Questions/Main ideas:

**De-Stalinization**

After the voluntary withdrawal of the Soviet army from Austria, its focus was on Eastern Europe and the situation at home. The anti-Stalin campaign was necessary to purge the Soviet Union of the horror that Stalin’s regime had represented for most Soviet citizens.

**The Fall Of Nikita Khrushchev And The Rise Of Leonid Brezhnev And Alexi Kosygin**

In October 1964 Khrushchev was deposed and Leonid Brezhnev was named general secretary of the Communist Party with Alexei Kosygin as Prime Minister. The New leadership faced a variety of problems. They needed to improve relations with the West. They needed to resolve the social and economic problems domestically. They needed to assert (or re-assert) control over the Soviet Bloc in Eastern Europe

**Challenges At Home: Back In The USSR**

Under Brezhnev the USSR continued to devote a significant portion of their money to the development of their military and in the 1970’s they achieved parity with the US in some areas of military development. Their commitment to a huge nuclear arsenal cost the USSR the development of the manufacturing sector and access of the population to consumer goods. Because the Soviet Union had a centrally planned economy it is difficult to compare it to the Capitalist system of the US, however in the ‘70’s an average worker in the USSR had the same standard of living as the average US worker in the ‘20’s. Housing was particularly problematic (especially in urban areas). Only 1 in 46 Soviets owned a car (they usually had a waiting period of 10-15 years to get one) And under Brezhnev the agricultural sector continued to deteriorate. There were food shortages and long line-ups at markets to obtain necessities. Often things like meat and fresh produce were just not available

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Collectivization Of Agriculture**

The Soviets tried to ameliorate their problems with the agricultural sector by subsidising it with about $50 million and investing about $78 billion annually.

However the collectivization of agriculture led to a lack of incentive.

There were massive inefficiencies in the system and mass waste due to bad storage, poor distribution, and an ineffective transportation system

This led to a dependency on imported food

Private plots (which only represented 4% of the arable land, provided 25% of the food output)

**Other Challenges Faced By Brezhnev**

The USSR also owed a lot of money to Western powers.

They imported a great deal of machinery and technology from the west and paid for it with money borrowed from Western Banks.

This debt created economic pressures within the Soviet Union

This was made significantly worse when the world economy slumped in the 1980’s

Brezhnev also faced criticism from the west for the Soviet refusal to allow the immigration of Jewish people who wished to emigrate.

No significant changes to Soviet policy would be made by Brezhnev or his successors, Andropov and Cherenkov.

Real change to the Soviet Union would not take place until Mikhail Gorbachev took power in 1985.

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Romania**

Even before Nicolae Ceausescu gained power in Romania in ’65 Romania had pushed for independence

They refused to participate in the Comecon plan to divide labour within the Soviet Bloc

The Comecon wanted Romania to develop as an agricultural base and not focus on industrial development.

The Romanians responded by approaching Western governments for access to technology and the promotion of industrial development

Because of the loyalty of Ceausescu to the Soviet cause Romania was permitted this level of independence from the Soviet plan and soon became one the most Stalinist and closed countries in Eastern Europe.

**Prague Spring**

In January 1968, Alexander Dubcek replaced Antonin Novotny as the leader of Czechoslovakia

Dubcek began to make liberal changes

On March 4th censorship of radio, press and television was abolished

Non-Communist organizations (potential political rivals) were permitted

On March 31st Club 231 was organized to monitor the treatment of political prisoners

April 5th rights to travel abroad, freedom of the press and free speech were guaranteed

The system of appointing bureaucrats from within party ranks was abolished

All of these reforms were to be formalized at the Fourteenth Party Congress scheduled for the 9th of Sept 1968

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Fall Of Prague Spring**

Dubcek continued to support the Warsaw Pact however his idea of “socialism with a human face” did not sit well in the USSR.

Czechoslovakia was strategically located in the center of Europe and crucial to the security of Soviet borders.

On 20th of Aug. 1968 the USSR invaded Czechoslovakia

Tanks and armoured carriers came in from Poland, East Germany, Hungary and the Ukraine. The Czechoslovakian forces grossly outnumbered by the Soviet forces

The Czechoslovakians knew they were undone. They responded with passive resistance and only 80 civilian deaths occurred.

However On the 17th of April Gustav Hsak replaced Dubcek as party secretary in Czechoslovakia

Moscow declared in the Brezhnev Doctrine that the Soviet Union had the right to determine when intervention in a satellite state was necessary to “preserve socialism and protect against counter-revolution with the Eastern Bloc.”

Troops were permanently stationed in Czechoslovakia

Czechoslovakia became one of the most repressive regimes in the Eastern Bloc.

The promise of the Prague Spring was dead

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Poland**

Poland was affected by the events in Czechoslovakia between 1968 and 1970

Poland’s leader Wladyslaw Gomulka saw the need for economic reform however did not want to permit political reform.

Gomulka was able to gain working class support for the police to shut down university protests for more liberties as the university students were viewed as an over privileged segment of society.

Gomulka also manipulated anti-Semitism with in Polish culture and used the Jews as scapegoats for Poland's failing economy

Most of the 30 000 Jews left in Poland (after the devastation of the holocaust) were forced out of Poland during this period

Gomulka used class divisions and racism to stop the development of discontent aimed at the Soviets

In Dec. Of 1970 increases in the price of food were imposed to help the failing economy and these led to a series of strikes.

The strikes started in the Gdansk shipyards and spread through the country

Violence followed

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Questions/Main ideas:

**Labour Unrest In Poland**

Poland’s governmental control of labour unrest and economic stability depended on 3 things

Economic aid from the Soviet Union

Easy credit from Western banks to fund industrial expansion and the importation of technology

World demand for Polish exports (especially coal)

These factors allowed the government to raise wages by 40% between 1970-75

Food consumption was also increased. Unfortunately this contributed to Poland’s economic distress as agriculture was subsidized and an increase in consumption meant that food and animal fodder needed to be imported

When the economies of the West weakened and demand for Polish goods decreased Poland found it increasingly difficult to meet the interest payments on their loans from foreign banks.

By 1976 The government increased the price of meat by 60% this combined with a variety of other price increases raised the cost of living by about 16%.

Striking was immediate

Although the government withdrew the price increases the next day, containing the developing labour movement would prove to be much more challenging

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Questions/Main ideas:

**The Organization Of Labour Movements Inside Of Poland**

In an attempt to protect striking workers a group of dissident intellectuals formed together to fight for workers rights by assuming a major roll in society

The workers were also supported by the Roman Catholic Church (one of the few non-state affiliated powers in Poland). 95%of Poland were ethnic Poles and almost all of them were Roman Catholics (Karol Wojtyla the Cardinal-Archbishop of Cracow was elected Pope on the 16th Oct. 1978). By July of 1980 the government was forced to increase prices. Meat prices rose by 100%. Strikes moved through the country, the Gdansk shipyards playing a major role. The government granted pay increases of 10-15%. This did not satisfy the striking workers and a sit-down strike began at the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk on the 14th of Aug. 1980. Workers refused an offered pay increase and demanded recognition as a Trade Union. The Church openly supported the workers by holding a Mass on the 17th outside the shipyard gates

**The Lenin Shipyard Strike And The Development Of Solidarity**

The leader of the Lenin Shipyard strike was an electrician (Lech Walesa) he was supported by a committee of factory workers

Walesa achieved the Gdansk Accord on the 31st of Aug. 1980. This granted the right to have independent Unions. The right to strike. Better working conditions, Saturdays off. Radio broadcasts of Mass, a relaxation of censorship and a relaxation of political control. By mid September the government seemed wiling to allow the other unions in the country the same rights. Unions throughout Poland united to become

Solidarnosc, or Solidarity (Established on Sept. 22nd 1980)

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Questions/Main ideas:

**China**

The Soviets also faced problems in China. During the ‘60’s a Sino-soviet dispute had developed into a power struggle the two countries were unable to come to terms over come key issues Ideological leadership for Communism still emerged from Moscow. Deviation from Soviet strategy was not permitted. China wanted its own policies to run in developing countries an particularly resented the Soviets approaching India. The Chinese were also unhappy about their military dependence on Moscow, and the Soviet refusal to assist them in developing as a nuclear power. In addition to this were the longstanding boarder issues that existed between the USSR and China. On March 2nd 1969 Soviet troops were attacked by Chinese troops near Damansky Island. The Soviets reinforced their border. By 1972 the border with China had 44 Soviet divisions and ¼ of the Soviet air force defending it. There was now a greater concentration of Soviet forces massed against possible Chinese aggression than the Soviets had left in Eastern Europe

**Détente And The Helsinki Accord**

After the Cuban Missile Crisis the relationship between the superpowers eased, 1963 to 1979 marked a period of relative tranquility between the US and the USSR. Neither side wanted a nuclear confrontation. Both superpowers were struggling with domestic challenges. The USSR became aware in the 70’s that the spending essential to maintaining military dominance was crippling their economy and depriving their citizens of a reasonable standard of living. The Brezhnev Doctrine allowed the use of force in eliminating internal or external forces perceived as “hostile to Communism” inside their sphere of influence. Moscow’s control of Eastern Europe was base on military supremacy, and depended on the use of military coercion. The Americans were also busy (Vietnam, the civil rights movement, hippies etc.)

**The Rise And Fall Of Solidarity**

When it looked like the Solidarity movement might cause problems the Soviets began military manoeuvres in East Germany and the Baltic's

When the rural areas in Poland began to demand a Rural Solidarity the Soviets began a new round of manoeuvres

Walesa backed off and cancelled a planed general strike

The Polish supreme court responded by accepting Rural Solidarity as a legal organization.

Membership in Solidarity continued to grow by fall of ‘81 there were 8 million Solidarity members in a population of 35 million people

Walesa began to negotiate for Solidarity to have a voice in government in return for the workers making sacrifices to help economic development

In October the government of Poland changed and the new Communist Party Chief became General Jaruzelski

By the end of Nov. It was clear that Jaruzelski would not give Solidarity any real political power in government decisions

Rural Solidarity suggested merging with Solidarity and the student organizations

Dec. 12 ‘81 national leaders of Solidarity left the middle ground and proposed a national day of protest on the 17th followed by a national vote in the New Year on Communist leadership, free elections and Poland’s relationship with the USSR

13th Dec. ‘81 Jaruzelski proclaimed martial law and established a Military Council of National Salvation

Telephone and telex communication was cut off factories occupied, strikes outlawed and the arrest of Solidarity leaders began

In Aug ‘84 some political prisoners were released

Poland continued to suffer economically foreign debt was $30 billion by ‘86

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Questions/Main ideas:

**The Americans In China**

The Americans did not involve themselves in the events of the Prague Spring and they did not take action in Eastern European issues, during this period. They did see potential in the Sino-Soviet split as an opportunity to mend the US relationship with the Chinese

The US relaxed trade and travel restrictions in place from the Korean War in 1969

In 1971 The Chinese invited an American “table-tennis” team to compete in China the “ping-pong diplomacy” led to a visit to China by then US president Richard Nixon to re-establish diplomatic relations.

In 1972 Nixon became the first American President to visit China

This visit resulted in a Sino-American agreement to disallow attempts by outside nations to take over East Asia, a deliberate warning to the USSR

The Americans also permitted the Communists to replace the Nationalist Chinese on the UN Security Council in Oct. 1971

**Key Factors In The Détente**

Three factors seem key in the detente

The newly developed non-aligned nation states that resulted from the decolonization process

The general disinterest of Western European nations to get involved in the Cold War as pawns for the superpowers and their development of a relationship with Eastern Europe about nuclear armaments in Europe

China’s development as a major power independent of the USSR after the split in 1962.

This combined with the growing economic power of both Japan and Western Europe led to a developing multi-power system on the international stage (although this would only really develop after the fall of Communism)

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Questions/Main ideas:

**The Helsinki Accord**

During this period negotiations between the super powers revolved primarily around arms control

However the security of frontiers and human rights issues were also pivotal in discussions.

The US wanted more human rights for Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The USSR wanted guarantees of the borders established in Eastern Europe after WWII. On Aug. 1st 1975 The Helsinki Accord was signed, the US Canada and 33 European nations signed the final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In Europe only Albania abstained.

**The Three Parts Of The Helsinki Accord**

Part one “Questions Relating to Security in Europe” gave the Soviet Union and its allies the borders it wanted in Eastern Europe. (provisions were made for their alteration by legal means) In return there was a stipulation of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other nations

It also included 21 days’ notice for military action involving more than 25,000 soldiers within 250km of a border and sections on disarmament and security

The second section “Cooperation in the Fields of Economics, of Science and Technology, and of the Environment,” Showed an awareness of the importance of international cooperation in these areas. Part Three “Cooperation in Humanitarian and Other Fields,” was aimed at human rights issues

This was specifically directed at the Soviet Union

This part tried to encourage freedom of mobility and allow for free choice in private and professional associations. This gave hope to dissidents and Jews desperate to leave the USSR (known as refuseniks)

The accords were not however entrenched in international law and were mostly symbolic

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Questions/Main ideas:

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**The Détente Erodes**

By 1980 the detente was deteriorating The Soviets had invaded Afghanistan in 1979 which made the US very angry. They responded by refusing to attend the Moscow Olympics. When Ronald Reagan was elected as the US President he brought with him a new era of right-wing military nationalism deliberately aimed at the USSR which it viewed as the “evil empire”. Only when Gorbachev came to power in 1985 would tensions between the super powers ease again

**War In Afghanistan**

Since 1945 Afghanistan had been under the Soviet sphere. Both Washington and Moscow helped a number of Afghan governments. However because of its location the Soviets had an interest in the security of the region. Afghanistan is dry and mountainous with a diverse ethnic and linguistic population. It was economically depressed despite the initiatives of several administrations. In 1973 the monarchy is overthrown by the king's cousin Mohammad Daoud Khan. He was supported by the Parcham faction of the Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA). Parcham (led by Babrak Karmal) believed in collaboration with other political parties in the hopes that democratic reforms might but not necessarily, would lead to socialism. They emerged primarily from Urban areas. The other faction of the PDPA was the Khalq (Hafizullah Amin leader) It was determined to affect social change and was not interested in collaboration with other parties. He had the support of the army. Daoud established a dictatorship and started a program of economic development. He repressed all opposition including the leftists that helped him into power. He attacked Islamic fundamentalists and moved closer to the pro-American shah of Iran. He was becoming less dependent of the USSR. Members of the two factions of the PDPA grew nervous and attempted a reconciliation. By the spring of ’78 Daoud started arresting members of the PDPA.

**Daoud Seizes And Loses Control**

In an attempt to consolidate control and suppress the press, Mir Akbar Khyber, member of the PDPA central committee and editor of the Parcham newspaper was assassinated. Anti-government demonstrations followed and Daoud arrested PDPA leaders. Amin, leader of the Khalq faction was able to alert his military supporters before his arrest and a following coup forced Daoud from office. The Pacham and Khalq factions of the PDPA made up the government and Daoud, his family, and government officials were executed. In December 1978, the Soviet government signed a treaty of friendship with the new Afghan government. This showed its support of the PDPA. The new regime began a program aimed at reforming Afghanistan’s still feudal society yet the PDPA could not present a united front on neither social nor economic issues.

The biggest stumbling block was land reform as the urban based PDPA was not equipped to deal with rural issues.

**The Soviets invade**

A resistance movement began within a month of the coup. The movement was backed by the country’s 320,000 mullahs, or Muslim religious leaders.

There was also trouble within the government as the Khalq faction now triumphed over the Parcham.

Within the Khalq faction, however, there was a rivalry between Amin and Nur Mohammad Taraki.

Taraki was executed and with his death, the regime died. The Soviets distrusted Amin and feared the continuation of civil turmoil and the loss of their potential satellite. On Christmas Eve of 1979, the Soviet army descended on Kabul and began their invasion of Afghanistan. A revolutionary tribunal sentenced Amin to death and on January 1st, 1980, Babrak Karmal was installed as leader of a Soviet puppet government. By the end of January, the invasion had been supported by many Soviet planes and tanks but 90 percent of the countryside was still in the hands of rebel troops, the mujahidin which the Soviets failed to subdue in their initial strike.

Questions/Main ideas:

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Questions/Main ideas:

**The Soviets Invade continued**

The Soviet divisions trained in conventional warfare were no match for the guerilla forces that were accustomed to Afghanistan’s rugged terrain.

By 1985, even with an increase in Soviet strength, the mujahedeen refused to give up.

In a bid to win more Afghan support, Karmal outlined a 10 point thesis for extending the Afghan revolution.

This did not increase his popularity, and in May 1986, he was replaced by Major General Mohammed Najibullah who was in affiliated with the KGB.

On April 14th, 1988, the Geneva Accords on the war in Afghanistan were signed by Pakistan and Afghanistan and an additional declaration guaranteeing the agreement was signed by the US and the Soviet Union.

The accords set a timetable for Soviet troop withdrawal in 1989 and an end to the war in Afghanistan. The Soviet army had completely withdrawn by February 1989.



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