
COLD WAR

The Cold War: Problems of international relations after the Second World War

WHAT CAUSED THE COLD WAR?

Differences of principles: *The communist system:* Ideology of Karl Marx: Wealth of country owned and shared collectively by everybody, centrally planned economy and the interests and well-being of the working classes should be provided *The capitalist system:* private ownership, private enterprise wanting to make profit, preservation of the power of private wealth. These two systems work (more or less) well on their own, but not together.

Stalin's foreign policies contributed to the tensions: Stalin **occupied as much German territory** as he could and acquired as much land as he could get from Finland, Poland and Romania. The West was alarmed: "The Soviet want to spread communism over as much of the globe as possible."

US and British politicians were hostile to the Soviet government: President Harry S. Truman (elected 1945) was suspicious and had a tough attitude towards the communists. Some may argue, that the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan, was not simply to defeat Japan, but to show Stalin, what might happen to Russia if he dared to go too far. *The West had the a-bomb, the USSR did not.*

WHO WAS TO BLAME?

- **Blame Stalin:** The policy of containment, the formation of the NATO (1949) and the American entry into the Korean War in 1950 were the West's self-defense against communist aggression of spreading communism. -> blame Stalin
- **Blame USA:** Russia suffered enormous losses during WW2, and therefore it was expected for Stalin to make sure neighboring states were friendly. The actions of Truman provoked Russian hostility unnecessarily. USA started Cold War to make the most out of its atomic bomb monopoly, to get industrial strength and drive world hegemony (*revisionist view*). Additionally, their foreign policy was generally very anticommunist (involvement in the Vietnam War) -> blame USA
- **Blame both sides (post revisionist):** Marshall Plan: take West Europe, Stalin would take advantage of weaknesses in the West, Stalin had expansionist aims. USA and USSR had deep suspicions -> every international act was interpreted in two ways

HOW DID THE COLD WAR DEVELOP BETWEEN 1945 AND 1953?

1) The Yalta Conference (February 1945)

- Held in Russia
- Stalin, Roosevelt (USA) and Churchill planned, what would happen, when the War ended
- Several points were successfully agreed:
 - new **United Nations (UN)** should replace League of Nations
 - Germany divided into Zones for Russia, America, UK and France
 - Free elections in eastern Europe
 - Stalin promised to join the war against Japan
- Trouble deciding over Poland

2) The Potsdam Conference (July 1945)

- Stalin, Truman (USA), Churchill
- No agreement about Germany's long-term future:
 - Should Germany become a unified, independent country again?
 - Reparations should be paid from Germany to USSR

- Trouble over Poland
- Truman did not tell Stalin about A-Bomb, thought Churchill was told about it. A few days after the Potsdam conference, USA bombed Japan.

3) Communism established in eastern Europe

- After Potsdam conference: Russians set up pro-communist governments in eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania and Romania) by imprisoning or murdering opponents.
- Stalin gave Speech in 1946: Communism and Capitalism could never live together
- Churchill gave following Speech about descending an **iron curtain**, demanding a **Western Alliance**
- Steadily widening rift between East and West

4) The Russians continued to tighten their grip on eastern Europe

- End of 1947: every state except Czechoslovakia had a fully communist government with rigged elections
- Secret police and Russian troops
- Yugoslavia had Tito as anti-German resistance leader
- Stalin disregarded Yalta conference

5) The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan

- Truman Doctrine 1947: USA was committed to a **policy of containing communism** (USA helps countries in Europe like Greece and Turkey, and Korea and Vietnam)
- Marshall Plan 1947: economic extension of the Truman Doctrine
 - **European Recovery Programme:** economic and financial help wherever needed
 - A prosperous Europe is good for USA economy
 - Communism is less likely to gain control in West Europe
- USA gains control in Europe = Russia's sphere of influence
- Iron curtain is reality

6) The Cominform

- The Communist Information Bureau 1947 was the response to the Marshall Plan
- -> Draw together communistic parties: all communists belonged to the Cominform
- Tighten the grip on USSR satellite states: **Russian-style communism**
- Industrialization and centralization of eastern Europe
- **Molotov Plan:** offering Russian aid to satellite states
- **Comecon:** coordinate economy

7) The communist takeover of Czechoslovakia (February 1948)

- Armed coup made all non-communists resign
- Fall of last democratic government in eastern Europe, fall of the **bridge between east and west**
- **Iron curtain** was complete

8) The Berlin blockade and airlift (June 1948 – May 1949)

- First great crisis of the Cold War
- Germany and Berlin were each divided into four zones
- Early 1948: three western zones merged together: contrast in economy between West and East Germany
- June 1948: West Germany and West Berlin introduced new currency
- -> Russian response: All road, rail and canal links between West Berlin and West Germany were closed, in order to force the West to withdraw from Berlin so they would retreat at starvation point. USA sent help with transport planes. Russia didn't dare to attack.
- May 1949: Russia lifted the blockade
- **Results:**
 - Great psychological boost to the West, really bad relations with Russia
 - Coordination of the western defenses with NATO
 - No compromise -> Germany must remain divided

9) The formation of NATO

- March 1948 Brussel Defense Treaty: Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg
- April 1949: North Atlantic Treaty Organization: USA, Canada, Portugal, Denmark, Iceland, Italy and Norway join
- Stalin interpreted it as a challenge and tensions remained high

10) The two Germanies

- August 1949: German Federal Republic (= BRD / West Germany)
- October 1949: German Democratic Republic (=DDR / East Germany)
- Germany remained divided until collapse of communism in 1989
- (Berlin Wall 1961 – 1989 (1991 destruction))

11) More nuclear weapons

- September 1949: USSR first A-Bomb: arms race: Truman gave order for testing hydrogen bomb (much more powerful)
- October 1949: communistic government in China with Mao Zedong
- February 1950: USSR and China signed treaty of alliance
- June 1950: Communistic North Korea invaded non-communistic South Korea

TO WHAT EXTENT WAS THERE A THAW AFTER 1953?

REASONS FOR THE THAW

- Death of Stalin
 - Malenkov, Bulganin and Krushchev wanted to improve relations with USA
 - Both sides had H-Bombs: tensions need to relax if nuclear war wants to be avoided
- McCarthy discredited in 1954

HOW DID THE THAW SHOW ITSELF?

- First signs:
 - July 1953: end of Korean War
 - 1954: end of Indo-China War
- Important Russian concessions in 1955
 - Give up military bases in Finland
 - Lifted their veto on the admission of 16 new member states to the UN
 - Krushchev visited Tito: solved problems between Yugoslavia and USSR
 - Cominform was abandoned = more freedom for satellite states
- Austrian State Treaty May 1955
 - Russia cooperated more

THE THAW WAS ONLY PARTIAL

- A rising in Budapest against the communist government was ruthlessly crushed by Russian tanks
- **The Warsaw Pact 1955:** Defense agreement of Russia and satellites after Germany entered the NATO
- Russian nuclear armament
- Situation in Berlin caused more tensions:
 - No recognition of East Germany by the West
 - Rising tensions lead to Berlin Wall 1961
- Soviet installment of missiles in Cuba 1962: big provocation

NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND CUBAN MISSILES CRISIS (1962)?

THE ARMS RACE BEGINS TO ACCELERATE

- Russian first A-Bomb in 1949, they wanted to catch up to USA
- USA first H-Bomb in 1952, Russia 1953
- Russia took the lead in 1957 with long-range missiles, USA did the same
- Sputnik 1 in 1958 world's first earth satellite

THE CUBAN MISSILES CRISIS, 1962

- 1959: Fidel Castro took communist lead in Cuba -> involvement in the Cold War
- 1961: USA broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba, Russia helped Cuba
- April 1961: **Bay of Pigs**: total disaster for USA
- Krushchev sets up nuclear missiles in Cuba
- October 1962: photos of missiles -> big hysteria
- Kennedy disapproved a air strike launch against Cuba -> **Blockade**, to stop transport with Russian ships to Cuba, is best solution
- Krushchev ordered retreat, and USA would not invade Cuba again and disarm Turkey missiles
- -> Extremely tense crisis
- Both sides realized how terrible a nuclear war would be
- Telephone link (the **hotline**) was introduced between Moscow and Washington
- 1963: USSR and USA and Britain signed **Nuclear Test Ban Treaty**

THE RACE CONTINUES INTO THE 1970s (DICK COMPARISON)

- Russians declared missile crisis as a victory
- USA still had nuclear threat from submarines on their side
- Russia decides to catch up by quantity
- Vietnam War 1961-75 meant for USA to less spend on nuclear weapons
- 1970s: Russian lead with anti-ballistic missiles, USA lead with multi-missile, both more sophisticated missiles

PROTESTS AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS

- People feared a nuclear war. Movements were set up to persuade governments
- Britain first nation to abandon nuclear weapons (**unilateral disarmament**) (disarmament by only one state)
-> Britain vulnerable to USSR
- Demonstrations until late 1980s
- Next phase: **détente**

The spread of communism outside Europe and its effects on international relations

THE WAR IN KOREA AND ITS EFFECT ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BACKGROUND TO THE WAR

Korea had been in Japanese occupation since 1910. When Japanese was defeated in 1945, USSR and USA divided the country in two zones along 38th parallel. The Americans didn't intend a permanent division. The UN wanted free elections for the whole country, the Americans agreed thinking that the communist would be outvoted. However, the unification of Korea soon became part of the Cold War rivalry: no agreement could be reached. The UN supervised election in the south. The independent Republic of Korea (South Korea) was set up with Syngman Rhee as president. The Russians set up the democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) under the communist government of Kim Il Sung. The troops of USA and Russia withdraw in 1949. The people in Korea were very divided and both leaders were ruthless. Kim Il Sung seems to be modelling himself on Stalin. Without warning North Korean troops invaded the South in June 1950.

Why did the North invade the South? Kim Il Sung's idea encouraged by Acheson statement about America defending areas around the Pacific and not including Korea or the new Chinese communist government who had intended to attack Taiwan. Perhaps Russians were responsible, wanting to test Truman's determination. Most widely accepted is that Kim Il Sung himself pressed the idea and the USSR and China approved the plan and promised to help with war materials.

THE USA TAKES ACTION

Reasons for President Truman to intervene:

- He was convinced that the attack was Stalin's doing.
- Scared to make the same mistakes with appeasement.
- Determined to support the UN and to preserve peace with taking action.
- The Democrat president has been criticized of taking too little action against the threat of communism. A Republican senator even claimed that the government was infested by communists working for the USSR.

→ Those factors led to a policy of action instead of just economic help and promises. Truman decided it was essential for the West to support South Korea. American troops in Japan were ordered to Korea even before the UN decided what action to take. The UN ordered North Korea to withdraw their troops. This was ignored so help was sent to South Korea. All troops were under the command of American General MacArthur. The arrival was just in time to prevent the communist overrunning South Korea. Instead of a ceasefire Truman ordered the invasion of the North in order to unify the country and hold free elections, the UN approved the action. The Chinese Foreign Minister warned that China would resist, this was ignored. The Chinese government was worried that the Americans would invade Manchuria because they had already placed a fleet between China and Taiwan. So the Chinese launched a massive counter-offensive. MacArthur argued that the best way to defeat communism was to attack Manchuria with atomic bombs if necessary. Truman feared a large-scale war, so he changed towards a containment policy. The frontier should be again around the 38th parallel.

THE RESULTS OF THE WAR WERE WIDE-RANGING

- Korea was devastated. Both states remained suspicious and several ceasefire violations occurred.
- Americans could contain communism.
- UN had exerted its authority and reversed an act of aggression.
- China military performance was outstanding and was now a world power. They had prevented a unification of Korea under American influence.
- New dimension to the Cold War: American relations now permanently strained with Russia and China.

CUBA

WHY DID FIDEL CASTRO COME TO POWER?

- There was a long-standing resentment among many Cubans at the amount of American influence in the country. America has rescued Cuba from Spain control, but the USA controlled then the Cuban economy to some extent. USA was main market of Cuba's exports.
- Cuba was depended on exports of sugar and the wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few. Unemployment was a serious problem. This led to high social tensions.
- No effective political system had been developed. Fulgencio Batista seized power in a military coup and had been the dictator. He introduced no reforms.
- Since there was no prospect of a peaceful social revolution, the feeling grew that a violent revolution was necessary. The leading exponent was Fidel Castro, who was specialized in defending the poor.
- Batista's reaction played into Castro's hands. He took savage reprisals against Castro's guerilla warfare. A lot of people wanted to get rid of the brutal dictator. The Americans were embarrassed at Batista's behavior and cut off arms supplies. 1959 Batista fled from Cuba, and a liberal government was set up with Castro as leader.

HOW WERE CUBA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS AFFECTED?

At first the Americans wanted to give him a chance but as Castro wanted to nationalize American-owned estates and factories they threatened with stop importing Cuban sugar. As America carried out the threat, Cuba was forced to a trade agreement with Russia. After the Bay of Pigs and the missiles crisis the relations between Cuba and USA remained cool. 1962 Cuba got expelled from the Organization of American States, which only made Cuba more dependent on the USSR.

CASTRO AND HIS PROBLEMS

Cuba had problems with their dependency of sugar industry, unemployment, poverty and corruption. Castro put the country into new patterns of life. He collectivized agricultural land, nationalized factories and businesses, attempted to improve education, health, communication and equality. Castro himself travelled the island and making speeches urging people to greater efforts. By the 1970s they managed to reach several successes. Though, the country still was depending on sugar economy and the agricultural output was disappointing. A lot of people immigrated to USA. By 1991 when the USSR split up and ceased to be communist, Cuba had lost its most powerful supporter.

THE WARS IN VIETNAM, 1946-1954 AND 1961-1975

Indochina, which consisted of three areas, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, was part of the French empire. In the first phase of conflicts people fought for and won their independence from French. The second phase began with civil war in South Vietnam – guerilla warfare: a war in which small groups of soldiers not belonging to regular or established army units engage in fighting against typically larger regular forces; The USA intervened to prevent the further spread of communism but failed – proxy warfare: a war instigated by a major power which does not itself become involved.

1946-54: Vietnamese were fighting for their independence from France. America paid for the war the French fought against Communist Vietnam as a part of the Truman Doctrine (1947) “to help free peoples to maintain their free institutions and their national integrity against ... totalitarian regimes.” Vietnamese were organized by the League of Vietnamese Independence (Vietminh), led by the communist Ho Chi Minh, who has spent many years in Russia. 1945 he declared whole Vietnam as independent. When it was clear that France wouldn’t allow full independence, hostility broke out. The 18-year struggle ended with French defeat. French suffered from the after-effect of the war and Vietnam was supported with arms and equipment by Mao Zedong. USA became involved, seeing this as a part of Cold War and fight against communism. The Americans supplied the French with military and economic aid; but it was not enough. By the Geneva agreement (1954), Laos and Cambodia were to be independent; Vietnam was temporarily divided into two states at the 17th parallel. Ho Chi Minh’s government was recognized in North Vietnam. South Vietnam was to have a separate government until the election held for the whole country in July 1956. As it turned out the elections were never held, and a repeat of Korean situations seemed likely. A civil war developed in South Vietnam which eventually involved the North and the USA.

What caused the civil war in South Vietnam and why did the USA become involved?

- The South Vietnamese government under Ngo Dinh Diem refused to make preparations for the elections. The USA, which was backing his regime, did not press him for the carrying out since they feared a communist victory if the elections went ahead. Eisenhower and Truman seemed to become obsessed with the Domino Theory – if a country falls for communism the countries surrounding it will fall for it to. However, the US-Attitude was a violation of the Geneva Agreement.
- Ngo government lost popularity. He came from a wealthy catholic family, whereas three-quarters of the population were Buddhist who thought themselves discriminated against. They demanded land distribution from wealthy landowners to the poor.
- In 1960 an opposition group formed which included many communist members – National Liberation Front. They wanted to negotiate peacefully for a united Vietnam. A guerilla war campaign began, attacking government officials and buildings. Ngo was overthrown and murdered in an army coup November 1963. The basic situation remained unchanged.
- When it was clear that Ngo could not cope with the situation, USA decided to increase their military presence in South Vietnam. Both Kennedy and Johnson were prepared to go further than just economic aid and advisers. The Americans said they wanted to protect the independence of the Vietnamese people, but they wanted really just keep the country non-communist.
- The USA thought they did the right thing by the knowledge that the Vietcong (Guerilla army) was receiving supplies from North Vietnam.

- The UN thought that this was unjustified US interference in what should have been an independent country. The US had to fight on its own.

THE PHASES OF THE WAR

1. **John F. Kennedy (1961-1963)** tried to keep the American involvement down to an anti-guerilla campaign. He introduced the safe village policy, in which local peasants were moved into fortified villages.
2. **Lyndon Johnson (1963-1969)** was faced with NFL controlling 40% of South Vietnamese villages. He assumed that Vietcong were controlled by Ho Chi Minh and he decided to bomb North Vietnam and hoped that Ho Chi Minh would call off the campaign. Over the next years a greater tonnage was dropped on North Vietnamese cities than fell on Germany during the Second World War. The American invested a lot in the war but they couldn't win the war at reasonable costs. On 31 March 1968 Johnson announced that he would suspend the bombing, freeze troop levels and seek negotiated peace. The talks went for another 5 years.
3. **Richard Nixon (1969-1974)** realized that a new approach was needed, since public opinion wouldn't allow any more troops to be sent. His idea was known as Vietnamization. The Americans would rearm and train the South Vietnamese army to look after the defense of South Vietnam. On the other hand, he began the heavy bombing on North Vietnam again. It was all for nothing; by the end of 1972 Vietcong controlled the entire western half of the country.

Several factors now led to a revulsion of feeling against the war and Nixon was under pressure to withdraw:

- Terrible bombing of North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia
- Use of chemicals to destroy jungle foliage (agent orange) and of inflammable napalm jelly which was used to burn people alive → Caused many babies to be born deformed and handicapped
- The deaths of thousands innocent civilians.

Nixon realized that there was no monolithic communist plan to dominate the world. In fact, China and the USSR were extremely strained and there were numerous border clashes. He seized chance to improve the American and Chinese relations: Trade and travel restriction were removed and so the US navy patrols near Taiwan. Eventually a ceasefire was arranged for January 1973 – Paris Peace Agreement. It was agreed that all American troops would withdraw and North and South would respect the frontier of 17th parallel. President Thieu's government of the South soon collapsed. In April 1975 they were occupied by North Vietnam and Vietcong. Vietnam was at least united and free from foreign intervention – under communist government. The American policy of preventing the spread of communism in south-east Asia had ended in a complete failure.

WHY DID THE USA FAIL?

- Vietcong and the NFL had widespread support among ordinary people.
- Vietcong were experts at guerilla warfare and fought on familiar territory.
- Vietcong received important help from North Vietnam, China and Russia.
- The North was dedicated to eventual victory and the unification of their country.

THE EFFECTS OF THE WAR WERE WIDE-REACHING

Vietnam was united but the cost was appalling. The country was severely damaged and lost a lot of its population. The problems of reconstruction were enormous and the new government's policy has unpleasant aspects such as concentrations camps for opponents and no freedom of speech. America also lost a lot of servicemen. Soldiers came home poisoned and wounded. They suffered years after of PTSD and the aftereffects of the use of Agent Orange. It was a blow for America. A division developed between the one's that did go to war and the one's that didn't. It was seen by many as terrible mistake, and this together with the Watergate scandal, which forced Nixon to resign, shook confidence in a political system that could not allow such thing to happen. War veterans were not seen as heroes they were treated with avoidance. The Americans now changed their approach to military action.

It is necessary to say that the united states did further interventions next to Chile, Vietnam and Cuba. The CIA was active in an astonishing number of states in the cause of preserving freedom and human rights and above

all preventing the spread of communism. Often the regimes that were targeted by the USA were simply pursuing policies which went against American interests. Actions have sometimes been carried out in secret. Techniques included attempts to carry out assassination, rigging of elections, organizing and financing acts of terrorism and full-scale military interventions.

DÉTENTE: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS FROM 1970S TO THE 1990S

Détente is used to mean a permanent relaxation between East and West. The first real signs of détente could be seen in 1970's.

REASONS FOR DÉTENTE

As the nuclear arsenal built up both sides feared a catastrophic nuclear war which there could be no real winner. Additionally, they all also had their individual reasons.

- **USSR:** They couldn't keep up with their expense that they needed in order to keep up with the Americans. They had to reduce their defense keeping and invest more in increasing the living standards. In 1968 Russian troops were sent to Prague to deal with the disturbing developments in Czechoslovakia when Dubcek introduced communism with a human face. Later the Russians were on bad terms with China. When USA and Chinese relationships got better, they wanted to keep up.
- **Americans:** They realized that there must be a better way to cope with communism than the way they did it in Vietnam. Clearly there was limits to what their military power could achieve. Some Congressman even talked about going back to isolation.
- **Chinese:** The Chinese were anxious about their isolation, about American intentions in Vietnam (after what happened in Korea) and they were not happy about the worsening relationship with the USSR.
- **The Nations of Western Europe:** They worried because they would be in the front line if nuclear war would break out. Willi Brandt who became Chancellor in western Europe worked for better relationship with Eastern Europe and a policy known as Ostpolitik.

THE USSR AND THE USA

- Agreements about the use and development of nuclear weapons. 1963 only underground nuclear tests. 1967 nuclear weapons in outer space are banned. 1972 SALT did slow down the arms race.
- The Helsinki Agreement July 1975 European frontiers have been accepted the way they were after the Second World War thus recognizing the German division. The communist promise to allow their people human rights and the freedom of speech and leaving the country.
- However, there have been some setbacks: NATO became nervous when Russia had new missiles. At the same time US Senate didn't want to accept the SALT 2.
- The next few years are referred to as Second Cold War. This began in the 1980s.
- Détente regained momentum thanks to the determination of Gorbachev. A few years after the talk in Geneva there was the nuclear accident in Chernobyl which led to an anti-nuclear feeling. In October 1986 there was a plan proposed to rid the earth step-by-step from nuclear weapons. Reagan and Gorbachev signed the INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces) Treaty. This was an important turning because this was the first-time nuclear weapons are being destroyed.
- The bad situations at the guerilla war in Afghanistan and the bad relationship with USA and China made Gorbachev decided it was time to pull out.

CHINA AND THE USA

- China and USA have been extremely hostile since the Korean war where American backed Taiwan and Chiang Kai-Shek and the Chinese backed Ho Chi Minh.
- The Americans eventually called off their veto of Chinese entry in the UN. Communist China was allowed to become part of the UN 1971.
- President Nixon visited China in 1972. The meeting led to a resumption of diplomatic relation.

- The Climax of détente was reached in 1979 when USA gave formal recognition of the People's Republic of China, and ambassadors were exchanged. 1985 agreement on nuclear co-operation was signed.
- Things took turns in 1989 when the Chinese government used troops to disperse a student demonstration. At least a thousand students were killed or later executed, and this brought worldwide condemnation.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND CHINA

- They had a signed treaty of mutual assistance and friendship in 1950.
- Relations between the USSR and China deteriorated steadily after 1956. Chinese did not approve Khrushchev's policies, particularly his belief in peaceful coexistence and his claim of achieving communism without violent revolution. China accused Russians for revisionism and was angry of their soft line towards USA.
- There was also a frontier dispute. During the nineteenth century Russia took territory of China which they now wanted back.
- At the end of 1970s both, Russia and China, were vying for American support. To complicate the matter even more, Vietnam was on the side of Russia. In the 1984 the Chinese set out their grievances against the USSR.
- Gorbachev was determined to begin a new era of Sino-Russian relations: In 1985 a 5-year agreement on trade and economic co-operation was signed. 1989 Gorbachev visited Beijing and Vietnam withdrew its troop from Cambodia.

THE COLLAPSE OF COMMUNISM IN EASTERN EUROPE AND THE END OF THE COLD WAR: INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS TRANSFORMED

AUGUST 1988 TO DECEMBER 1991

Communism was swept away by a rising tide of popular opinion and mass demonstration:

- It began in Poland in August 1988 when the Solidarity trade union organized huge anti-government strikes. This forced the government to allow free elections in which the communists were heavily defeated. This spread rapidly to all the satellite-states.
- Hungary was the next with free elections where the communists were defeated.
- In East Germany, Communist leader Eric Honecker wanted to disperse the demonstration by force, but he was overruled by his colleagues. By the end of 1989 they have resigned. Soon the Berlin wall was breached, and Germany was re-united in summer of 1990.
- Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and Romania had thrown out their communist government by 1989. Multiparty elections were held in Yugoslavia in 1990 and in Albania in 1991.
- By the end of December 1991, the USSR had split into separate republics and Gorbachev had resigned. Communist rule in Russia was over after 74 years.

HOW WERE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AFFECTED?

The Cold War was: The USSR and its allies were no longer seen from the West as its enemy. In November 1990 the countries of NATO and the Warsaw pact signed a treaty agreeing that there were no longer adversaries and that none of their weapons would ever be used except in self-defense.

New conflicts soon arose: The new conflicts were often caused by nationalism. USA and the USSR kept tight control over areas which might affect their interests. Nationalism which has been suppressed by communism reappeared again in some former states of the USSR and elsewhere. Some conflicts could be solved peacefully. However, in other countries war broke out. Most tragic of all was Yugoslavia which split up into five separate states.

Supervision of nuclear weapons: Another fear was that countries with what the powers considered to be unstable or irresponsible governments might use nuclear weapons. One of the needs of 1990s therefore was better international supervision and control of nuclear weapons, and also of biological and chemical weapons.

Economic problems: The former communist states faced another problem – they were left with an economic collapse and intense poverty left over from the communist command economies, and how to change to free-market economies. They need a careful plan and financial aid from the West in order to create stability. Nationalism and economic unrest could cause a right-wing backlash.

The re-unification of Germany created some problems: The Poles were very suspicious of the united Germany, fearing that it would try to take back former German territory given to Poland after the Second World War. Germany took many refugees fleeing from disturbances in other states. This led to violent protests from right-wing neo-Nazi groups.

Germany's Division and Reunion:

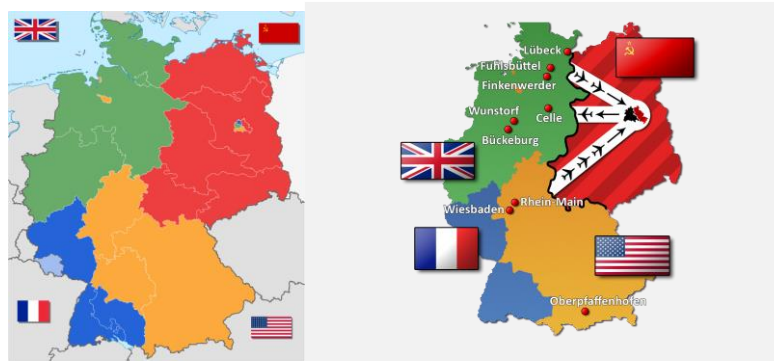
- End of WW II: Destruction, chaos, trauma
- Failure of Allied Control Council (cf Potsdam)
- Four occupation zones (four different powers, including own administration and politics) (France made this very difficult)
- 1948: Blockade of Western Berlin (1st Berlin Crisis) and successful airlift (USSR wanted this)
- 1949a: Western powers coordinate their policy, merge their occupation zones, introduction of D –Mark → foundation of BRD (Bundesrepublik Deutschland)
- 1949b: USSR establishes SED (Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschland) and Ostmark in their occupation zone → foundation of DDR (Deutsche Demokratische Republik) → i.e. a communistic people's republic and satellite state of USSR
- Konrad Adenauer becomes first Chancellor, policy of „Westbindung“
- 1952: Stalin's offer of reunification and the response of the West
- Rearmament of BRD (Bundeswehr) and integration in NATO (1955)
- Hallstein-Doctrine: BRD inherits right to be sole representative for Germany
- → DDR does not belong to Germany anymore
- 1958: Deployment of nuclear weapons in BRD (U.S.-control)
- 1958: Chruschtschow's offer of reunification and the Western response
- 1960: Chruschtschow dishonors Paris summit (excuse U2-incident) → Status Quo remains
- Made bad impression there. Was an attempt to normalize the relations but failed. Khrushchev made it clear he didn't want to do any improvement.
- John F. Kennedy (JFK) and his support for Western Berlin (Kennedy's presidential time was overestimated: he didn't do that much and was very sick, therefore often on drugs.)
- 1961: Construction of Berlin Wall
 - official and off-the-record reasons of USSR/DDR
 - hermetic separation of BRD and DDR, „death zone“
 - reunion has failed
- 1969: Willy Brandt (SPD-Chancellor) formulates new „Ostpolitik“ (Grenzsicherungsvertrag) and revises Hallstein-Doctrine (provided breeding ground for relationship with West and east, Germany and Poland)
- 1972: BRD and DDR accepted in UN
- Basic contracts between BRD and DDR

→ modus vivendi until 1989

- From 1985: Gorbatschow's reform policy in USSR: Glasnost (candidness) und Perestroika (alteration)
 - Attempt of systemic reform fails
- 1989: Mass rallies against Stasi
- Gorbatschow makes clear that there won't be a Soviet intervention („Wer zu spät kommt, den bestraft das Leben.“) . Rally against stasi

→ Who doesn't realize that things have changed (gave up satellite state etc.)

- Capitulation of Eduard Honecker and the SED → opening of borders
- 9.11.89: Fall of Berlin Wall → caesura in world history!
- BRD's and Helmut Kohl's (CDU) decisive acting: Integration of former DDR already at the end of 1990
- Important support from USA, GB and F, agreement of USSR → troops leave former DDR
- Euro as European currency
- Still big differences
- Integration of „Great Germany“ in NATO Grossdeutschlands in die NATO, boarder treaty with Poland
- Enthusiasm but also huge costs of reunion



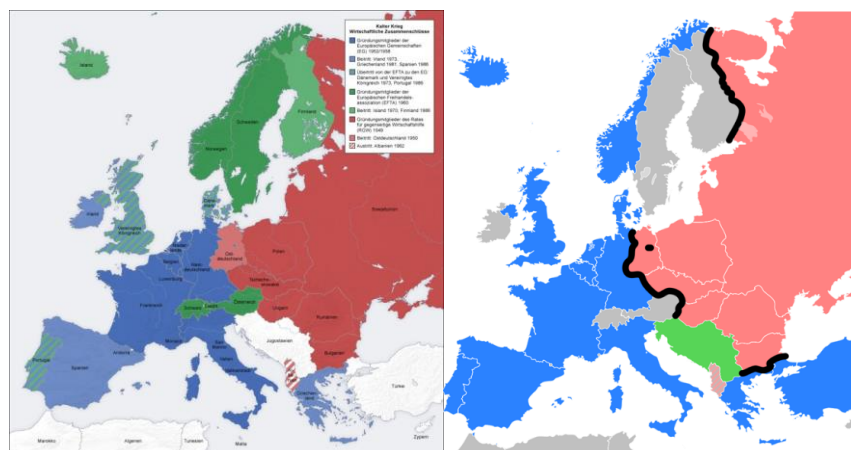
Relations between the western allies: The Disappearance of communism affected relations between western allies, the USA, western Europe and Japan. They had been held together by the need to stand firm against communism, but now differences emerged over trade.

The two Europes, East and West since 1945

THE STATES OF WESTERN EUROPE

Even the victorious powers, as GB and USSR, were in serious financial difficulties after WW2. A huge job of reconstruction should have been done for all countries, especially for Europe. But Europe soon split into two parts and developed separately. The western part made use of American aid ("American Marshall Plan") and the Eastern Europe was controlled by the USSR with Stalin's iron curtain.

The western Europe recovered quickly due to a combination of American aid, world demand for European products and careful planning of government.



FRANCE

France was politically too weak to rule effectively, and agriculture was stagnating. The new constitution gave the president very little power and with five major parties, there were always changes in the government. They had several disasters in their colonies, like a French defeat in Indochina.

General de Gaulle introduced a new constitution and a president with more power. He demonstrated France during the Cold war as strong and independent power. But the population in France began to protest because he carried out an undemocratic nature of the regime.

There were several right-winged presidents in France. This country had in the 1990s a continuing problem with recession and unemployment. Before the Euro was introduced in 2002, there were many cutbacks, and this caused many strikes in France. Chirac was elected as president, but he was not successful. People protested again, against youth unemployment. Socialist Party expected that after Chirac they would win. But Nicolas Sarkozy (a centre-right candidate) won, because of many great promises. Unfortunately, his presidency was dominated by the consequences of the great financial collapse in the USA. Therefore, in 2012 the election was won by the socialist Hollande.

WEST GERMANY (GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC)

They had a remarkable recovery (most successful in Europe) under a conservative government of Chancellor Adenauer. This is caused due to the Marshall Plan with many American investments into the country. They also reinvest their money into the industry. Taxation was reduced and people had more money to spend on goods. Germany produced a lot (e.g. for war in Korea) because there was a high demand for high-quality goods from Germany. All classes shared in prosperity. The government had two major parties: Christian Democrats (CDU- conservative from Adenauer) and Social Democrats (SDP- modern) There were also small parties like FDP.

After a rise in unemployment the SPD gained votes. But the party was only successful for a few years. In the 70s there was the world recession and the SPD Chancellor was replaced by a CDU leader, Helmut Kohl. He managed to improve Germany's economy (big export boom) and unemployment decreased. The reunification of Germany was connected to enormous problems. The eastern part had to be modernized. Therefore, the economy stagnated and there were tax increases. For that reason, another SPD leader (Schröder) became chancellor. In 2005 he was replaced by Merkel (CDU) and with her an economic upswing occurred until 2008. After the elections in 2009, she stayed in power because of her fairness and her unpretentious manner. The economy is the greatest challenge for a chancellor in Germany.

ITALY

A new Republic was formed (under de Gasperi), and this caused a period of prosperity. Old problems from the period before Mussolini reappeared: There are many parties in the government, and it was impossible for one party to win a majority in parliament. The main parties were the communists (PCI) and the Christian Democrats (DC). The government had weak coalitions and they could not solve problems as inflation and unemployment. Italy had even more problems:

The north (modern industry) and south (much lower standard of living) were completely different. Mafia was a powerful force and influenced politics a lot (Corruptions). There was a huge government debt and a weak currency.

After the collapse of communism, the parties changed. There was a focus on the centre between left and right. This changed when Berlusconi (right-winged) was elected in 2001 as a Prime minister. He promised a lot but during his time he was accused for bribery and other financial crimes. He returned to power in 2008 but he resigned because Italy had huge national debt and many other problems.

People in western Europe (especially German people) wanted a closer co-operation with all countries within Europe. *Reasons:* This would be the best option for a recovery after WW. An individual country is too weak in

comparison to USA/ USSR. A union could prevent another war breaking out and there is a more effectively resistance against the spread of communism. France could influence German policies better. --Churchill promoted this idea the most.

THE GROWTH OF UNITY IN WESTERN EUROPE

ORGANIZATION FOR EUROPEAN ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION (OEEC)

This was a response to the Marshall Aid. Primary, it was used to organize a plan for 16 European nations for the best use of American aid. This union was very successful because it improved the trade between the members by reducing restrictions. Later USA and Canada joined in, followed by Australia and Japan.

NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO)

This is an organization with countries from Europe, the USA and Canada for a defence system in case of an attack on one of the member states. For many people the USSR was the most likely enemy. Many countries were not happy about the dominant role from America (bc Eisenhower as leader of this organization) and the NATO was weak in comparison to the Warsaw Pact.



COUNCIL OF EUROPE

This stands for political unity. In all there are 18 members and it is based at Strasbourg. It consisted of the foreign ministers of the member states and an Assembly of representatives. It had no power; it could only debate about issues and make recommendations. It achieved a lot for human rights agreements.

EUROPEAN (ECONOMIC) COMMUNITY (EEC)

It was signed by six founder members: France, West Germany, Italy, Netherlands and two more.

Before the EEC the governments of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg formed the Benelux Customs Union, in which there would be no tariffs or other customs barriers, so that trade could flow freely. Later, Britain and France joined to the union. France hoped that involving West Germany would improve relations between France and Germany and make European industry more efficient. First there were all restrictions on trade in coal, iron and steel removed. It was so successful that they removed all barriers for productions of all goods. Later, they even reduced tariffs to non-members. They aimed improving living and working conditions and they still

wanted to work for a closer union of European peoples. The EEC had an enormous economic strength within a short time. **But** Britain always refused to join.

The EC exists out of:

- the **European Commission** (based in Brussel; day-to-day work, with civil servants and expert economist; who took the important policy decisions),
- the **Council of Ministers** (representatives from each member state and exchange about economic policies from each country, they often give advice to Commission),
- the **European Parliament** (in Strasbourg; 198 representatives discuss about issues and make recommendations, but have no control over Commission/ Council
- and the **European Court of Justice** (deal with any problems about the rules of the EC in general)

Even though Churchill was the strongest support of a unified union, Britain did not aim a membership. If they would sign such a contract, they would lose control over their economy and it would endanger the British Commonwealth or the relationship to USA. They were afraid of losing the British sovereignty. On the other hand, Britain was worried about being excluded from trading. Therefore, the Brits organized a rival group, the EFTA (with countries like Switzerland and Norway) to abolish all tariffs between them without interfering into any policies. Nevertheless, Britain changed their mind and they decided to join the EEC. The EEC is in comparison to the EFTA much more success- and powerful. Britain wanted to improve their economy with the entrance to the EEC.

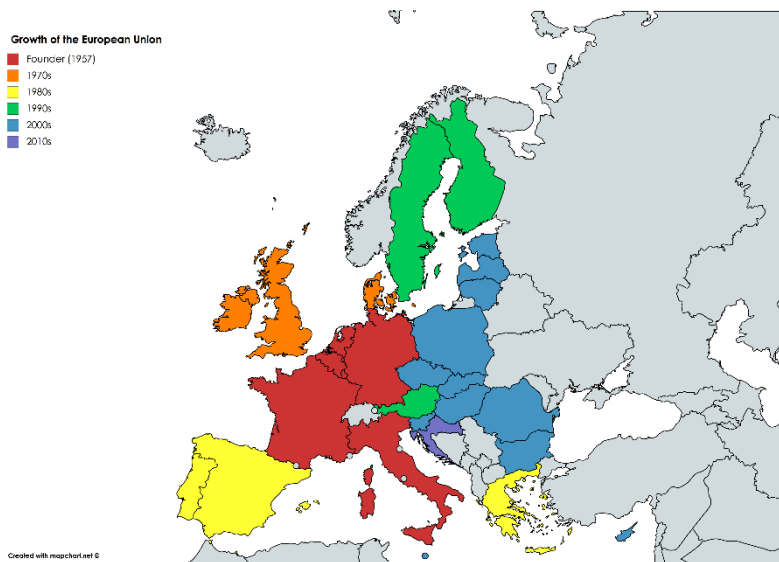
France was against Britain's entry (in 63 and 67), because:

- In their opinion, Britain had too many economic problems and this would weaken the EEC
- Britain had only the desire to dominate the community
- The president was not happy about the connection between Britain and America
- Britain efficient farmers would endanger farmers in France with their lower prices

In 1973, Britain was able to entre with two other countries, because the strict president from France resigned and Britain's prime minister was a very successful person in negotiating.

There were several problems in the EEC after the entry of more countries:

- The poorer countries criticized the EC for being too self-centred and for apparently showing no interest in using any of its wealth to help these countries. Therefore, the EC promised economic aid. Another problem was that the EC was remote from ordinary people. They wanted to bring those people into closer contact with the Union. In the European parliament the parties of the centre and right kept for a long-time majority. The arrival of Greece, Portugal and Spain caused quite a few problems.
- In 1986 they changed many rules: The EC has a completely free and common market, helps more for backward regions, encourages for scientific research and more.
- Especially Britain criticised always a lot because they wanted to keep their sovereignty.
- With the introduction of the **Maastricht Treaty** (91), an even closer union was created with one currency (Euro). A few countries supported this Treaty because this was the best way to control Germany.



COMMUNIST UNITY IN EASTERN EUROPE

On the other side, countries in the eastern Europe were satellites of the USSR. The USSR had its own economic and political unity. The countries of eastern Europe were forced into the union, whereas the members of the EC joined voluntarily. In 1948 there were nine states in the union.

Stalin aimed a union, where all countries have the same political, economic and educational systems and a so-called five-year plan. Also, foreign policies and armed force were controlled from Moscow.

Reasons for attractiveness of Communism in Eastern Europe

- Polarized agrarian society
- Missing liberal middle class, no democratic movement
- Re-building and industrialization through communists
- Communists' anti-fascism
- Arrangement with winner and „liberator“
- Distrust against Western powers (Munich, Jalta etc.)

Formation of Satellitestates

- Anti-fascist-democratic coalition government and occupation of key ministries (agriculture, home/police)
- Single political party of Social Democrats and Communists, campaigns and terror against coalition partners/parties
- Cleansing of all remaining deviators through terror and propaganda trials, state-directed economy according to USSR's example

MOLOTOV PLAN (1947)

This was an idea from the foreign minister, Molotov, as a response to the Marshall aid. Satellite states were not allowed to accept this aid and Russia offered an alternative. It consisted of trade agreements and had the effect to boost the trade in Eastern Europe.

COMINFORM

All members had to make sure that all governments followed the same line as the government of the USSR in Moscow (with a Russian-style communism).

COMECON (1949)

The aim was to help plan the economies of the individual states in the USSR. Industry was nationalized and agriculture was collectivized (state-owned farms). Later, this union was used to build up one integrated economy for the whole USSR; each member-country was responsible for a specific domain (Hungary on agriculture or East Germany for industry). But this did not work, and the USSR changed plans to allow more variations in the production of each country. The Eastern bloc was until a certain point successful with steadily increasing production. In 80's the economy experienced difficulties with a decrease in standard of living and inflation.

Some eastern European countries had a much better social services (medical care etc.) than those in the E(E)C countries.

WARSAW PACT (1955)

This is a signed promise (without Yugoslavia) to defend each other against any attack from outside. The armies were controlled from Moscow. Ironically, the only defeat was against one of the USSR-members.

There were serious tensions between the USSR and some of her satellite states. Moscow was very cruel to movement/ leader, who threatened communism.

1. Yugoslavia

It was the first state against Moscow. The communist leader, Tito, gained much popularity because successfully resisted against Nazi's in WW2. Before Stalin's communism he was legally elected as the leader of the new Yugoslav Republic. He was against Stalin's policies, especially with over-centralization. He wanted to be free to trade with the west and with the USSR. Stalin tried to ruin the economical situation of Yugoslavia by cutting of economic aid. But this did not work. Tito was too popular, and he remained in power. He did communism in his own way. Yugoslavia made the reverse process of centralization; industries were denationalized. In agriculture played "communes" an important role; these were groups of families and they had their own assembly, which organized a lot in the state. For some people the Yugoslavian communism was an example for a perfect communism, because it gave ordinary people the power to decide about their own lives.

Khrushchev (leader of USSR, after Stalin) decided to improve relations with Tito. He apologized for Stalin's actions.

2. Stalin acts against other leaders

Stalin was responsible for the arrest of many other communist leaders in the Eastern countries, who aimed independence. In Hungary were two anti-Stalin communists arrested and killed. Leaders in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia were executed. Other people, who sympathized with Tito, were also executed.

3. Khrushchev

After Stalin's death, the successor (Khrushchev) gave the satellite states more freedom. In a speech he criticized many of Stalin's policies. He removed Cominform. But he was strict against the actions in Poland and Hungary:

CRISIS IN POLAND

There was a general strike and a massive anti-government and an anti-Soviet demonstration. Workers were protesting because of poor living standards and high taxes. The tension remains for a long time high and therefore Russian tanks surrounded Warsaw. In the end Russians decided to compromise. Poland received the allowance (with the leader Gomulka) to build up their own communism. They were still much reliant on Russia. But they also traded with countries outside the communist bloc.

THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION (1956)

Here, it ended very different from the one in Poland. After Stalin's death there was a more moderate communist (Nagy). The previous leader (Rakosi) overthrew Nagy. This exploded to a rising (Aufstand) because:

- Was hatred of Rakosi's (brutal) regime
- Was an intense anti-Russian feeling
- Living standards of ordinary people were getting worse
- Poland encouraged Hungary to resist their government

Therefore, Rakosi was overthrown and Nagy became prime minister. Nagy went too far, when he announced plans for a government including members of other political parties. At this point, Russians started to interfere, because this action encourages non-communism. Russian tanks moved in and surrounded Budapest. They opened fire. Hungarians resisted for two weeks before Russians won. Many people were killed, and Nagy was executed. The Russians installed a new Hungarian leader. He stayed in power until 88.

CRISIS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Russians interfered into the policies of the Czechs too. There was a pro-Moscow communist (Novotny), but the opposition gradually escalated, because of:

- Czechs were industrially and culturally the most advanced of the Eastern bloc and they objected the Russian control.
- Before the communism, Czechoslovakia was an independent state. They enjoyed great freedom and they did not have a lot of them during communism.
- The police were violent and brutal during protest marches

Novotny was replaced by Dubcek. He announced a new program, with:

Decentralization of industry, less power of Communist Party, independent farming, more trades with the west and freedom of speech and press.

The Russians became worried by it and a massive invasion took place by troops of many satellite states. There was almost no resistance against the troops. The program was abandoned. Dubcek was replaced by Husak. Moscow influenced the new leader a lot.

The new Russian leader, Brezhnev, announced **the Brezhnev Doctrine**: This said that intervention in the internal affairs of any communist country was justified if socialism (communism) was threatened.

Although the states of eastern Europe seemed on the surface to be firmly under Russian control, the communist bloc moves slowly towards collapse. *Reasons*:

In **Poland** were industrial unrest, food shortages and many strikes. Poland's government was forced to allow the formation of a union, called "Solidarity" (see handout). People in USSR accused the government of failing to allow basic human rights (**Helsinki Agreements** for protecting human rights signed by every nation in Europe, USA and Canada except USSR) AND **Main reason: All communist states were suffering under serious economic problems, much worse than those in E(E)C.**

Why and how did the communist collapse in eastern Europe

It happened in a short period between Aug. 1988- Dec. 1991. Poland was first, closely after Hungary and East Germany. *Reasons*:

Economic failure: They did not have the possibility to produce the standard of living which should have been possible, given the vast resources available. The economic system was inefficient, over-centralized and had too many restrictions. The people in the USSR lived in the 80's backward in comparison with the west.

Gorbachev: He started as a new leader of the USSR the process of collapse. He even admitted that the USSR is in an absurd situation and he hoped to save communism by revitalizing and modernizing it. Many reforms and changes were done during his time as a leader. But it proved impossible to control the USSR. The population started to criticize the Communist Party and the leader, because they expected fast changes in the union.

In satellite states, the people realized that Moscow would not send Soviet troops. If a demonstration against communism occurs, there would be no involvement from Gorbachev. Therefore, demonstrations deliberately defied the threat of Soviet troops.

Poland lead the way (see Handout: "Solidarity"): The president of Poland declared "martial law" (army took over control), because he wanted to ban the "Solidarity" (union; fights for worker's rights). The people in Poland knew that there would be no military intervention from Russia and Poland's leader realized that he needed opposition support (from Solidarity) to deal with the economic crisis. So, he removed the "martial law". There were talks opened between the communist government and Solidarity, resulting in following goals: Solidarity became a political party, a two-house parliament was formed (senate and lower house), both houses elect a president

After the collapse of communism, Solidarity gained a lot of power. The Solidarity leader, Lech Walesa, was elected president.

Peaceful revolution also in Hungary: Due to the successes in Poland, Hungary followed shortly afterwards to a non-communism state. The leader admitted that the living standard is relatively low, and everything is outdated. There were conflicts in the communist party but in the end the party decided to go peacefully. Free elections were held, and it was won by the Democratic Forum. Their leader became prime minister.

Germany reunited: The communist leader, who refused all reform, was soon overtaken by events: Gorbachev was reliant on financial aid from West Germany and secretly promised freedom for East Germany. Many people of East Germany escaped to the west via Poland and Hungary. The Protestant Church and many demonstrators in East Germany demanded freedom and an end to communism.

In November 1989 the Berlin Wall was breached and west German political parties moved into the East. Nearly everybody in East Germany seemed to want immediate union. The USSR and USA agreed to the unification, but Britain and France were less happy. Germany was reunited on 3. October 1990. The conservative CDU won a majority over the SDP in the elections. Kohl became the first Chancellor of Germany after WW2. (see PP for more details: "Germany's Division and Reunion")

Czechoslovakia: Before the 80's this country had one of the most successful economies of eastern Europe. But before the collapse it ran into troubles (bc of no modernization). The Velvet Revolution occurred: there was a huge demonstration in Prague and a national strike was declared. Finally, an opposition, with the leader Havel, won the election for president.

The Rest of eastern Europe:

- **Romania:** This country had a brutal and repressive communist regime. Many people were killed due to the cruel president. Many elements of communism remained after the death of this leader. A new government was formed, but it was again a communist one under a different name.
- **Bulgaria:** Here, the leader also refused all types of reforms. He was replaced by another leader. But in free elections the communists (as Bulgarian Socialist Party) won a comfortable victory over the Union of Democratic Forces with using propaganda.
- **Albania:** It was under communist regime and it remained as the poorest and most backward country in Europe. In 92 the first non-communist president was elected.
- **Yugoslavia:** Here, the most tragic event took place. A civil war broke out and there was a break-up of the country. The states of eastern Europe had many problems: They all had an old-fashioned industry. The standard of living was even lower than before the collapse. It came very little help from the west. Ordinary people in Poland had a hard time with the non-communist rule. Slovakia demanded independency from Czechoslovakia and East Germany was dependent on West Germany. Many ex-satellite states joined the European Union, that was established by the western Europe.

Additional Information

GORBACHEV AND THE END OF COMMUNIST RULE

March 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev came to power at the age of 54. He was the most gifted and dynamic leader Russia has seen in years. He wanted to refresh the system they previously had from Khrushchev's fall. He intended to do this by *modernizing* and *streamlining the Communist Party* with → New politics of *glasnost* (openness) & *perestroika* (reconstructing the party, economy & Government). The new thinking made an impact on the foreign affairs with initiatives on *détente* → relations with China, pulling out from Afghanistan & ultimately ending the Cold War in late 1990.

1988 He pointed out in a conference speech what was wrong with the system: the system was too centralized, leaving no room for local individual initiative. It was a "command" economy which was mainly almost complete on state ownership & control, as well heavily weighted on defense & heavy industry → leaving a short supply on consumer goods for ordinary people.

Gorbachev didn't want to replace Communism, he just wanted to change the structure of it because it was too Stalinist → it would be a socialist system which was democratic and humane.

He believed he could achieve a system with framework the Marxist-Leninist one-party. He didn't have as much success at home as abroad. He didn't deliver any quick results which led to the collapse of Communism and the break of the USSR and his political career.

GORBACHEV'S NEW POLITICS

- **Glasnost:** similar to *human right & cultural affairs*. A lot of people were released from prison for unfair reasons. Leader which were disgraced and executed in Stalin's time were declared innocent of all crimes.
- **Perestroika:** Perestroika allowed more independent actions from various ministries and introduced many market-like reforms. The alleged goal of perestroika, however, was not to end the command economy but rather to make socialism work more efficiently to better meet the needs of Soviet citizens by adopting elements of liberal economics. The process of implementing perestroika created shortages, political, social, and economic tensions within the Soviet Union and is often blamed for the political ascent of nationalism and nationalist political parties in the constituent republics. Perestroika and its associated structural ailments have been cited as major catalysts leading to the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The media became more and more open, as well with the film market they as well expanded. F.e. Chernobyl was reported about to the public without hiding anything.
- **Economic affairs:** 1987 it was the year for new methods of economic management. Small-scale enterprise f.e. family restaurants, clothing stores, etc. were allowed with a maximum up to 50 workers. The motive behind it was to have competition with the states slow & inefficient services provided. A decade later the number of workers declined due to automation in factories & etc. As well there a big quality control. The most important part of the reforms was *the Law on State Enterprise* → this removed the central planner's total control over raw materials, production quotas & trade, and made factories work to order from customers.
- **Political changes** January 1987 Gorbachev announced moves toward democracy within the party. Instead of local soviets being appointed by the local communist party, they were to be elected by the people, there was a choice of candidates. There were to be secret elections for top party positions, and elections in companies for managers. During 1988 dramatic changes in the central government were achieved.

WHAT WENT WRONG WITH GORBACHEV'S POLICIES?

- **Opposition from radicals and conservatives:** The change of Gorbachev was controversial because there were radicalistic people which would want to change to a complete western market, conservatives feared they are going to lose control of the of the population. The conservatives were the large majority and when the congress of peoples Deputies elected the new Supreme Soviet it was packed with conservatives and the radicals weren't elected → led to a massive protest in Moscow, where Yeltsin(radicalist) was a popular figure

and he had cleaned up to corrupt Moscow Communist Party organization. Before Gorbachev demonstrations weren't allowed but *glasnost* → *encouraging people to voice their criticisms*. → *beginning turn again Communism*.

- **The economic reforms didn't produce results quickly enough:** 1988-89 the rate of the economic growth stayed exactly the same as it had been in previous years. Through the new market people weren't getting used to it so the government had printed money so no big issues would happen → an Inflation happened so did the government's budget deficit. Basic goods of the people f.e. soap, tv sets, food, etc. supply got shorter → longer lines in town. Later influenced by Poland (where a non-communist president had been elected) -- < they called for an independent trade union like Poland. Later the government granted many demands, but 1990 ¼ of the country was living below the poverty line. → Gorbachev lost control of the reform movement which he had started
- **Nationalist pressure:**
 - **Gorbachev's failure and the break of the USSR:** The Soviet Union has been tight since Stalin with all the 15 republics. Since the *glasnost* & *perestroika* encouraged many countries the with hope for more powers for their parliaments and more independence from Moscow. The demands got out of hand.
 - **Rivalry between Gorbachev and Yeltsin:** Both had many disagreements on many fundamental issues: Yeltsin believed that the union should be voluntary: each republic should be independent but also have joint responsibilities in the Soviet Union. And that Communist party shouldn't deserve any privileges from the state. Gorb. Was hoping the party could become more democratic and humane. Yeltsin wanted a complete western economy which would be a temporarily pain. Gorb. Thought that Yeltsin's plans would cause massive unemployment and as well threat gorb. Position.

The Coup of August 1991

Date	19 – 22 August 1991 (3 days)
Location	<u>Moscow</u> , <u>Russian SFSR</u> , <u>Soviet Union</u>
Caused by	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing independence of national republican elites from the Soviet government • Proposed <u>New Union treaty</u> • Political reforms, <u>perestroika</u> and <u>glasnost</u> politics • Creation of the <u>State Emergency Committee</u> (GKChP) by some of the highest USSR officials • <u>President Gorbachev's</u> house arrest by the State Committee on the State of Emergency
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gorbachev's resignation • Abolish the New Union treaty proposal • Stop political reforms
Resulted in	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Surrender of the State Committee on the State of Emergency • Failure of the <u>New Union treaty</u> proposal • <u>Communist Party of the Soviet Union</u> dissolved and banned and its banks and buildings seized by the <u>Russian SFSR</u> • Restoration of <u>Estonian</u> and <u>Latvian</u> independence • <u>Dissolution of the Soviet Union</u>

ASSESSMENT OF GORBACHEV

Gorbachev was one of the outstanding leaders the Soviet Union had, even though his career was a mixture of successes and losses. Many believe he was trying to get communism back on track after Stalin hijacked it and twisted it. Through his failures the economy didn't work out and the split of the USSR happened.

He tried to make the communist party more open and reform it and modernize it, but many politicians didn't want to let that happen out of selfish reason like giving up its dominant role in the USSR.

Was the communist system reformable? Many people believe that communism could have survived and the USSR could have become like China today if Gorbachev would have taken another path.

Vladimir Bukovsky said 'his only instrument of power was the Communist Party, but he weakened with his instrument with his reforms.' If he had put into operation a carefully worked out programme of economic reform designed to the last ten years, the situation could have been saved.

Others believe that the Communist party was beyond reform. If Gorbachev and Krushchev would have prevented that the politicians were furthering their own carriers and making sure the bureaucracy and the economic system were properly made, the USSR could have still been intact.

The legacy of communism: Any regime which was for over 70 years is bound to leave its marks, both good and bad on the country. Most historians believe the achievements of Communism is out weight by its ill effects.

- One important achievement was that the system brought benefits in the form of promotions, and reasonably well-paid jobs with privileges, to a large number of people from 'lower-class' backgrounds.
- Education and literacy became more wide-spread, soviet culture was encouraged and as well sports. Arts and music were very strictly controlled.
- Defeating Hitler and Nazis was maybe the biggest achievement of the soviets.
- Certain stability and improvement of living for majority of the people.

Negative:

- Hard to cope with the regime
- Everything was centralized
- Too much invested into military

ANTI-COMMUNISM AND SENATOR MCCARTHY

ANTI-COMMUNIST FEELING

After the second world war the USA took the role of preventing the spread of communism → USA got deeply involved in Europe, Korea, Vietnam, Latin America and Cuba. There's been a strong anti-communism movement since Russia became in 1917 communist.

There was in 1919 communist party formed in US, which increased a little bit in the crisis in 1930s but it was never a threat which had never over a 100'000 followers.

Some historians argue Senator Joseph McCarthy and other right-winged politicians with the anti-communist feeling were trying to protect the American way of life with emphasis on 'self-help' and 'rugged individualism'. They thought this was in danger due to the quick changes of society, and by developments like the new Deal and the Fair Deal, which they disliked because it was financed through higher taxation.

The spread of communism in east Europe was the beginning of the cold war, the communist victory in china (1949) and the attack on south Korea by the communist north which was backed by the soviets (1950).

1 Troop demobilization: The rapid demobilization of American troops at the end of the war worried some people. The general wish was to 'bring the boys home' as soon as possible, and the army planned to have 5.5 million soldiers back home by July 1946. However, Congress insisted that it should be done much more quickly, and that

the army should be dramatically reduced in size. By 1950 it was down to only 600 000 men, none of them fully prepared for service. This thoroughly alarmed the people, who thought that the USA should be ready to take warning action against communist expansion.

2 Fear of espionage: Reports of espionage (spying) prompted Truman to set up a Loyalty Review Board to investigate people working in the government, the civil service, atomic research and armaments (1947). During the next five years, over 6 million people were investigated, no cases of espionage were discovered, though about 500 people were sacked because it was decided that their loyalty to the USA was 'questionable'.

3 Alger Hiss and the Rosenbergs: Much more sensational were the cases of Alger Hiss and Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Hiss, a former top official in the State Department, was accused of being a communist and of passing secret documents to Moscow. He was eventually found guilty of perjury and given a five-year jail sentence (1950). The Rosenbergs were convicted of passing secret information about the atomic bomb to the Russians, though much of the evidence was doubtful. They were sentenced to death in the electric chair. They were eventually executed in 1953, in spite of worldwide appeals for mercy. These cases helped to intensify the anti-communist feeling sweeping America, and led Congress to pass the McCarran Act, which required organizations suspected of being communist to supply lists of members. Many of these people were later sacked from their jobs, although they had committed no offence. Truman, who felt that things were going too far, banned this Act, but Congress passed it, over his veto.

4 McCarthyism: Senator Joseph McCarthy the right-winged politician hit headlines in 1950 when he claimed (at a Wheeling speech, in West Virginia 9 Feb) that the State Department was infected with communists. He claimed he'd have a list with 205 members of the party who were 'still shaping and shaping policy'. Although he couldn't prove his claims many people believed him and he launched a campaign to root out the communists. Many different people were being accused of being communist: socialist, liberals, intellectuals, artists, pacifists, and anyone whose views didn't appear orthodox were attacked and hounded out of their jobs for 'un-American activities'.

McCarthy became the most feared man in the country, and was supported by many national newspapers. McCarthyism reached its climax shortly after Eisenhower's election. McCarthy won many votes for the Republicans among those who took his accusations seriously, but he went too far when he started accusing leading generals of having communist sympathies. Some of the hearings were televised. Many people were shocked of the brutal way in which he banged the table with rage and abused and bullied the witnesses. Even Republican senators felt he went too far, → he got voted out of the senate 1954. He foolishly attacked the President for supporting the Senate, which set as well an End to the McCarthyism.

→ at least 9 mio Americans had been 'investigated', thousands of innocent people had lost their jobs and the suspicious and insecure atmosphere of America had been created.

5 After McCarthy: After McCarthy right-winged extremism still continued. The public opinion turned not because he was chasing communists, because he'd use brutal methods and overstepped the mark by criticizing generals. Anti-communist feeling was still strong so 1954 they made the Communist Party illegal.

1959 American-owned properties got nationalized by Cuba while Fidel Castro was at the power. In response *Kennedy launched the Alliance for progress (1961)*, which was an aid of billions of dollars to Latin America. Kennedy was a genuinely good person who wanted to help the poor nations to enable economic and social reforms. But other motives were important too.

- With the aid helping economic problems making it less likely that communist governments could come to power.
- The US industry would benefit as well → much of the cash would be spent buying American products.

THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

A by-product of the Cold-War was what President Eisenhower called the 'military-industrial complex'. American military leaders and armaments manufacturers worked together. Army chiefs decided what was needed during the arms race, more and more orders for were placed – atomic bombs, hydrogen bombs and many different missiles.

All of this was in secret and Armaments manufacturers made huge profits. *It was in their interests that the war was going on.* 1957 when the Russians launched the first Satellite Eisenhower set up NASA → even more expensive.

Anytime the West-East relation would improve the Armaments Manufacturers were far from happy. Many historians suspect that the American U2-spy plane which was shot down by the Russians in 1960, was sent to ruin the summit conference in Paris which was about to begin. If this is true the the military-industrial partnership influenced the Americans foreign-politics.

Between 1950-70 there was a spending of almost 100\$ Billion dollars. A Senate report found that over 2000 former top officers were employed by defense contractors who were making fortunes.

NIXON AND WATERGATE

Richard M. Nixon (1969-74) was Eisenhower's vice-president from 1956, lost the elections to JFK in 1960. On his election 1969 he faced unenviable task- Vietnam, poverty, unemployment, violence and the general crisis of that was afflicting America.

FOREIGN POLICY

After the Democrat majority in Congress refused to send any further cash for war, Nixon negotiated 1973 peace with Vietnam → big relief for most Americans 'peace with honor'. Yet 1975 south Vietnam fell into the communist's hands. → Americans struggled to prevent the spread of communism in south-east Asia → had ended in failure and the American world reputation was hurt.

However, Nixon improved the relation between the USA and USSR and China with some success. Feb 1972 he met Chairman Mao in Beijing which was a success and in March 1972 in Moscow he was signing a limitation of arms.

- At the end of his first term he had achievements seemed full of promises:
- He had brought Americans in sight of peace
- He was following sensible policies of détente with the communist world
- Law and order had returned.
- The first men on the moon 1969

Nixon won the election in 1972 overwhelmingly and in January 1973 was inaugurated for a second term. However, his second term was ruined by a new crisis.

THE WATERGATE SCANDAL

January 1973 scandal happened when a number of men broke into the Democratic office of the Watergate building of Washington, in June 1972 during the President election campaign. They planted listening devices and photocopied important documents. Nixon's leading staff members had been organized by. Nixon consistently refused to hand over the tapes of discussions in the white house which, would settle matters one way or the other. The president was accused for covering up culprits. He received a further blow when his vice-president-, Spiro Agnew, Dec 1973 was accused for corruption. He was replaced by Gerald Ford, a little known politician with a clean record.

Nixon was called to resign, but even refused when evidence was found for tax evasion. He was threatened with *impeachment (formal accusation by the senate)*. Nixon resigned to avoid that Aug 1974 → Ford became president. It was sad for him to end his presidency in that way, after having positive achievements especially foreign affairs. The scandal shook the belief in politicians, and in a system that could allow that.

Ford won admiration for the way which he restored dignity to American politics, but given the recession, unemployment and inflation, it was no surprise when he lost the 1976 election to the Democrat James Earl Carter.