

AS The Cold War, c1945 – 1991



The Global War: 1955- 1963

De-Stalinisation

Stalin's death in 1953 provided an opportunity for change.; Nikita Khrushchev, Stalin's replacement, wanted to redefine the relationship between the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc satellite states. He wanted to achieve political stability, economic growth and improved living conditions through a process of de-Stalinisation, but without changing the basic structure of the communist system.

The Secret Speech

On the 25th February 1956, Khrushchev delivered his 'Secret Speech', which reported Stalin's crimes. The text of Khrushchev's speech was circulated throughout Eastern Europe and by June it had reached the US State Department. The speech was to have huge implications for stability in the Eastern Bloc in 1956, and uprisings occurred in both Poland and Hungary soon after the speech was delivered.

Poland



Above: "Zadamy chleba" ("We demand bread") was one of the popular slogans of the protest.

On June 28, 1956, workers began demonstrations demanding better conditions and pay and protesting a recent rise in taxes and higher work quotas. The workers took to the streets, and were soon joined by workers from other

factories, students, and intellectuals, resulting in over 100,000 people. Among the demands were lower food prices and wage increases. However the peaceful protest soon turned to an anti-communist armed uprising.

In October 1956, Gomulka was elected First Secretary of the Polish Communist Party. He met with Khrushchev and it was agreed that he would remain First Secretary if he did not carry out reforms that could threaten communist rule.

The Polish Rising showed Moscow would allow its satellite states a measure of independence if trustworthy men led the regimes.

Hungarian revolution

Hungary had been controlled by Russia since 1945. The death of Stalin brought people in many Eastern European countries the hope of freedom and change, but as the 1956 uprising in Hungary proved, this was not to be the case.



1. The death of Stalin led many Hungarians to hope that Hungary also would be 'de-Stalinised'. In July 1956, the 'Stalinist' Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, Rakosi, fell from power. [SEP]
2. During October 1956, students, workers and soldiers in Hungary attacked the AVH (the secret police) and Russian soldiers, and smashed a statue of Stalin.
3. On 24 October 1956 Imre Nagy - a moderate and a westerniser - took over as prime minister. [SEP]
4. Nagy asked Khrushchev to move the Russian troops out. Khrushchev agreed and on 28 October 1956, the Russian army pulled out of Budapest.
5. For five days, there was freedom in Hungary. The new Hungarian government introduced democracy, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion. Cardinal Mindszenty, the leader of the Catholic Church, was freed from prison. [SEP]

6. Then, on 3 November 1956, Nagy announced that Hungary was going to leave the Warsaw Pact. However, Khrushchev was not going to allow this. He claimed he had received a letter from Hungarian Communist leaders asking for his help.
7. At dawn on 4 November 1956, 1,000 Russian tanks rolled into Budapest. They destroyed the Hungarian army and captured Hungarian Radio the last words broadcast were "Help! Help! Help!".
8. Hungarian people - even children - fought the Russian troops with machine guns. Some 4,000 Hungarians were killed. ^[1]_[SEP]
9. Khrushchev put in Russian supporter, Janos Kadar, as prime minister.

Consequences of the uprising

- **Repression in Hungary** - thousands of Hungarians were arrested and imprisoned. Some were executed and 200,000 Hungarian refugees fled to Austria.
- **Russia stayed in control behind the Iron Curtain** - no other country tried to get rid of Russian troops until Czechoslovakia in 1968.
- **The lack of intervention from the West confirmed that the post war status quo had been accepted.** This reassured the USSR that, should any further problems erupt in Eastern Europe, it would have no interference from the West.

What is Peaceful Coexistence?

Khrushchev adopted the policy of peaceful coexistence towards the United States, this involved engaging the USA in diplomacy to diffuse the tensions where possible and prevent direct confrontation. Khrushchev believed that there was two ways out of the situation of the Cold War: either devastating war or peaceful coexistence. This was because Khrushchev understood the potential risks of nuclear war and saw the growing power of the USA. This saw the first 'thaw' of the Cold War. This mood of cooperation was initially seen over the future of Austria.

The Austrian State Treaty, 1955

Austria had been occupied by four powers just as Germany had after World War Two. It also had the potential to be split further like Germany as many in the Western Zones believed it could be absorbed into the Soviet sphere of influence.

By 1955, the four powers had reached an agreement in the form of the Austrian State Treaty, which led to the withdrawal of occupying powers and the declaration that Austria would be a neutral state. This also occurred in Finland and Yugoslavia and therefore meant these countries were not liable to be forced to join the Soviet sphere of influence.

This showed mutual cooperation and removed a major conflict. Following this, the Western powers removed their occupation forces from West Germany. This proved an good example of peaceful coexistence.

The Geneva Summit, September 1955



Khrushchev believed a summit (an international meeting bringing together leaders to negotiate outcomes) was needed. This was because he needed to promote internal economic development and protect national security. Also the FRG joined NATO in 1955 and rearmament developed. As a result the USA had installed a large force of troops in Europe. This increased the need for a summit.

The Geneva Summit discussed nuclear disarmament and the future of Germany. However no satisfactory outcome was reached. For example Eisenhower presented an 'open skies policy' which called for freedom to deploy aerial reconnaissance however this was rejected. Eisenhower also proposed a reunified Germany but Khrushchev wanted a neutral and demilitarised Germany.

This summit demonstrated the dialogue between the superpowers and that peaceful coexistence was firmly in place.

The Paris Summit, May 1960

Khrushchev became the first Soviet leader to visit the USA, when he participated in Camp David talk with Eisenhower. This served to calm the German issue and led to the Paris Summit.

Khrushchev faced tension from both China and high-ranking officials in the USSR. As a result the summit faced difficulties as China suggested it would not be bound by the agreements and had nearly completed its nuclear arsenal.

The summit collapsed with news of the U2 spy plane being shot down.

The newly elected President Kennedy did not share the view of peaceful coexistence and little was achieved when he met with Khrushchev. Kennedy refused to compromise on the status of Berlin, he told the American people the city represented a symbol of freedom. He then called for a build up on NATO forces and asked congress to increase defence spending.

The Arms Race

After the death of Stalin, Soviet foreign policy was somewhat contradictory. On the one side was diplomacy and peaceful coexistence. On the other was support for revolutionary regimes, the launch of sputnik and stockpiling of weapons. Part of the reason for this was Mao Zedong's challenge to Khrushchev's claim to leadership of the communist world. For America, both Eisenhower and Kennedy supported the development of new weapons.

<u>America</u>	<u>Soviet Union</u>
March 1954 - The USA successfully tested a lithium based H-bomb, this was 1500 times more powerful than the bomb used in Hiroshima in 1945.	1955 - the USSR had tested an airborne H-bomb.
The USA created the Strategic air command providing 24-hour readiness to respond to an external nuclear threat.	1957 - successfully tested their first ICBM (Intercontinental ballistic missile that had a range of 5600km and took 30 minutes to reach this.
1957 - Eisenhower commissioned the Gaither report to investigate the state of US-Soviet nuclear capability. This presented the concept of the missile gap which wrongly predicted that the USSR had 100 ICBMs in comparison to 30 for the USA.	Soviet ICBMs were limited - as seen by the U2 planes.
Eisenhower used the U2 spy planes (reconnaissance planes which took were fitted with cameras and radar which enabled it to provide accurate data of what nuclear capabilities the USSR had)	By 1959 only 10 SS-6 ICBMs had been deployed.
1959 - SLBMs (Submarine-launched ballistic missiles) were developed e.g. Polaris	

	<u>Strategic Bombers</u>		<u>SLBMs</u>	<u>ICBM's</u>	
<u>Year</u>	1956	1960	1962	1960	1964
<u>USA</u>	560	550	145	295	835
<u>USSR</u>	60	175	45	75	200

The Space Race



The space race was a continuation of the arms race. It was believed that the ability to build a satellite would give the developer superiority in the arms race. The following timeline shows the key events of the space race:

On 4 October 1957 the USSR launched a satellite, **Sputnik 1**, into space. The satellite transmitted radio signals and gave the Soviets information about the Earth's upper atmosphere. It was possible to see Sputnik from all around the globe. It sent signals to the Earth for 22 days until its batteries ran out. It fell to Earth in January 1958.

On 3 November 1957 the Soviets sent Sputnik 2 into space. This was the first space craft to carry a living animal – a dog called **Laika**. The mission gave the Soviets information about the impact of being in space on animals. Laika died of overheating after a few hours but this was not reported at the time.

On 6 December 1957 the US Navy's Vanguard rocket crashed on take off, it was referred to as 'Flopnik'.
On 31 January 1958 the USA launched Explorer 1 – a satellite which transmitted data for four months until its batteries ran out.
In September 1958 the US government issued \$1 billion for technological development in the field.
In 1958 Eisenhower established the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA).
On 31 January 1961 the USA sent 'Ham the Astro- chimp' into space where he performed the task of pulling a lever within 5 seconds. He returned to Earth safely, only suffering a bruised nose. His flight lasted for nearly 17 minutes
On 12 April 1961 the Soviet Yuri Gagarin became the first man to go into space when his Vostok spacecraft completed an orbit of the Earth.
By 1962 the USA had successfully launched 63 space missions compared to the USSR's 15.

The Berlin Crisis

Khrushchev's priorities as Soviet leader were to strengthen the economy and defences of the USSR, and global ideological expansion. Berlin became the focal point for the fulfilment of these objectives.

Throughout the 1950s, the West had made heavy financial investments in West Berlin – this led to comparison between the East and West Berliners. Moscow also feared that the USA might place nuclear missiles in West Germany. Khrushchev wanted to minimise US influence in Germany.

As a result, on the 27th November 1958, the USSR issued a sixth month ultimatum to the West calling for the withdrawal of Western troops from West Berlin and Berlin to be declared a 'free city'.

On 31st December, the western powers rejected the ultimatum. However the UK and USA wanted to lessen conflict with the USSR and therefore enact peaceful coexistence. This was seen in the British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan visiting Moscow and Khrushchev visiting Camp David in America. Furthermore the issue of Germany was discussed at the Paris Summit. As a result Konrad Adenauer (FRG chancellor) feared American betrayal.

The Hallstein Doctrine

In 1955 Khrushchev recognised the GDR as an independent state. The Hallstein Doctrine, announced by the FRG, announced that the FRG would regard the recognition of the GDR, by any state other than the USSR as an unfriendly act and therefore would end diplomatic relations with such states. As a result of Khrushchev's ultimatum it would mean that the GDR had full access to West Berlin and therefore render the Hallstein Doctrine irrelevant.

The U2 affair

On 1st May 1960 - thirteen days before the Paris summit - an American U2 spy plane was shot down over Russia and the pilot, Gary Powers, was captured. At first, the Americans tried to say that it was a weather plane, but they were forced to admit that it was a spy plane when the Russians revealed that much of his plane had survived, and that they had captured Gary Powers alive.

When the summit met on 14 May, the first thing Khrushchev did was to demand that the US president, Eisenhower, apologize. When Eisenhower refused, Khrushchev went home. The Cold War had just become substantially more dangerous.

Effects of the U2 incident

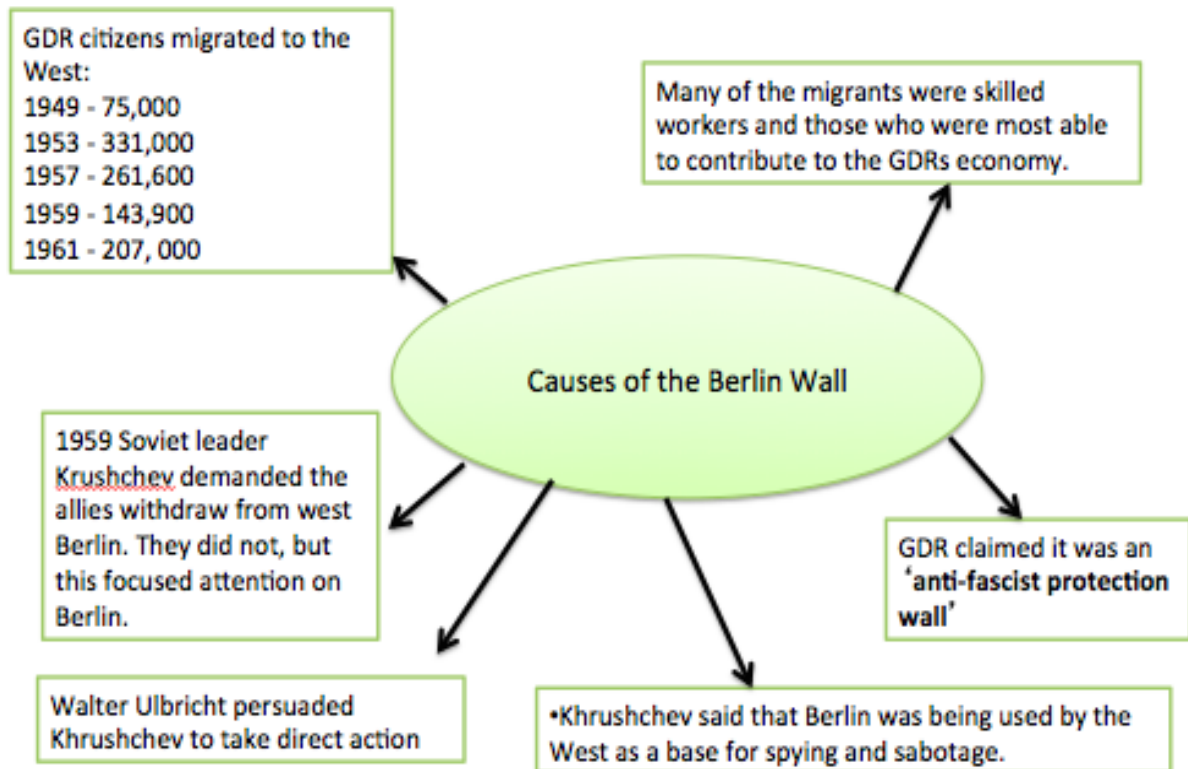
The Paris meeting collapsed and there was no Test Ban Treaty.

There was no discussion about the problem of Berlin - which, ultimately, led to the Berlin Wall.

The incident was seen as a defeat for the US - so they elected John F Kennedy as president because he promised to get tougher with the Russians.

The significance and impact of the Berlin Wall

Khrushchev had consistently aimed at avoided closing the East Berlin border but by 1961 he changed his mind.



On 13th August 1961, work began to physically seal off West Berlin. The initial wire fences were replaced with a concrete wall and deep perimeter defences. There were only four recognised crossing points.

The wall was much more than a physical symbol of the Cold War.

- In June 1963, Kennedy declared 'all free men, whether then may live, are citizens of Berlin and therefore as a free man I take pride in the words Ich bin ein Berliner.' This shows the west capitalising on the wall and using it for propaganda.
- The GDRs economic crisis was resolved, as skilled workers could no longer leave.
- Some historians argue that the wall ensured that no military conflict would take place between the USA and USSR.

Conflict in Asia 1955-63

Ho Chi Minh and North Vietnam	Diem and South Vietnam
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Ho Chi Minh's communist regime used land reform – seizing privately owned land and redistributed it to the poor. Thousands of landowners were executed and many more imprisoned. ● In 1956 the military put down a revolt and 6000 people were killed in this action. ● In August 1956 Ho Chi Minh had to issue a public apology about the land reform program. ● One million refugees fled North Vietnam for the South. ● Full scale collectivisation was well underway - this was the process of combining farming units into large single units controlled by the state. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Diem was corrupt and nepotistic (gave jobs and positions to relatives) e.g. his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu served as prime minister. ● John Foster Dulles admitted that the USA supported Diem because there was no one better. ● His strategy towards government was repression and political opponents were silenced.

At the end of 1958 the decision was taken at a meeting of the VWP Central Committee to commit to a strategy that would reunify Vietnam. The aim was to use military force to overthrow Diem's regime. This meant that the north undertook a policy of anti-Diem groups in the South. This culminated the following in the creation of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam.

The formation of the National Liberation Front

In December 1960, the North Vietnamese leadership established a new nationalist organisation in South Vietnam. This was the **National Liberation Front (NLF)** and its purpose was to free South Vietnam from what it saw as US imperialism.

Even though the war against French had ended in 1954, there were still the remnants of the Viet Minh. They rejected what they saw as American imperialism and Diem's regime.

The NLF's leader, Nguyen Huu Tho, may be seen as a merely a figurehead and that the real leadership lay with Ho Chi Minh. Therefore the NLF is seen as a means for northern communists to infiltrate and influence the south. The NLF was seen as an agent of communism. It was presented as a Southern Nationalist/ resistance movement in order that it did not breach the Geneva Conference

agreements, which had forbidden the North from placing its forces into the South.

The North established a complex support network for the NLF, based on what became known as the Ho Chi Minh trail. This provided a supply route into the South for equipment and personnel.

President Kennedy's policies towards Indochina

John F. Kennedy revealed his view of Vietnam's importance as early as 1956, even before he became president. He was committed to containment and to the notion of the domino theory.

Kennedy's foreign policy focused on the strategy of flexible response. He was convinced that the USA's non-nuclear capabilities should be expanded, as this would reduce the threat of a nuclear war. This had clear implications for Vietnam, as a communist led insurgency in South Vietnam threatened to spread beyond South Vietnam. Kennedy backed **counterinsurgency** measures delivered by conventional ground forces.

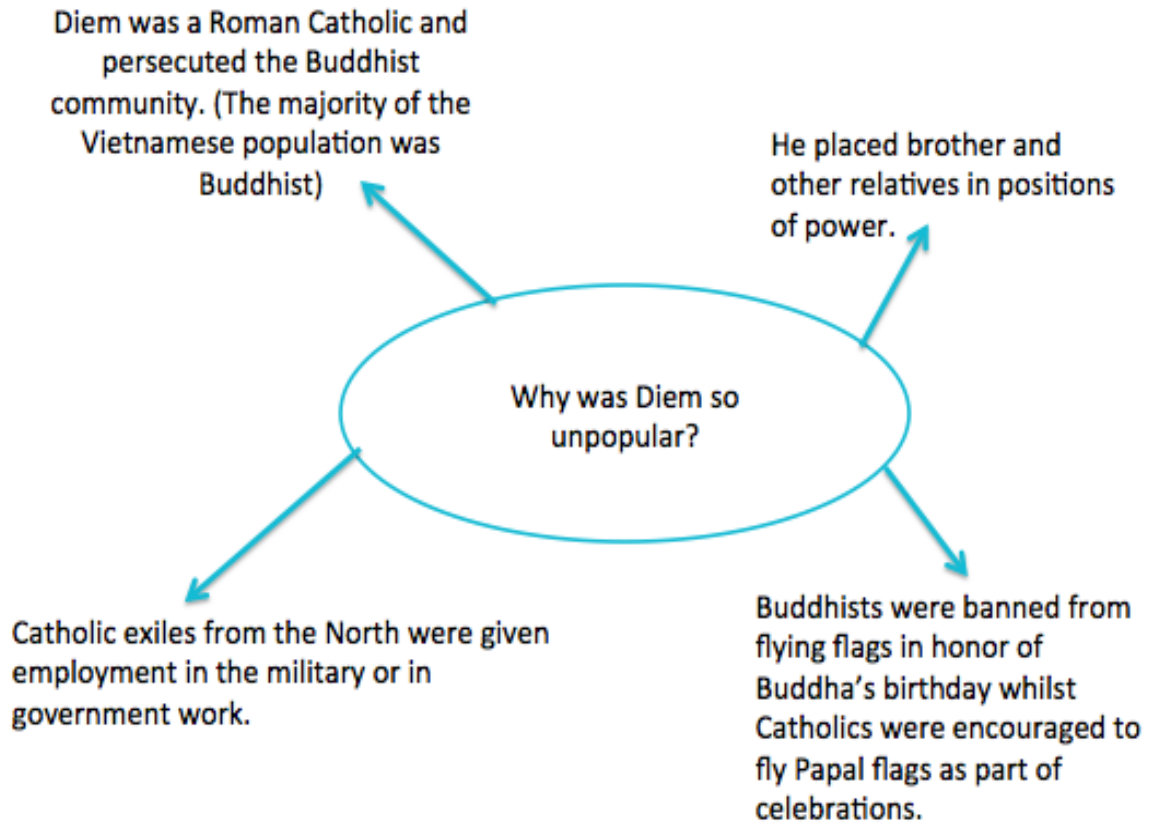
In November 1961, Kennedy sent General Taylor and the Chair of the State Planning Department Policy Committee, Walt Roscow, to Vietnam to assess the situation. They presented a report, which included the following recommendations:

- An increase in the helicopter in order to facilitate counterinsurgency actions
- Greater training support for the South Vietnamese Army
- An increase in the number of US combat forces including 10,000 US ground troops.

The Strategic Hamlet Program

This strategy was introduced in March 1962, through Operation Sunrise. It aimed to create armed stockades, which would house South Vietnamese rural peasants. The intention was that this would isolate people from the Vietcong (the name used by Diem to describe the NLF members). The peasants were put under pressure to move into these hamlets. By 1962, the regime had claimed that over four million people were in strategic hamlets.

The Strategic Hamlet Program was largely a failure. In reality it often led to improved recruitment of the peasants. The scheme was flawed because it was almost impossible to isolate Vietcong agents from the hamlets. The programme soon collapsed.



Buddhist Protest

Buddhist protests became organised and coordinated, they developed anti-government propaganda, organised hunger strikes, mass rallies and they engaged with foreign press. The crisis for Diem deepened when in June, an elderly Buddhist monk, Quang Doc, publicly burned himself alive in Saigon. Diem's wife commented 'Let them burn, and we shall clap our hands'.

By 1963 Kennedy sent Robert McNamara to assess the situation in Vietnam. This visit reinforced the view that the war could not be won with Diem as the head of South Vietnam. McNamara recommended significant reductions in US support in order to put pressure on Diem to cooperate. This encouraged the generals in South Vietnam to plan a coup against Diem. (The extent to which the US was involved in this coup has never been proved). On 1 November 1963, South Vietnamese rebels activated a military coup against Diem and his regime, the next day Diem and his brother Nhu were assassinated. Diem's assassination opened up a new chapter in the USA's commitment to Vietnam, containment and South East Asia.

Cuban Missile Crisis

Cuban Resolution and the actions of the USA

For many years USA was very happy with the political and economic situation in Cuba.

- US business dominated Cuba. They owned its major industries (sugar and tobacco).
- US tourists enjoyed holidays in Cuba as it was so close to the US.
- The US dominated Cuba militarily- it had a large naval base in Guantanamo.
- The US supported the Cuban leader Fulgencio Batista, they knew he was a corrupt, unpopular dictator. Despite this, it supported him because he was anti- communist.

In 1959, US policy went terribly wrong. From 1956, a young communist called Fidel Castro had led a campaign of guerrilla warfare against Batista and eventually over threw him in 1959.

- Castro took over many US owned businesses.
- He also took over much of American owned land
- He gave the land to ordinary Cuban farmers.
- He forged close links with USSR, led by Nikita Khrushchev.
- Khrushchev gave him 'advisors', economic aid and military equipment.

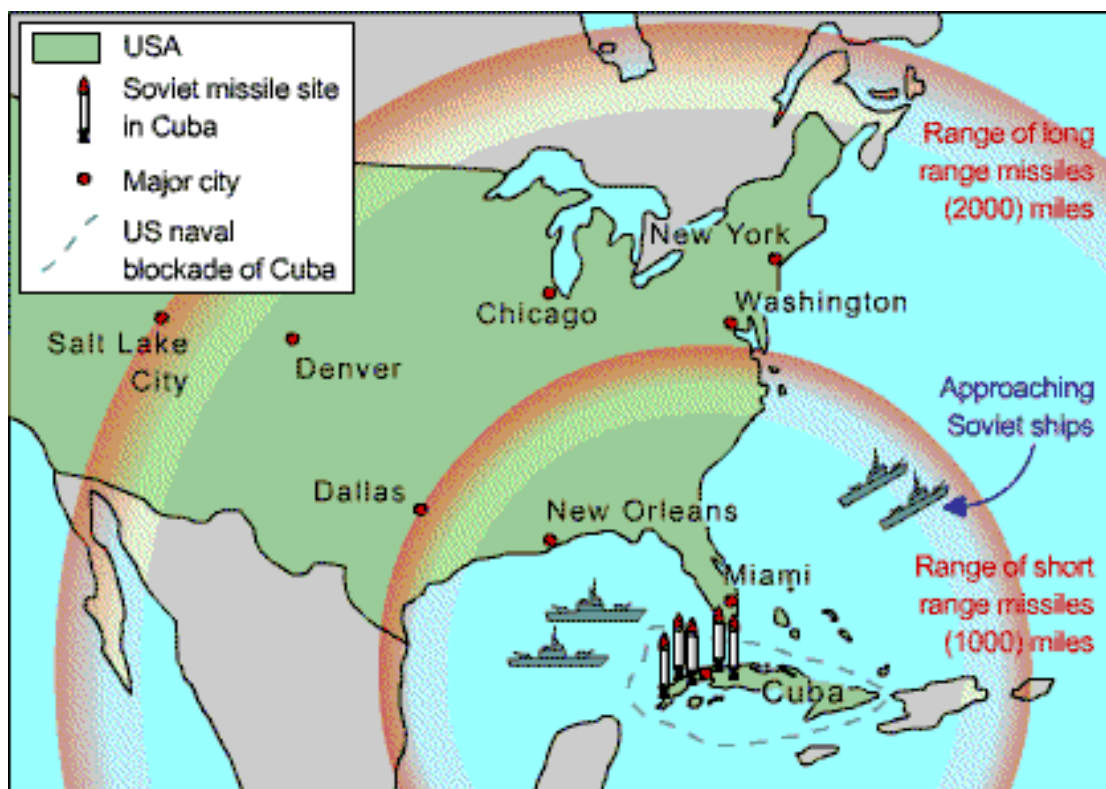


The Bay of Pigs and Operation Mongoose

The US were furious with Castro's actions and Khrushchev's support of him. In January 1961, US President Eisenhower broke off diplomatic relations with Cuba

and this policy continued under Eisenhower's successor, President Kennedy. He supplied weapons and transport for 1500 Cuban exiles to land in Cuba and overthrow Castro. They landed in the Bay of Pigs and were met by 20,000 Cuban troops with weapons supplied by the USSR. The Bay of Pigs was a humiliating disaster for Kennedy.

On 30th November 1961, Kennedy authorised Operation Mongoose. Its aim was to overthrow Castro and his regime. Kennedy's military advisers developed an air strike plan known as OPLAN 312 and a land based plan known as OPLAN 314. The Soviet Union had been supplying Cuba with arms shipments for some time. By 1962 Khrushchev's defence minister, Malinovsky, concluded that in the face of a determined US attack, Cuba could stand no more than a week. Therefore Khrushchev adopted a new stance; he decided to deploy Soviet nuclear missiles on Cuba in 1962. The nuclear weapons were to be short and medium range, meaning they could reach between 1100 and 2800 kilometres from their launch site.



The beginnings of the missile crisis

After the Bay of Pigs, Khrushchev gave Castro large amounts of Soviet Military equipment to prevent a follow-up American-supported invasion of Cuba. This included 14,000 ground troops.

The Americans became increasingly alarmed about the Soviet military build-up in Cuba. In September 1962, the Soviets told Kennedy they had no intention of placing nuclear missiles in Cuba; it was a lie.

Why did Khrushchev put missiles in Cuba?

USSR supplied many of its allies with non-nuclear weapons, but the Cuban crisis was the first time nuclear weapons were installed outside of Soviet boundaries. There were several reasons for Khrushchev's actions.

Khrushchev wanted to produce more nuclear warheads and close the 'missile gap' between them and USA.

The USA had missiles in Western Europe and Turkey, well within the range of USSR. Placing missiles in Cuba restored the balance.

Cuba was an ideal place for cheap, medium range missiles as it was close to US coasts.

Soviet missiles in Cuba would strengthen Khrushchev's bargaining position in USA.

Cuba was the only communist country in Western hemisphere and had just survived the Bay of Pigs; Khrushchev was keen to defend it and strengthen his position in the USSR.

The missile crisis- day by day

- 14th October 1962- A U-2 flying over western Cuba takes photographs of missile sites under construction. US intelligence agencies analyse the photos and confirm that Soviet nuclear missiles have been placed in Cuba.



- 16th October 1962- Kennedy forms a group of advisors called EX-COMM (Executive Committee of National Security), which begins to discuss in secret how to respond to the crisis.
- 17th October 1962- Kennedy continues his normal duties as President so as not to arouse suspicion while EX-COM works on possible options.
- 18th October 1962- Soviet Foreign Minister, Gromyko, and Kennedy meet but Gromyko denies that there are any 'offensive' missiles in Cuba, and Kennedy does not tell him of his discovery.
- 21st October 1962- Kennedy's military advisors tell him that an air strike could not guarantee to destroy all Soviet missiles in Cuba. Kennedy decides on blockade.
- 22nd October 1962-- Kennedy broadcasts live on US TV and tells the American public about the existence of the missiles and his intention to quarantine Cuba as the first step to removing the missiles.
- 24th October 1962- The US blockade of Cuba begins. Soviet ships sailing to Cuba with cargo either slow down or turn around, except for 1. American military forces are put on alert.
- 26th October 1962- Kennedy is informed that evidence from reconnaissance flights shows that the missile sites are nearing completion. Khrushchev sends a private letter to Kennedy proposing to remove Soviet missiles if Kennedy publicly announces that he will never invade Cuba.
- 27th October 1962- A new official letter from Khrushchev arrives, proposing a public trade of Soviet missiles in Cuba for US missiles in Turkey. An American U-2 plane is shot down over Cuba, killing the pilot- Major Rudolf Anderson. Kennedy decides to delay an attack on Cuba. He ignores Khrushchev's 2nd letter and agrees to the first. JFK sends his brother Robert, one of his advisers to meet the Soviet ambassador in Washington DC. The Soviets are told secretly that the USA will not invade Cuba and will remove its missiles from Turkey within 6 months. If the Soviets do not agree to this deal, Kennedy informs them that the USA will invade Cuba immediately.
- 28th October 1962- Khrushchev announces on radio Moscow that he has agreed to remove the missiles from Cuba.

How significant was the crisis?

The crisis brought the world closer to a nuclear war than it had ever been. The immediate response to the crisis was the creation of the so-called 'hot line' connecting the kremlin to the White House. Furthermore the crisis demonstrated the need to create some control over the nuclear arms race by placing restriction on nuclear tests. In October 1963 the Moscow Test ban Treaty came into force. There was no obligation of which states should sign up, France and China did not do so. They continued to test nuclear weapons. At the end of the crisis, Cuba

remained a communist state in the USA's 'back yard' the US commitment to containment and the Truman Doctrine failed.

Glossary

Collectivisation	The practice of combining farming units into large single units; these would be controlled by the state and each would have production targets.
Counterinsurgency	Tactics that are used to defeat guerrilla or unconventional warfare; they focus on intelligence gathering, targeting individual leaders and methods aimed at infiltrating the enemy rather than confronting it head on.
Coup	A violent seizure of power in which the ruling regime is overthrown by force, rather than democratic change of leadership; coups are generally carried out by the military.
Détente	Easing hostility or strained relations, especially between countries.
ICBM	Intercontinental Ballistic Missile – a nuclear warhead delivery system which has a range of over 5600km and delivered nuclear weapons at great speed, often in no more than 30 minutes.
Missile Gap	The difference between nuclear delivery system numbers; the greater the number of nuclear missiles one state had compared to another represented the missile gap between them.
SLBMs	Short for Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles, ballistic missiles that can be launched from a submarine, from underneath the water.
Vietcong	This name was used by President Diem to describe the National Liberation Front member; it suggests that they were communists in that it means 'Vietnamese Communists'.

Basic Timeline

1956	February June – October October –November	Khrushchev consolidates power in the USSR Khrushchev's Secret/ De-Stalinisation Speech Polish Uprising Hungarian Uprising
1957	May October November	The USSR develops the first ICBM Sputnik is launched The Gaither Report is commissioned.
1958	November	The USSR's Berlin Ultimatum is issued.
1959	January September	The North decides to use revolutionary violence to reunite Vietnam. The Batista Regime is overthrown by Castro. Khrushchev and the Camp David talks
1960	May June July	The Paris Summit US U2 plane is shot down over Soviet territory Kennedy and Khrushchev meet in Vienna Castro promises to spread revolution across central and South America.
1961	January April August November	Kennedy replaces Eisenhower as US President Gagarin is the first man in outer space The Bay of Pigs invasion by anti-Castro rebels Construction of the Berlin Wall is started Kennedy orders Operation Mongoose
1962	March May October	The Strategic Hamlet Program is introduced. Khrushchev decides to send nuclear missiles to Cuba American U2 spy planes discover Soviet missile sites on Cuba; the crisis unfolds during a 13-day period, 16-28 October. 29 th October – Khrushchev decides to withdraw the missiles.
1963	June August November	A Buddhist monk burns himself to death in protest. The Moscow Test Ban Treaty is agreed Diem is assassinated