

The collapse of the Soviet Empire in Eastern Europe:

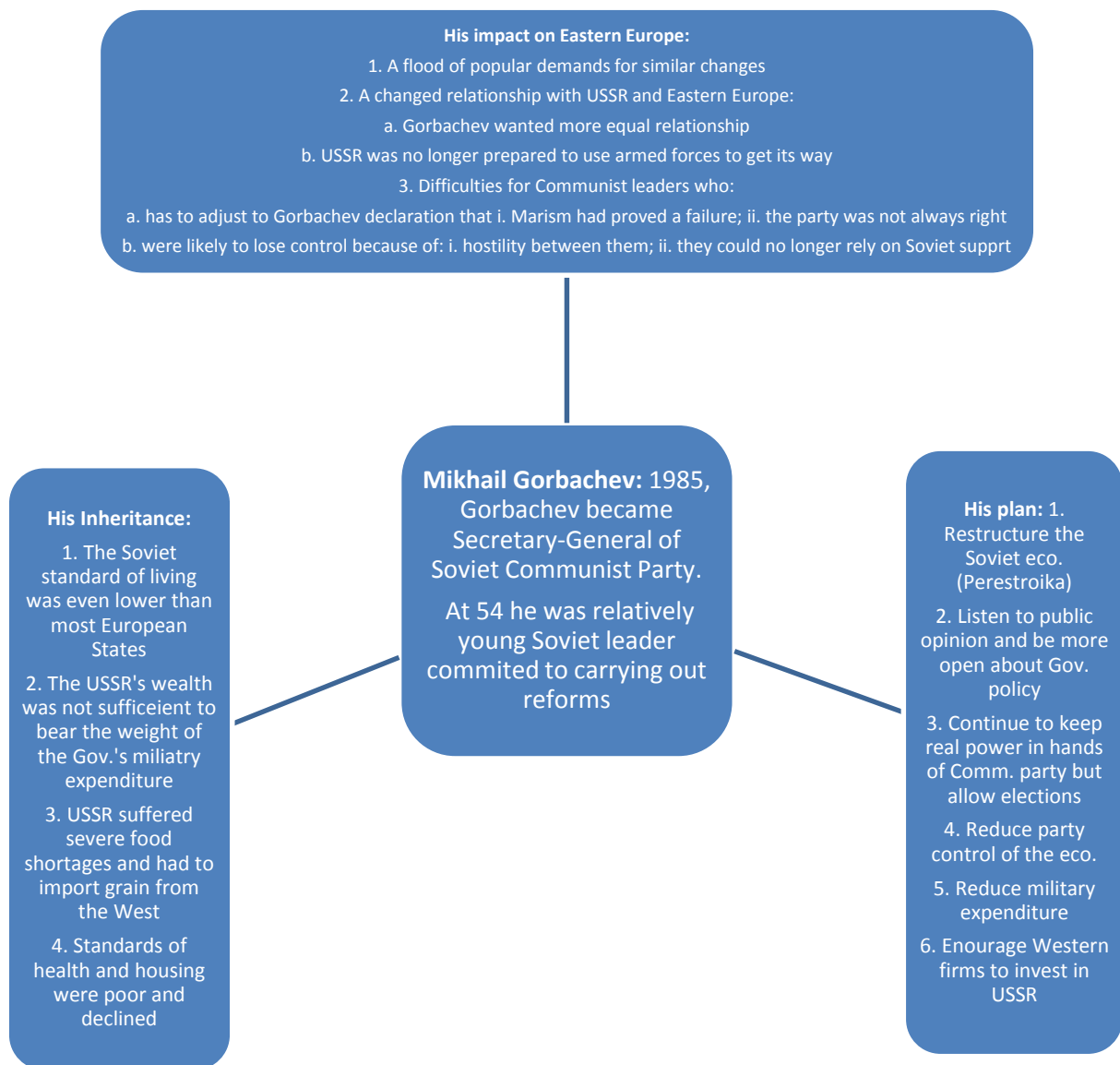
Discontent with Soviet Control:

- By 1980, widespread discontent in Eastern Europe
- Circumstances in each state varied, main source was common to all:

Life under Soviet Control	What People wanted instead
<i>Communist Party Rule:</i> No other party allowed	Political parties and free elections Open discussion about politics
<i>Police state:</i> Secret police suppressed criticism of the Government using torture and terror	Abolition of secret police forces Freedom to criticise the government
<i>State controlled economy:</i> Ineffective Unable to produce enough food or the kind of goods people really wanted	More freedom to own and run businesses without state interference Farms and factories to produce sufficient food and responsive to demands of consumers
<i>Low standards of living:</i> 1980s, prices and unemployment rose and there were shortages of food and consumer goods	Improved standards of living
<i>Censorship:</i> Press, radio and TV were all State controlled There was no freedom of expression	Freedom of the press Freedom of expression
<i>Religious belief:</i> Discouraged Members of the church were penalised	Freedom of religious belief
<i>Communist loyalty:</i> People were expected to forget their national identity and to be loyal to the Communist ideal	The right and opportunity to express their national identity A nation state free from outside control which would act in the interest of the citizens

Impact of détente:

1. An interest in Capitalist methods because of:
 - a. Increased trade with West
 - b. Western companies investing in Eastern Europe
2. Higher awareness of the much better standards of living in Western Europe
3. A reduced military threat
 - a. Began to question the value of Soviet military protection



Eastern Europe:

1. Fate of Eastern Europe
 - a. Had been part of the original conflict with Stalin demanding a buffer of friendly states between the USSR and West
 - b. Had been a major source of tension throughout the Cold War
 - c. Eastern Europe had been considered critical to the security of USSR making Gorbachev's policies so shocking
2. Gorbachev's removal of the Brezhnev Doctrine
 - a. Gorbachev abandoned the idea of intervention in Soviet States if they looked to be breaking away- Brezhnev Doctrine
 - b. In speech to UN stated that "freedom is a choice of universal principle" no state should have the right to dictate that for any other
 - c. This also came with the announcement to remove 50 000 men and 5000 tanks from E.E

Why did they decide this?:

1. Intervention was expensive and also cost international reputation
2. Had hoped for E.E to remain socialist but followed the idea of Dubcek's "human face"

How did Eastern Europe Respond?:

1. Suspicion and disbelief initially
 - a. Believed Gorbachev was playing the West
 - b. Tentative to try the policy out from fear
2. When it became clear that Gorbachev meant it, traction occurred rapidly

Poland	1988: <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Severe eco. crisis- strikes and revival of solidarity 1989: <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Jaruzelski agrees to:<ol style="list-style-type: none">a. Legalise solidarityb. Increase freedom of pressc. Hold elections while reserving a majority of the seats for the Communists2. Solidarity triumphs elections- Communists do badly3. Jaruzelski appoints non-Communist leader
East Germany:	1989: <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Gorbachev criticises Party Secretary Honecker2. Demonstrations against Honecker3. Free elections announced4. Demonstrators abolish Berlin Wall 1990: <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Communists defeated in elections2. East-West Germany reunified
Hungary	1988: <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Kadar replaced by more 'liberal' Communist leader 1989: <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Gorbachev agrees to withdraw Soviet troops2. Free travel allowed to Austria and West3. Free elections, free press, freedom of belief allowed 1990: <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Non-Communist gov. elected
Czechoslovakia	1989: <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Demonstrators call for economic and political reform. Gov. uses force against them2. News of changes in Poland and East

Bulgaria and Romania	Germany encourages demonstrators to continue
	3. Gorbachev urges party to respond to people's demands
	4. Non-Communists join new government. Free elections organised
	5. Opposition leader, author Václav Havel, elected
	1989:
	1. Hardline regime overturned
	1990:
	1. Communists win free elections

The End of the Cold War 1979-91:

A Second Cold War, 1979-85:

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan:

1. December 1979, Soviet troops invaded in order to keep pro-Soviet gov. in power
2. Invasion was condemned by majority of UN
3. Put an end to Superpower détente which was already under strain

Afghanistan	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A country of many tribes, strongly Islamic 2. Under Soviet influence since 1947 3. 1978, Communist regime took power but was met with strong opposition from Afghan people 4. 1979, USSR persuaded PM to invite it to invade
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The USSR

The Soviets wanted to keep control because:

1. They had the rights to gas fields there
2. American influence was growing in Pakistan
3. They wanted to ensure that it did not become a fundamentalist Islamic state like Iran in order to:
 - a. Avoid ring of Islamic states in the south
 - b. Prevent Islamic minorities within USSR from being tempted to break away

The War:

1. Villages and towns devastated by superior Soviet firepower
2. Over 1 million people killed
3. By 1988, Mujaheddin controlled 75% of country
4. 1989, Soviet forces withdrew

The American Response:

- President Carter said the invasion had completely changed his view of USSR
- He took several anti-Soviet measures:
 1. Suspended ratification of SALT II by US senate
 2. Ordered US athletes to boycott 1980 Moscow Olympics
 3. Started to rearm

Regan's Policy Change:

- Became President in 1980
- Believed that the détente had caused US to lose ground on USSR
- Returned to aggressive anti-Soviet foreign policy which included:
 1. Expanded US armed forces
 2. Basing new modern missiles in European countries that wished to accept them
 3. 1981, imposed eco. sanctions of Poland and USSR when General Jaruzelski declared martial law in Poland
 4. Launching Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI)- expensive programme to develop anti-missile weapons using laser beams- if successful, US could not be victim of a 'first strike'

Détente again, 1985-91:

New Soviet attitudes:

Gorbachev's inheritance:

1. Took on weak economy in stagnation
2. Lack of enthusiasm for people to work
3. Unwinnable war in Afghanistan
4. 25% budget spending on arms as opposed to the US' 7%

Gorbachev's aims:

1. Withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan
 - a. USSR's Vietnam
 - b. Waste of resources and lives
2. Reduce Soviet aid worldwide
3. Improve relations with China
4. Seek détente with USA in order to:
 - a. Reduce defence spending
 - b. Borrow money from Western banks to pay for imported food, raw materials and equipment
 - c. Persuade Western firms to build factories in USSR

Gorbachev's New Policies:

1. Glasnost: Political openness
 - a. Called for open debates on government policy
 - b. Honesty in facing up to problems

2. Perestroika: economic restructuring
 - a. Cut defence spending
 - b. Released that USSR could not win in a nuclear war with the USA
 - c. Overall unsuccessful
 - d. After two years it was clear the economy could not be revived

Gorbachev's "New Thinking"

1. Gorbachev announced that the USSR would no longer intervene in the problems of the satellite states
2. Reduced the army to 500 000 soldiers (unilateral- without US pressure) and withdrew troops from some Eastern States

Regan's choices:

Action	Possible Result
Refuse Détente and refuse to help Gorbachev	Would weaken USSR and make it cut military spending Might also make Gorbachev be replaced by a leader more hardline to the West
Return to détente and help Gorbachev	Risk that USSR might not cut arms spending as much West would be helping USSR military remain effective

Regan's Decision:

1. Regan decided to:
 - a. Continue to treat Soviet military threat seriously and to follow a strong defence policy- might force Gorbachev to make concessions in arms reduction
 - b. At the same time respond positively to Gorbachev's offer of détente
2. When Regan and Gorbachev met they got on very well- helping détente develop quickly

What was achieved?

1. The International Nuclear Force (INF) Treaty 1987. Superpowers agreed to eliminate all intermediate missiles in Europe within three years
2. Talks made progress on the reduction of NATO and Warsaw Pact conventional forces
3. a. Talks on long range missiles (formally SALT talks) were renamed Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START)
 - c. Led to 1991 START treaty which agreed significant reduction in spending

The end of Soviet Control, 1989-91:

1. In 1989:
 - a. Soviet control of Eastern Europe collapsed
 - b. Gorbachev and US president Bush, announced end of Cold War
2. In 1991:

- a. USSR dissolved itself when Gorbachev could no longer control pressure for independence from nationalist movement in its fifteen member republics
- b. Replaced by Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) with Russian Republic as the dominate member

Factors that Contributed to the end of the Cold War:

Internal Factors:

- 1. Planned economy not generating sufficient growth over long period
- 2. Brezhnev, ignored need for reform
- 3. Gorbachev's openness, opened the flood gates of change accelerating to the demise of the USSR
- 4. Nationalism in Soviet republics

External Factors:

- 1. The arms race/cost of military spending
- 2. Cold War engagements with countries in Third World were costly
- 3. War in Afghanistan
- 4. Nationalism in Satellite States
- 5. Attraction of Western World- could no longer keep people ignorant
- 6. Drastic fall in oil prices in 80s which deprived USSR of resources

Historiography:

Many believe that collapse was the result of Soviet System was INTERNAL

Bell: *"The essential point still seems to be that they contributed to a drama which stands within the Soviet Union."* Bell recognises the importance of both the internal and external factors in the breakdown of the Soviet Union but that the internal problems were of greater importance. *"The Soviet Union collapsed primarily through internal failures, exacerbated but not created by internal pressures"*

Dobrynin, Soviet Ambassador: *"The fate of the Soviet Union was decided within our country"*

Crockatt: *"The Soviet economy was not at the point of collapse when Gorbachev came to power. The catastrophic decline in the late 1980s was a direct result of Gorbachev's policies"* But believes distinction should be made between a *"system of failure"* and Gorbachev's policies.

Internal reasons: *"... the collapse would not have taken place had not serious structural weakness existed"*. Gorbachev wanted to save socialism but would not use force to do so. However the fact that one could not be achieved without the other led to Gorbachev making crucial mistakes.

KEY ISSUE: To what extent were the internal factors affected by external factors

- Kennan's policy of containment had been based around the idea of the *"[encouragement of] and internal implosion in the Soviet Union"*

- To support the view of external pressures: emphasise the importance of Regan's 'systematic change'
- Gladdis: *"hanging tough paid off"*
- Did it pay off in the sense that:
 - External pressures made the Soviet Union collapse?
 - Did it force Gorbachev to introduce the reforms to make it collapse?

Internal Collapse	Combination	External Pressures
Evidence: The state of the Soviet system, failure of the planned economy and Gorbachev's policy failure Supporters: Kennan		Evidence: Resources were used to fill military needs/desire to close the missile gap causing stagnation Sino-Soviet conflict War in Afghanistan Influences from the West Supporters: Pipes