

Superpower relations and the Cold War, 1941-91

Key Topic 1: The origins of the Cold War, 1941-58

1: Early tension between East and west

- Germany invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941. This led Britain and the Soviet Union to form an alliance against Hitler.
- When Japan attacked the USA in December 1941, Hitler also declared war on the USA. This brought Britain, the Soviet Union and the USA together as allies.
- The three powers together became known as the **Grand Alliance**, and their leaders, Churchill (Great Britain), Roosevelt (USA) and Stalin (Soviet Union) became known as the 'Big Three'.
- However, this alliance did not mean close friendship and harmony. There was constant tension throughout the war.

Stalin's point of view

- Stalin did not trust the West and was determined to build a buffer zone against possible, future German attacks.
- During the war the Soviet people suffered terribly. By 1945, some 26,000,000 Soviet citizens had died in the conflict. This made Stalin determined that this should never happen again.
- He remembered that the Western Allies had intervened in the Civil War in 1918-9 and he suspected that they had encouraged Hitler in the 1930s.
- Britain and France had turned down an offer of an alliance with the Soviet Union in 1939.
- Stalin believed that the Allies had deliberately delayed invading France until 1944.
- This made Stalin very suspicious of the West during the war. He believed that the USA and Britain had wanted the Soviet Union to destroy itself fighting Germany on its own.

The West's point of view

- The West believed that Stalin wanted to impose communism upon Europe. Essentially the rivalry grew out of two different belief systems – capitalism and communism.
- He did not allow the Red Army to intervene in the Warsaw Uprising (1944) to help the Poles.
- Stalin had not declared war on Japan despite the fact that Britain and the USA were fighting the Japanese across Asia and the Pacific.

- Winston Churchill stated that he had not fought against one dictator for six years to see another one take his place.

The Tehran Conference, November 1943

- This was the first meeting of the 'Big Three' and the main discussion was focused on opening a second front in Western Europe.
- Roosevelt hoped that this conference would cement close relations between the leaders.
- It was agreed that Britain and the USA would open up a second front by invading France in May 1944.
- The Soviet Union would simultaneously mount an offensive in the East against Germany.
- It was agreed that as much help would be given to partisan forces in Yugoslavia who were fighting Hitler.
- The Soviet Union would declare war on Japan once Germany was defeated
- A United Nations organisation was to be set up after the war
- Stalin was promised the lands that the Soviet Union had lost to Poland in 1920 and as a result of this Poland's borders with Germany would move to the rivers Oder and Neisse.
- There were discussions about splitting up Germany after the war but no firm decisions were made.
- Roosevelt, the US president, was prepared to believe Stalin's promises about free elections, provided that Stalin was prepared to declare war on Japan and to join the UNO.

The Yalta Conference, February 1945

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

What happened at Yalta?

- The Allies agreed to divide Germany into four zones; each one would be occupied by one of the four allies.
- Stalin agreed to accept France as one of the powers – this was after much persuasion by Churchill. Berlin would also be divided into four sectors.
- Poland would be given land in the west, which would be taken from Germany and would lose land to the USSR.
- Stalin agreed that some members of the Polish government in exile (the London Poles) would be allowed to join the Polish government that he had set up (the Lublin Poles). Free elections would be held.
- The USSR would declare war on Japan three months after the end of the war with Germany.
- Stalin promised to allow free elections in the countries of eastern Europe, which had been occupied by the Soviet army.
- It was agreed that Nazi war criminals would be tried in an international court of justice.
- The Big Three agreed that a conference at San Francisco in April of 1945 should formulate plans for a new world body – to be called the United Nations. Its aim would be to keep peace.
- However, no agreement could be reached about reparations.

The Potsdam Conference, July–August 1945

- The Potsdam conference was the last of the conferences between the leaders of the allies during the Second World War.
- President Roosevelt died on 12 April and he was succeeded by Harry Truman who took a much tougher line with Stalin.
- By July, the USA had developed the atomic bomb, which meant that Truman no longer needed to rely upon the Soviet Union in the war against Japan.
- During the conference, Churchill was replaced by Clement Attlee, who had become Britain's new Prime Minister following the July general election.

What was decided at Potsdam?

- Germany was divided into four zones. Each zone would be occupied by one of the four Allies, Great Britain, France, the USA and the USSR. Berlin was divided into four sectors.

- Germany was to be de-militarised. All German naval and merchant ships were to be given to the Allies.
- The Nazi Party would be dissolved. War criminals would be tried and punished.
- Nazis were removed from important positions and leading Nazis were to be put on trial for war crime. These trials were held in Nuremberg during 1946.
- There would be free elections in Germany, freedom of speech and a free press.
- Germans living in Eastern Europe would be transferred into Germany.
- Germany would pay reparations for the damage caused by the war. Most of this would go to the USSR, either in money or goods.
- All the Allies agreed to take part in the United Nations.
- Poland's frontier was to be moved westwards to the rivers Oder and Neisse

But there were also disagreements at Potsdam.

- The new US president, Harry Truman tried to force the USSR to allow free elections in the countries of Eastern Europe, which had been occupied after the end of the war.
- Stalin was angry that the USA had not told him about the **atomic bomb**, which he knew that the USA had developed.
- He ordered Soviet scientists to produce one as soon as possible
- This was the beginning of the 'Cold War'. During 1945 –46, Stalin's policies showed that he did not trust the West.
- He kept control of those countries of Eastern Europe that had been liberated from Nazi rule. This led to Winston Churchill coining the term '**Iron Curtain**'.

Ideological differences between the superpowers

- The obvious difference was between capitalism and communism was shown in two areas.
- Truman and Churchill/Attlee wanted the Yalta Declaration put into practice. It soon became clear that it would not be.
- Stalin had assumed that the countries of Eastern Europe would vote for communist parties to thank the Soviet Union for liberation. They did not.
- From Romania (1945) to Czechoslovakia (1948), they gradually fell under Soviet influence.

- East and west had very different ideas about Germany. Stalin wanted Germany kept weak; Truman wanted it to recover as quickly as possible

What was the Cold War?

- The events of 1945 to 1949 led to what became known as the COLD WAR. This is the name used to describe the hostility between East and West which existed until the 1980s.
- It was a war of propaganda and ideas, but there was very little actual fighting.
- A hot war is a conflict in which actual fighting takes place. A cold war is a war conducted against an enemy by every means without resorting to fighting.
- The Cold War started in 1945–46 and was officially announced to be over in 1989.
- At first it was confined to Europe, but during the 1950s and 1960s it spread across world, as the USA and the Soviet Union sought to gain influence and control over as many countries as possible.

The 'Iron Curtain'

- The Iron Curtain was the name given to the border between East and West in Europe that was set up by Joseph Stalin, the ruler of the USSR in the years after the Second World War.
- The name came from a speech made by Winston Churchill in Fulton, Missouri in 1946.
- The Iron Curtain became a thousand mile fence cutting off the Communist countries of Eastern Europe from the non-communist west.

Why did Stalin build the Iron Curtain?

- He wanted to set up a buffer zone of countries in Eastern Europe to protect the USSR against another invasion by Germany.
- He did not trust Germany – there had been two invasions in his own lifetime - 1914 and 1941.
- Stalin was determined to prevent this happening a third time. He wanted to make sure that Germany was kept weak, whereas the western Allies wanted Germany to be allowed to recover from the effects of the war.
- During the years 1945 –48, all the countries which had been occupied by the Red Army at the end of the war were brought under Soviet control.
- Poland, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and the Baltic States of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania had been absorbed in 1940.

- They were kept as part of the Soviet Union. In Czechoslovakia the leaders were simply murdered.
- He did not trust the west, Britain and the USA, because they had invaded Russia in 1919 and he believed they had delayed the invasion of France until 1944.
- Stalin was trying to prevent western influence reaching the west and refugees leaving the east for Western Europe.

The Soviet Control of Eastern Europe

How did Stalin secure control of Eastern Europe?

- When countries were liberated from the Nazis, Stalin ensured that Soviet troops remained there.
- In Hungary and Romania, two countries which had fought on the Nazis' side, Stalin felt justified in keeping Soviet troops there as occupying forces.
- Stalin ensured that any new governments were coalitions which meant that the Communist Party would have a say in the running of the country.
- Gradually the Communist Party would infiltrate the key areas of government and security organisations.
- When elections took place, the Communist Party used any means necessary to discredit and frighten opponents.
- Such tactics enabled the Communist Party to take over the government of the country and then began to establish a one-party country – a communist state.

Czechoslovakia

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

Poland

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

Bulgaria

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

Hungary

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

Romania

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

The Long Telegram

- In 1946, Truman received worrying news in the 'Long telegram' from George Kennan.
- He reported that Stalin had made a speech calling for the destruction of Capitalism and that the Soviet Union was building its military power
- **Novikov's telegram** was sent to Stalin saying that USA wanted to dominate the world, was not interested in co-operation and was preparing for war

2: The development of the Cold War

The Truman Doctrine

- In February 1947 the British government informed the USA that it could no longer afford to support the Greek government against Communist rebels.
- The US government stepped in with an offer of \$400,000,000. Harry Truman also took the opportunity to extend the offer of aid.
- The Truman Doctrine was announced by Harry Truman, the president of the USA, in March 1947.
- He offered to help any country that was being threatened either from within or from without its own borders.
- He did not name any country, nor did he specify what sort of aid would be given.

Why was the Truman Doctrine published?

- The USA, and especially Truman, believed that the Soviet Union was trying to spread communism – first through Eastern Europe and then to the west and beyond.
- Truman wanted to help the countries of Europe recover from the effects of the Second World War.
- He had seen the devastation, which the war had caused and he wanted the USA to play a part in recovery. **Marshall Aid** was announced at the same time.
- Truman was trying to stop any other countries in Europe becoming Communist. Already the Iron Curtain had cut Europe in two; he did not want that to go any further.
- Truman also hoped that he might be able to persuade some of the countries of Eastern Europe to break away from Communism. Marshall Aid was also intended to help here.
- While the Truman Doctrine did not actually mention the Soviet Union, it was obvious that it was intended as a warning to Stalin that Truman was not going to let him get away with any more attempts to take control of Europe.
- Truman had said that he was going to 'get tough with Russia': this was one example of his policy.
- Truman was committing the USA to a policy of what became known as containment.
- Truman argued that the world was becoming divided into two armed camps – the capitalist camp, which he claimed was the free camp, and the communist, which was not.
- The USA would use its economic **and** military strength to protect the world from the threat of communism.

How did the Marshall Plan work?

- Marshall Aid was an attempt to rebuild Europe after the Second World War. It put the ideas of the Truman Doctrine into effect.
- In March 1947 President Harry Truman offered grants of American money to all European countries. The plan was named after his secretary of state George C Marshall.
- Truman intended that Marshall Aid would be made available to all countries in Europe, but in fact only countries in the west accepted it.
- The USSR and other eastern countries attended the first meetings in 1948, but withdrew when they discovered that they would have to join the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation.

The **Marshall Plan** would control how Marshall Aid would be spent. Individual countries would not be able to decide for themselves

- This would mean that the USA would be able to influence the countries of the east and undermine communism. This was what Truman had hoped would happen.
- When the Soviet Union realised what Truman was up to, other Eastern Bloc countries, Czechoslovakia in particular, were forced to withdraw applications for Marshall Aid.
- Altogether seventeen countries received a total of \$13,750,000,000, which allowed them to recover from the war much more quickly than the countries of the east.
- Italy, which had been an ally of Germany during the war, received \$600,000,000. Marshall Aid was one of the reasons why Stalin tried to force the west out of West Berlin in 1948.

How did the Soviet Union react to the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan?

COMINFORM (Communist Information Bureau)

- This was established in September 1947 and abolished in 1956. It emerged from a meeting about whether to attend US meetings about the Marshall Plan.
- Its purpose was to co-ordinate the activities of Communist Parties in the world not only in Soviet dominated countries.
- COMINFORM was to indicate how Stalin's foreign policies were to be followed
- It was also established to encourage the introduction of policies such as collectivisation and the command economy.
- Any Communist state or Party which did not follow the Moscow line was expelled from the organisation.

COMECON (The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance)

- Stalin set up a Soviet Version of Marshall Aid, COMECON, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance on January 25 1949.
- It was intended to be the Soviet Union's response to Marshall Aid. Stalin offered aid to communist countries to help them recover from the effects of the Second World War.
- Founding members were The Soviet Union, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Romania and Poland. East Germany joined in 1950.
- The Soviet Union wanted each member to develop its own specialisms – e.g. Romania on agriculture and Czechoslovakia on industry.

- The Soviet Union lacked the financial strength of the USA and the attempt to set up a communist rival led to bankruptcy and ruin.
- COMECON was a major drain on the resources of the Soviet Union and helped to bring about its economic downfall in the 1980s.

The development of the Cold War, 1948-49

How was Germany governed after the war?

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

The Berlin Blockade

- From June 1948 until May 1949, Joseph Stalin ordered that all traffic between West Germany and West Berlin should be stopped.
- He was able to close the road, canal and rail routes, but was not able to prevent the western allies, Great Britain, France and the USA from bringing supplies into West Berlin by air.
- The Berlin airlift lasted ten and a half months and one plane landed in West Berlin every ninety seconds.

Why did Stalin blockade Berlin?

- The main reason for the blockade was that Great Britain and the USA had made it clear that they intended to rebuild the economy in their zones of Germany.
- In January 1947, the British and US zones were joined together in '**Bizonia**'. Stalin said this broke the Potsdam agreements.
- Tension had been increasing in the occupied zones and Britain and the USA saw that a merger of the zones would assist future economic planning for Germany.
- The French zone was added in April 1948. Stalin said this broke the Potsdam agreements.

- Stalin believed that Germany should be kept weak to prevent any risk of further trouble. He also wanted to get reparations from Germany to help rebuild the Soviet Union.
- In 1948 the Western Allies announced that they were going to introduce a new currency, the Deutschmark, in Trizonia to help the economy get going again. Stalin said the new currency broke the Potsdam agreements.
- The currency was introduced to prevent inflation and to stop the black market trade and bartering which were still common three years after the end of the war.
- The new currency would mean that the eastern and western parts of Germany would now be separate economically and would begin to develop at different rates. This angered Stalin and the Soviet authorities.
- West Berlin was a temptation to East Berliners. In the west, the Marshall Plan was beginning to make life much better.
- Already East Berliners and East Germans were trying to escape to the west.

How did the Allies react to the Blockade?

- They were determined that Stalin should not succeed. General Lucius Clay the US commander in Berlin said, 'If West Berlin falls, West Germany will be next'.
- Clay offered to fight his way out of West Berlin, but was ordered not to by Truman. The USA had reduced its army after the war and, by 1948, it had only about 500,000 soldiers.
- The Allies believed that if they gave in Stalin would behave as Hitler had in the 1930s. More and more countries would be taken over.
- The solution was to fly supplies to the people of West Berlin. The U.S. action gave the name 'Operation Vittles' and the British gave the name name Operation Plainfare to the airlift.
- The Airlift began on 28 June 1948. The Allies began to bring supplies into West Berlin by air.
- 4,000 tonnes were needed every day. Eventually they were bringing in 8,000 tonnes; even coal was brought in by plane.
- The airlift reached its peak on 16–17 April 1949 when almost 1400 flights landed nearly 13,000 tons of supplies in 24 hours.
- On 12 May 1949 Stalin called off the blockade. He had failed to starve the Allies out of Berlin.
- More than 320,000 flights were made altogether and 79 pilots died.

What were the consequences of the Berlin Blockade?

- The distrust that had been growing between the USA and USSR was now clear for the world to see.
- It was a sign that relations between the Superpowers were now so bad that some form of military alliance was necessary. The Cold War had started in earnest.
- Many East Germans began to try to escape from the Soviet zone to the other three.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) was set up in April 1949.

- During the Berlin Blockade, the USA was concerned about the military power of the USSR in Europe and set up its own military alliance to counter the threat.
- Member states were – USA, Great Britain, France, Canada, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Iceland, Norway, Denmark, Italy and Portugal.
- The members of NATO made it clear that any attack on any part of their territories would be considered an attack on the whole alliance.
- NATO led to US troops and aircraft being stationed in European countries to protect them against a possible attack by the countries of Eastern Europe.
- The **Federal Republic of Germany** (West Germany) was set up in May 1949 and the **German Democratic Republic** (East Germany) in October of that year.

3: The Cold war intensifies

The significance of the arms race

- The USA developed the atomic bomb in 1945 and used it on two occasions, at Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
- Possession of this devastating weapon gave the USA a clear advantage over the Soviet Union and Stalin pushed for the development of the Soviet bomb immediately.
- In 1949 the Soviet Union also exploded its first atomic bomb. This led to an Arms Race between the superpowers. Now that both Superpowers owned atomic weapons, each sought to have more than the other.
- More importantly, each wanted to develop more destructive weapons and huge amounts of money was spent developing these weapons of mass destruction.
- In 1952 the USA tested its first hydrogen bomb.
- In 1953, the Soviet Union tested its first hydrogen bomb.

The death of Stalin

- In March 1953 Joseph Stalin died and was eventually replaced by Nikita Khrushchev.

- Khrushchev believed in **CO-EXISTENCE**. Rather than try to destroy the West, the Soviet Union should accept that it had a right to exist.
- Khrushchev did not intend, however, to weaken the ties between the Soviet Union and the other countries of Eastern Europe.
- In 1953 workers in East Germany were shot when they demonstrated against conditions.
- He was not going to take a more lenient attitude to West Germany. In 1955 Khrushchev set up the Warsaw Pact.

The WARSAW PACT

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

Events in Hungary

- In 1956, there was a serious threat to Soviet control of one of its satellite states – Hungary. The threat was only removed only after Soviet troops invaded Hungary.
- Problems began for the Soviet Union in Poland in 1956 after Khrushchev had made his ‘Secret Speech’, in which he criticised Stalin.
- Rioting, which led to more than 100 deaths, broke out in June 1956, but the real trouble began in October when the rioters were put on trial.
- On 21 October Wladislaw Gomulka became the new leader of the Polish Communist Party. He had only recently been released from prison after serving a five year sentence.
- Khrushchev had to decide between allowing Gomulka to remain in power, or to use force, as the Polish Defence Minister demanded.
- He decided to allow Gomulka to take power and removed some unpopular Stalinists from the government.
- Gomulka had to promise that Poland would remain a loyal member of the Warsaw Pact, and the Communist Party remained firmly in control.
- The Defence Minister, Marshal Rokossovsky, was summoned to Moscow and accused of talking part in a conspiracy to overthrow Gomulka.
- Much more serious were events in **HUNGARY** later in the year.

The impact of Soviet rule on Hungary

- Hungary had been an ally of Germany in the war and had fought against the Soviet Union.
- In 1945, Hungary’s Provisional Government agreed to pay the Soviet Union reparations of \$300 million.
- Soviet forces occupied Hungary
- Following the November 1945 elections, the leader of the Soviet forces, Voroshilov, ensured that the Hungarian Communist Party became part of the coalition government.
- Laszlo Rajk, of the Hungarian Communist Party, was in charge of the security police.
- After elections in 1947, the Hungarian Communist Party took complete control and established a one-party state. The new leader was Matyas Rakosi.
- Rakosi followed Stalin’s ideas and set up a communist dictatorship and joined COMINFORM (see above).

Hungary under Rakosi

- Hungary joined COMECON (see above) and the Soviet Union interfered in its economy.
- Hungary – as with all other Soviet satellite states - was not allowed to receive any Marshall Aid.
- Trade was never on a fair basis and exports to the Soviet Union were always below the market price.
- There was forced collectivisation which was hated by the bulk of the Hungarian population. Agricultural output fell.
- Progress in industry was slow and brought little prosperity.
- Rakosi followed Stalin's methods of imposing control on the people.
- More than 2,000 opponents were murdered during his purges.
- An estimated 200,000 opponents were imprisoned and it is calculated that a further 150,000 were removed from their jobs.
- Rakosi controlled communications and the media.
- The secret police – AVH (**Allamvedelmi Hatosag**) – was Rakosi's main means of control.
- Religious education was not permitted in schools
- Cardinal Mindszenty, the leader of the Hungarian Catholic Church, was imprisoned for life in 1949.

Hungary under Nagy

- Rakosi had difficulty managing the economy and the people of Hungary saw living standards fall.
- His government became increasingly unpopular, and when Joseph Stalin died in 1953, Rakosi was replaced by Imre Nagy.
- Nagy put forward his ideas called the 'New Course'.
- Nagy brought in a more liberal regime.
- He promised to improve the economy and increase the production of consumer goods.
- The Soviet Union disliked his policies and he was sacked in April 1955.

The Uprising

- In October 1956 fighting broke out in Budapest between Hungarians and Soviet troops. On 24 October, Imre Nagy became prime minister of Hungary once again.
- This led to fighting between Hungarian and Soviet troops. Khrushchev tried to deal with the situation by withdrawing the Soviet troops from Hungary.
- Nagy set up a new government, which included non-communists. John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State, told Nagy - 'You can count on us'.
- Nagy saw this as a firm commitment from the USA.
- On 30 October, Nagy announced there would be free elections in Hungary. Cardinal Mindszenty and other leading political prisoners were released.
- On 2 November, Nagy said that Hungary would withdraw from the Warsaw Pact.
- Khrushchev looked on in horror and saw one of his satellite states about to create a hole in the Warsaw Pact and Eastern Europe.
- On 4 November Khrushchev ordered the Soviet army to invade Hungary and crush the uprising. 200,000 Soviet troops and 6000 tanks returned to Hungary.
- There was bitter street fighting; 7,000 Soviet troops and 4,000 Hungarians were killed.
- At the time, it was stated by Western observers that about 30,000 Hungarians had been killed.
- Britain and France did not become involved because they were distracted by their involvement in the Suez Crisis.
- A ceasefire was agreed for 10 November but some fighting continued into the next year.
- Nagy was arrested and executed in 1958.
- The West protested, but did nothing because they were afraid that military action would lead to war.
- The West was involved with the Suez Crisis and its attention was diverted.
- The new leader of Hungary was Janos Kadar.

What were the results of the uprising?

- Khrushchev was able to keep control and a new Soviet-backed leader, Kadar, was installed. Kadar remained leader until 1965.

- About 200,000 Hungarians escaped to Austria during the uprising.
- Khrushchev showed that Soviet satellite states had to comply with the wishes of Moscow or suffer the consequences.
- The Warsaw Pact remained intact.
- The next attempt to move away from Soviet control was Czechoslovakia in 1968.
- The Uprising showed the uncompromising nature of the Soviet Union; Western leaders became more determined to prevent any further spread of communism.
- President Eisenhower and the USA had shown that they were not prepared to go to war.
- The United Nations was unable to become involved because the Soviet Union used its veto in the Security Council.

Key topic 2: Cold War crises, 1958-70

Peaceful co-existence

- Khrushchev's policy accepted that the West had a right to exist, but also involved an attempt to prove that the Soviet way was better than the capitalist way.
- In the mid-1950s, he launched the Space Race and put the first satellite (Sputnik) in space in 1957.
- Sputnik was followed by the first dog (Leika), the first man (Yuri Gargarin) and the first woman (Valentina Treschkova).
- This put the USSR clearly ahead of the USA and forced Kennedy to commit to getting a man on the Moon by the end of the 1960s.
- This promise resulted in the development of the Apollo missions.
- Khrushchev also found himself drawn into an arms race with the development of ICBMs ((Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles) and SLBMs (Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles).
- The USSR could not really afford such expense, which was extended under Brezhnev) and by 1968 was forced to begin the SALT talks in an effort to reduce expenditure.
- Khrushchev also poured money into sport and the USSR emerged as a major competitor in the Rome Olympics in 1960.
- In 1960, West and East Germany competed as a united team, which was part of Khrushchev's attempt to so solve the problem of West Berlin.

Berlin

- After 1945, the British, French and American zones of Germany and Berlin were given economic assistance.
- Stalin wanted to push the Allies from their Berlin occupation zones because they were situated in the Soviet occupation of Germany.
- As prosperity returned to the city, Stalin did not want a visible example of economic recovery when those citizens of East Berlin and the Soviet zone were still experiencing hardships.
- The situation over Berlin came to a head in 1948 when Stalin blocked all land and water communication between the Allied zones in Germany and their zones on Berlin.
- The result was the Berlin Airlift. For almost one year the Western Allies flew in supplies to feed the 2 million citizens of their Berlin zones.
- In May 1949, Stalin called a halt to the Blockade.

- Many East Germans did not like life under communist rule and fled to the west through Berlin.
- About 4 million East Germans moved to West Germany. Stalin did not want this gap in the iron curtain and sought to block this, even after the Airlift.
- The Soviet Union became convinced that the USA and Britain used West Berlin as a base for spying.

What was life like in East Germany and East Berlin?

- Life in the East was dominated by the Communist Party.
- East Germany was the only Communist country that had, in effect, been created from nothing and it became the model which the other Soviet satellite states were expected to follow.
- No other political parties were permitted and elections involved a selection from a list of candidates supplied by the communists.
- The Communist Party controlled the media, which meant that there was no legal means of finding out about what was happening in the world on the other side of the Iron Curtain.
- Newspapers and the radio and television could only report the official version of the news.
- People were subject to the secret police. The Secret Police of East Germany (STASI – *Staatssicherheit* translated - State Security) was established with Soviet help. It was responsible for both domestic political surveillance and espionage.
- Consumer goods were limited and often of poor quality. Sales of foreign goods were restricted.
- Foreign travel was difficult and currency sales were strictly controlled in an effort to obtain foreign exchange.

What were the benefits of life in the East?

- All citizens of the countries of Eastern Europe had a job. Prices were controlled at a low level.
- Rent, electricity, gas and telephone charges were minimal by western standards. Public transport was very cheap and very reliable.

The refugee problem

- East Germans fled to the West because they were dissatisfied with the economic and political conditions of a communist society.
- There were shortages of consumer goods, which could be easily bought at low prices in West Berlin.
- The people of East Berlin and East Germany could readily see the prosperity of the West.
- It had always been possible for Berliners to travel from one part of the city to another. Many worked in one sector and lived in another.
- Wages were much higher in the West and there was a much higher standard of living. In the West there were no secret police and no censorship.
- Eventually defectors (the word defector eventually replaced the term refugee) were well-educated engineers, scientists, teachers, doctors and lecturers.
- Defectors also made it very difficult for Khrushchev (Stalin's successor) to prove that the Soviet system was better than the West.
- He needed to stop the brain drain (the term given to the loss of highly educated professional people) if East Germany was to catch up with the West.
- By the summer of 1961, the number of defectors rose to 10,000 per week.
- Khrushchev knew that he would have to step in and prevent such a continued exodus of skilled people.

In November 1958, Khrushchev demanded that the three Western powers should leave West Berlin.

- It was agreed that Eisenhower would meet Khrushchev in May 1960.
- However, the summit conference was tarnished by events following the shooting down of an American U-2 spy-plane on 1 May 1960.

The U-2 Crisis, May 1960

- A US spy plane was shot down over the Soviet Union on 1 May 1960. The pilot Gary Powers was put on trial in Moscow.
- President Eisenhower said he would stop all future U2 flights over the Soviet Union, but he would not apologise for the incident.
- This came in the middle of a Summit Meeting in Paris and at one meeting with Eisenhower, Khrushchev famously stormed out.

- Khrushchev was able to use the U2 incident to embarrass the USA who had initially lied about the plane.
- The summit meeting collapsed and relations between the USA and Soviet Union worsened dramatically.

The Berlin Wall

- In 1960, the number of defectors rose to 199,000 and in the first seven months of 1961, about 207,000 left East Germany.
- In September 1960, East Germany forced West Berliners who wanted to travel to East Berlin to obtain a police pass.
- The only way to plug the gap in the Iron Curtain was to cut off West Berlin from East Germany.
- At the Vienna summit in June 1961, Khrushchev told the new President Kennedy that the Soviet Union was considering signing a peace treaty with East Germany. This would break the wartime agreements.
- By the early summer of 1961, East German President, Walter Ulbricht, told the Soviet Union that an immediate solution was necessary and that the only way to stop the exodus was to use force.
- East Germans, seeing the crisis worsen, fled to West Berlin in even greater numbers than ever. In July 1961, alone there were some 30,000.
- The construction of the Berlin Wall started at 2:00 A.M. on August 13, 1961 when access routes were blocked by barbed wire.
- Two days later, the first concrete blocks being put in place and the barrier separating the two parts of the city was constructed in earnest.
- After its construction, the number of refugees entering West Berlin and West Germany fell drastically

Why did Khrushchev believe that he could get away building the Wall?

- John F Kennedy, the US president, had been made to look foolish over the Bay of Pigs (see Cuba).
- Following the Vienna meeting, Khrushchev decided that Kennedy was inexperienced and could be easily pushed around.

What were the consequences of building the Berlin Wall?

- Khrushchev did not have to worry about defectors and there was also a clear dividing line between East and West. There was less confrontation between the two sides in Berlin.

- Many Berliners were caught on the wrong side of the Wall and were cut off from their families.
- Although visits across the Wall began in 1964, it was impossible to reunite families until 1989.
- Many people tried to escape from the East and 300 people were killed trying to cross the Wall

Cuba

- In 1959, **Fidel Castro** seized power in Cuba. Until then Cuba had been under US influence and many companies had invested heavily in the country.
- Castro appealed to the USA for aid, but Eisenhower turned him down and cut imports of sugar from Cuba by 95%.
- Castro then nationalised all businesses. He was not at first a Communist, but US actions forced him to accept aid from the Soviet Union.
- In 1960, the Soviet Union signed an agreement to buy 1,000,000 tonnes of Cuban sugar every year for five years.
- This tied the two countries closely together. There was now a Communist country in the western hemisphere.
- In the coming years the CIA tried to murder Castro. There were at least fourteen attempts, all of which failed.

The Bay of Pigs, April 1961

- In January 1961 relations between Cuba and the USA became more strained when the USA broke off diplomatic relations.
- When Kennedy became president, he decided to allow the plan to continue.
- The exiles were men who had left Cuba in 1959 when Castro had seized control from Batista. They aimed to remove Castro.
- Once they had been trained by the USA would invade Cuba and then begin a national uprising which would topple Castro.
- The US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was granted a large amount of money to train the exiles and bases were set up in Florida and Central America. The exiles soon numbered about 1,500.
- The exiles landed at the Bay of Pigs but were met by Castro's forces numbering about 20,000.

- The whole episode was a disaster and the exiles were all either killed or captured. Kennedy, who had known about it but had not been involved, was made to look foolish.
- In December 1961, Castro announced that he was a communist. There was now a communist country within 90 miles of American soil.
- The USSR began to offer more and more aid to Cuba. On 14 October 1962, a US spy plane took photographs which showed Soviet missile bases being built on Cuba.
- This meant that all US missile defence systems were now useless.

The Crisis

- From 16 October, Kennedy spent one week asking his defence chiefs for possible reactions and considering alternatives.
- Kennedy decided on a blockade (quarantine) because it would halt the build up of the sites and it was not an act of war.
- The problem with deciding on the blockade was that there was a Soviet fleet moving towards Cuba. There was the possibility of fighting when the ships met.
- The blockade came into effect on 24 October after Kennedy had given Khrushchev a warning.
- 180 ships were used including a fleet of nuclear submarines was made ready for action and 156 ICBMs were made ready for combat.
- Kennedy ordered the air force to be combat-ready. This meant that there were bombers were in the air on patrol throughout the crisis.
- The US army was placed on combat alert. 185,000 troops were moved into Florida. The air force was preparing 21,600 long-range bombers.
- Khrushchev's response to the blockade was a statement accusing the USA of interfering in Cuba's internal affairs.
- The Soviet ships sailing to Cuba slowed down and even began to sail in circles.
- Khrushchev now sent two letters. One in public was defiant, the second offered a compromise.
- The second said that the missile sites would be destroyed if the USA guaranteed to leave Cuba alone.
- On 27 October, Kennedy agreed to Khrushchev's offer in the second letter.
- At the last minute agreement was almost prevented when a U2 was shot down over Cuba, but Kennedy immediately apologised.

- The blockade was removed, the sites were destroyed and Cuba was left alone. The sites and Soviet weaponry were removed by 20 November.
- In a secret meeting between Robert Kennedy and the Soviet ambassador on 28 October, the US government agreed that US missiles would be removed from Italy and Turkey.
- However as these were in a NATO force it could not be announced immediately. They were removed three months later.
- Kennedy also suggested that the two leaders should begin talks on arms reduction.

What were the results of the crisis?

- When the crisis began, Kennedy realised that he had to make a stand. He was careful not to sound too belligerent but at the same time he showed that he would remain firm.
- Khrushchev lost prestige; he was seen to have failed and the Soviet Communist Party removed him from office in 1964.
- Mao Zedong of China criticised Khrushchev for backing down.
- Kennedy won praise from all over the western world. He was seen as the man who had at last challenged the Soviet Union and won.
- The two agreed to set up a telephone 'hotline' to talk to each other directly in any future crisis.
- The crisis focused the minds of the leaders of the Superpowers on their responsibilities. In August 1963, the Superpowers signed the Test Ban Treaty.
- This banned all nuclear tests except underground ones and it was to stay in force without time limit. Five years later, there followed by the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty.
- Talks about limiting arms began in 1969 and these led to the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty in 1972.
- One further development was the USA's decision to sell the USSR grain in 1963.

The Brezhnev Doctrine and the re-establishment of Soviet control in Czechoslovakia

- Life in Czechoslovakia was very similar to life in any country of the Eastern Bloc.
- The Czech Communist Party had complete control of public life, the armed forces, the media and education. There was extremely strict censorship.
- There was a low standard of living, as a very high proportion of government spending went on the armed forces.

- President Novotny had been leader since 1957 and he rigidly followed Stalinist policies so that there was little hope of change in the light of Khrushchev's de-Stalinisation speech.
- When he did introduce change, it was rather slow and did less than some of the other Soviet satellite states.
- Czechoslovakia began to experience economic stagnation and this added to the climate of disappointment within the country.

What was the Prague Spring of 1968?

The growth of opposition to Novotny

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

Socialism with a human face

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

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

The re-establishment of Soviet control

- One problem for Dubcek was that there were many now in Czechoslovakia who demanded further and more rapid change. This alarmed the Soviet Union just as much as Dubcek's reforms did.
- In July 1968, Dubcek was summoned to attend conferences in Warsaw and Moscow, but refused to go.
- The whole Soviet Politburo then visited Prague to try to persuade Dubcek to reverse the reforms.
- Brezhnev feared any reforms in Czechoslovakia because he could see a potential break from the Warsaw Pact.
- Czechoslovakia was geographically strategic and if it left the Warsaw Pact would leave a wedge which NATO would be more than ready to fill.

- He did not want Czechoslovakia to act as an example to other Warsaw Pact members – on the other hand, he was being pushed by East Germany and Poland to step in to prevent the reforms.
- Finally, the economic links that Czechoslovakia was trying to establish with West Germany added to the Soviet Union's concerns.
- The fear was that West Germany and then other capitalist countries might come initially to dominate the economy of Czechoslovakia and then the remaining satellite states.
- Brezhnev took the decision to invade Czechoslovakia.
- On 20-21 August 1968, about 200,000 Warsaw Pact troops and several thousand tanks poured into Czechoslovakia.
- The Czech army did not resist, but many ordinary citizens did. About 100 civilians died.
- Dubcek disappeared but reappeared in Prague on 27 August and announced that the reforms had been stopped.
- In October 1968, all reforms were reversed and a temporary Soviet military occupation was announced.
- The following year, Dubcek was dismissed from the Central Committee of the Czech Communist Party and was sent as Czech ambassador to Turkey.
- Gradually, all Czech leaders were purged and the new leader, Gustav Husak, re-established a strong communist state.

What were the consequences of the Soviet invasion?

- The Soviet invasion had important consequences for the Soviet Union and its satellite states.
- In November 1968, the Soviet Union issued what became known as the Brezhnev Doctrine.
- This stated that the Soviet Union had the right to intervene in friendly states when socialism was threatened.
- However, there was some opposition to the Soviet Union, President Ceausescu of Rumania refused to send troops to Czechoslovakia and began to forge his own independent policies.
- There were some protests from the USA but 1968 was the height of the Vietnam War and there were many domestic upheavals which diverted President Johnson's attention.

Postscript

- On 16 January 1969, Czech student Jan Palach set himself on fire in Wenceslas Square, Prague in protest at the Soviet occupation of his country.
- Two further protests against Soviet occupation occurred when Jan Zajic burned himself to death in the same place, followed in April of the same year by Evzen Plocek in the town of Jihlava.

3: Reaction to crisis

US reaction to the Berlin Wall

- President Kennedy ordered three increases in the US defence budget in the next two years. He realised that he could not afford to lose out again.
- In 1963 he visited Berlin and made a speech to hundreds of thousands of West Berliners. In it he said, 'Ich bin ein Berliner'.

Consequences of the Cuban Missile Crisis

- In 1963 the **Hot-Line** was set up. This was a direct tele-printer between the Kremlin and the White House. It was eventually replaced by a direct telephone link.
- In 1963 the **Test Ban Treaty** was signed. This stopped nuclear tests above ground.
- In 1964, the Soviet leader, Khrushchev, was forced to resign and was replaced by Brezhnev.
- At first Brezhnev built up the Soviet Union's long range weapons. But this led to a severe budget deficit in the Soviet Union.
- Brezhnev also began to use the KGB to crush opposition in the Soviet Union.
- In 1965 US combat troops landed in Vietnam and the USA became involved in the war.
- In 1968 Warsaw Pact forces invaded Czechoslovakia to put an end to the Prague Spring.

Moves to détente after 1968

- In 1968 the **Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty** was signed. The Superpowers guaranteed not to supply nuclear technology to other countries.
- There was even more progress when Richard Nixon became President of the USA in 1969.
- Brezhnev also wanted to reduce Soviet military spending so that he could sort out the problems facing the Soviet economy.

The Brezhnev Doctrine

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

Key topic 3: The end of the Cold War, 1970-91

1: Attempts to reduce tension between East and West

Détente in the 1970s

- The result of Soviet spending on arms was that by the early 1970s the USSR had a distinct advantage in ICBMs.

1974

USA	ICBMs	834	1054
	SLBMs	416	656
Soviet Union	ICBMs	200	1575
	SLBMs	120	720

(SLBMs were Submarine-launched Ballistic Missiles)

- Brezhnev now wanted to reduce Soviet military spending so that he could sort out the problems facing the Soviet economy. The most obvious way was by cutting expenditure on arms.
- So in 1970 Brezhnev agreed to begin Strategic Arms Limitation Talks with the USA.
- The talks soon became known as **SALT**, and later **SALT I** following the second agreements in the late 1970s.

Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty 1972 (SALT I)

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

	USA	Soviet Union
ICBMs	1000	1600
SLBMs	650	700

- A separate treaty restricted the number of ABMs, Anti-Ballistic Missiles. These were missiles that could be used to shoot down ICBMs
- At the same time the two sides agreed to begin Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Talks (MBFR).
- These continued until the 1980s, when there had been more than 300 meetings with almost no agreements.

- Both sides also agreed to allow each other to use spy satellites to make sure that the numbers were being kept to.
- The USA also signed a trade deal to export wheat to the Soviet Union and both sides agreed to develop artistic and sporting links.
- In 1975 Soviet and US astronauts linked up in Space for the first time.
- SALT I was the first time that the Superpowers had reached an agreement on arms limitation, but the talks only dealt with strategic weapons, long-range nuclear weapons.
- They did not cover multiple warhead missiles or battlefield weapons (tactical nuclear weapons).
- In fact the USA continued to produce multiple warheads, at the rate of three a day, throughout the 1970s.
- Nixon visited Brezhnev in Moscow in July 1974 and as well as agreeing to relax tensions throughout the world; they said they would try to promote increased understanding between their two countries.
- Détente soon covered other areas, however, when in 1975 the USA and the Soviet Union, along with 33 other countries signed the Helsinki Agreements.

The Helsinki Agreement on Human Rights

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

SALT II

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

Weapons allowed	USA	Soviet Union
ICBMs	1054	1398
SLBMs	656	950

- But even before agreement was reached on SALT II, relations between the Superpowers began to break down.

2: Flashpoints

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

The impact of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

Why did relations break down between the USA and the Soviet Union in 1979?

- There were revolutions in Iran and Nicaragua. In Iran the Shah, who was pro-western, was overthrown and an Islamic republic was set up.
- The US embassy was attacked and hostages seized. In Nicaragua Communist guerrillas seized power.
- Cuba sent armed forces to Africa to help rebels in Angola.
- New Soviet SS-20 missiles were sent to Eastern Europe, and there was a build up of conventional forces in the Warsaw Pact.
- In December, NATO announced that Cruise and Pershing missiles would be deployed in Europe.
- On Christmas Day 1979, Soviet forces entered Afghanistan. The president Hafizullah Amin was arrested and executed, and a pro-communist government was set up.
- President Brezhnev announced that the Soviet Union 'had responded to an urgent request from the Kabul government for help'. Barbrak Kamal became the new president.

Why did Soviet forces invade Afghanistan?

- In 1978 a Marxist government had come to power in Afghanistan and a twenty year treaty of friendship had been signed with the Soviet Union.
- In September 1979, Nur Mohammed Taraki, the Marxist president of Afghanistan, was deposed and murdered. The post of president was taken by the prime minister Hafizullah Amin.
- The Soviet Union feared that this would lead to a collapse of the Marxist government and intervened following the Brezhnev Doctrine.

- This stated that the Soviet Union was entitled to use force to protect Socialism in any country where it was under attack.
- But the situation in Afghanistan was more complex than the Soviet Union realised. In the summer of 1979, Muslim resistance groups had been set up to oppose land reforms and educational changes.
- When the Soviet forces invaded, the Mujaheddin, as they became known, continued their resistance.

Reagan and the US reaction

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

The Olympic boycotts, 1980 and 1984

- President Carter announced that the USA would boycott the Moscow Olympic Games if the Soviet Union failed to withdraw troops from Afghanistan.
- President Carter put pressure on the US Olympic Committee to boycott the games and hoped this would encourage other nations to follow the USA.
- In all, 62 countries refused to participate and some of those who boycotted the games held alternative ones called the 'Liberty Bell Classic'.
- In 1984, Chernenko, leader of the USSR, announced the Soviet boycott of the Los Angeles Olympic Games.
- Thirteen other communist countries joined the Soviet boycott and as in 1980, alternative games were held. They were called the Friendship Games.

- The USA was not too concerned about the boycott, because the games were the largest ever held and China participated for the first time since 1932.

Why did the Soviet forces lose the war in Afghanistan?

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

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

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

The role of Ronald Reagan

- Reagan became president in 1981. He made no secret of his hatred for the Soviet Union. He called it 'The Evil Empire'.
- He made it clear that he was prepared to discuss arms limitation, but was only prepared to negotiate from strength. If things did not work out, he was not prepared to compromise.
- He was keen to let the world know that the USA was still a Superpower. This meant restoring confidence in the USA and showing that the defeat in Vietnam was a thing of the past.
- For Reagan, this meant challenging communism. He wanted to show the people of the USA that he was not frightened of the Soviet Union.
- When Reagan put forward his defence programme for the USA, he indicated he would spend one trillion dollars.
- His advisers also persuaded him that the USA could win a limited nuclear war. This became known as - (Nuclear Utilization Target Selection – NUTS)

- In 1981, talks on Intermediate Range Missiles (SS-20s and Cruise) began. Reagan offered the 'Zero Option'.
- Both sides would dismantle and remove their weapons from Europe. Brezhnev refused.
- When martial law was imposed in Poland in December 1981 to stop the activities of the trade union 'Solidarity' led by Lech Walesa; Reagan stopped high technology exports to the Soviet Union.
- In 1982 Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) began. But all talks soon became deadlocked.
- In 1983 Reagan ordered US forces to land in Grenada to crush a Communist takeover.
- The situation was made much more difficult by the death of Brezhnev in 1982, the illness of Andropov in 1983 and the appointment of Chernenko in 1984.
- It was difficult for Reagan to develop any kind of relationship with the Soviet Union as a result of this. For three years very little happened until the appointment of Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985.

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

- In 1983 Reagan announced 'Star Wars', the Strategic Defence Initiative. This was a plan to shoot down Soviet missiles using lasers in Space.
- This was not a serious proposition in 1983, but it had the effect of putting pressure upon the Soviet leaders.
- The Soviet response to the announcement of SDI was to accuse Reagan of warmongering. Reagan was portrayed as the man who was prepared to start a nuclear war and emerge as victor.
- Andropov, the Soviet leader, knew that if SDI was possible then the Soviet Union could not compete in the technological research because the Soviet economy was in dire straits.

The significance of Reagan and Gorbachev's changing attitudes

The role of Mikhail Gorbachev

- Gorbachev came to power with two slogans **PERESTROIKA** and **GLASNOST**.
- Perestroika referred to 'economic restructuring' in the Soviet Union.
- Gorbachev believed that the Soviet Union could only survive if the economy was completely rebuilt, doing away with the command economy which had existed since Stalin.

- Glasnost referred to new sense of 'openness', both within the Soviet Union and also with the West. T
- The powers of the KGB were restricted and criticism of the government was allowed. Free elections were held in 1990.
- Gorbachev realised that the Soviet Union's survival depended upon the West.
- He needed investment, new technology, but most of all arms agreements which would allow him to reduce the Soviet Union's massive defence spending.
- When he became leader, Gorbachev indicated that the Soviet Union would no longer follow the Brezhnev Doctrine.

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

- For forty years it had supported Communist regimes around the world through COMECON. In 1977 Cuba had joined. Cuba depended almost totally on the Soviet Union for aid.
- Prices in the Soviet Union were controlled and subsidised. This was a heavy drain on the government.
- The Space programme had been very ambitious and very expensive. In 1975 Soviet and US astronauts had met in Space. It would become almost the last symbol of Superpower status.
- Military expenditure had gone on rising. This stopped spending on consumer goods. No leader dared offend the military in case he was overthrown by a coup.
- The Afghan War was merely the final straw. Soviet troops were withdrawn in 1989.
- The Soviet Union had increasingly come to rely on imports of food and technology from the West. This had to be paid for in foreign currency.
- The Soviet Union was desperate for foreign currency. Sales of roubles were strictly controlled.
- Foreign visitors were allowed to buy in 'Beriozka' shops which contained goods which were not available to Soviet citizens.
- Soviet exports were usually of poor quality; 'Ladas', cheap 'Qualiton' records, for example.
- There was little incentive to workers to raise standards as everyone was guaranteed a job, cheap housing and public services.
- Officially the last person to be unemployed in the Soviet Union had found a job in 1932.

- There was immense 'black market' in western goods and currency. Tourists would be offered roubles at three or five times the official exchange rate.
- Gorbachev knew that if the Soviet Union was to survive, he had to reduce expenditure. But he also needed foreign aid and new technology.
- The only way of getting it was by making agreements to reduce arms with the West.

Reagan and Gorbachev: the changing relationship between the Superpowers

- Gorbachev knew that if the Soviet Union was to survive, he had to reduce expenditure. But he also needed foreign aid and new technology.
- The only way of getting it was by making agreements to reduce arms with the West.
- Reagan also wanted to cut military expenditure. In 1983 the USA spent \$300,000,000,000 on defence. More than the entire British budget.

The summit conferences and the end of the Cold War

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

Geneva, 1985

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

Reykjavik, 1986

- There were initial agreements but the fundamental differences over SDI caused the talks to break down.

- Despite the failure, the summit paved the way for the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, signed in 1987.

Washington DC, 1987

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

Moscow, 1988

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

New York, 1988

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

Malta, 1989

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

Washington, 1990

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

Gorbachev's new thinking on Eastern Europe

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

The significance of the fall of the Berlin Wall, 1989

- When Gorbachev visited East Germany in October 1989 he indicated that he would no longer interfere in events within that country.
- Unrest began to grow in East Germany and at the beginning of November 1989. The demonstrators demanded changes to the system of government.
- Demonstrations increased in intensity and one meeting had more than one million protestors.

- The East German government tried to defuse the situation by opening the border with West Germany.
- This served only to allow hundreds of thousands of East Germans to swarm into the West to visit relatives.
- East Germans then began attacking the Berlin Wall and the world saw startling images of the Wall being dismantled. The date was 9 November 1989.
- In preparation for reunification, East Germany left the Warsaw Pact in 1990.
- On 3 October 1990, East and West Germany were reunited.

The loosening Soviet grip

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

The end of the Warsaw Pact

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

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

- He was not prepared to use force and risk bloodshed.
- The Red Army was not paid regularly and its morale had been destroyed in Afghanistan. The Soviet Union was on the verge of financial collapse.

- Gorbachev needed aid from the West; he knew that he would not get it if he ordered a clampdown on the East.
- Events in Eastern Europe influenced different national and ethnic groups inside the Soviet Union.
- The Baltic States began to press for independence in 1989 and were granted freedom by 1991.
- In May 1991, the new president of the Russian state, Boris Yeltsin began to encourage the socialist republics of the Soviet Union to break away.

There was one last attempt to save the Soviet Union.

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

The impact of the collapse of the Soviet Union on world affairs

- The collapse of the Soviet Union not only brought an end to the Cold War, but it also produced much greater co-operation between the countries of East and West.
- Within a matter of years, former members of the communist bloc were seeking admission to NATO and the European Union.
- The United Nations Security Council began to work with much greater unity.
- Communist regimes around the world collapsed for lack of support.
- Only Cuba and China managed to survive, but both were forced to look for economic support from the West, either industrial or financial, or through increased tourism.
- In Africa and South America, Soviet support for rebel groups disappeared overnight.
- The division of the Soviet Union into separate republics led to an increased threat of nuclear accidents, as nuclear weapons fell into the hands of the Ukraine and Belarus.

- Inside the Russian federation, separatist movements developed in autonomous regions such as Chechnya. This led to increased instability in Russia itself.