

Unit 2: The Cold War in Europe

Historical Context

1 Long Term Causes of the Cold War:

- The Bolshevik Revolution
- Ideological differences
- British and American involvement in the Russian Civil War
- Nazi-Soviet Pact
- Western sympathy (not support) for Finland during the Russian-Finish war of 1939
- Fear of Communist revolution
- USSR had been excluded from international diplomacy
- Russia surrendered to Germany in March 1918







4 Relations between 1920 and 1939:

- The West is worried about what Marx believed would be a World Revolution
- In the 20's there were some attempts to normalise East-West relations, for example Henry Ford established a factory in the USSR in 1929.
- The USA formally recognised the USSR in 1933 and opened diplomatic communications when they sent two ambassadors.
- France and the USSR signed a mutual-assistance pact in 1935, this was designed to protect both from Nazi Germany.
- Britain and the USA were less keen to deal with Stalin.
- 1939: The Nazi-Soviet Pact is signed destroying political ties between the USSR and the West.
- The Nazi-Soviet Pact led to the division of Eastern Europe, including Poland
- At one point Britain and France almost declared war on the USSR for its actions against both Finland and Poland.





2 The Bolshevik Revolution:

- October 1917
- The Bolshevik party overthrew the Provisional Government who had replaced the Tsar earlier in the year
- This led directly to the Russian Civil War (1917-1922)
- Britain, France, America and Japan all sent weapons and soldiers to support the Whites in the Civil War, they removed this support following the end of WWI.




3 Communism vs Capitalism

Communism 	Capitalism 
Society more important than the individual	Individual rights more important than society
Everyone should be treated equally	There are different classes of people
Wealth is shared evenly	Uneven distribution of wealth
Property is owned by the state	Property is owned by individuals
The government controls industry	Industry and business are privately controlled and exist to make a profit
Prices and wages are decided by the government	Market forces control prices and wages
One-party-state (people can only vote for the communist party)	Multi-party elections
Government ensures everyone's needs are met	Individuals are more responsible for fulfilling their own needs
State control the media	Freedom of speech and the press

5 Russian Purges:

- Stalin wanted to secure his position as head of the USSR.
- He removed potential opposition including Trotsky (who had been important during both the revolution and Civil War).
- Stalin killed 81/103 generals and admirals between 1937-39 as he did not believe they were loyal to him.
- A British engineer was also killed after he was accused of spying.



Key words:

Bolshevik: A member of a group within the Russian Social Democrat Labour Party who took control of Russia in 1917 and formed the Communist Party.

Russia: A country in Europe

Soviet Union: Informal name for the USSR. A confederation of countries under the main control of Russia.

Purge: Removal or execution of people who were a threat.

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War in general:

- Germany invaded the USSR in Operation Barbarossa in June 1941 forcing the Grand Alliance into existence.
- Churchill offered assistance to the USSR, including sending 2,250 tanks and 1,800 planes.
- The USA joined the alliance after Japan attacked Pearl Harbour in December 1941.
- Stalin insisted that a second front was opened as the USSR was currently facing the bulk of fighting and casualties.
- Russia had lost most of its pre-war army in the opening stages of the war.
- Britain and America focused on the war in North Africa and then Italy instead of a second front, this convinced Stalin that the Capitalists wanted Hitler and Russia to destroy each other.
- The USSR began advancing on Germany in 1943.

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Tehran Conference:

- Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill met for the first time: 28 November 1943-1 December 1943.
- Agreed to a second front (D-day) happening in May 1944, this would be delayed due to weather
 - Stalin agreed to join the war against Japan after the fall of Germany.
 - The USSR would be allowed to keep its part of Poland, Poland would be given part of Germany as compensation: this was a big agreement as Britain had originally gone to war to defend Poland.
 - They agreed to only accept Germany's unconditional surrender

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Liberation of Europe:

Western Liberation

- Italy was liberated in 1943.
- Italy became an ally against Germany
- Following D-day France, the Low Countries and Denmark were all liberated and allowed to establish their own governments.
- The Allies were seen as saviours bringing food and supplies.
- This was different in Greece where the British supported the royalists in a civil war in 1944 to stop the communists taking control.
- Once fighting stopped in Germany aid was given to those in occupied territory.

Easter Liberation

- The Soviets wanted revenge on Germany.
- There were reprisal attacks and sexual assaults on German civilians.
- Pre-1918 Russian territory was permanently occupied by the USSR.
- In addition the USSR took eastern Poland and the Baltic states.
- Russia took 470,000 square Km and 24 million people into its direct territory through annexation.
- The Russian forces supported a communist coup in Romania (1945), a communist coalition was installed in Hungary, .
- 47,000 anti-communist Poles were arrested in 1944-45.
- Communist parties gained more power than they had support in territory 'liberated' by the Russians.
- Czechoslovakia welcomed more direct links with the USSR as it did not trust Britain following its decision to allow Germany to take Czechoslovakian land in the Munich Agreement 1938.
- Hungary and Romania fought against Soviet troops in WWII.
- The Romanian King was forced to appoint a communist Prime Minister.
- Russian forces were generally welcomed in Bulgaria, which had seen Communist Partisans liberate the Capital and not the Red Army.
- Yugoslavia had been liberated not by the Red Army but instead communist partisans led by Josef Tito. This reduced Soviet control over the country.
- There was a Polish government in exile in London who were reluctant to work with Stalin, who had treated Poland as harshly as the Nazis had.
- Stalin did not support the Polish attempt to fight the Nazi and liberate themselves, instead he let the Germans destroy them before commanding the Red Army to attack and occupy Poland.

Key words:

Operation Barbarossa: Codename for the German invasion of the USSR in 1941 which helped to unite the USSR with Britain and America as allies.

Grand Alliance: The union of Britain, America and the USSR during World War Two

Liberation: the action of setting someone free from imprisonment, slavery, or oppression; release

Annex: Add territory to ones own by taking it.

Exile: the state of being barred from your native country

Lend lease: A programme under which the USA supplied the UK, Free France, China and later the Soviet Union and other Allied nations with food, oil and material between 1941 and 1945

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Yalta Conference:

- This happened in February 1945.
- This focused on what would happen to Europe after the war (Germany was very nearly defeated, the Red Army was just 80km from Berlin).
- Stalin pushed for an Eastern European buffer zone to protect itself from future attack.
- Stalin said he would allow free elections in Eastern Europe.
- The Polish government in exile would be allowed to form a coalition with Lublin Poles.
- It was agreed that Germany would be divided into four zones of occupation, as would Berlin.
- Stalin agreed to the formation of the UN.
- Stalin wanted to take German machinery, food and goods but Churchill and the USA argued against it.
 - It was agreed that Russia would receive \$20 billion of reparation from Germany over 5 years to be paid for through goods and services.
- Stalin wanted greater representation by the individual republics of the USSR in the United Nations.
- Stalin agreed to declare war on Japan but in return he got railway rights in Chinese Manchuria.
- The fact the Yalta conference happened in the USSR was a power play on the part of Stalin

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Potsdam Conference:

- This happened on 7 May 1945.
- This summit was the first which involved Harry S Truman as the US president following Roosevelt's death.
- Churchill was voted out of office mid conference and replaced by Clement Attlee.
- Stalin had 10 million Soviet troops deployed in Europe, this made it impossible to stop Stalin imposing his will on Eastern Europe.
- Aid to the USSR under Lend-Lease was cut off on 8 May, this was done as Truman wanted to prove the point that the USSR was reliant on the USA for supplies.
- Truman also announced that he possessed the atomic bomb, again to scare the Russians into negotiating.
- There were only a few agreements and this demonstrated that relations had broken down.
- Reparations were agreed in the Western zones of Germany which allowed the USSR to take 10% of machinery in the Western zones.
- There were no firm agreements on the western frontier and this was left for future peace conference.
- It was agreed that the USSR would have a 'sphere of influence' over Eastern Europe and the West would have this over Italy in return. This was known as the Percentage Agreement, giving each country a % of influence over others.
- Decisions were made on how to remove Nazism from Europe.
- The USSR could remove ethnic Germans from countries and force them into Germany.

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Impact of the Western Leaders:Roosevelt:

- He trusted Stalin and believed he would keep his promises
- He referred to Stalin as 'Uncle Joe'
- In doing so he ignored advice that this was not the case and gave Stalin more than he was advised to.
- He did this because he wanted Russian troops to help fight Japan.

Truman:

- Replacing Roosevelt (after his death) he was much more suspicious of both Stalin and communism.
- With the successful test of the atomic bomb he felt he did not need the USSR to fight Japan and took a more hard line stance.
- He did not agree with a European buffer zone and instead talked openly about containing communism. This worsened relations between the USSR and USA.

Churchill:

- Churchill was strongly anti communist but compromised on these to defeat Nazi Germany.
- Churchill began to respect Stalin, and likewise Stalin respected Churchill.
- Churchill was suspicious of Stalin's post war motives.
- By Potsdam Churchill was convinced that Stalin could not be trusted.

Attlee:

- Attlee was more sympathetic to the USSR than Churchill but still took the view that the USSR was too expansionist.
- Attlee wanted to stop any chance of Soviet aggression by keeping an American presence in Europe.

How did Potsdam cause tension?

- With Germany defeated the three countries no longer possessed a common enemy.
- Potsdam ended with no agreement on the long-term future of Europe.
- The USSR and USA came into conflict over how best to deal with Germany: The USA wanted to rebuild Germany while the USSR wanted to punish it.
- The USA felt it could not ensure that the USSR kept to its agreements.

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How did the Soviets gain control over the Eastern Bloc:

Poland

- This was a crucial country for Russian security, German invasions came through Poland in both World Wars
- In 1945 there were two rival Polish governments, the London exiled Poles and the communist Lublin Poles.
- At Yalta it was agreed the above would form a coalition
- In March 1945 16 representatives of the London Poles were arrested by the Soviets, tortured and forced to confess to collaborating with the Germans.
- The Communist poles united with the Social democrats and arrested and executed their closest rivals the Peasant Party.
- Rigged elections were held in January 1947 and the Communists gained 80% of the vote.
- The leader of the Peasants Party fled Poland through fear.

Baltic States:

- These had been annexed by the USSR prior to WWII.
- It was agreed in Tehran that the USSR could regain this territory as long as referendums were held.
- The Baltic States were reoccupied by the Soviets in 1944 and no referendum occurred.

Romania:

- Land was redistributed to the peasantry by the communists increasing their popularity.
- A combination of this popularity, intimidation and ballot rigging saw the Communist led coalition win 70% of the vote in November 1946.
- Following the election opposition members were arrested and imprisoned.
- The Romanian King was forced to abdicate in December 1947 turning the country into a pro-Soviet republic and a one-party state.

Hungary

- It was agreed that Hungary was to be divided 50/50 in the Percentage Agreement.
- A coalition with a communist minority was established in 1945, to appease the West.
- A land redistribution programme led by the communist insured an increased popularity for the Communists.
- The Communists won 17% of the vote in November 1945 but were put in charge of the police. They used this to freely intimidate non-communist and arrest opposition leaders.
- The Prime Minister, Ferenc Nagy, was forced to resign after his son was kidnapped and the subsequent election in August 1947 was rigged to give communist victory.

Soviet Sphere of Influence

Bulgaria:

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- A coalition, the Fatherland Front, was established in 1945. Stalin purged the Bulgarian army of non-communists and used a rigged referendum to turn Bulgaria into a republic abolishing the monarchy.
- The leaders of the opposition parties were arrested and executed in September 1947.
 - Bulgaria became the most enthusiastic of all Satellite States.
- #### Czechoslovakia
- Stalin was friendly to the Pre-war leader of Czechoslovakia and allowed him and other pre-war politicians to return from exile and form a coalition in 1945.
 - Elections in May 1946 were largely free and fair with little intimidation.
 - The Communist won the largest share of the vote, 38%, partly due to the popularity caused by the Czech people preferring the USSR to Britain and France after they betrayed them in 1938 by allowing Germany to take land from them.
 - The communist leader was appointed Prime Minister and dominated the coalition.
 - Stalin acted more harshly towards the Czechs after 1947 Czech crisis which we will look at later.

Finland

- The Finns signed an armistice with the USSR in September 1944.
- The Finns gave the USSR 10% of their territory and to pay reparations of US\$300 million.
- The Finns were in the Soviet Sphere of influence but retained a democracy and free-market economy.
- The Finns signed the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance in 1948; this insured Finnish neutrality.

Yugoslavia:

- Yugoslavia remained a communist country but the communist were loyal to their leader, Tito and not to Moscow despite Stalin's best efforts.
- They remained communist but separate to the USSR.

Albania:

- Albania was contested between Yugoslavia and the USSR. The Albanian leader detested Tito so sided with Moscow.

Greece:

- Greece was the scene of a drawn out civil war, British military aid saw the continuation of a non-communist government.

Key words:

Eastern Bloc:

The group of socialist states of Central and Eastern Europe, generally the Soviet Union.

Satellite

States: A country that is formally independent in the world, but under heavy political, economic and military influence or control from another country.

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Truman Doctrine:

- This was a response to Attlee's plea to him that the British could not afford to safeguard Europe anymore and were going to have to cut economic aid to nationalists in Yugoslavia and military aid to Greece and Turkey.
- Truman declared that the USA promised to support 'free peoples everywhere who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or outside pressures'.
- Truman promised the Greeks US\$300million to help them defeat the communist ELAS in the Civil War which they did in 1949 when the Yugoslavians stopped funding the communists.
- In simple the Truman Doctrine stated that the USA would not let communism expand beyond its current borders.
- Truman launched his policy of containment: 'Containing Communism to its current borders'.

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Marshall Aid:

- This was the economic plan to contain communism.
- Truman realised that Europe was going to take decades to economically recover from WWII, leaving them vulnerable to communism; the French communists now had 28% of the vote in 1946 and Italians had 31% in 1948.
 - The USA promised financial support to all countries of Europe to encourage their recovery and growth of the countries involved.
 - By 1952 the USA had donated US\$13billion to Europe.
 - This reduced poverty, making communism less attractive.

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Soviet reaction to Marshall Aid:

- Stalin refused to allow his Satellite States to accept economic aid from the USA.
- The Polish and Czech governments were forced to refuse the aid despite wanting it.
 - This helped to further divide Europe into those supported by the USA and those supported by the USSR.
 - As an alternative Stalin created Cominform to help spread propaganda that Marshall Aid was the USA plan to enslave Europe.
 - Eastern Europe was now forced to accept Soviet-style planned economies and collectivisation of agriculture.

Development of the Cold War 1945-49

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Cominform:

- Created in 1947 following a conference in Poland
- Created to combat the threat of the Marshall Plan
- Outlined that countries could not accept Marshall Aid
- Tito's Yugoslavia was expelled from Communism in 1948 as it failed to follow the USSR and accepted Marshall Aid.
- It spread Propaganda about the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan.

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Comecon:

- This was established in 1949.
- It was almost the Marshall Plan backwards; instead of the USA providing money to countries in Eastern Europe, the industries of Eastern Europe were designed to benefit the USSR.
- It encouraged the collectivisation of farming and the development of heavy industry with minimal financial assistance.
- The aim was to make Communist countries self sufficient without needing imports from Capitalist countries.

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Telegrams:

- February 1946: George Kennan, a US diplomat in Moscow, sent a message to President Truman stating that the USSR was inherently expansionist and saw the West as its enemy and that as a result the USA needed to contain this threat.
- Russian diplomat Nikolai Novikov responded to the Long Telegram with his own to Stalin. In this he warned that the USA had emerged from WWII economically strong and bent on world domination.

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Churchill's Iron Curtain Speech:

- Given by Churchill in March 1946.
- Churchill stated to that there was an iron curtain dividing Europe with the USSR controlled East being placed under totalitarian rule and that Britain needed a strong alliance with the USA.
 - This angered Stalin.

Key words:

Isolationism: a policy of remaining apart from the affairs or interests of other groups, especially the political affairs of other countries.

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Causes of the Berlin Blockade:

- The Yalta conference had divided Germany and given the Western Allies 75% of the population.
- The US and USSR disagreed over reparations.
- 27 July 1946 the British and American zones merged to form Bizonia
- 7 June 1948 French occupied Germany merged with Bizonia to form Trizonia.
- 18 June 1948 without consulting the USSR Trizonia adopted a new currency, the Deutschmark, effectively formalising the existence of two Germany's.
- Berlin was deep into Eastern Germany but was also split between West and East.

Events of the Berlin Blockade/Airlift:

- On 24th June, the USSR cut off all road, rail and freight traffic to West Berlin. The supply of electricity to West Berlin was also cut.
- The airlift lasted for almost a year, until May 1949
- In the winter of 1948–49 Berliners lived on dried potatoes, powdered eggs and cans of meat. They had **four hours of electricity a day**.
- The first flight was on 26 June 1948.
- 275,000 flights carried in 1½ million tons of supplies.
- **A plane landed every 3 minutes.**
- The USA stationed B-29 bombers (which could carry an atomic bomb) in Britain.

Consequences of the Berlin Blockade/Airlift:

- The airlift in fact speeded up the creation of a West German state – the West portrayed the blockade as an attempt by the USSR to drive the Allies out of West Berlin in preparation for taking over the other Western zones in Germany.
- In May 1949, the new Federal Republic of Germany (FDR) was set up.
- On 7th October 1949, the eastern zone was developed into a new state called the German Democratic Republic (GDR).
- This division of Germany soon came to represent the division of Europe into two mutually suspicious and hostile camps. Soviet fears that the West wanted a revived Germany closely allied to the US were confirmed in 1955 when West Germany was allowed to join NATO.

Berlin Airlift and Creation of NATO

NATO:

- In March 1947 France and Britain signed the Treaty of Dunkirk pledging mutual support in the event of a war against Germany.
- In March 1948 the Brussels Pact bound Belgium, Britain, France, Luxemburg and the Netherlands into a pact for 'mutual defence' against an unnamed enemy.
- This evolved into NATO on 4 April 1949 following secret talks between Britain, Canada and the USA.
- In addition to the secret talks the UK PM Bevin wrote a letter with his French counterpart to President Truman stating the five countries would 'require the assistance of the United States in order to organise the effective defence of Western Europe'.
- NATO promised to do more than just defend against physical violence but also to defend 'freedom, common heritage and civilisation'.
- The Creation of NATO formalised the division of Europe into different blocks.
- NATO was expanded following the Soviet creation of the Atomic Bomb in August 1949 and the Korean War (1950-53).
 - Greece 1952
 - Turkey 1952
 - West Germany 1955
- NATO countries joined the Korean War
- A permanent NATO HQ was set up in Paris following the Lisbon Conference alongside a permanent military force of 35 divisions.

Warsaw Pact:

- The Warsaw Pact was signed 14 May 1955 following the admittance of West Germany into NATO.
- Most Eastern European Satellites joined in 1955 with East Germany joining in 1956.
- Like NATO it was agreed that an attack on one is an attack on all members.
- This only really formalised the pre-existing situation in Eastern Europe.

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Developments in the late 1940's and early 1950's

Soviet Atomic weaponry:

- The USSR successfully tested an atomic bomb in August 1949 removing the USA's atomic monopoly and giving the USSR the same nuclear capabilities as the USA.
- The USA were shocked by the speed of the USSR development, however it later was revealed that the Soviets had a spy who had worked on the USA nuclear program.

Arms Race:

- As a response to the Soviet Atomic bomb (1949) President Truman called for the increase in both the USA's conventional and nuclear arsenal, sparking the arms race between the USA and the USSR.
- The USA successfully tested the first Hydrogen Bomb (400 times more powerful than the original atomic bomb) in 1952.
- The USSR responded, testing its own Hydrogen Bomb in September 1953.

Developments in Asia:

- The Communists, under Mao, took control of China in 1949.
- In 1950 the Communist North Korea invaded South Korea.
- Truman's policy of containment appeared to be failing in the Asian theatre and caused NATO to join the Korean War in order to expel the North Korean invaders and stop the expansion of communism into more of Asia.

Eisenhower and the 'New Look'

- Eisenhower won the 1952 Presidential election.
- Under Eisenhower the US would take a more aggressive stance toward the USSR and China (up to the brink of starting war).
- This was based on the belief that the USA's nuclear superiority would force concessions.

Death of Stalin:

- Stalin died in 1953 resulting in the establishment of collective leadership to avoid the domination of one individual.
- Under the new leadership, they agreed to end the Korean War and tried to reduce arms spending in order to improve living standards in the USSR.

The Geneva Summit, July 1955

- In July 1955, the first of a series of summit meetings between the leaders of the Big Four took place in Geneva.
- This was the first meeting of the leaders since Potsdam.
- The meeting was held in a 'spirit of friendship' and discussion was beginning to take place.

The emergence of Khrushchev:

- By 1955 Khrushchev had emerged as leader of the USSR.
- He tried to establish a real détente between East and West.
- He offered to pull Soviet troops out of Austria as long as the country's neutrality was guaranteed, which was accepted by the US and the West.
- However, under Khrushchev 'Peaceful Coexistence' also involved a clearly competitive element based on the belief that the socialist system would soon prove to be superior to the capitalist system.
- Khrushchev encouraged a policy of 'de-Stalinisation' within the Communist Party and in the Soviet Union itself.
- Khrushchev wanted a return to the more traditional communist agenda of the Bolsheviks under Lenin (who led the October Revolution in 1917).
- Khrushchev's 'Secret Speech', given to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party (February 1956), outlined his policy of 'de-Stalinisation'. In his address, he criticised the purges, persecution of enemies and the fear which existed throughout Communist countries in preceding years. He wanted to change this.
- In the West the 'Secret Speech' allowed a temporary thaw in relations between the USSR and the US during the Cold War.

Response to 'destalinization':

Poland and the Pozan Rising, 1956:

- Polish workers went on strike over pay in summer 1956 calling for wider political reform.
- The Polish government crushed the initial protests when they sent in tanks killing 74 workers and injuring 300 in Poznan.
- The Polish government did ask Moscow to allow them to follow their own path to socialism.
- The Polish government were summoned to Moscow but refused to go, instead Khrushchev flew to Poland and ordered Soviet troops to demonstrate a show of force in Poland.
- Gomulka (leader of the Polish Government) told Khrushchev that Poland would remain loyal to the Warsaw Pact if it was allowed to follow its own path however it would resist any armed intervention by the Soviets.
- In conjunction with Khrushchev's meeting there were multiple Anti-Soviet protests.
- Khrushchev chose to accept Gomulka's agreement to stay loyal to the Warsaw Pact instead of risking a war.
- As a result Gomulka halted collectivisation and implemented changes that improved working conditions and pay however they remained Communist and Loyal to the Soviets.

Hungarian Uprising, 1956:

- Hungarian reformers were inspired by the Polish and begun demonstrating in Budapest on 22 October 1956.
- They demanded the withdrawal of Soviet troops, multi-party elections and freedom of speech and the press.
- Hungarian secret police shot the demonstrators and this sparked an armed revolt.
- The USSR responded by allowing the old prime minister to be replaced by the reformist and popular Imre Nagy in an attempt to regain support.
- Nagy convinced Khrushchev to remove his soldiers, who had been fighting the demonstrators, on 28 October assuring him he could deal with the revolt himself.
- Nagy then announced his removal from the Warsaw Pact and the move towards multi-party elections.
- Khrushchev was worried that Nagy's reforms would cause a move away from communism and also towards other states moving away from communism.
- Khrushchev ordered in 15 division and 4000 tanks.
- Nagy tried to get Western support however they received none.
- The Red army fought the Hungarians and regained control killing around 3,000 Hungarians with many leaders including Nagy being executed.

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The Formal Division of Germany:

- May 1949 Trizonia (West Germany) transitioned into the German Federal Republic (FDR).
- In response the Soviet's established the one party state, 'the German Democratic Republic' DDR creating two Germany's and formalizing that German would not be reuniting.
- Germany was important as it contained a large number of NATO troops and a Soviet invasion of West Europe would have to come through Germany.

German Rearmament:

- The FDR joined NATO in 1955 followed by the DDR joining the newly formed Warsaw Pact.
- The FDR had 350,000 troops in 1961 (second largest in NATO) while the DDR had 85,000.
- Conscription began in 1955 (FDR) and 1962 (DDR).
- The USA strongly supported the rearmament of the FDR to stop any potential Soviet expansion.
- Ulbricht (the DDR's leader) wanted to reunify Germany as a single country in the same way the North Koreans were attempting to during the Korean War.

Stalin's Note:

- Stalin wanted to avoid hostilities over Germany and sent a note in March 1952.
- The note proposed a united, neutral Germany, with free elections supervised by the four occupying powers.
- The Western Allies refused through fear that a neutral Germany would turn to communism.

Soviet style industrialisation in East Germany:

- In 1949 Ulbricht began establishing a Stalinist approach to the economy.
- This formed a huge programme of collectivization as well as a prioritisation of heavy industry.
- These policies did little to improve living standards in East Germany.
- 15,000 farmers abandoned their land during the 1950's and moved to West Germany as a response to Collectivization.

The 1953 uprising:

- Despite pressure from the new Soviet leadership after Stalin's death to ease his Stalinist economic policy Ulbricht continued to impose new work quotas on industrial workers in 1953.
- As a result construction workers in East Berlin went on strike, followed by others across the country.
- In total around 400,000 people took to the streets demanding reform, including the introduction of free elections.
- Ulbricht requested Soviet intervention and 200,000 Soviet troops and 600 tanks came to crush the uprising.
- This was the first time Soviet forces were used to crush a popular revolt in one of their satellite states.

Developments in Germany

Impact of the 1953 uprising:

- 50 people killed; 6,000 people were arrested with at least 20 of those being executed; 500 received life sentences.
- The Soviet Union demonstrated to both East and West that it would use force to ensure communist governments remained in control in its satellite states.
- The lack of intervention from the West, despite the large NATO force in the FDR showed that they would not intervene in Eastern Europe.
- More East Germans fled to the West.

The Causes of the Berlin Wall:

- Despite the 1,400km hard border between East and West which existed West Berlin was unmonitored and between 1949 and 1961, 2.8 million East German refugees (1/6 of East Germany's population), many of whom were highly skilled and half who were under 25, escaped to West Germany through Berlin.
- The lose of highly skilled workers was called the Brain Drain and reduced the GDR's economic potential.
- The rejection of Stalin's note and formation of the FDR and GDR demonstrated that German was going to remain divided.
- Khrushchev used Berlin to gain concession from the West, he is quoted as saying 'Berlin is the testicles of the West... every time I want to make the West scream I squeeze on Berlin'.

The Berlin Wall:

- This was a wall that physically surrounded West Berlin.
- Buildings near the wall were destroyed to stop people jumping across the border.
- The wall was 3 meters high had, barbed wire, an exclusion zone, machine gun posts and soldiers were told to shoot to kill.
- West Germany was guaranteed access to West Berlin along a single autobahn.

Impact of the construction of the Berlin Wall:

- The US secretary of state Dean Rusk deemed the wall 'a monument to communist failure' as its purpose was to keep East Germans in.
- US president Kennedy increased troop numbers in West Berlin and delivered his famous 'Ich bin ein Berliner' (I am a Berliner) pledging continued support to all Germans.
- Kennedy increased US defense spending by \$3 billion as well as US conscription to be tripled.
- Kennedy accepted that the Berlin Wall existed and he would not do anything to remove this basically confirming the status quo in Europe.
- Increased the stability of East Germany without the escape route many East Germans accepted they had to work within the Socialist System and took steps to ensure that it worked.
- By the late 1960's East Germany had become one of the most successful state in the Eastern Bloc with a rise in wages.

Key words: *Collectivisation: a policy where individual farms were forced to join together sharing labour and resources.*

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- Khrushchev's hardline approach to dealing with the Hungarian Uprising (1956) more or less ended any series challenge to Soviet control of Eastern Europe for twelve years.

Khrushchev's replacement by Brezhnev:

- Khrushchev was replaced by Brezhnev as the leader of the USSR in 1964.
- Many Soviet leaders were unhappy with the way that Khrushchev had conducted his domestic and foreign policy, including the handling of the Cuban Missile Crisis.
- Under Brezhnev the de-Stalinisation and limited liberalisation associated with Khrushchev came to an end.
- Brezhnev's foreign policy was one of détente, or peaceful co-existence with the West.

Causes of Prague Spring:

- Inflation and food shortages caused discontent towards the USSR despite having been one of the strongest supporters post WWII and having the strongest industry of all the Eastern Bloc.
- Czechs did not like the fact that they now lived in a dictatorship.
- Czechoslovakia had been controlled by Novotny but a peaceful student demonstration in 1968 encourage Brezhnev to replace him with the more popular Alexander Dubcek on 5 January 1968.
- Brezhnev's détente view and willingness to replace Novonty gave many Czechs the belief that he would be unwilling to intervene in Czechoslovakian affairs.

Prague Spring and the Soviet response (1968):

- In April 1968, Dubcek announced an Action Plan to deliver 'Socialism with a Human Face'. He wanted to get rid of the most repressive aspects of communist rule, to reform the economy and to allow more cultural freedom.
- Dubecek introduced; A relaxation of press censorship; The legalisation of political opposition groups; Official government toleration of political criticisms; More power given to regional governments; More power given to the Czech parliament; 'Market socialism' – the reintroduction of some capitalist elements to the Czech economy.
- The above worried Brezhnev who felt Czechoslovakia was slipping out of Soviet control.
- Brezhnev declared that the USSR would not allow the countries of Eastern Europe to reject communism 'even if it meant a third World War'.
- Brezhnev created the **Brezhnev Doctrine** to stop any chance of a weakening of communism. The Doctrine remained Soviet policy until the Mid 1980's.
- 20 August 1968 Brezhnev sent 500,000 Warsaw Pact troops into Czechoslovakia.
- The Czechs offered no resistance instead choosing to peacefully protest, one student activist, Jan Palach, burnt himself to death in protest.
- Dubcek was arrested and replaced by Pro-Soviet Gustav Husak who reversed all of Dubcek's reforms.

The USSR's control of Eastern Europe under Brezhnev

Response to Prague Spring:

- The Western powers did nothing to actively support the Czechs.
- The US condemned the actions of Brezhnev but accepted Czechoslovakia as within the Soviet Sphere.
- The US was too committed to the Vietnam war to offer military support to Czechoslovakia and could not risk a war with the USSR.
- The Communist Parties of Italy and France were outraged by the Soviet invasion and formally declared themselves independent of the Soviet Communist Party. This created a rival form of communism – Soviet Communism in the East and Eurocommunism in the West.
- The Soviet invasion also led to discontent in Eastern Europe. The Yugoslavian and Romanian government condemned the invasion and distanced themselves from the Soviet Union; they also formed alliances with China.

Polish Solidarity 1980-81:

- Poland faced an economic crisis in 1980 as a result of rising costs of oil.
- Food prices roses by up to 100% triggering a wide scale strike. The strikers created a trade union, called Solidarity.
- Solidarity gained 8 million members and forced the Polish government to agree to a wage increase making them a political power.
- Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders were concerned over the existence of Solidarity but did nothing to intervene as they were scared of armed resistance should they intervene as they had during Prague Spring and Hungary.
- They also feared that any intervention would cause the West to impose economic sanctions which would damage the fragile Soviet economy.
- Brezhnev put pressure on the Poles to deal with the issue themselves.
- The newly appointed leader of Poland, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, imposed martial law in December 1981 banning all gatherings, imposing curfews and arresting the leaders of Solidarity.
- Although managing to weaken Solidarity it was too big a force to be removed entirely and went underground.
- When Communism collapsed in 1990 the leader of Solidarity, Lech Walesa, would become Poland's president.

Key Words:

Prague: *The capital of Czechia, formally Czechoslovakia.*

Prague Spring: *The name for the policies introduced by Dubcek.*

Brezhnev Doctrine: *A policy followed by the USSR which allowed them to invade any country of Eastern Europe to ensure the continuation of Communism.*

Unit 2: The Cold War in Europe

Who was more successful in the Cold War, East or West?

Arms Race	Space Race	Espionage
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• USA uses the first Atomic Bomb in 1945, following this the USA builds a stockpile.• The USSR produces its own atomic bomb in 1949 and quickly begins to mass produce these to match the US stockpile.• In 1952 the USA successfully tests a Hydrogen Bomb (400 times more powerful than an atomic bomb)• The USSR tests its own H bomb in 1953.• The Soviets create the first Inter Continental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) in 1957. These are missiles capable of being fired thousands of miles meaning planes were no longer needed to deploy atomic weapons.• In January 1960 the USA installs Polaris (its version of ICBM's) onto submarines.• By the 1960's nuclear arsenals are so big that it is known that any war would cause the destruction of both sides. This became known as MAD (Mutually Assured Destruction)• France tests its atomic bomb in February 1960.• China tests its atomic bomb in October 1964.• By the 1970's the USSR could not match the spending the USA was putting into its nuclear arsenals.• 1968-mid 1970s: The USA and USSR begin to agree to limit their nuclear arsenals.• January 1977 the USSR deploys SS-20's (small nuclear missiles) in Eastern Europe.• In an attempt to end MAD President Reagan funds the development of 'Star Wars' in 1983 a weapons system capable of destroying ICBM's mid flight. This is unsuccessful but the USSR could not even attempt to build their own.• November 1983: The USA responds to the SS-20's by deploying its own versions (Pershing and Cruise Missiles) in Western Europe.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• In October 1957 the USSR became the first country in the world to launch a satellite into space, this satellite was called Sputnik.• In November 1957 the USSR launches a dog into orbit aboard Sputnik II proving it is possible to have a living, organic being in space.• The USA attempted its own space program as they were fearful that the USSR would put nuclear weaponry in space. The first attempt to launch a rocket, the Vanguard exploded on take-off in December 1957.• Russian Cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin becomes the first human in space in April 1961; he became a world wide star touring the world as propaganda, even visiting Great Britain in July 1961.• By 1962 the USA used its more advanced economy to pump money into the space race, this resulted in the launching of multiple satellites which were used to photograph the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.• In 1966 the USSR became the first country to land an object on the moon and take photos of its surface.• The USA followed in the same year completing their own 'soft landings'.• The USA successfully landed a man on the moon in 1969, which was the USA's self proclaimed aim that would end the space race in victory for the USA.• In the early 1970's the USA and USSR began to launch joint space missions.• In July 1975 a US Apollo spacecraft docked with a Soviet Soyuz module in outer space.	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• The USSR consistently outperformed the West in its espionage.• Klaus Fuchs, the German scientist who had helped to create the American Atomic Bomb was a communist and had stole the atomic bomb plans and sent them to the Soviets.• Between the 1950's and 1960's the British Secret Service had been penetrated by the 'Cambridge Five' a Soviet spy ring named after the university the five soviet agents had graduated from.• One of the Cambridge Five, Kim Philby, was the head of the anti-Soviet section of MI6 whose job was to catch Soviet spies.• Two of the Cambridge Five worked in the British Embassy in Washington passing on information from here to the Soviets.• In 1994 the head of the CIA's Soviet division, Aldrich Ames, was arrested after it was discovered that he had been spying for the Soviets for nearly a decade• Ames had disclosed the identities of nearly every US secret agent in the USSR, at least ten who were then executed, in return for \$2.7 million.• The Stasi (East German counter-intelligence service) placed hundreds of spies in West Germany including one of West German Chancellor Willy Brandt's closest aides.• Several KGB (Soviet Secret Service) did defect to the West.• The US Veona project managed to decipher Soviet encrypted communication.• The US's U2 spy plane managed to take aerial images of the USSR between 1956 and 1989.
	<p><u>Keywords</u></p> <p>Space Race: The competition to get to the first man on the moon. This was the end target when Kennedy stated this in 1961.</p> <p>Arms Race: The competition to have the best and biggest nuclear arsenal.</p> <p>Espionage: the practice of spying or of using spies, typically by governments to obtain political and military information.</p>	

Unit 2: The Cold War in Europe

Détente

Causes of Detente:

- Between 1953 and 1962 there had been several close confrontations between both sides.
- Since 1965 the USA was committing massive resources to Vietnam and needed to ease its spending elsewhere.
- Nuclear parity had solidified MAD (Mutually assured destruction) which made continued spending on nuclear weapons seem pointless.
- The USSR faced massive problems in its food production as well as slow growth rates in its economy, it needed to reduce spending.
- The nuclear arms race was growing – Soviet industry was still geared to arms manufacturing and were closing the missile gap.
- China and the USSR were conflicting over the direction of communism. They also had border disputes and even asked how the USA would react if war was to break out between China and the USSR to gauge if the USA would support them.
- President Nixon visited China in 1972 looking to improve relations, this worried the USSR who wanted to avoid the potential of a USA-China alliance.
- New politics were increasing in Europe – there were student protests in Paris and the beginnings of *Ostpolitik*, *increased relations between West and East Germany*.
- Economics of both USA and USSR – slowing down due to massive commitment towards weapons .
- The hard line leadership seen under Stalin, Truman, Brezhnev and Eisenhower had begun to give way to more flexible leaders such as Nixon and Brezhnev.
- The USSR and Soviet bloc wanted to increase its access to much-needed Western technology and trade.
- Oil prices rose following conflicts in the Middle East further supporting the need to reduce spending elsewhere.
- Brezhnev had launched a policy of peaceful coexistence with the USA.
- The large loss of life in Vietnam had made the war unpopular and the new US president (Nixon) hoped to negotiate with the USSR to get them to convince the communist North Vietnamese to end their war with the US supported south.

Cuban Missile Crisis:

- US President: Kennedy; USSR leader; Khrushchev
- 14 October 1962 a U2 spy plane located the presence of Soviet missile basis being built on Cuba, just 90 miles from the USA.
- Kennedy launched a naval blockade: 22 October 1962.
- An increase in tensions begins however negotiations took place and on 28 October Khrushchev publicly agrees to the removal of the missiles, in return Kennedy privately agrees to remove nuclear missiles from Cuba and publicly promises to never invade Cuba.
- Following the event a direct hotline (phone connection) was established between the Whitehouse and the Kremlin.
- Both the USA and the USSR realised they had been on the brink of nuclear war and entered into talks. These talks eventually led to the 1963 Test Ban Treaty which began the process of ending the testing of nuclear weapons.

SALT	Helsinki Accords:	Ostpolitik
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Between 1969 and 1972 Strategic Arms Limitation Talks took place. • This limited the number of missiles and types of weaponry each superpower (USA and USSR) could possess. • Both the USA and USSR still had enough nuclear weapons to destroy the world several times over. • This was the first time the nuclear arsenals were limited. • A five year freeze on the construction of missile launchers, ICBM's, long range bombers and submarine-launched missiles. • Anti-ballistic screens limited to capital cities only to help ensure MAD. • As a result of SALT US-Soviet trade increased; President Nixon visited Moscow in 1973; Brezhnev visited Washington in 1974. • SALT II talks were agreed between US President Carter and Brezhnev in 1979 however the US Senate refused to ratify the agreements which prevented the permanent limitation of nuclear weapons. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Signed 1975 • This was an international agreement that finalized the post-WWII borders of Europe. • It also agreed economic and technological co-operation between the superpowers and their affiliate nations. • Agreements reached about humanitarian and cultural issues. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Willy Brandt (West German Chancellor from 1969) official recognized the existence of East Germany (GDR) . • Brandt introduced policy called Ostpolitik; a policy of reducing tensions between West Germany and the East. <p>As a result of the treaty:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The FDR (West Germany) signed a non aggression pact with the USSR. • East Germany's border with Poland was recognized by the West as the post-war Oder-Neisse line. • In 1972 the FDR and GDR signed the Basic Treaty agreeing to have basic relations. • The FDR and GDR joined the United Nations as separate countries in 1973.

Keywords

Détente: The easing of hostility or strained relations, especially between countries.

Co-existence: To live alongside each other.

Unit 2: The Cold War in Europe

Why did the Soviets invade Afghanistan:

- In April 1978 the Afghan communists overthrew the monarch in Afghanistan and began a radical programme of secularization and reform.
- The reforms triggered an opposition movement by Islamic forces. This worried the USSR due to not only the potential lose of a new communist state but also the spread of Islamic opposition into the southern Republics of the USSR.
- As a result the USSR sent in a large military force of 50,000 troops in order to support the fledgling Communist government in December 1979.
- This marked a shift in USSR's policy moving from Détente to a more aggressive expansion which worried the USA and the West and made them believe that nothing had changed despite the period of Détente..

President Carter's response:

- Carter ended the shipments of grain from the USA to the USSR. This grain shipment had been agreed during Détente and was essential in preventing food shortages, without them they helped cause the food shortages that led to the formation of Polish Solidarity.
- The US Senate refused to ratify SALT II and Carter, who had previously been a huge advocate of Détente, suspended any further arms negotiation.
- The USA boycotted the 1980's Olympic Games.
- From 1979 The USA supplied the Afghan Islamic opposition with money and weapons as well as training, as part of the CIA funded Operation Cyclone, to fight against the USSR; by 1986 this included providing the rebels with surface to air missiles.
- Carter introduced the Carter Doctrine: A promise to aid countries against Soviet attack, with military force, in order to prevent Soviet expansion into the oil rich areas of the Middle East.
- As part of the Carter Doctrine Pakistan would receive billions of US\$ to boost its military forces.

Change of leadership in the West:

- President Carter was replaced by Ronald Reagan in 1980.
- He was openly hostile to the USSR even calling them an 'Evil Empire' in his Evil Empire speech 1983.
- He saw both SALT and the Helsinki Accords as being against US interests and a repeat of the appeasement of Yalta.
- Reagan believed military force could 'win' the Cold War for the USA.
- Margret Thatcher became UK PM in 1979 and was determined to oppose socialism and communism and to support the US.

Afghanistan and the End of Détente

How did the war in Afghanistan affect the Cold War?

- Alongside the change in leadership and reaction to Polish Solidarity in 1980 it ended the period of Détente that had characterized the 1970's.
- The invasion and occupation was a massive drain on the Soviet economy as the Soviets faced the same unwinnable situation that the USA had in Vietnam.
- The USSR is estimated to have spent \$50 billion on the war in Afghanistan.
- The Soviet soldiers conscripted from outside of Russia became symbols of opposition to Soviet rule, deserting, joining the mujahideen (Afghanistan opposition) and refusing to be conscripted in the first place as was the case in 1989 with conscripts from the Baltic States and Georgia.
- The military failure in Afghanistan made pro-secession leaders less worried about potentially having to fight the USSR in order to gain independence.
- Increased defense spending for the USSR further diverted money away from basic consumer goods and improving the economy.

Actions of Ronald Reagan

- Reagan aimed to use the American economy to outspend the USSR, designing and creating new weapons in such large numbers that the USSR could not compete and the USA would hold the advantage.
- Reagan introduced the SDI (Star Wars) programme. This was a defense system designed to destroy an incoming ICBM in space and therefore protecting the USA. If successful this would violate SALT and would effectively end Mutual Assured Destruction as the USA could use nuclear weapons against the USSR while the USSR would be unable to retaliate.
- Reagan deployed Pershing II and Cruise missiles into Europe, within striking distance of the East. The Pershing was vehicle based making it mobile and therefore hard to destroy.
- This helped trigger a new arms race in the 1980's as Reagan wanted as he knew that he could outspend the USSR.

How did Afghanistan help bring about an end to the Cold War?

- Forced the USSR to spend more on military spending and therefore less on other areas.
- Removed the perception that the Soviet army was undefeatable in the eyes of Eastern Bloc countries.

How did Reagan help bring about an end to the Cold War?

- His hardline approach forced the USSR to continue to spend on the second arms race further causing economic problems.

Unit 2: The Cold War in Europe

Economic problems in the USSR and Satellite States:

- Consumer goods were in short supply, even consumers who had the money could not buy goods as they did not exist.
- Khrushchev's economic policies had led to growth in the 1960's however the USSR was still economically secure.
- Factories were given quotas of how much they had to produce, this led to products being rushed and therefore being poorly made.
- Heavy goods had been prioritised over consumer goods leading to shortages.
- Around ¼ of Soviet GDP was spent on the military.
- The USSR was giving Cuba and Vietnam were receiving \$1 billion of aid per year by 1980 to help support them.
- The state monopoly on business prevented innovation and foreign investment.
- Wages did not keep pace with inflation.
- The total production of the USSR in the mid-1980s was only 37% of the gross national product of the USA.
- To improve production the USSR and Eastern Bloc had to buy expensive technology from the West. East Germany for example was the 10th largest industrial economy in the world by the 1970's but to achieve this was in debt to Western banks to the sum of \$12.8 billion

Agricultural production:

- The USSR suffered from massive grain shortages and was reliant on grain imports from abroad, during Détente the majority of these were from the USA.
- Attempts to make farms more productive through chemically altering the soil led to soil damage.
- The use of irrigation systems led to the Aral Sea drying up.
- The USSR had 75% more farmland than the USA however they only produced about 2/3s of the US crop due to a lack of modernization, low fertilization and poor transport.
- Farmers were not inclined to improve the quantity of food they produced as they would make no more money as any produce belonged to the state.
- Only Poland (a country who refused to adopt collectivization) managed to increase agricultural output.

Oil Shortage:

- In the late 1980's Soviet oil production fell by 30%.
- This reduced the amount they could export to Eastern Europe (they had previously exported 30% of their oil to the Eastern Bloc).
- No longer did the Stalinist economic system whereby countries specialized in a type of product to be shared between the Communist countries as the USSR could no longer provide the oil.

Extra information:

- The Chernobyl nuclear disaster in 1986 showed the weakness of the USSR and the ineffectiveness of some of its technology.

Economic problems in the Eastern Bloc and the new policy of Gorbachev

Social problems:

- The average Eastern bloc worker had to contend with poor pay, rationing, shortages of basic food.
- Housing was inexpensive but of a poor quality with apartments lacking kitchens and bathrooms.
- An East German worker waited an average of ten years after placing an order for a car for it to be ready to collect, in Bulgaria this was 20 years.

How did economic and social problems help bring about an end to the Cold War?

- The USSR could no longer cope with the cost of the arms race and wanted to return to a policy of Détente
- The economic and social changes weakened the control of the Communist party in the USSR and Satellite States.

Gorbachev:

- Became leader of the Soviet Union in 1985.
- Gorbachev met with Reagan in Geneva, November 1985, where both sides agreed to halve their nuclear arsenals.
- They met again in Reykjavik in October 1986 and in Washington in 1987 where they agreed to the INF treaty which ended the deployment of all medium-range nuclear missiles.
- Gorbachev agreed to remove Soviet troops from Afghanistan by May 1989.
- Gorbachev wished to achieve **perestroika**: the restructuring of the Soviet economy.
- To achieve perestroika Gorbachev allowed foreign companies to invest in Soviet companies up to 49%; factory owners were given freedom and encouraged to make a profit; Soviet citizens were allowed to set up their own businesses outside of central control.
- Gorbachev also followed a policy of **Glasnost** (openness).
- Glasnost encouraged people to question what they saw as flaws in the industries they worked in so they could be improved, prior to this the people lived in fear.
- Glasnost led to the media questioning everything from housing and food shortages to the widespread alcoholism in the USSR.
- The press were also allowed to talk about the positive aspects of Western life.
- As a side effect of glasnost Gorbachev had given too much power to the people and chose to allow voters a choice of candidates in local elections (1987).
- In March 1989 the first free elections happened in the Soviet Union, the communists did win a majority but in a democratic election.

How did Gorbachev help bring about an end to the Cold War?

- He started to change the communist system bringing in Western elements.
- He allowed free elections which weakened Communist control.
- He allowed people to question the government.

Unit 2: The Cold War in Europe

How did communism collapse in Eastern Europe in the late 1980s?

Why did Communism collapse in Eastern Europe?:

- Gorbachev had encourage perestroika and glasnost in Eastern Europe.
- It was made clear the the USSR had no interest in upholding the Brezhnev Doctrine or intervening in other countries internal affairs.
- Gorbachev announced his new policy of non intervention to the UN in December 1988 and that 500,000 Soviet troops would be withdrawn from Eastern Europe.
- This left the communist countries of Eastern Europe alone to sort any internal issues.
- Poland and Hungary were quick to introduce reforms to avoid internal revolt while the rest became more insular.

Collapse of Poland:

- Solidarity was made legal in January 1989.
- Political and economic reforms were agreed between Solidarity and the government.
- Elections were held in June; Solidarity won a clear majority.
- In August 1989 the new Polish parliament elected the first non-communist Prime Minister in Eastern Europe for over 40 years; Gorbachev did nothing to intervene.

Collapse of Hungary:

- Hungarian Communists had been carrying out reforms for some time including securing a 1 billion mark loan from West Germany to aid economic reform.
- Free, multiparty, elections were agreed in 1989 to happen in 1990.
- In 1989 Hungary opened its border with Austria leading to thousands of East Germans crossing to West Germany via Hungary and Austria.

Collapse of Czechoslovakia:

- The fall of the Berlin Wall in East Germany caused mass protests in Czechoslovakia and in response the communist government resigned on 28 November 1989 and a multi-party system was established, this was called the Velvet Revolution due to the lack of violence.
- In December 1989 the border fence with Austria and West Germany was removed.

Collapse of Bulgaria:

- Mass demonstrations led to the governments resignation in autumn 1989.
- The long ruling Zhivkov was removed from power and in 1990 the Bulgarian Communist Party changed its name to the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and adopted a centre-left ideology in place of Marxism-Leninism.
- The first free elections since 1931 were held in 1990 and were won by the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the country's name was changed to Republic of Bulgaria.

Collapse of Romania:

- The one exception to these peaceful revolutions was Romania,
- Nicolae Ceausescu, the country's leader, who had ruled through excessive terror and force for 21 years, tried to use security forces to crush the demonstrations.
- In December 1989 mass protests occurred over issues such as food shortages.
- Ceausescu ordered troops to fire on the protestors which caused protests to spread to other cities across Romania.
- Many of the troops and some senior communists turned against him and he was captured, put on trial and executed on Christmas Day 1989.
- Within a few days the National Salvation Front had assumed power and abolished the single party state.

Collapse of East Germany and the Berlin Wall:

- Gorbachev made it clear that the GDR should form closer ties with West Germany as the USSR could no longer afford to give them money or resources to help out their economy.
- On 4th November 1989 there was a protest of 500,000 people in East Berlin.
- On 7th November, the government of the GDR resigned.
- On 9th November the spokesperson for East Berlin's Communist Party announced that at midnight, citizens of the GDR were free to cross the border into West Berlin and West Germany.
- More than 2 million people from East Berlin visited West Berlin that weekend.
- Soon, as a reaction to this new freedom, people from both East and West Berlin began to demolish the Berlin Wall, which, since its construction in 1961, had come to symbolise the Cold War and the government later used industrial equipment to remove most of what was left.

Reunification of Germany:

- By 1990 around 600,000 East Germans migrated to the West following the fall of the Berlin Wall.
- In November 1989 Helmut Kohl (the West German chancellor) proposed economic aim and the reunification of Germany if East Germany agreed to free elections.
- Protestors in East Germany began to shift from demanding economic reforms to reunification.
- Western goods flooded East Germany and caused economic problems further increasing demands for reunification.
- In the elections of March 1990 the CDU who promised reunification with Western Germany as part of their campaign won 48% of the vote.
- Reunification would cost West German billions of marks but were willing to take on the economic burden.
- The USSR, UK and France were reluctant to allow Germany to reunify, the promise of a unified Germany remaining in NATO won the support of the West. West Germany promised to pay the USSR 12 billion Deutschmark's in return for allowing reunification.
- As a result reunification was agreed between the four powers in September 1990.
- East Germany was absorbed into West Germany on 3 October 1990.

Unit 2: The Cold War in Europe

The End of the Cold War

Coup against Gorbachev:

- Gorbachev was losing control, as many of the republics within the USSR demanded independence.
- In May 1991 Gorbachev held a conference with the leaders of the republics and persuaded them to form a new voluntary union largely independent from Moscow.
- Boris Yeltsin was elected president of the Russian Republic in June 1991 (Gorbachev remained the leader of the new voluntary union).
- Yeltsin wanted Russia to become independent.
- The Warsaw act was dissolved in 1991.
- Gorbachev was popular abroad but increasingly less popular in Russia.
- Hardline communists launched a coup to overthrow Gorbachev and reverse his reforms. He was arrested and the public were told Gorbachev was ill.
- Yeltsin called the people to support him instead of the coup.
- The army did not know who to support and so did nothing causing the coup to fail and Yeltsin to be seen as a hero.

Yeltsin and the formation of the Russian Federation:

- Boris Yeltsin was elected President of Russia in June 1991 with 57% of the vote in the first direct presidential election in Russian history.
- He continued Gorbachev's policy of supporting freedom of the press, permitting public criticism and letting Western popular culture into the country.
- Yeltsin managed to successfully push for his view of independent republics and the USSR separated into 15 republics in 1991.
- The Russian Federation accounted for 50% of the population of the Soviet Union.
- In 1993 Yeltsin signed an agreement with the USA (George Bush senior) to cut the number of warheads that they both had by 3,000 – this was the START Treaty.
- In September 1993 Yeltsin disbanded the communist dominated parliament and called for new elections in Russia.
- The Russian parliament impeached Yeltsin for disbanding the government.
- On October 3rd demonstrators removed police cordons around the parliament, took over the mayor's office and tried to storm the TV centre.
- The army, ordered by Yeltsin, stormed the parliament building on the morning of the 4th October and arrested the leaders of the resistance formalising the disbanding of the communist government.

Collapse of Yugoslavia:

- Yugoslavia was communist but not under Soviet influence, and like the USSR was actually a federation of states held together by communism.
- Encouraged by the widespread collapse of communism nationalist parties began once again pushing for independence.
- Multiparty elections were held in 1990, Communists won in Serbia but in the rest of Yugoslavia pro-nationalist parties won.
- Slovenia and Croatia declared independence in June 1991, Macedonia in September 1991 and Bosnia-Herzegovina in March 1992.
- Serbia was left alone and while its leader, Slobodan Milosevic, largely allowed Slovenia and Macedonia leave peacefully he was willing to use force in order to unite all ethnic Serbs living in Croatia and Bosnia with Serbia itself this led to a Civil War for the next three years alongside a policy of ethnic cleansing.
- The UN brokered a ceasefire between Croatia and Serbia in 1992 although fighting renewed in 1995 and around 20,000 dead.
- The Bosnian-Serbian conflict saw ethnic cleansing on a far greater scale to the Croatian-Serbian conflict.
- The UN set up six safe zones in Bosnia where civilians were protected by UN troops.
- Despite this the Serbian army occupied one of the six zones, expelled the UN troops and massacred 8,000 men and boys.
- This encouraged NATO to step up its intervention increasing bombing raids to such an extent the Serbians were forced to retreat and accept a peace deal.
- 100,000 people lost their lives during the Bosnian-Serbian conflict.