

Superpower relations and the Cold War

Revision Guide

Key terms

| <u>Key term</u> | <u>Definition</u> |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>Soviet Union</i> | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, or USSR. A union of republics ruled from Moscow, Russia. |
| <i>Ideology</i> | A set of shared beliefs. |
| <i>Capitalism</i> | The ideology that everyone should be free to own property and business and to make money. The USA's political ideology was capitalist. |
| <i>Communism</i> | The ideology that all property, including homes and businesses, should belong to the state to ensure that every member of society has a fair share. The Soviet Union's political ideology was communist. |
| <i>Democracy</i> | A political system in which a nation's leaders are chosen in free elections. |
| <i>Satellite state</i> | A nation that was once independent, but is now under the control of another. |
| <i>Colonialism</i> | Economic, political, and cultural control of another country. |
| <i>Reparations</i> | Payments in money or goods after a war from the losing country to the victors. |
| <i>London Poles</i> | A group of politicians who left Poland after the German invasion in 1939 and set up a government-in-exile, first in Paris and then in London. |
| <i>Veto</i> | Forbid or refuse. Permanent members of the United Nations Security Council can stop resolutions being passed with a single 'no' vote, even if all the other members think it should be passed. |
| <i>Buffer zone</i> | An area of land between two countries designed to protect them from attack. |
| <i>Isolationism</i> | Not getting involved in the affairs of other countries. Between the First and Second World Wars, the USA followed a policy of isolationism. |
| <i>Containment</i> | Limiting the spread of something - the US policy of containment meant preventing the spread of communism outside a small number of countries. |
| <i>FRG</i> | The Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) |
| <i>GDR</i> | The German Democratic Republic (East Germany) |
| <i>NATO</i> | North Atlantic Treaty Organisation: a military alliance between Western countries |
| <i>Conventional weapons</i> | Weapons which are not nuclear, chemical or biological. |

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| <i>Deterrent</i> | A force that prevents something from happening. During the Cold War, many people believed in the 'nuclear deterrent' - that countries would be less likely to use nuclear weapons because of the danger that the other side would respond with an equally devastating attack. |
| <i>Peaceful coexistence</i> | The Soviet theory that communism and capitalism could co-exist peacefully, without the need for hostile relations. |
| <i>Disarmament</i> | The reduction or withdrawal of weapons or military forces. |
| <i>Ultimatum</i> | Final demand, often backed up with a threat to take action. |
| <i>Hawks</i> | Those in the US administration who supported going to war. |
| <i>Doves</i> | Those in the US administration who supported peaceful negotiation. |
| <i>Brinkmanship</i> | Pushing disagreements to the point where there is risk of war. |
| <i>Non-proliferation</i> | Stopping the spread of something, usually weapons. |
| <i>Doctrine</i> | A belief or philosophy |
| <i>Détente</i> | A period of peace between two groups that were previously at war, or hostile to each other. |
| <i>Status quo</i> | The existing state of affairs; the norm. |
| <i>ICBM</i> | Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles. |
| <i>SLBM</i> | Ballistic Missile |
| <i>MIRVs</i> | Multiple |
| <i>Hawks</i> | Someone who favours the use of military force to resolves international disputes. |
| <i>Doves</i> | Someone who favours the use of military force to resolves international disputes. |
| <i>Ratify</i> | Formal approval by the US Senate to turn an agreement or idea into official US policy. |
| <i>Mujahideen</i> | A group of Muslim guerrilla fighters. |
| <i>Catalyst</i> | Someone or something which speeds up or causes an event or reaction. |
| <i>Rhetoric</i> | Language designed to have a persuasive or impressive effect. |
| <i>Evangelical</i> | A Christian denomination which emphasises the importance of the Bible and the need for personal belief in Christ. |
| <i>Gerontocracy</i> | A state, society, or group governed by old people. |
| <i>Perestroika</i> | Russian for 'reconstruction'. Part of Gorbachev's 'New Thinking', which included reorganising the structure of the Soviet state and economy. |
| <i>Glasnost</i> | Russian for 'openness' or 'transparency'. Part of Gorbachev's 'New Thinking', which included allowing more freedom of speech and openness in government and foreign relations. |

The origins of the Cold War, 1941-58

1) Early tensions between East and West

During the Second World War, the Soviet Union, USA and Britain formed 'The Grand Alliance' against Nazi Germany. However, once Germany had been defeated, tensions between the allied countries began to increase for several reasons.

Causes of tension

1. Ideological differences

| | USA & Britain | Soviet Union |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| Politics | Democracy: free elections with a choice of parties | Single-party rule |
| Social structure | Some people have more power than others because of family, background, wealth, education, or achievements | Classless society where everyone is equal |
| Economy | Capitalist: private ownership of property and business | Communist: state ownership of property and business |
| Rights | Individual freedoms guaranteed | The rights of all workers more important than individual rights |

2. Differences between leaders

| Leader | Franklin D. Roosevelt | Winston Churchill | Joseph Stalin |
|-----------------------------|--|---|---|
| Date of leadership | 1933-45 | 1940-45, 1951-55 | 1920s-1953 |
| Country | USA | Britain | Soviet Union |
| Politics and beliefs | Strongly believed in democracy, but formed an alliance with the Soviet Union to protect the USA against Japan. Was not as tough with Stalin as Churchill wanted him to be. | A conservative with traditional values. Strongly believed in democracy, the British Empire and was very suspicious of Stalin. | Strengthened one-party rule in the USSR and cut back on personal freedoms for Soviet citizens. Stalin was convinced the West wanted to destroy communism. |

3. A new world order

After the Second World War, the 'old powers' like Britain and France were now less important. Two new 'superpowers', the Soviet Union and the USA had emerged. Their strong militaries and economies created rivalry between them.

4. The Grand Alliance

Although Britain, the USA, and the Soviet Union united against Germany and Japan in the Second World War, there was no real change in how they viewed each other. The USA and Britain were still suspicious of the communist Soviet Union, whilst the USSR distrusted the capitalist world.

5. The Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam conferences

| Conference | Tehran | Yalta | Potsdam |
|------------|--|---|--|
| Date | November 1943 | February 1945 | July-August 1945 |
| Leaders | Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin | Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin | Truman, Attlee, Stalin |
| Outcomes | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The USA and Britain would attack Germany in Western Europe, helping the Soviets fighting in the East. Stalin would declare war against Japan and help the USA to defeat them once the war in Europe was over. Agreed that the aim of the war was Germany's unconditional surrender, and that it should be kept weak after the war. Poland could take land from Germany, and the USSR could keep land it had taken from Poland in 1939. An international organisation should be set up to settle disputes through discussion and negotiation (later became the United Nations) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Germany to be split into four zones, each controlled by a different power: the USA, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. Half of Germany's \$20 billion reparations would go to the Soviet Union, the Nazi Party would be banned and war criminals prosecuted. The United Nations was set up The Soviet Union joined the war against Japan Stalin agreed the future governments of Eastern Europe would be decided by free elections Polish borders were agreed, and free elections were guaranteed. Stalin expected this to result in a pro-communist government, whereas | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Germany split into four zones, but the economy would be run as a whole Berlin split into four zones controlled by different countries, even though it was within the Soviet zone of Germany Each administering country would take its reparations from the zone of Germany it controlled. As the Soviet Union controlled the poorest zone, it could take a quarter of the industrial equipment from other zones. Truman objected to Soviet control over the countries of Eastern Europe |

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| | | Britain supported the London Poles. | and the arrangements for Poland agreed at Yalta. |
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6. Developments in 1945-46

The atom bomb: the USA developed and used atom bombs to win the war against Japan. The USA dropped an atom bomb over the Japanese city of Hiroshima on 6th August 1945 and over Nagasaki on 9th August 1945. 120,000 Japanese civilians were killed altogether.

| How did this increase tensions? | How did this decrease tensions? |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Soviet Union became even more determined to spread its influence in order to create a <i>buffer zone</i> between itself and Western Europe. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both sides were much less willing to go to war, as the risks became much higher and many more would be killed. |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Soviet Union first successfully tested an atom bomb on 29th August 1949. By 1964, Britain, France, and China also had the atom bomb. | |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both sides now had weapons capable of killing millions | |

The Kennan Long telegram and the Novikov telegram: these two reports from the ambassadors in the Soviet and American embassies show the attitudes towards each other's countries.

| George Kennan's Long Telegram to Washington | Nikolai Novikov's telegram to Moscow |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reported that attitudes in Moscow were hostile towards the USA. Stalin held a firm belief in the destruction of capitalism. Kennan believed that the Soviets would back down if faced with tough resistance from the West. This played a key role in American foreign policy in the following years. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Believed the the US wanted to use their strong military to dominate the world. Told Moscow that the Americans no longer wanted to cooperate with the Soviets. |

Churchill's 'Iron Curtain' speech: In March 1946, on a visit to the USA, Churchill made a speech criticising the Soviet Union as a threat to world peace. Stalin took this to be

a reflection of American beliefs, which encouraged the USSR to strengthen its forces and increase anti-Western propaganda.

The creation of Soviet satellite states in Eastern Europe: The countries that the Soviet Union freed from Nazi occupation between 1944 and 1945 became satellite states under Soviet control after the end of the war. Stalin was reluctant to give up control of these countries as they were a useful buffer zone between the Soviet Union and Germany. Truman saw this as evidence that the Soviet Union wanted to spread communism worldwide.

2) The development of the Cold War

The Truman Doctrine

On 12th March 1947, Truman delivered a speech to the US congress announcing a \$400 million aid package to Greece and Turkey. In the same speech, he voiced his opinion on communism as 'evil' and said that he intended to use American aid and troops to stop it from spreading throughout the world, especially the countries of Europe which had been devastated by war and were particularly vulnerable to an extreme ideology such as communism. This speech became known as the 'Truman Doctrine' and signalled the beginning of the US policy of *containment*.

The Marshall Plan

Three months after Truman's speech, George Marshall, the US Secretary of State, announced in a speech that the USA would provide economic aid to the war-torn countries of Europe to help them recover from the damage suffered in conflict, and to keep them tied to the USA instead of falling to communist ideology. Between 1948 and 1952, the USA gave \$12.7 billion in aid, mainly to countries in Western Europe. Many Eastern European countries refused America's offer, under Stalin's orders.

Consequences of the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan:

'Dollar imperialism: Stalin did not react well to the Marshall Plan. Rather than a defensive policy to stop the spread of communism, he saw American aid to Europe as a way for the USA to spread its own influence and to undermine the United Nations. This so-called 'dollar imperialism', as the Soviets referred to it, was perceived as America's way of splitting Europe in two and establishing an economic empire in Western Europe.

A clear divide had been established between the Soviet Bloc and the USA. Stalin's suspicions of the USA as trying to crush the Soviet Union were reinforced, and a rivalry between the two superpowers that would last for over 50 years had begun.

The creation of Cominform and Comecon

| | Cominform | Comecon (The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance) |
|---------------------|---|--|
| Date created | 22 nd September 1947 | 25 th January 1949 |
| Members | The Communist Parties of: The Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, France and Italy | The Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, East Germany, and Albania. |
| Purpose | Political organisation. Gave Stalin the power to control the governments of his satellite states and ensure they followed orders from Moscow. | To provide economic aid as an alternative to the Marshall Plan, and later to organise industrial planning and encourage trade between members. |

The creation of the North Atlantic Organisation Treaty (NATO): In response to the creation of Cominform and Comecon, the USA and Western European countries created a new military alliance, NATO.

The 1948 Berlin Crisis

Now that Germany had been divided between the four occupying powers, disagreements emerged over how these should be run. Whilst the Soviets wanted to take as much material as possible from their zone to help rebuild the Soviet Union, the Western powers wanted to help to rebuild Germany's economy. By March 1948, Britain, France and the USA had combined their zones to create 'Trizonia', and three months later created a single currency for this zone, the Deutschmark. This annoyed the Soviets, as Germany was now effectively divided into two countries: East and West.



The four zones of Berlin in 1948

The Berlin blockade: In June 1948, Stalin decided to shut off land routes across the Soviet-controlled zone of Germany into the Western-controlled areas of Berlin. The Western zone of Berlin was now cut off from the Western part of Germany, with no communication and food running out.

The Berlin Airlift: Consequently, the Western powers launched 'Operation Vittles', or the Berlin Airlift, where they flew food, coal and other necessities into the Western zone of Berlin, in order to avoid the land blockade imposed by Stalin. Nearly a year later, on 9th May 1949, the Soviets gave in and lifted the blockade. Stalin's attempt to provoke the West had backfired: the West had responded to the blockade peacefully, and he was now portrayed as unwise and aggressive.

Consequences of the Berlin Crisis

The creation of East and West Germany: Three days after the blockade was lifted, the British, French, and American zones came together to form a state, the *Federal Republic of Germany (FRG)*. This was a democratic state, and the chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, was elected on 15th September 1949. The FRG was much larger than East Germany. In October 1949, Stalin responded by creating the *German Democratic Republic (GDR)*. This was a country only recognised by the communist bloc countries.

The creation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact: In April 1949, the USA, Britain, France, and nine other Western countries formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). This was a military alliance intended to protect western countries from the communist threat. All members agreed that if one was attacked, the others would come to its aid. In response to the FRG joining NATO in May 1955, Stalin created the Warsaw Pact, the equivalent of NATO for eastern communist countries. This is now seen as a defining moment in the split of Europe into two blocs: the capitalist West and communist East.

3) The Cold War intensifies

The arms race

1945: the USA develops the atomic bomb

1949: the USSR develops the atomic bomb

1952: the USA develops the hydrogen bomb

1953: the USSR develops the hydrogen bomb

1957: the USA develops the inter-continental ballistic missile (ICBM)

1957: the USSR begins to test ICBMs

The Soviet Union seemed to always be playing catch-up with their development of nuclear weapons between 1950 and 1958. The USA had a near constant advantage in terms of technological capability and the power of their nuclear weapons. However, the Soviet Union was not far behind as it wanted to maintain equal capabilities to ensure the likelihood of war was reduced through the idea of the *nuclear deterrent*.

Reasons for a reduction in tensions:

New leaders: In January 1953, Dwight D. Eisenhower became the new president of the USA. He and his secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, were strongly anti-communist and were determined to prevent communist expansion.

On 5th March 1953, Stalin died. It was not until 1956 that a new leader clearly emerged: Nikita Khrushchev. He openly criticised Stalin's policies and called for *peaceful co-existence* with the West.

The end of the Korean War: The USA and the Soviet Union had supported different sides in the Korean War (1950-53). The end of the war contributed to a reduction in tensions.

Defence spending: Both sides were spending large amounts of money on their militaries. They knew that a reduction in tensions would be good for their economies.

The Geneva Summit: A July 1955 summit meeting in Geneva between East and West also served to reduce tensions between the two Blocs. Although no agreement was reached over disarmament and the future of Germany, there was an improved atmosphere of cooperation between the two sides, and an agreement was reached on how Austria should be governed.

Reasons for increased tensions:

The Hungarian Uprising, 1956: When the Hungarian people began to protest against poor living conditions and shortages in 1956, Khrushchev sent Soviet troops to restore order and to replace the leader, Rakosi, with former Prime Minister, Imre Nagy. The new leader introduced several reforms including ending the one-party state and the removal of Soviet troops from Hungary. Although Khrushchev accepted these reforms as long as they calmed unrest, he would not accept Nagy's announcement on 1st November 1956 that Hungary would be leaving the Warsaw Pact. This could set a precedent for other Eastern European countries to do the same. On 4th November, Soviet troops invaded Hungary and crushed the uprising, killing around 20,000 Hungarians and installing a pro-Communist government under Janos Kadar. Khrushchev

hoped this would serve as a warning to other satellite states that any threat to Soviet security would be dealt with brutally.

International reaction to Hungary: Many Hungarians had expected support from the USA and other Western countries during the uprising, especially since they had offered financial support to Eastern Europe through the Marshall Plan. However, Eisenhower was only prepared to send US troops to prevent the spread of communism, not to interfere in the internal affairs of the Warsaw Pact countries, as this could trigger nuclear war.

The West's refusal to intervene strengthened Khrushchev's position in the Warsaw Pact. Members knew they could not rely on Western support if they chose to rebel against Moscow. Khrushchev was now more confident in dealing with the USA as they had shown they were not willing to risk military action.

The origins of the Cold War, 1941-58: Test yourself!

- 1) Give three causes of tension between the USA and the Soviet Union following the end of World War Two.
- 2) How did the development of the atom bomb in 1945 help to decrease international tensions?
- 3) What was the Truman Doctrine?
- 4) What was the Marshall Plan?
- 5) Give two consequences of the Truman Doctrine.
- 6) What was Cominform?
- 7) What was Comecon?
- 8) Give two consequences of the Berlin Crisis.
- 9) How did Khrushchev's appointment as leader of the Soviet Union in 1956 contribute to a reduction in tensions with the USA?
- 10) How did the Hungarian Uprising in 1956 contribute to an increase in tensions with the USA?

Cold War crises, 1958-70

4) Berlin 1958-63: Increased tension and the impact of the Berlin Wall

The refugee problem in Berlin, 1958

By 1958, three million East Germans (over 1/6 of East Germany's population) had left for West Germany as they knew the standard of living was much higher there. Skilled workers left the oppressive eastern regime for the more prosperous, democratic West, causing yet worse problems in the GDR.

Khrushchev's Berlin ultimatum

On 27th November 1958, Khrushchev issued an ultimatum to Britain, France, and the USA, demanding:

- Berlin should be demilitarised and Western troops withdrawn.
- Berlin should become a free city (with its own independent government - although Khrushchev really wanted it to be under Soviet control)

Khrushchev's aim was to force Britain, France, and the USA to give up West Berlin, thus making it much harder for East Germans to leave for the FRG. He gave them six months to agree to these changes, or he would hand over control of all routes into Berlin to the government of East Germany. If this happened, the West would be forced to negotiate with the East German government, thereby recognising it as an independent country.

Whilst the West was outraged at what they saw as Khrushchev's attempt to spread communism in Germany, the Soviet Union perceived their actions as a reasonable attempt to stop the flow of East Germans leaving for West Germany. As both sides now had large nuclear arsenals, they were willing to discuss the Berlin problem and a series of talks were held between 1959 and 1961.

Geneva, May 1959: No agreement reached over Berlin.

Camp David, September 1959: The Soviets agreed to withdraw the Berlin ultimatum.

Paris, May 1960: Khrushchev walked out of the meeting due to his frustration at Eisenhower's refusal to apologise for sending a spy over the Soviet Union. The Soviets

had shot down an American U-2 spy-plane on 1st May and interrogated the pilot, Gary Powers.

Vienna, June 1961: Khrushchev renewed the Berlin ultimatum as he believed the new US president, John F. Kennedy, was young and inexperienced. Kennedy refused to make concessions and the meeting ended without any agreement.

Building the Berlin Wall

As tensions between East and West increased, more East Germans fled to the FRG. On just one day in August 1961, 40,000 East Germans crossed to the West. On 12th August 1961, East German troops built a barbed wire fence around Berlin and between the Eastern and Western parts of the city. Soon after, a concrete wall was built to separate them.

Impact of the Berlin Wall:

Berlin: The wall was often built through streets and even buildings meaning it split apart friends and families who could no longer visit each other. It is estimated that over 130 people were killed by the East German police trying to cross the wall into the West.

The USA and Soviet Union:

| | Negative outcomes | Positive outcomes |
|-------------------------|---|--|
| The USA | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Soviet Union closed the border between East and West Berlin without consulting the USA People in East Berlin could no longer escape from communism if they wanted to | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Khrushchev had been forced to accept Western control in Berlin - he knew he could only contain communism in the Soviet zone, rather than taking over all of Germany. The prosperity and popularity of West Berlin for East Berliners became a symbol of defiance against communism. |
| The Soviet Union | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Khrushchev had to abandon plans to unite Germany under Soviet control. The Wall showed that the only way the Soviets could control their zone was to 'lock' people in and prevent them from leaving. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The wall stopped people leaving East Berlin, preventing further damage to the economy. Showed the West that communism would remain in East Berlin and that Germany could not be united under Western control. |

International relations: Tensions increased between the USA and the Soviet Union after the Berlin Wall was built. It became a powerful symbol of the stark differences between East and West for almost 30 years, and showed that the two sides had been unable to come to an agreement over Germany.

However, now that the border between East and West Berlin was closed, the likelihood of 'hot' war between the USA and Soviet Union decreased. As both sides now had clear zones of control and a concrete border between them, they were much less likely to go to war over Berlin.

5) The Cuban Missile Crisis

The Cuban Revolution

The Cuban Revolution took place in January 1959, when a group of revolutionaries led by Fidel Castro and Che Guevara toppled the pro-American Cuban government. Castro was a nationalist who was not happy with the amount of American control in Cuba - American investment in the country's businesses gave the USA a lot of influence in Cuba. For example, Cuba's oil refineries, railways, electricity and phone networks were all controlled by Americans.

A year later, Castro made a deal with Khrushchev, agreeing that the Soviet Union would buy Cuban sugar and provide economic aid. There was also a secret clause that Cuba would receive weapons from the USSR. This was particularly concerning to the USA as Cuba was only 145 kilometres away from Miami. In retaliation, in July 1960 Eisenhower reduced the amount of sugar the US would buy from Cuba, before banning trade completely in October, and eventually cutting off all diplomatic relations in January 1961.

Bay of Pigs

In 1961, President Kennedy supported a plan hatched by Eisenhower and the CIA before he was elected to overthrow the new Cuban regime. On 17th April 1961, the USA sent around 1400 Cuban exiles to the Bay of Pigs in Cuba. Sending Cuban exiles would make the invasion look like a counterrevolution and the USA could deny any involvement. However, the attempted coup failed and was a huge embarrassment for President Kennedy. The invasion backfired as Khrushchev and Castro became closer, with the Cuban leader declaring himself a communist and the Soviet Union openly declaring that it would provide arms to Cuba. Whilst Kennedy warned Khrushchev that he could not use Cuba as a base for nuclear weapons as it was too close to the USA. Khrushchev promised this would not happen.

The Cuban Missile Crisis

However, on 14th October 1962, American U-2 spy planes took pictures of what appeared to be nuclear weapons in Cuba. Khrushchev broke his promise for several reasons:

- 1) NATO had based missiles in Turkey, close to the Soviet Union. Khrushchev felt threatened by this and may have wanted revenge on the USA, or to pressure Kennedy into removing the NATO missiles.
- 2) Khrushchev wanted to prove his strength to Kennedy and the rest of the world after the humiliation of the Berlin Wall and mass migration from communist East Germany.
- 3) To try to prevent the USA from attacking Cuba and removing the pro-communist government there.

Kennedy was faced with the problem of how to react to the missiles in Cuba without causing a full-blown war, but still appearing as a strong leader who could out-smart the Soviets.

The Thirteen Days, 16th-28th October 1962: The thirteen days in which Kennedy and his team deliberated over their response to the Soviet Union were a tense period during which the world faced a very real possibility of nuclear war. Kennedy assembled a committee to decide on which action to take. On 22nd October, they decided not to attack Cuba, but to set up a naval blockade around the country. No ships could pass through without US permission. Many people expected the Soviet Union to ignore the blockade, which would lead to an American attack and start a full-blown war. However, on 24th October, when Soviet ships reached the blockade, they turned around, avoiding triggering a nuclear war.

Outcomes: Whilst confrontation had been narrowly avoided, the problem of the Soviet weapons in Cuba persisted. On 26th October, Khrushchev sent a telegram to Kennedy promising to remove the missiles if the US agreed not to invade Cuba. He followed this the next day with another telegram promising to remove the missiles if the NATO missiles were removed from Turkey. Kennedy decided to ignore the second telegram, accepting the conditions of the first. In secret, Kennedy's brother Robert met with the Soviet ambassador in Washington and agreed to remove NATO missiles from Turkey, although the public did not know this. Four other major outcomes resulted from the Cuban Missile Crisis:

- 1) In June 1963, a direct communication line was set up between Moscow and Washington, known as the 'hotline'.

- 2) In August 1963, a Test Ban Treaty was signed by the US, the USSR, and Britain. This prohibited the testing of nuclear weapons in outer space, underwater, or in the atmosphere.
- 3) In 1967, the Outer Space Treaty was signed. This prohibited putting nuclear weapons in outer space.
- 4) In 1968, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty was signed. This was intended to stop the spread of nuclear weapons, as countries who signed the treaty could not share their nuclear technology with others.

Whilst the Cuban Missile Crisis made Kennedy more popular at home as he had stood up to the Soviet leader, Khrushchev's humiliating defeat played a major role in his dismissal as leader in 1964.

6) Czechoslovakia, 1968-69

In 1948, the Soviet Union established a communist government in the Eastern European country of Czechoslovakia. Moscow controlled much of what happened in the country, and the economy was run for the benefit of the Soviets. The Czech people had few consumer goods, no freedom of speech, or access to a free press. Towards the end of the 1960s, protests against low standards of living began to grow.

The Prague Spring

In 1968, Alexander Dubcek was elected as the new leader of the Czechoslovakian government. The Soviet Union approved of him and trusted that Dubcek would regain public favour. Although Dubcek was a committed communist, he also believed citizens should be free to express themselves and to criticise the government's decisions without fear of being punished.

Dubcek introduced a set of reforms which became known as the 'Prague Spring', such as:

- Less censorship; criticism of the government allowed
- More powers for trade unions; less government control of industry
- More power for Czech regional governments
- Trade with the West increased
- More freedom for Czech people to travel abroad
- Eventual multi-party elections (though not for a few years)

Whilst there was great enthusiasm amongst the Czech people for these reforms, Moscow was worried that other countries in the Warsaw Pact would want similar

freedoms. This could be a dangerous path towards Moscow losing its influence in its satellite states.

The Soviet reaction

The new Soviet leader, Brezhnev (who replaced Khrushchev in 1968), urged Dubcek not to go too far with his reforms. He also ordered other Warsaw Pact countries to place their troops in Czechoslovakia to scare Dubcek into listening to Moscow. However, when Dubcek invited the Romanian and Yugoslavian leaders to a meeting in August 1968, Brezhnev decided to take action. Both Romania and Yugoslavia had recently tried to break away from the Warsaw Pact - Brezhnev could not let this happen to Czechoslovakia, too.

On 20th August 1968, 500,000 Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia and ended the 'Prague Spring'. There was little the Czech people could do against such a large military force, and the troops entered virtually unchallenged, except for a few brave protestors. Dubcek was arrested, sent to Moscow, and ordered to reverse his reforms. In 1969, Moscow replaced Dubcek with a communist loyal to Moscow, Gustav Husak, who restored hard-line communist rule in the country which remained in place for the next 20 years.

The Brezhnev Doctrine

Whilst the West viewed Brezhnev's actions in Czechoslovakia as an aggressive attempt to dominate another country, Moscow justified its actions as necessary to maintain the unity of the communist bloc. In 1968, the 'Brezhnev Doctrine' was established. This was the Soviet leader's policy that said the actions of any individual communist country affected all communist countries. Therefore, if one country's actions threaten the survival of its communist regime, all others must take action to prevent this. This meant that communist countries could not introduce reforms to make their political system more liberal or democratic.

Impact of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia

| | |
|---|---|
| Impact on Czechoslovakia: | End of the Prague Spring. |
| Impact on relations between other communist countries in Eastern Europe: | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yugoslavia and Romania condemned the USSR's actions, straining their relationship with Moscow. • The Communist Parties of Italy and France cut all ties to Moscow. • The governments of East Germany and Poland welcomed Moscow's actions as it made them feel more secure that they could not be challenged by reformers in their own countries. |

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|--|---|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Soviet Union gained greater control over its satellite states. The Brezhnev Doctrine confirmed this. |
| Impact on relations between the USA and Soviet Union: | The USA was outraged and strongly condemned the invasion. However, it did not take any direct action against the Soviet Union, suggesting to Moscow that it would not be challenged for using violence to maintain control in the Eastern Bloc. |
| Impact on the USA's international reputation: | Other countries also noticed that the USA would criticise the Soviet Union, but was not willing to go any further to protect the peoples of Eastern Europe. This was partly due to the fact that the USA was tied down in a costly war in Vietnam and was beginning to adopt a policy of détente. |

Cold War crises, 1958-70: Test yourself!

- 1) Why was the number of refugees leaving East Germany for West Germany such a problem for the GDR?
- 2) How did the Soviet Union and the West view Khrushchev's Berlin Ultimatum differently?
- 3) Why did the USA have a lot of influence in Cuba before the revolution in 1959?
- 4) Why was it particularly concerning to the USA that Cuba made a deal with the Soviet Union that Moscow would provide it with aid, investment, and weapons?
- 5) What was the impact of the failure of the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961?
- 6) What were the consequences of the 1961 Cuban Missile Crisis?
- 7) What was the 'Prague Spring'?
- 8) How did the Soviet Union react to Dubcek's reforms?
- 9) What was the Brezhnev Doctrine?
- 10) What was the impact of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia on relations between the USA and the USSR?

The end of the Cold War, 1970-91

7) Attempts to reduce tension between East and West, 1969-79

Détente

During the 1970s, there was a genuine attempt between the USA and the Soviet Union to develop a more stable and co-operative relationship, in order to avoid the risk of nuclear destruction that had seemed so close during the Cuban Missile Crisis. This policy of cooperation is referred to as *détente*.

Reasons why the two superpowers followed a policy of détente

| USA | USSR |
|---|---|
| <p>The Vietnam War: The Vietnam War had cost billions of dollars and resulted in the deaths of almost 60,000 US soldiers. President Richard Nixon, elected in 1968, was determined to focus on ending America's conflict in Vietnam.</p> | <p>Economy: The Soviet Union was facing economic problems at home, and needed to reduce its spending on weapons in order to redirect money to improving standards of living and updating its economy.</p> |
| <p>Protests: There had been many large-scale protests in America against the war in Vietnam, and some believed the USA should take a less active role in international affairs.</p> | <p>Equality with the US: The Soviets also felt that they were now equal to the USA in terms of nuclear capability, with the Vietnam War showing that the American military was not unbeatable. Therefore, now would be a good time to establish a peaceful <i>status quo</i> with the USA.</p> |
| <p>Social problems: The USA was facing many social problems such as inequality between rich and poor, and between races. This led to urban rioting on a massive scale in 1968, triggered by the assassination of civil rights activist Martin Luther King Jr. The USA faced criticism for ignoring its own domestic issues in favour of international conflicts.</p> | |

Other Western European countries also encouraged a policy of détente between the two superpowers, including West Germany (led by Willy Brandt) and France.

SALT I

The Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT 1) was signed in May 1972. This was an agreement between the USA and the Soviet Union in three areas:

- **The Anti-Ballistic Missiles Treaty** agreed that ABMs were only allowed at two sites and each site was limited to 100 missiles.
- **The Interim (meaning short-term) Treaty** agreed that each country would have a restricted number of Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) and (SLBMs) until 1977
- **The Basic Principles Agreement** agreed rules for the conduct of nuclear war, and set out steps for avoiding a nuclear war.

Weaknesses of SALT I

This agreement, although representing progress in cooperation between the USA and USSR, had a number of weaknesses, such as:

- It was unlikely to prevent a nuclear war if tensions were to rise again
- It did not cover the latest nuclear weapons, such as MIRVs

Other symbolic moments in early détente included Nixon's visit to Moscow in 1972, and Brezhnev's visit to Washington in 1973.

The Helsinki Accords

In 1973, 33 nations from NATO and the Warsaw Pact came together to start further negotiations, in an attempt to build on the progress made on SALT I. This agreement was signed in August 1975, and consisted of three 'buckets'. These were extremely significant for the international reputation of both sides, and are recognised as the point during the détente period where the two sides achieved the greatest cooperation and progress in relations.

| 'Basket' | What it said | Significance |
|-------------------------------------|---|--|
| 1: European borders | The current borders of European countries were inviolable (could not be changed by military force, such as one country invading another) | This was the first time that the border between East and West Germany was formally recognised, as well as those of Soviet-controlled countries of Eastern Europe. |
| 2: International cooperation | All countries would attempt to establish closer relations between Western and Eastern European countries, through agreements to trade, exchange technology, and a joint Space | Until now, both sides had been in competition to show that they were more advanced than the other. Now they could trade and share technology, it was more likely that the <i>status quo</i> would be maintained. |

| | | |
|------------------------|---|--|
| | Mission. | |
| 3: Human rights | All countries would respect international human rights principles, such as freedom of speech, religion, and movement across Europe. | After the violence displayed by Warsaw Pact forces in Czechoslovakia in 1968, basket 3 was seen as a major turning point in the Soviet Union's acceptance of human rights and freedoms within its sphere of influence. |

Salt II

On 18th June 1979, President Nixon and Brezhnev signed the SALT II agreement. This included restrictions on missile launchers and strategic bombers, as well as a ban on testing or deploying new types of ICBM.

The end of détente

Towards the end of the 1970s, the atmosphere of improved relations and cooperation between the Western and Eastern powers began to fade for several reasons:

- An increase in support for the Soviet Union in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Angola made the US suspicious. Politicians from all parties began to distrust Moscow, and cooperation with the USSR was seen by some as a weakness.
- In November 1979, Iranian Islamists captured the US embassy in Tehran (the capital city of Iran) and held more than 60 American diplomats and their family members hostage for 444 days. Many in the US felt angry and humiliated by this, and called for America to restore its image as a strong and powerful nation that would take action against those threatening its interests.
- Hawks within President Carter's administration, such as Zbigniew Brzezinski, his National Security Advisor, were calling for tougher action against the Soviets.
- In December 1979, détente came to an end with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan to restore a communist administration there, after the previous leader was overthrown. Any hope for SALT II to be *ratified* in the US Senate ended.

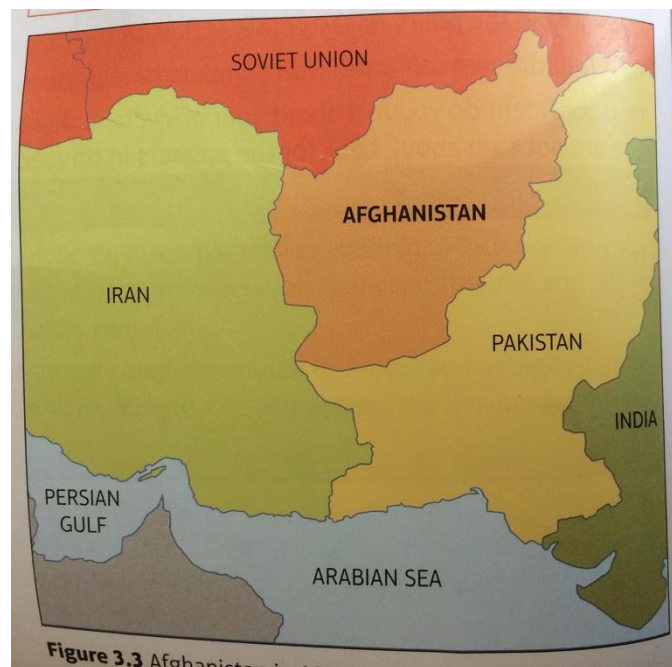
8) Flashpoints in superpower relations, 1979-84

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, 1979

In 1979, a revolution in Iran deposed the Shah (king/emperor) and replaced him with a Muslim fundamentalist government, headed by Ayatollah Khomeini. This worried the

Soviet Union, as the south of the country bordered Iran, and there was a possibility that the revolution may spread. Afghanistan came to be seen as an important *buffer* between the two countries to protect the Soviet Union from uprisings in its Muslim south, and a communist government loyal to Moscow was installed in Kabul (the capital city of Afghanistan) in April 1978.

However, in September 1979, this government was overthrown by Hafizullah Amin, at first supported by Moscow, but gradually raising suspicions with rumours that Amin was asking the USA for support. Thus, on 24th December 1979, Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan, claiming Amin had invited them to support his regime. However, three days later he was assassinated and replaced with a pro-Soviet leader, Babrak Kamal. Soviet troops remained in Afghanistan for ten years to support his leadership.



US reaction

Washington did not react well to the invasion. Whilst the Soviets saw it as a necessary action to protect their security in the south, the US saw it as an aggressive attempt to spread communism abroad. President Carter reacted by withdrawing the SALT II proposal, increasing spending on the US military, imposing *economic sanctions* on the Soviets, and sending weapons and money to the *mujahedeen*. He also publicly stated that the US would send military support to protect the Persian Gulf (the area of Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, etc.) if necessary. This became known as the *Carter Doctrine*.

Impact of the invasion on US-Soviet relations

Whilst *détente* had been fading for several years before the invasion, the events in Afghanistan acted as a *catalyst* for its demise. In the 1980 presidential campaign,

Republican candidate Ronald Reagan used the invasion to criticise President Carter, a Democrat, as weak and argued that the US needed to take a tougher line against the Soviets. The invasion made confrontation between the two superpowers more likely, and helped bring about the election of Ronald Reagan as president.

The Olympic boycotts

In protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the USA led over 60 countries in a boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games which were held in Moscow. This was significant because the Olympics would be watched around the world, and whilst Moscow was hoping to promote communism through the games, the USA showed how much influence it had internationally by leading other countries in its boycott. The Soviet Union felt undermined by the USA's actions and relations worsened further. Four years later, when the USA held the Olympics in Los Angeles, the Soviet Union led 15 communist countries in its own boycott of the games.

Ronald Reagan and the 'Second Cold War'

The beginning of Ronald Reagan's presidency was characterised by much more hostile relations with the Soviet Union. This had begun under Carter but became more obvious under Reagan for several reasons:

- Reagan's *rhetoric* was much more hostile. For example, in a speech to a group of *Evangelicals* in 1983, he described the Soviet Union as an 'evil empire' and the USA as a force of 'good'.
- Reagan spent much more money on defence. In 1982, 32% more was spent, with a further 8% in 1983 and 1984. New weapons such as Trident submarines and Stealth bombers were developed.
- The 'Reagan Doctrine' stated that the USA would not only support anti-communist groups, but also anti-communist groups trying to overthrow communist governments. As such, US support was given to groups in countries of Central America such as El Salvador and Nicaragua. The US invaded the Caribbean island of Grenada to topple the communist government there, which Reagan described as the first 'rollback' of communist influence since the Second World War.

The Strategic Defense Initiative

In 1983, Reagan announced a new policy to place the Soviet economy under even more pressure, as they were struggling to keep up with US spending on defense and weapons. The *Strategic Defense Initiative* (SDI) or 'Star Wars' as it was popularly called, would place a series of satellites in orbit around the earth. Reagan planned that these

satellites would have powerful lasers that could detect and shoot down any Soviet missiles before they reached the USA. This was against the terms of the 1967 Outer Space Treaty. Although this system was years away from being developed, Reagan's new policy worried the Soviets - if the US developed SDI, Soviet missiles they had spent so much time and money developing would become redundant.

SDI was a major turning point in the 'Second Cold War'. The Soviets knew they could not keep spending large amounts of money trying to catch up with the USA's rapid advancement in technology and weapons. The Soviet economy was not strong enough. This was an important factor in the 'new thinking' policy of Mikhail Gorbachev when he became Soviet leader in 1985.

9) The collapse of Soviet control in Eastern Europe, 1985-91

Gorbachev's New Thinking

In March 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became the new leader of the Soviet Union. At this time, the Soviet Union was facing a number of serious problems:

- The Soviet economy was struggling. During the time of Brezhnev, lots of money had been spent on keeping up with the USA in terms of technology and weapons, whilst little had been invested in the economy. Therefore, standards of living were much lower in the East than in the West, and there was barely any industrial growth in any of the countries in the Warsaw Pact.
- Standards of living were low and a lack of human rights was causing popular unrest. In Poland, the trade union 'Solidarity' was banned by Moscow as it was such a serious threat to the communist regime there. In 1981, the Polish authorities declared martial law in order to maintain control.
- Soviet troops carried out manoeuvres along the Polish border, ready to invade if necessary to keep control. Communist governments clung onto power in other satellite states by using secret police forces to control the population, such as the *Stasi* in East Germany and the *Securitate* in Romania.
- Years of poor leadership by a *gerontocracy* in the Soviet Union was contributing to poor decision making and weak leadership.
- These leaders had also been in poor health, meaning the last few leaders of the Soviet Union had only been in power for a short period of time before their deaths, meaning they were not able to make meaningful changes or long-term plans for the country. Brezhnev died in 1982 after a long illness; his successor, Andropov, died in 1984; Chernenko, the next leader, died in 1985.

Gorbachev wanted to reform the Soviet Union. His policies included:

- *Perestroika*: reforming the Soviet state and economy to include some of the features that made capitalism successful.
- *Glasnost*: more openness and less corruption in government. People should be free to express their opinions and opposition parties should be allowed.
- *The end of the Brezhnev Doctrine*. The Soviet Union would no longer get involved in the internal affairs of other Warsaw Pact countries.
- *Reduction of defense spending*. The Soviet Union would spend less on arms and defence, and would withdraw from Afghanistan.

The US response

Gorbachev's leadership coincided with a change of thinking in Washington. Reagan saw Gorbachev as a leader he could develop diplomatic relations with, and his tough, hard-line approach to communism softened. Reagan took the opportunity of a younger, more open Soviet leader to develop relations between the two countries, whilst still sticking to his original aim of standing tough against the spread of communism.

During the first four years of Gorbachev's leadership, significant steps were taken to ring about further limitations on nuclear weapons:

| Summit | Details | Outcome |
|----------------------------------|--|---|
| Geneva Summit, November 1985 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Before Geneva, Gorbachev replaced his hard-line foreign minister with the more reform-minded Eduard Shevardnadze • Gorbachev and Reagan meet for the first time | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No formal agreement • Good working relationship between Reagan and Gorbachev • Mutual desire to improve relations |
| Reykjavik Summit, October 1986 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gorbachev wanted to reduce the number of nuclear weapons in the world, as he was worried about the danger they posed. This may have been worsened by the Chernobyl disaster in April 1986. • Gorbachev proposed phasing out nuclear weapons if Americans gave up the SDI programme. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No formal agreement would not give up SDI • Relations improved |
| Washington Summit, December 1987 | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gorbachev accepted that the US would not give up SDI. He knew he would need to get an agreement on disarmament in order to reduce Soviet spending on weapons. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formal treaty signed: The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force Treaty (INF) - this said that both countries would abolish all land-based missiles with a range of 500-5,500 km. |

| | | |
|---------------------|---|--|
| Moscow Summit, 1988 | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Details of the INF Treaty were resolved. • Gorbachev later announced to a reduction in Warsaw Pact troops and that Soviet troops were to be withdrawn from Afghanistan. |
| Malta Summit, 1989 | Gorbachev met with new US President, George Bush Snr. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No new agreement, but seen as marking the end of the Cold War • Both sides committed to peace between their countries and cooperation in the future. |

The end of Soviet control in Eastern Europe

Now that Gorbachev had announced the end of the Brezhnev Doctrine, the countries of Eastern Europe were free to choose how they would be governed without fear of a Soviet invasion. His 'New Thinking' reforms of *glasnost* and *perestroika* also encouraged the satellite states to introduce changes which would improve their standard of living and increase their individual freedoms. However, Gorbachev's changes were not intended to end communism, but to strengthen it. Gorbachev genuinely believed that by giving people more freedom, they would *choose* to remain under a communist system. As it turned out, within twelve months of his speech at the United Nations, the communist system had been dismantled throughout Eastern Europe. A year later the Soviet Union itself was disbanded.

The significance of the fall of the Berlin Wall

On 9th November 1989, the Berlin Wall, a symbol of the division between communism and capitalism in Europe for 28 years, fell. Restrictions which had prevented people crossing between the two sides of the capital had been lifted, and for many citizens, this was their first chance for almost 30 years to see family and friends who had been living on the other side of the wall. There were scenes of great emotion, with some taking hammers and chipping off pieces of the wall to keep as a souvenir of this momentous day.

Politically, the fall of the wall was largely symbolic. By November 1989, East Germans could already travel to the West through Austria and the East German leader, Erich

Honecker, had been sacked. Throughout Eastern Europe, communist governments were falling and the Soviet Union had shown it had no intention of stepping in to help. Therefore, the destruction of the Berlin Wall became a symbol of the end of Soviet control on the continent, and the end of the Cold War as a whole.

The end of the Warsaw Pact

The events of 1989 saw communist governments coming under extreme pressure across Eastern Europe and made it impossible for the Warsaw Pact to survive. Military cooperation between the member states ended in July 1990 and the Pact was formally dissolved in July 1991. This was a highly significant moment in the end of the Cold War, as the Pact had served as a symbol of Soviet dominance in Eastern Europe and a symbol of the division between Eastern countries and the Western countries of NATO.

Europe reunited

Both the end of the Warsaw Pact and the fall of the Berlin Wall meant that both the political and symbolic division of Europe had come to an end. The Cold War was over and there were no longer two armed alliances confronting each other across the 'Iron Curtain'.

The satellite states regained their independence

The end of the Warsaw Pact meant that many countries of Eastern Europe were truly free to govern themselves for the first time in decades. They no longer had to follow the policies or orders of Moscow, or run their economy to benefit the Soviet Union. Every single ex-Warsaw Pact country chose to abandon communism after 1989.

Gorbachev fell from power

The loss of Soviet control over the satellite states contributed greatly to Gorbachev's loss of power. Hard-line communists blamed him for the disintegration of the Communist Bloc and threatening Soviet security. His position became worse when the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia all declared themselves independent of the Soviet Union during 1990.

In August 1991, communist hardliners staged a coup against Gorbachev. Boris Yeltsin, the president of the Soviet republic of Russia, rallied the people of Russia to oppose the coup and Gorbachev continued in government, although with severely damaged authority.

The leaders of the other Soviet republics took advantage of Gorbachev's weakness and 12 of them joined together in a Commonwealth of Independent States. Gorbachev could no longer viably continue as leader of the Soviet Union, and on 25th December

1991 he announced his resignation. This was immediately followed by the break-up of the Soviet Union.

The end of the Cold War, 1970-91: Test yourself!

- 1) Why did the Iranian Revolution in 1979 worry Moscow?
- 2) How did the Soviet Union react to Amin's coup in Afghanistan?
- 3) When did the Soviet Union invade Afghanistan?
- 4) How did the USA see the invasion?
- 5) How did the USSR justify the invasion?
- 6) What were the consequences of the invasion?
- 7) What was the Carter Doctrine?
- 8) How did Ronald Reagan's early presidency increase tensions between the USA and the Soviet Union?
- 9) How did Reagan's announcement of his *Strategic Defense Initiative* in 1983 help to reduce tensions with Moscow?
- 10) What do *perestroika* and *glasnost* mean?
- 11) On which date did the Berlin Wall fall?
- 12) What was the significance of the fall of the Berlin Wall?

Exam-style questions

8 mark questions

- 1) Explain **two** consequences of the Yalta Conference in 1945. (8 marks)
- 2) Explain **two** consequences of the Potsdam Conference in 1945. (8 marks)
- 3) Explain **two** consequences of the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe. (8 marks)

- 4) Write a narrative account analysing the key events of the Berlin Crisis 1958-61.
You may use the following in your answer:
 - The U-2 crisis
 - The building of the Berlin Wall.You **must** also use information of your own. (8 marks)

- 5) Write a narrative account analysing the decline in US-Soviet relations in the years 1947-49.
You may use the following in your answer:
 - The Marshall Plan, 1949
 - Comecon, 1949You **must** also use information of your own. (8 marks)

- 6) Write a narrative account analysing the key events in US-Soviet relations in the years 1949-56.
You may use the following in your answer:
 - The Warsaw Pact, 1955
 - The Soviet invasion of Hungary, 1956.You **must** also use information of your own. (8 marks)

- 7) Write a narrative account analysing the events of the Hungarian Uprising of 1956.
You may use the following in your answer:
 - Khrushchev's leadership
 - Nagy's decision to leave the Warsaw Pact.You **must** also use information of your own. (8 marks)

- 8) Write a narrative account analysing the key events in superpower rivalry over Cuba in the years 1959-2.
You may use the following in your answer:
 - The Cuban Revolution, 1959
 - The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962You **must** also use information of your own. (8 marks)

16-mark questions

1) Explain **two** of the following:

- The importance of SALT I for international relations during the Cold War.
- The importance of the Helsinki Accords for international relations during the Cold War.
- The importance of the invasion of Afghanistan for superpower relations during the Cold War.

2) Explain **two** of the following:

- The importance of the 'Prague Spring' for international relations during the Cold War.
- The importance of the Tehran Conference for relations between the Grand Alliance.
- The importance of the Hungarian Uprising for international relations.

3) Explain **two** of the following:

- The importance of the Potsdam Conference for relations between the USA and the Soviet Union.
- The importance of the Berlin Blockade for the future of Germany.
- The importance of the formation of NATO for relations between the USA and the Soviet Union.

4) Explain **two** of the following:

- The importance of the Truman Doctrine for international relations.
- The importance of the Bay of Pigs incident for the future of Cuba.
- The importance of the Warsaw Pact for relations between the USA and the Soviet Union.

5) Explain **two** of the following:

- The importance of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan for international relations.
- The importance of SALT I for the development of détente.
- The importance of the Cuban Revolution for relations between the USA and USSR.