

# COLD WAR



# Synopsis

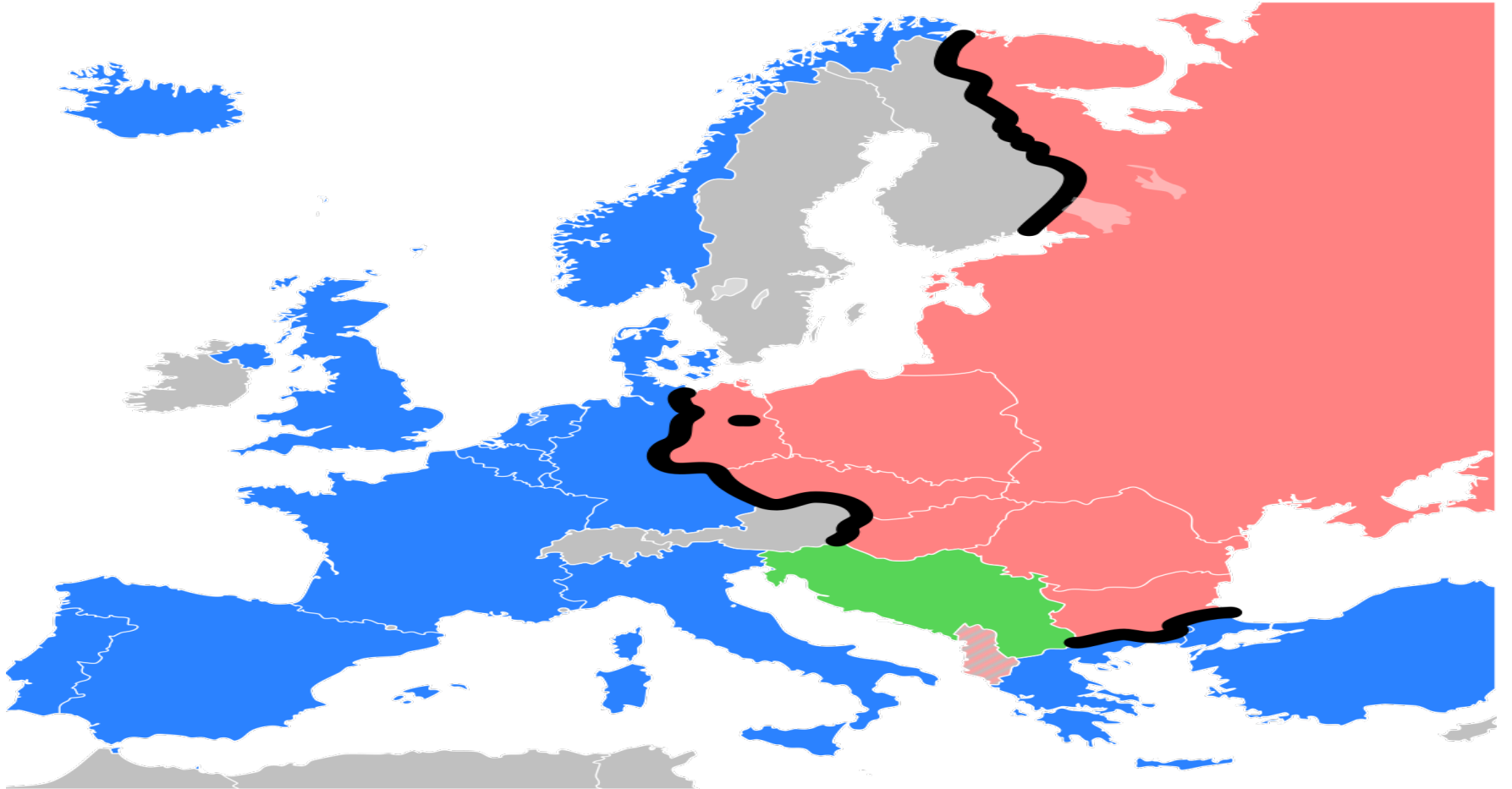
- 1. Introduction**
- 2. Causes of Cold War**
- 3. Blame?**
- 4. Course of the Cold War**
- 5. End of Cold War**

# 1. Introduction:

- Sequence of events after **WW II-USSR disintegration (1991)**
- **USA & USSR**-hegemony in domains of **politics, economy, military & S & T**

# ▪ Why this period is called as 'Cold War'?

- Instead of open fighting, rival powers attacked each other > **propaganda and economic measures**, and a general **policy of non-cooperation**.
- During this period world divided into **two blocs**:
  - A. **USSR-communist bloc**
  - B. **USA-capitalist bloc**
    - Europe: E.Europe (communist) & W.Europe (capitalist)**



## 2. Causes for Cold War

1. Ideological Differences
2. Bipolar World
3. Old Suspicions
4. Stalin's Foreign Policy
5. USA and UK's hostility against the Soviet Govt.

## 1. Ideological Differences:

- Differences of **principle, ideologies** b/w **communist states & capitalist/liberal-democratic states**.

## 2. Bipolar World:

- **2 super powers** after WWII with competing **military, political & economic** interests.

### 3. Old Suspicions:

- i. **USSR, 1917**-world's first communist government-capitalist countries viewed it with **mistrust, afraid of communism spreading to their countries.**
- ii. After **RR-1917**, **Bolsheviks-export communism** to rest of **Europe, USA**, colonies of **Britain and France**, by sending **secret agents** in aid of **local communist revolutionaries**> Capitalist states distrustful of USSR.
- iii. Hence **Russia not invited to Treaty of Versailles**; capitalist countries **refused to recognize USSR** govt. for a long time.
- iv. **Russian Civil War (1918-20)**, Western powers (**US, Eng, Fr**) and **Japan** sent troops to fight against the Bolsheviks.
- v. **WW II: Britain & France** delayed opening of **2<sup>nd</sup> Front** against **Germany** until **1944**; **Stalin** had been demanding since German attack on USSR in June 1941.
- vi. **Stalin** believed Britain & France **deliberately delayed** because they wanted to **exhaust USSR, destroy communism.**



Joseph Stalin



#### 4. Stalin's Foreign Policy:

- i. Stalin's aim>to take advantage of the military situation to strengthen Russian influence in Europe.
- ii. As Nazi armies collapsed>tried to occupy as much German territory and land as possible from Finland, Poland & Romania>alarmed the Western powers.
- iii. Stalin believed that “peaceful coexistence with west is impossible until a final victory over capitalism”.

## 5. US and UK hostility against the Soviet Government

- i. **WW II-USA F.D Roosevelt** sent war materials to Russia (**Lend-Lease Act**), Roosevelt trusted Stalin.
- ii. **Harry S. Truman**(Roosevelt's successor in April 1945)-suspicious, toughened attitude towards communists.
- iii. **1945:Nuclear bomb on Japan-Truman**>Stalin not informed,Churchill informed
- iv. **Truman's motive**-not simply to defeat Japan, also **to show Stalin what might happen to Russia** if he dared go too far.
- v. **Truman-disallowed Russia**-participate in sharing of **Japanese territory** and its colonies after WW II.

**Franklin D. Roosevelt**



**Harry S. Truman**



### 3. Which side was to be blamed?

- A. Traditional view
- B. Revisionist view
- C. Post-revisionist view

## A. Traditional View:

- i. Western historians (American **George Kennan**)>**Stalin's motives-sinister**, intended to spread communism throughout **Europe,Asia**,destroy capitalism.
- ii. Kennan advised-**policy of 'containment'** of USSR by **political, economic & diplomatic** means.
- iii. Formation of **NATO** and **America's entry into Korean War(1950)**>West's self-defense against communist aggression.

## B. Revisionist view:

- i. Cold War-not to be blamed on Stalin, Russians.
- ii. Russia>enormous losses during war,Stalin to ensure neighboring states friendly, given Russia's weakness in 1945.
- iii. Stalin's motives-purely defensive, no real threat to the West from USSR.
- iv. Some Americans>USA should have been more understanding, shouldn't have challenged idea of Soviet 'sphere of influence' in E.Europe.
- v. Actions of American politicians (esp Truman) provoked Russian hostility.
- vi. William Appleman Williams(leading proponent)>Cold War mainly caused by USA's determination to make most of its atomic monopoly, industrial strength in its drive for world hegemony.

## C. Post-revisionist view:

- i. Popular in 1980s.
- ii. new evidence>situation at end of WW II far more complicated than earlier realized; middle view>both sides to be blamed for Cold War.
- iii. American economic policies(Marshall Aid)-designed to increase US political influence in Europe.
- iv. Also believe Stalin>had no long-term plans to spread communism, but was an opportunist-take advantage of any weakness in West to expand Soviet influence.
- v. Crude Soviet methods of forcing communist governments on E.European states>bound to lend proof to claims that Stalin's aims were expansionist.
- vi. USA & USSR(entrenched positions, deep suspicions) created an atmosphere-every international act could be interpreted in 2 ways.

## □ Course of the Cold War

**A. Cold War b/w 1945-1953**

**B. Thaw in Cold War Post-Stalin (1953)**



## A. Cold War b/w 1945-1953

1. Yalta Conference-Feb 1945
2. Potsdam Conference-July 1945
3. Communism established in Eastern Europe
4. Truman Doctrine & Marshall Plan
5. The Cominform
6. Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia-1948
7. The Berlin blockade and Airlift (June 1948-May 1949)
8. NATO-1949
9. Two Germany(s)
10. The beginning of the Arms Race



## 1. Yalta Conference (Feb 1945):

- **Yalta** (Crimea, Russia), attendees - **Stalin, F.D Roosevelt and Churchill**, to plan post-WW II world



## □ Agreements reached during the conference were

- i. **United Nations:** to replace the failed League of Nations
- ii. **Germany to be divided into 4 zones:**  
**Russian, American and British** (a **French** zone was included later)  
- while **Berlin** (which happened to be in the middle of the **Russian zone**) would also be split into corresponding zones. **Similar arrangements** were to be made for **Austria**.
- iii. **Free elections:** to be allowed in **E.Europe**.
- iv. **On Japan:** **Stalin** promised to join war against Japan-**on condition**>that **Russia** received whole of **Sakhalin Island** and some territory in **Manchuria**.

## ❖ Lublin Government (Poland):

- Signs of trouble wrt Poland. **Russian armies** after driving the Germans back in Poland had set up a **communist govt in Lublin** (despite Polish government-in-exile in London).
- Agreed at Yalta-some members (non-communist) of London-based govt to be allowed to join Lublin govt-in return **Russia** to keep a **strip of E.Poland** which she had annexed in 1939.
- But, Roosevelt & Churchill unhappy about **Stalin's demands**> **Poland** to be given all German territory east of rivers **Oder and Neisse**; **no agreement was reached on this point.**

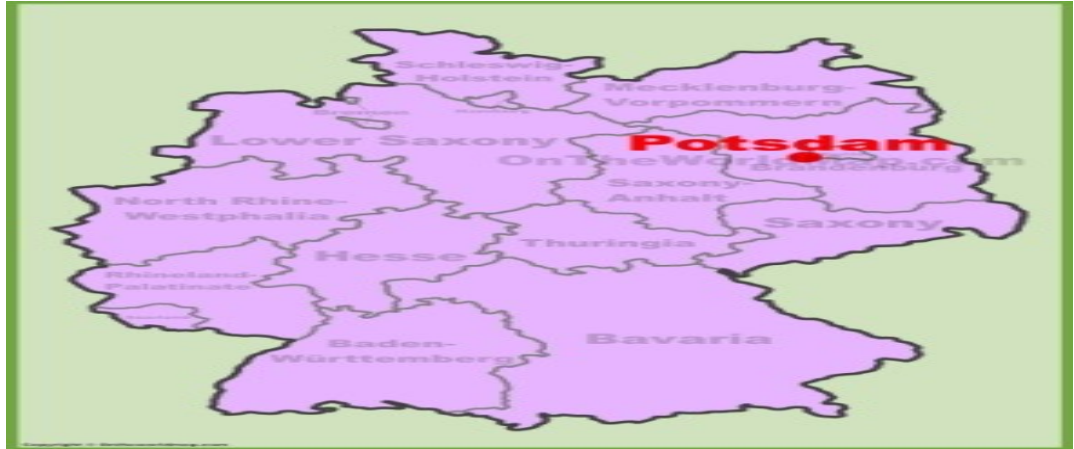






## 2. Potsdam (Germany) Conference-July 1945

- Attendees: **Stalin, Truman** (replaced Roosevelt) and **Churchill** (later replaced by **Clement Attlee**)
- At this time **Germany had lost the war** but **nuclear bomb on Japan** not yet dropped.

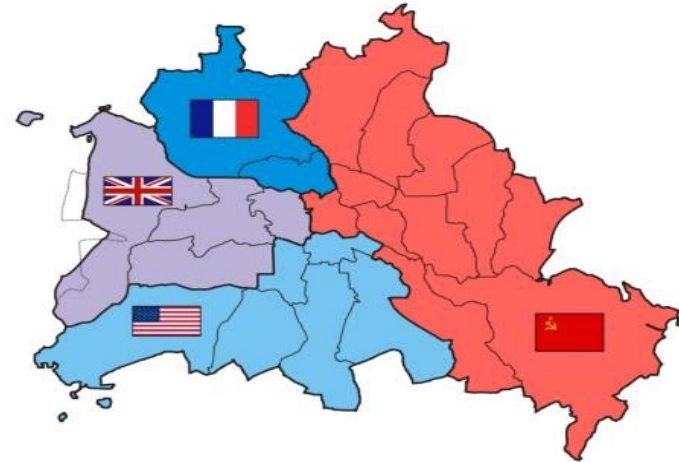


- **Agreements during Potsdam conference:**
  - i. **German Disarmament:** War potential of Germany to be destroyed > destroying/bringing under control **industrial installations producing military equipment's**.
  - ii. **German Frontiers: Germany & Austria & capitals (Berlin and Vienna)** divided into **4 occupation zones**. This was **agreed in principle at Yalta** and implemented by **Potsdam conference**.

# Germany divided Berlin divided



GY divided into 4 zones

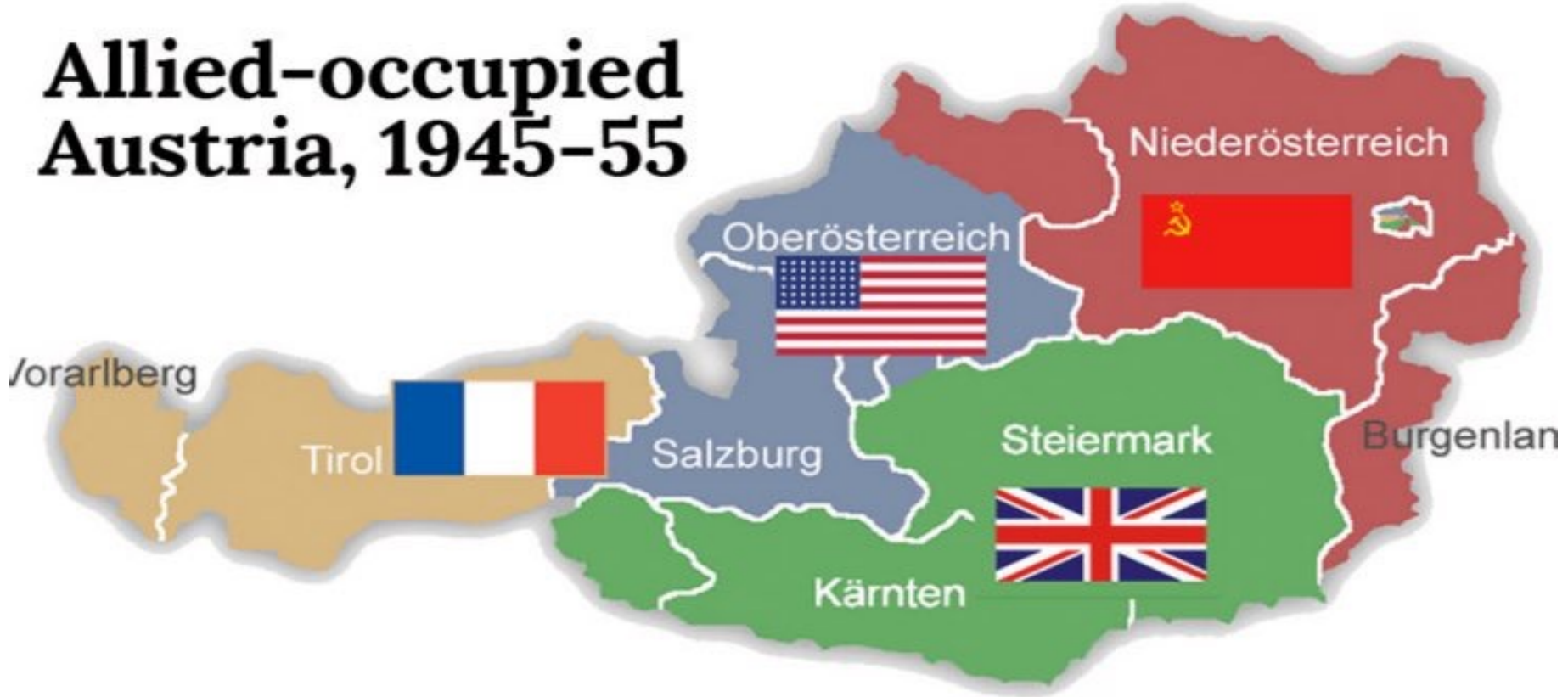


Berlin divided into 4 zones

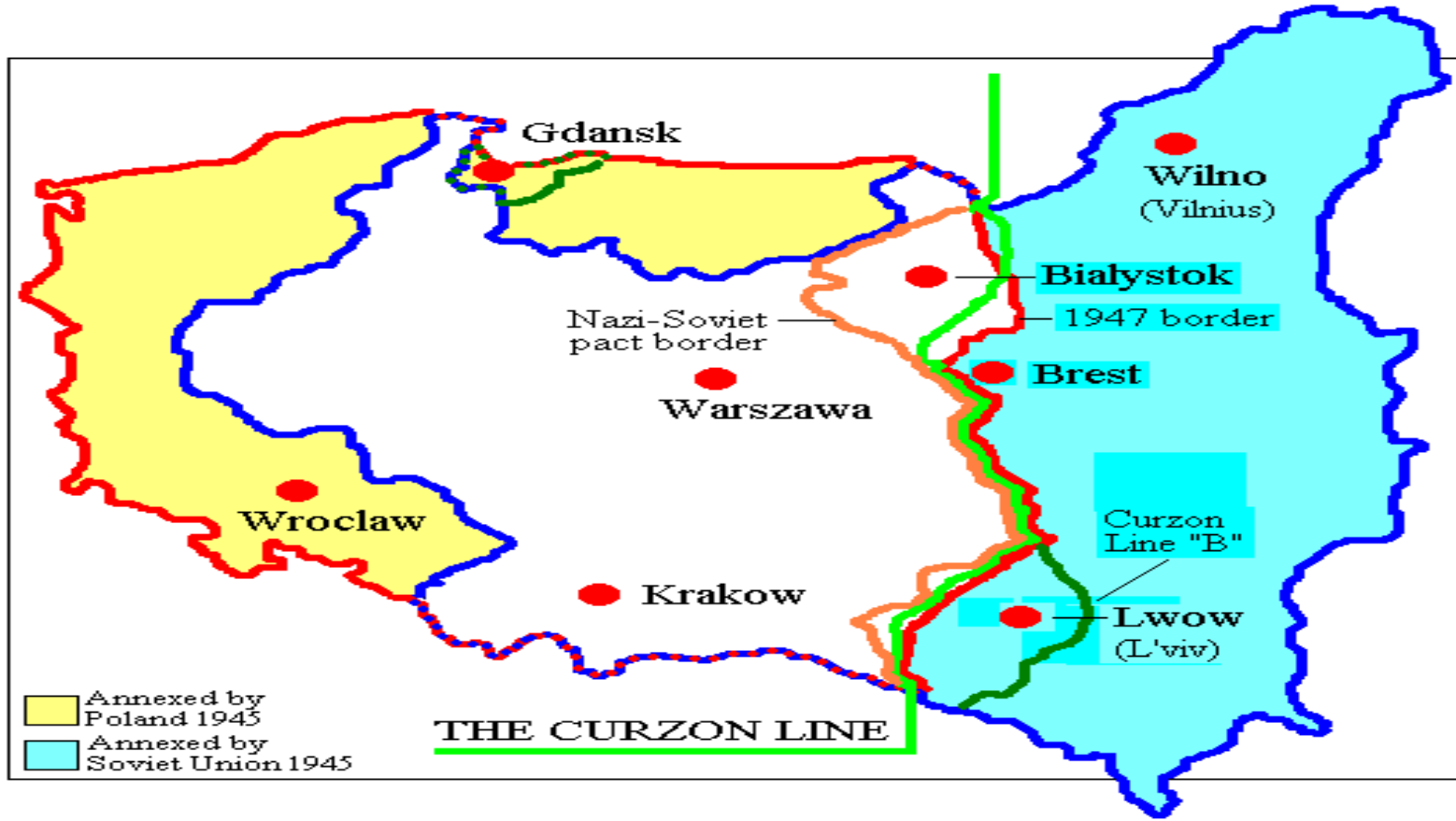


# Austria divided into 4 zones

**Allied-occupied  
Austria, 1945-55**



iii. **Oder-Neisse line:** Germany's eastern border to be temporarily shifted westwards to the Oder-Neisse line.





Oder-Neisse border was temporary; agreed that final delimitation of Germany's eastern frontier would take place later (this happened under **Treaty of Final Settlement with respect to Germany, 1990**)-Size of Germany reduced to  $3/4^{\text{th}}$  of its 1937 borders.

- v. **Nuremberg trials**: **Nazi Party** to be **disbanded**, **Nazis** tried as **war criminals**.



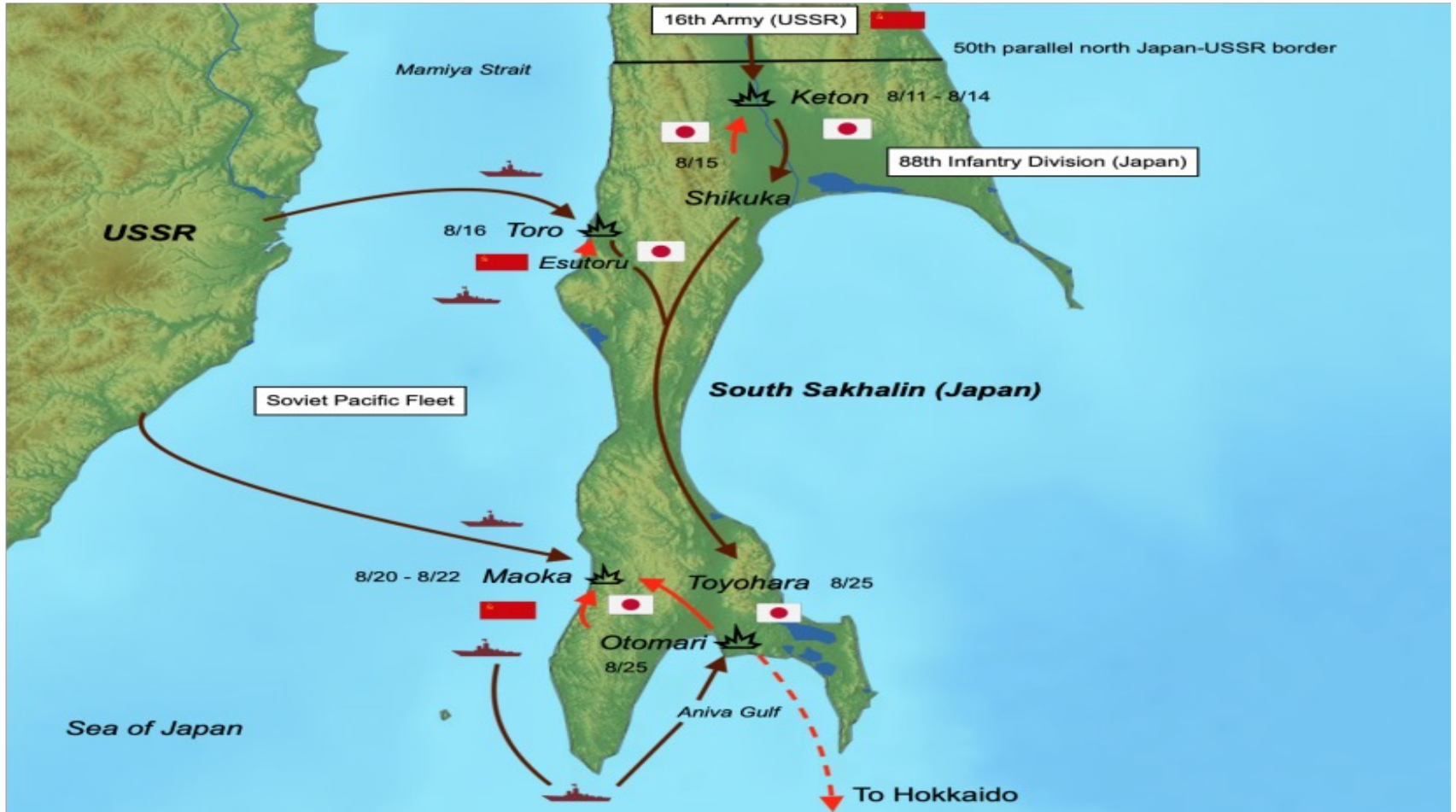
# Nuremberg Trials

Nov 20, 1945-Oct 1, 1946



## ❖ Main disagreement occurred on Poland:

- i. Truman and Churchill annoyed > Germany east of Oder-Neisse Line occupied by Russian troops.
- ii. Poland > run by pro-communist govt > expelled 5 million Germans living in area; this not agreed at Yalta.
- iii. Truman > didn't inform Stalin about nature of atomic bomb, Churchill told.
- iv. Post-conference > atomic bombs on Japan, war ended on 10 August without Russian help (Russians had declared war on Japan (8 Aug), invaded Manchuria).
- v. Russia > annexed S. Sakhalin (as agreed at Yalta), allowed no part in occupation of Japan.



### 3. Communism established in Eastern Europe

- i. After Potsdam>Russians interfered in countries of East Europe>set up pro-communist governments-Poland, Hungary,Romania,Bulgaria & Albania; some cases opponents imprisoned/murdered.
- ii. Stalin frightened West>communism & capitalism could not peacefully co-exist, future wars inevitable until final victory of communism achieved.
- iii. 1947 end, every state in E.Europe except Czechoslovakia had a fully communist govt.-All this under eyes of secret police, Russian troops.



# The Iron Curtain

- Britain's Winston Churchill made his famous Iron Curtain speech in March 1946 in which he described the new Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.
- In 1944 and 1945, Soviet armies established Communist government across Eastern Europe closing it off from the west like a "curtain".
- Only Yugoslavia had some independence although it had a Communist leader as well.



## ■ **Marshall Plan** or **European Recovery Programme** (1948)

- i. Aimed at helping **Europe economically**, increase its prosperity, increase **US influence in Europe** thus **containing communism**.
- ii. Officially>“**removing hunger, poverty and chaos**”, hidden political aim being **containment of Communism**.  
**1947-51:\$ 1.3 lakh mn**>given in Marshall Aid to W.Europe.
- iii. **Quick recovery of W.Europe** from devastation caused by war.
- iv. **Boosted US exports**>Standard of living, rise in incomes and economic development of W.Europe provided **market for US businesses**.

## 5. The Cominform (Communist Information Bureau)-Sept 1947

- i. Soviet response to Marshall Plan.
- ii. Set up by **Stalin** in Sept 1947; an organization to **draw together** various **European communist parties**; all satellite states were members; French, Italian communist parties were also represented.
- iii. **Stalin's aim** > to **tighten his grip on satellites**: To be communist was not enough - **Russian-style communism**.
  - **Eastern Europe** > to be **industrialized, collectivized & centralized**; states expected to **trade** primarily with **Cominform members**, contacts with **non-communist countries** discouraged.
- iv. **Yugoslavia** objected > expelled from Cominform (1948), though she remained communist.
- v. **1947: Molotov Plan** - offered Russian aid to satellites.
- vi. **Comecon** (**Council of Mutual Economic Assistance**) - to co-ordinate their economic policies.

## 6. Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia-1948

- Czechoslovakia>only multi-party democracy in E.Europe.
- 1948, elections due, communists no chance of winning; public opinion against govt. for rejecting Marshall Aid under Soviet pressure.
- Communists-armed coup before elections; only communists allowed to contest in elections.
- UN>protested, couldn't act, unable to prove Russian involvement.
- Thus, USSR>could intervene if a satellite state> pro-capitalist.

## 7. The Berlin blockade and Airlift (June 1948-May 1949)

- **First great crisis**; arose out of **disagreements** over **treatment of Germany**.
- War end (as agreed @Yalta,Potsdam), **Germany & Berlin**-divided into **four zones**.
- England,France,USA organized economic and political recovery of zones,**Stalin**>treated his zone as satellite, **draining** its resources away to Russia.
- **Early 1948**>**3 western zones** merged-**single economic unit**, prosperous>**Marshall Aid**; poverty in Russian zone.
- **West**>wanted all 4 zones to be re-united, given self-govt as soon as possible; but **Stalin** kept Russian zone separate, with its own communist,pro-Russian govt.
- Prospect of **3 western zones re-uniting** alarmed Stalin>would be part of **Western bloc**.

- **June 1948: West (Germany)** > new currency, ended price controls in W.Berlin. E. Germany > slipping out of Soviet hands; **USSR** > **Blockade of West Berlin**.
- **1948: USSR** > closed all links (rail, road, canal) b/w **W.Berlin** and **W.Germany** > **West Berlin Blockade**
- **Intention: USSR** > starve **W.Berlin**, force **USA, Britain & France** to withdraw, so **USSR captures whole of Berlin** which lay in its occupation zone.
- To nullify Berlin Blockade > Western powers especially **USA**, **airlifted/dropped food supplies into W.Berlin for 1yr**; blockade failed, USSR forced to remove blockade
- USA had also placed Bomber planes in British airfields to deal with emergency.



# The Berlin Airlift (24 June 1948-12 May, 1949)



## Outcome:

- i. Great psychological boost to western powers, worst relations with Russia
- ii. Caused western powers to co-ordinate their defenses by the formation of **NATO**.
- iii. Meant since no compromise possible, **Germany doomed to remain divided** for foreseeable future.



**NATO**



## 8. North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)-1949

- **Berlin blockade**>West's military unreadiness, frightened them to make definite preparations
- **USA, Canada, Portugal, Denmark, Iceland, Italy & Norway**-signed North Atlantic Treaty>to regard an **attack on any one of them as an attack on them all**, placed their defence forces under a **joint NATO command** organization which would co-ordinate the defense of the west.
- Thus, **America**>abandoned its traditional policy of ‘**no entangling alliances**’, first time pledged itself in advance to military action.
- **Stalin**> took it as **challenge**, tensions remained high.

## 9. Two Germany(s)

- US, Britain and France > Federal Republic of Germany-**FRG** (1949) ; USSR > German Democratic Republic-**GDR** (1949).  
Thus, Germany divided into 2 nation states.
- Germany > **divided** until **collapse of communism in E. Germany** (Nov-Dec 1989) made it possible early in **1990** to re-unite the 2 into a single Germany.

## 10. The beginning of the Arms Race:

- **Sept 1949:USSR** successfully exploded an **atomic bomb**>arms race began
- **Truman**>go-ahead for USA to produce a **Hydrogen bomb**
- **Oct 1949**:Birth of communist **China** by **Mao** after defeating **Chiang Kai-shek** (USA)
- **Feb 1950:USSR & China** signed **treaty of alliance**, American fears>advancing tide of communism seemed to be realized.

## B. Thaw in Cold War Post-Stalin (1953)

- Reasons for Thaw
- Events that characterized the Thaw
- Agreement on Austria & Austrian State Treaty (1955)
- Partial Thaw
- Berlin Wall-1961
- The Arms Race-Cuban Missile Crisis(1962); Why Khrushchev took such a risky decision?
- Arms Race continues(1970's)

- **Détente: International Relations(1970's-1990's)**
- Reasons for Détente
- USA & USSR Relation
- 2nd phase of Cold War
- Collapse of Communism and end of Cold War
- Effect of end of Cold War on IR

## ❑ Thaw in Cold War Post-Stalin (1953)

- East-West relations began to improve during 1953, still areas of disagreement.



### Reasons for Thaw:

- i. New leaders post-Stalin > Nikita Khrushchev and Bulganin- wanted better relationship with USA.
- ii. 1953: USA & USSR had a Hydrogen Bomb, to avoid a nuclear war, both sides desired better relationship.
- iii. Khrushchev > changed policy of spread of Communism. Communism to be promoted by proving superiority of Soviet economic system (not by war). He increased aid to neutral states to turn them towards communism.

iv. **Anti-communist feelings** in USA>had been stirred up by **Senator Joseph McCarthy**-began to moderate when **McCarthy was discredited(1954)**;decline in anti-communist propaganda, helped create an **environment** for improvement in relationship.





## ■ Events that characterized the Thaw:

1. The **Korean War** had ended by **1953**. Also the **First Indochina War** (1946-54) between **Vietminh and France** had ended by **1954**.
2. **USSR** made some concessions in **1955**:

- a) It gave up **military bases** in **Finland**.
- b) It **lifted veto-allowed 16 new nations** to enter UN.
- c) **Khrushchev** tried to **improve relations with Yugoslavia(Tito)**. Yugoslavia had objected to trade restrictions placed on Cominform countries, had been expelled from Cominform(1948).
- d) **1956>Cominform disbanded**-gave more freedom to Soviet Satellite countries in trade, economic policies>in line with Khrushchev's speech(1956) >**each communist country to follow its own brand of socialism**.

## ■ Agreement on Austria (1955):

- Austria divided into 4 occupation zones (like Germany)
- Austria (unlike Germany) > allowed to have its own govt > it was treated as victim of Nazi aggression than as an aggressor.
- West trying for economic recovery of its zones, USSR draining its zone of resources (Germany ditto)
- USSR & West > able to resolve their disputes wrt Austria through Austrian State Treaty 1955.
- USSR agreed to the treaty because:
  - i) Austrian govt > able to persuade more flexible USSR after Stalin's death.
  - ii) USSR > afraid of possible merger b/w W.Austria & W.Germany and to prevent that possibility - USSR agreed for creation of a **United Austria**.



## ■ Under the Austrian State Treaty (1955):

- i. All occupying troops withdrawn, **Austria** independent(1937 frontiers).
- ii. **Austria not to unite with Germany**, strictly limit her armed forces, was to remain **neutral** in any **dispute b/w East and West**.
- iii. **Couldn't join NATO or European Economic Community (EEC)**.
- iv. **Austrians-unhappy** about **loss of S.Tyrol**(German-speaking area)which **Italy** was allowed to keep.

## ■ Partial Thaw

- **Khrushchev's policy**>**curious mixture**(western leaders difficult to understand).
- While making conciliatory moves, quick to respond to anything which seemed threat to East, had **no intention of relaxing Russia's grip on satellites**>**thaw only partial**
  - i. **1955:Warsaw pact**>by USSR in response to **NATO** admitting **W.Germany**.

- a) Signed by USSR, all satellites (except Yugoslavia).
    - b) Members promised to **defend each other** against any attack from outside,**armies of all members** came under **Moscow**'s control.
  - ii. **Hungarian uprising(1956)**-against communist govt. crushed by **Russian tanks**.
  - iii. **USSR**>continued building **nuclear warheads, delivery systems**.
  - iv. **1961:Berlin Wall** erected
  - v. **1962:Cuban Missile Crisis**-world brink of nuclear war.

# WARSAW

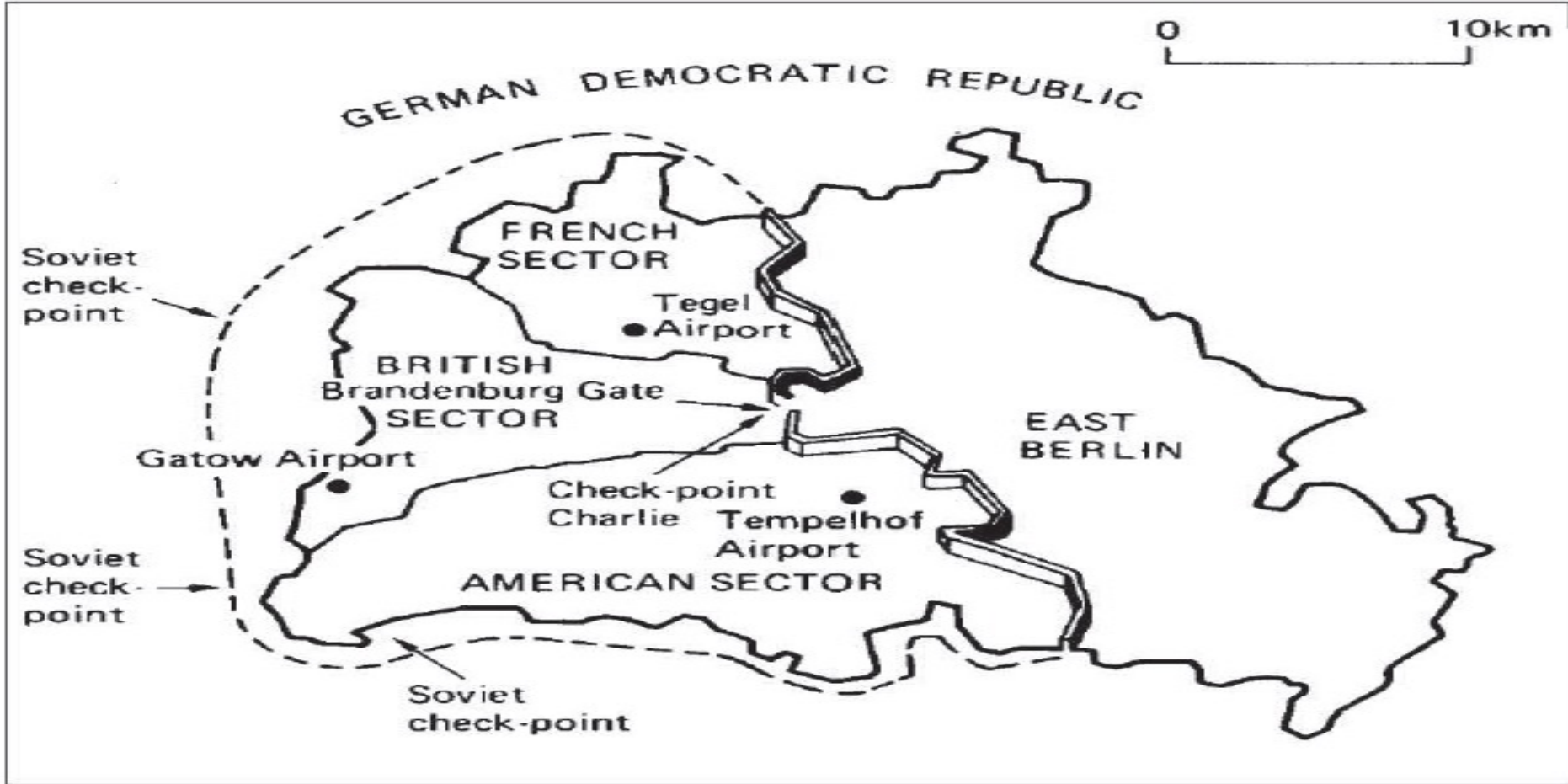


## ■ 1961:Berlin Wall

- Western powers>didn't give official recognition to GDR(E.Gmy),which Russians had set up in response to creation of W.Gmy in 1949.
- 1960:U2 spy plane of USA shot down over Russia, Eisenhower refused to apologize.
- 1961: Khrushchev>J.F. Kennedy(President elect) to withdraw Western powers from Berlin. People escaping from E.Germany to W. Berlin (USSR embarrassed)
- USA refused>USSR erected Berlin Wall to block the escape route



# Berlin Wall 1961



## ■ The Arms Race

- **Arms race** b/w East & West began **1949-end** after **Russians** produced their own **atomic bomb**.
- **Americans**>big lead, **Russians**>determined to catch up (despite strain on their economy).
- **1952:USA**>Hydrogen bomb; Soviet **Union**>**1953(ditto)**;bomber to reach USA.
- **1957:USSR**>**ICBM**(took lead)      **USA-Atlas**(ICBM)
- **USA:Jupiters,Thors**>short range nuclear missiles,could reach USSR from launching sites in **Europe &Turkey**.

Fidel Castro



## 1962:Cuban Missile Crisis

- **Cuba**>Cold War in **1959**>**Fidel Castro**(overthrew corrupt, US-backed dictator Batista),**nationalized US-owned estates and factories.**
- Cuba's relations with USA worsened-USSR improved.
- **Jan 1961**:**USA broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba**;Russians increased their economic aid.

## John F.Kennedy



### Bay of Pigs Incident:

- **John F. Kennedy**, approved a plan>group of Batista supporters to invade Cuba from American bases in Guatemala (C.America);CIA involved
- **April 1961**:1400 men landed @Bay of Pigs>Castro's forces crushed it.
- Later **Castro-Marxist,Cuba-socialist** country.

# Bay of Pigs Invasion April 1961

Bay of Pigs, 1961



- Kennedy tried to destroy Castro>sunk Cuban merchant ships, sabotaged installations, US troops carried out invasion exercises etc
- Castro>USSR military help.
- **Khrushchev**>nuclear missile launchers in Cuba aimed at USA (nearest point less than 100 miles from Cuba).
- Install missiles-range **upto 2000 miles**>all major cities of **Central & Eastern USA** (NY, Washington, Chicago, Boston) would be under threat

# Cuban Missile Crisis Map





## ■ Why did Khrushchev take such a risky decision?

- i. Soviet Union > lost lead in ICBMs, trying to seize initiative back from USA. But wrong to put all blame on USSR.
- ii. 1959: USA signed agreement with Turkey, Jupiter nuclear missiles deployed in Turkey.

“The Americans had surrounded our country with military bases, now they would learn what it feels like to have enemy missiles pointing at you” - **Khrushchev in his memoirs**

- iii. Gesture of solidarity with ally Castro > under constant threat from USA; Nov 1961 > Kennedy approved ‘**Operation Mongoose**’ > secret CIA operation aimed to 'help Cuba overthrow Communist regime'.
- iv. Russian missiles would dissuade such an operation; if not, they could be used against invading American troops.

v. Perhaps Khrushchev > use the missiles for bargaining with the West over **removal of American missiles from Europe**, or **withdrawal from Berlin by West**.

❑ **US soon detected Soviet missiles.**

- World > brink of nuclear war.
- **US > blockade of Cuba** to keep out Russian ships bringing missiles to Cuba.
- **1963: UN negotiated compromise** b/w **J.F Kennedy** and **Khrushchev** whereby:

- i. USSR decided to remove missiles (without Fidel's confidence); Fidel furious; later Khrushchev invited him to USSR-good relationship restored. (Some argue US-USSR agreement involved a secret clause of US promising not to attack Cuba again).
- ii. US removed Thor & Jupiter missiles from Turkey
- iii. Hotline > Washington and Moscow.
- iv. 1963: Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (NTBT)-Russia, USA and Britain signed, only underground Nuclear tests allowed > environment pollution

## ■ The Arm Race Continues (1970s)

- **USA** developed **Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles (SLBMs)** (**Polaris**, later called **Poseidon**)>launched from submarines in **E.Mediterranean**.
- **USSR**>go all-out to catch up with USA,increase own security,after **parity** persuade US to limit and reduce arms build up.
- **USA**>got deeply involved in **Vietnam (1964-75)**,less to spend on nuclear weapons, Russians began to catch up.
- **Early 1970s:Soviet Union overtook USA** and her allies in numbers of **ICBMs and SLBMs**;she developed a new weapon>**Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM)**,which **could destroy incoming enemy missiles** before they reached their targets.
- And so it went on; by this time both sides had enough of this horrifying weaponry to **destroy the world many times over**.

## □ Detente: International Relations (1970's to 1990's)

- ‘**Detente**’-a permanent relaxation of tensions between East and West.
- **Early 1970s**-First real signs of détente

### ■ **Reasons:**

i. Both sides **fearful of catastrophic nuclear war**>no real winner.

**USA** began to realize>there **must be a better way of coping with communism** than the one which was having so **little success in Vietnam**.

iii. **Arms race**>**drain on the resources of USSR**;

**early 1970s**>**unrest in Poland**-economic situation, **USSR** feared for stability in **Communist Bloc countries**.

- iv. **China**>**unhappy**-**worsening ties with Russia**, nervous of US involvement in Vietnam; threat of being isolated, sought to **improve relations with US**.
- v. **USSR**>**bad terms with China**, wanted good US-Russia relationship when China was moving closer to US after 1971.
- vi. **USA & USSR-nuclear war**, **post-Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962**.
- vii. Both sickened-horrors of **Vietnam War (1964-75)**>**Napalm Jelly, Agent Orange, chemical weapons used**.
- viii. **W.European nations**-**worried-front line** if nuclear war broke out.
- ix. **W.European nations**-agreed to **W.Germany's OSTPOLITIK** ("New Eastern Policy")>aimed at better relations between **E & W Germany** in particular and **E & W Europe** in general.

## ■ US and USSR Relation

1. **1972**: first major breakthrough > signing of **START I (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty)**>

How many **ABMs**, **ICBMs** and **SLBMs** each side could have; no agreement about **MIRVs**(**Multiple Independently-targetable Reentry vehicles**); agreement did not reduce the **amount** of armaments but it did slow down the **arms race**.

2. **1975 (July): Helsinki Agreement**: **USA, USSR & Canada**, most **European states** accepted **European frontiers** drawn up after **WW II** (thus recognizing the division of Germany).
3. **Communist countries**-Promised to allow '**human rights**'>**freedom of speech**, **freedom to leave the country** etc



# Phase II of Cold War

1. 1979:NATO>nervous @ deployment of 150 new Russian SS-20 missiles.
2. NATO>deploy over 500 Pershing & Cruise missiles in Europe by 1983-deterrent to a possible Russian attack on W.Europe;USA Senate decided not to accept SALT 2 treaty which would have limited numbers of MIRVs.
3. 1979:Soviet Union>Afghanistan on Christmas Day 1979,replaced president with one more favorable to them,all old western suspicions of Russian motives revived.

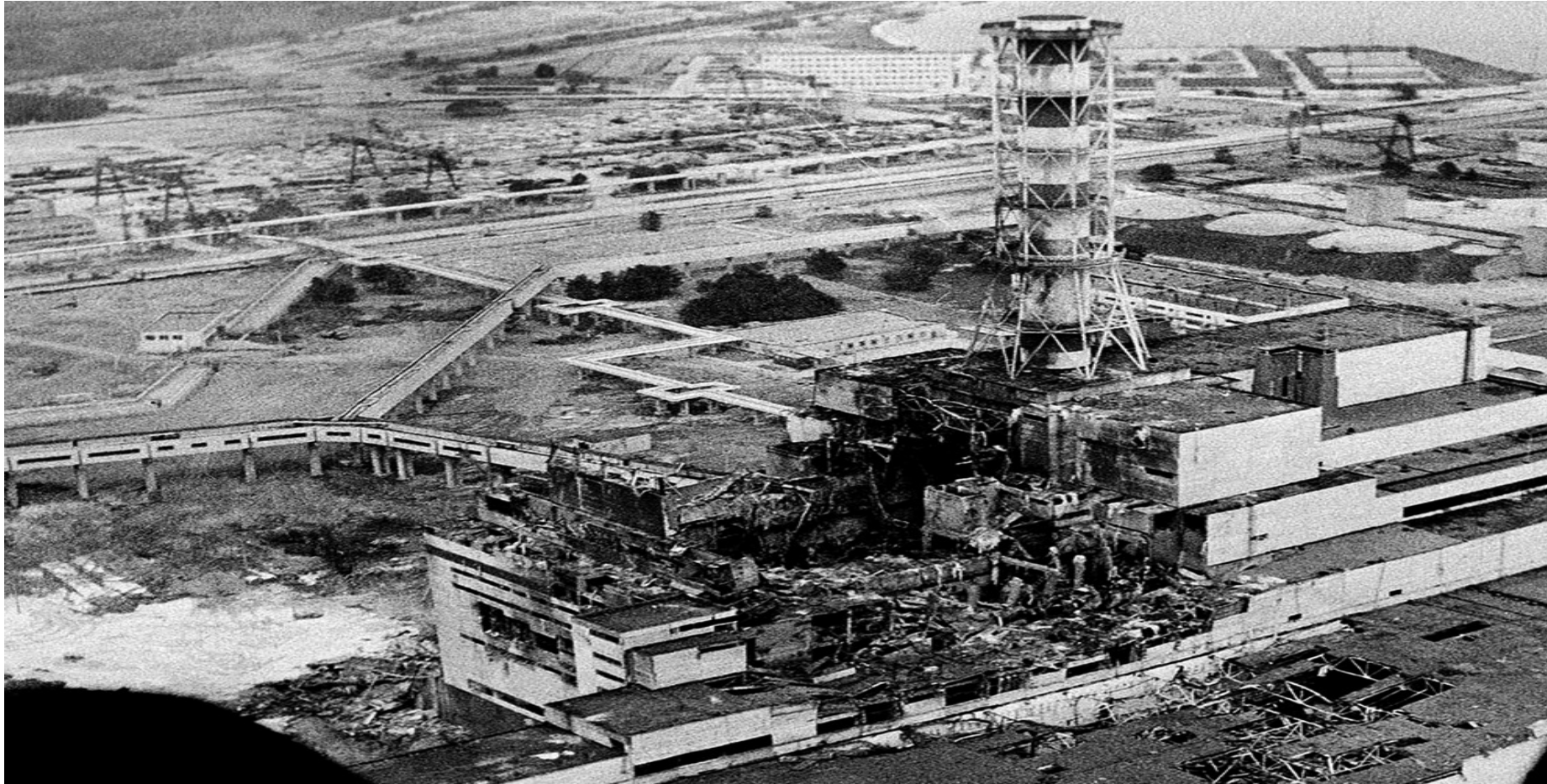
## ❖ Second Phase of Détente

- i. **Détente**>momentum again, determination of new Soviet leader, **Mikhail Gorbachev** (1985-91).
- ii. **1985:Geneva Meeting**-Mikhail Gorbachev & Ronald Reagan>issued a **joint statement**>'Nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought'.
- iii. **1986:Chernobyl**(Ukraine) **nuclear disaster**>caused a great wave of anti-nuclear feeling in the **USSR**
- iv. **Dec 1987:Washington Summit**>Reagan and Gorbachev formally signed **INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces) Treaty**-historic breakthrough

- a. All land-based intermediate-range (300 to 3000 miles) nuclear weapons to be scrapped in the next 3 yrs.
- b. Strict verification provisions > both sides to check weapons actually being destroyed.
- c. INF Treaty - important turning point in nuclear arms race, first time any weapons had been destroyed.



# Chernobyl disaster-**April 1986**





# Washington Summit Dec 1987



## ■ Collapse of Communism & End of Cold War

1. **Aug 1988:Poland-'Solidarity'** trade union organized huge anti-govt strikes- forced govt to allow **free elections**, communists defeated (**June 1989**).
2. **Revolutionary protests** spread to other **Russian satellite states**.
3. **Hungary**>next to allow free elections, Communists defeated
4. **1989:E.Germany:Eric Honecker** (communist leader) wanted to disperse demonstrations by force-overruled by his colleagues;**1989-end communist govt.** had resigned.
5. **1989:Berlin Wall** breached-**Germany re-united**.
6. **1989:Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria & Romania** threw out communist governments,multi-party elections held in **Yugoslavia(1990)** and **Albania(1991)**.
7. **Dec 1991>USSR split up** into separate republics,**Gorbachev resigned**. Communist rule in Russia was over **after 74 years**.

# Berlin Wall breached Nov 9, 1989





# Malta Summit (Dec 3, 1989)

Gorbachev and Bush declare end of Cold War



# □ Effect of End of Cold War on International Relations

- i. **Newly emerged states** of former USSR > **not viewed as enemies** by Western countries.
- ii. **1990**: Warsaw & NATO-agreement to use weapons only for **self-defense**.
- iii. **Separatism/hostility** > **former communist countries** > nationalism within each of the erstwhile communist country; earlier **had been suppressed** by communism which brought these countries together.
  - a) **War b/w Azerbaijan & Armenia** (former republics of USSR) over a territorial dispute.
  - b) **Civil war-Georgia**-northern part wanted secession.
  - c) **Yugoslavia** broke up into states (**5**) of **Serbia** (with Montenegro),

Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Slovenia & Macedonia, was one of the worst violent events.

- Thus, at turn of century **W.Europe**-process of economic unity, **E.Europe**-witnessing disintegration and disharmony.
- 4. **Threat of nuclear proliferation has increased**>no USSR to police other states along with USA.
- 5. **Economic problems** of **former communist states** have continued.
- 6. Creation of **United Germany**>**immigration problems**.  
**E.Europe**>**burning after Cold War**-many **refugees** from these regions **immigrated into Germany** in **1992**>led to **protests in Germany**.

# END OF COLD WAR

