw that Khrushchev’s visit to Camp David in 1959 had brought and forcing the abandonment of the Paris summit.  Western Attempts to break Soviet bloc   * Giving economic and military assistance to Yugoslavia * Attempting to replace Communist leadership in Albania * Filing reports to UN about human rights abuses in the Eastern Bloc * Eastern European refugees sponsored by West, to encourage people to flee the East   Paris Agreement 1954  FRG independence from occupiers  Limited production of atomic weapons  Vehemently opposed by USSR  **FRG joins NATO**  1954 Aug: French reject EDC - opens opportunity to integrate FRG into NATO.  Adenauer agreed to limit size of military and renounce nuclear weapons.  May 9 1955: FRG joined NATO  **Warsaw Pact:**  14 May 1955: was the Soviet reply to the admittance of FRG into NATO. An attack on one was an attack on all   * Meant that smaller East European nations were militarily reliant on the USSR and thus forced to cooperate with them. * Enabled the USSR to spread Red soldiers throughout Eastern Europe, albeit in small numbers and not in East Germany. * Military organisation based in Moscow, in hands of a Soviet Supreme Commander - granted authority to the Soviets for eastern satellites to use nuclear weapons (which they all possessed by the end of the 1950s) - threat of Eastern Unity cemented the divisions between West and USSR * Signed by USSR, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, East Germany (GDR), Albania. * Only worthy if USSR had the H bomb - needed to be able to defend themselves   Increased military spending saw decreased living standards on both sides - 1955 in USSR it was about 33% of GDP, by 1954, USA was 12%  **Geneva Conference Spirit**  Intended to be first of a number of conciliatory meetings to ease tensions.  Intended to reduce tension between USSR and the West  Agenda:   * Reunification of Germany * European security * Disarmament of Europe * Development of contacts between East and West   Deadlock on Germany, disarmament etc. Agreed to meet again.  USSR was present at the meeting - meant that, in practice, their sphere of influence was acknowledged  **Berlin Crisis 1958-61**  GDR was suffering and instable - between 1945-61, 1 in 6 East Germans left for West Germany.  By Autumn 1958, Khrushchev was willing to force concessions from the West in regards to West Berlin, through the threat of military and nuclear might.  Aims of Khrushchev:   * Delay the decision by NATO to equip FRG with nuclear weapons * Show his internal critics within the USSR that he was not soft on imperialism * Divide the Western alliance * Force the West to view the USSR as a political and military equal, and thus force them to the table to draw up a German peace treaty.   10 November 1958: Khrushchev called for peace treaty between German states.  27 November 1958: Khrushchev put ultimatum demanding demilitarisation of West Berlin, withdrawal of Western troops, and its liberation into a free city.  Ultimatum failed, but managed to push Allies to negotiation table for German question.  Feb 1959: agreed that a foreign ministers’ conference should be held.  May to August 1959: Geneva Conference - no agreement found. Khrushchev renewed ultimatum in June.  Next 2 years were characterised by punctured periods of detente and acute crisis, but no agreements were made still.  1958: relations sour with Khrushchev's ultimatum for Allies to leave Berlin: 6-month deadline passed without incident, extended indefinitely.  Khrushchev didn’t take action when ultimatum met, spheres of influence  New President of the US: John F Kennedy  **Berlin Wall**  In 1960, USSR signed peace treaty with East Germany, promised to help East Germany ‘control the flow of traffic into East Berlin’ - meant that USSR could control East Berlin.  By 1961, 3.5 million or 20% of East Germany’s population had fled to West Berlin. Brain Drain - the educated and brightest were fleeing to the West.  3-5 August 1961: after increasing amounts of people fled from East Germany, Warsaw Pact states agreed on a Berlin Wall. After the border was initially secured with barbed wire on 13 August with no Western objection, a permanent concrete wall was built.  Significance  Assured independence of the GDR  Allowed Ulbricht to contain East Germans and embark on his radical New Economic System which would garner support for socialism.  Pressure continued eg. 27 October Soviet and US tanks stood muzzle to muzzle at Checkpoint Charlie (one of only crossing points)  To lower tension, Kennedy attempted talks with Khrushchev over independence and sovereignty of GDR and FRG. Adenauer was tentative and thought that Kennedy would sacrifice FRG - drew closer to the more hard-line de Gaulle in France (signed Franco-German Treaty of Friendship in Jan 1963.  **Cuban Missile Crisis**  Leadup to the crisis:   * Soviets had always viewed Central and South America as a US sphere of influence * Central American intellectuals and nationalists becoming increasingly hostile to US domination * Fidel Castro launched guerilla war against the government in Cuba, lasted Dec 1956 to Jan 1959, rebels were victorious and seized government of Cuba. US government wasn’t concerned as long as the revolution was not Communist - Castro was anti-American but not Communist * As relations with US deteriorated (due to hostility surrounding his attempts to adopt a policy of non-alignment), and pressure from the middle class increased, Castro turned to Marxist-Leninism and sought to increase relations with Russia. * Mikoyan, deputy chair of Soviet Council of Ministers, visited Cuba and offered $100 million in credit with USSR - confirmed American fears that containment had failed. Was the Soviet version of the Marshall Plan - spread Communism * After US placed trade sanctions on Cuba as a result of their involvement with the USSR, in response Castro nationalised American industry in Cuba. * Khrushchev threatened USA with missile attack if it invaded Cuba, suggested end to Monroe Doctrine   Bay of Pigs:   * Kennedy newly elected: CIA began to plan Castro’s removal * April 1961: 1400 Cuban exiles landed at Bay of Pigs to spark popular uprising against Castro. * Castro was expectant of an attack of the sort - imprisoned thousands * Kennedy cancelled bombing raids and landings by the US marines in defence * Gaddis - the Bay of Pigs incident was ‘a monumental disaster for the United States’ * CIA continued to devise plans to topple Castro, Khrushchev wary   Soviets plant missiles in Cuba   * August 1962 Khrushchev began to secretly negotiate Soviet-Cuban accord with Castro * Soviets began to place medium range nuclear missiles on Cuba, defended by 40,000 Soviet troops, fighter planes, short-range battlefield rockets * Was a strategic balancing of the US’ missile bases in Turkey - allowed the US to be reached by Soviet missiles in the medium range - close the missile gap * Hoped to force concessions regarding the independence of Berlin - trade concessions * Wanted to defend the success of Castro’s Marxist-Leninism in Cuba   Conflict Erupts:   * 14 October 1962: US U2 spy plane discovered the missiles. Kennedy alerted, kept secret from public * Air attack too risky, appealing to UN would take too long - drew up plans for invasion of Cuba and ultimatum to the USSR to withdraw missiles * Quarantine zone established 1200km from Cuban coast - any Soviet ships that entered were to be searched. Quarantine, not a blockade - blockade would mean an act of war * 22 October: Kennedy publicly announced presence of Soviet missiles in Cuba. Said any missile launch from Cuba would see massive nuclear attack on USSR * Khrushchev ordered Soviet ships to challenge the blockade in response   Withdrawal of Missiles   * 26 October: Khrushchev announced he would withdraw the weapons after appeal from UN Secretary General, and fear of imminent US air attack * Demanded a guarantee that the US would not invade Cuba, and that missiles would be withdrawn from Turkey   Effects of the Crisis:   * Kennedy’s prestige increased, Khrushchev heavily criticised by Mao and Castro in particular * Seemed to validate Soviet suspicion of US imperialism * Demonstrated US superiority in nuclear weaponry - shock and threat to the Soviets. Began their ambitious program for ICBMs and a larger navy (response to quarantine zone - US control of seas) * Brink of nuclear war - undesired by both sides. Led to doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction - both sides agreed to control nuclear weaponry. * Easing of tensions and greater quest for cooperation/detente. 1963, hotline established to directly link US and USSR leaders. Was a result of neither fully anticipating the other’s response, as well as poor diplomacy - brinkmanship, almost led to war * Led to 1963 Test Ban Treaty * Cemented a commitment to detente - had come to the brink of war which neither superpower wanted | | | **Polish Crisis: Jun-Oct 1956**  June: riots broke out against increased work targets - put down violently. To maintain support, Polish Communists turned to popular leader, Gomulka, who had just been released from prison. Soviets feared he would restore Polish independence, sent delegation to Warsaw 19-20 October, ordered Red Army to march on city to prevent his election. Election went ahead, Khrushchev withdrew troops, could not afford another conflict. Withdrew under promise that Poland would remain a Warsaw Pact state.  **Hungarian Rising**  Soviets supported by Tito put pressure on Hungary, as part of its destalinisation plan, to remove Stalinist leader Matayas Rakosi, and to replace him with the more liberal Erno Gero.  23 October 1956, Budapest demonstrations against Soviet troops, demanded instalment of Imre Nagy, Communist independent and revolutionary similar to Tito. Nagy installed by Khrushchev who believes he will be loyal - but Nagy took Khrushchev’s destalinisation plan as freedom to take Hungary’s own path to socialism. Nagy launches reforms - frees political prisoners, returns land to peasants. According to the Soviets, Nagy had gone too far. Tolerance for reform in Poland emboldened Hungarian student protestors who made 16 demands for democracy and independence, took control of radio station to broadcast ideas - threatening to secret police. Use the flag with the Communist symbol cut out of the middle.  25 October 1956: at a peaceful protest outside Hungarian parliament, over 100 protestors are killed by Soviet tanks. Massacre is too far for Moscow, who fires their Communist hard-liners in Hungarian secret police, which propels Imre Nagy to power in the vacuum of power in Hungary.  The West does not act - keeps out of Eastern affairs for fear of conflict with the USSR  Khrushchev informs Nagy of his plan to withdraw Soviet troops from Eastern Europe - success on the part of Hungarian freedom fighters, strengthened determination. But freedom fighters continued to fight against secret police. Eventually, Nagy promised free elections - Moscow reacted by sending in 30,000 troops. Motive: not only to quash independence in Hungary, but also to send a message to other Eastern nations eg. Poland that the USSR would not relent. November 4 - Soviet tanks attack Budapest.  Soviets install János Kádár, former Nagy loyal who defected to the USSR upon Nagy’s withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact. Kadar launches reign of repression of freedom fighters - around 22,000 rebels imprisoned, 229 executed (Jeszenszky, 1998).  Significance of Hungary:   * Nullified/disproved Khrushchev’s promises of a Communist rollback * Demonstrated desire for Eastern states to move away * US failure to respond = loss of confidence by Eastern Europeans * Reinforced spheres of influence   -In 10 days of fighting, up to 20,000 people were killed with 200,000 fled to Austria before the border was sealed  USA Radio Free Europe: broadcast anti-Soviet propaganda - encouraged Hungarians to revolt. NATO unwilling to intervene - threat of Nuclear War  Suez Crisis  In response to a flourishing relationship between Egyptian leader Colonel Nasser, and the USSR, US officials cancelled their loan to Egypt to build the Aswan Dam. Nasser thus was prompted to turn to the USSR to finances to nationalise the Suez Canal (owned by Anglo-French company).  Nationalisation gave UK and France an excuse to attack Nasser.  16 October 1956: UK, France and Israel created plan to jointly invade Egypt. Israel would invade on October 29, Britain and France would send in 80,000 troops to defend the Canal. After Nasser refused to withdraw his troops, British bombed Egypt.  USSR had wanted to preserve its influence in the region, and could not suffer a loss on both fronts of Hungary and Egypt.  US refused to offer support and condemned UK. Fighting halted 6 Nov.  By preserving Arab nationalist support, the US believed they could counter growing Soviet influence in the region.  Nov 5: Khrushchev threatened nuclear war on Britain and France. While at the time, it was known to the West that the USSR didn’t have necessary rockets to begin nuclear war, the surrender made it look like Soviet threats, rather than US diplomacy, had saved Egypt. USSR, rather than US, was thus able to take credit for the success in the Middle East. Khrushchev’s policy of nuclear diplomacy benefitted. |
| Phase 3: 1963-79 - Détente | 1964: Leonid Brezhnev: replaced Khrushchev: less erratic, more diplomatic and conciliatory. Ousted Khrushchev by voting him out of the politburo following failure at Suez. Brezhnev in declining health by the 1970s - affected his memory and mental function. Politburo took on all main decision making, Brezhnev used only as a face of Communism. His 18 years of leadership known as the period of stagnation, as the East fell further and further behind. Dies in office 1982.  H: Willy Brandt elected FRG Chancellor, introduction of Ostpolitik  Carter 1976:  More ambitious arms reduction program. Robust pro-human rights stance aimed at the USSR eg. hosted exiled Soviet dissident Vladimir Bukovsky at the White House in 1977. Was warned against taking too strong of a HR stance, as a threat to East-West detente. | **Detente:**  Result of Cuban Missile Crisis - known that neither superpower would emerge victorious from a nuclear war, could not be afforded on either side. Both superpowers occupied - USSR with China, and US with Vietnam War. Couldn’t afford anything but peace. Thus, detente was not an end to tension, but a change in tactics by superpowers. Brezhnev called it ‘the way to create more favourable conditions for peaceful socialist and communist construction’  US Right saw any attempt at arms control as a concession to enable the USSR to catch up, militarily, to the US. Left saw detente as important in reducing tensions and stabilising international relations, as well as internal confidence within the USA. During 1980s, especially proponents of Reagan’s rearmament programme, criticised detente as being ‘soft’ on the USSR and prolonging the Cold War.  -spend $39.5billion on nuclear weapons research, testing and production which was a 39% increase over the previous eight-year period  While both superpowers avoided confrontation, and gave the appearance of peace, the USSR was secretly building up its military. Brezhnev, unlike Khrushchev, believed that there was no point to faking or overexaggerating Soviet military might - knew that he had to increase the size and capabilities of the military. Discovery of rick oil fields in Siberia enabled Soviet state to pour billions into developing their military.  Causes of detente:   * Public opposition to nuclear weapons: result of Vietnam War, first time people at home could see atrocities of war on TV. bred widespread opposition to war, pressure for peace. Detente would assure a joint commitment to reduce weapons to diplomatic and political benefit * Concerns about proliferation - spread of nuclear weapons to other nations, increasing risk of nuclear war. Detente would provide both means and moral authority to denounce and prevent the spread of nuclear weaponry * Fear of war after Cuban Missile Crisis - demonstrated threat that each could pose to eachother, MAD. Arms race and parity meant either could destroy eachother, constant push for development meant delicate parity could be disrupted, needed to prevent nuclear war. * Soviet need to transfer funds away from pursuing the arms race to its failing economy and falling living standards. Would be possible if detente achieved with the US * US needs: had been embarrassed and economically damaged by failure to secure victory in the Vietnam War. Had demonstrated that limits existed to American power, reduced support for intervention in foreign affairs. Detente would enable them to avoid ceding their interests, but to avoid the possibility of a potentially unsuccessful foreign intervention. Would also reduce the influence of the industrial-military complex to free up funds for social reform rather than military spending. Urban riots 1968 USA supported need for social reform * European tension: Czech Crisis in East, destabilisation and riots threatened de Gaulle in France. Willy Brandt, FRG Chancellor, bridged divide with Ostpolitik. Acted as an encouragement for detent, aimed to cool the tensions of the Cold War eg. France * According to the Soviets, detente was a result of Soviet military capacity finally matching that of the US, necessitating peace   Nixon: ‘detente is a means of controlling the conflict with the Soviet Union’ ie. detente was a strategy whereby a network of friendly relations would be established, such that the USSR had more to gain through cooperation and peace than it did through confrontation. Kissinger: ‘by acquiring a stake in this network of relationships with the West the Soviet Union may become more conscious of what it will lose by a return to confrontation’  Detente was marked not by a desire for unity and peace, but to maintain parity - seen when, after Carter proposed arms reduction scheme to Brezhnev in 1977, was outright rejected as Br asked for proportional reductions from the US | **Conflicting aims of détente**  USSR: recognition of post-war frontiers in Eastern Europe, reduction of threat in FRG, cooperation between East and West.  US: restrain USSR and stabilise Europe.  France: undermine the influence of the superpowers in continental Europe.  FRG: maintain relations and cooperation with GDR.  **Attempts to reduce reliance on nuclear weapons:**  *1963: Test Ban Treaty* (Britain, USA, USSR) banned nuclear tests on land, under water, in space. France and China refused to sign - demonstrates assumption that US and USSR were only superpowers whose nuclear arsenals counted. Largely ineffective, eg. after 3 months countries could continue to develop and test nuclear weapons if they believed their vital strategic interests were at stake by not doing so.  *1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty* (US, USSR, UK, FRG) agreed not to transfer nuclear weapons to other nations or help them to develop them.  *SALT: Strategic Arms Limitation Talks*  SALT I agreed on between Nixon and Brezhnev at Moscow Summit. Two parts:   * 5 year freeze on the construction of ballistic missiles and bombers. * Both sides allowed only 2 anti-ballistic screens (one for capital, one for missile site).   Hoped that MAD would ensure peace in the case of war breaking out.  SALT was motivated on the US part by the hope that it would convince the Soviets to stop supporting the north Vietnamese in the Vietnam War  Nixon tried to improve US –Chinese relations. In 1972, the US government finally agreed to let China join the UN. This worried the Soviets, who thought the two countries might gang up on the USSR, so Brezhnev invited Nixon to Moscow to sign SALT I  SALT II 1979 signed by Carter and Brezhnev in Vienna. Would have imposed permanent limitations on nuclear weapons, and further limit number of missile launchers and warheads. Never ratified by US Senate as a result of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. By 1974, parity had largely been reached: USSR had 2423 launchers to US’ 2106 (Williamson, 2015).  Realistically, each side still maintained the weapons capable of destroying eachother - the Talks had little impact. Eg. between 1972-80, number of US warheads almost doubled, and number of Soviet warheads tripled. But they represented a mutual desire to avoid confrontation, in the full knowledge of MAD. Reinforced that both could gain advantage by avoiding confrontation - furthered detente, fading of the missile gap, acceptance of parity  **France’s withdrawal from NATO**  De Gaulle (France) led Western European attack on US influence 1963: vetoed UK’s participation in the EC on the grounds that the UK was too pro-American. 1966: withdrew French troops from NATO, expelled its offices from Paris. Announced during a visit to Moscow that Europe should abandon the bloc mentality that was a result of the conflict between the US and USSR.  1967, Senator Michael Mansfield put forward a motion in the Senate calling for the removal of most US troops from Europe - supported by almost half the floor.  **Helsinki Accords August 1973**  Called ‘centrepiece of Soviet and East European diplomacy’ of the 1970s.  Aim to convince West to recognise the permanent territorial and political division of Europe at Yalta conference, but increase cooperation across the frontier. Wanted to exploit Western technology and knowledge across a safe border, to modernise the economy.  US accepted on the condition that the East would revisit negotiations for mutual arms reductions in Europe.  3 ‘baskets’ of negotiation:   * Security: peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in internal affairs, acceptance of the possibility of a peaceful change of borders (against Brezhnev’s aims of permanent recognition of borders) * Economic, technological and environmental cooperation * Humanitarian cooperation: expanding trade, human rights ie. the concessions the US tried to get from the USSR. In reality, USSR ignored calls for human rights.   Was seen as a recognition by the US of Soviet sphere - ‘new Yalta’.  Focus on human rights and East-West contact meant that it placed Soviet regimes at risk of being undermined in Eastern Europe - ‘a time bomb planted in the heart of the Soviet Empire’. Demonstrated Soviet desire to further East-West detente. While the US was opposed to the proposal of the inviolability of borders in Eastern Europe, they were willing to cooperate in the interest of detente - true desire for cooperation/unity  At same time, the USSR was secretly funding Communist and anti-American movements around the world eg. Angola 1975.  **Arab-Israeli War 1973**  After Syria and Egypt defeated by Israel in 1967, Brezhnev boosted funding and military assistance to the two nations. Wanted an Arab victory over Israel as a method of reducing US influence in the Middle East. 1973: massive attack on Israelis by Arab forces - urged on by Soviets. US had been reluctant to become involved, but responded by supporting Israel. Brinkmanship, detente was put to the test. Soviets withdrew, couldn’t afford open conflict with US. Economic impact of war in increasing oil price, further divided the economically resilient West and pushed the Soviets back further.  **Moscow Summit May 1972: Basic Principles Agreement.**  12 principles, including:  Formal acknowledgement that peaceful coexistence and mutual non-interference was the most successful relation  Commitment to avoiding situations which could lead to war or conflict, and to negotiate by peaceful means instead  Had no legal status, not binding  **Agreement on the Prevention of Nuclear War 1973:**  Built on Basic Principles Agreement  Both feared that no nuclear weapons was a concession which would remove a vital deterrent to conflict.  Both agreed in an attempt to limit eachother’s influence.  **Change in Class Structure in the West**  Rise of the middle class due to higher education availability  Movement from farms and country to the cities - urbanisation  Growth of technologies meant industrial working class shrunk  Social security reformed life in Europe  ‘Gadget revolution’ - beginning to buy washing machines, stereos, fridges etc. - symbolic of capitalism.  Increased social welfare - greater disposable income  Growth of youth counter-culture - rebellion against status quo and authority.  Baby boom after WWII developed international youth culture - youth saw themselves as a nation state amongst themselves.  Increasing revolutionary ferment against Vietnam youth - first generation to confront realities of war on TV - became the adults of the 70s and 80s who pushed for detente etc.  1968 Student Revolt in France: students took over university, violent clashes with police, industrial workers joined for general strike - demanded consumerist change - | 1979: Soviets invade Afghanistan. Marks end of detente, along with election of Reagan in the US. |  | **Prague Spring:**  Alexander Dubček came to power as head of Czech Communist Party 1968. Sought to establish a Communist system by the people, rather than one enforced by the Soviet state. Period of liberalisation and democratisation known as Prague Spring. Abolished censorship June 1968, wave of anti-Soviet propaganda released in Czechoslovakia.  20-21 August 1968: Warsaw Pact troops, led by USSR, invaded to occupy Czechoslovakia and terminated the Prague Spring. Reformers fired from government, censorship re-introduced, Soviet troops remained so long as there was a threat to socialism. Czechoslovakia became one of the most hard-line Communist nations into the 1980s.  **Ostpolitik**  Adenauer, former FRG Chancellor, employed Hallstein Doctrine - barrier to detente in Europe until Brandt in 1969  Began as FRG set up trade missions to Yugoslavia and Romania.  Aims: to recognise the GDR’s regime in order to ensure the possibility of future potential reunion.  1970 Moscow Treaty: signed by USSR and FRG to declare they had no territorial claims against any other state, recognise the inviolability of Poland’s and Germany’s frontiers. FRG agreed to negotiate with Poland, GDR and Czechoslovakia, abandoned Hallstein Doctrine which prevented it from recognising the GDR’s nationhood. Established Germany’s right to work towards a state of peace that would enable German reunification - limited recognition of the USSR’s European empire. Ie. left door open for future reunification.  Similar treaties with Poland (Warsaw Treaty, recognised inviolability of Oder-Neisse line and increased financial assistance from the FRG) - and Czechoslovakia (Prague Treaty).  *Negotiations over Berlin*  March 1970: Four-Power negotiations over access to Berlin. Sent message that Ostpolitik didn’t jeopardise relations of FRG with the West, but that USSR was willing to cooperate. Agreed on:   * Unimpeded traffic access between West Berlin and FRG * Recognition of the FRG’s ties to West Berlin * The right for West Berliners to visit the East.   *Basic Treaty December 1972*  Fears from the East Germans and USSR that the FRG’s ‘magnetic’ pull would decrease the influence of socialism in East Germany - tentative regarding relations with FRG.  In Basic Treaty, FRG recognised GDR as an equal sovereign state. Both German states joined the UN in 1973. Formally gave up Hallstein Doctrine. Pushed US to adopt detente with the USSR - a FRG-led detent could split the Western alliance and threaten the US influence in Europe |
| ;..New Cold War 1979-85 | 1980: Ronald Reagan elected, took tougher line against USSR (hawkish leadership) ‘the evil nation’ and increased military spending drastically. While Carter’s final military budget had been $17.4 billion, by 1989, Reagan had increased his to $300 billion. Reagan’s administration = end of detente  November 1982: Bhrezhnev dies, replaced by Yuri Andropov.  February 1984: Andropov dies, replaced by Konstantin Chernenko - agreed to reopen talks for SALT II  March 1985: Chernenko dies, replaced by Mikhail Gorbachev. By this time, the USSR was suffering from exorbitant military spending and global overreach (attempting to take on a global power greater than that which can be afforded, economically or politically).  -“On the day I became Soviet leader..I had a meeting with the Warsaw pact and told them you are independent and we are independent..We will not intervene in your affairs I promise you” |  | **Soviet economic decline:**  Causes   * KGB director Yuri Andropov believed that a US attack on the Soviets was imminent by 1980. Result of Rea gan’s anti-Communism. Led to massive spending by KGB to investigate foreign intelligence. * Ongoing intensive military spending to maintain parity with the US * Costly war with Afghanistan, resulted in Soviets attempting to withdraw to minimise humiliation. * Funding of anti-Western regimes around the world   Economic collapse was key factor in political collapse of Communism  Communist economic systems could not adapt to supplying goods at competitive prices like in the Capitalist West. Had failed to modernise after the 1973 oil crisis, and were vulnerable to coterminously increasing inflation, oil prices, and global economic depression.  Eg. Total production of USSR was only 37% of the GDP of the USA (Williamson).  **Soviet Missiles in Europe**  First blow to Detente - 1976  Soviets placed medium-range nuclear missiles in Central Europe. Had potential to reach all NATO states.  Nov 1981: Reagan suggested that both sides destroy existing nuclear weapons. USSR refused, as they were aware that the US had new technology ready to release once the destruction was complete.  Despite increasing public pressure from left-wing and green protest groups, US installed missiles in Europe November 1983. Parity reached. Soviets immediately abandoned negotiations - first time both sides had broken off relations in several decades. Demonstrated that both sides were increasingly hostile to eachother - USSR saw that the US was unwilling to negotiate for mutually beneficial terms. Hoped that ending the talks would increase Western pressure on the US for negotiation, but instead the US just blamed the ‘hostile’ USSR for the failure of the talks.  **Invasion of Afghanistan**  April 1978: independent Communist coup in Afghanistan overthrew the monarchy. Faced opposition amongst conservative Islamic forces. Concerning to Soviets: worried it would result in the encirclement of the USSR (China already diplomatically aligned with US) and spark increased Islamic fundamentalism in USSR’s southern Muslim republics. 100,000 Soviet troops invaded late 1979, assassinated unpopular Communist president to replace him with a Soviet Communist puppet, Babrak Kamal. Kamal had little public support - Afghans instead supported fundamentalist mujahedin (200,000 guerilla fighters). Became a significant economic strain on USSR.  US reaction: concerned that Soviets would take control of Afghanistan as a further expansion towards the Indian Ocean and its oil supplies. Carter banned grain exports to USSR, SALT II Treaty stalled in Congress, US boycotted 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow. US funded supply of weapons to the mujahedin to combat Soviet military superiority, distributed through suppliers in Pakistan.  **Deterioration of Ostpolitik**  By 1980, Ostpolitik had degenerated into an open appeasement of the USSR and Eastern regimes.  Eg. while FRG and France condemned Afghanistan, but said that detente ‘could not withstand another shock’  Eg. new FRG Chancellor Helmut Schmidt avoided criticising martial law in Poland in the interests of Ostpolitik  **Missile Vulnerability**  1972 ABM Treaty had meant that missile defence was based on mutual deterrence - but with increasing tensions, both sides were concerned that they were vulnerable to attack. Lead to the motive of deterrence whereby it was assured that under attack, either side could respond by defending - undermined MAD. Led to SDI.  **Star Wars**  1981: Reagan became US President, increased spending on armaments to 30% of all govt spending btw 1981-85 (Williamson)  1983, Reagan announced Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) or ‘Star Wars’ which was an anti-ballistic missile shield to protect itself from Soviet attack. Meant that a Soviet nuclear attack was weakened, and the US edged ahead in the arms race. Had negative effect on international diplomacy, fears of beginning another arms race. Realistically, there was little chance of any anti-ballistic missile system being able to prevent attack - but it would be able to significantly weaken a first strike attempt. Meant that the principle of mutual deterrence was undermined), increasing anxieties.  **US-Britain relations**  Relations began in 1981, February Thatcher visited Reagan. Both were committed to an end to the Cold War, believed the USSR had been allowed to get away with too much.  Thatcher supported the sustained presence of US nuclear weapons in Europe - warned Reagan that the world would be reliant on nuclear weapons for peace for many years to come. |  |  | **Polish Solidarity**  Poland strategically important to Soviets - was in strategic position on path to West, provided around ⅓ of all combined forces of the Warsaw Pact. Was facing economic crisis in 1980, revealed failures of the government.  1980 Gdansk shipyard protests about increased prices - became the Solidarity Movement. Formally recognised by government in August 1980, following many sweeping reforms. USSR encouraged PM Stanislaw Kania to crush anti-Soviet unrest. 1981: Solidarity delegates attacked Polish Communist Party at the 9th Congress, began to dismantle the party. Wojeciech Jaruzelski replaced Kania, declared martial law in order to crush Solidarity. US had continually urged USSR not to invade Poland, to allow situation to resolve itself - USSR concerned about threat to socialism in Poland. US announced sanctions, blocked Poland from receiving IMF funds, suspended sale of gas and oil. Placed pressure on both the Soviet economy and detente.  **USA/Europe Relations**  USA becoming increasingly disdainful of increasing European protectionism as the EC flourished, became more prosperous and integrated. America began to revaluate its position as a superpower in Europe.  Europe committed to detente eg. at 1981 NATO meeting, US pushed to have mention of detente removed - strongly opposed by Europe. |
| Collapse of Communism 1985-95 | Bush elected 1989-93. By this time, Soviets were in severe economic decline, and were losing the status to be able to negotiate powerfully with the US. | End of the Brezhnev Doctrine when Gorbachev announced to Council of Europe in 1989 that ‘the common European home… excludes all possibility of armed confrontation, all possibility of resorting to threat or use of force employed by one alliance against eachother, within an alliance, or whatever it might be’ | **Glasnost - openness**  To assist the failing Soviet economy, Gorbachev proposed a number of reforms:   * Increased investment in tech * De-centralisation of the economy (perestroika) * Greater worker freedom and incentives to work harder   1986 onwards - censorship was relaxed - damaging in revealing corruption of the Communist Party leadership, reducing public trust in the party.  Religion and dissenting publications were allowed.  1989: Congress of People’s Deputies elected in first real contested elections - could debate and criticise govt - became an important representative force.  February 1990: Article 6 of the constitution destroyed - had secured the leadership of the Communist Party. Changed so that Party officials had to have the support of 50% of the electorate to retain their seats - most were expelled at elections in March. Gorbachev became first self-appointed executive president of the USSR - wanted to ensure he could finish carrying out reforms.  Glasnost had the unintended effect of exposing the dominance of the Communist Party and opening it up for challenge - meant that support and power of the CPSU was reduced, bringing an end to Communist rule in the USSR  Economic reforms eg. for factories who were overproducing, a portion of their profits put towards improving the factory and the lives of workers in it. Some reforms unsuccessful eg. anti-alcohol campaign, cutting vodka by 10% over 5 years - largely similar to American prohibition, illegal alcohol production increased and profits from tax on legal alcohol dropped. However, as a result of Gorbachev’s increasing liberalisation and economic decentralisation, to some extent, the Soviet condition improved. GNP increased by around 3.7%, output by 1.6% and worker productivity by 2.5% between 1988 and 1989 (Aldred). But by 1991, national income had fallen by 10% (Aldred), and Soviets were suffering worse than ever. Trade was in freefall, and a number or Republics began to withhold revenue, causing a disruption in the state budget, especially for military spending.  ‘Interdependence’ - believed firmly in advancing the common interests of states through cooperation.  Desired a united Europe, not divided by the ‘artificiality and temporariness of the bloc-to-bloc confrontation and the archaic nature of the Iron Curtain’ (Gorbachev) - signalled not the end of Communism, but the peaceful coexistence of all European states.  **Geneva Summit November 1985:**  Watershed moment in US/Soviet relations. Agreed that ‘a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought’. Demonstrated that ideological divisions had been largely abandoned by Gorbachev. Proposed the abolition of nuclear weapons by year 2000 - US unwilling to give up SDI, outright rejected by UK and France.  Tensions increased momentarily when both sides arrested agents working on spying on eachother (US arrested Gennady Zakharov, USSR arrested Nicolas Daniloff). Both released, but marked increased tensions.  **Reykjavik Summit October 1986**  Reagan disappointed with Summit, as believed its only purpose was to get him to abandon SDI. Gorbachev understood that Reagan promoted SDI as a method of ensuring that offensive nuclear weapons would not have to be used.  **Washington Summit December 1987**  Agreed on INF (Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces) Treaty - USA would remove its deployed Cruise and Pershing II missiles from Europe, and USSR removed its SS-20 missiles from Europe. Had been initially rejected in 1983, as Soviets believed that this left them on the bottom hand - as it applied to all Soviet missiles, wherever they were deployed, and didn’t restrict US sea and air-based missiles which could be used against the USSR. Thus, agreement in 1987 seen as most important in ending the arms race. Significant because:   * First time that both superpowers had agreed mutually to remove a whole class of weapon and to validate their removal in their own sphere of influence. * Soviets accepted that US could maintain the SDI * USSR made no attempt to include France and Britain in the removal agreement, nor to maintain its nuclear weapons pointed in defence against China. Marked serious commitment to ending the arms race. * Followed by Gobachev’s announcement of the removal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Soviet had lost 15,000 men and the economic strain of war was growing   December 7 1988: Gorbachev speech at UN announced the Soviet policy of allowing states to make their own decisions - end of Brezhnev Doctrine. Introduced Sinatra Doctrine, based on Frank Sinatra song ‘I did it my way’. Also announced commitment to reducing Soviet forces by half a million men.  -November 12, 1968 Brezhnev stated that "[w]hen external and internal forces hostile to socialism try to turn the development of a given socialist country in the direction of … the capitalist system ... this is no longer merely a problem for that country's people, but a common problem, the concern of all socialist countries."  **Renegotiating Detente**  1986 Gorbachev began to reduce the number of nuclear weapons stationed in Central Europe in order to entice the West back into negotiations of detente.  December 1987 Washington Summit, accepted unconditionally the NATO plan for total withdrawal of medium-range nuclear weapons from both sides of Europe.  December 1988, conceded that Marxist-Leninism was not absolute truth - demonstrated resolve to increase detente and bring an end to the Cold War.  Withdrew from Afghanistan in 1986, installed a conciliatory president to form a government of national unity (Mohammed Najibullah), and sponsored peace treaties between Afghans and Pakistanis. War continued, but had been endeavoured to end.  **Demise of Comecon**  July 1984 - USSR forced to end its supply of cheap fuel and raw materials to Eastern Europe. Unintendedly forced Eastern Europe to have closer economic ties to the West.  1985: Secretary General of Comecon, Vyacheslav Sychov, contacted president of the EC - meant that the necessary diplomatic relations had been established in order to establish trade network between the EC and individual states  28 September 1991 - Comecon ended.  **Arms reduction under Bush**  November 1990: Conventional Forces in Europe Agreement signed by European leaders, Bush and Gorbachev - equal reduction of military operations and hardware of all European nations, with processes of verification and inspection.  Produced a Charter of Paris for a New Europe: established a secretariat to organise annual meetings of heads of state, created a Conflict Prevention Centre in Vienna to advise on conflict avoidance.  START 1 (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty) held Moscow July 1991. Reduced fixed number of warheads.  **Dissolution of the Soviet Union**  As glasnost and perestroika reduced the influence of the Communist party, the USSR’s hold on its republics began to slip, and nationalist sentiments grew. Eg. in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania May 1989, held conference to propose sovereignty from the USSR. Gorbachev attempted to crush it with force, sending in troops in January 1991, but was unsuccessful. Lost him support from both the separatists and the conservatives in the USSR who promoted the use of force to keep the USSR together. Strengthened determination for the independence of states.  Increasing numbers of republics declared independence in the 1990 Autumn of Nations. Russia declared sovereignty from the USSR 12 June 1990, led way for many more republics to do so as well.  March/April 1990: free elections to Congress of People’s Deputies, gave a voice to reformers and dissidents - end of Communism was nigh.  June 1991, Yeltsin became president of Russia, led reformist opposition against Gorbachev.  August 1991 - unsuccessful coup to overthrow Gorbachev. No public support - but meant that Gorbachev could not return to the leadership. Yeltsin played a key role in leading public opposition to the coup, lending him popular support, seen as hero defending Russia from military while Gorbachev was on holiday. Coup was seen as a ghost of the old regime  August 1991: Communist Party made illegal in Russia.  December 1991: Russia, Minsk and Ukraine met to establish the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) instead of USSR  26 December 1991: USSR Supreme Soviet voted to dissolve itself - formally ended the existence of the USSR.  Yeltsin replaced Gorbachev as president. |  | **Distractors for the detente period**: used to feign friendship during periods of sustained mutual tension:  Ping-pong diplomacy  Space handshake | **Breakup of Yugoslavia**  Growth of nationalism and belief in self-determination: concurrent with anti-colonialism  **Poland’s independence**  1989: Solidarity was legalised  August 1989: free elections held, Solidarity-dominated government headed by PM Mazowiecki was formed - Eastern Europe’s first non-Communist leader since 1940s.  **November 1989: fall of the Berlin Wall**  August 1989: Hungary opened its borders to allow 200,000 East Germans to escape to West Germany. GDR’s top-heavy economy and bureaucracy could not handle the brain drain and population drain which was occurring. September 1989: Gorbachev assured East Germany that no Soviet military aid or intervention would be supplied there to reinforce the Communist regime. 9 November, all GDR citizens were granted passports with right to an ext visa. After announcement, 20,000 gathered at crossing points, and, under immense pressure, the guards opened gates to let them past the wall and into West Berlin.  Eventually, severity of the economic downturn in East Germany reached a peak. November 9, 1989: East Germans forced their way to the Berlin Wall, since there was little defence left of it guards let them through, and the wall fell. Represented a rejection of Russian-style socialism.  **Reunification of Germany**  March 1990: ‘Alliance for Germany’ pro-unification coalition won a majority in the first free elections (followed Poland’s example). Helmut Kohl, West German Chancellor, wanted a reunited Germany to be a part of NATO. Met with Gorbachev July 1990, reluctantly agreed to the extension of NATO influence over East Berlin. Beginning of ‘two-plus-four’ talks with two Germanies and four former occupying powers, of which only the US and USSR had the power to veto reunification.  In East, worries were quelled by generous West German donations, and in the West fears were quelled by an insistence on Germany’s membership of NATO and the European Community. ‘Two Plus Four’ Treaty signed 12 September 1990 in Moscow, ended the rights of occupying powers and terminated the partition of Germany.  Germany formally unified 2 October 1990. USSR agreed to remove its military influence from Germany as long as Germany was granted unconditional sovereignty.  **Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia**  Czechoslovakia still living under repression from Prague-Spring era. After changes in Poland and Hungary in Summer 1989, economic reforms were announced, but not coupled with political reforms. After the Berlin Wall opened, a protest in memory of a student killed during WWI German occupation turned violent - became known as Velvet Revolution.  November 19, 12 opposition groups formed the ‘Civic Forum’, demanded political change.  December 7: Prime Minister, Ladislav Adamec resigned, new government formed with Communists in the minority.  December 29, Václav Havel elected as president from Civic Forum. Convinced the USSR to withdraw troops from Czechoslovakia while promising to remain in the Warsaw Pact. After reunification of Germany, pushed for dissolution of the Pact. In 1992, Czechoslovakia dissolved into two independent states, Czech Republic and Slovakia.  **Yugoslavia**  Yugoslavia had been expelled from Cominform in 1948 - had become a vastly divergent Communist nation from the East. More contact with the West, greater political and cultural freedoms under Tito.  By 1990, great economic problems eg. by 1989, inflation was at 300% (Williamson).  Tito died 1980 - nationalism was used to maintain Communist hold in Yugoslavian states - led to increasing ethnic rivalries.  January 1990, Prime Minister Ante Markovic remove the Communist Party’s dominant position in the state. Enabled multi-party elections beginning at the state level in April 1990. As a result, nationalists were elected in each state, leading to each demanding greater independence. Gradually, Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosovo and Montenegro, all declared independence from Yugoslavia between 1992 and 2006. Vicious wars fought, most brutal was in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1992-1995 when over 100,000 people died and millions were displaced from destroyed cities (Williamson). |