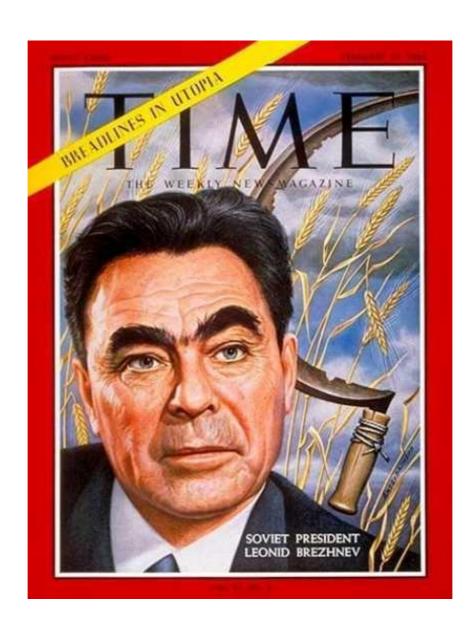
<u>A2 The Cold War, c1945 – 1991</u>



<u>The Brezhnev era, 1972-</u> <u>1985</u>

The USA and Southeast Asia

The Continuation of the Paris Peace Talks

Following the devastation of the Tet Offensive, Johnson and Nixon were determined to end US involvement, achieve 'peace with honour', and maintain South Vietnam as an independent non-communist state. Prior to their meeting in 1972, henry Kissinger looked to negotiate with the North Vietnamese. Kissinger used the Sino-Soviet split to the USA's advantage. As a result the North Vietnamese were told that they must negotiate in Paris with the Americans.

By 1972, it was apparent to both the USA and the North Vietnamese that their objectives could not be fulfilled through military means. In South Vietnam, president Nguyen Van Thieu remained determined to keep the US military in the country, and to reject any peace proposals other than the ones that would guarantee the long-term non communist future of South Vietnam.

Talks began in July 1972. The North Vietnamese were willing to consider a coalition government that would include representatives from the NLF. In October, an agreement was reached but it is important to note that the South Vietnamese were excluded from the negotiations.

The following terms were agreed upon:

- A ceasefire would begin in January 1973
- Each sides forces would keep the areas controlled at the time of the
- Within 60 days the USA would withdraw its forces and POWs would be exchanged
- A commission would be set up to consider the introduction of free elections in a post war South Vietnam and this would consider the eventual reunification of Vietnam as a single state.

"Peace is at hand" – Henry Kissinger

After Nixon won the 1972 election he renewed the US military efforts hoping to send a warning to North Vietnam. In December 1972

Nixon ordered the bombing of Hanoi and all other important Northern cities, in what ended up being the heaviest bombing of the Vietnam War.

Northern Victory

On 27 January 1973, the Paris Peace Agreement was finally ratified, but the USA had to put significant pressure on Thieu to sign on behalf of South Vietnam. US military forces were out of Vietnam by the end of March 1973. South Vietnam's fears regarding US withdrawal were correct. Upon US troop withdrawal the North Vietnamese began to intensify their guerrilla campaign in the South. The ARVN was unable to cope with this, as result the USA promised to provide military and economic aid that included \$1 billion in armaments, giving South Vietnam the world's fourth largest air force.

The Watergate Scandal

Nixon faced his own problems during this period. In January 1973 it had been revealed that the Presidents employees had broken into and bugged the offices of the Democratic Party in the Watergate Hotel. While historians are not sure whether Nixon knew about the Watergate espionage operation before it happened, he took steps to cover it up afterwards, raising "hush money" for the burglars, trying to stop the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) from investigating the crime, destroying evidence and firing uncooperative staff members. In August 1974, after his role in the Watergate conspiracy had finally come to light, the president resigned. Gerald Ford, who ultimately oversaw a foreign policy that led to the collapse of South Vietnam, succeeded him.

The North Vietnamese continued their guerrilla actions, but quickly escalated to conventional forces when they realised the USA were not going to intervene. The Americans were startled by the speed of North Vietnamese success but did nothing to stop its advance. On 21 April 1974, Thieu resigned as President and fled the country and on 30 April 1975 South Vietnam surrendered to the North.

Continuing problems in Cambodia

The US had dropped 430,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia in support of Lon Nol against the Khmer Rouge and North Vietnamese. They also provided 119 advisers however Lon Nol did not welcome any advice. Although the Paris Peace Agreement stated that the US should leave Cambodia this did not end fighting. The Khmer Rouge intensified its fighting and isolated the capital from the rest of the country. Within a week of the US forces being evacuated from the country the capital fell to the Khmer Rouge. This marked the beginning of revolution. The Khmer Rouge's aim was to destroy Cambodia's existing society and create a completely new agricultural system. Cambodian cities were emptied as their populations were forced into the countryside. It is estimated that 1 million

people were killed in the revolution and almost half of the population was turned into refugees. This revolution was ended when a pro-Vietnam Cambodian Heng Samrin was installed and the capital was recaptured.

The Costs of the Vietnam War

<u>America</u>

Over 58,000 Americans died in the Vietnam War, the forth-highest death rate of all US wars. Around 2.7 million Americans served in the Vietnam War.

On their return US veterans faced rejection by the general public as the scenes of brutality and the belief that the US had lost the war tainted them.

A bitter debate over draft dodgers and deserters took place in the USA after the war. An estimated 100,000 men the USA to avoid conscription, most of them going to Canada. President Carter (who succeeded Ford in 1977) gave amnesty to all draft evaders.

It is estimated that the economic cost of the war was \$167 billion. As a result social reforms such as President Johnson's 'Great Society' suffered. Johnson himself was a casualty of the war, all of his successes such as in civil rights were forgotten due to the stigma of the war.

Ultimately the domino effect took place in Southeast Asia as Cambodia and Laos fell to socialist regimes. Without Indochina SEATO lost its relevance and was disbanded in 1976.

The War Powers Act in 1973 gave Congress the right to declare war and prevented American Presidents from acting without the consent of Congress thus reversing the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution.

<u>Vietnam</u>

It is difficult to assess the number of casualties that resulted from the Vietnam War. Numbers range from 1.3 to 9 million. Even more difficult to gauge is the number of civilian casualties, which was estimated to be 250,000.

From 1975, Vietnam faced hostility from the USA. President Ford also imposed a trade embargo on Vietnam, which was designed to prevent Vietnam from developing economic relations with the West.

The war had a devastating impact on Vietnam's infrastructure. During the conflict the USA dropped 643,000 tons of bombs on North Vietnam and 700,000 tons on South Vietnam, causing massive destruction to prime agricultural land. Despite

In the border region of Montagnard the people of the central highlands lost nearly one fifth of their population and 85% of the population had to be resettled.

Although Vietnam emerged as a united country, many Southerners were forced to summit to 're-education camps'.

Collectivisation of agriculture was introduced and many Southern farmers lost their livelihoods. One consequence was a huge involuntary migration of the Vietnamese. About 1.5 million people left the countryside.

Approximately two thirds of these left for the USA.

The extent of détente up to 1979

Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) I

There were some moves between the USA and the USSR towards limiting the development of nuclear weapons during the 1960s. The 1963 Moscow Test Ban Treaty and the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty had begun the process.

The <u>Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty</u> limited both the Soviet Union and the USA to constructing two fields of Anti-Ballistic Missiles (AMBs), each with no more than 100 miles. On of these could be set up around a capital city. It meant that there would be no competition to further develop ABM defence technology.

The <u>Interim Agreement of the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms</u> was reached in 1972 between the USA and USSR effectively linked strategic offensive and defensive arms agreements. It established a freeze in strategic missiles. This amounted to:

- 1054 ICBMs for the USA and 1618 for the Soviet Union
- 656 SLBMs for the USA and 740 for the Soviet Union
- 450 strategic bombers for the USA and 140 for the Soviet Union.

This agreement was to remain valid for five years.

The SALT talks were politically beneficial for Nixon and Brezhnev. SALT was the foundation for the political achievement that made détente possible. US nuclear dominance had ended and the two major powers were equal. The SALT agreements were finalised at the Moscow Summit.

The Moscow Summit, Amy 1972

As well as finalising the SALT agreements the summit also set out the guidelines for the American-Soviet relations, "The Basic Principles of Relations between the United States and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics' acted as a code of behaviour the two powers had for each other. There were 12 principles including:

- The Basic principle was that the 'powers will there is no alternative to conduct their mutual relations on the basis of peaceful coexistence'.
- They agreed to avoid military confrontations and prevent the outbreak of nuclear war. Peaceful relations were to be based on the recognition of the right of each state to protect its security interests.
- There was a special responsibility to do everything in their power so that conflicts will not arise to cause international tensions.

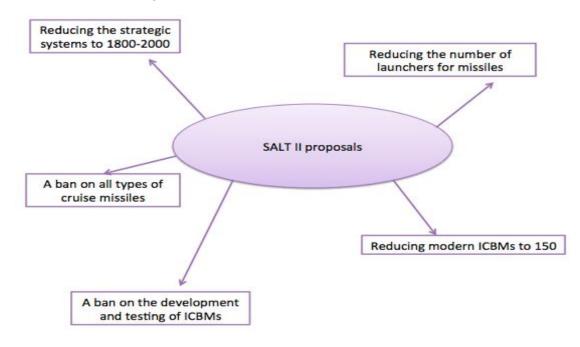
There was no legal status instead it was dependent on each side sticking to the guiding principles. While SALT I produced an interim agreement both the USA and USSR desired a lasting agreement. This was referred to as SALT II.



SALT II and the Vladivostok Summit, November 1974

The Vladivostok Summit set out the basis for further negotiations; both sides agreed for equal limits for missile launchers and strategic bombers. However the Vladivostok Agreement fell short of a full treaty and SALT II negotiations continued into the late 1970s.

New President Jimmy Carter to the Soviets unveiled SALT II in March 1977:



Brezhnev rejected these as he saw Vladivostok as binding and these new proposals altered what had been agreed. There was an increasing feeling by the USSR that Carter was beginning to move away from détente.

The Vienna Agreement, June 1979

Despite all the previous disagreements, both the USA and USSR wanted to proceed with SALT II, this was officially signed at the Vienna Summit in June 1979.

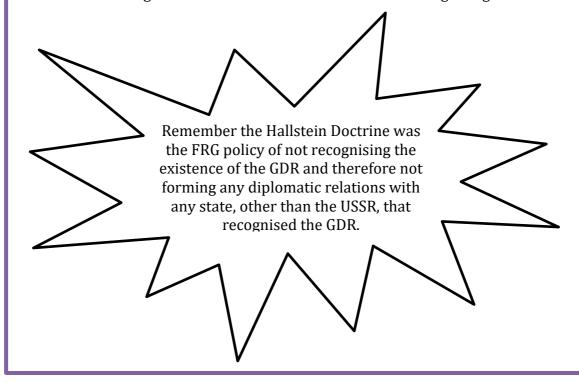
European Détente

<u>Ostpolitik</u>

Ostpolitik was a new term used to define a new approach to European East-West relations. The appointment of Willy Brandt as chancellor of West Germany in October 1969 triggered a new phase in these relations.

He chose to abandon the Hallstein Doctrine and instead wanted to recognise East Germany and the territory changes that had occurred. He wanted to negotiate with the Soviet Union, settle the frontier with Poland and finally negotiate with the GDR.

Brandt talks with the USSR led to the joint Non-Aggression Pact signed in August 1970. This enabled Ostpolitik to be established and mutual recognition of the two German states to begin. This was developed further when Walter Ulbricht (GDR communist party chief) resigned and was replaced by Erich Honecker. This allowed a formal agreement to be ratified with each state recognising the other.





The Basic Treaty (Grundlagenvertrag)

This was the concerning the relations between the FRG and the GDR which was signed on 21 December 1972 in East Berlin. The articles within this recognised the sovereignty of both states and sought peaceful methods of conflict resolution.

This was significant as it provided the route for other nations to establish relations with the GDR:

<u>Nation</u>	Date diplomatic relations were opened with GDR
Australia	December 1972
UK	February 1973
France	February 1973
Netherlands	February 1973
Federal Republic of Germany (FRG)	February 1974
USA	December 1974

By the end of 1973 both the FRG and the GDR were members of the United Nations.

Helsinki Accords

Improving relations between Eastern and Western Europe led to the Helsinki Accords. The conference focused on the security and cooperation in Europe. A

total of 35 countries participated, including the USA and Canada. The accords reflected agreements in three key areas which became referred to as baskets.

Basket number	<u>Theme</u>	<u>Explanation</u>
Basket 1	Security in Europe	This contained the Soviets key objective as all European nations recognised the Soviet Bloc. This was because the basket outlined ten principles of inter state relations including the recognition of existing frontiers.
Basket 2	Cooperation in the Field of Economics, of Science and Technology and of the Environment	This involved trade and technology exchanges. All nations agreed to expand trade and share technology.
Basket 3	Cooperation in Humanitarian and Other Fields	This contained the key objective of the West. It committed all to focus on cultural and educational exchange. It sought to encourage the freer movement of people, ideas and information.

The Arms Race

Kissinger feared that if SALT II was not reached by 1977 then there would be an expansion of the nuclear arms race. Therefore the US Secretary of Defence, James Schlesinger, believed that the USA should ensure that it had technical and strategic superiority over the USSR.

By the middle of 1978, President Carter was faced with the USSR's refusal to end the deployment of SS-20 missiles in Europe, or to reduce its stocks of heavy missiles. Carter activated the deployment of new weapons and the establishment of stealth bombers. In December 1979, Carter convinced the USA's NATO alliance to increase their military expenditure by 3%. The USSR continued to deploy its SS-20 missiles, and this was seen as a threat to NATO defence strategy and this was further affected by the USSR's invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

Relations with China

Mao Zedong's priority by the 1970s was the economic development of China rather than revolution. Mao's successor in 1976 was Den Xiaoping who agreed with this economic development. Both Xiaoping and President Carter believed in the idea of maintaining relations between the two countries. However Taiwan was a potential obstacle towards this. In 1978 China and the USA reached an agreement of Taiwan, Deng Xiaoping conceded that the USA should stop aid to

Taiwan's military and as a result formal diplomatic relations were agreed to take effect from 1 January 1979.

The Second Cold War

The reasons for renewed hostilities

In April 1978, a coup led to the overthrow of Mohammed Daoud Khan, a cousin of the former King of Afghanistan. Khan had been in power since 1973, with the support of the leftist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). It was that same group that overthrew Khan for not implementing the socialist principles to which he said he was committed. This coup would lead to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979; an event which would have profound implications for international politics during the 1980s.



The Soviet Union and Afghanistan, 1978-79

The PDPA started a program of radical disruption and land reform. They began a campaign against the influence of Islam by rejecting the wearing of the Islamic veil and the use of Islamic green in the national flag. This regime was an ally of the Soviet Union, but rapidly began o fragment. Ultimately a fraction led by Hafizullah Amin gained control and the Soviets were concerned that this would lead to instability and eventually a threat to Soviet influence in Afghanistan.

What were the Soviet interests in Afghanistan?

There was a shared border stretching 2500km
Afghanistan was a socialist state and a regional ally of the USSR. If it was aligned with the USA this would strengthen the USA's geostrategic power in the region, at the expense of the USSR. This

Afghanistan had to remain a buffer to protect Soviet security and the only way to ensure this was to undertake military intervention. This military intervention was a defensive act designed to prevent Afghanistan from plunging into chaos.

What was America's reaction to Afghanistan?

Events in Afghanistan assumed greater significance for the USA, when in Iran the Shah's pro-American regime was overthrown by anti-American Islamic fundamentalists led by Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini. The Americans feared this new regime would collapse and fall to communism. At his summit meeting with Brezhnev, Carter outline America's concern and suggested that as the USA had not intervened in Afghanistan then the USSR shouldn't either. On 30 January 1980 Carter formally asked Congress to postpone the consideration of SALT II because of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

In an address to the nation Carter outlined a series of measure towards the Soviet Union:

- A deferral of action on cultural and economic exchanges.
- Major restrictions on Soviet fishing privileges in American waters
- A ban on the sale of high technology
- An embargo on sales of grain to the Soviet Union
- US military and economic assistance to Pakistan to enhance its security.

Carter Doctrine

Carter feared that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan represented a new Soviet global policy. He feared that this was the initial step in establishing a Soviet influence in the Persian Gulf and in the Indian Ocean. On 23rd January 1980 Carter unveiled his Carter Doctrine which emphasised the prospect of a military solution to any such expansionism and therefore focused on the build up of US forces as well as strengthening relations with China.

Carter went on to announce an increase in the in the defence budget for 1981. He linked American relations with the Soviet Union and the future of détente to the Soviet Unions actions over Afghanistan. This represented an ultimatum for the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union saw this as the Americas international opportunism. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was the final blow in détentes existence. The Carter administration determined that its entire relationship with the Soviet Union depended on a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. America reverted back to a position of containment

New Personalities

Ronald Reagan

Reagan was originally a Hollywood star. He was a right wing politician who cut spending on domestic social programmes while increasing military spending. The 1980s saw the arms race accelerate, and the world once again came close to nuclear war. Reagan was determined to pursue aggressive policies that were designed to change Soviet behaviour. Reagan was convinced that détente had resulted in the USA's trust in the Soviet Union being misplaced. In a speech in 1983 he referred to the Soviet leaders as being responsible for all levels of international unrest on a global scale. He believed the USA should return to a policy of unilateralism (relying on own resources rather than in an alliance) and restore its military strength.



Margaret Thatcher



Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visited Reagan in February 1981, and began a honeymoon period in Anglo-American relations. Reagan visited Britain a year later and delivered a speech calling for a 'crusade of freedom' and his target was the Soviet Union. Thatcher, like Reagan, was convinced that the Cold War had gone on too long and that the effects of détente had propped up the Soviet Union. Thatcher agreed to allow the USA to launch F-111 bombers into Libya in 1986. Her reward for doing so was to be allowed to extradite IRA terrorists who had taken refuse in the USA for trial.

Pope John Paul II

In 1978 a Polish Pope was elected and enthroned as John Paul II. This led to the Catholic Church assuming a much more direct role in Polish political affairs. An estimated 12 million Poles witnessed the Pope on his visit to his home country where he expressed his views on international reconciliation.



The crushing of Solidarity in Poland



By 1980 was experiencing a severe economic crisis, and this triggered a popular response by the Polish workers. During July and August 300,000 workers went on strike in response to the government-imposed high food prices of up to 100%. These were designed to slow Poland's rapidly increasing foreign debts. In order to ease re unrest, the government agreed to officially accept the first independent Polish trade union among workers in the Lenin shipyard. The union was named Solidarity and its leader was Lech Walesa. Solidarity, Walesa insisted, was not a political movement and its aim was not to overthrow the state, but rather reform its relationship with the people.

Solidarity's membership rapidly increased to about 10 million. Strikes erupted throughout the country, leading to significant pay rises. It was clear, despite Walesa's denial, that Solidarity was an influential political organisation.

The USSR became increasingly concerned about this organisation and started to carry out military manoeuvres along the Polish frontier. However they were not prepared to undertake military intervention in Poland due to fear of armed resistance and intervention from the West.

In September 1981 General Wojciech Jaruzelski became Communist Party leader in Poland and imposed martial law in the December. This meant:

- all gatherings, processions and demonstrations were banned
- a curfew was imposed on all citizens during the hours of 10pm and 6am.
- Official permission was needed to be away from home for more than 48 hours.
- Only one state-controlled radio was allowed to be broadcast.

In addition to this Solidarity leaders were arrested and the union itself was eventually banned. However Solidarity was not defeated, it simply went into hiding and remerged in 1989. Martial law brought the crisis under control but meant that the economic crisis deepened.

The shooting down of KAL 007

In 1983 a major blow to Soviet-American relations came with the shooting down of a Korean civil airliner, KAL 007, by a Soviet interceptor. This killed 269 people, 69 of which were American. Having initially denied involvement in the incident, the Soviets then claimed it was not a civilian plane and had been conducting espionage. The incident clearly demonstrated the ever-growing divisions between the two sides.

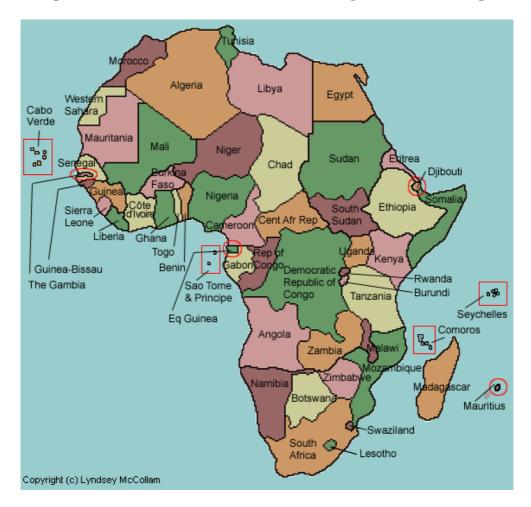
In the wake of this incident the new leader of the USSR Andropov issued a statement seeking to evaluate the Soviet Unions perception of the Reagan administration Reagan's administration was seen as pursuing a military course that threatened peace because it wanted to be a dominant global power.

<u>Developments in Africa and the Americas</u>

The Americans and Cubans remained hostile towards each other. The USA remained fearful of the further expansion of communism into the Americas. The USA's policies towards these countries supported even the most brutal of regimes if they were anti-communist due to the fear of its 'own back yard'.

Cuba began to export revolution, providing support to other countries such as the newly independent African countries.

The impact of Cuban intervention in Angola and Ethiopia



Angola

Newly installed leftists promised independence in Angola after years of fighting against the Portuguese. The Portuguese tried to establish an interim Angolan government to streamline this independence; this was made up of different nationalist fractions. The nationalist groups that made up the coalition had a collective aim of independence but once the Portuguese began their withdrawal, this broke down and civil war erupted.

America sent in \$25 million in supplies and \$16million in arms to the pro-US nationalist group known as the FNLA. In October 1975, the FNLA, supported by South African forces advanced towards the Angolan capital, which was protected by Cuban forces. By January 1976 there were 12,000 Cuban troops supporting the alternative Marxist national group (MPLA).

The MPLA with the aid of Cuba proclaimed victory and created the People's Republic of Angola. Cuba continued to promise military support in case of external threats such as from South Africa. Cuban's relationship with Angola continued to the end of the Cold War.

What was the super powers position towards Angola? **USA USSR** Although considering its options, by The USSR became involved in aiding November 1975 America did not the MPLA as a result of the Sinoregard Angola as a threat to its American collaboration in the country. economic and strategic interests. The USSR also believed, like Cuba, that One concern was that the USA could it had a legitimate right to 'aid people's fighting for their liberation'. Therefore not offer counter-action to stop the the Soviet Union wanted to avoid being MPLA benefiting from USSR and Cuban support. Kissinger commented that this viewed as not supportive to

progressive movements.

The Soviet Union wanted to expand its own influence within the developing world at the same time as undermining the influence of America and China.

Ethiopia

military moves'.

'was the first time that the United

States had failed to respond to Soviet

In the aftermath of WWII, Britain awarded the traditionally Somali territory of Ogaden to Ethiopia. Somalia invaded Ogaden in July 1972. Two years later a Marxist-Leninist dictatorship was established in Ethiopia. The leader Colonial Mariam appealed to the USSR and Cuba for aid and received troops from Castro. By 1978 there were approximately 15,000 Cuban soldiers in Ethiopia resulting in Somali troops retreating and a truce being announced.

The USA accused Moscow of using Cuba in order to extend its own power in Africa. Any form of developing rapprochement between Cuba and the USA was damaged by this intervention.



The impact of US intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean

The USA feared the spread of communist regimes through Central America and the Caribbean. This region was in the USA's own 'back yard'.



Chile

American businesses had significant interests in Chile's copper and silver mines, and a US company dominated Chile's telecommunications systems. There was an ever-present fear that Chile might succumb to communism. In 1970, the socialist, Salvador Allende was democratically elected as Chile's president.

Under the new regime millions of hectares of land was seized and redistributed as farm cooperatives. A nationalisation programme was introduced which brought the banking and copper industry under state control. The USA introduced covert affairs against this using the 40 Committee; this was set up under Nixon to plan covert operations deemed to be of US national interest. America also influenced the World Bank not to lend money to Chile and withdrew its economic aid.

This economic pressure led to inflation and unemployment as well as numerous strikes. This led to a military coup in which Allende was overthrown and killed. The socialist reforms were reversed and the CIA covert operations exposed.

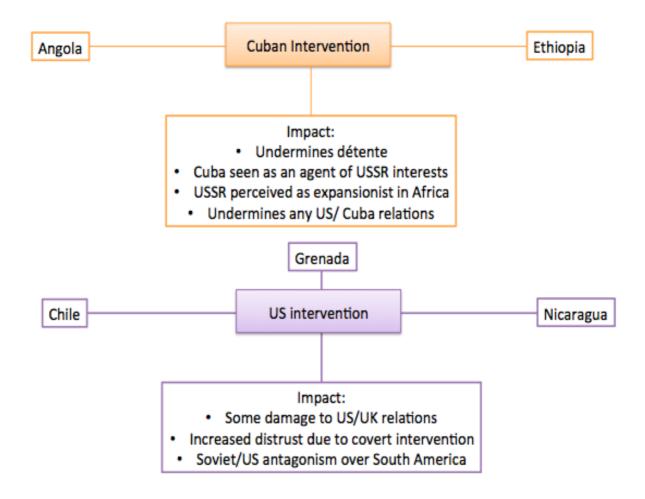
Grenada

In October 1983, Ronald Reagan, fearing Grenada would turn communist assembled an 7000 strong invasion force without consulting its allies such as Britain. Reagan told the USA that they "just got there in time". The USSR viewed this invasion as an example of US imperialism.

<u>Nicaragua</u>

In 1979 the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) seized power in Nicaragua. Ronald Reagan regarded the FSLN as communist and likened Nicaragua to Cuba. As a result in 1981 the USA found an anti-communist group to support known as the Contras, proving them with funds, equipment and training. However it was clear that Reagan used illegal or questionable activities in Nicaragua for example high level American officials helped to broker arm sales to Iran despite a US embargo, the profits of these went to fund black market arms for the Contras.

Summary of developments in Americas and Africa:



Glossary

Détente	Easing hostility or strained relations, especially between countries.
Draft Dodger	During the Vietnam War the USA introduced a system of recruitment based on a form of random selection of men eligible for military service, known as the draft; those who tried to evade this process were referred to draft dodgers.
Imperialism	Policy of extending a country's power and influence through colonisation, use of military force or other means.
Montagnards	Hill people – the indigenous population that inhabited the central plains of Vietnam and practised subsistence farming (growing enough food to feed themselves and their families).

Basic Timeline

April Kissinger secretly visits Moscow SALT I is agreed The Basic Treaty is signed 1973	1972	February	Nixon visits China
SALT is agreed The Basic Treaty is signed	17/2	_	
December The Basic Treaty is signed			
1973 January March August US starts bombing Cambodia 1974 August Richard Nixon resigns as US president; succeeded by Gerald Ford The Vladivostok Summit 1975 April The USA closes its embassy and leaves Vietnam; Vietnam is finally reunited as a single independent state. August Helsinki Accords are finalised Cuba provides military support for the socialists in Angola. 1977 July Cuba sends troops to support the socialist regime in Ethiopia. 1979 February Deng Xiaoping visits the USA SALT II is agreed The Vienna Summit December The Soviet Union invades Afghanistan 1980 January July President Carter announces his Doctrine Strikes begin in Poland Reagan is elected 1981 December Martial Law I introduced in Poland The USA funds the Contras in Nicaragua 1983 September KAL 007 is shot down			
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