The Cold War

International Relations 1945-1991

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History Department

Revision Guide
Revision tips:

The Cold War is a tough topic to revise, so here are some tips to help you:

1. Make sure you highlight ALL the US President and USSR’s leaders names, and get them in order.
2. Check you understand the Doctrines – Truman Doctrine, Carter Doctrine, Brezhnev Doctrine.
3. Do try and learn the acronyms - MAD, NUTS, SDI.
4. Learn the key dates - for example, in 1961 both the Berlin Wall and Bay of Pigs occurred. I remember this by thinking “the 2 Bs happened in 1961”. As for Cuba – Batista was overthrown by Castro. BC! (Get it?)
5. Mind map different areas – do one for Beginning of the Cold War; Detente; Czechoslovakia; Cuba; Berlin; Reagan and Star Wars. These are suggestions - feel free to mind map how you wish.
6. Think about causes and consequences – how did the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan trigger the collapse of Detente? How did the crisis of the early 1960s lead to better relations?
7. Don’t be afraid to ask for assistance if needed.

The SAM paper for this is available at Edexcel.co.uk - we do History Modern World A.
Key Dates:

1941 - Grand Alliance
1943 - Tehran Conference
1945 - Yalta Conference
1945 - Potsdam Conference
1947 - Truman Doctrine/Marshall Plan
1947 - COMINFORM
1948-9 Berlin Blockade
1949 - COMECON
1949 - NATO forms
1955 - Warsaw Pact forms
1956 - Hungarian uprising
1961 - Berlin Wall
1961 - Bay of Pigs crisis
1962 - Cuban Missile Crisis
1968 - Prague Spring
1967-1980 - Detente (make sure you understand the treaties!!!)
1979 - Soviet invasion of Afghanistan
1980 - Moscow Olympics
1984 - LA Olympics
1981 - Reagan becomes President
1986 - Mikhail Gorbachev becomes USSR Leader
1989 - Fall of the Berlin Wall
1991 - End of the USSR/Cold War
US Presidents:

NB: Key incidents that happened during their tenure are in brackets!!

Franklin Delano Roosevelt (Grand Alliance)
Harry Truman (Truman Doctrine, Marshall Plan, Containment, Berlin Blockade)
Dwight D Eisenhower (Hungarian uprising, Berlin Wall)
John F Kennedy (Cuban Missile Crisis, Bay of Pigs)
Lyndon B Johnson (Prague Spring)
Richard Nixon (Detente policies until 1974)
Gerald Ford (Detente 1975-1977)
Jimmy Carter (Soviet invasion of Afghanistan - end of Detente)
Ronald Reagan (Star Wars)
George Bush (End of the Cold War)

USSR Leaders:

Joseph Stalin
Nikita Khruschev - removed from power in 1964
Leonid Brezhnev
Mikhail Gorbachev (last leader of the USSR)

NB: Do note that USSR leaders do tend to “come and go” - the ones listed are those who were present during the big policy impacts of the Cold War.
Development of the Cold War

What was the Cold War?

The Cold War was a new type of war – no weapons were actually used. It was fought by the use of propaganda, an Arms race, a Space race, and the formation of Military Alliances. It involved the two Superpowers – the USA, and USSR. Both sides had accepted that if weapons were used, they would be nuclear. A Third World War was unwinnable. The period 1945-1991 is best described as a “stand off” between the USA and USSR.

Different ideologies

USA - Capitalist
America believed in: Freedom of speech
- Owning your own business
- Making a profit
- Ability to earn more depending on your skill set and your experience

USSR - Communist
Russia believed in: One party Government
- No freedom of speech
- Everything belonged to the State
- Everyone earned the same - regardless of skills or experience

The Breakdown of the Grand Alliance

1941 - USA, USSR, and Great Britain formed the Grand Alliance to defeat the Nazis. The hatred of the Nazis was the only thing that united the three countries. The three conferences between 1943 and 1945 exposed the rifts that
had emerged.

**Tehran Conference 28 November - 1 December 1943**

Key focus - to plan for the rebuilding of Europe after WWII

The “Big Three“ - US President FD Roosevelt, British PM Winston Churchill, and Russian Leader Joseph Stalin agreed on the following:

The Russia should have a “Sphere of Influence” in Eastern Europe
That Britain/America should have a “Sphere of Influence” in Western Europe

The Big Three disagreed on the treatment of Germany!

Stalin - took the view Germany needed to be punished. He felt Germany should give up land and also pay reparations.

Roosevelt/Churchill - argued Germany should be re-built. They believed a prosperous Germany would lead to a peaceful Europe

**Yalta Conference 4-11 February 1945**

This is considered the “high point“ of the Grand Alliance - the Big Three made the following decisions:

1. Stalin agreed Russian troops would help the US defeat Japan after defeating Hitler
2. Roosevelt/Churchill agreed to establishing a Communist Government in Poland
3. The “Declaration on Liberated Europe” committed the USSR/USA/Britain to work for democracy in Europe
4. The Allies agreed to establish the United Nations - this was dedicated to maintaining peace.
5. The Big Three still agreed that the USSR should have a Sphere of Influence in Eastern Europe
The Potsdam Conference

Key change: Roosevelt died - Harry S Truman became President of the USA.

Germany had surrendered - Churchill believed the Big Question was what to do with Germany.

The Allies agreed to: Ban the Nazi Party
Prosecute surviving Nazis as war criminals
Reduce Germany by a quarter of its current size.

There were 3 main areas of disagreement:

1. Reparations - USSR wanted these to be heavy, the USA wanted Germany re-built.
   Conference agreed each ally would take reparations from the zone of Germany they occupied
   Stalin - argued the Russian quarter was poor and had less industry than the others
   Western Allies - agreed the USSR could have a quarter of industrial equipment from the Western Zones

2. Atomic Bomb - Truman now believed that the USA possessed the ultimate weapon, and it was "the master card" in the Potsdam meetings.
   1940 - Stalin had instructed Soviet scientists to begin their own experiments - his plan was to protect the USSR by creating a "buffer zone". This was a communist area in Eastern Europe between the USSR and the West.

3. Poland - USA/USSR relations - further strained by Stalin's actions in Poland. The Government he set up in Poland was Communist - and did not include Capitalists.

Potsdam - led to some bitter divisions between the USA and USSR - Historians argue that this was the starting point of the Cold War.
**War of Words - 1946**

Churchill - represented the Capitalist West  
Stalin - represented the Communist East  
Both sides regarded the other with suspicion.

**Missouri, USA - 1946:** Churchill gave his famous “Iron Curtain” speech, stating that he believed there was now a deep divide between East and West.

Stalin responded by likening Churchill to Hitler!

**Secret telegrams - 1946:**

Truman - received the “Long Telegram” - a secret report from Kennan, America's ambassador in Moscow. The telegram claimed that:

- Stalin had called for the destruction of Capitalism  
- There could not be any peace whilst the USSR had this attitude  
- The USSR was building up its military power

**Novikov's Telegram, 1946**

Novikov - Soviet Ambassador to the US - sent a telegram to Stalin which also had disturbing contents:

- USA wanted to dominate the world  
- The US Government, as led by Truman, did not want to co-operate with Russia  
- The US public was being prepared for war with the USSR  

Both governments were beginning to believe they were facing the possibility of a war with each other.

**1946 - end of the Grand Alliance - a new era of mistrust had begun.**
1947 - Development of the Cold War

America began pushing for **CONTAINMENT** of Communism - the idea that Communism would be restricted to one area of the world.

Truman believed Stalin was intending to encourage Communist revolutions across the whole of Europe - after the devastation of WWII, countries such as Italy, France, Greece, Turkey and the UK were suffering real hardship.

Communism could be appealing in these countries as it insisted the wealth of the richest should be shared amongst the poorest.

Truman's response was to construct a policy which he believed would keep Communism in its place.

**Truman Doctrine, 1947**

This stated that:
- The world had a choice between the freedom of democracy and tyranny of Communism
- America was to fight for liberty wherever it was threatened
- America would send troops and economic resources to help governments that were under threat by Communists
- Communism should not be allowed to grow and gain territory

**The Marshall Plan, 1947**

The point of the MP was to offer $13 Billion of US money to countries who were struggling after WWII.

The theory was that if America helped them re-build, they would be less likely to turn to Communism.

In order to qualify, European countries had to agree to trade freely with the US.
Truman described the Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine as “two halves of the same walnut”.

**Significance?**

This was important as it suggested it was the responsibility of the US, not the United Nations, to protect the world.

This meant the US policy of Isolationism was slowly being reversed.

It also divided the world according to ideology - you were either Capitalist or Communist.

It meant the end of the Grand Alliance - and the beginning of a new goal for US Foreign Policy.

**Paris Conference, 1948**

Many European countries claimed they would be happy to take Marshall Aid - but USSR representatives walked out.

The USSR argued that America was dividing the world into “TWO CAMPS” and Marshall Aid was the first shot in creating a military alliance that would end in war being waged on the USSR.

Stalin - insisted the countries in the USSR’S “Sphere of Influence” refuse any American help.

Stalin called the Marshall Plan “Dollar Imperialism”

16 European countries - including Britain and France - welcomed the offer of US assistance.

**Satellite States**

A Satellite State is a state that is technically independent, but is
actually controlled by another country.

1947 - 49 - the USSR turned Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland into Satellite States.

Stalin - believe Satellite States would help push back US influence

1947 - Cominform: Communist Information Bureau
This represented Communist parties across Eastern Europe and brought them under the USSR’s direction.

First conference - rejected the Marshall Plan
Communist governments were encouraged to organise strikes/demonstrations against it.
Cominform - also investigated the loyalty of Eastern European governments - it would remove those not loyal to Stalin
Hungary - 5% of the population was in prison by 1953 due to this process

1949 - Comecom: Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
This was the USSR’s answer to the Marshall Plan - an alternative for the Eastern European countries.

1949 - Comecom covered USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Albania, and Eastern Germany.

It also attempted to prevent trade with the USA/Western Europe

Political/Economic implications were:

It would minimise US involvement in Eastern Europe
It meant benefits of economic recovery in Eastern Europe remained within the USSR’s “Sphere of Influence”
It meant that Eastern Europe did not have access to Western Europe’s prosperity
The Two Camps - one Communist, one Capitalist - had now become a
Germany – unfinished business

Four Key Problems after WWII:

Should Germany be part of the USSR, the USA, or neutral?
Should it be Communist or Capitalist?
Should it receive Marshall Aid?
Should USA/USSR troops be allowed to remain in Germany?

Bizonia – post WWII, Germany was divided into FOUR zones:

USA
France - West Germany
Britain

USSR - East Germany

Berlin was in the USSR Zone – this was also divided into 4 zones!

NB: West Berlin was under the allies’ control – and in East Germany

Three Western zones – known as Bizonia, or Trizonia.

1948 – Western Allies began to draw up plans for Germany – this was at odds with the USSR’s plans.

Britain/France/USA – agreed to set up a new assembly and German Constitution
They introduced the Deutschmark – a new currency

Stalin was opposed to this as he saw it as permanently dividing Germany, which he did not want for three reasons:

1. He did not want the USA to have more influence over Germany
2. He did not want USA troops to be stationed in Germany
3. He knew Germany’s most valuable economic resources were in the west - and feared they would be used to start war on the USSR.

**The Berlin Blockade 1948-49**

June 1948 - Stalin set up a military blockade around West Berlin. His plan was to cut Western Germany off from the capital so the new Government could not control its territory in West Germany. Stalin hoped this would prove a divided Germany could not work.

The response was the "Allied airlift" - Allied planes took food and supplies to West Berlin around the clock.

At its peak - the airlift provided 170,000 tonnes of supplies during January 1949.

Due to this peaceful solution, Stalin was perceived as highly aggressive.

Berlin Airlift - propaganda success for the USA - a failure for the USSR.

May 1949 - the Blockade ended

September 1949 - West Germany became the Federal Republic of Germany

October 1949 - East Germany became the German Democratic Republic

**NATO - April 1949**

North Atlantic Treaty Organisation - established as an alliance between the USA and Western Europe

If any member of NATO is attacked, all will come to its defence.

This went further than the Marshall Plan - it was a military alliance determined to push back Communism.

1955 - Stalin formed the Warsaw Pact - this was the USSR’s equivalent to NATO.
NATO countries:
- USA
- UK,
- Belgium,
- Canada, Denmark, France,
- Iceland,
- Italy, Luxembourg,
- Netherlands, Norway,
- Portugal,
- (Greece)
- (Turkey )
- (West Germany – 1955)

Warsaw Pact
- USSR
- Poland
- Hungary
- Czechoslovakia
- Romania
- Bulgaria
- Albania
- East Germany

**Arms Race**

This was a continuing commitment to maintaining a large army, navy, air force - and nuclear weapons.
By 1949 - the USSR had developed its first nuclear bomb and tested it.

By 1953 - both countries had developed Hydrogen bombs

1950s/60s - Arms Race was at its peak.

Significance - prevented a war in Europe - due to the fear of nuclear retaliation on both sides.
1956 - Hungary - Uprising and Consequences

Stalin alleged that he had liberated Hungary - the reality was very different.

1. Hungarian land was given to other European countries
2. Hungarian coal, oil, and wheat were given to Russia
3. Non-Communist political parties were abolished
4. Russian officials were in charge of the government, police, and army.
5. Cominform began a reign of terror - popular political leaders and supporters were executed.
6. Matyas Rakosi was appointed as Hungary’s dictator

Rakosi - “the bald butcher” - imprisoned 387,000 and was responsible for more than 2,000 deaths.

He described himself as Stalin's “best pupil”.

1953- Stalin died - process of de-Stalinisation began.

1956 - Nikita Khruschev gave the “Secret Speech”

In this, he promised an end to Stalinism throughout the entire Soviet sphere of Influence.

He agreed to Imre Nagy becoming leader of Hungary - Nagy was far more liberal than Rakosi.

Nagy proposed the following reforms:

- Hungary should leave the Warsaw Pact, and become neutral
- Communist Government in Hungary should end
- Hungary should become a Western style democracy
- Hungary should have UN protection from Russia.

Khruschev's Response:
Nagy's reforms ended Hungary's alliance with the USSR. Khrushchev's theory was that if Hungary was allowed to implement reforms, other Eastern bloc countries would follow. Intelligence reports confirmed that discontent with Communism was spreading. November 1956 - 200,000 Soviet troops were sent to Hungary to crush the new Government. After 2 weeks of fighting, Nagy's government were defeated. But 20,000 Hungarians were killed, and another 200,000 escaped to Austria.

Nagy was executed by hanging in June 1958 - this was intended as a warning to “the leaders of all socialist countries”.

International reaction:

USA - encouraged the Hungarian uprising - stopped short of offering military help. America believed it was “the highest priority to prevent the outbreak of a war” - which would lead to nuclear annihilation. The USA offered $20 million dollars worth of food/medical aid to the Nagy government.

America's lack of military support discouraged other Eastern European radicals from following Hungary's example.

Re-asserting Soviet Control

Janos Kandor was elected as the new leader - he published a 15 point programme setting out the new government's direction.

This included re-establishing communist control of Hungary. Using Hungarian troops to stop attacks on Soviet forces. Remaining in the Warsaw Pact. Negotiating the withdrawal of Soviet troops once the crisis was over.

Hungary had to accept this - lack of US support meant they had no
Cold War Crises - Berlin, Cuba, Czechoslovakia 1957-69

This era is seen as one of the most dangerous in the Cold War.

Twice the world faced potential nuclear annihilation.

Post-1963 - the tensions began to ease, but the Cold War was not over.

1st Crisis: Berlin - a city divided

Various problems existed in East Germany:

East German government was very unpopular - many East Germans fled to
West Germany as a result.
1949-61 - 2.7 million skilled East German refugees escaped to West Germany
Berlin was the centre of this problem - it was easy to move across the city and into West Berlin.
This was a disaster for Khrushchev - it proved that the Capitalist West was more attractive than the Communist East.
November 1958 - Khrushchev declared the whole of Berlin belonged to East Germany and gave US troops six months to withdraw.
The plan was to humiliate America and prevent East Germans fleeing to West Germany

Eisenhower - decided to hold a meeting to discuss this, as he did not want a war, or to lose West Berlin.

Four Summits

Geneva - May 1959:
No solution was found to the Berlin problem
Khrushchev did visit the USA and hold face to face talks with Eisenhower

September 1959 - Camp David
Frank meeting between the 2 leaders
No solution found - it was decided a further summit would be held the following year.
The 6 month ultimatum was withdrawn

May 1960 - Paris
This was a disaster - the USSR shot down a US spy plane over Russia and captured its pilot.
Eisenhower refused to apologise - Khrushchev walked out.
June 1961 - Vienna Conference

John F Kennedy - now USA President

Neither side was prepared to back down.
JFK was inexperienced - Khrushchev saw this as weakness he could exploit.
He again gave a 6 month ultimatum for US troops to be withdrawn from Berlin.

Kennedy refused to back down - the US began preparing for war.
An extra $3.2 billion was committed to US defence spending
$207 million was committed to fall out shelters.

Berlin Wall - 1961

Why was the wall built?

Khrushchev - knew the USSR would lose a nuclear war - the USA had weapons that could reach the USSR, whilst the USSR could not reach America!
JFK - had called the USSR’s bluff, and they had to back down.
Khruschev’s solution was to build a wall to prevent refugees leaving East Germany, as America would not withdraw.

12 August 1961 - East German troops put up a barbed wire fence around the whole of West Berlin - the city was divided.
Eventually - it became a heavily guarded wall.

Consequences of the Berlin Wall:

It stopped East Germans escaping to the West - refugee crisis was over
It allowed the USSR to avoid war with the US but still appear strong
It became a symbol of the Cold War and the division of Europe
1963 - Kennedy toured West Berlin, and voiced his solidarity with the people.

**Cuban Missile Crisis**

Key reasons for the CMC: The Arms Race, Cuban Revolution, and Bay of Pigs Crisis.

Arms Race - 1961 - America had 20 times as many nuclear missiles as the USSR
USA had equipped B52 bombers that were capable of dropping nuclear weapons on the Soviet Union

1957 - USSR launched Sputnik 1 - the first man made satellite!

1960 - The USSR had landed a robotic spacecraft on the moon

Khrushchev made 2 boasts that scared America:

“The Americans are sleeping under a red moon”

“We are producing missiles like we are producing sausages”

The USSR was not wealthy enough to mass produce missiles or spacecraft!

**Cuban Revolution**

Cuba is only 145 KM of the Florida coast - many American Presidents believed that Cuba was therefore important to have as an ally.

1959 - Cuban Revolution - this overthrew Cuba's pro-American government

Fidel Castro became the leader - he wanted more independence from the USA.
Castro's government took over American property that was located in Cuba - America's response was to ban importing Cuban sugar.

This threatened to bankrupt Cuba - they turned to the USSR for help.

Khrushchev was happy to assist - it meant he had an ally in America's Sphere of Influence.

The Bay of Pigs - 1961

Kennedy thought assassinating Castro was the way to solve the Cuban problem.

Kennedy hatched a CIA plot to overthrow Castro, so a Capitalist government sympathetic to the USA could be put in place.

Kennedy had several beliefs - that Castro's government was unpopular and that the Cuban people would join a revolution against him.

The CIA were instructed to train a group of Cuban refugees - they invaded the Bay of Pigs in April 1961.

Kennedy had made a catastrophic error - the people of Cuba fought back and in support of the Cuban Government.

Castro felt vulnerable - Khrushchev agreed to help him defend Cuba.

August 1961 - Khrushchev devised a solution - he decided to station Russian nuclear missiles on Cuban soil.

This had two consequences:

1. It would prevent America from trying another invasion.
2. It meant Russia could strike America without using inter-continental ballistic missiles - which were VERY expensive!

The Thirteen Days
This is regarded as the point at which the world was most likely to come to Nuclear war.

25 September 1962 - Khrushchev sent 114 Soviet ships to Cuba - these contained nuclear warheads and long range missiles.

By Mid-October 1962 - US spies had realised what was going on.

22 October 1962 - Kennedy addressed the American people - and told them that the USSR planned to build nuclear missile bases on their doorstep.

This sparked panic amongst the American public.

Hawks and Doves - the advisors of both Presidents fell into these two groups.

Hawks - believe an aggressive approach was best
Doves - wanted a peaceful solution through diplomatic strategies.

**Timeline of the Cuban Missile Crisis**

**Key dates: 25\(^{th}\) October and 27\(^{th}\) October.**

16 Oct: Kennedy is informed of USSR plans to put missiles on Cuba

20 Oct: Kennedy places a naval blockade around Cuba to prevent further missiles reaching it.

22 Oct: Kennedy gives a public address - calls on Khrushchev to end this.

23 Oct: Khrushchev sends Kennedy a letter stating Soviet ships will break the blockade.
24 Oct. Khrushchev issues a statement that the USSR is prepared to launch a nuclear strike if the USA declares war.

25 Oct: USA and USSR forces are on high alert - they are told to prepare for war.

Khruschev receives a letter from Kennedy asking for the missiles to be withdrawn.

26 Oct: Khrushchev responds to Kennedy - he agrees withdrawal of missile if the USA does not invade Cuba.

27 October: CRUCIAL DAY!!

Khruschev receives intelligence that the USA is planning to invade Cuba in 24 hours - he proposes a deal of withdrawal of missiles from Cuba if the USA agrees not to invade and withdraws missiles from Turkey.

A US spy plane is shot down - Hawks demand a retaliation.

Robert Kennedy approaches the Russian ambassador. He accepts Khruschev’s deal as long as the US withdrawal of missiles in Turkey is kept a secret. You can deduce from this that America feared being seen as humiliated by the USSR.

28 Oct: Khrushchev agreed to the deal.

Consequences of the CMC:

The CMC had exposed the fragility of relations between the USA and USSR. It also showed how difficult it was to reach a negotiation.

Khrushchev’s authority was reduced - it appeared to the world that he had backed down and betrayed Cuba.

New measures were put in place:
1. The Hotline - June 1963 saw a direct telephone between Washington and Moscow put in place.

2. Limited Test Ban Treaty - August 1963 - the USA and USSR agreed to ban the testing of all nuclear weapons in space, the sea, and above the ground.

The shock of the CMC was instrumental in pushing the two superpowers to a more relaxed relationship. This was sowing the seeds of what in the late 1960s would become known as Detente. This would be a key feature of the relationship between them by the 1970s.

**Long term consequences:**

**Mutually Assured Destruction - MAD**

This doctrine made it clear that if both superpowers went to war, both the USSR and USA would be destroyed. This became a good reason for wanting to avoid a war.

**France left NATO**

Charles de Gaulle was appalled at the prospect of France being destroyed if a nuclear war occurred - all NATO allies would have to join the USA in the fight against Russia. In 1966, France ended its military alliance with the USA and began to develop its own nuclear weapons.

**Czechoslovakia - the Prague Spring**

**Opposition to Soviet Control**

1968 - Czechoslovakia was a Soviet satellite state

Soviet control had few benefits for the people - the country was brutally run by the secret police, and the economy was poor.

Standards of living declined steadily during the 1960s.

Antonin Novotny was the Communist leader - this all made him very
unpopular.

5 January 1968 - Alexander Dubcek became Communist Party leader and the most powerful man in Czechoslovakia.

Dubcek was a good choice - he was on friendly terms with Leonid Brezhniv, who had become leader of the USSR in 1964.

Ducek’s idea was to create a popular strand of Communism - he called this “Socialism with a human face.”

He wanted to remove the most repressive elements of Communism to revive the Czechoslovakian economy and social life.

Prague Spring - 1968

This is the term used to describe the reforms Dubcek introduced. He brought in these reforms:

Relaxing press censorship
Legalisation of opposition political groups
Official Government tolerance of political criticism
More power given to regional governments
More power given to the Czech government
Market Socialism - reintroduction of capitalist elements to the Czech economy

Dubcek’s reforms appealed to the young and intelligentsia - artists, writers, students, intellectuals and workers. Young members of the Czech Communist Party were very enthusiastic!

Milan Kundra/Vaclav Havel - took full advantage!

But the Prague Spring shocked older Czechs and Leonid Brezhnev - and this spread across Eastern Europe.

Brezhnev’s Dilemma:

Brezhnev considered Dubcek to be a friend.
Dubcek had not left the Warsaw Pact or damaged the USSR. But there was a fear amongst Soviet intelligence that these reforms would weaken Soviet control over Czechoslovakia and trigger the breakup of the Eastern Bloc.

April–July 1968 – Both leaders were in contact – Brezhnev tried to persuade Dubcek his reforms had gone too far. Dubcek ignored this and did not control political opposition in Czechoslovakia.

August 1968 – Brezhnev had had enough – he ordered a full scale invasion of Czechoslovakia.

This was intended to overthrow Dubcek.

Propaganda – Soviet media portrayed Dubcek as a huge threat to the USSR.

Brezhnev Doctrine – this was a justification of the invasion. The USSR had the right to invade a country which threatened the Eastern Bloc’s security with its actions.

Dubcek’s reforms were seen as potentially undermining the stability of the whole Eastern bloc – Russian invasion was justified.

Dubcek – ordered Czech people not to respond with violence when the Soviet tanks rolled in.

Non violent civil disobedience was common – students would stand in front of tanks with banners.

Dubcek – arrested and taken to Moscow. Told he had betrayed Socialism.

He was forced to sign the Moscow Protocol, which committed the Czech Government to protect Socialism by reintroducing censorship and removing political opposition.

International Reaction:

USA – no military support. Public condemnation.
Western Europe - no military support.
Italy/France - their Communist parties condemned the invasion - declared themselves independent of Eastern Communism. 
Growing spilt between East and West Communism.

Eastern Europe - Romania/Yugoslavia distanced themselves from the Soviets- their Communist parties began to form closer links with China.

The Prague Spring had undermined authority and respect for Soviet Communism.

Why did the Cold War end?

Détente - and its failure

The late 1960s saw a flurry of legislation aimed at easing Cold War tensions. The Cuban Missile Crisis had brought the world to the brink of nuclear holocaust - no one wanted that to happen again.

Détente - means "relax". In Russia the policy was known as "razryadka."

The policies of the late 1960s/early 1970s limited the possibility of another conflict between the Superpowers:
1967 - Outer Space Treaty - stopped the arms race going to outer space as no nuclear weapons should be placed in space by either superpower.

1968 - Nuclear non-proliferation Treaty - agreed neither superpower would supply nukes to other states or assist other states in developing them. Superpower conflict was prevented from spreading to other parts of the world.

**Mid-1970s: High Point of Detente?**

SALT I (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) 1972 put constraints on nuclear possibilities.

Both USA and USSR agreed that there would be no more production of strategic ballistic missiles.

Nuclear submarines would only be introduced when existing stocks of Inter-continental Ballistic Missiles became obsolete.

SALT I showed that both sides had an environment in which they could co-operate.
It was the first agreement that cut the number of nuclear missiles held.

Helsinki Conference - 1975

Stabilised situation in Europe. Agreed greater co-operation between the superpowers and European allies in trade and fighting terrorism.

Apollo-Soyuz Mission - 1975

Joint USA/USSR mission in which spacecraft docked high above Earth. This marked the beginning of superpower co-operation in Space.

SALT II - From 1972

Negotiations for this began in 1972 - they were disrupted by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. SALT II is important because it would
have had a significant impact if it had actually been signed by President Carter.

SALT II would have cut stocks of nuclear warheads to 2250 for each superpower. President Carter’s withdrawal from the talks in disgust at the USSR’s invasion of Afghanistan meant it never became law in the USA.

**Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan: End of Detente**

April 1978 - Kabul Revolution:

Brezhnev saw the Afghanistan revolution as an opportunity to expand power in the Middle East.
Kabul - overthrew the Government.
New Government - intended to build Socialism in Afghanistan.
Mohammed Taraki was the new Communist President - became an ally of the USSR.
Unstable Government - rivalries and disagreements were rife.
1979 - Civil War erupted - Muslim leaders objected to the Communist reforms.
Taraki - forced to accept Hafizullah Amin as Prime Minister - October 1979 Amin supporters assassinated Taraki and Amin became President.

**Soviet Invasion - December 1979**

After Amin seized power, Brezhnev ordered an invasion of Afghanistan

This was for the following reasons:

The USSR did not trust Amin - Soviet secret police thought he was an American Spy

USSR was concerned that Afghanistan would become an Islamic state - and nearby Soviet Republics would follow with this. Therefore Russia's alliances would collapse.
Babrak Karmal – an Afghani Communist – argued he was supported enough to form a new government but needed assistance to defeat Amin’s military.

Brezhnev believed America would ignore the invasion – they had ignored the Prague Spring to avoid a war.

Soviet troops killed Amin and supporters

Karmal was declared President – but the war lasted for ten years, killing 1.5 million people in the process. 15,000 were Soviet soldiers.

End of Detente?

President Carter introduced the Carter Doctrine as a response to what he saw as a new Soviet aggression over Afghanistan:

1. He formed an alliance with China and Israel to support Afghan rebels, including providing weapons and funds for the Mujahideen (Islamic organisation who were fighting to free Afghanistan from Soviet control)
2. He imposed economic sanctions and halted nearly all trade with the USSR
3. He severed diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union

This ended Detente - it did not make the USSR withdraw! Relations between the 2 superpowers had turned sour again. This was best exemplified by the two Olympic Games in the 1980s.

1980 Moscow Olympics – USA boycotted this, along with 60 other countries. These countries set up the Olympic Boycott Games in Philadelphia.

1984 Los Angeles Olympics – USSR retaliated and boycotted this – along with 14 other Communist countries.
The USSR organised the Friendship Games as an alternative!

NB: Do not underestimate the importance of the Olympic boycotts – these were a very clear signal to the world that Detente was finished, and Superpower relations were at their coldest since the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Ronald Reagan and the Evil Empire

1980: Ronald Reagan is elected President. He was a former Hollywood actor and also 69 years old – the oldest President elect ever!

He was a devout Christian who believed God was on the side of America against the USSR – he wanted to “win” the Cold War.

1979-85 – Referred to as “The Second Cold War”. Detente was officially finished.

Reagan was not trusted by the media – he was portrayed as an ignorant cowboy who had no knowledge of world affairs.

France and Britain – worried about some of Reagan’s comments – especially when he said he could imagine a “limited nuclear war in Europe”!

Margaret Thatcher (British PM) – did become an ally.

Regan believed in the idea of individual freedom, and felt the USSR denied its people this.

March 1983 – Evil Empire speech:

Reagan argued that the Cold War was a “fight between good and evil...right and wrong...”

He gave this to a meeting of the National Association of Evangelicals!!
He argued the Cold War was a moral war – therefore America had a duty to invest in new military hardware to defend people from the evil Soviet Union.

M.A.D was over - Reagan used N.U.T.S – Nuclear Utilisation Target Strategy - instead. Rather than both sides being wiped out, he envisioned a war were only certain targets would be used.

This inspired popular culture – the British film “Threads” depicted the aftermath of a nuclear holocaust. The CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) became visible in the 1980s)

Star Wars:

Reagan was misunderstood by many – advisors thought he was only trying to win support with bold metaphors and speeches.

The reality was that Regan genuinely believed in fighting the USSR to win the Cold War.

Strategic Defence Initiative:

His idea was to build a nuclear umbrella – this would stop Soviet bombs from hitting American soil!

Star Wars – an army of satellites equipped with lasers would destroy Soviet missiles in space!

Reagan believed this would cripple Soviet weaponry and force them to disarm!

SDI broke the Outer Space Treaty – and was a turning point in the Arms race.
USSR - could not compete with SDI for the following reasons:

1. America had won the race to the moon in 1969 and developed the space shuttle by the early 80s.
2. USSR did not have the wealth to fund both consumer goods, military spending, and new space based weaponry.
3. USSR was behind the USA in space development – computers had boomed in the US in the 1980s, but Soviet leaders thought they would undermine the Communist Party’s power.

As a result – the USSR had been knocked out of the Arms Race.

Gorbachev and the end of the Cold War:


He was very young – in his late 40s – and had very little foreign policy experience.

He had wanted to save Communism – ironically, he ended up undermining it.

1985- he commented that Ronald Reagan was “a class enemy and extremely primitive...he looks like a caveman.”

1986 - Chernobyl - this explosion in the Ukraine was first covered up. The release of dangerous radiation by this was hidden by the Soviet media. Western Governments put pressure on Gorbachev to admit what had actually happened.

Chernobyl became a symbol of the crisis in Soviet Communism.

“New Thinking”:

Gorbachev had several problems to deal with:

1. Inefficient Soviet economy - a lot of shortages for basic goods
2. Lack of faith in the Communist party

His solutions?

1. Perestroika (restructuring) economic reforms to make the Soviet economy more efficient
2. Glasnost (openness) Censorship of the press was about to be relaxed.

But he was slow to allow democratic elections in Russia.

Gorbachev and Reagan:

1986: Position of the 2 Superpowers:

USA:

Booming economy
Computer technology
Space technology
Military forces were highly equipped
NATO allies
Regarded as leaders of the free world

But - fewer nuclear weapons than the USSR!

USSR:
Warsaw Pact allies
More nukes than the USA

But - fighting an expensive war in Afghanistan
Failing economy
Old technology
Chernobyl crisis had ruined their reputation
Geneva Summit – November 1985

Reagan - wanted to persuade Gorbachev he wanted peace
Gorbachev - wanted Reagan to drop SDI. He appointed a new Foreign Minister, as he believed it was time to end aggressive foreign policy. The Geneva meeting was significant as the two leaders spoke face to face - but no formal agreement was made.

Reykjavik Summit – October 1986

Reagan proposed the scrapping of all ballistic nuclear missiles
Gorbachev refused - Reagan would not drop SDI.

Washington – December 1987

Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF) was signed
All nuclear missiles with a range of 500-5500 kilometres were scrapped

This went further than SALT 1 - it reduced the number of nuclear missiles the superpowers possessed.

Gorbachev signed INF for several reasons:

1. He recognised that nukes were expensive and added no value to Soviet security
2. Reagan persuaded him that the USA would not invade the USSR
3. Gorbachev knew the economy would not recover unless spending on weapons was reduced
4. Gorbachev believed disarmament would win him popularity in the West.
5. He also believed political and economic measures would be more effective in guaranteeing future Russian security than military means.
The Break Up of Eastern Europe

Gorbachev believed that ideology should play a smaller role in Soviet Foreign affairs - the USSR would no longer favour trade with Communist States over Capitalist ones. He wanted Eastern Europe to enjoy reform and openness. He withdrew Soviet troops to save money!

Ironically, he had never intended to end Communist control of Eastern Europe - but once reform had started he could not contain it.

Hungary - Communist Government promised a new democratic constitution in Summer 1989 - first free elections were held in Spring 1989.

East Germany - as soon as elections were announced in Hungary, a mass movement of East Germans began to get to West Germany through Hungary. 9 November - Government announced that East Germans could cross the border to West Berlin. East Berliners flooded into West Berlin through the checkpoints - the Berlin Wall had fallen by November 1989. The opening was the first step in the reunification of Germany.

Poland - Communist government was crushed in free election held in June 1989.

Czech Republic/Slovakia - Velvet Revolution was held in November 1989. Both countries re-gained independence.

Romania - President Ceacuscu resigned and fled in November 1989.

Warsaw Pact - dissolved in July 1991. NB - most former Soviet states are now members of NATO!
Reactions to Gorbachev:

Mrs Thatcher - “he’s a man I can do business with!”

USSR - regarded him with cynicism. Hardline Communists felt his policies of Perestroika and Glasnost had fatally weakened Communism

19 August 1991 a group of senior Communist officials known as the “Gang of Eight” organised a coup to push Gorbachev from office.

It was initially successful - Gorbachev was out of Moscow, and prevented from returning.

New Government - declared a state of emergency and overturned the freedoms granted by perestroika and glasnost.

It lasted 3 days - Boris Yeltsin described the new regime as “illegal” and called for Moscovites to resist it.

21 August 1991 - Gorbachev returned - and resumed his role as President of Russia. But the coup had damaged him, and made Yeltsin a popular hero.

A new constitution was introduced - this gave Soviet republics such as Latvia, Estonia, the Ukraine, Lithuania more independence.

But the leaders wanted full independence - and the new constitution was never accepted.

25 December 1991 - Gorbachev announced the dissolution of the Soviet Union and his resignation.

The Cold War had ended. - President George Bush (don’t get confused, this is Dubya’s Dad!) stated that the Cold War had ended in 1989 at the Malta Conference. But it was the collapse of the USSR in 1991 that officially ended it. The USA was now the only Superpower.