Overall Timeline

Date	Event	Ongoing Phenomena	
	wwii		
Aug 1939	Nazi-Soviet Pact		
1940	Katyn Forest Massacre		
Jun-Nov 1941	Operation Barbarossa		
1941	Atlantic Charter		
1944	Warsaw Uprising		
1944	Morgenthau Plan		
6 June 1944	Delayed opening of the Second Front		
Sept 1944	Communist coup in Bulgaria	Sovietisation of Eastern	
4-11 Feb 1945	Yalta Conference	Europe [BPHRC]	
Feb 1945	Declaration of Liberated Europe		
Mar 1945	Kidnapping of the Polish Provisional Government		
Apr 1945	Death of Roosevelt		
12 May 1945	End of US lend-lease aid to the USSR		
July 1945	Churchill replaced by Attlee		
17 July-2 Aug 1945	Potsdam Conference		
July 1945	US development of the atomic bomb		
6, 9 Aug 1945	US deployment of the atomic bomb		
Start of Bipolarity			
Jan-Mar 1946	Delayed Soviet withdrawal from Iran		
22 Feb 1946	George Kennan's Long Telegram		
5 Mar 1946	Churchill's Iron Curtain speech		
14 Mar 1946	Stalin's <i>Pravda</i> response		
30 Mar 1946	Start of Greek Civil War		
2 June 1946	Communist gains in French and Italian elections		

Date	Event	Ongoing Phenomena
7 Aug 1946	Soviet escalation of Turkish Straits Crisis	
6 Sept 1946	Byrnes' Speech of Hope	
24 Sept 1946	Clifford-Elsey Report	
Feb 1947	Communist coup in Poland	
12 Mar 1947	Truman Doctrine	
29 May 1947	Formation of Bizonia in Western Germany	
5 June 1947	Marshall Plan	
2 July 1947	Molotov Plan	
8 July 1947	Publication of the Long Telegram	
22 Sept 1947	Zhdanov's Two Camps speech	
5 Oct 1947	Creation of COMINFORM	
Oct 1947	Communist coup in Hungary	
Dec 1947	Communist coup in Romania	
Feb 1948	Communist coup in Czechoslovakia	
20 June 1948	Operation Bird Dog	First Berlin Crisis
24 June 1948	Start of Berlin Blockade	
26 June 1948	Start of Berlin Airlift	
1 Aug 1948	Formation of Trizonia	
25 Jan 1949	Formation of Soviet COMECON	
4 Apr 1949	Formation of NATO	
12 May 1949	End of Berlin Blockade	
23 May 1949	Formation of West Germany	
29 Aug 1949	Successful atomic bomb test by the USSR	
1 Oct 1949	Formation of the People's Republic of China	
7 Oct 1949	Formation of East Germany	
14 Feb 1950	Sino-Soviet Friendship Treaty	

Date	Event	Ongoing Phenomena	
7 Apr 1950	NSC-68		
25 June 1950	Start of Korean War	Korean War	
5 Mar 1953	Death of Stalin		
27 July 1953	End of Korean War		
23 Oct 1954	Decision to allow West Germany to enter NATO		
6 May 1955	Accession of West Germany into NATO		
14 May 1955	Warsaw Pact		
Peaceful Coexistence			
15 May 1955	Allied withdrawal from Austrian occupation		
1955	Removal of Soviet bases from Finland		
17 Apr 1956	Dismantling of COMINFORM		
23 Oct 1956	UN creation of International Atomic Energy Agency		
Heightened Tensions			
23 Oct-4 Nov 1956	Soviet suppression of Hungarian Revolution		
Oct 1957	Sputnik Crisis		
1 May 1960	U2 Incident		
17-20 Apr 1961	Bay of Pigs Invasion		
4 June 1961	Vienna Summit		
13 Aug 1961	Construction of the Berlin Wall	Second Berlin Crisis	
17 Oct 1961	Formalisation of the Sino-Soviet split		
22-28 Oct 1961	Checkpoint Charlie standoff		
16-29 Oct 1962	Cuban Missile Crisis	Cuban Missile Crisis	
Detente			
June 1963	Creation of hotline		
5 Aug 1963	Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (PNTBT)		
2 Aug 1964	Start of Vietnam War	Vietnam War	
14 Oct 1964	Removal of Khrushchev		

Date	Event	Ongoing Phenomena
20 Jan 1968	Start of Tet Offensive	
1 July 1968	Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT)	
21 Aug 1968	Soviet suppression of Prague Spring	
12 Nov 1968	Brezhnev Doctrine	
3 Nov 1969	Nixon Doctrine	
22-30 May 1972	Nixon's visit to Moscow	
26 May 1972	Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty (SALT I)	
26 May 1972	Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM)	
27 Jan 1973	Paris Peace Accords	
22 Nov 1973	Mutual Balanced Force Reduction Proposal (MBFR)	
30 July- 1 Aug 1975	Helsinki Accords	
18 June 1979	Strategic Arms Limitations Treaty (SALT II)	
The Second Cold War		
11 Feb 1979	Iranian Revoluton	
17 July 1979	Sandinista Coup in Nicaragua	
4 Nov 1979	Start of Iran Hostage Crisis	
24 Dec 1979	Soviet invasion of Afghanistan	Soviets in Afghanistan
4 Jan 1980	Carter's grain embargo	
23 Jan 1980	Carter Doctrine	
May 1981	Operation RYAN	
18 Nov 1981	Zero Option Proposal	
8 June 1982	Reagan's address to the British Parliament	
12 June 1982	Nuclear Freeze rally at Central Park	
8 Mar 1983	Reagan's Evil Empire speech	
23 Mar 1983	Strategic Defence Initiative	
1 Sept 1983	Shooting of KAL 007	
11 Nov 1983	US-NATO Exercise Able Archer 83	

Date	Event	Ongoing Phenomena	
6 Feb 1985	Reagan Doctrine		
	End of Bipolarity		
11 Mar 1985	Gorbachev comes to power		
19-20 Nov 1985	Geneva Summit		
Sept 1986	Daniloff-Zakharov Affair		
11-12 Oct 1986	Reykjavik Summit		
Mar 1987	Iran-Contra Scandal		
28 May 1987	Mathias Rust Incident		
12 June 1987	Reagan's "Tear down this wall!" speech		
19 Oct 1987	Black Monday		
11 Nov 1987	Yeltsin Affair		
8-10 Dec 1987	Washington Summit		
8 Dec 1987	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF)		
29 May-3 June 1988	Moscow Summit		
15 May 1988	Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan		
8 Dec 1988	Unilateral Soviet troop reductions		
May 1989	Hungary dismantles its fence with Austria	Democratisati on of E. Europe [PRGHCBA]	
4-18 June 1989	Polish elections		
23 Aug 1989	Human chain from Tallinn to Vilnius		Collapse of
25 Oct 1989	Sinatra Doctrine		USSR
9 Nov 1989	Fall of the Berlin Wall		
16-25 Dec 1989	Romanian Revolution		
2-3 Dec 1989	Malta Summit		
18 Mar 1990	East German elections		
25 Mar 1990	Hungarian elections		
Mar-May 1990	Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia unilaterally declare inde	ependence	
20 May 1990	Romanian elections		

Date	Event	Ongoing Phenomena
30 May-3 June 1990	Washington Summit	
1 June 1990	Chemical Weapons Accord	
8-9 June 1990	Czechoslovakian elections	
10-17 June 1990	Bulgarian elections	
3 Oct 1990	Reunification of Germany	
19-21 Nov 1990	Paris Summit	
19 Nov 1990	Conventional Forces of Europe Treaty (CFE)	
31 Mar 1991	Albanian elections	
31 Mar 1991	Dissolution of Warsaw Pact	
12 June 1991	Yeltsin is elected as President of Russia	
12 June 1991	Russia declares itself 'autonomous'	
31 July 1991	Bush visits Yeltsin and Nazabaev in Moscow	
July 1991	Moscow Summit	
31 July 1991	Strategic Arms Control Talks Treaty (START)	
19 Aug 1991	August Coup	
6 Sept 1991	Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia recognised as independent	
1 Dec 1991	Ukraine votes for independence	
8 Dec 1991	Minsk Declaration / Belovezha Accords	
21-22 Dec 1991	Alma-Ata Protocols	
25 Dec 1991	Gorbachev resigns	
27 Dec 1991	Yeltsin replaces Gorbachev at the Kremlin	
31 Dec 1991	USSR ceases to exist	

Cuban Missile Crisis, 1959-62

Events

Significance of Cuba to USA

- Historical
 - Yankee imperialism: American economic and political domination of the Western Hemisphere
 - 1823 Monroe Doctrine
- Geopolitics
 - Cuba in US backyard, located in close proximity to Florida (90 miles away)
 - o Affected US security, came under US area of influence
 - o Domino theory, fear of falling regional dominoes
- Economic
 - Protect and promote US big businesses
 - Most of Cuba's assets owned by US corporations, US companies had control over national resources like steel
 - Cuba's entire financial system and utilities were monopolised by US companies
 - American tourism in Cuba was an important source of income
- Political
 - Safeguard US influence, ensure continued dependence on US
 - US discouraged reactionary military dictatorships, intervened in toppling undesirable governments

Actions of Fidel Castro

- Anti imperialism, anti-US nationalism
 - Believed Cuba was politically independent but economically dependent and controlled by US
 - Unhappy with the US exploitative relationship, foreign domination
 - Wanted to regain control of Cuban economy
 - Against US support of right-wing dictatorships
- Economic measures
 - Seized American assets, nationalised private investments and banks
 - Weakened dominance of American companies and old elites
 - Increased US insecurity, led to aggressive US actions
- Initial anti-Communist position
 - Took great pains to distance himself from socialism
 - Declared there were no Communists in the new government in his visit to USA
- Friendly relations with USSR
 - o Counter the increasingly aggressive US response
 - Safeguard Cuban security
 - o Reduced dependence on USA
 - o Turned to USSR for assistance
 - Became pro-Communist and pro-Soviet

US Aggressive Responses to Castro

- Sever diplomatic ties
 - $\circ \quad \text{Halted all foreign aid program to Cuba} \\$
 - o Banned all trade and import of Cuban sugar
 - Cut off 80% of Cuban exports
- La Coubre incident

Evaluation Handles

Outbreak of CMC

- According to various players: US, USSR, Cuba
- Nature of reasons: ideological, strategic, political face-saving
- Actions of players: aggressive, defensive, due to misunderstanding

End of CMC

- Extent of triumph and failure for various players
- Extent of credit for various players
- Superpower negotiations vs Cubans sidelined
- Initial goals vs achieved outcomes
- Effects on public perception
- Compromise vs selfish gain

Timeline

<u>Jul 1959</u>: Fidel Castro overthrew Batista

Mar 1960: La Coubre incident May 1960: Cuba and USSR established diplomatic relations May 1960: U2 spy plane shot over USSR

Dec 1960: Castro openly pro-SU

1960: USSR as market for Cuban sugar, US imposed partial embargo on Cuban exports 1961: US deployment of IRBM near Turkey

<u>Jan 1961</u>: US severs diplomatic ties with Cuba

Apr 1961: Bay of Pigs invasion fails

May 1961: Castro announced Cuba as socialist in speech Aug 1961: Berlin Wall erected Nov 1961: Operation Mongoose 1962: Operation ORTSAC, Cuba expelled from Organisation of

<u>Feb 1962</u>: US imposes full trade embargo on Cuban exports

American states

- o Illegal unloading of French freighter La Coubre
- Explosion of La Coubre, USA blamed and implicated, seen as an act of sabotage
- Bay of Pigs debacle
 - Failed landing/invasion operation by Cuban exiles who opposed Castro
 - Covertly financed, supported and directed by US
 - US underestimated Cuban military strength and Castro's popularity
 - Invaders defeated within 3 days
 - o Kennedy embarrassed, denied involvement
 - Failure to resolve and crush the only socialist revolution in Western hemisphere
 - Castro made firmer links and strengthened bonds with USSR
- Operation Mongoose / Cuban Project
 - Series of planned operations to destabilise and overthrow the Communist government in Cuba, incl Castro
- Operation ORTSAC
 - Planned mock invasion of Cuba
- Impact
 - Created conditions for Castro to invite USSR into Cuba

USSR actions

- Close the missile gap
 - Use Cuba to bargain over US missiles in Turkey
 - Gain upper hand in arms race, restore parity in missile development
 - $\circ\quad$ Force a concession out of Kennedy by placing missiles in Cuba
- Politics
 - Test Kennedy
 - Khrushchev facing domestic criticism, wanted to gain prestige
- Established diplomatic relations with Cuba
 - o Provided economic-technical aid
 - Opened market for Cuban sugar
 - Openly supplied arms
 - Constructed missile bases, deployed missiles

Outbreak of CMC

- Strained US-Cuba relations
 - Cuba unhappy with US presence, aimed to loosen US economic arip
 - Bay of Pigs, Mongoose, ORTSAC
 - Kennedy's aggression, refusal to appear indecisive and weak (esp after Berlin Wall)
- Soviet missiles in Cuba
 - Deployed ICBMs and MRBMs in Cuba, constituted real threat to US security
 - To close missile gap revealed by US, insecure
 - Security threatened by US missiles in Turkey
 - o Test JFK
 - Needed to score a diplomatic win after BB, gain leverage to gain control over all of Berlin
 - o Genuine fear of US intervention in Cuba
 - International Communist legitimacy

May 1962: Operation Anadyr / 'Checkered Shirt'

14 Oct: U-2 spy plane spots Soviet missiles, photographic evidence taken of launch sites

16 Oct: EXCOMM convened 20 Oct: Excomm votes for blockade / quarantine

22 Oct: Kennedy addresses US public, blockade speech

24 Oct: Naval blockade

24 Oct: Dean Rusk - "the other fellow just blinked", USSR ships turn back

25 Oct: Stevenson-Zorin

26 Oct: Khrushchev's first letter

27 Oct: Khrushchev's second

letter, U-2 shot

28 Oct: Deal struck, crisis averted

<u>Jun 1963</u>: Hotline established <u>Aug 1963</u>: Limited Test Ban Treaty

Oct 1964: Khrushchev is removed from power

Pattern of negotiation

- Back channel ambassadors
- Open letters

Khrushchev's first letter

 Missiles in Cuba were defensive, will remove if US agreed to not invade

Khrushchev's second letter

• Will only remove if US removed Turkey missiles

Crisis Days

- 14 Oct 1962, U-2 spy plane
 - Photographed Soviet nuclear missile bases , USSR secret and swift buildup of Communist missiles
 - US noticed increase in Soviet activity and equipment in Cuba, USSR denies
 - Seen as deliberately provocative, unjustified change in status auo
 - Missiles threaten US security
- Initial response
 - Convened EXCOMM, decided between airstrikes, invasion or blockade
 - Needed to defend US national security, preserve legitimacy, maintain balance of power, correct previous embarrassment, sense of betrayal by USSR
- Evolutions in response
 - Naval Blockade: neutralise threat, limit potential for massive retaliation (USSR prevented from making missile deliveries)
 - o US DEFCON 3, Warsaw Pact alert
 - U-2 spy plane shot
 - War of words: Zorin denies USSR's presence of missiles in Cuba
- Offensive vs defensive
 - Missiles could reach up to Seattle and Boston, very aggressive
 - Potentially for defence of Cuba, also to counterbalance US missiles in Turkey, WE
- Room for future compromise
 - o EXCOMM: middle ground rather than all-out military response
 - Quarantine vs blockade

End of CMC

- Reasons for compromise
 - o Increasing mutual fear of nuclear confrontation, MAD
- Reasons for Khrushchev backing down
 - Did not anticipate dramatic US reaction
 - Aim of negotiation had been somewhat achieved

Extent of Victory

- Consequence for US
 - Increased reputation and prestige, secured security and political victory
 - Domestic victory for Kennedy retained control over both Houses
 - Jupiter missiles were outmoded, still retained striking ability, did not alter strategic balance (submarine Polaris missile)
 - But ultimately had to make more tangible military concessions (Jupiter missiles)
 - Strains in Western alliance, European allies unhappy over non-consult, France pursue independent nuclear capability
 - Cuba became Soviet proxy
- Consequences for USSR
 - Establish toehold in Cuba, gained proxy, defended Cuban revolution
 - Had USSR interests recognised as legitimate, bolstered image of being equal
 - Secured a victory for the socialist bloc with US agreement to not

- invade, withdrawal of Jupiter missiles
- (1) Public guarantee against US invasion, (2) private promise to withdraw Jupiter missiles
- However, US Turkey concession was not public, significant loss of prestige
- Discredited and humiliated Khrushchev domestically, and to socialist bloc (especially China), pretext for his removal
- Lacked naval strength to challenge blockade
- Consequences for Cuba
 - Preserved sovereignty with US pledge to not invade, Castro increased domestic prestige
 - Castro lacked an outlet for revolutionary fervour, absent during crisis
 - Cuban perspectives totally ignored (5 demand diplomatic effort)
 - Castro betrayed by withdrawal of missiles for ambiguous gentleman's agreement
- Consequences for everyone
 - Averted total nuclear catastrophe
 - o Increased superpower restraint, caution, care in the future
- Consequences on the Cold War
 - o Partial Test Ban Treaty 1963, only underground
 - Non-Proliferation Treaty 1968
 - Established Moscow-Washington hotline given dangers of brinkmanship
 - Conflicts transferred to the Third World
- Detente
 - Superficial, did not last
 - Tactic to contain each other, lull the other into complacency, covertly trying to weaken
 - Violated treaties, signatories paid lip service to commitments, insincere leaders, continued suspicions
 - Vague terms, subject to interpretation, outdated
- Other confrontations
 - Not necessarily more careful/restrained
 - US supported South Vietnam in Vietnam War, 1964-68
 - USSR invaded Afghanistan

Responsibility of Players

- USSR triggered, USA aggravated crisis
- Concerned the direct interests of superpowers only
- Cuba, China and UN had no significant role

Nature of Crisis

- Nuclear issues were dominant
- Major arenas of competition intersected: nuclear arms race, conflicting ideological aspirations, 3rd world rivalries, relations with allies, domestic implication of foreign policy, personalities of individual leaders

Vietnam War, 1964-73

Events

First Indochina War, 1946-54

- French colonial history
 - French ruled Cochinchina (South Vietnam) directly, aligning them with French interests
 - French were brutal, expedient, self-interested, harsh, repressive —> led to anti-colonial rhetoric
 - After WW2, France wanted to hold onto Vietnam for its resources for reconstruction
 - However, Vietnam had nationalist and independence desires
 - Conflict began when French attacked Hai Phong (strong nationalist presence) despite Vietnam's gestures of good faith of discussion
 - Discussion ended in a stalemate where both sides agreed to disagree on future arrangements in Vietnam
 - Ended with a humiliating French defeat at Dien Bien Phu
- Reasons for US involvement
 - Ideology
 - Exaggerated perception of Soviet communist threat expanding globally, made worse by the fear that Communism was gaining strength globally
 - Viewed Communist world as monolithic
 - International developments: triumph of CCP in China, wave of Communist insurrections in Asia eg Malaya, Philippines, North Korea invasion of South —> needed to rebuff
 - Economic
 - Ensure access of resources for allies eg Japan for rebuilding
 - Vietnam to serve as Japan's economic hinterland
 - Ensure markets in Southeast Asia to develop economic strength and ward off communism
 - Political
 - Needed French cooperation in NATO, but French approval
- US involvement
 - US blindly misapplied containment measures, did not realise rebels were nationalists before communists
 - Refused to commit ground troops, but funded up to 80% of the war in direct aid (\$3 billion investment)
 - Opened diplomatic relations with Bao Dai government, increased subsidies
 - Military assistance of \$1b / year
- PRC involvement
 - Reluctant to intervene, no direct security threat; seen in how they pressured DRV to sign Geneva accords despite DRV securing a decisive military victory
 - o Provided limited indirect aid
 - After Mao's victory, increase in military assistance
 - Interested in securing China's southern border, ideological solidarity
- USSR involvement
 - $\circ \quad \text{Ambivalent towards Vietnam} \\$
- Geneva Accords, 1954
 - Division of Vietnam along 17th parallel despite a decisive military victory
 - Elections for unification promised in 1956 but never held
 - North Vietnam pressured into signing by China and USSR though they held more ground

Evaluation Handles

Victory in Vietnam

- Geographical territory
- Public opinion
- Psychological gains
- Body counts

Americanisation

- Players: LBJ vs predecessors
- Factors: legitimacy, security, politics

US Presidents

1945 - 1953: Harry Truman 1953 - 1961: Eisenhower 1961 - 1963: JFK 1963 -1969: LBJ 1969 - 1974: Nixon

Timeline

1946: French attack Hai Phong Mar 1954: French defeat at Dien Bien Phu Jun 1954: Diem becomes PM of S. Vietnam Jul 1954: S. Vietnam and US do not sign Geneva Accords

1954: Domino Theory articulated
1956: Elections for reunification not held
Jan 1961: JFK steps up military and personnel aid to S. Vietnam
1961: Viet Cong formed
Jun 1963: Thich Quang
Duc self-immolates
Nov 1963: Diem ousted and murdered, LBJ becomes president

Aug 1964: Gulf of Tonkin Resolution passed Feb 1965: Rolling Thunder begins Mar 1965: US ground war,

Search and Destroy

- Added pressure for Vietnam to reunify
- South Vietnam and US merely acknowledged, did not sign

Interregnum / Forgotten Years, 1956-64

- US actions
 - Saw Vietnam War as primarily a Cold War conflict rather than a nationalist struggle; wider pattern of Soviet expansionist policies; saw Vietnam as a bulwark to contain communist influence
 - Propped up Diem's dictatorship with military aid and advisors, nearly \$400 million annually and \$7 billion in total
 - o Established SEATO to halt Communism in SEA
 - Passive attitude to elections, did not compel Diem to uphold election promises
 - Decided against elections for reunification, fearing further expansion of communist bloc into S. Vietnam (RVN)
 - Wanted to preserve US prestige, pressured into anti-Communist stance due to spectre of McCarthyism
 - US compelled to maintain credibility over RVN, support RVN as ally
 - o Resulted in RVN dependence on US aid
- North Vietnam (DRV) actions
 - Consolidated power in North
 - Creation of NLF in 1960 to oppose S. Vietnam
 - o Widened HCM Trail, increased rural guerilla insurgency
 - Strengthened claim to leadership of a unified Vietnam and undermined the legitimacy of S. Vietnam govt
- S. Vietnam (RVN) actions
 - Weak, corrupt and unpopular regime
 - Dependency on aid alienated people
 - o Rigged elections in favour of Diem
 - Refused to enact political and economic reforms, alienating support
 - Strategic Hamlets Programme resettle / pacify population away from Communists, unpopular
 - Refused to hold election for reunification, feared losing to the Communists
 - Persecuted majority Buddhist population → Thich Quang Duc's self immolation, popular unrest
 - Diem replaced in a coup (1963), led to dictatorial regime

Second Indochina War, 1964-68 (Escalation)

- Reasons for Americanisation
 - Domestic politics / pressures: accusations by Republicans of US inaction, weak foreign policy and decline of US military strength, needed to preserve legitimacy, prestige and credibility
 - Maintain credibility and power in the eyes of allies, able to live up to commitments
 - Domino Theory: LBJ feared the spread of communism, wanted to contain it
 - Quagmire inherited from predecessors Eisenhower and JFK
 - Geopolitical developments: Deterioration of RVN against Viet Cong, failure of previous policies (Strategic Hamlets Programme)
- Americanisation
 - Gulf of Tonkin Resolution
 - passed in response to N. Vietnam attacks, gave President unlimited / wide-ranging powers (including massive armed troops to protect national interest without Congress approval),

Jan 1968: Tet Offensive Mar 1968: My Lai, LBJ opts against reelection Jan 1969: Nixon elected Jul 1969: Vietnamisation Sep 1969: Ho Chi Minh dies

1970: US steps up bombing of HCM trail, invades Cambodia Jan 1973: Paris Peace Accords brokered

<u>Dec 1974</u>: Spring Offensive <u>Apr 1975</u>: Saigon capitulates, Americans are evacuated represented major commitment and escalation of US involvement

- Increase in armed troops
 - Began steady escalation (23k troops)
 - Massive deployments (peaked at 500k in 1968)
- Rolling Thunder
 - massive aerial bombing campaign against North lasting until 1968; did not achieve much success despite increase in troops from 35k to 90k
- Search and Destroy missions
 - Ground war
- My Lai Massacre
 - Murdered civilians
 - Increase disillusionment, showed hollowness and loss of direction
- Ineffectiveness of Americanisation
 - Search and destroy missions
 - ineffective, army trained to fight a conventional war not a rural insurgency
 - impossible to gauge military success, used body count
 - civilians easily mistaken for Vietcong
 - Vietcong also increased their military activities
 - Growing budget deficits, US unable to sustain economic growth
 - Credibility hurt by failure to subdue inferior opponent, moral superiority lost by supporting dictatorial regime in RVN
- Reasons for DRV escalation
 - Aimed to reunify Vietnam, achieve total military victory and expel invaders
 - Desired independence from foreign rule, present since the time of the French
 - Socialist aims of the Lao Dong Party, gain allies
- DRV escalation
 - Tet Offensive
 - Vietcong launched massive attack on major cities in South during the Tet holiday, captured US Saigon embassy and Hue city; goal was to achieve total military victory backed by a popular insurrection
 - No popular uprising emerged, forced to abandon goal
 - Fought a war of attrition, war down US; refused to negotiate even when faced with heavy losses
- Impact of Tet Offensive
 - Revealed war was far from over
 - Exposure of LBJ
 - Exposed duplicity of LBJ, who claimed that US was on the verge of victory
 - Forced LBJ to withdraw from reelection
 - Halted bombing campaign, sought peaceful resolution to war, departed from containment policy
 - US domestic sentiments
 - Unfavourable public opinion, further strengthened anti-war movement; strongly for disengagement, even NATO refused support
- Reasons for RVN failings
 - Totally propped up by US support, subservient to US military decision-making

Remained oppressive and undemocratic under Thieu, unpopular

Second Indochina War, 1969-73 (Disengagement)

- Nixon's Vietnam Policy
 - Unwilling to concede defeat
 - Prevent unification of Vietnam by making permanent the temporary division in Geneva
 - Negative public perception of war: ought withdrawal from Vietnam
 - Isolate Vietnam diplomatically with allies US and USSR to force it to negotiate

Vietnamisation

- Nixon's promise to withdraw from Vietnam to win election in 1968, 'Peace with Honour' articulated in the Nixon Doctrine
- Phased withdrawal of US ground troops without giving the appearance of giving in to Communists
- Massively scaled back US troop commitments down to 24k by 1972, but kept up bombing of North
- Secret talks with North but no outcome due to nature of American demands

Reasons for Vietnamisation

- Loss of moral legitimacy of Johnson administration, people questioned reasoning behind draft
- My Lai, Tet Offensive: turned the tide of US public opinion
- Walter Cronkite reported likely continuation of stalemate in a public broadcast
- Ineffective strategy of "Search and Destroy"
- Triangular diplomacy, detente: China less concerned about US presence in the region and saw US as a way to manage USSR, USSR worried that conflict would entrench Chinese superiority in Asia

Escalation of war

- No breakthrough in peace negotiations, Nixon launched bombing campaign
- Disrupt supply lines along HCM trail
- o Expanded war into Laos and Cambodia
- More bombs dropped under Nixon than Johnson despite pledge to withdraw
- Easter Offensive, Haiphong Harbour mining, Christmas Bombing

Paris Peace Negotiation

- Agreed on US withdrawal of troops from South
- Continued stalemate of war → unlikely to secure a decisive military victory
- Massive American bombing campaigns continued, pressured North into negotiations
- International diplomatic pressures from Moscow and Beijing on North for peace, allies wanted to retain good relations with US

• Outcome of negotiation

- Agree on release of POW, withdrawal of US troops in South, stabilisation of troop numbers
- Facilitated US withdrawal but overall disagreement on who should rule Vietnam
- Continued presence of North troops in South revived the war again in 1973

Big power involvement

- o USSR: compete for north Vietnamese support by matching China
 - Provided training and heavy military machinery

- o PRC
 - Deployed 50k troops
- Reunification
 - Vietnam War ended when North captured Hue, Danang and Saigon (invaded)
 - Paris Peace Accords accelerated US disengagement and withdrawal
 - US did not defend due to War Powers Act which checked the power of the President in committing US to a conflict

Korean War

Events

Role of Different Players

- North Korean actions (trigger factor)
 - Lobbied Stalin 3x, visited Moscow to gain support
 - Ultimately invaded first
- USSR actions (permission, underestimated US)
 - o Kim's main backer, sent military advisors, tripled military aid to NK
 - o Improved international climate / environment
 - Emboldened by PRC's Communist victory, no need to directly contribute troops
 - Atom bomb, deter nuclear escalation by US and gave more options for intervention
 - Stabilised situation in Berlin
 - Conditional support to short victorious war with Chinese support and without US involvement
 - Unaware of Kim's invasion timing
 - Had to be convinced and persuaded 3x
- PRC actions (enabled invasion)
 - Least interested in supporting
 - Not informed until April 1950, not prepared, paid little attention
 - Did not approve attack
 - Concerned with domestic affairs (establishing Communist rule in China, reviving the economy, reclaiming Taiwan, military weak)
 - o Provided training, equipment, manpower
- South Korean actions (no direct causation)
 - Wanted to reunite, but restrained by US
 - o Unprepared, quickly overrun in starting stages
- US actions (indirect causal)
 - o Dissuaded Rhee from invading
 - $\circ \quad \text{Wary of provoking USSR} \\$
 - Europe-first policy, concerned with containing USSR in Europe
 - Withdrew troops, South under-equipped
 - o Unclear commitment to SK security
 - Did not see Korea as priority
 - Sense of "loss in China", Truman under pressure to put up hawkish defence

Intensification of Korean War: Internationalisation of War, loss of initiative of Korean actors

- Manifestations of US actions
 - Invoked UNSC Resolution 82 on 25 June 1950, international response but essentially an American operation
 - Sent 7th Fleet to Straits of Taiwan
 - o Pushed beyond 38th parallel, up to the Yalu River
- Reasons for US actions
 - o Conditioned by WW2 against appeasement
 - Issues of preserving US prestige, Democratic legitimacy in the face of McCarthyism
 - o Communist prevalence in the region
 - o Rollback: security, Cold War ideology, MacArthur
 - Truman initially welcomed prospect of quick and morale-boosting victory and a stable and unified Korea under US influence
 - Erroneous intelligence reports / miscalculations that PRC or USSR would not intervene

Evaluation Handles

Outbreak of Korean War

- According to various players
 - According to nature of reasons: ideological, political (face saving), strategic
- Superpower conflict vs local conflict
- Before June 1950 vs after June 1950

Escalation of Korean War

- US vs USSR, PRC
- Superpower direction vs local players' actions
- Cold War conflict vs localised conflict

End of Korean War

- Extent of victory for local players - NK, SK
- For superpowers -USSR, PRC, US

Timeline

Jan 1950: Press Club speech, Stalin initial support Apr 1050: Stalin formal support Jun 1950: Mao support

25 Jun 1950: NK forces cross into SK

30 Jun 1950: Truman orders troops to SK from Japan 15 Sep 1950: Incheon landings 7 Oct 1950: Rollback - US

troops cross 38th 26 Oct 1950: PRC crosses

Yalu

Apr 1951: MarArthur sacked
Jul 1951: stalemate, armistice
negotiations begin
Jan 1953: Eisenhower

inaugurated

Mar 1953: Stalin dies

<u>27 Jul 1953</u>: Armistice signed at Panmunjom

PRC actions

- Deployed 3 million troops, 360k casualties
- Security concerns: bordered NK, potential of rollback beyond Yalu (warlike posturing), US presence in unified Korea will threaten Chinese revolution, maintain credentials as Socialist state

USSR actions

- Logistical commitments, used China as proxy
- o Feared nuclear war, hence kept support hidden

• Truman's actions

- o 30 Nov 1950 "every weapon at its disposal" comment
- Refusal to rule out nuclear weapons
- Pressured by NATO allies to focus on Europe
- Allies concerned over escalation of war, fears of global nuclear warfare
- Electoral losses in 1950 elections to Republicans
- Shifted from total war (Korean reunification) to attaining/maintaining SK independence

MacArthur's actions

- Publicly undermine US war effort
- Challenged/ignored Truman 1950 directive, criticised US strategy (president, General Ridgway)
- Issued press release taunting Chinese, doomed Truman attempts of negotiations
- Humiliated by Chinese successes in the region
- Sacking: unwillingness of US to total war, recognition of limits, containment of Communism not roll-back, Truman lost popularity and party control

Reasons for US involvement

Political

- Forced to intervene, otherwise seen as condoning an act of appeasement
- Clear response for UN to maintain credibility, UN recognition of election legitimacy of ROK
- Opportunity to showcase US response to Communist provocation
- Domestic concerns: survivability of party, McCarthy "Red Scare",
 Congressional elections
- Truman needed a strong stand against Communist threat to prevent wipeout of Democrats in Congress elections in Nov 1950
- Republicans supported MacArthur, attack Truman's policies
- Loss of China

Ideological

- Communist victory in China, expansion of Communist ideology
- Wave of Communist insurrections in Asia from 1948

End of Korean War

- Desire for armistice
 - Lack of US will given NATo pressure
 - China: economic development, widespread famine with falling crop yields
 - Stalin's death, focus shifted internally
- Roadblocks to armistice
 - Saving face: both wanted to preserve strength

NSC-68

- Turn away from economic containment towards buildup of economic strength
- Foreign policy shift from defensive to active containment, advocated aggressive military preparedness
- Portrayed USSR in the most aggressive light possible, aimed to spread Communism across the entire world, intended to become the single dominant world power
- Called for massive American rearmament
- Shaped American national security policy

Effects on Europe

- Rearmament of Germany, strengthening and expansion of NATO
- Soviet creation of Warsaw Pact

Peaceful Coexistence, 1953-1958

- Reasons: Stalin's death, MAD
- Unsustainable, superpowers continued to covertly build up nuclear weapons

- US keen to appear superior, PRC determined to hide weaknesses
- o Ideology: Cold War zero sum game calculations
- Repatriation of POWs: voluntary vs all-for-all exchange, ideological competition
- Eventual armistice
 - Eisenhower 1952 election landslide, threat of unleashing Chiang's forces and usage of nuclear weapons, US restrained Rhee

Consequences for superpowers

- Deepened divisions, entrenched condition of Cold War
- Permanent divide of Korea
- Discouraged further efforts on each side to venture beyond its zone of influence by military means
- Established boundaries to competition
- Clarified core and peripheral interests

Who won

- US
- Successful containment, partial roll-back
- Embarrassing missteps which encouraged invasion, miscalculations in willingness of Mao to intervene
- Invested a lot of resources
- o Settle for limited war and status quo
- China
 - o Drove UN forces away from Yalu River border, enhanced security
 - Gained prominence, prestige and reputation seen as major world power capable of holding their own
 - o 148k casualties
- Both Koreas
 - Made use of superpowers to move out of their respective areas
 - Secured survival with superpower commitment with further military and economic aid
 - SK: Asian Tiger
 - o 4 million dead, inconclusive armistice
 - o Did not achieve reunification, forced to accept status quo

USSR

- Little direct involvement, invested less resources
- o Diverted US attention away from itself and Europe, did not risk much
- Added NK and PRC to their international burdens
- Sino-Soviet split, left China unaided with broken promises of support

Nature of Conflict (process)

- Outbreak → Escalation → Deadlock
- Domestic by origin, ideological by development

Outbreak	Escalation	Deadlock
Local conflict, competition between two leaders who wanted to reunify the country in their image	*Depends on how you quality terms	Cold War conflict, ideological concerns took centre-stage, superpowers dominated the process

End of the Cold War

Events

Renewed Containment (1980-85): Reasons

- Detente
 - Merely to lull others into security
 - o Based on trust, gentleman's agreement
 - o Provided a solidification and permanent state of Cold War
 - o Only way to end the war was to show strength
- Provocative response to Soviet actions
 - USSR violated human rights, reneged on promises in CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) or Helsinki Final Act
 - Both marked the climax of detente
 - Triggered by covert Soviet buildup of nuclear missiles esp ICBMs following CMC
 - Continuation of arms race due to obsolete and violation of treaties
 - USSR invaded Afghanistan, SALT II treaty collapsed
- Restoring American prestige
 - Perception that America had lost prestige, world leadership and ability to project power
 - o Continuation of Jimmy Carter's containment
 - o Hawkish Republican administration, allies

Renewed Containment: Actions

- Military containment
 - Deployed Pershing II and Cruise Missiles
 - Massive increase in defence budget and arms buildup (from \$171 to \$376 billion)
 - Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI / Star Wars): a \$26 billion five year
 R&D of a nationwide ballistic missile defence system
 - o Intensified Third World (3W) cooperation
- Economic containment
 - Got Saudis to supply more oil to depress prices of Soviet oil exports, worsen Soviet economic stagnation
 - Forced Western Europe to halt gas-oil pipeline deal (but failed, allies resisted US orders)
- Political containment
 - o Propaganda: "Evil Empire"

Renewed containment led to end of Cold War

- Provided immediate reason for USSR fall
 - US assertive moves exposed USSR's weaknesses
 - o Stretched Soviet economy to breaking point
 - Strained USSR economic resources which concentrated on defence
 - Intensified arms race USSR SS-20s, 3W wars, USSR stagnated and couldn't keep up
- Twin deficits for US
 - Budget and trade deficits
 - o US desire to end war
 - o But the impact was less severely felt on US than USSR

Limitations

- No direct causal link to Soviet fall and Reagan's actions
- Economic problems were due to structural reasons as well, inherent flaws of CPE (centrally planned economy) and socialism

Evaluation Handles

End of the Cold War

- Players: US (Western Triumphalist / Reagan Victory), USSR (Soviet Initiative), People Power
- Time period: before 1985, after 1985
- Factors: immediate, underlying, secondary

Fall of the Soviet Union

- Weaknesses: structural (long-term), immediate (short-term); internal, external
- Players: Gorbachev, US, reformers, conservatives, previous leaders
- Factors: immediate, underlying, secondary
- Motives: to actually end the Cold War vs unintentional

Timeline

Renewed Containment
1972: SALT I, ABM Treaty,
US-PRC rapprochement
1979: SALT II, Soviet-Afghan
War (cost the USSR \$20
billion/year), Carter first halts
grain exports

<u>1983</u>: Strategic Defense Initiative

Nov 1985: Geneva Summit
Aug 1986: Saudis increase oil
production

Oct 1986: Reykjavik Summit Dec 1987: Washington Summit, signed INF treaty destroying all medium range nukes

May 1988: Moscow Summit Nov 1989: Conventional Forces of Europe treaty, reduce NATO and Warsaw Pact forces

Dec 1989: Malta Summit

- Iron Curtain and USSR troops in Afghanistan remained, arms race continued
- USSR became more determined to show it was standing firm, shot down Korean airplane, tensions rose, Soviet resolved stiffened
- American antagonism actually prolonged the Cold War

Changes in US policy

- Moved towards accommodation, cooperation
- Realisation that containment was not reducing tensions
- Summits, arms control treaties (INF, CFE, START)
- Less hawkish Republican in second term, wanted to be a peacemaker
- Economic support to USSR: trade, aid, investment for USSR capitalist reforms

Limitations

- Delayed end of Cold War
- More due to Gorbachev's initiative, speed and willingness disoriented Reagan
- INF excluded: SDI, British and French, on-site, asymmetric
- Economic support couldn't save USSR

Gorbachev, End of Cold War

- Social problems
 - Economic: CPE and standard of living were failing, deep-seated structural problems with economic structure, economic stagnation
 - Arms race: unsustainable defence burden, rising cost of maintaining satellite empire, supporting client states in Third World, extensive military expenditure (20% of GNP)
 - Growing social divide: dissatisfaction with ruling elite, widespread corruption, rising alcoholism etc
- Withdrawal from the Third World
 - o Scaled down, ended Soviet obligations to 3W
 - Cut back on Soviet assistance, pledged to extricate USSR from Afghanistan
 - Sought rapprochement with China
- Reduction in conventional and nuclear arms
 - Insufficient economic strength to continue competition
 - Held 4 summits, most significant was INF, eliminated whole category of nuclear weapons
- Unilateral withdrawal of conventional arms
 - Within 2 years, reduce troops by 500k without reciprocation by USA
 - Removed 10k tanks from Europe 5k from East Germany, removed short-range nuclear from Central Europe
 - Removed opposition to SDI which had stalled nuclear disarmament (hence removed roadblocks to speed up agreements)
- Enacted New Thinking in Soviet foreign relations
 - Confrontation was counter-productive, military power does not guarantee security (search for political means and common solutions), conflict in 3W brought Moscow little tangible gain, all states were interdependent, common universal values (human rights, democracy), SU wished to work with all other states
 - Major rethink of Soviet policies, security should be redefined should encompass interdependence and mutual security rather than military competition
 - Rejected Marxist-Leninist precept that communism and capitalism

<u>July 1991</u>: START I, reduced ICBM stockpiles to 1970s level

Collapse of USSR

Mar 1985: Gorbachev becomes CPSU Gen-Sec 1985: Anti-alcoholism

campaign

1986: Glasnost

<u>Feb 1987</u>: Demokratizatsiya, given choice amongst CPSU

Nov 1987: Yeltsin dismissed as

candidates

Moscow party leader Jun 1991: Yeltsin elected as

Russian president

Aug 1991: Coup to remove
Gorbachev fails, Yeltsin's coup
bans CPSU, forces G to resign
Dec 1991: USSR breaks up,

Gorbachev resigns

People Power Movements Feb 1989: USSR holds elections for Congress of People's Deputies Jun 1989: Solidarity wins Polish elections Oct 1989: East German troops refused to fire, Gorbachev urged Honecker to reform Nov 1989: Fall of Berlin Wall Dec 1989: Ceaucescu executed, Havel becomes Czechoslovak President Jun 1990: Free elections in Czechoslovakia Oct 1990: German reunification Jun 1991: End of USSR occupation of Hungary, COMECON dissolved Jul 1991: Dissolution of

Warsaw Pact

- was incompatible
- Emphasized universal human values
- Allowed Eastern European countries to pick their own governments
 - Allowed and encouraged EE countries to pick their own governments, regardless if it was non-Communist
 - Gorbachev: "let everyone make his own choice, and let us all respect that choice"
 - No single Communist model to follow any longer, sharp criticism of Communism, gave the impression to avoid it
 - Poland, Romania had peaceful revolutions (departed from Communism), traditional system of buffer zones crumbled
- Initiated glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) in USSR
 - o Double edged sword, caused USSR to disintegrate

Collapse of the USSR

- Long-term causes of the USSR collapse
 - Structure: too many non-Russians (just <50%)
 - Socialist ideology: CPE didn't work, focused on capital goods, led to shortages, black markets
 - Bad policies: dependent on US for grain, Brezhnev cultivated nomenklatura (army of bureaucrats) rather than talent, corruption

Short-term causes of USSR collapse

- Splitting of CPSU
 - Conservatives (eg Gromyko): unhappy with demotions, loss of satellite states, economic reforms
 - Reformers eg Yeltsin: unhappy with half-hearted autonomy attempts, Baltics law of secession, limited glasnost
 - Both dissatisfied: perceived humiliation from submission to US, friendship with PRC, reduced USSR's superpower status
- Glasnost and Perestroika
 - Economic reforms exacerbated rather than alleviated the problems
 - Glasnost brought criticism out into the open, Gorbachev lost control over the reform process, Soviet citizens lost faith in their leaders, led to economic collapse
 - Accelerated and amplified decline
- Nationalities
 - Soviet republics wanted more than glasnost, called for independence from USSR
 - Gorbachev unwilling to use force to suppress them, unable to control separatist tendencies
- Gorbachev unpopular with both reformers and hardliners
 - Unhappiness led to anti-Soviet and anti-Gorbachev nationalism, led to coup
- August 1991 Coup
 - Ministers prevented New Union Treaty designed by Gorbachev to manage growing separatism
 - Put Gorbachev (on holiday) on house arrest, cut off his communications
- Boris Yeltsin
 - Led successful response against coup, became hugely popular
- Breakaway from USSR
 - Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)
- Reasons for Gorbachev ending the Cold War
 - o Personal style, mindset of cooperation

- Response to Reagan's attitudes too
- Preempt nuclear war, reduce economic problems
- Lost control of reforms, forced to end by Conservatives and then Yeltsin

Limits of USSR actions in ending the Cold War

- Breakup of USSR was not a prerequisite for the end of the Cold War
- Gorbachev had been forced into ending the Cold War, rather than initiating it

People Power Movements - Eastern Europe

- Reasons for emergence
 - ((Underlying independence desires, resentful of shortages, glasnost opportunities))
 - People seeking independence and self-determination, which had been denied after WW2
 - Increasing disgust and hatred at Communist rule
 - High handed, oppressive, deprived freedom of thought, freedom to express dissent
 - Communist leaders lost moral legitimacy, the whole system of communist rule too (by extension)
 - Revolutions a product of widespread dissatisfaction
 - Communism did not deliver better living conditions as promised
 - Slow growth, high foreign cost, low per capita GDP
 - Bread and butter issues of living sparked first unhappiness

Countries

- Poland
 - Historical: never took kindly to foreign rule and domination, armed resistance against Stalin's forceful Sovietisation from 1944-47, 1956, 1968, 1970, 1976
 - Solidarity: Trade union movement, legalised in 1988, 1989 elections eliminated entire Communist leadership, Solidarity won 99/100 seats
- Hungary
 - Unlike Poland, impetus for reform came from within the party
 - o **1989**
 - Parliament adopted a "democracy package" trade union pluralism, freedom of association/assembly/press, new electoral law
 - Mass demonstrations, negotiations with non-Communists began
 - Dismantled Iron Curtain (border with Austria), destabilized GDR and Czechoslovakia, thousands of citizens allowed by Hungary to cross to West
 - Reburial of Former PM Imre Nagy executed leader of 1956 revolution, ignited nationalist sentiment
- East Germany (GDR) and Berlin
 - o Existence based on maintenance of socialism
 - Fell due to refusal to reform
 - Impossible to prevent the flood of refugees from Hungary (30k), huge demonstrations caused collapse of Berlin Wall
 - When GDR closed the border to Czechoslovakia, 100k protestors

- emerged, authorities refused to open fire, marking the victory of people
- o Gorbachev visited GDR, urged reforms, remained neutral
- Czechoslovakia
 - Collapse of other communist governments contributed
 - o 800k protestors in Prague, started from 200k students
 - o Barbed wire removed from border with West Germany and Austria
 - o 1990: held first democratic elections

Significance of breaching Berlin Wall and fall of Iron Curtain

- Symbols of explaining outbreak of Cold War
 - USSR's defence and security = acquiring more territory, at expense of self-determination and human rights
 - Fundamentally different and antithetical superpower systems, competing visions, division of Europe
- Berlin Wall was part of 2 superpower confrontations
- Removal of Iron Curtain = removal of original and lasting cause of disagreement

Limitations

- Need to acknowledge role of Gorbachev (inaction)
 - He allowed them to happen, New Thinking and glasnost
 - Sinatra Doctrine replaced Brezhnev Doctrine
 - Lifted repression or force on demonstrators
 - However, Gorbachev never intended for them to spell end of SU's satellite states
 - o But even after this realisation, he still allowed them to continue
- US did not do anything
 - Covertly funded Solidarity, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty (undermine Soviet rule)

People Power Movements - West

- Reasons for emergence
 - West didn't want nuclear war
- Examples
 - o (UK, US) Anti-Nuclear Peace Movement
 - (UK) Direct Action Committee, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament,
 Committee of 100
 - (US) Women Strike for Peace, 1982 Central Park Anti-Nuclear March and Rally, Nuclear Freeze Movement,
- All had limited impact

Final Analysis

- People's Power did contribute
- Desire for change not initiated by Gorbachev, he did not want the final outcome, though he allowed its release
- Impact of West's popular movement led to improvements in relations

End of Cold War refers to the following: 1) end of ideological competition between the US-led Western bloc and the Soviet-led Eastern bloc, which signified the end of bipolarity globally, but most especially in Europe; 2) end of proxy wars; 3) end of arms races; 4) improved relations between superpowers.

Collapse of USSR refers to the following: 1) ideological collapse of communism within the USSR; 2) political demise of the CPSU; 3) economic collapse of the USSR; 4) territorial fragmentation of the multi-ethnic empire (i.e. nationalities issue).