

# Transformation of the Cold War [Revision Cascade]

<b>Why was Berlin important to the USA</b>	"A showcase of liberty"	President Kennedy, in a televised address to the American People on 25 July 1960
	"The great testing place of Western courage and will"	"We cannot and will not permit the Communists to drive us out of Berlin, either gradually or by force."
	Isolated and vulnerable	The 'testicles of the West', Khrushchev called Berlin.
	Kennedy was a new President	elected on a promise to get tough on the Soviets
	West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer	had let it be known that he did not trust Kennedy to protect West Germany, so Kennedy had to calm those fears.
<b>Why was Berlin important to the USSR</b>	The placing of nuclear weapons in West Germany	By NATO, but Adenauer was wanting West Germany to have nuclear weapons too
	East Germany's economic inferiority to West Germany and the flight of East Germans into West Berlin	By 1961, 3 million had fled to the west through Berlin – by August 1961, the flow was 1,800 a day.
	Ulbricht was pressurising for the border to be closed	Cf American historian Hope Harrison's 'tail wags the dog' theory
	The Americans used West Berlin for spying & sabotage	Khrushchev called West Berlin "a cancerous tumour".
	Worry about China	Mao Zedong denounced Khrushchev's 'peaceful co-existence' as a "bourgeois pacifist concept"
<b>Berlin Wall - events</b>	November 1958 – Khrushchev's Ultimatum	Khrushchev proposed that all four occupying powers should withdraw from Germany pending a peace Treaty, and gave the USA, UK and France 6 months to comply
	4-5 June 1961 – Vienna Summit	Khrushchev tried to bully Kennedy to accept the Peace Treaty, even mentioning war
	25 July – Kennedy's Speech	Kennedy publicly refused a Peace Treaty, refused to back down an inch, and announced increased spending on armaments
	3-5 August – Warsaw Pact meeting	Khrushchev called a secret meeting of the Warsaw Pact countries, who agreed to the Wall and to economic aid for East Germany
	The Berlin Wall, 13 Aug 1961	Overnight the East Germans erected a barbed wire wall (later replaced with concrete); Berlin was split into two

<b>The Berlin Wall: results</b>	The Berlin Wall, 13 Aug 1961	Overnight the East Germans erected a barbed wire wall (later replaced with concrete); Berlin was split into two
	Propaganda victory	At first the Russians seemed to have won; the USA was forced to accept Soviet control of eastern Europe
	Tensions decreased on both sides.	Apart from a small 'stand-off' at Checkpoint Charlie on 27 October, when Soviet guards attempted to search US diplomats, Berlin ceased to be a flashpoint of the Cold War
	'I am a Berliner' speech, 1963	Kennedy as relieved, but still made huge propaganda out of the wall, saying it showed the need to oppose Communism
	A symbol of Soviet failure	As the deaths mounted from people trying to get through the Wall, it became a symbol of Soviet failure
<b>The Berlin Wall: historiography</b>	Traditional view – a grand game of US-Soviet diplomacy	Sees the crisis as 'a grand game' of diplomacy between Khrushchev and Kennedy
	'Depolarisation'	Since the opening of eastern block archives, historians have realised that other countries had influence – China, Korea and the Warsaw Pact on the USSR, West Germany on Kennedy
	'Tail wags the dog'	Hope Harrison's 'tail-wags-the-dog' theory sees Ulbricht, not Khrushchev, as the dominant participant, manoeuvring the Soviets into a corner.
	'Constructivism'	Sees socio-cultural trends and 'the voice from below' as important – Mary Fulbrook has shown how East Germany was a 'participatory dictatorship'
	Mass-migration	Patrick Major (2006) sees the building of the Wall as primarily a reaction to the mass-migration – especially of farmers – from East Germany
<b>Castro's seizure of power in Cuba: events</b>	Castro's Revolution, 1959	Fidel Castro overthrew Batista's corrupt and repressive government
	Castro nationalised US companies, Jun 1959	Castro nationalised all American companies; the US stopped trading with Cuba
	Soviet-Cuban trade agreement, Feb 1960	Russia promised to buy Cuba's sugar; Castro became a Communist
	The Bay of Pigs invasion failed, Apr 1961	Castro defeated the CIA-backed 'Bay of Pigs' invasion
	Khrushchev promised to defend Cuba, Sep 1961	Castro asked the USSR for weapons to defend Cuba Khrushchev agreed
<b>Castro's seizure of power in Cuba: results</b>	Increased international tension	Castro's revolution was a victory for communism against the USA
	America became nervous	Cuba is only 100 miles from Florida, and Cuba was now a hostile power
	Kennedy was humiliated	The Bay of Pigs failure had humiliated Kennedy, who could not back down again
	Cuba was Russia's opportunity	Cuba gave Khrushchev the opportunity to place missiles in the western hemisphere
	Operation Mongoose, Nov 1961	Kennedy authorised 'Operation Mongoose' – to assassinate Castro

<b>Cuban Missile Crisis, October 1962: causes</b>	Turkish missile sites, 1959	The US had signed an agreement to put 15 Jupiter nuclear missiles in Turkey; this frightened Russia
	Russia was winning the Cold War, 1961	Russian successes: Gagarin, Vienna Summit, Berlin Wall
	Castro made America nervous	Cuba is only 100 miles from Florida, and Cuba was now a hostile power
	The Bay of Pigs invasion failed, Apr 1961	The Bay of Pigs humiliated Kennedy, who felt at a disadvantage to Khrushchev; it also caused Castro to ask Khrushchev for weapons to defend Cuba
	Cuban Missile sites spotted, 14 Oct 1962	An American U2 spy-plane took pictures of missile sites being built on Cuba
<b>Cuban Missile Crisis: Kennedy's options</b>	Nuclear strike	This would risk causing a nuclear war and the end of humanity
	Conventional attack	This would risk a war with Russia, which could turn into a nuclear war
	Go through the UN	This was too slow – the bases would be finished in 10 days
	Do nothing	Impossible – the missiles would put all the US within range of Soviet missiles
	Blockade Cuba	This would stop the missiles getting to the bases, but was not a direct act of war
<b>Cuban Missile Crisis: events</b>	Kennedy announced a Blockade, 22 Oct 1962	Kennedy announced a naval blockade of Cuba, Khrushchev accused him of 'piracy'
	Russian ships turned back, 25 Oct 1962	Russian ships heading for Cuba turned back
	Khrushchev's first letter, 26 Oct 1962	Khrushchev sent Kennedy a telegram, offering to dismantle the bases if Kennedy promised not to invade Cuba
	Khrushchev's second letter, 27 Oct 1962	Khrushchev sent a second letter, demanding Kennedy dismantle US missile bases in Turkey; a US spy-plane was shot down in Cuba but Kennedy ignored the incident
	Khrushchev agreed, 28 Oct 1962	Kennedy offered to dismantle the Turkish bases if that remained secret Khrushchev agreed The crisis ended
<b>Cuban Missile Crisis: results</b>	Russia left Cuba, 20 Nov 1962	The Turkish missile sites were dismantled, Russian bombers left Cuba, and Kennedy lifted the naval blockade
	Cuba remained communist	Cuba remained a Communist dictatorship, and America left it alone
	Khrushchev lost prestige	Although he had won, the Turkey agreement was secret; he fell from power in 1964
	Kennedy gained prestige	Although he had given up Turkish missiles, that remained a secret; he was seen as the man who had faced down the Soviets
	Disarmament and detente	Both sides had got a shock, and took measures to progress nuclear disarmament and to prevent a crisis happening again
<b>Progress with nuclear disarmament in the 1960s: facts</b>	Geneva Disarmament Conference, 1962–69	Disarmament negotiations restarted
	Telephone 'hot line', Jun 1963	A telephone 'hot line' to talk directly in a crisis
	Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, 1963	This banned nuclear tests in the atmosphere, underwater and in space
	Non-Proliferation Treaty, 1968	This limited nuclear weapons to the USA, the USSR, Britain, France and China
	Overkill	By 1960, America had 26,000 warheads, Russia had 12,000 – together, enough to destroy every living thing on earth

<b>Cuban Missile Crisis: historiography</b>	Traditional view – ‘a poker game’ won by the hero Kennedy	Top-down diplomatic history which made no attempt to see the Soviet PoV
	Revisionism	Used the same sources, and still US-centric ... but blamed Kennedy for almost causing an unnecessary nuclear war
	Post-1990 – Kennedy	Release of documents post-1991 showed that Kennedy had not wanted war, had promised to take the Jupiter missiles out of Turkey, and had a back-up plan through the US
	Post-1990 - Khrushchev	Access to Soviet documents showed that Khrushchev had not wanted war, and was primarily concerned to protect Cuba from US invasion – Russians call it the ‘Caribbean Crisis’
	Post-1989 Cuba	Studies of Cuba’s role show that Castro was much more aggressive than Khrushchev, wanted the US out of Cuba altogether, and was furious when Khrushchev made an agreement and withdrew the weapons and Soviet soldiers from Cuba.
<b>Cuban Missile Crisis: How close did war come?</b>	Traditional AND revisionist view – very close	Kennedy had caused Khrushchev to ‘blink’
	Post-revisionists – not so much	Kennedy and Khrushchev both clearly had no intention of pushing the matter to a nuclear war
	Sergei Khrushchev	Admitted that the crisis was “one of my father's biggest mistakes”, but confirmed that “Kennedy and my father never wanted to begin the war”
	Recently – Black Saturday (27 October)	There were others involved in the crisis who might have intentionally or unintentionally provoked a war
	Disarmament campaigner Tom Collina	“We got lucky”
<b>The space race in the 1960s: facts</b>	Mariner probes, 1962–73	Robotic space probes (American) which flew past Venus (1962) and Mars (1964)
	Valentina Tereshkova, 1963	First woman in space (Soviet)
	Alexey Leonov, 1965	First spacewalk (Soviet)
	Vladimir Komarov, 1967	The Soviet space programme was wrecked by technical problems; Komarov died when his Soyuz spacecraft malfunctioned
	Neil Armstrong, 21 Jul 1968	First man on the moon (American)
<b>The Prague Spring, 1968: causes</b>	Intelligentsia	In 1967, the Union of Czechoslovak Writers demanded freedom of the press and democracy
	Economic collapse and low living standards	Tied in with hostility to Soviet economic demands. Ota Sik’s New Economic Model, 1965 led only to demands for political freedoms
	Repression	he Czech Secret Police, the STB, were hated, and many people alive in 1968 remembered that, between the wars, Czechoslovakia had been a democracy.
	Government weakness	Novotny was seen as a failed leader, whom even hard-liners wanted rid of.
	5 Jan 1968: Novotny fell from power	When the Czech leader, Novotny, asked Brezhnev for help, Brezhnev made him resign, and replaced him with Alexander Dubcek

<b>The Prague Spring, 1968: events</b>	April 1968: Dubcek's 'Action Programme of Reform'	Dubcek announced 'Socialism with a human face', including allowing free enterprise, human rights and opposition parties
	17 June: Vaculik's Two Thousand Words pamphlet	A pamphlet written by Czech reformer Vaculik demanded democracy and reform of the Communist Party.
	3 August: Warsaw Pact assurance	Dubcek promised the Warsaw Pact in Bratislava that he did not intend to leave the Warsaw Pact, and would suppress anti-socialist movements
	13 Aug 1968: Brezhnev Telephone Call	Brezhnev expressed his "alarm" that the Czechoslovak press was still attacking Communism and the Soviet Union, and warned that "we are considering new decisions".
	20 Aug 1968: Warsaw Pact invasion	A letter from Czech hard-liners asking for the Warsaw Pact to intervene; next day 500,000 Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia; Dubcek told people NOT to resist
<b>What did Brezhnev think of the Prague Spring?</b>	Defection to capitalism	Brezhnev and the communist hard-liners decided that Dubcek was not reforming communism – he was introducing capitalism
	Destabilising effect	Russia's Warsaw Pact partners warned that they were losing control in their countries
	Soviet control of the Iron Curtain	Brezhnev was determined to keep total control behind the Iron Curtain
	Czech criticism of communism and the Soviet Union	Pamphlets like Vaculik's Two Thousand words were seen as counter-revolutionary and critical of the Soviet Union
	Criticism of Brezhnev	China, Albania and hard-liners in Russia were using the crisis to attack Brezhnev.
<b>The Prague Spring, 1968: results</b>	Gustav Husak	Husak replaced Dubcek (who was not executed, but demoted to a woodsman); the reforms were reversed
	Jan Palach	Jan Palach (and a number of other students) burned themselves to death in protest
	The Brezhnev Doctrine	Brezhnev declared that the Warsaw Pact would invade any communist country which was trying to introduce capitalism
	Weak international protests	Western countries protested but did not do anything; Albania left the Warsaw Pact; China, Romania and Finland criticised the invasion
	A 'watershed' year	The failure of communism to reform in 1968 led, in the end, to the collapse of communism in 1989

<b>Detente: causes - USA</b>	Nuclear Woes	The Cuban Missile Crisis had frightened leaders on both sides, nuclear war was clearly MAD, and the cost was preventing spending on pressing social and economic issues in the USA
	International Difficulties	The USA was clearly losing in Vietnam (leading to anti-war protests) and needed Soviet influence over North Vietnam to broker a peace - Jussi Hanhimäki saw detente as a result of the diminishing power and prestige of the USA
	Economic & Social problems	A period of 'stagflation' (rising prices and economic recession), an oil crisis threatened the American way of life - Jeremi Suri saw detente as a result of the challenge from below
	China	China's near-nuclear stand-off with the USSR made it impossible for the USA to present itself as the defender of freedom against a global 'communist' threat
	Endorsed – the Nixon Doctrine, 1969	The 'Nixon Doctrine': the USA would maintain a nuclear 'shield', but Western countries must pay for their own defence – nb Kissinger's 'shuttle diplomacy'
<b>Detente: causes - USSR</b>	Nuclear Woes	Although pleased to be winning the arms race, the Soviet Union was spending 12% of its GNP on weapons – whilst its people were getting fed up with shortages and a low standard of living
	International successes	The Berlin Wall, Czechoslovakia and Ostpolitik made Europe much safer, allowing Soviet policy to be more relaxed
	Economic & Social problems	Failing agriculture & industry/ corruption & the black market/ alcoholism and dissidence in the USSR made Brezhnev want peace and stability
	China	China's near-nuclear stand-off with the USSR made Brezhnev worry that the USA would ally with China
	Endorsed – razryadka	razryadka was a Leninist concept, and Vladislav Zubok found that Brezhnev's promoted it in the Politburo
<b>Detente: events</b>	Shanghai Communique, 1972	Ping-pong diplomacy and Nixon's visit (1972) led to an agreement seeking peace and trade, and the US stopped supporting Taiwan
	SALT1, 1972	Nixon went to Moscow in 1972 where he agreed to the Basic Principles of Relations and a Strategic Arms Limitation which ended construction of new ICBMs. A Biological Weapons Convention, Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement followed soon after
	Peace in Germany, 1972	In 1970, West Germany signed the Treaty of Moscow with the USSR, and in 1972 West and East Germany signed the 'Basic Treaty' of mutual recognition.
	Apollo-Soyuz Test Project, 1975	US astronauts and Soviet cosmonauts docked their spacecraft together
	Helsinki Accords, Aug 1975	35 countries, including America and the USSR, signed the Helsinki Accords – a trade agreement which included promises of human rights