

the withdrawal of Israeli and Egyptian troops from the canal, when Nasser refused, Britain bombed Egypt's airfields on 31st Oct. on 4th Nov, Soviet troops advanced into Hungary, and after a few days Kader became prime minister. Nasser was saved by the US, who viewed this war as an attempted by the UK and France to support their disintegrating empires. Britain assumed the US would support them, but Eisenhower refused, the US condemned this to the UN, and refused a loan to Britain. On 6th Nov, the US stopped the fighting, to prevent Soviet attempts to increase their influence, and to avoid criticism over lack of support in Hungary. Khrushchev exploited the split in the Western Alliance, and on 5th Nov, threatened missile attack on Britain, France and Israel. The ceasefire the next day made it look as if the Soviet ultimatum rather than the US had saved Egypt.

Aftermath of Hungarian and Suez Crisis:

Moscow conference on International Communist Leaders: Khrushchev attempted to remedy the problems at a conference attended by international communist leaders, in Oct., 1957. It was opposed by the Poles, and Yugoslavs, but was passed by a motion recognising the USSR as the strongest socialist country, whilst acknowledging the different roads to socialism. A communist leader under pressure could appeal to the Soviet bloc for aid. Diversity was tolerated, and considerable economic help was given to satellite state by the USSR, but they must stick to the political and economic model. This led to a fresh break with Tito, who joined with India and Egypt to form the non-aligned movement of neutral states.

Khrushchev's strengthened position: The Hungarian and Suez Crisis strengthened his position. The US secretary of state warned he was the most dangerous leader of the USSR, and he was prepared to take dangerous risks. Khrushchev was convinced that the threat of nuclear weapons would enable him to force the west to make concessions. His policy of nuclear diplomacy gained more credibility when the USSR launched the first ICBM in August 1957. This was followed by sending Sputnik into orbit in October, and followed this by putting Yuri Gagarin into Space in April 1961, weeks before the USA's Alan Shepherd. Overall military balance favoured the West, but Khrushchev exaggerated the extent of his success, but it was until 1960, that they had four ICBMs equipped with nuclear warheads. Meanwhile the USA were developing nuclear submarines, by 1962, 8 were at sea and could fire 144 nuclear missiles.

NATO: Damage done to NATO was quickly repaired, as was the Anglo-American relations, yet in western Europe, distrust of US policies lingered. Once Soviets could threaten US east coast with ICBMs, European leaders wondered whether the US would defend Europe from Soviet attack. These fears were strengthened by the US and UK reducing their conventional forces in Europe, equipping those remaining with nuclear weapons. In Oct., 1957 Polish foreign minister put plans for a Nuclear free zone in central Europe, which Adenauer believed was a Soviet trap leading to German reunification, which would be overrun by the USSR. So he became more responsive to French plans for developing a Franco-German-Italian nuclear bomb. Doubts about US loyalty to West Europe influenced Adenauer's thinking about the EEC, and his attitude to De Gaulle of France. Adenauer wanted to develop it into a community linked to the USA, whilst Gaulle hoped it would become an association of independent states, free of US influence, under the French. If the US pulled out of Europe or sacrificed West Berlin, Gaulle's vision of Europe was the only alternative.

The EEC and EFTA: The European Economic Community was set up by Treaty of Rome, which was signed with US approval by FRG, France, Italy and Benelux states in March 1957. The aim was to create a common market within 12 years whilst forming a more integrated political structure. UK plans for setting up a larger free trade zone were turned down by leaders of 6 powers, on grounds they would not provide and effective for European co-operation. This led to the UK forming the European Free Trade Association in 1960, with Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria and Portugal. An economic split in West Europe developed.

The Berlin Crisis 1958-61:

In autumn 1956 the GDR acted, in contrast to Poland and Hungary as a loyal ally of the USSR. It was still dependent on Moscow. It was confronted with West Germany which was thriving, and attracted

- ❖ 1963: Test Ban treaty, signed by UK, USSR and USA to ban the testing in the atmosphere, underwater, and outer space, it was rejected by China and France, who wanted to develop their own.
- ❖ July 1968, UK, USA and USSR, non-proliferation Treaty. Pledged not to transfer nuclear weapons to other countries or assist others to manufacture them, in 1969 West Germany joined.
- ❖ 1970, US and Soviet experts began the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) in Vienna.
- ❖ May 1972, Nixon and Brezhnev signed SALT 1 agreement at Moscow summit. It consisted of:
 - 5-year freeze on construction of missile launchers and long range bombers. Nixon accepted that USSR should have more weapons, as USA had superiority in multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles.
 - 2nd part concerned defence against missiles, both sides only have 2 anti-ballistic screens, one for capital, and one for main missile site. They were both left defenceless against attack, so if war would break out, it would guarantee peace.
- ❖ At Moscow Summit, both agreed to hold conference on security, USSR hoped would result in legal recognition of a territorial change made in Europe since 1945.
- ❖ July 1974, USA and USSR agreed negotiations for a SALT II treaty, impose permanent limitations on nuclear weapons. Concluded in June 1979, when Carter and Brezhnev signed SALT II treaty in Vienna. Number of missile launchers and MIRV rocket warheads for both sides further limited. The treaty was never ratified by the US senate, as a result of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Year	USA		USSR	
	Launchers	Warheads	Launchers	Warheads
1962	1653	3267	235	481
1970	2100	4960	1835	2216
1980	2022	10608	2545	7480

Developments in Western Europe 1964-8: Test ban treaty and a Nuclear non-proliferation treaty were most significant achievements in the early period of détente. By 1968, Vietnam war was causing a wave of anti-Americanism. USA was failing to win, and was losing position as moral leader of the west. Its European allies rejected that the war was a vital part of the global confrontation with communism, and instead focused on easing tensions in Europe. This was made easier with the fall of Khrushchev in 1964, and the replacement with Brezhnev and Kosygin. Brezhnev was more of a conciliator and consensus seeker, whom the West thought they could negotiate with.

French leave NATO: Disagreements over Vietnam war and increasing assertiveness of the West could have destroyed NATO, and led to a US withdrawal. French president took the lead in an attack on US influence in Europe. In 1963 he vetoed Britain's application to join the EEC, as they were pro-American, and 3 years later withdrew French forces from NATO. He followed this was a visit to the USSR, where he announced that European states should liberate themselves from the bloc mentality.

Beginning of Ostpolitik: West Germans were setting up trade missions in Yugoslavia and Romania. Willy Brandt became foreign minister in December 1966, and his policy was that German unification was a long-term goal that could only be reached with European détente.

Hamel Report: In Dec, 1967 a NATO committee drew up a report that committed NATO not only to defend Western Europe, but reach détente with Warsaw Pact states. It redefined NATO's role in détente, and prevented the political fallout from the Vietnam war destroyed the western alliance.

Divisions within the Warsaw Pact: Soviet retreat from Cuba, growing atmosphere of détente, and Sino-Soviet split weakened soviet control over Eastern Europe, and provided Satellite states to pursue own policies. Poland wished to expand trade, whilst Romania wanted better relations with the FRG. To stop these the Warsaw Pact issued in 1966 the Bucharest Declaration, which redefined what the Soviet bloc wanted through détente:

- Recognition of post-war frontiers in Eastern Europe.
- Creation of new European security system.

Romania: opening of the Berlin Wall, and Velvet revolution provided them with an opportunity to remove Communist leader. Gorbachev was informed of plans to overthrow him in Nov, 1989, and agreed that the Romanian Communist Party was the dominant force. First revolts against regime broke out in the ethnic city of Timisoara, near the border, and spread to Bucharest. On 21st Dec, the communist leader fled. He was arrested, and executed on 25th Dec. On 22nd Dec, the National Salvation Front (NSF) was formed, and established a Council for National Unity and held elections for a new government in May 1990. It managed to win majority, it wasn't until 1996, that it was defeated.

Yugoslavia: After expulsion from Cominform 1948, it followed a different pattern from other communist states= more contact from the West, and in 1960s and '70s, Tito allowed greater cultural and intellectual freedom than other communist states. Although it also faced economic and political problems that were to destroy it by 1990. Heavily dependent on foreign investment, and by 1989 inflation had reached 300%. Economic problems worsened relations between nationalities that formed the Yugoslav state. Communist Party's leading role was removed by the Federal Prime Minister from the constitution in Jan 1990, and multi-party federal elections were announced. This took place at state level, beginning in Slovenia in April 1990. Each election brought nationalists to power, and soon each state demanded independence, leading to the dismemberment of the country into independent rival states. Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Kosovo and Montenegro, declared independence between 1991 and 2006. All but Macedonia and Montenegro fought wars to achieve independence.

Albania: Albania ended diplomatic and economic relations with the USSR in 1961, and clung to a strict Stalinist interpretation communism. In Feb, 1989 they announced a limited reform programme based on perestroika. Unrest and riots in Tirana, pushed the government into further reforms involving the decentralisation of the economy and legalisation of non-communist political parties. March 1991, the former Communist Party, now the Socialist Party of Albania won majority. It briefly formed a new government, but unrest led to new elections in 1992, which the anti-communist democratic party won. In April 1997, the Albanian Socialist party won a large majority.

Unification of Germany:

On 13th Nov, the GDR was allowed free elections, which were held in 1990. The 'Alliance for Germany' coalition won majority, on 12th April, the new government claimed they wished to join the FRG. The strength of East German public opinion in winter 1989-90 showed unity was the only option. Its reunification marked the end of the cold war. Only the USSR and USA had the power to stop this unity. At first Gorbachev was opposed to the liquidation of the GDR, and in Dec, 1989, promised he would 'see to it that no harm comes from the GDR'. On 10th Feb, Gorbachev said it was the Germans themselves who should decide on German unity. President Bush, also gave the green light, and outlined a formula for negotiations, the 'two plus four talks' which would bring together the two Germany's and the four occupying powers. On 12th September, the Two-Plus-Four treaty was signed in Moscow. It was a peace treaty ending the partition of Germany. At midnight on the 2nd October 1990, the GDR was integrated into the FRG, and a reunited Germany came into existence.

Disintegration of the USSR:

By 1989, it was clear perestroika hadn't managed to resolve the economic problems. USSR's budget revenue declined, whilst inflation rose.

the USSR was a federation of 15 republics. Perestroika, Glasnost and collapse of communism on Eastern Europe led to a reawakening of nationalism in many constituent republic states that were part of the USSR, and felt dominated by ethnic Russians.

The Baltic States: They had been part of the Russian Empire until the collapse of Russia in WW1, and were 'reabsorbed' by the USSR in 1940. Glasnost and Perestroika encouraged reformers and nationalists to press for independences. In 1988, the Popular fronts, coalitions of reformers, formed in all three republics. In Feb 1990, local elections were held through the USSR and pro-independence candidates won in the three Baltic Republics. In March, Lithuania and Estonia declared independence, and Latvia followed in May.

'The Big Three' Leaders:

USA		USSR		UK	
1933-45	Franklin Roosevelt	1922-53	Joseph Stalin	1940-45	Winston Churchill
1945-53	Harry Truman	1953-64	Nikita Khrushchev	1945-51	Clement Attlee
1953-61	Dwight Eisenhower	1964-82	Leonold Brezhnev	1951-55	Winston Churchill
1961-63	J.F. Kennedy	1982-84	Yuri Andropov	1955-57	Anthony Eden
1963-69	Lyndon Johnson	1984-85	Konstantin Chernenko	1957-63	Harold McMillan
1969-74	Richard Nixon	1985-91	Mikhali Gorbachev	1963-64	Alec Douglas-House
1974-77	Gerald Ford	1991-99	Boris Yeltin	1964-70	Harold Wilson
1977-81	Jimmy Carter			1970-74	Edward Heath
1981-89	Ronald Reagan			1974-76	Harold Wilson
1989-93	George Bush			1976-79	James Callaghan
1993-01	Bill Clinton			1979-90	Margaret Thatcher
				1990-97	John Major