Year 11 Revision

Period Study –

Paper 2

Superpower Relations and the Cold War c1941-91
Revision Programme – Paper 2 Superpower Rivalry 1941-91

Paper 2 is one hour and forty five minutes long. It has two distinct sections;

Section A – Period Study - Superpower Rivalry 1941-91 (50 minutes)
Section B – British Depth Study – Elizabethan England 1588-1601 (55 minutes)

Section A –
Three Questions. All assess AO1 and AO2. All rely on factual knowledge and understanding.

Question 1-
Explain two consequences of .... (8 marks)

Allow 10 minutes for this answer. Write about two consequences – you only need to write half a page so be brief.
Focus should only be on the effect of an event – good discourse markers to use would be as a result of; as a consequence; the effect was; so

Question 2
Write a narrative account analysing... (8 marks)

Allow 15 minutes. This answer expects a narrative explaining how events lead to an outcome. You are given two information prompts but are expected to add to this to gain the best marks. The key is to write an organised answer, putting events into the
right order and most importantly showing how each event links to the next. There should be a clear beginning, middle and end to this response

Question 3

Explain two of the following... the importance of xxx for ..... (16 marks)

Allow 25 minutes. You need to choose TWO from the three listed. You must explain the impact of an event – thinking what did this event lead to? What difference did this event make?

KEY TIP: Throughout revision focus on what events are; the effect they have on each other and the overall Cold War tensions.

Spring Half Term Revision Focus – Superpower Rivalry
Your teacher will guide you as to which exercises and practice questions you should be working – the guideline below will ensure you finish this by Feb Half Term so allowing Elizabethan Revision time

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# Cold War 1945-49 - A Game of Consequences

## Origins of the Cold War 1941-58

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| **Tehran Conference November 1943** | Meeting of the Grand Alliance. Mainly supported Stalin eg Britain and France agreed to open a second front by invading France in 1944; USSR agreed to fight Japan once war ended in Europe; United Nations was planned for after the War; an area of eastern Poland was added to USSR | • Positive plan to end WWII in place eg 1944 opening of second front did help defeat Germany by May 1945;  
• Stalin’s Red Army has a free reign in Eastern Europe as they liberate from Nazism; USSR is gaining land from Poland meaning Stalin can assume Soviet control in Poland would be acceptable. |
| **Yalta Conference February 1945** | Grand Alliance met as Germany was close to defeat. Germany was the main topic under discussion – agreed Germany would be divided into four zones, as would Berlin; on the treatment of Nazi war criminals; USSR would help fight against Japan; importance of free elections for liberated countries; USSR would have a sphere of influence in the east. BUT disagreement re level of reparations Germany should pay and Poland i.e. the location of the western border with Germany and the nature of government. | • Agreement on the division of Germany i.e. four zones of occupation – Britain, USA, France and the USSR. Berlin would also be divided into four sectors. Stalin felt aggrieved that he had the poorer section of Germany and that the west had the wealthiest and industrial areas. This created greater tension between the allies.  
• The situation on Poland created tension as the west believed there should be free elections in Poland, yet Stalin wanted to ensure the coalition government established in 1945 had more “Lublin poles” that were sympathetic to the USSR than “London Poles” who were supporters of the USA. Stalin’s plan to build a buffer zone against future attack meant that there were increased tensions around Poland. |
| **Potsdam Conference July 1945** | Grand alliance met one last time. The atmosphere had changed – Stalin’s army had liberated Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria and Romania; he had set up a communist government in Poland; the Red Army remained intact and powerful unlike the demilitarisation in the west. In the case of the USA, they had successfully tested the A Bomb without sharing secrets with the USSR. Also a change in leadership – no longer Roosevelt and Churchill but Truman and Atlee. Agreed on the division of Germany as at Yalta; democracy to be re-established in Germany; reparations to be paid by Germany – most would go to the USSR to repair their nation; Nazi Party banned; UN established; Poland’s frontier moved westwards to the rivers of Oder and Niesse. BUT no agreement on Germany in the long term – Stalin wanted them crippled with reparation so never strong enough to attack again; Truman refused. Also the interpretation of “free elections” differed between the USA and USSR. | • Differences were exposed about free elections. Truman expected democratic elections in eastern Europe and eventually in Germany. Whereas Stalin viewed the east of Europe as his “sphere of influence”. Insistence on free elections was seen as interference from the west. Instead he slowly took control of the eastern European countries through control of coalitions, control of state administration and eventually rigged elections to establish loyal communist governments.  
• Germany was divided into four sectors each to be administered by Britain, France, USA and the USSR. The Soviet sector was in the east of Germany; Berlin was in this sector but subdivided among the allies. The three western allies had control over the west of the country. This deepened the east-west divide. |
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<td>Stalin’s takeover of Eastern Europe 1945-1948</td>
<td>Stalin helped to orchestrate the takeover of eastern Europe with Communist governments loyal to the USSR. This involved coalition governments being formed; the Communist takeover of main offices in the countries eg civil service and the media; the removal of opposition leaders and then rigged elections to consolidate Communist rule. By 1948 all countries behind the so called “iron curtain” (Churchill, March 1946) were Communist</td>
<td>• Through ensuring that there was a buffer zone between the USSR and Germany loyal to the Soviet state, Stalin effectively divided east and west as his insistence of communism and no free elections in these countries broke the Yalta and Potsdam agreements and alerted the USA to the fear of Communism spreading. The Long Telegram sent by George Kennan in 1946 also showed his fears of the spread of communism; Novikov responded later the same year showing Soviet fear of imperialism • March 1946 Churchill crystallised the separation of east and west in the Iron Curtain speech – this made both Stalin and Truman more determined to preserve their way of life. Following the Iron Curtain speech and British requests for financial support over supporting the Greek government against the Communist rebels in the Greek Civil War, led to the US policy of Containment.</td>
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<td>Truman Doctrine March 1947</td>
<td>On 12 March 1947, Truman made a speech in which he outlined the new policy of containment i.e. that the USA would intervene financially and militarily where needed to protect the free. This was a direct result of the British plea for help over supporting the Greek government in the civil war against the Communist rebels. NB this was a major change in US foreign policy from isolationism and non-interest in European affairs</td>
<td>• Truman became involved in European affairs which for many was positive eg Greek Civil War ended in 1950; Marshall Plan introduced in 1948-53 to support European economies with regards to free trade and rebuilding their infrastructure after the war. $17billion was invested. This built the west up and ensure economic growth • It accelerated the cold war tensions – the west benefitted and Stalin in the east felt threatened and so forbade the eastern European countries from applying for Marshall Aid. The setting up of Cominform in 1947 established an eastern bloc against the capitalist west.</td>
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<td>Cominform 1947</td>
<td>Communist Information Bureau was set up in 1947 to enable the Soviet Union to co-ordinate communist parties throughout Europe. It was a response to the TD. This ensured that all eastern European countries followed the same foreign policy and economic systems eg collectivisation of agriculture and nationalisation of state industry. There was also an element of terror attached as the organisation was use to purge any potential rivals eg Marshall Tito in Yugoslavia was expelled from Cominform.</td>
<td>• The east were unable to accept Marshall Aid – they were bound to the USSR economically and politically, especially after the establishment of COMECON in 1949, which shared a joint economic plan for the eastern bloc. This meant the east remained economically weaker than the west. • Cominform established a deeper divide between east and west as a response to the policy of containment from the USA. There was little chance of a common aim; this was particularly clear in 1948-9 over the Berlin Crisis where the division of the city was solidified.</td>
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### Event | Key Features | Consequences
--- | --- | ---
**Marshall Plan 1948-53** | Economic aid given to Europe to support the US policy of containment – European Recovery Plan. Based on the belief that countries threatened with economic crisis were more likely to become Communist, George Marshall (Secretary of State) argued money should be given to protect from the spread of communism. The aid was available for all – Stalin even considered it but would have needed to admit how financially insecure he was so he refused and forbade any of his eastern bloc in Cominform accepting aid. $17 billion in aid was given over a five year period 1948-53. No further countries fell to communism, including west Germany and west Berlin in 1948-9. | • Positively 16 countries met to discuss how to put the plan into action – OEEC (Organisation for European Economic Recovery). By 1953 $17 billion had been given to help rebuild economies and to raise the standard of living. US machinery helped European factories to recover from the effects of war. US advisors helped rebuild transport systems. Politically none fell to Communism. • Politically this mean the east -west rivalry was heightened – he prevented countries like Czechoslovakia and Hungary from applying for aid as they were part of Cominform. Stalin viewed the Marshall Plan as a means to meet their own selfish interests i.e. to dominate Europe and so boost the US economy. Propaganda made this view point very clear.

**COMECON 1949** | Council for Mutual Assistance funded in 1949 – a response to the Marshall Plan. The plan was the Soviet Union supported the eastern bloc countries financially. In reality it was used to control the economies of the eastern bloc; give the Soviet Union access to their resources and to build up a specialization system in which parts of the eastern bloc had specialist areas intended to support the whole so Czecho Slovakia and East Germany concentrated on heavy industry; Romania, Hungary and Bulgaria specialised on the production of food and raw materials | • Politically this mean the east -west rivalry was heightened – Stalin ensured there could be no economic trade with the west; Cominform also ensured political control. This spilt over in 1948-9 in the Berlin Crisis • Economically the east were weakened – they did not benefit from the injection of aid from the USA; they were weakened by Soviet control and their need to specialise markets, which led to shortages and a much poorer standard of living than in the west as well as a lack of political freedom. Through the period 1949 – fall of the Soviet Union in 1990 there were uprisings against this way of economy and life eg Hungary in 1956

**Berlin Crisis 1948-9** | Berlin’s division following the Potsdam Conference in 1945 meant there was an issue. The western sectors were united in their desire for free elections; trade and access to the Marshall Plan. In the western zones in Germany, this was encouraged as it was within Berlin. Between January 1948 and June 1948, the Soviets were angered by the aid coming into the West; in March 1948 the Soviet representative walked out of the Allied Control Commission that had been established to rule Germany. By June, the west had united their zones administratively and then economically, introducing a new currency, the Deutschmark, for use in the west – this had not been discussed with Stalin. On 24th June Stalin blockaded Berlin by road, canal, and rail transport in an attempt to force the allies to surrender control of their zones in Berlin. The western response was the Berlin Airlift – June 1948-May 1949 flying 275 000 flights with an average of 4000 tonnes of food a day. The west Berliners survived; the allies won when Stalin called the Blockade off in May 1949 | • Confirmed the division of Germany was divided into two halves i.e.in May 1949 the three western zones were known as the Federal Republic of Germany with it’s own capital city, Bonn and parliament (Bundestag). The first freely elected chancellor was Adenauer. In the East by October 1949 the German Democratic Republic was set up. • Formation of a military alliance of NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organisation) was formed in April 1949 – a defensive organisation set up by the USA with Britain, France and nine other nations signed up. The idea was to protect themselves from Soviet aggression. The Soviet Union viewed this as an aggressive action so further deepening division and mistrust, socially when West Germany was admitted to NATO in 1954.
### Event: NATO 1949
- **Key Features**: The Arms Race was a key symptom and also cause of the Cold War intensifying. The development of new technology and the quantity of weapons needed meant that the conflict would continue as neither side trusted the other. In 1945 the USA detonated the first Atomic Bomb; the USSR followed in 1949. The USA funded research to develop the Hydrogen Bomb by 1953; the USSR exploded their first H Bomb in the same year. Missiles were developed that be fired from country to country (Medium Range Ballistic Missiles) and across continent (Inter-Continental Missiles). Conventional weaponry was also kept at a high level as both sides felt they needed to be prepared for localised conflict eg in places like Korea; Vietnam. To protect nations eg Warsaw Pact countries.
- **Consequences**: The evolution of the Cold War meant there were two military alliances and that there was fear that the military might threat each other’s way of life but also their national security eg NATO allowing West Germany to join in 1954 and then having missile sites in W Germany facing eastern Europe; also having missile sites in Turkey which could reach the USSR. The USSR then sought a base from which to be able to hit US mainland – Cuba. The idea of brinkmanship.

### Warsaw Pact 1955
- **Key Features**: Established in 1955 by the Soviet Union. It was a military alliance of 8 nations headed by the USSR and designed to counter the threat of NATO. Members included USSR, Albania, Poland, Romania, Hungary, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Aimed to mutually support each other if there was an attack. A joint command structure was set up under the Soviet Supreme Commander.
- **Consequences**: Nagy’s promise to the people of Hungary in October 1956 that they would be able to leave the Warsaw Pact was a key reason for the Soviet Union invading Hungary and suppressing the uprising so decisively. Hungary was geographically central to the Warsaw Pact being able to support the USSR so the Warsaw Pact made it possible to hold control in the east but also crucial to retain a tight control. The importance of the Warsaw Pact being used to keep tight control of the Soviet satellite states. E Europe was evident in 1968 when Warsaw Pact troops were used to put down the Prague Spring when Czechoslovakia sought to reform their country. Intensified the rivalry between the east and the west and led meant he Arms’ Race increased in pace. The development of new technology such as the inter-continental and medium range ballistic missiles, plus the aircraft and submarines to fire these missiles meant that each side guarded their allies carefully and also sought to extend their influence worldwide eg into Cuba in 1960s.

### Arms Race
- **Key Features**: The Arms Race was a key symptom and also cause of the Cold War intensifying. The development of new technology and the quantity of weapons needed meant that the conflict would continue as neither side trusted the other. In 1945 the USA detonated the first Atomic Bomb; the USSR followed in 1949. The USA funded research to develop the Hydrogen Bomb by 1953; the USSR exploded their first H Bomb in the same year. Missiles were developed that be fired from country to country (Medium Range Ballistic Missiles) and across continent (Inter-Continental Missiles). Conventional weaponry was also kept at a high level as both sides felt they needed to be prepared for localised conflict eg in places like Korea; Vietnam. To protect nations eg Warsaw Pact countries.
- **Consequences**: Intensification of the Cold War – meant there were two military alliances and that there was fear that the military might threaten each other’s way of life but also their national security eg NATO allowing West Germany to join in 1954 and then having missile sites in W Germany facing eastern Europe; also having missile sites in Turkey which could reach the USSR. The USSR then sought a base from which to be able to hit US mainland – Cuba. The idea of brinkmanship.

- Positively, race for nuclear weaponry led to the MAD principle i.e Mutually Assured Destruction as seen in Cuba as while both sides were stockpiling nuclear weapons and playing brinkmanship they were afraid to use these weapons which meant hot war was unlikely. See the thaw in cold war after 1962 as an example eg the introduction of the telephone hotline between the White House and Kremlin; Test Ban Treaties.
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| Uprising in Hungary in 1956       | Many in Hungary were hostile to Soviet interference – they had welcomed the Nazis in the 1940s and from the elections in November 1945 an independent Smallholders Party won the election. Communist government was forced upon the Hungarians under the dictatorial leadership of Rakosi. Even the USSR accepted how harsh he had been and the economic hardship that had been brought to Hungary. He was replaced by Imry Nagy in March 1953 following Stalin’s death. Yet by 1955 the USSR feared they were losing influence in Eastern Europe, especially with W Germany joining NATO in the West so Nagy was replaced by Rakosi again in April 1955 at a similar time to the creation for the Warsaw Pact showing a rapid return to centralised Soviet control. 

By July 1956 there seemed to be a different attitude and Rakosi was removed and replaced by Erno Gero a friend to Khruschev – he seemed to signal there could be reform and that there was regret for the harsh rule of Rakosi. In October 1956 there were demonstrations from many students and others in Hungary – the USSR sent tanks to keep control. 25 October - Gero resigned and then Nagy became Prime Minister again.

Nagy and the USSR appeared to reach an agreement – the tanks left. Political prisoners were released; new reforms were planned eg free elections; trade links with the west; freedom of speech, worship, the press; Hungary to leave the Warsaw Pact and to become a neutral state.

The USSR responded by sending 6,000 tanks and 2000, 000 troops into Hungary on 6th November 1956. Ant reform was suppressed. Believing they would get help from the UN, the Hungarians tried to hold out. 7000 Soviet troops were killed; 20, 000 Hungarians. No help came and a ceasefire was agreed on 10th November 1956.

Nagy was removed from power (Later hanged in 1958 despite promises of immunity). Soviet backed Kadar took up the leadership. | • USSR had maintained her empire and sent out a clear warning signal to any other states planning to revolt. De-Stalinisation did not mean any less control in Eastern Europe. Poland and Hungary only managed very small reforms from 1956 to the fall of the eastern bloc in the 1990s. Also when the Warsaw Pact troops threatened to come into Czechoslovakia during the Prague Spring in 1968, the Czechs called off any reforms having remembered what happened in Hungary

• Cold War tensions between the east and west deepened after Hungary – The USA and Britain had demonstrations in favour of the Hungarians and there were public statements of support eg “Time” magazine named a Hungarian freedom fighter their “man of the year”. USSR tightened their grip of Eastern Europe – had appointed a loyal prime minister in Hungary in Kadar. |
Revision – Origins of the Cold War 1941-1958

Conferences 1943-1945

1. Be clear of the chronology – What order do these go in:
   - Potsdam Conference
   - Tehran Conference
   - Yalta Conference
   - Formation of the Grand Alliance

2. Mind Map –
   What were the Conferences? What was agreed? What were the consequences?

3. Let’s Practice!
   a) Explain two consequences of the decisions made by the Grand Alliance at the Yalta Conference in February 1945. (8 marks)
   b) Explain two consequences of the decisions made by the Grand Alliance at the Potsdam Conference in July 1945. (8 marks)
Consequences of Peace Conferences 1943-45

- Tehran, 1943:
  - What was agreed?
  - Consequences

- Yalta, February 1945:
  - What was agreed?
  - Consequences

- Potsdam, July 1945:
  - What was agreed?
  - Consequences
Creation of Two Sides in the Cold War 1945-49

1. **Complete the mind map with an overview** – Learn the facts and key events

2. **Looking more carefully at 1945-8.**
   a) **More Consequences** –
      Explain *two* consequences of the setting up of Cominform and COMECON (8 marks)

   b) **Let’s practise writing a narrative account** –
      Write a narrative account analysing the key events of the Soviet takeover of the satellite states in the period 1944-48.
      You may use the following in your answer:
      - The Warsaw Uprising
      - The Communist takeover of Czechoslovakia.
      You *must* add information of your own. (8 marks)

   *NB – To score well on this type of question, your account needs to link events together and explain how one leads to another in a logical and structured way*

3. c) **Now let’s explain the importance of two events...**
   Explain *two* of the following:
   - The importance of the Truman Doctrine for international relations after the Second World War
   - The importance of the Marshall Plan (1947) for relations between the US and the Soviet Union
   - The importance of Soviet expansion in Eastern Europe for the development of the Cold War. (16 marks)
3. **Berlin Crisis 1948-9**

i) Decide whether each of the following statements is a cause, event or effect of the Berlin Crisis of 1948-9

- Stalin turned the eastern zone into the German Democratic Republic
- British and US planes made 193,350 flights during the airlift
- The Allies set up their own currency in the Western zone
- During the Airlift West Berliners were supplied with 4,000 tonnes of supplies per day
- The Berlin Crisis led to the setting up of NATO
- The West zone recovered quickly because of Marshall Aid

ii) Allow yourself revision time and then set aside 35-40 minutes to practise the following questions -

a) Explain two consequences of the Berlin Blockade (1948-1949) (8 marks)

b) Write a narrative account analysing the key events of the Berlin Crisis of 1948-9.

You may use the following in your answer:

- Introduction of new currency in western zones
- Berlin Airlift

You **must** also include information of your own.  (8 marks)

c) Explain the importance of NATO for the development of the Cold War.  (8 marks)
Story #1:
The Berlin Blockade and Airlift
(1948-1949)
Origins of the Cold War 1945-1949

- Stalin’s takeover of Eastern Europe, 1945-8
- Churchill’s Iron Curtain speech, March 1946
- Long Telegram, 1946
- Novikov Telegram, 1946
- Truman Doctrine, March 1947
- Marshall Plan 1947-52
- Cominform, 1947
- COMECON, 1949

- Berlin Blockade, June 1948
- Berlin Airlift, 1948-9
- Division of Germany, May – October 1949
- NATO, 1949
- Warsaw Pact, 1955
- Berlin Crisis
- Division of Germany, May – October 1949
- Berlin Airlift, 1948-9
- Berlin Blockade, June 1948
- Cominform, 1947
- COMECON, 1949
- NATO, 1949
- Warsaw Pact, 1955
i) Decide whether the following statements are causes or effects of the Hungarian Crisis of 1956
• Nagy was determined to introduce reforms
• Nagy introduced free elections and ended the one-party system
• Khrushchev was anxious not to appear weak to other members of the Warsaw Pact
• On 4th November 1956 Soviet Troops and tanks invaded Hungary
• Western countries did not intervene to help the Hungarian rebels
• The West was preoccupied with the Suez Crisis
• Rakosi killed 2,000 in purges and imprisoned a further 200,000

ii) What explanation can you give for the following contradictory statements?
a) The West opposed the Soviet Invasion of Hungary and yet did nothing
b) Khrushchev carried out a policy of de-Stalinisation and yet invaded Hungary

iii) Let’s Practice…
1) Explain two consequences of the Hungarian uprising in 1956. (8 marks)

2) Write a narrative account analysing the key events in the Cold War in the years 1949 - 1956.

You may use the following in your answer:
• The Warsaw Pact, 1955
• The Soviet invasion of Hungary, 1956

You must also include information of your own. (8 marks)
Recall Test – Origins of the Cold War 1945-56

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WWW:

EBI:
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<td><strong>Berlin Crisis, 1961</strong></td>
<td>Berlin was the centre of hostility between the Superpowers – there had been the Blockade and Airlift in 1948-9. The Soviet Union remained concerned by the western allies having political, military and economic influence in West Berlin. West Germany joining NATO in 1954 and becoming a member of the European Economic Community were viewed with suspicion. In the years before 1961 Khrushchev had tried to persuade the allies to leave Berlin voluntarily – he hated the fact West Berlin was an area of capitalist prosperity and a symbol of success for the west within the communist zone. Furthermore, the Soviet Union claimed that the USA and its allies used West Berlin for espionage. Khrushchev wanted to control movement in and out of East Berlin. The refugee crisis made the Soviet Union a communist zone. Furthermore, the USA and its allies used West Berlin for the fact West Berlin was an area of capitalist prosperity and a symbol of success for the west within the communist zone.</td>
<td>• <strong>Stand Off between the USA and USSR, 1961.</strong> In terms of US-Soviet relations, they reached a crisis point in October 1961. USA disputed the right of Soviet troops to patrol and guard the checkpoints to the Wall as well as to check passports of American officials. The Americans stationed their own troops and tanks on the western side of the checkpoints, which provoked the USSR to place their tanks on the East German side. One wrong move and there was the possibility of armed conflict. In the end, Kennedy worked behind the scenes to avoid any such conflict, promising Khrushchev that if the USSR removed its troops, the USA would do the same. Ended the stand off! • <strong>Impact of the Berlin Wall for Germans.</strong> People from the east continued to try and escape to the west – it became difficult due to the increased security. Many tried to escape using tunnelling, some by swimming across the Teltow Canal and others jumping out of windows near to the wall. Many lost their lives trying to cross from East to West in the years of the Berlin Wall. While it did keep the peace as no further stand offs, it made quality of life difficult as families were split; travel restrictions made it difficult to visit relatives. Germans also felt let down by the USA who did not protect the 1949 agreement for a free Berlin. • <strong>Impact on Khrushchev</strong> – He interpreted the construction of the wall in two ways – 1) He had beaten Kennedy – the flow of refugees stopped; economic stability returned. Khrushchev saw the wall as a symbol i.e. “guarding the gates of socialist paradise”; 2) He had failed to remove the Western allies from Berlin but the crisis was over and tension in Europe eased.</td>
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**Why was the Berlin Wall built?**
In 1958 Khrushchev issued the Berlin Ultimatum. He accused the allies of breaking the Potsdam Agreement, telling them that they should leave Berlin within 6 months; suggesting that it should become a neutral free city. President Eisenhower seemed prepared to negotiate. He did not want to risk a war over Berlin. Khrushchev’s visit to the USA in 1959 seemed to be successful, and it was hoped a summit meeting could be held the following year.

**Paris Summit 1960** – scheduled for 14 May 1960. Khrushchev and Eisenhower were due to meet. 9 days before the summit conference was due to open, the SU announced that it had shot down a U-2 spy plane near the Soviet city of Sverdlovsk. The pilot, Gary powers, was captured and put on trial. Khrushchev demanded all such flights stop and USA apologise. Eisenhower ended the flights but refused to apologise. At a preliminary meeting for the conference Eisenhower and Khrushchev had words – Khrushchev stormed out; Eisenhower cancelled his visit scheduled to the USSR. The Paris Summit never happened.

**Impact on Khrushchev** – He interpreted the construction of the wall in two ways – 1) He had beaten Kennedy – the flow of refugees stopped; economic stability returned. Khrushchev saw the wall as a symbol i.e. “guarding the gates of socialist paradise”; 2) He had failed to remove the Western allies from Berlin but the crisis was over and tension in Europe eased.
**Vienna Summit 1961** – scheduled between Khrushchev and new president of USA, Kennedy. He believed he could use his experience to push Kennedy around BUT Kennedy had made clear promises to uphold the Truman Doctrine in his inaugural speech. In June 1961 at the Vienna Summit, Khrushchev demanded the western forces leave West Berlin. Said he would make a treaty with East Germany which would end all occupation rights, including access to Western Berlin. Kennedy refused to withdraw; increased US military spending by $3.5 billion the following month. In July 1961 the USSR announced an increase by 30% of their defence budget. Kennedy promised not to surrender; Khrushchev threatened the use of force, including nuclear attack – “War is bound to go thermonuclear…”

**Building the Wall** – On 13 August 1961 Khrushchev closed the border between East and West Berlin. Barbed wire fencing was erected in streets torn up by East German troops on the border between East and West – a distance of 43 km. USA and allies did not react. Very quickly the barbed wire temporary barrier was replaced by a built wall with chain fences and minefields. An area was cleared so East German guards could fire at any East Germans trying to escape to the West. Final wall was 3.6 metres high and 1.2m wide so very difficult to climb over. The area beyond the wall was heavily guarded with patrolling soldiers and dogs as well as floodlights and trip-wire machine guns.

**Impact on Kennedy** – Kennedy was blamed for being soft on Communism – he allowed the wall to be built and appeared to be outmanoeuvred by Khrushchev – this caused anger in the USA and so meant in any future conflict. Likewise, the failed Bay of Pigs invasion in Spring 1961 had caused anger. Kennedy would need to prove himself strong eg over Cuba in 1962. Positively, Kennedy was popular within West Germany as he had not abandoned them – he completed a visit to Germany in 1963 – “Ich bin ein Berliner” speech.

**NB** The wall became a tangible symbol of the superpower rivalry between the USA and USSR
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| **Cuban Missile Crisis 1962** | **The Cuban Revolution, 1959**  
Supported by revolutionary Che Gevara, Castro seized power from Batista in a coup d’etat, taking leadership of Cuba in May 1959. Having been a “rich American’s playground”, a place which had American companies, clubs and in turn relied on the USA for buying their main crop of sugar. The USA set up a trade embargo in October 1960 – refusing to buy Cuban sugar, hoping economic hardship would lead to the fall of Castro. With no support from the USA, the USSR turned to the USSR for help. Khrushchev offered to buy Cuban sugar; they also sent conventional military weapons to Cuba in the end of 1959. Khrushchev promised further military assistance to Cuba; Castro was now allied to the USSR. | • Economically and diplomatically the USA lost its tie with Cuba, allowing scope for a communist ally near the USA. The economic boycott on sugar led Castro to seek Khrushchev’s support  
• Given the pro-communist nature of Castro’s government and the trade embargo from the USA in October 1960, the USSR sought an economic alliance with Cuba and to support him militarily, giving them a base close to the USA and also, a foothold into Latin America i.e. Castro seen by Khrushchev as “a beacon, a hopeful lighthouse for all the unfortunate, exploited peoples of Latin America.” |
| **Bay of Pigs, 1961**       | **The USA withdrew diplomatic ties with Cuba from January 1961. A group of exiles were trained in the USA under Eisenhower’s administration it the aim to invade Cuba – Kennedy accepted this scheme when he became President in 1961. The aim of the invasion was to overthrow Castro by a national uprising being initiated by the exiled men. The exiles were trained by the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in Florida and Guatemala. Known as La Brigada 2506 - 1500 exiles were trained. Began on 15 April to bomb Cuban airforce but lost impetus and did not bomb the next day. When La Brigada landed at the Bay of Pigs on 17 April, 20 000 Cuban forces were waiting for them. 100 were killed; 1100 imprisoned after 2 days of fighting.** | • Fear from Cubans following the Bay of Pigs invasion meant greater support for Castro and for Castro a willingness to have military support from the USSR so increasing pace in the Arms Race  
• Kennedy’s failure in 1961 meant he was more determined to overthrow Castro; any reactions he makes after 1961 will have to prove his strength, especially when combined with the Berlin Wall being erected in August 1961. Any conflict over Cuba would have to show US strength so heightening the tension in the Cold War  
• Khrushchev could capitalise on US weakness eg to support Castro from future invasion – provide military support so increase pace in the Arms Race. Would strengthen his military position in the Cold War. With nuclear missiles in Italy and Turkey facing the USSR by 1961, having nuclear missiles in Cuba make him equal. Also, in terms of ideology – having an ally in Cuba meant he would have a foothold into Latin America for spread of Communism |
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<tr>
<td>Cuban Missile Crisis</td>
<td>Khrushchev continued to send military supplies to Cuba throughout 1962. In September 1962 Soviet technicians began to install ballistic missiles on Cuba. Given the Bay of Pigs, he was able to justify sending missiles as a way to support Castro rather than being aggressive which those the USA put in turkey could be seen as. 14 October – U-2 Spy plane saw intermediate range missile bases being built in Cuba – believed they would be operational by November. These IRBM could hit almost every city in the United States and so be a threat to national security. 13 days of tension – Cuba = Hot Spot. War could have occurred. US set up a naval blockade to prevent the missiles being brought to Cuba. The blockade went 3,300 km around Cuba. Fleet of Polaris submarines were made ready for use and 156 ICBMs made ready for combat. Airforce bombers patrolled the area; ground troops were on standby. 22 October – Kennedy makes clear in television address that the USA will stand firm. Khrushchev was informed that any ships sailing to Cuba would be stopped; if carrying offensive military equipment, they would be asked to turn round and go back to the USSR. 24 October – 18 Soviet ships approaching Cuba turned around to avoid confrontation with the Quarantine. Kennedy now demanded the removal of all missiles from Cuba – failure to do so could result in US invasion of Cuba. 26 October – Khrushchev sends a letter saying they will remove the missiles if the US promise not to invade. 27 October – second letter from Khrushchev – tougher tone – Would remove missiles from Cuba in return for USSR removing their missiles from Turkey. U-2 spy plane shot down over Cuba by a Soviet missile. Crisis deepens. 28 October – Kennedy follows the suggestion of his brother – he ignores the second letter and accepts the conditions of the first letter. He gave the deadline of 29 October to guarantee the US did not invade Cuba. Khrushchev accepted. As a more secret part of the deal, Kennedy agreed to remove missiles from Turkey but a few months later.</td>
<td>Almost led to nuclear war through policy of brinkmanship between Kennedy and Khrushchev. Consequently, the real fear of nuclear war meant decisions were made as a result of the CMC to reduce tension and prevent future “hot spots” and the threat of nuclear war. As delay in communication, and misunderstanding each other’s actions may increase tension, a Hotline was established between the White House in the USA and the Kremlin in the USSR from 1963. To further demonstrate fear of escalation of the nuclear arm’s race, leaders of the USA and USSR signed a number of treaties between 1963 and 1969 to limit nuclear testing and development of nuclear weaponry. eg Limited Test Ban Treaty in August 1963; Outer Space Treaty in 1967 and Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty in 1968. SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) began in 1969 so beginning a period of détente in the Cold War. Kennedy was viewed as a great statesman – he looked as he had brought the world back from the brink of war – the deal about missiles being removed from Turkey was not made public until later. This looked promising following the Berlin Crisis and Bay of Pigs fiasco. Yet many hardliners still saw Castro as a communist close to the USSR – this had not been resolved. Khrushchev – felt he had saved Cuba from invasion; missiles had been removed from Turkey BUT this marked the end of his popularity. Viewed as weak he was removed from power by 1964.</td>
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The Berlin Crisis 1958-61

1. Complete a flow diagram showing what led to the Berlin Crisis; the crisis itself and the consequences:

- Khrushchev’s Ultimatum
- Refugees leaving East Berlin for the West 1958-61
- Improving relations between Khrushchev and Eisenhower 1959-60
- U2 Spy plane Incident, 1960
- Paris Summit 1960
- Deteriorating Superpower Relations – Bay of Pigs, April 1961
- Vienna Summit, 1961
- Building of the Berlin Wall, August 1961
- Crisis Point in the Cold War in Berlin August – October 1961
- Effects in Berlin
- Impact on the USSR; Khrushchev’s reputation
- Impact on USA; Kennedy’s reputation
2. Complete a flow diagram showing what led to the Cuban Missile Crisis; the crisis itself and the consequences:

- Corruption of Batista’s Regime in Cuba
- Cuban Revolution 1959
- USA’s initial response to Cuban Revolution – Boycott, 1960
- USSR’s response to the US’s boycott, 1960
- USA’s support of military invasion – Bay of Pigs, April 1961
- USSR/Cuban relations established 1961-62
- Castro’s political views established
- Wider Arms’ Race – US missiles in Italy and Turkey

Cuban Missile Crisis 14 October – 27th October 1962

- Effects of Brinkmanship worldwide
- Immediate consequences to the Cuban Missile Crisis in Cuba
- Positive effects of the Cuban Missile Crisis on Superpower Rivalry 1963-69

- Impact on the USSR; Khrushchev’s reputation
- Impact on USA; Kennedy’s reputation
Practice Questions

Berlin 1958-61

1. Explain two consequences of the Berlin Crisis (1958-61) (8 marks)

2. Write a narrative account analysing the key events of the crisis over Berlin in the years 1958-61. You may use the following in your answer:
   - the refugee crisis
   - the construction of the Berlin Wall
   You must also use information of your own. (8 marks)

Cuba 1959-62

3. Explain two consequences of the Cuban Missile Crisis of 1962 (8 marks)

4. Write a narrative account analysing the main events in superpower rivalry in Cuba in the years 1959-1962. You may use the following in your answer:
   - The Bay of pigs Invasion, 1961
   - The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962
   You must also use information of your own. (8 marks)

Synoptics

5. Explain two of the following:
   - The importance of the Potsdam Conference (1945) for the development of the Cold War
   - The importance of the building of the Berlin Wall (1961) for relations between the USA and the Soviet Union
   - The importance of the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962) for relations between the USA and the Soviet Union.
### Prague Spring 1968

#### Background -
Following the establishment of a Communist government in 1948, Czechoslovakia were a model satellite state to the Soviet Union. Economically they were successful. However this began to change in the 1950s following the appointment of a hard-line Communist Novotny to the Presidency in 1957. Politically – Novotny had a strict Soviet style of leadership – the secret police took and kept political prisoners; the reforms allowed under de-Stalinisation, did not change life in Czechoslovakia. Against a background of growing political discontent, the economy also stagnated. Under COMECON rules, steel produced in Czechoslovakia was sent back to the USSR so industry within the country could not develop as they lacked the raw materials. The quantity of consumer good being produced fell; even those that were produced could not be bought due to falling wages. The standard of living for the average Czech was falling. As a combination of political discontent and economic hardship, change was needed. In October 1967 the hard-line Communist leader Novotny was challenged in his leadership of the Communist Party by reformer Alexander Dubcek and the economist Ota Sik. On 5th January 1968 Brezhnev supported Dubcek as replacement for Novotny as Chairman of the Communist Party. The USSR were sympathising with the reformers at this stage. In March 1968, Novotny resigned as President; General Svoboda took over. He was a war hero, who was sympathetic to Dubcek’s proposed reforms.

#### Consequences
- **Support for the Reformers** – Dubcek and Sik in Czechoslovakia challenged leadership of Novotny – Dubcek became leader of the communist party in January 1968; Svobada the President in March 1968. This appeared to be supported by Brezhnev as he had agreed to Dubcek taking the leadership of the communist party.
- **Prague Spring** – Reforms were introduced under Dubcek’s leadership as listed below. These led to hope from more radical reformers that greater change and real democracy could exist eg setting up a rival Social Democratic party.

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| Prague Spring, 1968 | In Spring 1968 a series of reforms were introduced by Dubcek. These were known as “socialism with a human face” so in contrast to Novotny’s rule. These reforms included:  
• **Political change** – i.e. to develop democracy within Czechoslovakia i.e. to have more than one party; allowing freedom of speech.  
• **Media** to be uncensored i.e. press, radio and TV. Acceptance that leaders of the communist Party can be “grilled” re corruption delay  
• **Police** – To reduce the powers of the secret police to imprison without trial  
• **Trade and Travel** – Removal of trade restrictions and fresh contact with the West, including West Germany  
• **Trade Unions** – Creation of works councils representing the workforce to improve working conditions in factories; to increase rights for members of Trade Unions  
These reforms were reasonable and gentle enough to be accepted. However this stirred up further opposition to communism and led to more radical reform. For example –  
• In June 1968 the Social Democrats began to form a separate party as a rival party to the Communist Party.  
• A leading journalist, Ludwig Vaculik, published a manifesto, “The Two Thousand Words.” The aimed to rally the Czech people to demand more reform.                                                                 | ▪ Tension between Warsaw Pact countries increased as there was fear Czechoslovakia would leave the Warsaw Pact. Urged on by other Eastern Bloc leaders and the Communist leaders in Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union invade Czechoslovakia on 20th August 1968, supported by Warsaw Pact countries to ensure the reforms did not continue. The Reforms were suppressed – leaders arrested; hard line communists put in positions of power  
▪ **Brezhnev Doctrine, 1968**- USSR passed a ruling that they would have the right to invade any country in eastern Europe whose actions appear to threaten the security of the Eastern Bloc. Therefore, Brezhnev argued he had no choice but to invade Czechoslovakia as the actions by Dubcek threatened the Warsaw Pact and Soviet control of eastern Europe. The doctrine also clearly redefined communism as:  
  ✓ One Party system  
  ✓ All had to belong to the Warsaw Pact  
Also, this was intended to warn Warsaw Pact countries not to rebel. It also stated that if any capitalist country threatened any communist country then other communist states had the right to intervene by using force. |
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<td><strong>Response from the USSR – Invasion on 20th August 1968</strong>&lt;br&gt;June 1968 – Soviet tanks remained in Czechoslovakia after Warsaw pact exercises; July 1968 – Brezhnev net with leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries in Warsaw. They shared concerns over what was happening in Prague. Brezhnev then met with Dubcek a few days later. Dubcek agreed not to allow a new Social Democratic Party and to remain in the Warsaw Pact. However he insisted on continuing with the initial programme of reforms. The Soviet Union seemed reassured.&lt;br&gt;On 3rd August Dubcek met with Brezhnev and other Warsaw Pact leaders in Bratislava – Bratislava Declaration was signed; all pledged their support to communism. On 9th August, Tito was welcomed to Czechoslovakia – the leader of Yugoslavia was distrusted by the Soviet Union and there was renewed fear that Dubcek would move away from the USSR.&lt;br&gt;In response to the Tito visit, a Politburo meeting in the Soviet Union was held from 15-18 August. Brezhnev ended the three day meeting by shouting at Dubcek down the phone saying his actions would damage the Warsaw Pact. On 20th August 1968 the USSR invaded Czechoslovakia.</td>
<td>- <strong>In Czechoslovakia</strong> – demonstrations against the invasion continued until April 1969 – Jan Palach (student) set himself on fire in January 1969 as a protest. Yet the Communist Party was purged; Dubcek resigned. Husak appointed as hard line leader in his place.&lt;br&gt;- <strong>Effect on USSR and USA relations</strong> – Temporarily worsened relations – Britain and USA protested against the actions in Czechoslovakia. Yet ultimately it had little impact – the thaw continued. USA were preoccupied by a presidential election for L.B. Johnson and Vietnam. There was an unspoken deal that USA would not intervene further in Vietnam if they left Czechoslovakia alone.&lt;br&gt;- <strong>Western Europe</strong> – While there was condemnation of events in Czechoslovakia, no-one acted to support them. Communist parties in Italy and France distanced themselves from the USSR. Development of their own style of communism known as Eurocommunism.&lt;br&gt;- <strong>Communist Countries</strong> - Rivalry increased between the USSR and China. China criticised the use of force against a fellow communist nation. The Chinese feared the USSR may take the same action against them. Some European communist countries also distanced themselves from the Soviet Union eg Ceausescu of Romania refused to send troops to join the forces invading Czechoslovakia; grew more independent. Albania did the same and left the Warsaw Pact. Romanian and Yugoslavian communists formed alliances with China. No reaction to this as they were preoccupied with Czechoslovakia.</td>
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| **Why did the USSR respond like this?** | • The USSR were worried about changes in Czechoslovakia – they feared them removing themselves from the Warsaw Pact – Economically, industry was strong in Czechoslovakia and the geographical position of Czechoslovakia meant the Warsaw Pact would be severely weakened – NATO would be able to move in. This would lead to the Eastern Bloc being separated and meaning that NATO’s frontier would border the Soviet Union 700km into the Eastern Bloc.  

• Other communist leaders feared reform would spread so there was pressure from Ulbricht (East Germany), Gomulka (Poland), Bilak (Slovakian Communist Party) and five other leaders of communism in Czechoslovakia wrote a letter to Brezhnev suggesting communism was under threat and asking for Brezhnev to “use all the means at your disposal” to end these reforms.  

• The Soviet Union was also concerned that Czechoslovakia were becoming closer to West Germany i.e. trade mainly so there was fear West Germany may dominate the economy of eastern Europe over time. | |
Czechoslovakia 1968

1. Complete a flow diagram showing what led to the Prague Spring in 1968; the event itself; the immediate consequences; Soviet invasion and the consequences of this:

- Political anger at Novotny’s leadership 1957-68
- Economic hardship in 1960s
- Changing leadership in the USSR i.e. de-Stalinisation 1956ff
- Dubcek takes leadership of the Czech Communist Party, January 1968
- Svoboda new leader of Czechoslovakia, March 1968
- Prague Spring 1968
- Growth of radical ideas in Czechoslovakia June 1968ff
- Fear in USSR of losing Czechoslovakia from Warsaw Pact
- Pressure from other Warsaw Pact Countries and from hard-line Communists within Czechoslovakia
- Soviet Response and Invasion of Czechoslovakia June –October 1968
- Long term unrest in Czechoslovakia 1968-8
- Brezhnev Doctrine, 1968 – Tightening of Soviet Control in Eastern Europe
- Public condemnation from Western Allies
- No lasting damage to Détente
Practice Questions

Prague Spring 1968

1. Explain **two** consequences of the election of Alexander Dubcek as First Secretary of the Czech Communist Party in 1968 (8 marks)

2. Write a narrative account analysing the key events of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. You may use the following in your answer:
   - The Prague Spring
   - The Soviet Union re-establishes control
   
   You **must** also use information of your own. (8 marks)

Revise for a Recall Test on the Cold War Crises of 1958-1970
Recall Test – Cold War Crises 1958-70

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## Key Topic Three – The End of the Cold War, 1970-91

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<tr>
<td><strong>Déteinte in 1970s</strong></td>
<td>Déteinte had begun immediately after the Cuban Missile Crisis with the installation of a Hotline in 1963 and the Test Ban Treaty. Cold war tensions were evident in US support of Israel in the Middle East and the USSR’s support of Arab states. Likewise in Vietnam – the USA supporting the non-communist south; USSR provision of weaponry in the north. However by late 1960s, a thaw was evident – USA did not get involved in Czechoslovakia in 1968; USSR prepared to overlook US involvement in Vietnam. In 1973 both superpowers accepted UN peacekeeping forces supporting the end of the Yom Kippur War in the Middle East.</td>
<td><strong>Déteinte</strong></td>
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|                     | 1972 – President Nixon visited Brezhnev in Moscow. There was a desire to work together driven by political fear of improving relations between the USA and the Chinese following a visit three months earlier; the economic need for the USA to buy Soviet oil and the USSR to buy grain from the USA.                                                                 | • Nixon agreed to take part on the European Security Conference which led to the Helsinki Agreement in 1975. Basic agreement made on US-USSR relations in May 1972.  
• Reduction of arms talks i.e. SALT 1 and SALT 2 – talks held in Helsinki and Vienna over three years. SALT 1 in 1972.                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| **SALT 1 1972**      | Strategic Arms Limitation Talks – seen as a positive first step towards arms reduction but it did not address issues of strategic bombers nor were there restrictions on developing new weapons. **Positively – SALT talks were an attempt to control the arms race:** Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty – allowed systems at only two sites, each site with only 100 missiles. Also, a five year freeze in the total number of ICBM and submarine launched ballistic missiles – Interim Agreement on Offensive Arms. **Negatively –** No limitation placed on the numbers of strategic bombers and number of bombs allowed on each side; no restriction on (MIRV) multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles and each side were still allowed to use satellites to check the other side was not breaking its agreement. NB USA added 3 new warheads to the MIRV each day. | • Positive to slow down the number of ICBMs and SLBMs each side could have; led to SALT II Treaty in 1979; neither side had a decisive advantage in strategic nuclear weapons.  
• Arms Race continued with intermediate nuclear weapons.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
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| Brezhnev visits Washington in July 1973 | Many agreements made – agreed to work towards removing danger of war through removing nuclear weaponry; limiting and ending the arms race, especially strategic warheads – both leaders spoke of the ultimate aim of disarmament; both committed to limiting tensions worldwide; development of broad, mutually beneficial co-operation in commercial, economic, scientific, technical and cultural fields i.e. “peaceful co-existence.” | • **Apollo-Soyuz Test Project** on 17 July 1975 – astronauts from both countries met in outer space – symbolic handshake in space  
• **Helsinki Agreements 1975.** USA, USSR and 33 other nations made declarations about three international issues – Security; Cooperation and Human Rights. |
| Detail of Helsinki Agreements – All 35 countries signed. **Agreed:**  
**Security** – Recognition of Europe’s frontiers; USSR accepted the existence of West Germany  
**Cooperation** – Call for closer economic, cultural and scientific links – hoped these would lead to political agreements. USA bought Soviet oil; USSR bought American grain. Recognition of the role of the UN so allowing peaceful resolution to conflict.  
**Human Rights** – Agreement no country would interfere in the running of any other country. All signatories agreed to respect human rights and basic freedoms eg freedom of speech, thought, religion and from unfair arrest | • **Helped stabilise relationships** With USA and USSR  
• **USSR did not uphold human rights** – Brezhnev Doctrine was still applied eg treatment of dissidents like Alexander Sakharov (Scientist) – arrested, hospitalised and force-fed. New US president, Jimmy Carter, was keen from 1977 to push the human rights issue – he openly supported the Soviet dissident, Sakharov. Internationally human rights in Soviet states were monitored – there was much discontent about the lack of freedom. Brezhnev was becoming increasingly embarrassed.  
• By mid to late 1970s, **spending on arms began to increase further as did involvement in other conflicts** – Despite the Helsinki Agreements, USSR send weapons to Angola and Ethiopia, and by 1980, 21 other African states. President Carter increased US defence budget in 1978; USA also supported rebels in Chile and El Salvador. SALT 1 had not effectively limited the arms race; the Helsinki Agreement had not prevented the Superpowers aiding other countries. |
## Events

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SALT II talks began in 1974 and led to a treaty being signed in Vienna in June 1979. Based on Valdivostok Accords of 1974. Agreed:
- Should be a limit of 2400 strategic nuclear delivery vehicles for each side i.e. ICBMs, SLBMs and heavy bombers.
- 1320 limit on MIRV for each side.
- Ban on construction of new ICBM missile launchers
- Limit on deployment of new types of strategic offensive arms
- SALT II to last to 1985

BUT not ratified by US Senate in 1979 for a number of reasons -
- US Congress did not believe limitations could be verified; concerns over 2000 Soviet troops stationed in Cuba.
- NATO established long range missiles in Europe showing détente as a policy was strained – W Germany particularly feared this would weaken its defences
- USSR invaded Afghanistan on 25 December 1979

Invasion of Afghanistan triggered start of Second Cold war.
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| **Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan, 1979** | **Flashpoint between East and West:** USSR sent military support into Afghanistan to ensure a communist friendly government remained in power. In 1978 a new government led by the Peoples’ Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) was established by Taraki. The Soviet military assistant programme had been set up in Afghanistan to hold this government in power. There had been many changes made in Afghanistan under this new hard-line socialist government, including the arrest, torture and murder of the traditional elite of Afghanistan, which comprised of leading Muslims. In September 1979, the Deputy Prime Minister, Amin took control fearing rebellion under Taraki but his policies were as unpopular as they were still anti-muslim. In response, thousands of Afghans joined the *mujahideen* – a Guerrilla movement claiming to be on a holy mission from Allah to overthrow Amin. The mujahideen declared a jihad (holy war) on the supporters of Amin. To hold Amin’s administration in power and ensure a Communist neighbour, the Soviet military assistance programme increased support and advisors. Amin feared dependence on the USSR, and so alienation from the USA. So Amin aimed to improve links with the USA. This concerned the USSR who feared US influence. Also, Brezhnev feared the growing Islamic fundamentalism – he needed to show the 30 million Muslims living in the USSR there would be no changes to the way the USSR was run. Between 25 December 1979 and 1 January 1980 50,000 Soviet troops were sent to Afghanistan to restore order and protect the PDPA from the mujahideen. Brezhnev explained his action as upholding the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Good Neighbourliness signed with President Taraki in 1978. Amin was shot on 27 December – replaced by Kamal who had been in exile in the USSR. His position was entirely dependent on Soviet military support. In response many Afghan soldiers defected to the mujahideen so over 85,000 Soviet soldiers were needed to control the country | **END OF DÉTENTE –**  
- **Carter Doctrine, 1980 showed end of détente** – USA took a tough stance with a view to protecting national interests in the Persian Gulf, which the USA relied on for supplies of oil. In direct response to weakness of response to the Iran hostage crisis in 1978-9, Carter was determined to protect the US interests in the Middle East from communism. There was fear that India and Pakistan were close and these too could be threatened by the USSR. Carter Doctrine promised support to any countries bordering Afghanistan. In order to action this, Carter set up a quick-strike military force that could be available anywhere in the world (Rapid Deployment Force). Draft registration of all 18-20 year old men; Congress to allow CIA to gather intelligence.  
- **Non ratification of SALT II Treaty in 1979 by US Senate at request of Carter**  
- **Economic boycotts** – not allowing shipments of grain to the USSR; US companies not able to sell computers or technological equipment in USSR  
- **Military assistance** given to the mujahideen to fight the Soviet invaders by the USA  
- **Olympic Boycott** – 1980 boycott of the Moscow Olympics. 61 other countries followed suit so showing end to cooperation under the Helsinki Agreement of 1975  

**USSR REMAINED IN AFGHANISTAN SO THE PRESSURE DID NOT CHANGE ACTION OF THE USSR**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Events</th>
<th>Key Features</th>
<th>Consequences</th>
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<tr>
<td>Reagan and the Second Cold war, 1980s</td>
<td>In 1980, Ronald Reagan won power in the USA promising a tougher line being taken with the Soviet Union. Reagan’s main focus was not on the USSR’s human rights issue but on needing to defeat them in the Second Cold War. He promised the electorate success where they had failed in Vietnam; the hostage situation in Iran; the growing Soviet influence in Africa and Central America. Immediately he increased the American defence budget i.e. between 1981 and 1987 this would increase by over a trillion dollars i.e. – • 100 MX missiles • 100 B-1 long range and supersonic bombers • Construction of new stealth bomber – undetectable by radar systems • Strengthening military communication systems • Development of neutron bomb (killing people not damaging property) USSR had deployed SS20 missiles in western Soviet Union. In retaliation, USA placed cruise missiles in western Europe so beginning the arm’s race again and worsening relations. <strong>Strategic Arms Reduction Talks</strong> were held throughout (START) the early 1980s. Reagan did offer arms limitation talks with Brezhnev in November 1981 – initially the controversial “zero option” i.e. USA would cancel deployment of missiles to western Europe if USSR dismantled comparable forces in USSR i.e. 600 SS20 intermediate-range missiles. Brezhnev refused – as Reagan’s advisors knew he would. These talks continued but had very little success. Complication in Arm’s Talks as USA were secretly supporting the Solidarity Movement in Poland, who opposed the Communist government. In 1982 the movement were banned and leaders arrested. The USA openly condemned the harsh action and took this opportunity to ban any hi-tech trade to the USSR</td>
<td>• USA moved the arm’s race on – having once been some reassurance under the MAD principle, Reagan’s administration felt they could win a limited nuclear war against the Soviet Union i.e. NUTS strategy (Nuclear Utilization Target Selection). Pan to target the nuclear warheads of the opponent rather than cities so destroying nuclear capabilities. This altered the nature of the warfare/tension as less ethical reason to stop. • <strong>Cold War began again</strong> – Reagan referred to USSR as the “evil empire” in 1982; Andropov (new Soviet leader in 1982), called Reagan “insane” and a “liar” • USA actively supporting the opponents of communism eg Solidarity in Poland.</td>
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<td>Reagan and the Second Cold war, 1980s</td>
<td>1983 – Soviet delegation walked out of the START Talks. In March 1983, Reagan announced the <strong>Strategic Defence Initiative</strong>. SDI (Star Wars programme) Plan for a ground – and space based, laser-armed anti-ballistic missile system, which if deployed would shield the USA from the Soviet ballistic missiles, destroying them in the process. Andropov spoke out against the system saying this was the USA preparing a first strike attack on the Soviet Union – i.e. Reagan finding ways to unleash nuclear war and win. This would give the USA an unfair advantage in any possible conflict, so making it possible for the USA to launch a tactical nuclear war. US Congress voted in favour of funds for the project in 1983.</td>
<td>• <strong>USSR outmanoeuvred in arms and space race</strong> – USSR were unable to compete in terms of economic commitment to new arm’s race. SDI would mean any spending was pointless. Economically the SU was close to collapse so feared further spending – USA knew this so forcing the pace of the Arm’s Race was a good to ruin the USSR for good. <strong>In terms of the Space Race</strong> – USA had the first man on the moon in 1969; first space shuttle in 1980. <strong>Computer Technology</strong> – USSR had fallen behind, partly due to economic issues but also fear that anti-communist propaganda could be produced so undermining the USSR. SDI and the new technology relied on computerisation so the USSR were unable to compete.</td>
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**Crisis in the USSR**

USSR’s economy and that of the Eastern Bloc was in crisis; living standards were extremely low.

Militarily, the USSR were bogged down in the war in Afghanistan, which it could not win.

Technologically, the USSR were falling behind in terms of weaponry and industry/agriculture.

Politically, from 1982-85 the USSR had four leaders so there was great instability – Brezhnev died in 1982; Andropov led from 1982-4; Chernenko led from Feb 1984 – March 1985. All three men had been in their 80s. March 1985 – younger leader appointed, Mikhail Gorbachev.
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| Gorbachev’s “New Thinking” | Gorbachev became leader of the USSR in 1985. He knew that a new relationship was needed with the USA for the USSR to survive. He acknowledged the weaknesses in the Soviet economy when compared to the USA. Americans enjoyed a high standard of living; in the USSR there were severe shortages – some housewives queued for up to 5 hours for bread. Corruption in the higher ranks of the Communist Party were clear; production levels in industry and agriculture were very low. People were losing faith in communism. Gorbachev introduced “new thinking” to both domestic and foreign policy to address the issues – to reform the political and economic life in the Soviet Union. He had not intended to destroy communism, simply to reform it. There were three key strands to his policies:  
  - Introducing sweeping reforms in the USSR’s Communist Party and Soviet system through policies of perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (openness)  
  - Ending the arm’s race; signing arm’s reduction treaties with USA  
  - Abandoning the Brezhnev Doctrine – stopping Soviet interference in eastern European satellite states | • **Reform within the USSR** i.e. system of perestroika and glasnost. Economy and political system were gradually restructured i.e. allowing a move away from nationalisation and collectivisation; elections for local government. In terms of openness, there were dissidents released and other political prisoners; accounts emerged about the atrocities under Stalin; cultural freedom re films, plays, music that had previously been banned  
• **Negotiations with USA** – Summit Conferences - first held in Geneva in 1985 to discuss arm’s limitation. USA refused to give up the SDI but there was genuine agreement to make the world a “safer place”. In the Geneva Accord, the two countries committed to speed up arm’s talks; work towards the abolition of chemical weapons; be more active on issues of human rights. Second conference held in Reykjavik, Iceland in October 1986 – no agreement as USA refused to discard SDI. Third conference in 1987 – **Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF)**. USA still remained committed to SDI but Gorbachev realised need to reduce weapons as they could not compete with the USA on nuclear weapons; USA were clear they did not plan to invade the USSR; USSR needed time for economic recovery and Gorbachev knew seeking peace would win his popularity in the west and act as a lever for further talks. By 1991 there had been further treaties to reduce armaments, including in 1991 (START 1)  
<p>| Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), 1987 | Eliminated nuclear and conventional ground launched ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges of 500-5000 km. By Treaty’s deadline of 1 June 1991, 2,962 weapons had been destroyed. Under the treaty both sides were able to verify the limitation of weapons made by the other. Viewed as “an impossible vision” by Reagan and of “universal significance for mankind” by Gorbachev, the INF was very important as a first step to disarmament |</p>
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<td>Gorbachev’s New Thinking – effects in Eastern Europe 1989-91</td>
<td>Sinatra Doctrine of 1988-9 meant Eastern Europe were free to choose their own government. Gorbachev had never intended the collapse of Soviet control being so rapid but this was the effect: 1989 – Poland sought reform led by the Solidarity Movement. Non-Communist government elected 1989 – Hungary opened her border with Austria in May so a hole in the Iron Curtain allowed. Also allowed a way for East Germans to move to West Germany. Free elections held in 1990 – non-communist government elected 1989 – Demonstrations in East Germany – Soviet troops would not support the Communist government, saying they were no longer getting involved in independent country’s internal affairs. 1 million protesting in East Germany in November 1989 demanding free elections. 9 November, aware of how many East Germans were already leaving to go to the west, the East German government accepted freedom of movement from East to West Berlin. The Wall was dismantled. By October 1990 – Germany was reunited. 1989-1990 – New governments elected in Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Romania</td>
<td>• Rapid change in Eastern Europe – No longer Soviet held; able to hold democratic elections, trade freely and move throughout the east and west. Germany – huge symbolism in the dismantling of the wall in November 1989 and the reunification in October 1990 • Collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991 = end of the Cold War – Gorbachev was ousted from power in the Soviet Union in August 1991 for the destruction of the Communist Party by the Gang of Eight. While re-established three days later, his authority had been damaged. Boris Yeltsin took up the leadership. Following planned constitutional reform for Soviet republics, they demanded total independence 1990-91 eg Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania. Soviet Union formally dissolved on 25th December 1991.</td>
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Key Topic Three – The End of the Cold War 1970-91

Détenue – What changed in the 1960s and 1970s?
1. Complete the Mind Map to show the features of détente
   a) Add details for each event so you remember key features
   b) Highlight or colour code to show where relationships were at their best i.e. working well and where they are not
   c) When would be the turning point for a change in relations? Why?

Flashpoint – 1979 – Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan
2. Complete the flow diagram. Ensure you give reasons why the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan; the event and the consequences

Reagan’s Presidency – Second Cold War
3. Complete the flow diagram – look at the consequences his presidency had.

Gorbachev – New Thinking; the End of Soviet Control in Eastern Europe and the Collapse of Soviet Unions
4. Complete a flow diagram showing what led to Gorbachev’s New Thinking in the USSR; in Superpower Rivalry and Eastern Europe

Revise for a recall test on the end of the Cold War 1970-
Détente 1960s and 1970s

Changes after Cuban Crisis

Nixon Visits Moscow, 1972

SALT I 1969-72

Brezhnev visits Washington, 1973

Apollo-Soyuz Test Project, 1975

SALT II 1974-9

Helsinki Agreement, 1975

Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, 1979
Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan 1979

2. Complete a flow diagram showing what led to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan; the invasions itself and the consequences:

- New government led by the Peoples’ Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) was established by Taraki. (1978)
- Soviet military assistance programme needed to keep communist government in power
- Anger rising from torture and loss of freedom for traditional elites, including Muslim communities under Amin
- Establishment of Mujahdeen
- Amin fears isolation due to allegiance with USSR so seeks relations with USA
- USSR growing fear of Islamic fundamentalism

Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan, 1979-80

- In Afghanistan – Kamal placed in leadership; relied on Soviet military assistance
- Response from USA – Carter Doctrine, 1980 – end of Détente

Additional Events:
- Non ratification of SALT II Treaty in 1979 by US Senate at request of Carter
- Economic boycotts – not allowing shipments of grain to the USSR; US companies not able to sell computers or technological equipment in USSR
- Military assistance given to the mujahedeen by the USA
- Olympic Boycott – 1980 boycott of the Moscow Olympics.

Election of Ronald Reagan as President in 1980 – Second Cold War begins
3. Complete a flow diagram showing what impact Reagan’s presidency had on the Cold War:

President Reagan – Second Cold War

- Reagan elected as President. 1981- Tougher line on the USSR
- US defence budget increased – re-established Arm’s Race
- Also, Strategic Arms Reduction Talks were held throughout (START) the early 1980s
- USA - NUTS strategy (Nuclear Utilization Target Selection) so intending localised nuclear attacks
- Strategic Defence Initiative planned by USA
- Second Cold War – Key Features
  - USSR outpaced in Arm’s Race and Space Race
  - USA developing computer technology; space shuttle
- Crisis in the USSR – Regular change of leadership; economic crisis
  - Election in 1985 of Mikhail Gorbachev – “new thinking” policies in USSR to affect the USSR; Cold War rivalry and Eastern Europe
Gorbachev’s New Thinking 1985-91

5. Complete a flow diagram showing what led to Gorbachev’s New Thinking in the USSR; the impact this had in the USSR; in Superpower Rivalry and E.Europe

- Reform in the USSR
- Negotiation with the USA re arms reduction - Summit Conferences 1985-86
- Abandonment of the Brezhnev Doctrine - Sinatra Doctrine, 1990
- Allowed reform in Eastern Europe

- Release from Soviet Control in E Europe 1989-91
- End of the Warsaw Pact and the Cold War, 1991
Practice Questions

Question 1

1. Explain two consequences of Nixon and Brezhnev’s Moscow meeting in 1972 (8 marks)
2. Explain two consequences of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 (8 marks)
3. Explain two consequences for relations between the USA and USSR of Reagan becoming president in 1981 (8 marks)
4. Explain two consequences of Gorbachev coming to power in the Soviet Union (8 marks)
5. Explain two consequences of the break-up of the Eastern Bloc (8 marks)

Question 2

6. Write a narrative analysing the key events in attempts to reduce tension between East and West in the 1970s and 1980s.
   You may use the following in your answer:
   - The Helsinki Agreements
   - Gorbachev’s “new thinking”

   You must also use information of your own (8 marks)

7. Write a narrative analysing how the “Second Cold War” developed between 1979 and 1985.
   You may use the following in your answer:
   - The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979
   - The Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI)

   You must also use information of your own (8 marks)

8. Write a narrative analysing how relations between the USA and USSR improved between 1985-1987.
   You may use the following in your answer:
   - Glasnost and perestroika
   - The INF Treaty

   You must also use information of your own (8 marks)

Question 3

9. Explain two of the following:
   - The importance of the SALT I Treaty (1972) for the development of the Cold War
   - The importance of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979) for relations between the USA and the Soviet Union
   - The importance of the fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) for the development of the Cold War (16 marks)
Recall Test – The End of the Cold War 1970-91

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

WWW:

EBI:

10.