

Revision Four: The End of the Cold War

Afghanistan War:

Why did Soviet forces invade Afghanistan?

- In 1978 a Marxist government had come to power in Afghanistan and a twenty year treaty of friendship had been signed with the Soviet Union. • In September 1979 Nur Mohammed Taraki, the Marxist president of Afghanistan, was deposed and murdered. The post of president was taken by the Prime Minister Hafizullah Amin.
- The Soviet Union feared that this would lead to a collapse of the Marxist government and intervened following the Brezhnev Doctrine. This stated that the Soviet Union was entitled to use force to protect Socialism in any country where it was under attack. But the situation in Afghanistan was more complex than the Soviet Union realised. In the summer of 1979 Muslim resistance groups had been set up to oppose land reforms and educational changes. When the Soviet forces invaded, the Mujahidin, as they became known, continued their resistance.

The Mujahdeen

- Thousands of Muslim leaders had been arrested and many more had fled the capital and gone to the mountains to escape Amin's secret police. They joined the Mujahdeen - a guerrilla force on a holy mission for Allah.
- They wanted the overthrow of the Amin government and declared a Holy War against him.
- This was also extended to the Russians who were now in Afghanistan trying to maintain the power of the Amin government.
- By 1982, the Mujahdeen controlled 75% of Afghanistan despite fighting the might of the world's second most powerful military power.
- They employed guerrilla tactics to beat Amin's army and the Russians. They hid in the mountains of Afghanistan, looked the same as Amin's supporters so the army and Russian troops could not tell the difference, were experienced with the weather and climate, used bombs and old rifles and sabotaged footpaths and roads.
- The Russian army were at a loss.
- Saudi Arabia gave them \$600 million a year.
- Ronald Reagan, now President of USA, started sending weapons to the Mujahdeen via Pakistan. Pakistan received 3.2 billion in military and economic aid.
- By 1982 American was supplying the Mujahdeen with US stinger anti air craft missiles- a clear sign they would do whatever it took to defeat the Soviet Union.

VERSUS

The Russian Army.

- Soviet leader Brezhnev was concerned about the growing power and spread of Islamic fundamentalism and between 1979-1980 more than 50,000 Soviet troops were sent into Afghanistan to 'help' Amin keep control of his

Communist government. This was mainly used as a guise, Brezhnev was concerned with extending Soviet influence.

- Brezhnev said the USSR was only following its 1978 Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Good Neighbourliness that former President Taraki had signed
- The Russians resorted to using napalm, poison gas and helicopters - but they experienced exactly the same military scenario the Americans had done in Vietnam – no effect
- The war in Afghanistan showed the world just how poor the country was outside of military displays. Army boots lasted no more than 10 days before falling to bits in the harsh environment of the Afghanistan mountains.
- Many Russian soldiers deserted to the Mujahideen. Russian tanks were of little use in the mountain passes.
- 27th Dec. Russian troops murdered Amin and installed their own leader Babrak Kamal who they could better control.
- By 1982 Russian had lost over 5,000 troops and airmen.

WHAT DID AMERICA DO?



THE CARTER DOCTRINE:

During this time Jimmy Carter was the president of America, he was a Democrat and was appalled by the Soviet aggression and released a statement that became known as the 'Carter Doctrine'.

He stated the USA would:

- Not allow the USSR to gain control of the oil-rich Middle East.
- Take a number of immediate steps to try to remove Soviet troops from Afghanistan by:
 1. Forming an alliance with China and Israel to support Afghan rebels. The CIA provided the rebels with weapons, funds and training.
 2. Imposing economic sanctions stopping virtually all trade with the Soviet Union.
 3. Ending diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

GLOBAL REACTION AND IMPACT:

- The UN were angered by the invasion but a Security Council motion calling for the Russian withdrawal was being stopped.....by Russia.
- America put a ban on the sale of grain to Russia, ended the SALT talks taking place and boycotted the Olympic Games due to be held in Moscow in 1980. Other than that, America did nothing.

WHY ?

- They knew that Russia had got itself into their own Vietnam and it provided America with an opportunity to acquire any new Russian military technology that was left afterwards that they could buy from Afghanistan.
- Mujahideen fighters were given access to American surface-to-air missiles to help them in their battle.
- Gorbachev (then Russian leader) took Russia out of the Afghanistan fiasco when he realised what many Russian leaders had been too scared to admit in public - that Russia could not win the war and the cost of maintaining such a force in Afghanistan was crippling Russia's already weak economy.



AFTERMATH:

- By 1986 there was a new Russian leader-Mikhail Gorbachev- a radical reformer. He lightened the restrictions on Russian media, meaning more accurate reports on the war reached the Russian people, the result of this was public pressure to withdraw.
- The Russians left defeated on February 15, 1989.
- The official result was a 'military stalemate.'
- An estimated 1 million Afghan civilians died.
- The Soviets lost 15,000 men and 55,000 were wounded.
- The war cost the USSR around \$20 billion.
- Led to over 5 million displaced as refugees.
- The Mujahideen lost somewhere between 75,000-90,000 soldiers.
- Taliban fighters took a stronger grip over the whole nation and imposed very strict Muslim law on the Afghanistan population
- The country was left in economic and political ruin with no hospitals, schools or infrastructure.
- Communism in Afghanistan fell and America rejoiced knowing that a country as poor and unprepared could fight back against Russia.
- Historians have argued that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a key turning point in the Cold War.
- It became known as the 'Soviet Vietnam.'
- American armed the mujahedeen fighters and they fought a very successful guerilla war against the Soviet Red Army. The war demonstrated just how powerful the USA was, particularly under Reagan.
- Gorbachev started to cut down the USSR's armed forces and scrapped many of its nuclear weapons, these reforms had a startling effect on his country's relationship with the USA.
- Osama Bin Laden was one of the mujahedeen fighters and when he was finished fighting the Soviets he turned his attention towards his former ally the USA.

- The Soviet Red Army eventually left Afghanistan in 1989

DÉTENTE: EASING OF COLD WAR RELATIONS

Soviet economy was in a bad way. The leader of the Soviet Union was now Brezhnev. Brezhnev now wanted to reduce Soviet military spending so that he could sort out the problems facing the Soviet economy. The most obvious way was by cutting expenditure on arms. So in 1970 Brezhnev agreed to begin Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. They soon became known as SALT, and later SALT I. SALT I

- The **SALT** talks led to the signing of the SALT I treaty in 1972.
- This limited the increase in numbers of nuclear missiles. There would be a five year delay on the building of more missiles. At the end of the five year period a further agreement would be necessary.
- A separate treaty restricted the number of ABMs, Anti-Ballistic Missiles. • At the same time the two sides agreed to begin Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction Talks (MBFR). These continued until the 1980s, when there had been more than 300 meeting with almost no agreements. Both sides also agreed to allow each other to use spy satellites to make sure that the numbers were being kept to.
- The USA also signed a trade deal to export wheat to the Soviet Union and both sides agreed to develop artistic and sporting links. In 1975 Soviet cosmonauts and US astronauts linked up in Space for the first time.
- BUT the talks did not cover multiple warhead missiles or battlefield weapons (tactical nuclear weapons). In fact the USA continued to produce multiple warheads, at the rate of three a day, throughout the 1970s.

Other examples of Détente:

- Helsinki Agreement 1975 33 countries, inc. America and the USSR met and agreed on:
 - Co-operation in terms of trade (US would buy oil from the USSR; USSR would buy wheat from the US); scientific; educational and industrial cooperation
 - Human Rights: they would respect human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.
 - Security: the countries would respect borders and work together to combat world terrorism; all disputes were to be settled peacefully; no country would interfere in the internal affairs of another country.

SALT II began in 1974 and continued until 1979. Agreement was reached on further reductions in strategic weapons, which were to last until 1985.

SALT II

Weapons allowed	USA	Soviet Union
ICBMs	1054	1398
SLBMs	656	950

THE ROLE OF RONALD REAGAN

- Reagan became president in 1981. He made no secret of his hatred for the Soviet Union. He called it 'The Evil Empire'. He made it clear that he was prepared to discuss arms limitation, but was only prepared to negotiate from strength. If things did not work out, he was not prepared to compromise.
- In 1981 talks on Intermediate Range Missiles (SS-20s and Cruise) began. Reagan offered the 'Zero Option'. Both sides would dismantle and remove their weapons from Europe. Brezhnev refused.
- In 1982 Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START) began. But all talks soon became deadlocked. • In 1983 Reagan ordered US forces to land in Grenada to crush a Communist takeover.
- In 1983 Reagan announced 'Star Wars', the Strategic Defence Initiative. This was a plan to shoot down Soviet missiles using lasers in Space. This was not a serious proposition in 1983, but it had the effect of putting pressure upon the Soviet leaders, who knew that the Soviet Union would be unable to compete.
- In 1984 the Soviet Union and the other Communist countries boycotted the Los Angeles Olympics.

THE ROLE OF MIKHAIL GORBACHEV

- Gorbachev came to power in 1985 with two slogans PERESTROIKA and GLASNOST. • Perestroika referred to 'economic restructuring' in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev believed that the Soviet Union could only survive if the economy was completely rebuilt, doing away with the command economy which had existed since Stalin.
- Glasnost referred to new sense of 'openness', both within the Soviet Union and also with the West. The powers of the KGB were restricted and criticism of the government was allowed. Free elections were held in 1990. Gorbachev realised that the Soviet Union's survival depended upon the West. He needed investment, new technology, but most of all arms agreements which would allow him to reduce the Soviet Union's massive defence spending.

Glasnost and Perestroika

- In **1987** his perestroika programme allowed **market forces** to be introduced into the Soviet economy. For the first time in 60 years it was no longer illegal to buy and sell for profit.
- He began to **cut spending on defence**. After almost 50 years on a constant war footing, the Red Army began to shrink. The arms race had been an enormous drain on the Soviet economy at a time when the economy was in trouble already. He announced cuts in armament expenditure and two years later the USA and USSR signed a treaty to remove most of their missiles from Europe. He withdrew Soviet troops from **Afghanistan** which had become a massive drain on resources.
- In **March 1985** he called the leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries together. The meeting should have been a turning point in the history of Eastern Europe. Gorbachev explained to the leaders that he was committed to non-intervention in the affairs of their countries; he made it clear that they were responsible for their own fates. However, most of the Warsaw Pact leaders were old style, hard-line Communists like Erich Honecker of East Germany or

Nicolae Ceausecu of Romania. To them Gorbachev's ideas were insane and they simply did not believe that he would abandon them to rule themselves.

- As reforms took place in Russia, the people in Eastern European countries began to demand reforms. Most people in these states were sick of the poor economic conditions and harsh restrictions which Communism imposed.
- In **July 1988** he made a speech to the Warsaw Pact summit stating his intention to withdraw large numbers of Soviet troops, tanks and aircraft from Eastern Europe. Hungary was particularly eager to get rid of Soviet troops and when the Hungarians pressed Gorbachev he seemed to confirm that troops would withdraw if Hungary wished it.
- **May 1989** – Hungarians begin dismantling the barbed wire fences between Hungary and non-communist Austria.
- **June 1989** – In Poland free elections are held for the first time since WW2. The Solidarity party wins almost all the seats and Eastern Europe gets its first non-communist leader President Lech Walesa.
- **September 1989** – Thousands of East Germans on holiday in Hungary and Czechoslovakia refuse to go home. They escape through Austria into West Germany.
- **October 1989** – There are enormous demonstrations in East German cities when Gorbachev visits the country. He tells the East German leader Erich Honecker to reform. Honecker orders troops to fire on protestors but they refuse. Gorbachev makes it clear that Soviet tanks will not move in to 'restore order'.
- **November 1989** – East Germans march in their thousands to the checkpoints at the Berlin wall. The guards throw down their weapons and join the crowds. The Berlin wall is dismantled.
- **November 1989** - West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl proposed a speedy reunification of Germany. Gorbachev was very worried about this he knew a unified German would be more likely to support the West rather than the East. However after months of negotiations he accepted the reunification plan and on the **3rd October 1990** Germany became a united country.
- **November 1989** – Huge demonstrations in Czechoslovakia. The Czech government opens its borders with the West and allows the formation of other parties.
- **December 1989** – In Romania there is a short lived but very bloody revolution that ends with the execution of the Communist Director Nicolae Ceausescu.
- **December 1989** – The Communist Party in Hungary renames itself the Socialist Party and declare that free elections will be held in 1990.
- **December 1989** - In Bulgaria, there are huge demonstrations against the Communist government.
- **March 1990** – Latvia leads the Baltic republics in declaring independence from the USSR
- **Jan/Feb 1990** – Lithuania called for independence, however for once Gorbachev was not a supporter but in **March** they did it anyway.
- **May 1990** – the Russian Republic the largest within the USSR elected Boris Yeltsin as its President. Yeltsin made it clear that he saw no future in a Soviet Union. He said that the many republics that made up the USSR should become independent states.
- **July 1990** – The Ukraine declares its independence
- **October 1990** – Gorbachev received the Nobel Peace Prize
- **January 1991** - events in Lithuania turned to bloodshed when

- **April 1991** – USSR was disintegrating. Reformers within the USSR demanded an end to the Communist Party's domination of the government.
- **August 1991** – Hard line Communist Party members and leading military officers attempted a coup. They held Gorbachev prisoner in his holiday home in the Crimea. They sent tanks and troops on to the streets of Moscow. Huge crowds gathered in Moscow to protest and call for reform. Boris Yeltsin emerged as leader of this resistance and the coup collapsed.
- **25th December 1991** – Gorbachev announced the end of the Soviet Union.

DEALS:

Gorbachev knew that if the Soviet Union was to survive, he had to reduce expenditure. But he also needed foreign aid and new technology. The only way of getting it was by making agreements to reduce arms with the West. Reagan also wanted to cut military expenditure.

In 1983 the USA spent \$300,000,000,000 on defence. More than the entire British budget.

- In 1985 Gorbachev and Reagan met in Geneva. Gorbachev wanted to persuade Reagan to drop SDI; Reagan wanted to persuade Gorbachev that he sincerely desired peace for the two countries. Significant because both men got on even though no agreements were reached
- In 1986 Reagan and Gorbachev met in Reykjavik. Reagan proposed scrapping all ballistic nuclear missiles but Gorbachev would not agree because Reagan still would not drop SDI
- In December 1987 The Intermediate –Range nuclear Force (INF) Treaty, as it was called, was signed. This treaty meant that both sides would destroy all existing nuclear missiles with a range of between 500 and 5500 kilometres. VERY SIGNIFICANT – went further than SALT which only limited the amount of missiles made. During the next few years hundreds of missiles were destroyed and inspectors were on hand to ensure the treaty was adhered to.
- Further talks were held to discuss the reductions in Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE). But before these reach any conclusions the Eastern Bloc disintegrated and the Soviet Union did nothing to stop it.
- Gorbachev was not prepared to use force to try to keep the countries of Eastern Europe under control, and in any case the Soviet Army was unwilling to act. Its morale had been destroyed in Afghanistan and many soldiers had not been paid for six months.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE EAST

- Soviet troops were withdrawn from Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which had been occupied since 1945 and the countries became independent again
- In 1989 Communist rule collapsed in Poland
- In November 1989 the Communist governments of East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria all resigned
- Christmas Day 1989 Gorbachev met George Bush, the new US president and they declared that the Cold War was over.

RISE OF AL-QAEDA

THE BASICS

Al-Qaeda is a terrorist network with 'terror cells' around the world (see map). Their leader was Bin Laden. They wanted an end to US involvement in the Muslim world. They used terrorist tactics which shocked the world such as suicide bombings. Their most famous atrocity was the 9/11 attack.

ROOTS:

- US involvement in Middle East
- Afghanistan War
- Power of the Individual- Osama Bin Laden was the very rich son of a billionaire Saudi. He came to fight in Afghanistan with the Mujahideen in 1979. It was there that he fell under the influence of extremist preacher Abdullah Azzam, who taught him that Islam was under threat and that all Muslims must join together in 'Jihad' (Holy War) to defend their religion. This led to the creation of Al-Qaeda. When Saddam Hussein threatened Saudi Arabia in 1990, Bin Laden offered his help, but was rejected by the Saudis who instead got American help. This made Bin Laden furious. He set up his terrorist group in Sudan in exile.



AL QAEDA IN ACTION:

December 1992: Al Qaeda operatives set off a bomb at the Gold Mohur hotel in Aden, Yemen, where U.S. troops were lodged on their way to Somalia. They also attempted to bomb a second hotel, the Aden Movenpick. No Americans were killed, but two Australian tourists lost their lives.

February 1993: Ramzi Yousef detonated an explosives-filled van in the basement of the World Trade Center in New York City, killing six people and wounding 1,000. Yousef wasn't directly under the command of Osama, but he collaborated with sheikh Abdul Rahman, a blind cleric with financial links to Osama.

March 1993: Al Qaeda operatives set off 13 bombs in Mumbai, India, killing 250 people.

December 1994: A bomb planted by Ramzi Yousef exploded on a Philippines Airlines Boeing 747, killing one passenger. The captain was able to land the damaged plane, saving the remaining 292 passengers and crew.

June 1996: A truck bomb exploded outside a U.S. military housing complex near Dhahran, Saudi Arabia, killing 19 U.S. servicemen.

August 1998: Al Qaeda operatives bombed U.S. embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, killing 200 people and injuring 5,000.

October 2000: A suicide bomber blew himself up alongside the U.S.S. Cole in Aden, Yemen, while the Navy ship was refueling. Seventeen sailors were killed and 39 were injured.

September 2001: Al Qaeda operatives hijacked four U.S. jetliners. Two of the planes are crashed into the World Trade Center towers in New York, while another plane crashed into the Pentagon. A fourth, presumably on the way to attack another target in Washington, crashed in a field in Pennsylvania after passengers and crew members fought the hijackers for control of the plane.

December 2001: On a flight from Paris to Miami, Al Qaeda operative Richard Reid attempted to detonate explosives concealed in his shoes. He was thwarted by flight attendants and passengers.

US RESPONSE- WAR ON TERROR- SEE PAPER TWO NOTES!