Cold War in the 1970s

- **Ostpolitik:**
  - **Willy Brandt:** "eastern initiative" -- West German chancellor, began to improve relations with Eastern Europe
  - Brandt sought a comprehensive peace settlement for central Europe and a new resolution of the “German Question.”
  - Negotiated treaties with USSR, Poland, and Czechoslovakia that formally accepted existing state boundaries and the loss of German territory to Poland and USSR in return for mutual renunciation of force or threat of force.
  - “Two German states within one German nation”
  - Brandt’s gov’t broke with past and entered into direct relations with East Germany.
  - Aimed for modest practical improvements rather than reunification,
  - Brandt brought Germany’s Social Democrats to national power for first time since 1920s.
  - Demonstrated two-party political democracy had taken firm hold.
  - Result: West Germany’s eastern peace settlement contributed to great reduction in East-West tensions; Germany assumed a leadership role in Europe.

- **Détente**
  - U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and President Nixon tried to place Brandt’s eastern initiatives in broader, American-led framework of reducing East-West tensions in early 1970s.
  - Feared Germany might become neutral thus weakening NATO & US influence in Europe
  - Nixon hoped to gain their aid in pressuring North Vietnam into peace.
  - **realpolitik:** Nixon & Kissinger believed U.S. should pursue policies and make alliances based on its national interests rather than on any particular view of the world.
  - Sought to play USSR and China off each other
  - Nixon visited China in 1972: Soviets concerned China & U.S. might draw closer
  - Nixon visited Moscow, 1972: ushered in an era known as détente.
  - Sought to establish rules to govern the rivalry between US and USSR and China.
  - **SALT I:** Brezhnev and Nixon signed treaty to stop making nuclear ballistic missiles and to reduce the number of antiballistic missiles to 200 for each power.
  - MIRVs made SALT I obsolete (multiple warheads on one missile)
  - **Helsinki Conference, 1975**
  - **Final Act:** Officially ended World War II by finally legitimizing the Soviet-dictated boundaries of Poland and other East European countries.
  - In return, Soviets guaranteed more liberal exchanges of people and information between East and West and the protection of certain basic “human rights.”
  - Yet, Moscow continued to squelch human rights in Eastern Europe.
  - End of détente
• Soviet invasion of Afghanistan led to U.S. refusal to ratify SALT II treaty (reducing nuclear armaments) and led to President Carter boycotting 1980 Olympics in Moscow
  • US stopped shipments of grain and certain advanced technology to the Soviet Union.
    • Only Britain stood behind U.S. in its sanctions.
    • France, Italy and especially West Germany argued that Soviet’s deplorable action should not be turned into an East-West confrontation.

Soviet Bloc since 1968
• 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia was the crucial event of the Brezhnev era.
  • Intense conservatism of Soviet ruling elite determined to maintain status quo in Soviet bloc.
  • Re-Stalinization of USSR resulted, to a degree
  • Dictatorship was collective rather than personal—through the Politburo.
  • Celebrated nonconformists as Alksandr Solzhenitsyn permanently expelled from country.
• “Solidarity” in Poland
  • Polish cardinal elected Pope John Paul II in 1979: traveled through Poland preaching love of Christ and country and “inalienable rights of man.”
  • Popular movement of working people organized a massive union called “Solidarity.”
    • Led by Lech Walesa
    • Demands included right to form free trade unions, right to strike, freedom of speech, release of political prisoners and economic reforms.
  • 1981, Polish gov’t led by Communist party leader, General Jaruzelski imposed martial law after being warned by Soviets if the Polish gov’t could not keep order, Soviets would.
  • Solidarity was outlawed and driven underground but remained active

Cold War in the 1980s
  ▪ The Atlantic Alliance revitalized itself in the 1980s under the leadership of Ronald Reagan in the U.S., Margaret Thatcher in UK, and Helmut Kohl (b. 1930) of Germany.
    ▪ In 1980s, all three nations believed USSR remained a dangerous threat (e.g. Afghanistan)
    ▪ Margaret Thatcher became prime minister in 1979.
      ▪ Came to power after a year of bitter strikes had eroded support for the ruling socialist Labour party.
      ▪ Advocated hard-line military positions (as Reagan)
    ▪ Falklands War (1982)
      ▪ Argentine forces invaded and occupied Falkland (or Malvinas) Islands, 500 miles off coast of Argentina.
Thatcher sent fleet to retake the islands; gained enormous popularity—reelected

- **Helmut Kohl**, distinctly pro-American, came to power with conservative Christian Democrats in 1982.
- Atlantic Alliance gave indirect support to ongoing efforts to liberalize authoritarian communist states in eastern Europe.
- Despite repeated defeats, the revolutions of 1989 ended Communist domination.

**Ronald Reagan**
- Dealt with Soviets from position of strength by embarking on massive military buildup.
  - Reagan believed US could better bear burden of the expense while the Soviets couldn’t.
- **Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) – “Star Wars”:**
  - 1983, Reagan announced his intention to pursue a high-technology missile-defense system
  - Reagan’s dramatic increase in defense spending placed enormous pressures on the Soviet economy.
  - When Soviets shot down KAL007, Reagan called Soviets the “Evil Empire”

**End of Cold War**
- **Mikhail Gorbachev** assumed control of Soviet Union in 1985 and sought reforms
  - **Perestroika**: (“restructuring”) Aimed to revive the sagging Soviet economy by adopting many of the free-market practices of the West.
    - By 1987, program had clearly failed
  - **Glasnost**: Aimed to open Soviet society by introducing free speech and some political liberty, while ending party censorship; more successful than perestroika
    - Demokratiztsiya: Began as an attack on corruption in Communist party and as an attempt to bring class of educated experts into decision making process.
  - Gorbachev sought to reduce East-West tensions.
  - Withdrew Soviet troops from Afghanistan.
  - Encouraged reform movements in Poland and Hungary
  - Repudiated Brezhnev Doctrine by pledging to respect political choices of peoples of eastern Europe.
  - All intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe banned.

**Revolutions of 1989**: end to communist control of eastern Europe
Costs of maintaining satellite countries for USSR both politically and economically, were too much of a burden for the Soviets to handle.

**Poland:** Solidarity legalized again and free elections promised in June 1989.
- First noncommunist leader in eastern Europe since the Stalin era
- Triggered a wave of freedom in eastern Europe
- **Lech Walesa** became president in 1990 but **Solidarity** later broke up into factions

**Hungary:** October 23, Hungarian leaders proclaimed independent republic

**Berlin Wall** comes down in November; East German gov't falls
- Germany reunified in 1990
- Conservative-liberal “alliance for Germany,” tied to West German chancellor Helmut Kohl’s Christian Democrats, defeated East German Social Democrats.
  - July 1990, East and West German economies merged.
  - Soviets opposed unified Germany in NATO but eventually acquiesced when West Germany provided massive economic aid to Soviet Union.

**Czechoslovakia** – the **“Velvet Revolution”**
- **Vaclav Havel**, the dissident playwright, becomes president

**Bulgaria**
- **Rumania** – **Nicolai Ceausescu** overthrown and assassinated

Cutbacks in ICBMs
- **START I** treaty signed in 1990 between Gorbachev and President George Bush
  - Would cut 10% of U.S. nuclear weapons and 25% of Soviet nukes and limit ICBM warheads

**Fall of Soviet Union**
- **Coup in Moscow**, 1991: communist hard-liners, frustrated by loss of Soviet power and prestige, attempted to overthrow Gorbachev
  - Coup failed when military refused to crush popular resistance
  - **Boris Yeltsin**, leader of Russia, defied tanks and became a hero.
  - Coup fatally weakened Gorbachev and spelled doom for the Soviet Union.
- Yeltsin and his liberal allies declared Russia independent and withdrew from the Soviet union—all other republics followed.
  - December 25, 1991, Soviet Union dissolved into 15 separate republics
  - Republics remained economically connected for a time via **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)**
Challenges in the 1990s for Central and Eastern Europe

- Russian struggle
  - Yeltsin failed to significantly improve the Russian economy
  - 1993, Yeltsin became embroiled in a power struggle with a conservative parliament
    - Parliament’s leaders, holed up in the White House (the parliament tower in Moscow), unleashed a crowd to assault the Kremlin and the television center.
    - Yeltsin sent tanks against the White House; 120 killed and top floors of tower shelled and burned.
    - Moscow had not seen such violence since 1905.
  - On New Year's Day, 2000, Yeltsin resigned due to poor health and lack of popularity
    - Succeeded by former KGB colonel Vladimir Putin

Eastern Europe

- Shift to market economy was difficult
  - No precedents existed to guide transition and legal, institutional, and cultural underpinnings were missing.
  - In short run, economic activity declined by 1/3.
  - Poland most successful: by 1993, GDP grew over 4%, & 5% in 1995; the fastest in Europe.
  - Czechoslovakia adopted world’s first mass privatization scheme under Hungary’s economy was the freest in Eastern Europe but changed more slowly.
    - Well-established private sector attractive to foreign lenders; attracted nearly half of Eastern Europe’s foreign investment.
  - By 1995, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary were doing well enough to be taken seriously as potential European Union (EU) members by the year 2000.

- Continuing problems
  - Unemployment figures about 15% throughout most of region
  - Inflation remained dangerously high in some countries
  - Governments ran large deficits

- Political challenges
  - Old ethnic hatreds of pre-1914 Central Europe resurfaced
    - Slovaks seceded from Czechoslovakia on January 1, 1993; Slovakia much slower in drive toward democracy and the market
  - Yugoslavia broke into civil war in early 1990s (see below)
Former Communist parties returned to majorities in freely elected parliaments in Lithuania (1992), Poland (September 1993), and Hungary (spring 1994).

Walesa defeated in Polish presidential elections in 1995 by former Communist official.

But ex-Communists were now converted to democracy and the market.

The “New” Germany

German unity changed face of European politics: Germany now an economic powerhouse

“Ossies” (East Germans) came to feel like 2nd-class citizens in the face of economic difficulties

Meanwhile, “Wessies” (West Germans) resented years of heavy taxation to rebuild the east.

Civil War in Yugoslavia

Cause: 1990 President Slobodan Milosevic began giving concrete form to his greater Serbian nationalism; established tighter central control over previously autonomous regions

In response Croatia & Slovenia declared independence and each fought Serbia in the process

Bosnia declared its independence in March 1992 and the civil war spread there.

Bosnian Serbs (about 30% of pop.) refused to live in a Muslim-dominated state and began military operations assisted by Serbia and the Yugoslav federal army; Sarajevo under attack

Ethnic cleansing: Bosnian Serbs tried to liquidate or remove Muslims by shelling cities, confiscating or destroying of houses, gang rape, expulsion, and murder.

Several hundred thousand Bosnians killed

Dayton Agreements, 1995: Agreed to divide Bosnia between Muslims and Serbs

Bosnian Serb aspirations to join a Greater Serbia frustrated by U.S. and other NATO troops sent to enforce the Dayton agreements.

Indictment for war crimes of 7 Croats and 45 Bosnian Serbs; not enforced as of 2000

Kosovo crisis, 1999:

Milosevic attempted to ethnically cleanse Kosovo (province of Serbia) of ethnic-Albanians

NATO, led by U.S., bombed Serbia in order to stop the ethnic cleansing

European Union (EU) went into effect in 1993

European Community (EC) renamed to European Union in 1996

Chancellor Kohl and President Mitterrand sought to extend the EU to include a single European currency and a common defense and foreign policy

British prime minister Margaret Thatcher led opposition until she resigned in November 1990, replaced by conservative successor John Major who urged a limited federalism.
- **Maastricht Treaty, 1991**
  - Promised most radical revision of the EC since its beginning.
  - **Eurodollar** became the single currency of the EU in 1999 integrating the currency of 11 western and central European nations.
  - Proposals to form common foreign and defense policies.
  - Increased use of majority voting.
  - Greater parliamentary consultation.
  - By 1995 EU had 15 members